

BALLADRY

ROMANCE
AND DRAMA
OF
MID-MUNSTER

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Ballyhoura

Romance and Drama of Munster.

Loves & Wars of Two Thousand Years

by Padraig O'Suilleabhain
Barrister-at-Law.



AUTHOR of BALLYHOURA

Pádraig Ua Súilleabháin was born on 19 August 1876 in Graigue, Shanballymore, Co Cork, Ireland, on a small farm which is practically on the southern slopes of the Ballyhoura Hills he loved so much. He was the 3rd of four boys in the family.

His parents Michael and Elizabeth (nee O'Toole) spoke their native Irish language to each other but would not teach it to their children for fear they would be disadvantaged growing up in an English dominated Ireland. Patrick, as he was known then, listened to the lovely liquid sounds and decided that when he grew up he would learn the language of his fathers.

He went to school to the Christian Brothers in Doneraile, his parish centre. There is a letter extant dated 10 Dec 1902 from the famous Canon P.A. Sheehan, P.P. Doneraile, author of *Glenanaar* and many other books. In it he says *I am aware that he (Mr Patrick O'Sullivan) has been studying shorthand etc. for Press qualification for some years and I understand that he has attained some proficiency in these matters that are essential for Press work. I have good hopes of his future, as I consider that he is rightly ambitious to push himself forward, and I am certain he has ability equal to his ambition.*

Helped by this letter he obtained a position on the weekly *The Southern Star*, formerly *The Skibbereen Eagle*, and in 1905 became Editor. Denis Kelly, Bishop of Ross, in a character reference in January 1910 refers to his power of thinking and expressing his thoughts as marvellous. About 1912 Patrick joined the staff of the *Mayo News* in Claremorris and later went to the *Irish News* in Belfast.

He moved to Dublin and joined the *Irish Independent*, a national daily. He had begun studying law in 1908 at Cork University and in 1917 was called to the Irish Bar. Before this some of those arrested after the 1916 Rising wrote to him from prison asking him to represent them when their case came to court. While studying the Irish language he had come to know many patriots with a passionate love for Ireland. He was a close friend of Michael Collins, who had fought in the GPO in 1916, and who, with a price of £10,000 on his head, organised the fight for freedom from 1917 to 1921. Pádraig's position as sub-editor of the *Independent* enabled him to bring news to Michael even before it went to the English censors. He was a keen swimmer, summer and winter. He would ride on his bicycle to the forty-foot swimming hole in Dublin with press proofs for Michael wrapped with his togs and towel on the back of the bike.

In December 1920 Michael Collins gave him a letter to print in the *Independent*. The following night the Black and Tans raided the newspaper office. They beat him up and threw him in the Liffey when he invoked Journalistic privilege and refused to tell them where he got the letter. He would not even tell them his address because it was one of the places where Michael Collins slept and he was afraid that if the Tans raided his digs they might find Michael there. After this he went 'on the run' and remained 'on the run' until the Truce came into effect on 11 July 1921.

This enforced holiday gave him an opportunity to work on a Libretto for an Opera, *OISIN, Tír na nÓg, Before and After*. Much of it is based on legends from the Ballyhoura region where the return of Oisín from the Land of Youth is still remembered in story and placename. The libretto was printed in 1924.

In June 1922 he married his Australian born wife, Mary (nee O'Connell), whom he had met at Strokestown when he was on a cycling tour around Ireland. She was visiting relations in Roscommon with her mother. Their honeymoon in Killarney was interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War and they had to return to Dublin the long way round by Galway and Belfast.

On 8 February 1923 he was appointed District Justice in the newly formed Irish Free State which contained 26 of Ireland's 32 counties. His district was in Cork County with jurisdiction in the court towns of Ballincollig, Ballymartle, Blarney, Carrigaline, Coachford, Cobh, Firmount, Kinsale, Macroom and Riverstown. He went to Cobh to live. His eldest daughter was born in Dublin in 1925. The other five children, three girls and two boys, were born in Cobh.

Those who knew him as a justice found him to be a fair and considerate man. He often conducted his court cases in the Irish language. It was noticed that accused who presented their cases in Irish generally received lighter sentences than those who did not. His work took him to and fro in the county whose legends and antiquities he was forever studying. He loved the Irish countryside. He travelled not just by car, but also on bicycle, on horseback and on foot. He met a great number of people and cultivated the acquaintance of those who were able to provide him with information about the oral and written history of Ireland. His skill with shorthand proved invaluable in recording what people had to tell him.

He was an avid reader and knew his seven volumes of the Four Masters' and the four volumes of Keating's Histories of Ireland backwards. He corresponded with many people to elucidate what he read. He typed *Ballyhoura* himself, with

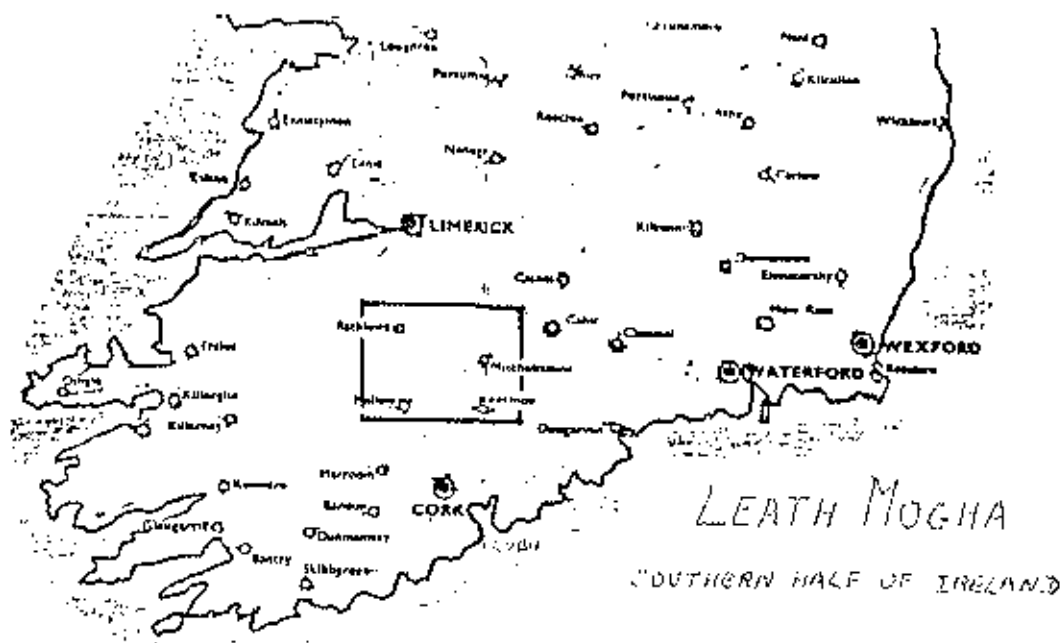
two fingers, on a Smith Corona portable. The final version which we have today is the finished product of many typings.

He retired as District Justice in 1941 at the age of 65 and went to live at Doneraile where he was soon a familiar figure walking his two Irish red setters. Here he was near his beloved Ballyhouras. He was able to keep an eye on the acres of firtrees he had planted on the O'Sullivan ancestral land at Glenanaar. (See page 115 of *Ballyhoura* for the coming of the O'Sullivan-Bearnes to the Ballyhouras from Dunboy in West Cork.)

In retirement he was able to devote more time to his book, gathering information, discussing this new material with others and typing and retyping it. He also conducted Irish language classes for adults of the locality, communicating to others his knowledge and love of the language. He was on a committee which cleaned the bronze statue of Canon Sheehan in the grounds of the parish church across the road from where he lived, a statue he passed every morning on his way to Mass.

He died peacefully of a heart attack on Christmas Day 1949 while listening to the radio description of the opening of the door in St Peter's Rome for the Holy Year of 1950. He had been to the two Masses in the parish church that morning. He was buried in the family grave at Rockmills near Shanballymore.

In *Ballyhoura* he has left behind an enduring monument. The loves and wars of two thousand years have been put together in a very readable concise fashion. The details he gleaned from other authors have been placed in one volume by someone who knew intimately the countryside about which they wrote. The information he recorded from living sources would otherwise have been lost for ever as most, if not all, of his informants are now dead. The people of mid-Munster, nay of all-Ireland, owe Pádraig Ua Súilleabháin a great debt of gratitude for *Ballyhoura*.



PLACES IN BOX ABOVE

KILMALLOCK

GALBALLY

BALLYLANDERS

KILEINNANE

RATHLUIRC
(Charleville)

Galtymore
3015

Blackrock
1696
Seebin
1664
Conraunore
1469

Kilcruaig
1319

BALLYHOURA HILLS

CHURCHTOWN

MITCHELSTOWN

KILDORRERY

SHANBALLYMORE

DONERAILE

GLANWORTH

KILWORTH MTS.

CASTLETOWNROCHE

BALLYCLOCH

MALLOW

NAGLE MTS

FERMOY

BALLYHOURA

Romance and Drama of Mid-Munster

Fascinating is the story of Mid-Munster, its romance and drama, as its outstanding events revolved in the passing centuries around the Ballyhoura mountains.

These mountains jut westward from the Galtees, in a spur of knobs and clefts, and trace, in part, the boundary between the counties of Limerick and Cork.

The principal eminences on the Ballyhouras are:

Seefin (seat of Finn) 1664 feet high, commanding a view of Glenrue, eastward to the Galtees;

Blackrock, 1696 feet, overlooking Glenosheen, Ardpatrik, and the plains of Limerick;

Corranmore, 1469 feet, from which are obtainable the finest views of the Musherias, the peaks of Kerry, and the hills of Clare.

The origin of the name "Ballyhoura" can be traced through ancient manuscripts. "Whence Cenn Febrat? That is Ceann Feabhradh (pronounced Kyoum Oura, meaning head of Febra or Feabhradh).

"Febra, son of Sen, brother of old Dedad, him Cain, son of Derdualach, killed and brought his head to that mountain. Hence Cenn Febrat, or head of Febra. Then came Garban, son of Dedad, to take vengeance on Cain, whom he slew on Sliabh Caoin, and brought his head to Cenn Febrat."¹

In many ancient manuscripts, the mountain is called Sliabh Caoin.

CAIRN FERADHAIGH

Standing on Corranmore, one is on ground associated with some of the earliest records in our Annals. "On Corranmore there is a circular cairn, identified by O'Donovan as Carn Feradhaigh."²

In 3579 A.M. Feradhach, son of Rochorb, son of Gollan, son of Conmael, son of Heber, was killed there by Tighernmas Mac Follach,³ a great-grandson of Eiremhon, who ruled Leinster and Connacht.⁴

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1. O'Grady's Silva Gadelica.
 2. Canon Lynch in Cork Archaeological Journal.
 3. Silva Gadelica
 4. Keating's Forus Feasa ar Eirinn.

Ballyhoura

"There is a fine sepulchral monument in a mountain glen over Mount Russell, called Labba Oscur, or Oscur's grave".¹ This is adjacent to Corranmore.

There was a pagan cemetery on Seefin.² In it were buried Lughaidh Laighdhe, descendant of Ith, and ancestor of the O'Driscolls, Dodera, a druid of the Dairfhine, of the same race; Eithne, daughter of Lughaidh Mac Daire, and sister of Lughaidh Mac Niadh, who was the father of Lughaidh Mac Con of Rossagh na Righ, near Kilcoleman, Doneraile.³ Eithne was the mother of Conaire Caemh, and of Lughaidh Lagha.⁴ Maer, mother of Eochaidh Abradhruadh Mac Luchta, king of North Munster, was buried there.⁵

It is obvious from the names of the people buried there, that this was not a cemetery of Clanna Dedad, as it is averred in Onomasticon, but a cemetery of the Dairfhine, or race of Ith.

"Fertan Dubhthaigh is on the south side of Cend Fhebrat, on the brow of the old mountain, and, in the Tulach from this Lecht (gravestone) of Dubhthaigh ille is the fert (grave) of Lughaidh Laige."⁶

Fert Darera is east of ferta tri mban (graves of three women) on Cend Fhebrat.⁷ Fert Garbain Mic Dedan is on the east side of Cend Fhebrat, not far from Lecht mna Dubhthaigh (grave of Duffy's wife).⁸

THE LAND OF MAC NIADH

Looking southward from Corranmore, the horizon is bounded by Moradh Mor, now the Magle Mountains.⁹ On the eastern end of that ridge is Carn Tighernach Mac Luchta. It is now called Corran.¹⁰ Tighernach was a brother of Eochaidh Mac Luchta, the king who ruled from Sliabh Caoin (Ballyhoura) to Sliabh Eibhlinne (now Sliagh Felim), and beyond it.¹¹ A third brother was the bard, Finghin Mac Luchta, after whom was named the ridge from Castielyons to Dungarvan Bay. E. Dungarvan was named from Garban, who slew Caoin, son of Derduallach,¹³ (the thick, curly-headed one).¹²

Eastwards, Sliabh Grud, now the Galtees¹⁵, tower. Cashel was not then in existence. It was built in the third century by Corc, king of Munster, on the rock of Siodh Dhruim, or fairy ridge. Cashel means Cios Ail, or tribute rent.¹⁶ Dun gCrot is in the Glen of Aherlow, at the base of the Galtees.¹⁷

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| 1. Topography of Fermoy. | 9. Silva Gadelica |
| 2. Donovan's Note in Four Masters. | 10. Silva Gadelica |
| 3. Crichad an Chaoille. | 11. Dobbs Side Lights on |
| 4. Onomasticon | the Tain Age |
| 5. Onomasticon. | 12. Silva Gadelica |
| 6. Book of Leinster | 13. Silva Gadelica |
| 7. Book of Leinster | 14. Silva Gadelica |
| 8. Book of Ballymote | 15. Onomasticon |
| | 16. O'Donovan in Book of |
| | Rights. |
| | 17. O'Donovan in Four Masters |

Ballyhoura

Dun Iasgaigh, now Cahir, former residence of North Munster kings, was more important than Cashel before the third century.

From the plain of Limerick, underneath us, the ancient Meadhon Mairtine,¹ a valley runs eastward to the Glen of Aherlow. "The two chief forts in this territory of the Clanna Dairine were Dun Eochair Maighe, now Bruree, and Dun gClaire," near Duntryleague.² Dun Eochair Maighe had been known as Dun Cobhthaigh, and, in later times, as Dun Chuirc, from Corc, a king of Munster, who resided there.³

North of the plain of Limerick is Sliabh Eibhlinne, now Sliabh Felim, between the river Brosna and Cnamhchoill, a place of fame, one and a half miles from Tipperary town.⁴ "The land of Mac Niadh extended from it south east to Sliabh Caoin, the southern border of County Limerick."⁵

To the west is Sliabh Luachra, associated with Clanna Dedad, and their champion, Curoi Mac Daire.

CLANNA DEDAD

The Clanna Dedad, or Deaghaidh, were Sil Conaire.⁶ That is, they were descendants of Conaire I, monarch of Ireland, of the race of Eireamhon. "They were the best soldiers of Curoi in West Munster".⁷ "They got, and held, the land from Ath na Boraimhe (near Killaloe) to Leim na Con (Loop Head), and from Fiodh Cedinis and Easker Riada to Luimneach (Limerick). This was the land whereon had been the Seantuatha na Fear mBolg".⁸ They were of the Ernai.⁹ "The date of Clanna Dedad was limited to the centuries before, and during, the Tain."¹⁰ That is just before, and during, the first century of the Christian era.

Looking westwards from the Ballyhouras, the eye rests on the eminences of Mullaghareirk, the Sliabh Luachra of the ancient tales. In Onomasticon, it is stated that Sliabh Luachra was also called Derry-na-Saggart mountains. It is submitted that this statement is incorrect. "Luachair Deaghaidh is the mountain range stretching from Killarney to Millstreet district, together with the plain north of Millstreet and extending to Castleisland."¹¹ This is correct. "The river Laune was the southern boundary of Curoi's province"¹² "Curoi MacDaire's province extended from a line drawn from Cork to Limerick, and west to the Atlantic. It extended from Glenoruachtaidh, Kenmare, to the Shannon."¹³ Dun Ciarain (Dunkerron) was its southern limit.¹⁴

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1. Onomasticon. 2. Introduction to Fermoy Topography.
3. Onomasticon. 4. Onomasticon. 5. O'Curry in Cath Muighe Lena. 6. Leabhar na hUidre. 7. Onomasticon.
8. Annals of Innisfallen. 9. Leabhar na hUidre.
10. Dobbs Side Lights on the Tain Age. 11. Index to Forus Feasa. 12. O'Donovan. 13. O'Curry in Cath M.Lena.
14. O'Curry.

Ballyhoura

The principal place of assembly of Clanna Dedad was at Teamhair Luachra, on the slopes of Iar-Luachair¹. The place is near Castleisland.² Near Teamhair Luachra is Bel Atha na Temrach, a ford in the parish of Dysart, near Castleisland. Bellahantowragh is in the parish of Ballincushlane, in the barony of Trughanacmy, County Kerry.³

"They had a house at Teamhair Luachra."⁴ Curoi's fort was on Sliabh Mis.⁵

Sliabh Luachra is south-west of Castleisland, according to Petty's Map of Down Survey, and apparently crosses the Blackwater into Duhallow.⁶ Derrynasaggart does not cross the Blackwater.

TEAMAIR is a name for all places from which it is pleasant to obtain a prospective view.⁷

Iar-Mumhan comprised Corca Dhuibhne, Ibh Rathach (now Iveragh), and the present barony of Magonihy. Corca Dhuibhne was son of Cairbre Musc, son of Conaire II, son of Mogh Lamha.⁸

Conaire Mor, and his father, Edarscel, both High Kings in their time, "were of the Clanna Deaghaidh of Munster. Hence Clanna Deaghaidh were Heremonian. The "seed of Conaire", alluded in O'Dugan's Topographical Poems were the Bascinns, who obtained dominion over the Ernean colony.⁹ Baiscinn was a descendant of Cairbre Baischaoin, son of Conaire Mor.

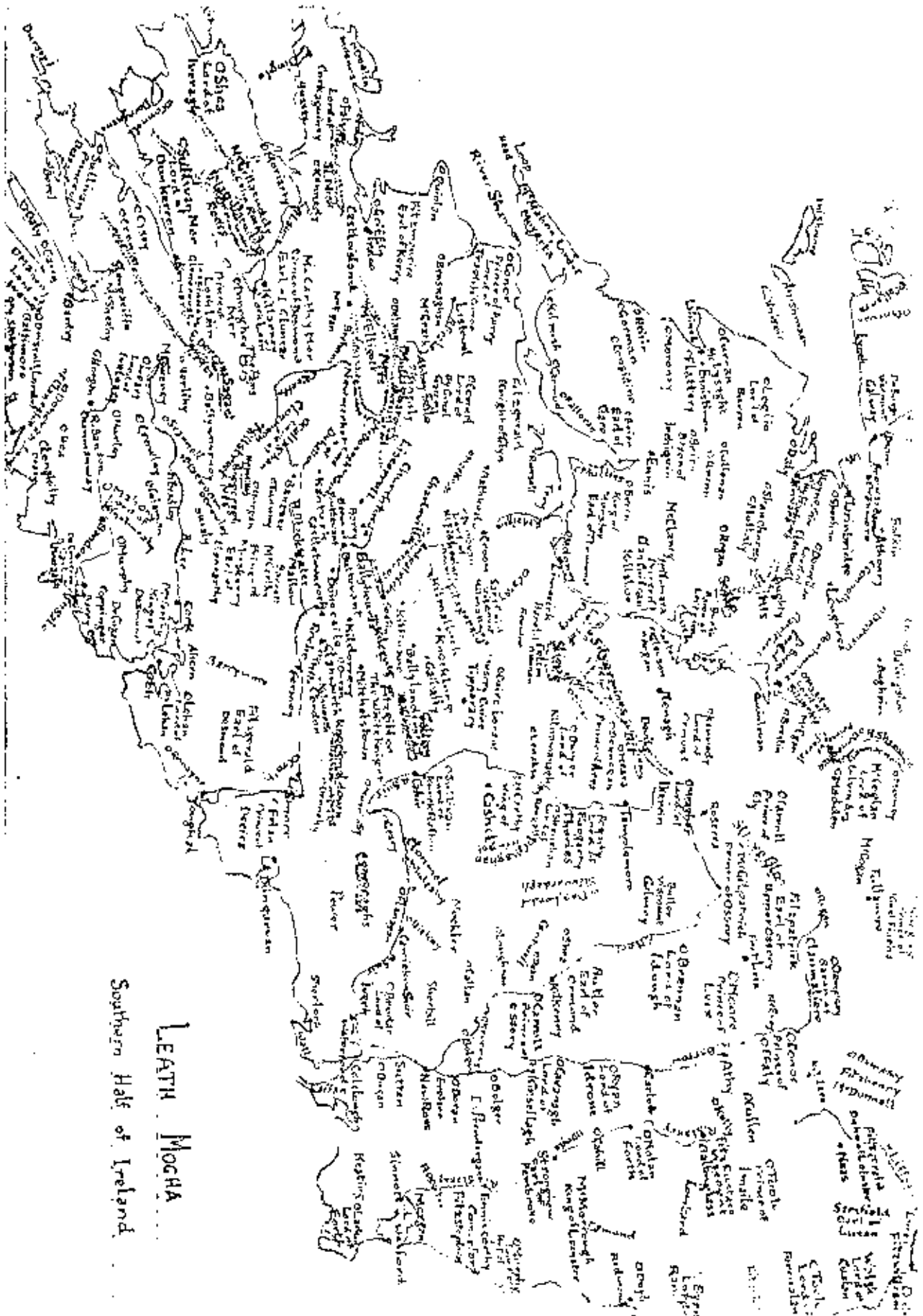
The Corca Dhuibhne branched into O'Falvey, O'Shea, O'Conghaile (O'Connell.)¹⁰

At Cahircareen, in the parish of Kilnamartyra, near Macroom, are "the ruins of an ancient stronghold of the Clanna Deaghaidh."¹¹

In the province of Curoi were thirty-five triochoas of 1,050 baile-betags, containing 12,600 seisreachs. The royal seats were at Dun gClaire (Duntryleague, near Galbally), and Dun Eochair Mhaighe (Bruree).¹²

A Bailebetagh (baile biatach) was the thirtieth part of a triochoa Ced, or barony. It contained four quarters, or seisreachs, each seisreach containing 120 acres of the large Irish measure.¹³

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|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. Book of Leinster. | 7. Silva Gadelica. |
| 2. Onomasticon. | 8. Breasil O'Treasaigh |
| 3. Index to Four Masters. | 9. From Poem by Maelmuire of Fahan |
| 4. Stokes. | 10. O'Donovan's Notes on O'Heerins and O'Dugan's Topographical Poems. |
| 5. Side Lights on Tain Age. | 11. Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal. |
| 6. O'Curry | 12. Keating's Forus Feasa. |
| | 13. O'Donovan in Four Masters, iii, 27. |



LEATH MIOCHA
Southern Half of Ireland.

Ballyhoura

THE ERNEANS

Conflicting Authorities on Origin

The province of Eochaidh Abhradh Ruadh (Eochy of the Red Brows) extended eastward from a line drawn between Cork and Limerick on one side, as far as Cumar na Tri Uisce (Ravine of the Three Waters), that is the junction of the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow,¹ on the other side.

It contained thirty-five triochas, or baronies, each triocha embracing 1,050 baile biatachs,² or 12,600 seisreachs. As there were seventy triochas in Munster, and, as Curoi possessed the other thirty-five, it follows that, at this juncture, the Clanna Deaghaidh, over whom Curoi ruled, and the Dairfhine, over whom Eochaidh Abradh Ruadh was supreme, shared Munster between them.

For "the Erna conquered Siol Ebhir."³ "After that, Iar, son of Dedad, and his brothers, seized the kingdom."⁴ "All Clanna Deaghaidh are of the Erna."⁵

"The Erna of Munster, and the Dal Riada of Alba, are descendants of this Conaire (i.e. Conaire Mor), and it was in the time of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh that the Erna came to Munster. It was the Clanna Rudhraighe who banished them to Munster, after defeating them in eight battles, according to Cormac in his Psalter."⁶

Duach Dalta Deaghaidh held the sovereignty in 168 B.C., and Conaire Mor in 109 B.C.⁷ The dates are, of course, only approximate. Duach was called "Dalta Deaghaidh" because he was foster son of Deaghaidh, son of Sen, of the Erneans of Munster.⁸

"ERNAI, MAIRTINI, defeated in Ui Failgi"⁹ "were the same or neighbours and allies".¹⁰

It is admitted that they were "neighbours and allies, but it is submitted that they were not the same. It is also submitted that the authorities err which trace them to the same source. The Mairtini were descendants of Ith; the Erneans were not.

"The Erneans are correctly, and distinctly, stated to be of the sons of Lughaidh, son of Ith"¹¹ "The Erno are traced back to Aonghus and to Crimhan, and, though so traced, are not of their race, but of the race of Lughaidh, son of Ith."¹²

1. O'Curry in Cath Muighe Lena. 2. Keating. 3. MacFirbisigh in Book of Genealogies. 4. MacFirbisigh in Book of Genealogies. 5. MacFirbisigh in Book of Genealogies. 6. Keating's Forus Feasa. 7. Four Masters. 8. O'Flaherty's Ogygia. 9. Four Masters. 10. Leabhar na hUidre. 11. Poem by Maelmuire of Fahan. 12. MacFirbis in Book of Genealogies.

Ballyhoura

The Erneans and the Martineans were the descendants of the Belgians".¹ As O'Flaherty calls the Firbolgs the Fir Belge, he would be in error in identifying them with the Erneans and the Martini. O'Donovan also makes a slip in saying some of the Erneans were Firbolgs.²

Professor Eoin MacNeill, the most eminent living authority on this branch of learning, has, it is submitted, fallen into error. He uses the word "Iverni" as equivalent to Sen Erainn, or Erneans, who occupied Luachair, or North Kerry. "Iverni was a variant of Iberi, a name by which Spaniards were known to Greeks and Romans."³

But "the Erno and Clanna Deaghaidh were in joint rule and sovereignty over Clanna Ebhir Finn, and the Deirgtheine."⁴ That excludes Clanna Ebhir Finn from the Erneans. Clanna Ebhir Finn were "Milesians", and, therefore, Iverni. Therefore, the Erneans did not embrace all who were Iverni.

"Pokorney (a German), has recently shown ⁵ that 'Ever' is the true base of the names 'Iverni, Hiberni, Iverio, Eriu', and that Erainn comes from a distinct root, perhaps Akro".⁶ The Erneans were simply Iar ndaéine, or western people.⁷

THE DAIRINE

The Dairfhine, or Dairine, were descended from Lughaidh, son of Ith.⁸ The land of Lughaidh Mac Niadh, their king, in the first century of the Christian era, extended from Sliabh Eohlinne (now Sliabh Felim) to Sliabh Gaoim (now Ballyhoura).⁹ Therefore, he would have been king of the Mairtini, who occupied this territory at the time.

"Mairtini was a son of Sitheheann, son of Riaghlan, son of Eoinbhric, son of Lughaidh, son of Ith."¹⁰ Hence, the Mairtini and the Dairine were the same people. The Mairtini dwelt in the plains of Limerick, and part of Tipperary,¹¹ with Imleach Ibhair, now Emly ¹², as their stronghold.

Lughaidh Mac Niadh had a stronghold at Rossagh na Righ, and his son Lughaidh Mac Con, afterwards High King of Ireland, resided there.¹³ Rossagh na Righ is beside Kilcoleman, Doneraile. The fort or lios, is on the west side of the house of Mr. Gallagher, from which it is separated by a public road.¹⁴

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|---|--|
| 1. Ogygia. | 9. O'Curry in Cath Muighe Lena |
| 2. Notes on O'Heerin's Topographical Poems. | 10. Keating |
| 3. Phases of Irish History. | 11. O'Curry |
| 4. MacFirbis. | 12. O'Donovan. |
| 5. History of Ireland. | 13. Cath Cin Abhradh |
| 6. Dr. MacNeill's Celtic Ireland p.19. | 14. Walter Jones in Cork Archaeological Journal. |
| 7. The Ergenians | |
| 8. MacFirbis in Book of Genealogies. | |

It is now almost obliterated. The well which it enclosed is now choked with mud. There is a line of these forts on almost every hill between Buttevant and Mitchelstown, running parallel with the Ballyhoura mountains.

MacCon had resided there (at Rossagh na Righ) until the battle of Ceann Abhradh.¹ His name is preserved in Labbavaccun, which means the bed of Mac Con. This is the name of a bridge over the Ogeen, two miles east of Doneraile. His cromlech is in Carker Beg, on the farm of Mr. Griffin, about two hundred yards from the bridge.²

THE PICTS

"The chief people in Ireland in that age (the Bronze Age) appear to have been those who were afterwards known by the name of Picts".³

"Picts were at one time widely spread throughout Ireland...especially numerous in Ulster."⁴ "There was a large Pictish element in Connacht."⁵

The battle of Tola and Fertola in 573 A.D. was fought "in the territory of the Cruithne".⁶ Cruithne was another name for the Picts. Tola is now Tulla, in the parish of Kinnitty, barony of Ballybrit, in Offaly.⁷

The Picts occupied Hymany, i.e. Ui Maine, in South Roscommon, and south-east Galway, before being driven out by Maine Mor, Chief of Colla Da Chrioch of Oirghealla,⁸ a territory which embraced parts of Armagh, the plain of Louth, Tyrone, Monaghan, and later all Fermanagh.⁹ O'Donovan errs in saying the original inhabitants of Hymany were Firbolgs.¹⁰ "The older possessors of the territory were Picts."¹¹ O'Maínnín (Manning) is descended from the Pictish rulers of this district.¹²

"Ollamh Fodhla was the name of the first Pictish king that governed Eri at Teamhair, and at Cruachan".¹³ "There were seven kings of the Cruithnians (Picts) that governed Eri at Teamhair."¹⁴

"The Picts belonged to an old west-European stock".¹⁵ "The Clanna Rudhraighe were evidently Pictish, that is non-Milesian."¹⁶

It is highly probable that the Picts preceded the Celts in Ireland, and were gradually forced by the Celts across the Shannon. The Celts suffered the same fate from Cromwell 2000 years later.

Of the Cruithnians are the "seven Laighsi" of Leinster -- the O'Mores, O'Kellys, O'Lalors, O'Devoyes, Macavoyes, and O'Dorans.¹⁷

Is the name 'Walsh' Pictish? "In the Pictish Catalogue we read 'Guidid Gaeth Breathnach' a Briton". But the Pictish Chronicle gives "Guidid Gaed Brecah" meaning Pict.¹⁸

Moranda, mother of Curoi, was a Pict from Isle of Man¹⁹. Neachtan is a Pictish name. "Neachtan Mor Breac, the great Pict"²⁰ Oenach Cuile Mna Neachtain is an extremely ancient burial place near Lough Gur a few miles from Bruff.²¹ It is submitted that originally it was a burial place of the Picts, and, later, became the burial place of the Mairtini, or Dairine.

1. Topography of Fermoy. 2. Walter Jones. 3. Dr. MacNeill's Early Irish Laws. 4. Phases of Irish History. 5. Phases of Irish History. 6. Annals of Ulster. 7. Annals of Ulster. 8. Phases of Irish History. 9. Note in Four Masters. 10. Tribes and Customs of Hymany. 11. Dr. MacNeill. 12. Dr. MacNeill. 13. Book of Lecan. 14. Book of Lecan. 15. Phases of Irish History. 16. Torna. 17. Todd's Irish Version of Ninnius. 18. Herbert's Notes in Todd's Irish Version of Ninnius. 19. Ogygia. 20. Herbert's notes in Todd's Ninnius. 21. Canon Lynch in Cork Archaeological Journal.

Ballyhoura

THE FIRBOLG

The origin of the name Firbolg is a matter of speculation. Some call them "bagmen". Others attribute it to their large abdomen. While there are those who say it came from "bolgach", small pox. O'Flaherty, however, calls them Fir Belge¹ to indicate the land from whence they adventured. If so, they would have been of Celtic strain.

The Firbolg, "a branch of the race of Neimhidh" (Nevee)² "did not go back to Greece, but remained in Ireland all the time."³ Before the Christian era, they occupied County Clare. Their territory had been steadily restricted.

"Cecht, son of Ailill and Maedhbh, queen of Connacht, was foster-son to Dedad Mac Sin, in the time of Connair Mor. Maedhbh and Ailill Mac Mata gave Dedad, with their son, from Fidh Cetinis (near the Esker Riada) southward to Luimneach (Limerick). Firbolg were on that land, and Dedad put them out".⁴ "Thence was fought the battle of Burren (in County Clare) between Dedad and the Firbolg, and the sons of Magach from Leinster, along the sea north, till they took Magh Glae (i.e. Corcumruadh in north-west Clare). They beat the Firbolg. Aenghus Mac Umoir, king of the Firbolg, fell there".⁵

Ross, a son of Dedad, fought a duel with Cing Mac Umoir.⁶ He was called "Rus from Druim Chain", probably Sliabh Caoin, or Ballyhoura.⁷

The province of Maedhbh was from Luimneach (Limerick) to Droghadais."

Droghadais is between Leitrim and Donegal.⁸

SIL EBHIR

Despoliation and Resurgence

Ebhir, the brother of Heremon, ruled in Munster, and Sil Ebhir are his descendants.

It was Eochaidh Feidhleach, father of Queen Maedhbh of Connacht, who divided Ireland into five provinces.⁹ He made Fearghus, king of Ulster; Deaghaidh, son of Sen, of the Erneans, and his relative, Tighernach, kings of the two Munsters;

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| 1. Ogygia | 5. Manuscript K3 |
| 2. Book of Lecan | 6. Dobbs Side Lights on the |
| 3. Dr. MacNeill's Phases of
Irish History | Tain Age |
| 4. Book of Lecan | 7. O'Donovan in Book of Rights
p.93 |
| | 8. Martyrology of Donegal |
| | 9. Four Masters. |

Ballyhoura

Rossa Ruadh, king of Leinster; and to Mædghbh and her husband he gave Connacht.¹

In Munster, under the Pentarchy, the kings of Erainn, or Iverni, held rule. In St Patrick's time, these no longer ruled Munster. The kings of Munster then belonged to a distinct linethe Eoghanachta."²....
"The indications, therefore are that the Eoghanachta represented a relatively late Gaulish settlement in that part of Ireland".³

It has been seen, in a previous paragraph, that "Erainn" and "Iverni" are not equivalent terms for the same people. It is hoped to submit evidence that the suggestion of the Eoghanachta being a later Gaulish settlement than that of the descendants of Heremon, or of Ith, is not the deduction impelled by our ancient records.

The Erna Mumhan, of the race of Conaire Mor, were driven to Munster by the Clanna Rudhraighe.⁴ They "acquired great power in Munster from the time of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh to the time of Mogh Nuadhat".⁵ Duac- reigned about 167 B.C.⁶
"They drove the race of Eibhear back to the territory of Ui Rathach (now Iveragh, County Kerry), to the borders and islands of west Munster, having acquired sovereignty for themselves, which they held up to the time of Mogh Nuadhat, by whom they were expelled."⁷

SIL EBHIR held "the borders and points of Munster"⁸ but it was not because they were a later settlement. They were driven there by Clanna Deaghaidh, who were themselves pushed southward by Clanna Rudhraighe. Clanna Rudhraighe defeated them in eight battles "according to Cormac in his Psalter."⁹ Ebhir Finn had landed at Inver Sceine, the mouth of the Corran river, which empties into Ballinscelligs Bay.¹⁰ "Inver Sceine is not the name of any river in Ireland."¹¹ "Inver Sceine was the ancient name of the river Corrane in Kerry".¹² Doctors differ. The disappearance of a place name is nothing unusual.

"The Gaelic invasion of Ireland belongs to the end, and not to the beginning, of the Bronze Age."¹³ That would be about 350 B.C. ¹⁴ The reign of Duach Dalta Deaghaidh, about 167 B.C. ¹⁵, possibly later, would represent the beginning of the period when Sil Ebhir, "banished by Clanna Deghaid, held the borders and points of Munster".¹⁶ It is then they were driven to Ui Rathach, in Kerry. The Eoghanachta of Loch Lein (Killarney were of)Cont'd

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| 1. Four Masters. | 10. O'Donovan in Four Masters |
| 2. Phases of Irish History. | 11. Phases of Irish History |
| 3. Phases of Irish History. | |
| 4. MacFirbis in Book of Genealogies | |
| 5. Keating's Forus Feasa Vol. 11, p.231 | 12. Dr. Todd's Irish Version of Ninnius. |
| 6. Four Masters. | |
| 7. Book of Munster, quoted by Keating | |
| 8. Stokes Coir Anmann | 13. Dr. MacNeill's Phases of Irish History. |
| 9. Forus Feasa Vol.11, p.231. | 14. Dr. MacNeill |
| | 15. Four Masters. |
| | 16. Stokes Coir Anmann. |

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"na secht nEoghanachta,"¹ (i.e. the seven descendants of Eoghan).

The Ui Liathain, descendants of Liathan, were one of the principal septs of the Eoghanachta, and their territory adjoined the Munster coast, in the district immediately west of the Deisi.² The territory of Ui Liathain embraced the barony of Barrymore in County Cork, and included Castlelyons. The Eoghanachta were also settled in Raithlind, now the barony of Kinelmeaky, near Bandon. It was the seat of the Omahony sept. It is between Bandon and Crookstown. Recent excavations there revealed evidence of an advanced civilization.

Were these "the points and the borders of Munster" to which they had been driven?

"ANNALS of TIGHERNACH"

Tighernach "is the most accurate of the Irish Annalists.³ Tighernach states that "all the monuments of the Scoti (the Irish) to the time of Cimbaeth are uncertain".

Cimbaeth, and his wife Macha, were the builders of Ermania. The periods of the Ulster kings, from Cimbaeth to the destruction of Ermania, are supported by accurate records, according to O'Flaherty in Ogygia.

Eamhain Macha, or Emania, was erected in 4532 A.M.⁴ or 667 years before the birth of Christ. The fort "was built 450 years before the birth of Christ", according to Mageoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise. "The time of Cimbaeth would be 307 B.C., going by the year of Ptolemy".⁵

"There is nothing in the annals of the years that nearly precede the death of Tighernach to indicate any high degree of learning, or of the critical faculty, or of an aptitude or taste for history in the annalist."⁶ "The Annals of Tighernach are not mentioned by the Four Masters in the list of authorities used by them."⁷ "The older Annals of Innisfallen contain no mention of Tighernach".⁸ "The evidence does not justify us in ascribing to Tighernach the writing of any section of the annals outside the years 1064 - 1088", the year of his death.⁹

"'Omnia monumenta Scottorum usque Cimbaeth incerta est' belongs to the original Chronicum Eusebii, and is not added by Tighernach, or any late redactor, is to be judged from its being found also in the Synchronism".¹⁰

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| 1. Onomasticon. | 7,8,9. Dr. MacNeill in |
| 2. Dr. MacNeill's phases of Irish History. | Eriu Vol. VII-VIII |
| 3. O'Donovan's note in Four Masters | 10. Celtic Ireland, p.31 |
| 4. Four Masters | |
| 5.,6. Celtic Ireland p.29. | |

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"The Annals named after Tighernach embody (in a fragmentary state) the Irish *Chronicum Eusebii*, which terminated in A.D. 609".¹ The original Chronicle of Eusebius was written in Greek, covering the time from the beginning of the world to A.D. 329. It was translated into Latin by St. Jerome, and continued by him down to A.D. 381. It was further continued by Prosper of Aquitaine down to 445".²

"It thus becomes fairly evident that in Fragments I, II, III of the Annals of Tighernach, and in the Annals of Ulster as far as A.D. 609, we have all the remains of the Irish *Chronicum Eusebii*". "We have here also the oldest known history of Ireland, and we have proof that Irish contemporary chronicling begins as far back as the close of the sixth, and the beginning of the seventh century."³

FOES OF SIL EBHIR CRUSHED

The disastrous conflict of Queen Maedhbh of Connacht with Conchubhar Mac Nessa over the brown bull of Cooley had its repercussions in the south. It destroyed the power of the Erna and the Dairine, and provided Sil Ebhir with an opportunity of recovering its territory, and becoming the dominant race in the south.

That seems to be the explanation of the rapid resurgence of Sil Ebhir, and not that their leading stem, the Eoghanachts, "represent a relatively late Gaulish settlement in that part of Ireland".⁴

Dr. MacNeill is magnanimous enough to admit a previous error of a similar character. He says: "Further acquaintance with the material has convinced me that my whole thesis of a 'Milesian' invasion from Britain in the second century of the Christian era is wholly untenable".⁵

If Dr. MacNeill could further examine the material bearing on the rapid rise of the Eoghanachts, it is suggested he would agree that the "indications" to which he has alluded are not at all conclusive that this race was "a relatively late Gaulish settlement".

Maedhbh's war with Conchubhar Mac Nessa involved the province of Eochaidh Abhradh Ruadh Mac Luchta (from Bealach Conglais, i.e. the Cork-Limerick line, to Cumar na Tri Uisge, i.e. the junction of the Suir, Nore, and Barrow),⁶ and it involved the province of Curoi Mac Daire, from Bealach Conglais westward to the Atlantic,⁷ and south as far as the river Laune,⁸ or Dun Ciarain (Dunkerron) near Kenmare.⁹

1. Celtic Ireland, p.27.

2. Dr. MacNeill in Eriu Vol.VII-VIII p.41.

3. Dr. MacNeill in Eriu Vol VII-VIII p.65

4. Phases of Irish History.

5. Celtic Ireland pp. 5 & 6

6. O'Donovan's Martyrology of Donegal.

7. Book of Leinster

8. O'Donovan.

9. O'Curry.

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Lughaidh, son of Curoi, was married to a daughter of Maedhbh. He, and Eochaidh Mac Luchta, joined the expedition to secure the bull.¹ The Tain proved disastrous to Maedhbh. She was pursued by Conchubhar Mac Nessa from Cooley, and defeated at Gairech, near Athlone.²

Conchubhar continued the war, threatening the other provinces.

MAEDHBH'S GUILF

"Eochaidh Mac Luchta went with the clans of the Recartaig Dedad to Teamhair Luachra (near Castleisland.) Ailill and Maedhbh went to Cruachain. A resolution was agreed to by Eochaidh Mac Luchta and Clanna Dedad to give payment and reparation to Conchubhar. Messengers were sent to Ailill and Maedhbh with that proposal".³

Maedhbh rejected the proposal. Then on the advice of her consort, she assented. But in order to defeat the pacific intentions of Eochaidh and Ailill, she took care to send Don Ibair, the man most hated by the Ulstermen, to offer the terms.⁴

Conchubhar refused "reparation, restitution and guarantees." Vowing vengeance, he determined to "pitch his tent in every province in Ireland".⁵ He fought the battles of Rosnarigh and Findchoradh (now Corofin).⁶ At Findchoradh, Eochaidh Mac Luchta was slain. His head, much larger than that of normal men, was found there.

"The identification of Coiced Echach Abratruid Mic Luchta with south Munster is a mistake". His territory would seem to have included north Limerick, east Clare, west Tipperary, to Banagher.⁷

The period of Conchubhar Mac Nessa embraced 60 A.D.⁸

It was probably during the period when the Clanna Deaghaidh and the Dairine were involved with Maedhbh in conflict with Conchubhar Mac Nessa that Sil Ebhair crossed the Neimh, later called the Abhann Mor, and now the Blackwater, into the districts around Fermoy. But, even if so, Ross na Righ, near Doneraile,⁹ still remained the "strong place" of the Dairine.¹⁰

1. Dobbs Side Lights on the Tain Age.

2. Hogan's Cath Ruis na Rig for Boinn.

3. Dobbs Side Lights on the Tain Age.

4. Cath Ruis na Rig for Boinn.

5. Cath Ruis na Rig.

6. Four Masters.

7. Dobbs Side Lights on Tain Age

8. Dr. Mac Neill in Eriu Vol. VII-VIII p.42

9. Canon Power in Crichad an Chaillie.

10. Acallamh na Senorach.

Ballyhoura

AN EYE FOR FAME

There is an improbable story told about Eochaidh Mac Luchta.¹

At the instigation of Conchubhar Mac Nessa, a man of the Ultn, named Athairne Ailgesacht, "hard and merciless", "who stole his one eye from the blind, and the woman from her children" went on circuit left-hand-wise, the unlucky way, about Ireland. Eochaidh Mac Luchta entertained Athairne, and escorted him over the Shannon, to pass him on to the men of Munster.

"That thou mayst not lack thankfulness to us, O Athairne," said Eochaidh, "if we have aught of jewels, or treasures, that thou wouldst desire, take them".

"There is the single eye in thy head to be given to me into my fist", said Athairne.

"Shall I give it to him", said Eochaidh taking counsel with the men of Munster.

"You must not give away your single eye", they said.

"O. my son", said his mother Maer. "Give thine eye for thy honour's sake, and for the honour of Munster, for fame is more lasting than life. Wert thou slain in battle, the raven would feast off thy limbs on the plain".

Eochaidh put his finger under his eye, and cast it from him into Athairne's lap. When he had done so, the men of Munster left him.

"Is anyone with me", asked Eochaidh.

"Yes, thy mother, and thy servant".

"Take my hand, and lead me to the water to wash my face, for the blood is choking me".

They did so. The king pulled two handfulls of rushtails out of the ground. A clear spring spouted up into his face, and both his eyes came into his head again.

"Red is the lough with thy blood", said the servant.

"And its name, Derg-derc, (red lough) shall cling to it". said the king.

Hence Lough Derg, on the Shannon.

A similar story is told of an ancestor of the O'Sullivans.²

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1. Dobbs Side Lights on the Tain Age.
 2. Ancient History of the Kingdom of Kerry, by Friar O'Sullivan, written about 1700 A.D.

Ballyhoura

A Scottish druid, named Luvane, had been entertained by Eochaidh Maoiliora, a descendant of Finghin, king of Munster, who lived near Clonmel. He was loaded with rich gifts, and nevertheless, he was out of humour at parting.

"What will satisfy you", asked Eochaidh.

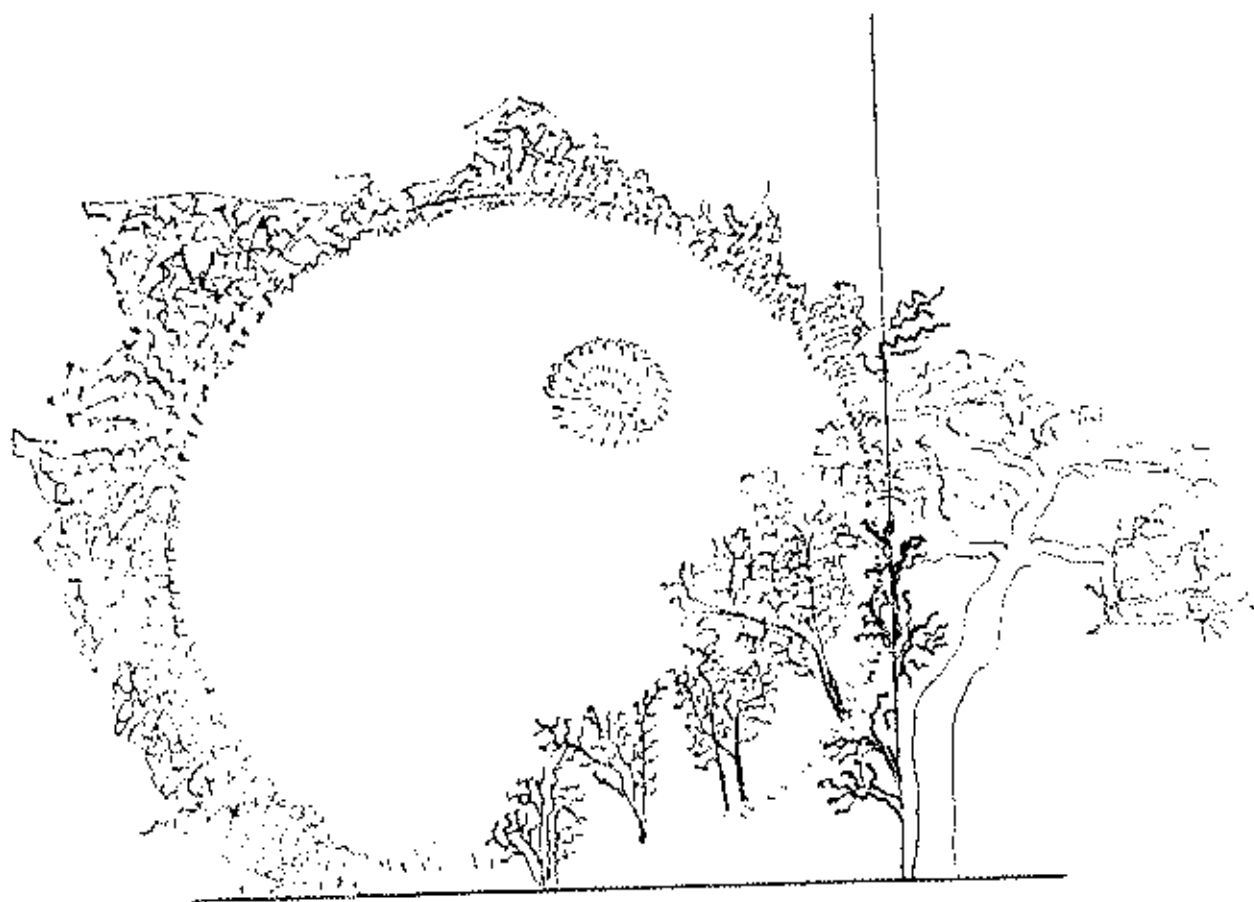
"Your eye", said Luvane, for Eochaidh was one-eyed.

"Here it is", said Eochaidh, plucking it out.

The commotion that ensued attracted St. Ruan of Lorrha. He came out of the dun. He was told what had happened. He prayed that Luvane's eyes might be transferred to Eochaidh. And it was done. Hence Suile Luvane (eye of Luvane) Sullivan.

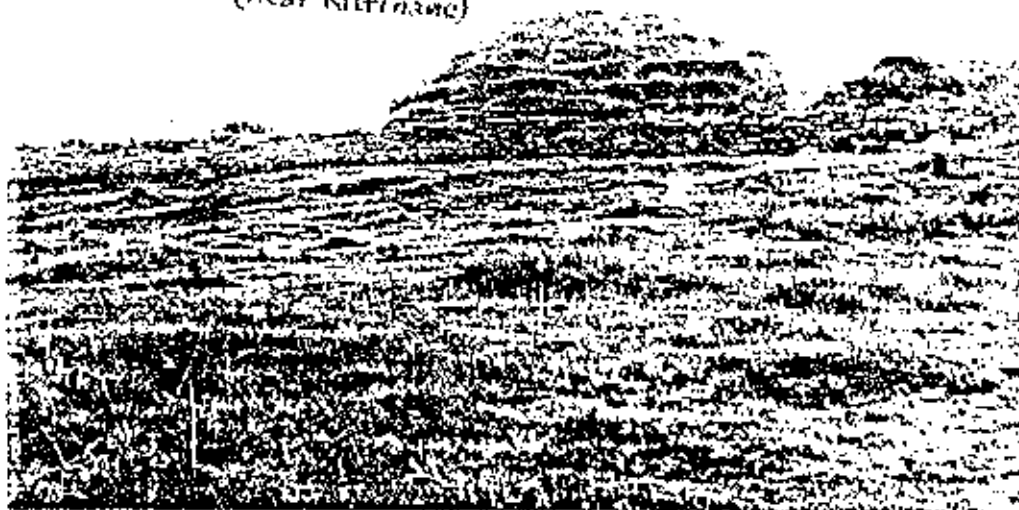
O'Curry, however, says the best spellings give the name Suil Dhubhain, or black-eyed.

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Rossash na Righ, Donegill

Treada na Riogh
(Triple-Fossed Fort of the Kings)
(Near Kilfinane)



Ballyhoura

II.

SIODA'S VISION

Resurgence of Sil Ebhir

Deirgtheine, or Corb Olum, escaped the massacre of the Milesian nobles at Magh Cro in Connacht, in 10 A.D. by the plebeian races.¹ Dr. MacNeill discredits the history of this alleged massacre.² The grandson of Deirgtheine was Mogh Neid, born 28 A.D.,³ The date should be considerably later. Mogh Neid married Siodhda, daughter of Flan, son of Fiachra, an Ernain prince.⁴ Raith Fiachrach Mic Monche was at Cnoc Raghann,⁵ now Knockgraffon, a town land in the barony of Middlethird, two miles north of Cahir.

In the night, in her sleep, Sioda had a vision.⁶ She saw seven white cows with red ears, and milkful liquor bags at their haunches. Following them, she saw seven black, discoloured cows, with fiery eyes and iron horns. They fought and killed the white cows.

She told the dream to her husband, Mogh Neid. He sent for his druid, Deargdamhsa, to whom the dream was related.

"It means", said Deargdamhsa, "there will come seven fruitful years, with abundance of corn, milk, fruit, and sea produce. There will follow them seven miserable powerless, wretched, years, when father will not give a bite to his son, nor mother to daughter, nor one friend to another.

The king built strong cellars underground, firm houses, great vessels, and large chests, and filled them with imperishable produce. That was the tribute he exacted from those under his sway - imperishable produce.

Famine

The seven bad years came, and heavy famine alighted on the land. The nobles of the two provinces of Munster came to Mogh Neid: that is the nobles of the Clanna Deaghaidh, and of the Clanna Dairine. But Conaire, the son of Mogh Lamha, who had succeeded Curoi as king of Iar-Luachair; and Mac Niadh, the son of Lughaidh, the successor of Eochaidh Mac Luchta, and king of the Dairine, were not there.

The land of Mac Niadh extended from Sliabh Eibhlinne, now Sliabh Felim, that is from Roscrea to the Co. Limerick boundary, including Bearna Eile, now the Devil's Bit, and it reached Sliabh Caoin, now Ballyhoura.⁷

1. Four Masters.
2. Celtic Ireland
3. The Eugeniana, or
Clann Eoghan

4. Cath Muighe Lena.
5. Book of Leinster.
6. Cath Muighe Lena.
7. O'Curry in Cath Muighe Lena.

Ballyhaura

Possibly, Mogh Neid, king of Clann Ebhir, may have been given territory in Cork and Tipperary on marrying the Ernean princess, Sioda, just as, three centuries later, on the marriage to Aonghus, the first Christian king of Cashel, of Eithne (Ina) daughter of Criomhthann, king of Leinster, Magh Feimhin in Tipperary was given to the Deisi, who had fostered Eithne.¹

Mogh Neid noted that Conaire and Mac Niadh were absent.

"I shall save you from this season in return for the gifts I shall ask of you," said Mogh Neid.

"We agree," said they, for many of them were in distress. And they gave engagements and securities guilelessly.

"Name the gifts that you desire from us," said they.

"That you banish Conaire, the son of Mogh Lamha, and Mac Niadh, the son of Lughaidh, out of Munster, and that you give the sovereignty to my son, Eoghan Mor," said he.

"That shall be done by us", they said.

They lived on the food reserves of Mogh Neid until better times arrived, and they banished Conaire and Mac Niadh out of Munster.²

Conaire and MacNiadh went to Tara, to Conn of the Hundred Battles.

It was probably at this period that Mogh Neid made Brughrigh (Bruree) his residence, and seat of government.

The first record of Clann Ebhir residing there is in the reign of Eoghan Mor, who is also known as Mogh Nuadhat, the son of Mogh Neid. For it is recorded that "the nobles of Munster were assembled by Mogh Nuadhat at Dun Cobhthaigh."³ Dun Cobhthaigh is Brughrigh (Bruree).⁴

(Cobhthaigh Caomh, or Coffey the gentle, born 3308, governed Munster for 29 years).⁵

From Eoghan Mor were descended "na secht Eoghanachta", i.e. of Cashel, Aine (Knockaney), Loch Lein (Killarney), Raithlend (Kinelmiskey), Gleannamhnach (Glanworth), Ros Airgid (Rathbeagh, Co Kilkenny), Araibh, consisting of Ara Tire in Co Tipperary and Ara Cliach, now the barony Coonagh in east Limerick,⁶

1. Keating

2. Cath Muighe Lena.

3. Cath Muighe Lena

4. Onomasticon

5. The Eugenians.

6. Book of Ballymote.

Ballyhouna

Dal gCais and Dal Cein, the north Deisi around Bruff.¹

The descendants of Eoghan mor, or Mogh Nuadhat are described as Clann Ebhir.

From an ancient poem it appears that "Munster contained seventy triocha ceds (or baronies), each comprising 30 baile biatachs. Of these 70, the Ebhereans (or Sil Ebhir) possessed 37, and the descendants of Lughaidh, son of Ith, with the Ulster colony (around Tullamore),² and Clanna Deaghaidh, held the remaining 33."

Shortly before, Curoi of Clanna Deaghaidh and Eochaidh Mac Luchta held the 70 triochas between them.³

Eoghan Mor's Youth

Eoghan Mor had been brought up, in fosterage presumably, by Daire Barrach, son of Cathair Mor, king of Leinster.⁴ Deciding to fortify the Dun of Aillinn, now Kilcullen, Co. Kildare, Daire Barrach engaged Nuadha of Cooley, Co. Louth, to do the work. Nuadha was reputed to have the strength of a hundred men. In making the encircling trench, he met a stone which he was unable to move. Eoghan Mor, who happened to be looking on, with a number of others, went into the trench, lifted the stone, and flung it on the outer mound.

"Noble is your slave to-day, O Nuadha," said the druid. Hence Mogh Nuadhat, or the slave of Nuadhat, became the name by which Eoghan Mor was subsequently known.⁵

Fiachra was Eoghan Mor's maternal grandfather.⁶ Raith Fiachrach was at Cnoc Raphann,⁷ now Knockgraffon.⁸

Through Eoghan Mor, it became the residence of the senior branch⁹ of the Eoghanacht, the O'Sullivans.

Conn of the Hundred Battles assumed the sovereignty of Ireland in 123 A.D.¹⁰ As Eoghan Mor was his contemporary, it is probable that he was not more than twenty years younger than the High King.

"The tradition of the division of Ireland into two parts, Leth Cuinn to the north, Leth Moga to the south, is well known. Of course, there is a story to explain it. If it were not for the story, Leth Cuinn would be interpreted "the Freeman's Half",

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| 1. Onomasticon. | 6. Cath Muighe Lena |
| 2. O'Curry. | 7. Book of Leinster |
| 3. Keating | 8. O'Donovan |
| 4. Keating | 9. Mac Firbis |
| 5. Manuscript H.3. 18 in T.C.D. | 10. Four Masters & O'Curry |

Ballyhoura

and Leth Moga "the Slave's Half".¹

The innuenda in this interpretation, reflecting as it does on the south, and coming from a northern writer of the eminence of Professor MacNeill, is a further indication of the attitude of mind with which historical events in the south have been viewed by northern compilers of our annals.

Cliu Mail was Eoghan Mor's chief abode.² Cliu Mail Maic Ugaine is in Min-Mairtine in Munster.³ Min Mairtine was the plain of Limerick.

Romance at Tara

In the meantime there is romance ripening at Tara.

Conn of the Hundred Battles had three beautiful unbetrothed daughters, Maoin, Sadhbh, and Saraidh. Conaire "bent the points of his eyes on the face of blue-eyed Saraidh." Mac Niadh lost his heart to the lovely, and lively, Sadhbh. And Iomchadh of the Red Arms, a prince who had been banished out of Ulster, became "enamoured of the innocent Maoin."⁴ The princes paid frequent visits of courtship to the royal ladies.

"Would your father consent to our espousal, now that I have lost my province," asked MacNiadh, half in jest, half in earnest.

"I would marry you with, or without, my father's consent" said impetuous Sadhbh.

"And what would your answer be to that question, O' blue eyed Saraidh,?" asked Conaire.

"That I would not accept courtship from you against my father's wishes," said the dutiful Saraidh.

"And, with you, O Maoin, would it be love or duty," asked Iomchadh of the Red Arms.

"My father's wishes would guide my choice," said Maoin.

The answers of the ladies became the gossip of the Court. They came to the ears of Conn. At once, he gave Saraidh to Conaire, and Maoin to Iomchadh. But Sadhbh and MacNiadh, in the pride of their spirit, refused to be espoused until a competent fortune should reach them.

When Mogh Neid heard of the large happiness and great honour that had been accorded to the banished princes by Conn at Tara,

1. Celts of Ireland, page 61.

2. Leabhar na h-Uidre.

3. Book of Lismore.

4. Cath Muighe Lena.

Ballyhoura

he was displeased, and he said, in his anger, that he would not submit to Conn.

"I will make him a deposed king, and an exile, for having entered into friendship with my enemies," said he.

This declaration was conveyed to Conn.

"Bring him to Court, or challenge him to battle," said the offended monarch.

"Battle I will give him," said Mogh Neid to the courier.

The armies met at Magh Siuil, in the barony of Ballybrit, in Offaly. Mogh Neid was slain, and his army routed.

* * * * *

Ballyhoura

III

MOGH NUADHAT

Vicissitudes of an Impetuous Prince

Now that Mogh Neid's resourceful brain no longer restrained the Munster claimants to the kingship, Aonghus, prince of Clanna Deaghaidh,¹ raised the standard of revolt, and established himself in Uí Liathain.²

Mogh Nuadhat, otherwise Eoghan Mor, aided by the forces of his foster-parent, Daire Barrach, son of Cathair Mor, king of Leinster, marched to Uí Liathain, defeated Aonghus, and drove him from that territory.³

Aonghus then implored the assistance of Conn of the Hundred Battles, who sent him 15,000 men, under Cumhail, father of Fionn Mac Cumhail.⁴ They marched to Cricch Liathain, and, at Ard Neimhidh (Nevee),⁵ now Great Island, in Cork Harbour, they were met by Mogh Nuadhat, and defeated with considerable loss.

Mogh Nuadhat followed up his victory, and overthrew the monarch's forces in nine successive engagements.⁶ He had an unbroken tide of victories at Brosna in Tipperary; at Sampaide in Offaly; at Grian in Co. Limerick; at Drom Asail, in the barony of Coshma, Co. Limerick; at Magh Cricch in Desmond; at Sliabh Mis in Co. Kerry; at Suaimaigh (unidentified); and at Athlone. Finally, at Usneach in Westmeath, the army of the monarch was overwhelmed, and the battlefield strewn with slain.

It is significant that the Four Masters, in dealing with Conn of the Hundred Battles, do not record a single one of his battles. It is an illuminating omission.

After these decisive engagements, the monarch, Conn, agreed to divide Ireland with the victor. The Esker Riada, from Dublin to Meadruighe, near Clarinbridge, Co. Galway, was the line agreed upon to separate north from south.⁷

A Woman Brings Woe

"The division of Ireland between Conn and Eoghan lasted but one year."⁸

Very soon after the division had been effected, the Clanna Baoisgne, or Fenians of Leinster, rose in revolt against Conn.

1. The Eugenians.

2. & 3. Keating's Forus Feasa

4. Psalter of Cashel, quoted by Keating

5. The Eugenians

6. The Eugenians

7. The Four Masters

8. Annals of Ulster.

Ballyhoura

Cumhall, who had descended from the same line as Cathaeir Mor, was captain of Conn's fianna.¹ Cathaeir Mor had given to Nuadha, a druid, a territory in Leinster, where, at the Hill of Allen, in Co. Kildare, and the druid built there a mansion for his wife, Almhá. Nuadha's son, Tadhg also a druid, had a beautiful daughter, Murin Mún-chaein (of the lovely neck), who was sought in marriage by Cumhall. His suit was scornfully rejected by Tadhg. Cumhall carried off the lady without her father's consent, and made her his wife.

The celebrated Fionn Mac Cumhall was the fruit of the marriage.

Tadhg complained to Conn. Conn commanded Cumhall to restore the lady to her father. Cumhall refused, and was forced to fly to Scotland.

On the death of Cathaeir Mor, Conn placed Criomhthann on the throne of Leinster. Cumhall returned home, and assumed the sovereignty of the province. Conn invoked the aid of his foster-father, Conall Cruachna, "king of Connacht of the Firbolg race," and of Aedh Mac Morna, chief of Maen Mhuigh, now Roscommon, and captain of the Connacht Firbolg Fianna.²

Mogh Nuadhat went to the aid of Cumhall. The contending armies met at Cruacha, near Cumhall's seat at Rath Cumhall, now Rathcoole, ten miles from Dublin. A furious battle ensued, and Conn was victorious. Cumhall was killed by Aedh Mac Morna, who lost an eye in the encounter, and was thenceforth nicknamed 'Coll' (blind).

The Munstermen returned home under the direction of Eoghan Mor, or Mogh Nuadhat, "who performed high deeds of valour."³

Mogh Nuadhat's Courtship

After this defeat, Mogh Nuadhat retired to Spain.

The king of the west of Spain, that is, the king of Castile, called Eibhear the Great, had a beautiful, unwedded daughter named Béara, reckoned one of the loveliest of her time. High, honourable, affectionate, was the rearing that daughter received. She was constantly attended by fifty maidens. Her father's druid, Dadróna, foretold the arrival of a suitor in Eoghan Mor.

"It was out of Spain went the race of the man whose spouse she shall be. And he shall arrive to-night in Spain," said he.

1. O'Curry in Cath Muighe Lena

2. Cath Muighe Lena

3. Cath Muighe Lena

Ballyhoura

"Let your daughter go eastwards to the river Eibhear," (now the Ebro), said the druid to the king, "and there she will find a crimson-spotted salmon, covered with a lustrous coat. Let her strip off its vesture, and make of it a brilliant shirt for her husband."

Beara did as the druid counselled.

That night Eoghan Mor came to Eibhear's palace. He received a friendly welcome. He and his people were placed in magnificent apartments. They resided there for a considerable time, during which Eoghan courted the king's daughter.

The Spaniards came to hold a fair around their noble king. The hosts assembled at the fair admired Eoghan's large proportions, his manly form, his commanding appearance, his kingly bearing. They agreed that they had never seen a finer man than Eoghan, nor a more beautiful woman than Beara. "They ought to espouse each other," said everybody.

The king summoned his druid, Dadrona.

"Go" said he, "and enquire of Eoghan why he has not asked my daughter for his wife."

The druid put the question to Eoghan.

"Because," said Eoghan, "I would not deem it honourable, or becoming of me, to be refused a wife. And I was afraid I would be esteemed an exile in this country. Moreover, I have neither property nor wealth with me out of Erin that I could bestow upon learned men and poets. But I love the king's daughter, and I hope for his friendship which I could not expect had he refused to give her to me."

The druid told the king what Eoghan had said.

"That is the answer of a king," said Eibhear. "Tell my daughter to sit at Eoghan's right hand. She shall espouse him to-night."

The druid apprised Beara of the king's command. At her desire, a handmaid brought the shirt that she had made for Eoghan. He wore it over his armour. Its brilliance and radiance were the admiration of the concourse at the fair.

Six years Eoghan spent in Spain, during which time his wife bore him a son Oilioll, and two daughters, named Caoisheall and Scoithniamh. He returned to Ireland, accompanied by Fraoch Mileasach, son of king Eibhear, and two thousand warriors.

Mogh Nuadhat Triumphant

Mogh Nuadhat, and his Spanish auxiliaries, landed at the harbour of Cealga, on the south side of the island of Greagraighe now Bere Island in Bantry Bay.¹ His own people gathered around him on hearing of his arrival. Aid came from Leinster and Ulster. All revolted against Conn, except the men of Connacht.² Even Conaire and MacNiadh, his old antagonists, or at least those of his father, are reputed to have joined him.

As Eoghan advanced inland, the nobles of Munster, presumably those of the Clanna Deaghaidh and the Dairine, were at the ale-house of Carnbuidhe, which is said to be Carrigboy, in the parish of Kilmocomhogue, in the barony of Bantry.³

"Tell them," said Eoghan to his druid, Deargdamhsa, "to have hostages and pledges ready for me."

The druid conveyed the message.

"We shall be glad to get Eoghan Mor and his foreigners into our hands to slaughter them," replied the nobles.

"Well, then," said the druid, "let not the daughter of Conn of the Hundred battles be in your ale-house at the coming of Eoghan's anger."

Owing to his long absence from the country, the druid was not aware that Mac Niadh had not been yet married to Sadhbh, daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles. Mac Niadh, son of Lughaidh, eagerly asked news concerning Eoghan.

Eoghan marched his battalions to Carnbuidhe, surrounded the ale-house, and did not permit the princes to go forth until they had submitted to him and placed their hands in his hand. These princes were Conaire, Mac Niadh, and Flann, son of Fiachra, king of East Munster. They gave hostages and pledges to Eoghan, and their banquet that night was at his command.

The Connachtmen alone adhering to Conn, he left Tara. "Conn once followed me through two provinces of Munster. I will now follow him to Connacht," said Eoghan.

He did so, and would have plundered Cruachan, and ravaged Magh Aoi (Mayo) had not Conaire and MacNiadh, mindful of their relations with Conn, dissuaded him, until terms of settlement, and an even division of territory, were proposed.

1. O'Curry.

2. Cath Muighe Lena.

3. John Collins of Carbery.

Ballyhoura

"Battle without an offer of terms is not good," said they.

That was accordingly done, and Ireland was divided between Conn and Mogh Nuadhat.

The year was 166, according to the Annals of Tighernach. If this date be correct, then O'Donovan must be in error, in his note in the Book of Rights, ascribing Conn's accession to the year 177 A.D. And, as the Four Masters record the death of Conn at 157 A.D., after being 35 years in the sovereignty of Ireland, the other dates must be modified accordingly.

The dividing line between Conn and Mogh Nuadhat was to be from Ath Cliath Meadhraidhe, now Clarinbridge, Co. Galway, to Ath Cliath Dublinne, now Dublin. "And they raised a mound, called Eiscir Riada (the chariot driving slope) from one place to the other."¹

Cath Muighe Lena

Mogh Nuadhat Quarrels with Conn

Eirinn remained thus divided for fifteen years.

The Spaniards became impatient, desiring to return to Spain. Eoghan guessed that it was the fear of the Spaniards that induced Conn to yield the co-division. Hence he determined to keep the Spaniards, and use them to overthrow Conn.

He sought a cause to break his truce. Going on circuit through his own half of Ireland, Mogh Nuadhat reached Dublin. He observed more vessels going to Conn's part of the harbour than to his own part, thus affording to Conn the greater share of revenue. He was "stung with envy." He sent a message to Conn.

"I will not abide by the co-division," he said, "unless I get an equal division of horses, of arms, and of armour, and an equal share of the profits of the sea and great tides".

"I will not place arms, nor clothes, nor armour, under the same rule as a division of territory," said Conn.

Then Mogh Nuadhat repudiated the truce, and returned to Munster.

"I have received cause of quarrel from Conn" said he.

"That speech is pleasing to me," said Fraoch Mileasach, with whom were his twenty hundred armed Spaniards.

1. Cath Muighe Lena.

Ballyhoura

The nobles of Munster were assembled at Dun Cobhthaigh, now Bruree, and a royal residence of Clann Eoghan.¹ They massed their forces, and advanced to Magh Lena, now Kilbride, a parish embracing the town of Tullamore.²

Conn, wasted after the suppression of a revolt in Ulster, came to Magh Lena with a meagre army.

"I wish to send messengers with terms of great advantage to Mogh Nuadhat," said Conn.

"What are those terms", asked Conall Gearnach, the Connacht Champion.

"The three provinces of Eirinn, which he now holds to be his, without contention, and the fourth province from me, along with these to be given to him, although it be the sword-supporting territory of my battalions, namely the province of Ulster. And as security, I will give him the sun and moon, dew and air, sea and great land, not to commit trespass, or conflagration, or injustice upon him. But let him leave me the province of Connacht unshared, and the territory of Teffia and Tara with its profits. For by these was I fed from my birth."

"These are great terms," said Conall.

"Though they be great, I grant them to Eoghan," replied Conn. "since I have not numbers enough of warriors and champions to oppose him."

"Who will go with those terms," asked Conall.

"Eochaidh of the White Knees, and Fiacha of the White Hands, the two sons of Criomhthann of the Yellow Hair, king of Aicill (Achill Island) and Umhall" (territory of O'Malley, Co. Mayo).

It would be more proper that poets should offer these terms," said the nobles.

"We shall not send poets," said Conn, "in order that the foreigners, and the men of Eirinn shall not say that it was at our solicitation they accepted this division of Eirinn from us".

Peace Envoys Executed

The messengers reached Mogh Nuadhat, and told their errand sensibly, and collectedly, and gradually. The king answered quickly, loudly, proudly.

1. Onomasticon.
2. O'Curry.

Ballyhoura

"It would be as pleasure without steeds, ale without cups, happiness without music, sovereignty without submission, hiring without pay, a loan without return, that I should be without the centre of the assemblages of Eirinn -- Tara with its plains and its mounds to be in the hands of my great enemies. I shall not accept these terms."

"We have heard," said the messengers, "from our friends, and from our companion, Conn, that an attack over an offer of peace is not lawful, nor battle over an offer of terms, nor anger over deep submission."

"Who are you, yourselves, O youths?" said Eoghan.

"Eochaidh of the White Knees, and Fiachaidh of the White Hands, two sons of Cricmhthann of the Yellow Hair."

"Are ye a pledge of supremacy for me," asked Eoghan.

"Truly not, O High King", said they, "for it would be a repudiation of the sovereignty of Conn to abandon the supremacy of Eirinn to save the lives of any two. For a good son will get a family. He has, and shall have, Eirinn, for he is the best surety for spending and defending it. We pledge our words, as far as we know Conn, that, although he has offered terms, he will not concede one baile biataigh¹ of Eirinn to you. He is desirous that you should trample upon adjustment and terms."

"Let those messengers be seized," said Eoghan, angrily.

"Not so", said the nobles. "It is not a sentence founded upon the examination of truth by us to detain them to be sacrificed."

"Cease" thundered Eoghan. "They would not give their service to me on the day of casting spears among men, but to their friend and companion, Conn. Seize them firmly, and tightly, and bring them to yonder far-seeing hill to be executed."

This was done. Hence the name Riagha, or Execution Hill, on Magh Lena.²

Night before the Battle

It was the hour when day and night are equally dark that Conn heard his companions had been hanged. He bewailed them "with cries and moans like a woman."³

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1. i.e. the lands of a farmer bound to supply his chief with food at certain seasons of the year. About 120 acres.
 2. O'Curry.
 3. Cath Muighe Lena.

Ballyhoura

"Cease for us your lamentations," said Conall, "for you shall obtain victory, if you be brave, and avenge your friends with a good spirit by right of the sword."

"I shall do that" said Conn. "And I pledge my word that, had Eoghan not seized my two companions, I would have gone with them out of Eirinn, and would not have come back while he survived there. But now, should he proffer the whole of Eirinn to me, I would not accept it until I had avenged my companions by trial of battle, and by right of the sword and combat."

He donned his armour. Then he asked:

"Has everyone of you laced himself to his body-armour of battle and of combat, and are our champions consenting to the onset?"

"Yes, O High King" said they, "for wherever you play your baire (hurling), there shall our onset be. No grave shall you find save with a cairn of three times ten hundred of our bravest over you."

"Where is Finn, the son of Cumhall?" asked Conn.

"Here," said that warrior

"Go, with twenty hundred men, to protect Tara with its appurtenances, and, if I live, you shall receive, out of their profits, the price of preserving them."

"Is it an exultation of battle to your champions," asked Goll, the son of Morna, "to perpetrate a nocturnal assault, or slaughter?"

"That," said Conn, "is what we wish on this occasion, for we are not equal in numbers, in champions, or in warriors, to Eoghan."

"I made a vow" said Goll, "on the day when I first took in my hand the arms of valour of a champion, that I would never commit a nocturnal assault or slaughter."

The attack was deferred to early morning.

THE BATTLE

The army of the High King sped forward in the dawn. Conn rushed to the camp of Fraoch Mileasach and before the prince could don his armour, or grasp his weapons, other than the hand weapon he had in bed, he was slain in his night shirt, by Conn and Eochaídh, the one-eyed.

The onslaught became general. Mogh Nuadhat passed through the battle field leaving behind a slaughter-track of slain.

Ballyhoura

Conn saw the confusion which Mogh Nuadhat had brought upon his battalions, and he commanded the heroic Goll Mac Morna to oppose him. Conn sheltered behind the arrogant Clanna Morna.

These furious lions of battle, Goll and Eoghan, met. Eoghan pressed the combat hard on Goll, and made him yield a warrior's groan. Clann Morna, hearing it with grief and trouble, came to his aid. Each one of them inflicted a wound on Eoghan. He dealt each a wound in return, and, at the same time, maintained his combat with Goll.

His own chieftains and champions fell around Eoghan, and there was a carnage of his auxiliaries, the foreigners.

Then his pride rose, his fury boiled, his courage ascended, and he beat and encompassed Goll, as a hawk among small birds, until Goll gave a loud moan of distress. Then came three times ten furious men, sons of the great Morna, to the aid of Goll. Every one of these warriors inflicted a wound on Eoghan, and not one of them escaped without receiving a wound from Eoghan in return. And still he maintained his own combat with Goll.

The stout columns of Tara came. Each of their chiefs put a spear-point into Eoghan, and in each of them Eoghan caused a blood-gush in return. And still he maintained his own combat with Goll.

Then Goll gave a warrior's loud shout. It was heard by Conall, son of Aonghus Firt, king of Connacht. He came to the aid of Goll, and wounded Eoghan. Eoghan double and tripple hewed him, leaving him a death invalid on the battle-field. And still he maintained his combat with Goll.

Then Conn of the Hundred Battles came against Eoghan. The meeting of the two kings was like that of two pillars of rock. Conn thrust his battle-spear through Eoghan's shoulder, but before he could withdraw it, the long spear of Eoghan was driven through his body, and he fell into a swoon.

Until the sands of the sea, the leaves of the woods, and the grass of the fields, are counted, the numbers that fell by Eoghan's arm will not be reckoned.

Seeing the fall of Conn, a paroxysm of rage seized his army, and they drove their spears through Eoghan.

They raised Eoghan aloft on their spears.

"Lay down the heroic warrior," said Goll. "His death was not the death of a coward."

The survivors of the Munster forces departed irregularly, and unsteadily, after that disastrous morning. They were not pursued by Conn's troops, most of whom were dead, dying, or lying in death-wounds.

Conn arose from his trance, and encamped that night on Magh Lena.¹

Marriage of Mac Niadh

Next day, Conaire, son of Mogh Lamha, came to the camp. He was welcomed by Conn.

"Where is Mac Niadh, the son of Lughaidh," asked Conn.

"At Ros na Righ,"² said Conaire, "and he will not trust himself with thee until he receives eric for Eoghan Mor, and the nobles of Mumhan, and also thy daughter, Sadhbh, to wife for himself."

"Will thou accept the sovereignty of Munster?" asked Conn.

"Not at all," said Conaire. "Give MacNiadh the sovereignty of Munster, since it is he that is not in submission to thee. I shall be satisfied with the right of succession to thyself."

"Take thou a blessing for that: said Conn. "And mayst thou obtain the sovereignty of Eirinn, and of Alban after me.

And all that Conn said was verified.

They sent old Eochaidh, the poet, to Mac Niadh, with an offer of everything mentioned by Conaire, namely, the eric of Mogh Nuadhat, the sovereignty of Munster, and Sadhbh as his wife.

Mac Niadh had at this time around him all the nobles of Munster,³ from Sliabh Caoin (Ballyhours) to the sea. Mac Niadh presented gifts to old Eochaidh the poet, and went with the best of Clann Dairine to Magh Lena to meet Conn. Peace and amity was made between them.

"The two provinces of Munster are yours," said Conn.

"Not so," said Mac Niadh. "Let them be divided justly between Conaire and myself."

Then they all repaired to Tara. Sadhbh, the daughter of Conn, was given as wife to Mac Niadh. Gifts and wealth were bestowed on the nobles of Munster, and they returned to their homes.

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1. Cath Muighe Lena.
 2. This was Ross na Righ near Doneraile, the "strong place" of the Dairine, for the Corca Luighdhe had no association with Rossnarigh on the Boyne.
 3. These were the nobles of Clann Lughaidh, as the nobles of Sil Ebhir had fallen at Magh Lena.

Baillyhours

And Conn possessed Ireland without commotion for twenty years.¹ He was slain in the year 157 A.D. after being 35 years in the sovereignty of Eirinn.²

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1. Cath Muighe Lena.
 2. Four Masters.

OILILL OLUM'S REIGN

Munster King and Self-Willed Step-son

MacNiadh did not long enjoy the Munster kingship. He died, leaving a baby son, Lughaidh Mac Con. Lughaidh Lagna, son of Daire Doimhthech, became king of Munster,¹ a sort of regent, apparently.

When Oilill Olum attained manhood, it became evident that Clann Eoghan would not submit to any ruler but their own. So, a political marriage was arranged between Oilill and Sadhbh, the widow of Mac Niadh. This marriage united the three conflicting interests: the Eremonians, represented by Sadhbh; Clann Lughaidh, or Dairine, represented by Mac Con, son of Sadhbh; and Clann Eoghan, represented by Oilill.

After the marriage, the kingship of the two provinces of Munster was conferred on Oilill. He was then thirty years of age.² He was king over one half of Ireland, according to Kuno Meyer.³

He had nine sons by Sadhbh, and ten sons by other women.⁴

Lughaidh Mac Con, son of Mac Niadh, was reared at Bruree with the sons of Sadhbh by Oilill.

Oilill's first name was Aonghus, but he was nick-named Olum, or bare of ear, because, when he forcibly overcame, and ravished, Aine, a daughter of Eoghabhal of Knockaney, Co. Limerick, she bit off his ear in retribution.⁵

The reign of Oilill Olum was thirty years.⁶

There was a covenant between Lughaidh Mac Con and Oilill that, when Oilill's offspring held the kingship, Lughaidh's offspring should hold the judgeship; and when Lughaidh's offspring held the kingship, Oilill's offspring should hold the judgeship.⁷

That arrangement continued until Lughaidh transgressed the command of Oilill.

Among the nine sons of Oilill by Sadhbh were Eoghan, Cormac Cas, and Cian.

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| 1. Kuno Meyer's Triads of Ireland | 5. Keating |
| 2. Triads of Ireland. | 6. Triads of Ireland |
| 3. Triads of Ireland. | 7. Triads of Ireland |
| 4. Keating's Forus Feasa | |

Ballyhoura

When Mac Con was thirty years of age, he and Eoghan set out to meet Art, the son of Conn of the Hundred Battles. The High King was then making a visitation of Connacht.¹

At Ess Mage, now the waterfall of Cagerass, on the river Maigue, half way between Adare and Croom,² they found, in a yew tree, a dwarf musician, with a three-string timpan.

"Mine, the musical instrument," said Mac Con.

"And mine the musician," said Eoghan.

As neither would yield to the other, in the claim of ownership, they brought the musician to Oilill to give judgement between them.

"What is your name?" asked Oilill.

"Fer Fi, son of Eoghabhal," said he.

"Let us hear your music to see if you are worth the contention you are causing."

The little man played, and enraptured his hearers. First he played the Goltraighe, or music of sadness. The listeners' tears began to fall. Then sorrow overwhelmed them, and they cried, wailed and lamented.

"Desist," said they, "We can bear it no longer."

Then he played the Geantraighe, or laughter music. And all who heard the mirthful music smiled with joy, then laughed uproariously, then shook and swayed, holding their sides in convulsions of hysterical abandon.

"Stop, stop, or we'll burst," they said.

Next he played the Suantraighe, or slumber music, and put them all into a deep and heavy sleep. While they slept, the musician escaped. When they awoke, he was nowhere to be seen.

"Deliver your judgement between us," said Mac Con.

"What's the use of judgement now, when the musician is not here," said Oilill.

"He is not here, but he may be found again, as he has been found already," said Lughaidh.

"I hope he won't", said Oilill, "for we have had enough of him."

1. Cath Magh Mucruimhe.

2. O'Curry in Cath Magh Mucruimhe.

Ballyhoura

"Deliver your judgement O King," said Mac Con.
"Give him to the one who has the best right to him."

"Give your judgement O King," said Eoghan. "I do not care."

"Who first put his hand on the musician's shoulder?"
asked Oilill.

"We did it together," said they.

"And what did ye say at the time?"

"'Mine is the music' is what I said," replied Mac Con.

"'Mine is the man' were my words," said Eoghan.

"Then to Eoghan is the man," decided Oilill.

"The judgement is unjust," said Mac Con, rising in anger.

"It is not," said Oilill.

"It is a false judgement, O King," said Mac Con.

"The judgement is true," said Oilill, resentfully.

"A loon like you should not dishonour a king," said
Eoghan.

"A loon like me will cut the head off you and trample
on it," said Mac Con.

"How is that to be done," asked Eoghan.

"On this day month, on Ceann Pheabhradh," said Mac Con.

They unsheathed their swords, but Sadhbh rushed between
them and separated them. Mac Con departed, vowing vengeance.

Had Oilill awarded the man to Eoghan, and the timpan to
Mac Con, the decision would have been more equitable.

The High Kingship

By Neimhidh, in ambitioning the High Kingship, Conaire II
son of Mogh Lamha, was slain. Then Neimhidh married Saraidh
the widow of Conaire. Oilill Olum, favouring lawful authority,
had commanded Mac Con not to take sides with Neimhidh. The
three sons of Conaire and of Saraidh, named Cairbre Musc,
Cairbre Baschaoir, and Cairbre Rioghfadha, marched against
Neimhidh. They were joined by Eoghan, son of Oilill Mac Con
joined Neimhidh. The battle of Ceann Pheabhradh, or Ceann
Abhradh, ensued.¹

1. Keating.

CATH CINN ABRAD¹

Mac Con and Eoghan in Battle

The forces of Mac Con assembled on Ceann Abhrad² and those of Oilill Olum on Magh Lacha.³ To Mac Con, there came Neimhidh, son of Sriobhgeann, king of the Erna; and Lughcorp, son of Teamas, king of the Mairtine,⁴ and Fionn Mac Cumhal, son of his mother's sister, i.e., son of Fuinche, daughter of Daire, the royal head of the Fianna of Ireland;⁵ and Aonghus, son of Lamhga, king of southern Leinster; and Eochaidh, son of Buidhe, son of Buidhean, king of northern Leinster; and his own fellow-pupils, namely, Lughaidh Lagha, son of Modh Nuadhad, and brother of Oilill Olum; and Fear Corb, son of Lughar from Rath Lughair in Connacht, i.e., his household tutor or chief; and Nuadh Fuineiceas; Mairbhgein, son of Mugh Ruith, the king druid, and the king poet, and king champion, and airmrigh, ancestor of Orbraidhe⁶ and Enbais, from whom is named Creag Enbaise⁷ on Sliabh Cacin;⁸ and Dadera, son of Duirbri, the royal jester, and a great company besides.

Mac Con with his hosting took stand on Tulach na Teannala.⁹ It was so called from the fires that were kindled on it.

Oilill also with his hosting took stand on Magh Lacha¹⁰ and an earthwork of sods was made for his tent there on the height. And from it Ardferth¹¹ is named to-day.

The company of Oilill were these: Eoghan Mor, son of Oilill; and Eochaidh Finn Tuath n-Eirt, with fifty warriors, and Cairbre Musc with two thousand warriors. And a hero's helmet, in sign of a warrior, on the head of every man of them: a peak of gold or silver, or bronze, rising on every helmet, according to the grade of the man. Cairbre Baschoin had two thousand mercenaries, and Cairbre Ríogheadda had two thousand youths. And there was a great company over and above.

1. The translation of this ancient Manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy is by Professor Eoin MacNeill. It is fuller and slightly different, from the version in Cath Magh Mucruimhe.
2. On Ballyhoura, overlooking Glencosheen.
3. Between the Funcheon and the Awbeg, says Canon Power. Clogher Hill probably.
4. People of Limerick plain.
5. Fionn's wife was Murin Mun-Chaein, sayd Cath Muighe Lena
6. Orrery. 7. This name suggests Kilyoenesie, or Kilvickaneese, near Oldcourt, Doneraile, where, according to Walter Jones, an abundance of bones was found by the owner. Kilvickaneese is the Church of MacNessa, he says. Canon Power says the place is possibly Cregg not far from Ballyhooly.
8. Ballyhoura. 9. Hill of the Beacon fires. Unidentified. Possibly the present Clogher Hill, nearly midway between Doneraile and Kildorrery. There is a rath on top of it. 10. Between Funcheon and Awbeg. 11. Unidentified.

Ballyhoura

Oilill and Eoghan went into colloquy apart, to find out how they might cause a quarrel between Cairbre Musc and Mac Con, so that Mac Con might be killed by Cairbre. The design they adopted was to make a peace with Mac Con, excluding Cairbre, and he would go on to fight with Mac Con.

The plot was laid accordingly.

Messengers then went from Oilill to Mac Con to give him his demand of cattle and wealth. Mac Con said he would accept, and would not go against his foster-father.¹

Then his fool said to Mac Con might he go from him to speak with Oilill, for it was in the design of Oilill to kill Mac Con with his wife, Mac Con said he would rather if the son of Cairbre Musc might be in the parley.

After that, Mac Con and his army came upon the top of Sliabh Cinn Abrad,² so that he saw every company of the whole mountain. Then, too, came Oilill and Eoghan, and Eochaidh Finn Tuath n-Eirt, son of Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar.³

Mac Con then came to the parley in spite of his people. And the number that followed him was seven hundred warriors, linked two by two. The whole army was thus linked, that they might go forward without retreating.

Oilill said to Mac Con: "Give thine own award."

"By no means," said Mac Con. "The mouth that spoke the wrong judgement should make it right."

"Not so," said Oilill. "The judgement is thine after that, and give the award."

"No," said Mac Con. "If you are willing to abide by me, do honour to me this time, if you have done dishonour to me before."

"No," said Oilill, "I will give no other award to Mac Con but his own award."

Then Mac Con recognised the guileful sayings of Oilill Olum, and that he had a wolfish heart.

However, it is told to the Cairbres that Oilill is making peace with Mac Con apart from them, and at once the Cairbres, with their three score⁴ men, rose up in anger and fury.

1. This should be step-father

2. Ballyhoura

3. He would, therefore, have been a brother of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and an uncle of Oilill's wife.

4. As the Cairbres had each two thousand men, their forces would have been 6,000 or three score hundreds. Therefore the word "hundred" may have inadvertently omitted by the author of the M.S.

stirred to great wrath. And all the heroes took their helmets on the heads, and came in that way to the ford where the parley was.

Through the whole encampment was heard the muster of the Cairbres to the battle. The whole army started up, and Cairbre ran before those armies to the ford. And the heroes cast their helmets, peaks and all, from their heads into the ford, so that it is named Ath Beannchuir¹ by reason of the peaks that the heroes cast into it.

Mac Con rose up when he saw the plot, and the battalions coming towards him, and he went to his army, so that that they might come to battle together.

The army of Mac Con was wholly routed, like a whirl-wind, and Mac Con himself was put to flight after them.

Then his fool, Dadera, the son of Dairbri, came to Mac Con, and said to him: "Take this head-piece upon your head, and put off your royal head-piece."

And so all was done, and the fool took the headpiece of Mac Con upon his head. He goes along the mountain in the guise of Mac Con, and Cairbre Musc follows him until he is beheaded. And from this Cairn Meic Nairbreach has its name.²

Cairbre recognised that it was not Mac Con. "An ill deed," said Cairbre, "a king's headpiece on a fool's head".

Cairbre turned back then to come up with Mac Con as far as Leitir Cinn Abradh³ and the army did not overtake him. He went from it southwards upon Magh Feimin (or Magh Feine).⁴ And he sees the band in which was Mac Con. Among them he bends his legs.

"I might have thought so", said Cairbre. "Yon is a king's knee in the middle of an army."

He throws a cast of the spear, so that it entered the back of Mac Con's knee and the calf, so that it stayed fast in the calf.

And Cairbre turns back with his people.

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1. "Ath mbennchuir at Cend Abradh in Magh Locha" (Stokes). The place must have been some ford in Glenanaar, over the Ogeen or Ounanaar.
 2. Miss Dobbs says Fert Dadera and Cairn Meic Nairbreach are identical. (In "Who was Lughaidh Mac Con"). If so it would be Seefin. (O'Donovan)
 3. "Lettir Chain is on the top of Cend Febrat" (Book of Lismore). Leitir is "probably the old parish of that name between Ballyhooley and Fermoy". (Canon Power)
 4. Magh Feine is probably the correct reading of the M.S., as Magh Feimin is eastward in Tipperary, not southward. Magh Feine is Fermoy.

Ballyhoura

Mac Con went to Rossach Ruad¹ to be cured. After that, and thenceforward, Mac Con did not dwell in Ireland, until he became king of Ireland.²

The Jester's Sacrifice

Standish H. O'Grady gives, in his translation of Cath Magh Mucramha, a slightly different version of the rout of Mac Con. The last phase of the battle, as given by him, follows:

Along with the wolf-dog's son,³ Lughaidh Lagha, his guardian, brother to Oilill Clun, came to the battle. There it was that Mac Con proceeded to confer with his jester, Doderá by name, whose precise origin was of Corca Luighe. In form and feature, the jester was Mac Con's very counterpart.

"Now", said Mac Con, "Eoghan will challenge me to a fight of two, and the fiery courage of him, a king's son, stuff of a king, a grandson of yet another, will cut me short."

"Never let it pass thy lips, or thou are surely doomed", cried the jester. "I, with thy diadem upon my head, and thine armature about me, will go in lieu of thee, so that all shall say it was thou that comest there. Then, if a fact it must be that I fall, get thee away incontinently. For the whole host will say that thou art fallen, and that instant the battle is burst. Up and down the battle, Eoghan will seek thee, and should he but catch a glimpse of those calves of thine, thou wilt be smitten".

The jester is duly slain, but Eoghan, who knew well that it was not Mac Con he had killed, bent him to hunt out the latter.

"The battle is bursten", all cried. "Mac Con is fallen"
And so indeed it was. His was the defeat.

Athwart the rout, Eoghan detected Mac Con's calves, as it were a single night's snow for whiteness. After him he ran, and made a cast so that, as the other fled, the spear entered him. "Is the shot gone home," Eoghan called to him. The overthrow was complete.⁴

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1. Adjacent to Rosnarigh, Doneraile.
 2. Cath Cinn Abrad.
 3. Mac Con, as a child, was alleged to have suckled a greyhound bitch. But this is discredited. More probable is it that the name Con was conferred on him as a title of honour, for his brave, obstinate, or dogged, characteristics. "The word Mac Con might be also figuratively used to denote son of a hero" (O'Donovan in Four Masters)
 4. Cath Magh Mucramha (O'Grady)

Ballyhoura

The version of the Four Masters agrees with that of Cath Cinn Abhradh. It says:

"Dadera was slain by Eoghan, son of Oilill; Neimhidh, son of Sroibhcinn, by Cairbre Rioghfadda, son of Conaire, in revenge for his own father, (killed by Neimhidh). Cairbre Musc wounded Mac Con in the thigh, so that he was ever afterwards lame".

This battle was fought in the year 186 A.D.¹

Neimhidh fled from the battlefield until he came to where his wife, Saraidh, was staying. He was followed by the Cairbres.²

"Protection O my sons" said Saraidh, putting her arms around Neimhidh.

"As much of him as is within thy arms will be protected" said Cairbre Musc, dealing a blow that cut off the head of Neimhidh, and a second blow that cut off his legs.

"That is a great disgrace O Cairbre", said she.

Hence he was called Cairbre Musc. That is his disgrace was greater than his brother's for slaying his mother's husband.

Art, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, was king of Ireland when this battle was fought.³

MAC CON IN EXILE

Cath Magh Mucruimhe⁴

After the battle of Ceann Abhradh, it was no longer feasible for Mac Con to live in Ireland. As a fugitive, therefore, he made his way to Scotland, with a company whose numbers were unknown at home. They were in all thrice nine. With them was Lughaidh Lagha, so called from a great spear he always carried in his hand. His abode was in Aherlow. DungCrot was in the Glen of Aherlow.⁵

They repaired to the King of Scotland. Mac Con instructed his people that they must not behave rashly, lest they should be recognised, and slain by the king to gratify Art, the son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, king of Ireland. He enjoined that each should obey the orders of every other of them, as if each one were king, and that none should address himself by name.

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1. Four Masters. Canon Power says this battle took place thirty to fifty years later. (Crichad an Chaoille)
 2. Keating's Forus Feasa ar Eirinn
 3. Four Masters
 4. Translation of Standish H. O'Grady
 5. Onomasticon.

Ballyhoura

Cheerily, the king of Scotland received them. But they revealed not their identity, nor from whence they came, only that they were of the Gael.

Every morning, to a year's end, a hog and an ox were given them, all in a house apart. And the king grew to admire the excellence of their persons, their grand bearing, their skill in arms, at battle, skirmish, or single combat; their proficiency in the convention, in the game, on the racecourse; at draught and chess, and soldierly service.

One day that Mac Con played chess against the king, there entered a man of unwonted garb.

"Whence this fellow", asked the king.

"I am of the Gael", said he

"What art pliest thou?"

"The poet's".

"Tidings of the men of Ireland thou hast? The reign of Art, the son of Conn, goes well?"

"Aye! well. Never in Ireland has there been such a reign".

"Who is king of Munster?"

"Oillill's son, Eoghan, for his father is an aged man".

"And Lughaidh Mac Con?"

"Since his banishment by Eoghan, son of Oillill, his doings are not known".

"A sad thing that. And alas for Ireland that wants him. Mac Con's race, in what plight are they?"

"With them nothing goes well. They are in serfdom, in discomfort, in woman bondage".

Mac Con seized the gold and silver chessmen on the board, and flung them against the chamber's panel. Mac Con went out.

"A fit of affection comes over him", thought the king. "Lughaidh Mac Con it is that goes out. I see it in his gesture".

But the king wanted to make sure. He laid a trap.

"Be there given them a hog and an ox on the hoof", said the king, "with an intimation that their own people must prepare them for them. Then they will refer the matter to the hazard of the lot, but Mac Con will be left out of it".

Mac Con, however, joined in the drawing of lots for the cooking. The king, foiled, said to the major domo "Find out who is first to be helped, and in front of whom the function is performed".

Ballyhaura

Saving the major domo, or steward, no outsider was present. This test also failed.

"Kill now a few mice", said the king. "Upon each one's mess lay a mouse, red, with her fur on, and be it set before them".

This was done, and they were told that, unless they ate the mice, they would be killed.

"How bear they themselves", asked the king.

"They fast with their dishes before them."

"That is Munster's form of fasting -- with full dishes", said the king. "Be it repeated to them that, as they eat not, they must be slain".

"That he say never grow old from whom the order emanates", said Mac Con, as he put the mouse into his mouth. The others did the same.

The king was secretly watching.

There was one who kept retching when he brought the tail of the mouse to his lips.

"A knife across thy weasand", said Mac Con, "to say that you can eat a mouse to its tail, and stop there".

The fellow swallowed the vermin.

"They do a thing or two to please thee, I see", said the king from the door, where he had been peeping.

"So much I also do for them", said Mac Con.

"Art thou Lughaidb?"

"That is my name".

"A welcome to thee", exclaimed the king. And wherefore has thou hidden thyself from me?"

"For fear of thee".

"Had I but known thee, ere this day, I had avenged thy grievance".

"Even to-day, help might overtake me", said Mac Con.

"And help thou shalt have", said the king. "I am king of Scotland; my mother is king of Britain's daughter; my wife is daughter of the king of the Saxons. Thou shalt take their forces with thee to avenge thine injury".

"I am thankful for the same", said Mac Con.

The forces came to a joint hosting. Then, of ships, of galleys, of barques, there assembled a vast flotilla so that, between Ireland and Scotland, there was a bridge of currachs.

Ballyhoura

They landed in Ireland. No loving son brought them. They harried the land. The spoiling of Ireland was permitted by Mac Con, until he reached the plain of Magh Mucrumha¹ in Connacht's eastern part.

Nuptials before Battle

"It is time to make headway against these men", said Art, the son of Conn.

"So it is", said Eoghan, son of Cilill.

The day before, Eoghan had gone to Dil, son of Ui Creca of Ossory, who dwelt on Druinn Dil.² A wizard he was, and blind.

"Come with me to revile the invaders, and to deal with them by incantation", said Eoghan.

"'Tis well", he answered. "I will go with thee".

"It is high time, father", said Muncha, his spinster daughter.

When they had reached Magh Cliach, the magician knew by Eoghan's speech that he was doomed.

"Now, Eoghan", said he, "leaves thou any posterity?"

"No great thing, by any means", said Eoghan.

"Good", said Dil. "Daughter, wed thou with Eoghan, that we may learn whether from me there shall ever spring a king of Munster".

A bed was made for the couple, and excellent was the offspring there engendered --- Fiacha Muilleathan (of the broad crown), son of Eoghan.

Art, son of Conn, with the main strength of the men of Ireland, drew over the Shannon. The night before the battle, Cleacha, a smith of Connacht, was the host of Art.

"How much progeny dost thou leave", he asked.

"One son" said Art.

"Tis all too little", said the smith. "Therefore, this night, espouse my daughter, Achtan. It is prophesied that for me great honour shall arise".

1. Near Athenry (O'Donovan)

2. Now Drumdeel, near Clonmel (Book of Lismore.)

Ballyhoura

It came true. Great honour it was: Cormac Mac Art, Mac Conn.¹

THE BATTLE

Lughaidh Mac Con had his plans ready laid. A long, deep, trench had been dug, hurdles laid across it, men with short spears put into it, and the top lightly covered over. He impressed into his service every Gael he met after landing, had the leg of every man so impressed made fast to that of an Albanach, or put between two Britons, so that retreat, or desertion, was impossible.

The armies were arrayed in order of battle. Mac Con challenged Eoghan to single combat. "It will not be the case of a jester standing in my stead to-day," said he. Eoghan declined.

Both armies advanced, one on the other. In the clash, white dust, as of chalk, or lime, rose like a cloud from the shields, and targets slashed with sword-edge, while spears and javelin points hovered over swaying warriors.

The two Lughaidhs, Mac Con and Lagha, moved up and down the battlefield, like bears among piglings. A crested helmet on the head of each, about him a mail of iron, and, in his hand, a great sword. On the opposing host, they charged. Many hundreds they laid low.

Eoghan and Corbhacht, sons of Oilill, performed similar slaughter on the other side.

As the warriors were thus welded together, as it were, in a death-blending flame, one man, and then another, of the army of Art would fall prostrate, struck from behind. Then out of the trench rose the men of Alba, attacked in the rear the army of the son of Conn, and thus caught between two lips of a mighty tweezers, the men of Eirinn were encompassed and slaughtered.

Eoghan, the son of Oilill, was slain in single combat by Beine, the Briton. As Beine cut the head of Eoghan from his body, he was seen by Lughaidh Lagha, the uncle of Eoghan, and brother of Oilill, although the ally of Mac Con. Lughaidh Lagha dealt Beine a blow over the neck so that his head fell on the prostrate body of Eoghan.

"That is a bad stroke of generalship, Lughaidh", said Mac Con.

"It matters not to thee", said Lughaidh Lagha. "In lieu of this head I will bring thee the head of the king of Eirinn."

He pursued the retreating, and beaten, army of Art, overtook the king himself, and brought his head to Mac Con.

1. O'Flaherty's Ogygia says Trea, wife of Diarmot O'Duibhne Lugny Firtrea, and daughter of Cian, son of Oilill Olum, was the mother of Cormac, the son of Art. "There is an absurd story that he had an intrigue with Etana, or Echtana, a blacksmith's daughter". That would have been as likely as an intrigue with another man's wife.

Ballyhoura

Then Lughaidh Mac Con laid hold of Ireland's kingly power. For seven years¹ he was in Tara, and took to his bosom Art's son, Cormac, to have in fostership.² (The battle of Magh Mucruimhe took place in 195 A.D. and the first year of Lughaidh Mac Con was 196. ³)

Lughaidh Mac Con became king of Ireland in 250 A.D.⁴ This date is obviously incorrect.

There were seven sons of Oilill Olum killed at Magh Mucruimhe.⁵ Cormac Cas was the only son who survived the battle. Bit Cian, who was killed there, left a son Tadhg, from whom the O'Carrolls of Ely, the O'Riordans, the O'Haras, and the O'Garas are descended.⁶ Cormac Cas was married to a daughter of Oisin,⁷ and became the progenitor of the O'Briens of Thomond, and the ancestor of the Dalcassians. After the death of Eoghan, a son was born to him, Fiacha Muilleathan, who is the ancestor of the O'Sullivans, the Mac Carthys, the O'Donovans, O'Donoghues, O'Keefes, and the O'Callaghans.⁸

MAC CON'S UNJUST JUDGMENT

Mac Con's criticism of a judgement of Oilill Olum is the origin given by the chroniclers, or some of them, for the battle of Ceann Abhradh. And public criticism of a judgement of his own is credited with the creation of the situation that precipitated his dethronement.

In Tara, Mac Con's queen, Dairine, daughter of Dedad¹⁰, had caused to be grown a crop called "glaisin", which produced a lovely saffron dye. While the crop was growing, a poor woman's sheep grazed it down. The queen claimed the beasts for the damages, according to Brehon Law. Mac Con was judge as well as king.

"I adjudge the sheep in lieu of the trespass", said he.

"Not so, my Guardian", said Cormac Mac Art, then a little boy on a couch. "More equitable would be the shearing of the sheep, and let the wool pay for the 'glaisin'. For both will grow again".

"A just verdict, and a prince's son that has pronounced it", exclaimed those who heard it.

Thereupon fell the half of the house in which the wrong judgment was given.

1. Mac Con reigned 30 years, says the Four Masters. 2. Cath Magh Mucruimhe. 3. The Four Masters. 4. O'Donovan in Book of Rights, p. 64. This must be incorrect. 5. O'Curry's M.S. Materials of Ancient Irish History, p.209. 6. O'Curry's M.S. Materials of Ancient Irish History. 7. Ditto. 8. The Eugenians. 9. Dobbs Side Lights on the Tain Age. 10. Todd's Lectures.

Baliyhoura.

The comment of the prince passed from mouth to mouth. His youthful wisdom impressed all who heard his words. Thereafter, Mac Con reigned in Tara for a year. No grasses pierced the ground, no grain formed in the corn, and the men of Eirinn ran Mac Con out of his royal office.¹

DEPOSED HIGH KING SLAIN

Westwards went Mac Con, with great moveable possessions of cattle and horses. But Lughaidh Lagha went not with him.

"The place in which, because of thee, I opposed my brother will know me no more", said he, "but to the son of the king I slew I will yield up satisfaction".

Afterwards he did so.

Mac Con repaired to Oilill Olum, and entered into his lios.² Sadhbh flung her arms about his neck, whispering: "Approach him not. An evil man is he to whom thou comest, and unforgiving".

"A welcome thing is this", said Oilill. "Come to me then that thou mayst dwell with us. Of me make a father, while I make of thee a son, since sons I have none³to care for me now".

Then he laid cheek to cheek with Mac Con. With a noxious tooth he had in his jaw, he pierced Mac Con's cheek.

"Ah, woe!" said Sadhbh, "a king has fallen by a venomous fang".

Mac Con departed. Coman's son, Ferches, came to Oilill.

"Ho! Ferches. Away with thee after Mac Con, one half of whose head, ere three traths (periods) come round, will melt away".

Ferches pursued Mac Con, who, in the meantime, had gained "his own country".⁴ With his forces surrounding him, he set his back to a pillar-stone. They descried Ferches.

"Suffer him not hither", said Mac Con.

Betwixt them the men opposed a barrier of shields. Athward the group Ferches hurled his spear. It struck Mac Con on the forehead, and, passing through, bounced off the pillar-stone behind him. Mac Con fell lifeless.⁵

1. Cath Magh Mucruime.

2. At Bruvee. 3. Cormac Cas alone of seven sons survived. (O'Curry)

4. Magh Feimhin, to which Mac Con went, belonged to his tribe, the Dairine, but his own Dun was at Rosnarigh, near Doneraile. Labhavaccun bridge, i.e. Leaba Mac Con (Mac Con's bed) is two miles east of Doneraile.

5. Cath Magh Muchruimhe.

Ballyhoura

Mac Con was killed at Cort-an-air, near the fort of Deargrath, four miles north-east of Cahir.¹

Sadhbh died of grief for the death of her favourite son.²

Ferches, later, was slain by Fionn Mac Cumhal.

For yet seven years again, Oilill resumed Munster's sway. He died in the year 234 A.D., in the eighth year of the reign of Cormac Mac Art, according to the Four Masters.

Oilill divided his territory into North Munster, which he gave to Cormac Cas, his second and only son surviving Magh Mucrumha,³ and into South Munster, which he left to Fiacha Muilleathan, son of Eoghan. He directed that succession to the kingship of Munster should pass alternately between the descendants of Cormac Cas, i.e., the Dalcassians, and the descendants of Eoghan, i.e., the Eoghanachts. The Eoghanachts, however, largely monopolised provincial rule until the time of Mahon, and his brother, Brian Boru, in the eleventh century.⁴

The Decies

It was Oilill Olum gave Co. Waterford to the Decies, says O'Curry,⁵ but the date of the event needs revision, for they were driven out of Meath by Cormac Mac Art in the year 265 A.D., in the 39th year of his reign.⁶ Oilill Olum was 30 years when he became king of Munster.⁷ Mac Con was 30 years at the battle of Cenn Abhradh.⁸ He was 30 years monarch of Ireland.⁹ Therefore, Oilill was 90 years when Mac Con was deposed in 225 A.D., and, consequently, was 99 when he died in 234 A.D. He was slain at Dun Claire¹⁰ and buried there under a cromlech.¹¹ Claire is a hill near Duntryloague, in the barony of Small, Co. Limerick.¹²

The deisi were descended from Fiachra Suighdhe, brother to Conn of the Hundred Battles.¹³ In 265 A.D., Ceallach, son to Cormac, in a cow-tribute raid into Leinster, carried off 150 maidens as an insult to the Leinstermen. Among these maidens was Forrach, who was not of the cow-tribute families, but of the tribe of Fiachra Suighdhe, and consequently, a cousin to Ceallach Aenghus Gaibhuidhbtheach, (of the

1. O'Donovan's note in Four Masters. The year would be 225 by the Four Masters. 2. Revue Celtique XIII. 3. O'Curry 4. Keating. 5. Cath Muighe Leana. 6. Four Masters. 7. Triads of Ireland. 8. Cath Magh Mucruimhe. 9. Four Masters. 10. Book of Lismore. 11. Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. 12. O'Donovan. 13. Four Masters.

Ballyhoura

poisoned spear), son of Fiacha Suighdhe, pursued Ceallach, and killed him in the presence of his father, at the same time destroying Cormac's eye. Cormac, after seven battles, drove the Decies out of Meath.¹ They settled in Waterford. O'Donovan says Oilill Olum gave them that territory.

Eithne Uathach, daughter of Criomhthann, king of Leinster was fostered by the Decies. Aonghus, son of Natfraoch, king of Munster, got her in marriage, and gave to the Decies the territory around Magh Feimhin² which comprises the barony of Iffa and Offa East,³ embracing Clonmel and Cahir, and the barony of Middlethird, Co. Tipperary.

Subsequently, the Eoghanacht drove them out of Magh Feimhin.

Cormac Insulted

Maoin, daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and wife of Iomchadh of the Red Arms, had three sons, Fearghus Duibhdheadach, king of Ulster, Fearghus Caisfhiachlach, and Fearghus Fuiltleabhair. They insulted Cormac at a feast he had given to the Ultonians at Magh Breagh, a plain in Meath. They induced an attendant to hold a lighted candle to his hair.

Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilill Olum, was powerful in Ely.

"Will you come to aid me against the Ultonians?" asked Cormac.

"I will, if you give me territory", said Tadhg.

"I will give you as much of Magh Breagh as you can go around in a chariot, on the day you overcome the three Fearghuses in battle", said Cormac.

"The champion who will slay the three Fearghuses is Lughaidh Lamha, my grandfather's brother", said Tadhg. "You will find him in Eatherlach (Aherlow), beside Sliabh gCrot" (Galty Hill).

Cormac found Lughaidh in a hunting booth in Aherlow. He struck his javelin through the tent, and wounded Lughaidh.

"Who wounds me?" said Lughaidh.

"Cormac, son of Art", said the king.

"It is well", said Lughaidh, "for it was I slew your father".

"As eric, give me the head of the king of Ulster, Fearghus Duibhdheadach, who is coming between me and the sovereignty of Ireland".

"It shall be given thee".

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1. Four Masters.
 2. Keating
 3. O'Donovan.

Ballyhoura

Cormac and Tadhg marched from Ely to Brugh Mic an Oigh, at Crionna Cinn Chomair with all their forces.¹ They fought and beat, the Ultonians. Lughaidh Lamha slew the three Bearghuses, and brought their heads to Cormac.² The battle was fought in 226.³

But Cormac's guile frustrated the effort of Tadhg to secure very much of Magh Breagh, when he tried to girdle it with a chariot in a day. He caused his physician to retard the healing of the wounds Tadhg received in the battle.⁴ Tadhg had attempted to encircle Tara with his chariot on that day, and thus become High King himself.

CORMAC CAS

Cormac Cas succeeded Oilill Olum as king of Munster. He was king of Munster in 260 A.D.⁵

The land of Cormac Cas was in Cliu Mail, from the top of Claire to Bearnna na tri Carbad, and from Carn Fearadhaigh and Ceann Abhradh northwards to Focharmuighe, and from the river Maighi west to Limerick.⁶ It originally belonged to Connacht.⁷

Claire is the hill near Duntryleague.⁸ Bearnna na Tri Carbad lies between Carn Fearadhaigh and Ceann Abhradh.⁹ It is between Seefin and Kilcruig.¹⁰

Cliu Mail included Ara Cliach, which embraced Kiltelly, Cullen, Pallasgreen, Knockaney;¹¹ Crotta Cliach, which was part of the Galtees;¹² Temhair Luachra, near Castleisland;¹³ Ath na nDeise (Athnessy, in the barony of Coshlea);¹⁴ Brugh na nDeisi (Bruff); Knocklong. It was east of Ui Fidhgheinte, from which it was separated by the Morning Star river.¹⁵ It was the name of the district from Sliabh Eibhlinne (now Sliabh Felim) to Sliabh Caoin (Ballyhoura).¹⁶ Focharmuighe, or Dun Eocharmuighi, was Bruce, a fort on the brink of the river Maigue.¹⁷

The Mairtini were expelled from the district by the Eoghanacht and Dal gCais.¹⁸

1. This place is on the Boyne, near Stackallen Bridge (O'Donovan - Four Masters). 2. Keating. 3. Four Masters. 4. Keating. 5. O'Donovan in the Book of Rights, p.213. 6. Book of Lecan. 7. Book of Ballymote. 8. O'Donovan. 9. Ceann Abhradh may have been where the 'Pass of the Melting' came later. 10. Dr. F.W. Joyce. 11. Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. 12. Onomasticon. 13. Book of Leinster. 14. O'Donovan in Four Masters. 15. Leabhar Buidhe Lecan. 16. Fermoy Topography. 17. O'Donovan in Four Masters. 18. O'Heerin's Topographical Poems.

Ballyhouna

Cormac Cas fought the battle of Samhain in 241 A.D. against Eochaidh Red Brow, king of Ulster.¹ Cian, son of Oilill Olum, was killed there². There Eochaidh fell.

"And there", narrates Caoilte Mac Ronan,³ "was hit Cormac Cas, who, for thirteen years thereafter, lay under cure, with his brain leaking away from him, and he, for that period, holding the rule of Munster.

"At Dun-ar-Sleibh, or dun on the mountain, he had built a fort, in whose midst was a sparkling well. About the spring, he had made a great royal house. At its brink were planted three huge pillarstones. With his head to the eastward, the king's bed was set between the pillar stones. Out of a cuach, or bowl, a confidential warrior of his people splashed water on his head continuously. There, too, he died, and, in that fort, was laid in subterranean excavations.

"Dun-tri-liag, or fort of three pillar stones, by way of name, was given to it."⁴

CATH CHNUIC an AIR

One of the most popular poems ascribed to Oisín is Cath Chnuic an Air (battle of the Hill of Slaughter). There is a Knockanaar on the Awbeg.⁵ Near it, on the margin of the river, is Tober Braca (brawka), meaning Well of the Harrow. There is a legend that a battle was fought there about the time of the Christian era.⁶ Druids immersed the wounded in the well, and they were healed, and in perfect health next day. After the battle, the well was covered with a golden harrow, and earth. "Ages elapsed before it was uncovered".⁷

Before that mythical battle was fought, Niamh Nuadhchrothach, daughter of "the High King of Greece", appeared on the scene. She detests her husband, Tailc Mac Treoin, she tells the Fianna. Twice had he devastated Greece before getting her in marriage, she avers. She appeals to Fionn Mac Cumhal to rid her of him.

Tailc, son of the Catheads, appears, and demands battle for his wife's restoration to him. Ten hundred warriors are sent against him. Not a man returns from the conflict. Then Oscar proudly advances. They close in mortal combat. For five days and five nights they fight, man to man, and sword to sword, until Tailc falls to the blade of Oscar.⁸

The Fianna, then, give three shouts on the hill.

Leaba Oscar (bed of Oscar), a sepulchral mound, is on the north side of Corranmore, over Mount Russell.⁹

1. Silva Gadelica. 2. O'Donovan in Four Masters. 3. Achallamh na Senorach. 4. Duntrylleague, about three miles from Galbally. 5,6,7. Walter Jones in Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal for 1902. Canon Barrett P.P. MacRoom informed me that Knockanaar is the round hillock east of, and overlooking Buttevant, on which is the reservoir which supplies water to the town. 8. Cath Chnuic an Air, as edited by Sceilg. 9. Topography of Fermoy.

Ballyhoura

Fianna Annihilated

Cormac Mac Art fought battles against Munster at Grian, and at Samhain in 241 A.D.,¹ Conoc Greine is over Pallasgreen, Co. Limerick.² Samhain is now Cnoc Samhna, near Bruree.³ Cian, son of Oilill Olum, fell there.⁴ Cormac Mac Art died in 266 A.D.⁵

Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas, was the principal opponent of Cairbre Liffeachair, successor to Cormac.

"Since Mogh Nuadhat, grandfather of Cormac Cas, had been murdered in his tent by Goll, son of Morna, at Magh Leana, the kings of Munster entertained hatred against Clanna Morna. The Munster kings formed an alliance with Clanna Baoisgne, the leader of whom was Fionn Mac Cumhal. Cormac Cas, king of Munster, married Samhair, daughter of Fionn Mac Cumhal,⁶ and had three sons by her: Finn, Conla, and Mogh Corb. Mogh Corb was ancestor of Brian Boru".⁷

After the death of Fionn Mac Cumhal in 283 A.D., Clanna Baoisgne were disbanded by Cairbre Liffeachair. They came to Munster, and Mogh Corb retained them in his service, contrary to the orders of the monarch. This led to the battle of Gowra,⁸ where Clanna Baoisgne and Clanna Morna almost annihilated one another.⁹ This battle was fought in 284 A.D.¹⁰

* * * *

1. Four Masters. 2. O'Donovan. 3. O'Donovan. 4. Four Masters
O'Curry says he fell at Mogh Macruimhe. 5. Four Masters.
6. O'Curry says she was a daughter of Oisín. 7. O'Donovan in
Four Masters. 8. On the Hill of Skreen, Co. Meath, says
O'Donovan. 9. O'Donovan in Four Masters. 10. Four
Masters.

Ballyhoura

V.

FIACHA MUILLEATHAN

Patron of Learning and of Sport

When Muncha, wife of Eoghan son of Oilill Olum, after the death of her husband at Magh Mucruimhe in 195 A.D., felt the pangs of approaching child-birth, her father, Dil da Greca, a druid, who was supposed to have the gift of prophesy, said if she forebore delivery for twenty-four hours, the child to be born instead of being merely an eminent druid, would one day fill the throne of Ireland.¹

Determining to facilitate the future greatness of her offspring, the mother waded into the Suir at Ath Uishnail, and there sat on a stone for twenty-four hours. Delivery was thus delayed, but the crown of the child's head was flattened by the stone. Hence the name Muilleathan, or broad crown. The mother died in childbirth.²

Cormac Mac Art and Fiacha Muilleathan were born on the same day,³ seven months after their fathers had fallen on the same day at the battle of Magh Mucrumha.⁴ Fiacha would, therefore have been born in 196 A.D.

He resided at Onoc Raphann,⁵ now Knockgraffon. Raphann was Fiacha's nurse.⁶ The place is situated two miles north of Cahir, Co. Tipperary. Dun Eochair Muighe, now Bruree, belonged to Cormac Cas.⁷

When Fiacha became king of Munster, he was a patron of learning. For a historical poem, recited at Aine Cliach, (Knockaney), he gave Cairbre Finn Mor Maccy Musc the country from Claire to Lough Derg, on the Shannon.⁸

Horse Races at Lough Gur

Horse Races were held at Lough Gur, three miles north of Bruff. With a black horse, Dil Mac Da Chreca, grandfather of Fiacha, that is, his mother's father, won the three chief prizes. Fiacha bought the horse, and presented it to Fionn Mac Cumhal.⁹

Three days later, Fionn took leave of Fiacha. Caoilte and Oisín went with him. Fionn tried the speed of his horse against theirs. After a long ride through the mountains of West Munster, they reached a lonely valley at eventide, and saw a

1. & 2. Keating's Forus Feasa ar Éirinn.

3. & 4. Forbuis Droma Damghaire.

6. Keating. 7. Book of Lecan. 8. Mac Fírbis in Book of Genealogies.

9. Dunaire Finn (Prof. Mac Neill).

Ballyhoura

house where they had never seen one before.

They approach, and are welcomed by a churl, who entertained them with a discordant chorus from headless bodies. They saw him kill their horses, apparently being powerless to prevent it. He roasted the flesh for their supper. They refused the food, and were attacked by the churl. They fight through the night, in the darkness. As dawn breaks, they swoon. When they recover, the house has vanished, and their horses are uninjured. They ride away.¹

No doubt, the "mountain dew" in Ian Luachair, was very strong.

FORBUIIS DROMA DAMHGHAIRE

Or Siege of Knocklong

Cormac Cas was king of Munster in 260 A.D., according to O'Curry.² If he died in that year, Fiacha Muilleathan would have been 64 years of age when the rule of Munster reverted to him. Possibly, the date should be pushed back a few years. O'Curry also says³ that Cormac Mac Art commenced his reign at Tara in 225 A.D. The Four Masters says 227. Therefore O'Curry must have been incorrect in saying at page 271 of his Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History that the "Forbuis Droma Damhghaire by King Cormac Mac Airt against Fiacha Muilleathan, king of Munster" took place "about the year of Our Lord 220".

Cormac's hospitality and munificence exhausted the royal revenue of Tara. ⁴ He was informed by his steward, Maine Mibriarach Mac Miduath, that all his flocks are dead. He blames the steward for neglecting to inform him of that fact before he had given to Tara's seven tribes the 180 cows - the usual tribute - he had received from each province in Ireland. For the cattle of the tribes had died.⁵

"The next tribute will not be for a year", said the king, "and I cannot wrong anyone".

"There is another source of revenue", said the steward. "Only one of the two provinces of Munster has paid tribute. The other is ruled by a brother of Mac Con Mac Niadh Mac Lughaidh. Mac Con killed your father".

Cormac is pleased. He convenes a Council of the lords and vassals of northern Ireland, and consults his troops.

"I will not rest until I have planted my tent in Munster", he declares.

1. Dunsair Finn (Prof. Mac Neill).

2 & 3. Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History.

4. Keating's Forus Feasa ar Eirinn

5. The version of the Siege of Knocklong that is given here is based on a translation of Forbuis Droma Damhghaire by Sister Mary Philip of the Convent of Mercy, Cobh, Co. Cork. The tale is fully published in Revue Celtique Vols 42 & 43.

Ballyhoura

He sends envoys to Fiacha Muilleathan at Cnoc Rafann. They are welcomed by Fiacha.

"We have come to demand the tribute of the second province of Munster", said they.

"Such a demand was never made before", said Fiacha.

"It is demanded now" said they. "And Cormac, as king, requires its immediate payment."

"It is unjust, and I will not pay it", said Fiacha.

He consults the Munstermen, and, to tide Cormac over his present difficulty, they agree to offer him an ox from every farm in Munster. That is to be a free gift, not a tribute. Cormac refuses the offer, and, relying on his rights as king, reiterates his demand.

Fiacha and the Munstermen deliberate, and refuse.

Women, children, and cattle, are placed on the islets for safety. All the able-bodied men of Munster repair to Cenn Claire.¹

Cormac's army moves southward as far as Druim Meadhon Mairtini, now Imleach Ibhair.² Next day, they go to Cnoc na Cenn.

The soldiers of Munster went to the neighbouring hills to see Cormac's army, and, seeing them, called the hill where they were Druim Damhghaire.³

Cormac ordered Cithruadh to set up the royal tent, as he had done for the father, and grandfather, of Cormac. Cithruadh could not fix the poles in the ground. Colptha took the poles, and, while insulting Cithruadh, exercised all his might, but in vain, to fix the poles. "It is the injustice of the expedition that hinders the setting up of the poles", said Cithruadh. A great number of men came to their assistance, and the poles were erected in lines, like a ship-building dockyard.

Cormac, thinking the camp too low, upbraided his druids. They raised the hill fifty cubits. After three days the camp was ready, and they redemanded the tribute. Again the demand was refused.

1. Near Duntryleague, 3 miles from Galbally.

2. Emly.

3. Cnoc na Cenn is therefore Knocklong.

Ballyhoura

SINGLE COMBAT

The Munstermen, during three days, prepare to fight Cormac's men in single combat. There were four hundred Munstermen divided into companies of twenty. Each chief was able for twenty men, and each man for nine. Mogh Corb Mac Cormac Cas Mic Oilill Olum, encouraged the Munstermen. Cairbre Liffeachair, son of Cormac, incited the men of the north.

Colptha advanced westwards to the northwest bank of the Ath na nOe, now Ath Colptha.¹ His antagonist, Finn Fidhrinde, went to the south west of Ath Corco Maigin, now Ath Colptha. Mogh Corb and Cairbre accompanied them. They fought until twilight. Finn's body was covered with wounds, but Colptha was strong, though wounded. Still, Finn continued to fight for three days, until Colptha vanquished him by magic, and also his twenty warriors.

Lurga now engaged Failbe Mac Feduigh. Though very brave, Failbe succumbed. Colptha and Lurga, fighting alternately, slew 280 Munstermen. Then the southerners refused single combat.

Still they refused Cormac the tribute.

Cormac upbraided his druids, saying they had promised to make Munster yield by causing plagues. Then the druids hid all the water of the province, except what Cormac and his men required. But the Munstermen had milk. And they refused the tribute.

Cormac got his druids to dry up the cows. The Munstermen bled their flocks, mixed dew with the blood, and drank it. Their tongues swelled, and they lost speech and strength. In this desperate plight, at last they yield.

"Tell Cormac that all his demands are granted", said Fiacha.

Anger and pride overcame Cormac and his nobles.

"Inflict on this rebellious province humiliating conditions, and everlasting servitude", said they.

The conditions laid down were that every three months each southern king, prince and noble, should send to every northern king, prince, and noble, the choicest and rarest foods, a son or daughter from every inhabitant as a hostage, and one-ninth of the harvests of Munster.

The Munstermen, crushed in spirit, agreed.

"Where now is your magic science", said Fiacha to Dil Mac Da Chreca, his maternal grandfather. "You who cannot aid or succour us in our present need".

"We have not succeeded in it", said Dil.

"Even had you given us water, we would never have submitted to this tribute", said Fiacha.

1. At Long Cliach (Book of Lismore), around Knockaney. Lige ind oie is near Cullen, in the barony of Coenagh, Co. Limerick. (Onomasticon.)

Ballyhoura

"Only Mogh Ruith, your tutor, who helped me to rear you, can help us now", said Dil.

"Where is he to be found?"

"At Inis Dairbre.¹ But he would like some land, for the place is small wherein he lives."

The Munstermen promise to give him land.²

MOGH RUTH'S TERMS

Dil proceeded to Inis Dairbre, informed Mogh Ruith of his errand, and asked his aid.

"I can deliver them from their ills", said Mogh Ruith. As recompense, I require 100 red and white milch cows, 100 fat pigs, 100 strong oxen, 100 racehorses, 50 mantles, white and downey, and the first noble's daughter for a wife; first place when the Munster troops defile, so that my successor will rank as king. And also that the king of Munster shall choose his adviser from my descendants. If they follow his advice, victory will be theirs. If he should betray the king, let death and destitution be his lot. The three men that sit in front of the king, and the one on his right hand, shall be of my descendants. Lands in Munster which I shall choose to be mine, free of tax. Its extent to be an area that my servants can walk around in a day. If they agree to these terms, let Mogh Corb, and Donn Dairine, come and pledge it, and I shall go and deliver them".

Dil went east to Claire,³ where Fiacha's army was waiting, now moribund. They agreed to the terms, and the envoys went to Dairbre. They were well received, and the contract was concluded.

Mogh Ruith would not let them depart on the return journey until next day.

"Who will choose your land?" asked the Munster nobles, for Mogh Ruith was blind.

"Myself", said Mogh Ruith. "Give me the earth of the territories through which we pass, and I will tell from its odour which is the best, so that whether it be good or bad, I alone shall be responsible."

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1. Valentia Island.
 2. The king alone could not give the land. The people's assent was necessary.
 3. Hill near Duntryleague, 3 miles northwest of Galbally. (O'Donovan in Four Masters.)

Ballyhoura

He Decides at Ballyhoura

The earth in Glen Bethbhe in Corca Duibhne¹ displeased him, and also that of Cricoch Eoghanachta² in Corca Duibhne, as well as the earth of Aes Cuille³ and Ealla⁴ and Cricch Cairiche, now Muscraidhi Fheaga. On reaching Tech (teach?) Forannain Finn, now Ceann Abhrat,⁵ he said, "I shall not leave this place until I have made my choice, for once with the army, I could not ask them for land or property".

They bring him clay from Cliu Mail Mic Ughaine Mor,⁶ in Min Mairtini in Munster.⁷

I refuse it", said he. "It is from there will arise the evil that will destroy all Munster.⁸ It is the way of dissension and pillage. I would not take it under any pretext".

From there they went to Corchaille Mic Con, or Caille Menne Mic Erca Mic Degadh, now FirMuighe.⁹ It is called Caille Mac n-Eirc because the sons of Erc lived there, namely Menne Mac Erca, Natha Mac Erca, and Ailbhe Mac Erca. Its other name, Firmuighe Meine, was got from the mineral ore found in the neighbouring mountains. Pieces of ore are still found in the fields.

It was called Corchaille Mic Con because it rightly belonged to the Dairine Clan; and there at Rosach na Righ¹⁰ Mac Con lived until the battle of Ceann Abhrat.¹¹

On taking the earth, he said "The mountain around the wood, and the wood about the plain".¹²

He took possession of this land, advising his "children" "to be as venomous interiorly as affectionate towards one another. For, though nine serpents hatch in the same nest, they each love the clutches of the others as well as their own". It is thus I wish my descendants to act in unison".

1. Now Corcaguiney and Iveragh, and barony of Magonihy, Kerry
Corca Duibhne was a son of Cairbre Musc, son of Conaire II and
Saraidh, daughter of Conn of the Hundred Battles (O'Curry)

2. Around Lough Lein, Killarney.

3. Aes Chind Chuille was in Ballyhours (Onomasticon). 4. The
Allow flows through Kanturk. 5. Ballyhoura, near Seefin. 6. The
plain of Limerick. 7. Between Ballyhoura and Sliabh Felim, i.e.
Co. Limerick. 8. Probably a reference to the treachery of Donovan
to Mahon, brother of Brian Boru, at a later date. 9. Fermoy.

10. Near Doneraile (Crichad an Chaoille). 11. Ballyhoura. 12. This
meant the area between the Ballyhoura and the Nagle mountains. It
was well wooded then. 13. The inference from this illustration is
that there were serpents in Ireland before the time of St. Patrick.

"As long as they act in this manner, they will be invincible", he went on. "But under three conditions: (a) to live in good reciprocal understanding with their neighbours; (b) to fulfill the terms of the contract; (c) to keep on good relations with Fiacha's race. "I recommend them to be generous, dignified, and to fight for Munster always".

THE CHOSEN LAND

"Is that the land you choose?" they asked.

"Yes", said Mogh Ruith.

"Who will cut out and fix the bounds for you?"

"Mac Caich, a dhalta",¹ said he. "It is my pupils who will go".

These pupils were Muchet, from whom is named Corca Muichet, in the land of Uíbh Connail;² Bent, from whom are descended all the Benntraidhe in Ireland; Buirech, in Fossach Mor, bordering on Uí Mic Caille;³ Dil Mor Mac Da Chreca, from whom is named Druim ndil, and all the Crecraidhe in Ireland.⁴ Finally, Ceannmar from Caire Comain, in Cloenloch in the Deisi.

"How shall we mark the land, dearest Tutor", said the young men, standing up.

"By the help of the hammer on the anvil", said Mogh Ruith, "That is from Fídh in Uírd (wood of the hammer)⁵ in Orbraighe,⁶ to Indeoin (anvil) na Deisi;⁷ the part from Fuadcaille, now Glen m-Brighdi,⁸ to the road where flows the Oíther stream under the guisach (pine) forest, green and branchy, towards Colaem".⁹

Going towards the southwest, from Tech Forannain Finn, that is from Ceann Abhrat, Muchet, at their head, took a wrong road, because it had previously been revealed to him that his residence would be in the west. They went to Bunraide,¹⁰ to Cleitech,¹¹ to Dun Dailche Finnlethet¹² and, from there, came directly to Slich tin Leith¹³ in the east, and then towards Glenn Brigdi¹⁴ and Carn Tighernaigh Mic Deghaidh.¹⁵

1. A disciple, or pupil. 2. Tuath O'Conail was between Brig Gobann (Mitchelstown) and the Blackwater, bordering Co. Waterford (Crichad an Chaoille). 3. Imokilly, near Youghal. 4. Dil represented Fiacha, probably. 5. Now Newtown, near Charleville. 6. Orrery Barony. 7. Now Mullaghnoney, Newchapel, near Clonmel (O'Donovan). 8. Valley of the Bride, near Rathcormac. 9. Unidentified. 10. Cannot have been Bunratty, Clare. Drom Raite was west of Tuath O'Fiannaidh (Father Wilson). The Finnow flows through Ballyclough. 11. Cannot have been Bunratty, Clare. 12. Cleitech is in a trian of Uí Congairb in Tuath Muighe Finne (Book of Lismore). The district between Doneraile & Nagle mountains (Crichad an Chaoille). 13. Supposed to be Clochliathfinn, near Marshalstown, or Clochliathmuine, in Kilgollane (O'Donovan in Four Masters.) 14. Unidentified. 15. Bride Valley. 15. Corran, near Fermoy (Onomasticon).

Ballyhoura

Buirech then took the lead, and also a wrong road because it had been foretold to him that it was in the south he should establish himself. They continued their way to Gluair Fir Muighe Feine¹ and went up as far as Cloch na Cruithnechta² to Leac Failmer, Glenn Cusaigi Croilinnche³, Berna nGall, to the east of Taillech Aedha, Bern Doire Caille Monad, now Bern Leachta na Setna, Carn Aedha Mic Lidhne, Leac Uidhir, Carn Maelglaisin, Ath Cill Buinden, Ath de Abhann.⁴

Then they returned to Tech Forannain Finn.⁵

Maledictions of Mogh Ruith

"Have you finished your task?" asked Mogh Ruith.

"We have" said they.

"It seems to me that you must have omitted a part, judging by your rapidity", said he.

"We omitted nothing", said they.

"Show me your soles".

They showed them to him.

"Why did you wrong me, Muchet?" said he.

"Because it was revealed to me that my lands would be before me in the west and I did not want to neglect my own interests".

"True. Your land is there, but you will not profit by it. Little land, and much wood is there. May it yield you no benefit.

"Why did you wrong me Bent?"

"I am old and tired, and could not oppose them".⁶

"May you and your descendants prosper".

"Why did you wrong me, Buirech?"

"It was foretold to me that my race would possess the region I chose for you".

1. Gluair means bright, clear, effulgent. This place must be somewhere near Fermoy.

2. A wheatstone, indicating the vicinity of wheat-growing land, probably.

3. Glen of bloody hollows is a suggested meaning.

1 to 4 inclusive, are probably between Fermoy and Mallow, by the Blackwater, adjacent to the Nagle Mountains.

5. Ballyhoura, at Seefin (Father Wilson P.P. Ballyhea)

6. The agents of Fiacha must have influenced in some way the pupils of Mogh Ruith to restrict the area they were delimiting for their tutor. That effort to over-reach Mogh Ruith is indicated in another way. "Cacille (that is the area in question) as per contract was handed over to Mogh Ruith and his sons, but, to diminish the newcomer's influence, the two triuchas, of which the region consisted, were reduced to one, while the sixteen suffragan tuaths were cut down to ten". (Canon Power in Crichead an Chaoille, p.p.14-15).

"Let it be so, O'Buirech, and may your descendants never exceed a hearth and a half. Why did you wrong me, Cennmar?"

"It was revealed to me that my possessions would be in the west, and I did not wish to curtail them".

"May the lands of your race be always precarious, and may it be subject to robbery and plunder. Why did you wrong me Dil?"

"For the same reason", said Dil.

"May you never profit by your land, and may your race, the Creachraidhe, be scattered over Ireland".

They pledged one another in regular contracts.

Then they went to Ceann Claire,¹ where Fiacha and the Munstermen were encamped. They all acclaimed Mogh Ruith. Eimhne (Ina), daughter of Aonghus Tirech, disciple of Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas, was given to him as wife. Cúl Eimhne gets its name from her.²

All contracts were then signed.

SUPREME MAGICIAN

Mogh Ruith Overwhelms High King's Druids

"Give me my magic lance, and dig where it strikes the ground", said Mogh Ruith to Cennmar.

He flung the lance into the air, and, where it fell, a stream burst forth, which bears Cennmar's name.³ They all drank, and got back their strength and dignity, and the water flowed over the land, and refreshed man and beast.

Cormac heard the Munstermen's shout of joy. They sent a message to him to say that they refused to pay the tribute, and repudiated the truce. Cormac and the northerners are apprehensive, and recollect that their own druids opposed the expedition, and foretold its disastrous consequences. On the Munstermen re-assuring Mogh Ruith of the enjoyment of his possessions, he decides to lower the hill where their enemies are, whom they can see only by raising their eyes. Magh Ruith's face was turned steadily towards the hill.

1. The hill over Duntryleague. Therefore the army of Munster remained on this hill the whole time since they first encamped there.

2. Templemolaga was also called Nonanc, Neynan, or n-eidhnean according to Lewis Topographical Dictionary. The name Eimhne seems to be suggested, for Molaga was descended from Mogh Ruith, son of Fergus Mac Ruith, king of Ulster (Canon O'Hanlon).

3. Tobar Ceannmoir is in the parish of Imleach Griana, Co. Limerick (Keating). The stream from it is called Sruth Cheanna Mhoir. The well is near the road on the boundary between Parish of Enlygrenan and the Parish of Glenbrohaun (Onomasticon).

"I turn. I return", said Mogh Ruith, blowing on the hill.

A great tempest arose, so that the tents disappeared, enveloped in dark clouds and fog. A scene of confusion ensued. The cries of men, the neighs of horses, the tumult of chariots, and the crash of arms. The Munstermen rejoiced

COMBAT of DRUIDS

The northerners saw that their sorcery had rebounded on themselves. Cormac reproached his druids. Colptha arose, ashamed. He wore a shield with a circle of iron, carried a heavy piercing sword, forged of thirty flaming metals, and two dark smoking lances. Cennmar advanced against him. Ciabre Liffeachair and Mogh Ruith were the witnesses. Raithin in Imairic, on the ford to the southwest, was the scene of the encounter.

Mogh Ruith sent northwards a druidic breath. Colptha guessed Mogh Ruith had caused the commotion. But seeing Mogh Ruith armed, he was surprised, for he knew Mogh Ruith was blind.

Mogh Ruith gave his handstone to Cennmar, telling him to throw it in the ford as Colptha advanced. Cennmar did so. It became a huge sea-eel. A tempest arose in the ford. Cormac attributed it to Mogh Ruith, and Fiacha to Colptha. Cennmar took the form of a stone, and a big stone in the ford took the form of Cennmar.

Colptha attacked the form of Cennmar, not knowing it was a stone. He dealt it three blows, causing gaping holes. The eel made itself into nine knots around the body of Colptha, imprisoning his hands. When Colptha raised a foot, the eel's tail struck it down. When he raised his head, the eel seized the back of it in his jaws, and dashed it against the stream.

"Why do you not kill him, and take the reputation of having done so", said Mogh Ruith to Cennmar.

Cennmar seized Mogh Ruith's druidic lance, jumped on Colptha's body, and cut off his head. Then Cennmar swooned. Mogh Corp jumped into the ford, and brought away the head.

The death of Colptha occurred at Ath na n-Oc,¹ now Ath Colptha.

Liffeachair returned to his camp.

The Munstermen shouted for joy.

"Do you sing victory?" asked Mogh Ruith.

"Yes", said they, "for Mogh Corb carries the head".

"Where is Cennmar?"

1. Lige ind Oic was near Cullen, barony of Coonagh, Co. Limerick (Onomasticon). Cluain Corca Oiche was in Ui Fidhgheinte. (O'Donovan).

"He swooned".

"Pity", said Mogh Ruith. "If he had come with the head, none of his posterity would ever be vanquished in single combat, on condition that they carried the arms of one of my descendants."

"Accord that privilege to me", said Mogh Corb, "since I brought the head, and since I must see that the contract is fulfilled, and you have chosen my daughter¹ who is as valuable as Colptha."

"I give it to you", said Mogh Ruith, "as long as you will fulfil the engagements you have contracted with me to perform, and every one of your descendants will carry, in combat, arms of one of mine".

"Prophecy the future", said Mogh Corb.

"You will become king of Munster, and, from you, will come a long dynasty to occupy the throne".²

Cormac Tries Bribery

Cormac, hearing the Munstermen shouting in jubilation, asked Cithruadh, his chief druid, what was the cause.

"Our battalions will fall, and I and my two brothers will be transformed by Mogh Ruith into three stones", added Cithruadh. He had not advised the expedition.

"Go to Mogh Ruith, remind him of his origin,³ and ask him not to crush the north. Offer him the kingdom of Ulster, and an ox from every farm between Tara and Carrare Bracuide", said Cormac.

Cithruadh gave the message.

"It is my duty to crush them, since they exiled Fergus, depriving him of the kingdom of Ulster, and of all land and rank", said Mogh Ruith.

"Only a small number of the nobles of the north plotted this injustice", said Cithruadh. "Will you not accept Cormac's rewards?"

"I shall not abandon my disciple for all the gold in the world", said Mogh Ruith. "And tell Cormac that, even if Mogh Corb were the only man in Munster, I would not abandon the conflict."

1. It is previously stated in the text that she was the daughter of Aonghus Tierch, disciple of Mogh Corb.

2. The descendants of Mogh Corb are the Dalcassians, i.e., the O'Briens of Thomond.

3. Mogh Ruith was descended from Fergus Mac Ruithe, king of Ulster (O'Hanlon).

Ballyhoursa

Cithruadh departed. Mogh Ruith consulted Ban Buama, the druidess at Sidh Cairn Breachutan.

"You and the Munstermen will be victorious", said she.

"Mogh Ruith returned to Cenn Claire¹ to Fiacha.

"I shall obtain a tribute for you" said he.

Druidic Fires

"The only way to get help is to light a druidic fire", said Cithruadh to Cormac.

"Be it done" said he.

"Bring me wood of the Sorb mountain ash tree", said Cithruadh to Cormac's army. "The southerners will do the same. If the fires turn towards the south, then the southerners may be pursued with advantage. If the fires turn northward, we must disperse, as we shall be vanquished".

"The northerners have prepared a fire as big as the hill you lowered", the Munstermen told Mogh Ruith.

"Go to Lethaird Wood", said he, "and let each man bring a brosna (bundle), except Fiacha, who is to bring an armful of hardwood, in which the birds lived in spring, on a side of the mountain where three shelters are found: shelter from the March wind, shelter from the sea wind, and shelter from the 'luisin'.² Thus your successors", said he to Fiacha, "will always have two rights: a handful, and what can be carried on the shoulders. But do not bring a faggot, lest your successors called 'faggot-makers'."

They went to Caill Lethaird,³ now Caill Eoghan and it is from Fiacha Muilleathan Mac Eoghan's race the wood gets the name it bears.

"Prepare, and light the fire", said Mogh Ruith.

Cennmar formed it like a churn, which had three sides, three angles and seven doors. The northern fire had only two doors, and it was piled up anyhow.

Mogh Ruith struck the flint. "Cut chips from the handles of your lances", said he. They did so. These he mixed, and threw into the fire. It blazed with a great roar.

"Harness my oxen to the chariot", said Mogh Ruith. "and have your horses ready. If the fires turn northward, pursue them without stopping; if southward, defend yourselves and do battle on the roads and recesses of the province".

1. Duntryleague

2. Luisin is a permanent mark or injury. Luisne, a flame.

3. Lethaird appears to have been towards Aherlow.

Ballyhoura

He breathed a druidic breath, which formed a cloud over Cenn Claire.¹ Seeing it, Cithruadh said to Cormac: "The results will be disastrous for us".

Central Munster had then the woods of Giusach (pine) from Drum an Eoghuhuil (Knockaney) east to Caille Tochail, Colltanan, west to Ess Maighe (Caherass), downwards to Carn Feradhaigh² (Corranmore, or Seefin on the Ballyhouras); and from Drum an Eoghuhuil to Claire and Roscrea, as well as to Glen Bebhthach (between two roads).

"How are the fires?" asked Mogh Ruith.

"They follow each other, burning the country west, and north as far as Drum Asail³ and the Shannon, and back again to where they started. They have not left wood or grass in all the central plain of Munster".

Mogh Ruith put on his bull's hide, and other druidic equipment. He rose in the air, and beat the fires northwards. Cithruadh tried to beat them southwards, but Mogh Ruith swept them over Cormac's camp.

Cithruadh, beaten, arranged the retreat of Cormac's army. He forbade them to give battle.

Mogh Ruith descended, and ordered Munster to advance. They converged on Ard Cluain na Feinne, and slaughtered the enemy. The pursuit was carried to Magh Nachtair, now Magh Raidhne (in Ossory). There fell 800 men.

Cecht, Crota, and Cithruadh, were with the retreating army. Mogh Ruith sent forward a druidic breath, and they were changed into stones. Leaca Raidhne gets its name from these stones.

"The Black Ditch"

"This country (Barony of Fermoy) was in two districts before it was given to Mogh Ruith, and eight tuaths (or chieftainries) were in each district. And this boundary (the 'Black Ditch') which divides these two districts i.e. as runs the stream of Martel's Mill, in Sliabh Cain and Loch Luinge on the plain, and the glen of the exiles in Mona Mor. And, on its being given to Mogh Ruith, they were made into one district, to lessen the influence of Mogh Ruith's posterity after his death. And the sureties for maintaining it in that independence were Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas and his posterity after him. And it was then divided into ten tuaths, eight fit for cultivation, and two tuaths of mountain land around."⁴

-
1. Hill near Duntryleague.
 2. O'Donovan in Four Masters says Carn Feradhaigh was probably the ancient name of Seefin.
 3. Drum Asail is Tory Hill near Croom. Caherass is half way between Adare and Croom.
 4. O'Longan's Tract of the Two Fermoy's.

Ballyhoursa

Martel's Mill must have been at Meadstown, where the road from Shanballymore crosses the Farahy River.¹
Loch Luinge is probably Ballinaltig Lough, near Glanworth.²

"The proper name of this tuath (Rosach na Righraidhe) is Hy Rossa; and its length is from the top of Sliabh Cain to Awebeg".³ "Rosach na Righraidhe, now Rossa, near Doneraile, was the ancient burial ground of the kings of Fermoy".⁴ This burial period must have been when it was the site of the residence of Mac Con, and not since the advent of Mogh Ruith to the district.

There is a Moin Mhor in Glenanaar, and portion of the Black Ditch may be seen still.

"Very Strange"

"It looks very strange that neither the Four Masters, nor Tighernach, make any special mention of Cormac's expedition into Munster, against Fiacha Muilleathan, king of that province, of which expedition the historical tale called Forbais Droma Damhghaire (i.e. the encampment of Druim Damhghaire, now Knocklong, in the County of Limerick), preserved in the Book of Lismore. fol. 169; and Keating, in his History of Ireland, and the Book of Lecan, fol. 133a, give such minute particulars.

"On this occasion the Druid, Mogh Ruith, the ancestor of the O'Dugans of Fermoy, displayed wondrous magical powers in supplying the Munster forces with water, and a spring well which he caused to issue from the earth by discharging a magical javelin is still pointed out. The inhabitants of this neighbourhood also believe that he caused the sun to stand still for a whole hour, to enable the forces of Leath-Chuinn (this should be Leath-Mogha) to dislodge Cormac from his entrenchment at Knocklong. Cormac was completely routed and pursued into Ossory, where he was obliged to deliver up pledges or hostages to Fiacha, as security for making reparation for the injuries done to Munster by the expedition.

"The truth is that the annalists of Leath-Chuinn pass over the affairs of Munster very slightly, and seem unwilling to acknowledge any triumph of theirs over the race of Conn of the Hundred Battles; and this feeling was mutual on the part of the race of Oilill Olum."⁵ None of the battles of Conn of the Hundred Battles is mentioned in the Four Masters. Many of them recorded his defeat by Eoghan Mor.

But Conor Mac Nessa; king of Ulster, does not appear in the Four Masters either.⁶

1 & 2. Canon Power's *Crichad an Chaoilli*

3. Book of Lismore.

4. O'Longan's note in *Tract of the Two Fermoy's*.

5. O'Donovan's note in *Annals of Four Masters*, pages 117-118.

6. O'Curry's *M.S. Materials of Irish History*.

Cormac's Revenge

Mogh Ruith would not allow the Munstermen to halt until they reached Sliabh Fuait.¹ Fiacha set up his tent there, and the place is since called "Inadh Pupla Fiachach" (site of Fiacha's tent).

The Northerners now offered all the hostages, tributes, and taxes that would please the Munstermen. They would accept nothing until they had sojourned two months, two seasons, and two years, in the North.² Cormac had to come in person, and pay the tribute.

Fiacha and the Munstermen returned to Cnoc Raphann.³

Connla Mac Tadhg Mac Cein, Fiacha's paternal first cousin, was sent to Cormac to be reared and educated, "by way of quit rent". And Cormac remained at peace with Fiacha for a long time.

Connla became so clever, and so gentlemanly, that he was a model for all. He fell in love with a lady from Sidh Locha Gabhar. He insulted her. She asked him to look towards her dwelling. He did so. Her people blew their breath upon him, and he became covered with a burning itch.

Cormac, who counted upon Connla to revenge him on Fiacha, was afflicted at the sight.

"What is the remedy for this affliction?" asked Connla

"You must bathe in the blood of Fiacha Muilleathan", said Cormac.

Connla went to Cnoc Raphann, Fiacha's residence.³

Fiacha welcomed him, tried to cure him, gave him one-third of his confidence, and a bed as high as his own. Connla acted as Fiacha's secretary, and received a salary.

One day, Fiacha went bathing in the Suir at Ath Isiul.⁴ He left his spear with Connla on the bank of the river. Connla thrust the spear through him.

"Bathe, as you were told, in my blood", said Fiacha, "but you will get no ease, and your enemies will rejoice".

Fiacha would not permit him to be punished. Connla died of hunger and disease. No other punishment was necessary.⁵

1. The Fews, Co. Monaghan. This is an exaggeration, like the rest of the narrative. Keating does not say the pursuit went beyond Ossory.

2. Also an exaggeration

3. Cnoc Raphann, now Knockgraffon, remained the seat of the O'Sullivans, descendants of Fiacha, until 1192, when they were pushed westwards by the Anglo-Normans (O'Donovan)

4. Athassel, on the Suir, near Golden. (Onomasticon)

5. Forbuis Droma Damhghaire ends here.

VI

COMING OF PATRICK

His Reception in the South

"All the tribes descended from Oilill Olum, by his three sons, Eoghan Mor, Cormac Cas and Cian, were considered free states, exempted from the payment of annual tribute for the support of the king's household".¹

Corc, king of Munster, erected a fort on the rock, Sidh Dhruim (fairy ridge), and changed its name to Caiseal (Cashel). i.e., Cios Ail, or tribute rent.²

Corc had been preceded on the throne of Munster by his father, Lughaidh, who succeeded his brother Oilill Flann Beg, a son of Fiacha Muilleathan.³ Corc was the father of Maine Lamhna, from whom the Stuarts of Scotland are descended.⁴

Nadfraoch I succeeded Corc, and his son, Aonghus, was the first Christian king of Munster. Aonghus was king when St. Patrick came to Munster.⁵ "Aonghus, afterwards king of Caiseal was converted".⁶ If Aonghus were king in 432, his father, Nadfraoch I, probably began his reign about 400 A.D. The end of the sway of Corc would, therefore, have been about that time. Hence Caiseal could scarcely have been erected before 380 A.D. The author of the Eugenians would have been wrong in putting the birth of Corc in 269.⁷

During the ceremony at Caiseal of the baptism of Aonghus, the saint's crozier accidentally pierced the king's foot. He bore the pain uncomplainingly, believing it to be part of the ritual.⁸

Aonghus fell in battle at Cella-osnadha (church of the groans), now Kellistown, four miles east of Leighlin, in Co. Carlow in 489.⁹

Patrick came westwards from Cashel to Ceann Abhrat (Ballyhoura). He desired a cloister at Tulach na Feinne, which is now called Ardpatrick. Derball, the son of Aedh, opposed him.¹⁰

"If thou wouldst remove the mountain in that place", said Derball, pointing to Ceann Abhrat, "so that I might see Loch Lungae to the south in Fir Maighe Feine, I would believe".

A mighty landslide occurred. A section of the mountain, resting on slimy ooze, gradually glided northwards, and toppled over the valley beneath. "Bealach Lachta is the name of the pass that melted there".¹²

"Though thou dost it, there will be nothing for it", said Derball.¹³

1. Dr. O'Brien's Vall. Collect 384. 2. O'Donovan. 3 & 4. History of the Eugenians. 5. Keating's Foras Feasa ar Eirinn. 6. Hayden and Mooney's History of Ireland. 7. History of the Eugenians. 8. Keating. 9. Four Masters. 10. Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. 11. Loch Lungae is in Ballinaltig Beg, near Glanworth. (Canon Power in Crichead an Chaoille). 12 & 13. Tripartite Life.

Ballyhoura

"There will not be till Doom a king or bishop of thy race", said Patrick. "And it shall be lawful for the men of Munster to peel you always, every seventh year, like an onion."

According to local tradition, there was once a landslide from the place which is now known as Redchair into the Co. Limerick valley, depositing the hill at the northern side of Glenosheen and Ballyorgan. The place from which the hill is alleged to have slid would be a slimy ooze to-day, were it not for the elaborate drains made by the landholders to carry off the water. In periods of prolonged rainfall, water bursts with a roar from the side of Seefin towards Ballyorgan. There is generally a constant drip of water over the Green Wood, towards Glenosheen. Lachta means dripping. Consequently, Bealach Lachta is the way, or pass, of the dripping. An appropriate name for it. An ancient landslide there is highly probable.

There must be a lake, or reservoir, imprisoned in the mountain near Seefin, from which the torrents gush in very wet seasons. The Ounaneer has its source south of this summit. A little westward of it, there is a fountain-like cataract, on the northern side, visible from Ardpatrick and running through the Green Wood to Glenosheen, far below.

Anciently, there was a lake called Loch Bo on the mountain. Dr P.W. Joyce, however identifies Loch Bo as formerly having been formed by a little river called the Gairha, flowing into a valley, below Clonodfoy. Gairha means shrubby place along a river. He says that when he was a boy, "old Jack Dinan of Glenosheen and Raheenroe, in whose time portion of the lake remained, often spoke of Loch Bo." ¹

A Banquet

St. Patrick went to Aradha Cliach, in the barony of Coonagh, Co. Limerick. There, Ailill, son of Cathbadh, son to Eughaidh of the Eoghanacht of Airthir (eastern) Cliach, resisted grace. A swine, happening to find the chief's baby outside the lios, tore it asunder. The cries of the baby attracted the mother. Distracted, she went lamenting to Patrick.²

"Restore my child and I will believe", said she.

He did so, and the chief, and people believed.

Patrick went to Ui Fidhghiente, which is separated from Ara Cliach by the Samhair (now the Morning Star) river. There Lonan, son of Eirc, was the chief ruler. He received the saint with distinguished honour. He provided a grand banquet at his castle on the summit of Mullach Cae,³ over against Carn Feradhaidh on the south.⁴

1. Canon Lynch in Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal for 1908 and Dr. Joyce in Ballads of Irish Chivalry.

2. O'Hanlon's Lives of Irish Saints.

3. Cnoc Aedh is said to be Culfree, between Seefin and Redchair. The authority for the identification is Pat McGrath, a gardener at Castle Oliver, Glenosheen, who died in 1934, age 96 years. P.W. Joyce identifies as Knockea the hills locally called Culfree.

4. If foregoing identification be correct, Seefin would be Carn Feradhaidh. There is no castle or ruin in Culfree.

Ballyhoura

Deacon Manton of Patrick's people was preparing a banquet with the king. Strolling players, called druids, passing by, demanded food. There was a tardy response. Patrick was displeased because their demands were not readily granted.

"There shall not be a king or a bishop in Lonan's family for ever", said he, "and the church of Manton shall not be exalted on earth".¹

Then a youth named Nesson, carrying a cooked wether to the feast arrived with his mother. St. Patrick asked the boy for the wether to save his honour. The boy gave it cheerfully, although the mother was unwilling, fearing the Chief. Patrick gave that food to the players, and, having partaken of it, they dropped dead.

He baptised Nesson and founded a church and founded for him a church and monastery at Mungret.² Canon O'Hanlon, however, comments: "It is absurd to suppose that St. Patrick founded this monastery for St. Nesson. It is conjectured that Nesson became Abbot of Mungret at, or before, the death of St. Ailbe", who died in 527 A.D. Nesson died 561 A.D.³

Kilvickanese, church of Mac Nessa, is in Doneraile parish.⁴

SAINT at ARDPATRICK

Caolite Mac Ronain, son of Sidhbe, sister of Finn Mac Cumhal, was born at Rosna Righ, otherwise Oenach Cholmain.⁵

He survived the Fianna.⁶ He was baptised by St. Patrick.⁷

When St. Patrick came to Cen Abhrat (Ballyhoura), he stopped at Tulach na Feinne (hill of the Fianna), now Ardpatrick. Eoghan Lethderg, son of Aonghus, king of both Munster provinces, and the nobles came with him from Cashel.

"There his tent was unfurled over Patrick. The king of Munster came with the chief men of his people, laid his head in Patrick's bosom, and made obeisance to him. For a week the saint was there, healing them that had diseases and infirmities, and relieving every other affliction besides."⁸

His own award was accorded to Patrick.

1. Canon O'Hanlon. 2. Ditto. 3. Ditto. 4. Walter Jones in Cork Archaeological Journal for 1902. 5. Walter Jones in Cork Historical and archaeological Journal. 6,7,8, Acallamh na Senorach (O'Grady).

Ballyhoura

After which, Eoghan went his way to Rossach na Righ¹, to his own strong place, and the Munster nobles sought their own several forts, and good towns".²

Some time afterwards, Patrick and Caoilte, at Ardpatrik, saw coming towards them a strong body of men, girt about with a bulwark of shields, and having on their shoulders a forest grove of lofty spears, gold-socketed.³ Some of them entered Patrick's tent. In his bosom they laid their heads, while they made a genuflection to him.

"Who art thou, young man?" asked Patrick of the leader.

"I am Bran, son of Derg, king of Munster",⁴ said he.

"Wherefore art thou come hither"?

"The art and discipline of Fianry I fain would learn", holy cleric", said he. "For I have heard that, in thy company, is a warrior of Finn's people, and with him I desire to learn the Dord Fiansa".

"Caoilte, my soul, thou hearest that?" said Patrick.

"I hear it. Now Bran. How use you yourselves to manage the hunting?"

"Some tulach, or cairn, or wood of mountain, we hem in, and so for a whole day's space, pursue the game. One while we kill a deer; another evades us".

A Hunt on Ceann Abhrat

Then Patrick and Caoilte, and all their company, went up into Ceann Abhrat. And, at the spot they reached, there are three glens,^{5*} between which lies Loch Bo.⁶ The peak of the mountain is Osmetal (mighty stag).⁷ Westward of the Loch is Cnoc na h-Aeire,⁸ and Fininus⁹ is on the eastern end. But the name of the hill is Cnoc Maine.¹⁰

1. Near Doneraile (Crichad an Chaoille). 2. & 3. Acallamb na Senorach. 4. Possibly a son of Eoghan Lothderg, son of Aonghus. 5.* There are three openings, or glens, between Seefin and Blackrock, and the Marking Rocks at this place. Joyce, however, says the glens are Glenosheen on the north; Lyre na Greine on the south; and Lyre na Fraochan on the east. 6. How, therefore could Loch Bo be formed by "a river flowing in a valley below Clonodfoy", if it be between these three glens? 7. Seefin (O'Donovan). 8. Conlan's Abode (Stokes). 9. Seefin (O'Donovan). 10. Names have disappeared.

Ballyhoura

Notes referring to foot of page 68, Ballyhoura. (No. 5)*

There are three openings, or hollows, also called 'Lyre' in the topmost ridge of the mountain here. One is towards the north, overlooking Glenosheen; another towards the east facing Ballyorgan, called Lyre na Fraochan, while the third is directed towards Co. Cork. Joyce says that the three glens are Glenosheen on the north, Lyre na Gréine on the south, and Lyre na Fraochain on the east.

The heights which enclose those three hollows are Seefin, Blackrock, and Long Mountain. In the depression between the highest point of Long mountain and Blackrock is what is called Glenosheen Bog, a deep deposit of turf. On one occasion, when the writer was crossing the depression on which the bog is situated, and when he jumped from a bank, or rock, to the turf surface, five feet lower down, the whole area around him shook like a vast piece of jelly, indicating that the turf was resting on water. William Young, who has tramped the mountain, looking after Mr. Trench's sheep, told me that, in his youth, he heard very old men say that there had been a lake at this spot, but that the turf mould, from cuttings in the vicinity, had been blown over it by the wind, as well as heather and sedge, and that gradually the lake itself was covered with peat.

It is slightly below the site of the lake that the river Cunanear rises, and, in wet weather, it is from Glenosheen Bog the gush of water comes.

Joyce is right in saying that there was a lake in Clonodfoy. William Young said he heard there were several lakes there in ancient times. But Clonodfoy is Castle Oliver demesne, down in the valley of Glenosheen itself, many hundreds, if not a thousand, of feet below the mountain ridge on which the hunt took place which is described above.

"Here was a notable rogue stag, called 'Liath na dtri m-benn' (Grey of the three antlers) that, for the space of seven and twenty years, had eluded the Fianna, both men and deer-hounds. Now a warrior of the Fianna killed him. That warrior am I" said Caoilte.

Caoilte rose. Eastward and westward of Loch Bo he stationed his people, and on the south, and on the north. Patrick sat down. Hence Suidhe Phadruic, or Patrick's seat, is the name of that place.¹

Then Caoilte on high raised his waving signal of chase, of hunting, and of Fianlike venery. He uttered three mighty and formidable whoops whereby there was not on plain or moor, on mountain or wood, anear or afar, a free-roaming stag that did not career upwards in headlong speed. To cool themselves, they plunged, before the hunters' faces, into ample Loch Bo. The wild stags, the roe deer, the weighty sided boars², frenzied, almost perished from the length of their race, and distress of breath.

The huntsmen extended themselves around the Loch, and, of the quarry, a single beast escaped not away alive. They divided the fruits of the chase, there being eight hundred head for apportionment.

"To us be given a tithe of the hunt", said Benignus. The frown on the face of Bran showed his displeasure. He was not willing to share with anyone that which had fallen to his lot.

A disorder seized him.

"Holy cleric. Lay thy hand on the pain", said he.

"By my word he will not, until you pay the fee", said Caoilte.

"What fee?"

As it is in your stomach the pain is, he must get the belly of every cow, sheep, and swine, slaughtered in your country for the use of the Church", said Caoilte.

"That I concede", said Bran.

Patrick put his hand on Mac Derg's stomach, and the pain ceased.

"We must be going now", said Caoilte. Laden with the burdens of the chase, they departed.

1. Names have disappeared.

2. The last boar in Ireland is said to have been killed near there, at Carraig na muc.

Ballyhoura

Caoilte's Beauty Lotion

Looking from the top of the mountain, Caoilte perceived a fort and township. "Such a fort is unknown to me", said he. "Let us proceed to the town". When they reached it, instead of seeing a crowd, they saw only nine female, and three male slaves.. Patrick had not gone with them. He returned to Ardpatrick. Into a private bower they entered. Two women were there weeping and moaning.

"What fort may this be", asked Caoilte.

"It is that of the Chief of Fermoy's two sons, Lochan and Eoghan", said they.

"And why are ye so gloomy and melancholy?"

We have good cause. We are two sisters, and belong to two brothers. Our husbands are gone to-night to bring home other wives with them, and our stay in the fort is only until the return of our husbands with their other wives".

In an inner part of the fort, Caoilte recognised a huge mass of stone that had been placed over the accumulated wages Finn had given to Senach Mac Maelchro, consisting of fifty ounces of gold, thrice fifty ounces of silver, and thrice fifty ounces of white bronze. That rock covered this wealth.

"Were I to succour and relieve you, and bring back your husbands, what fee would you give me?" asked Caoilte.

"Had we any fee in the world that would be pleasing to thee, we would give it to thee", said they.

"Verily ye have --- under that vast lump of stone, on the fort's other side".

"The multitude from the countryside were occupied in setting that stone in position. How couldst thou remove it?"

"Should I not be able, it will deceive me", said Caoilte.

"Then it shall pass from us to thee, with benediction" said they.

Caoilte went out of the town, searched for, found, and brought back his right hand's fill of special fairy herbs, which had been used by the noble ladies of the Fianna.

These he gave to the two women, who washed in a bath made with them. The ablutions so beautified them, that their husbands, returning, were entranced. They sent back the women they had brought with them.

The great stone was given to Caoilte. He gave it a wrench, and drew it out of the earth. Presumably appropriating the wealth beneath, he and his companions went back to Finntulach, which, today, is called Ardpatrick.¹

1. Acallamh na Senorach (O'Grady).

Ballyhoura
Pagan Principles

"Was not he a good lord, your chieftain, Finn Mac Cumhal?" asked Patrick.

"Were the brown leaves the woods shed gold; were the white billows silver, Finn would have given it all away", said Caoilte.

"What maintained you in life?"

"Truth on our tongues, strength in our arms, fulfilment in our deeds".

"Success and benediction to thee. This is a lightening of spirit and of mind to me. Whose son was Mac Lughaidh, of whom I enquired of thee last night?"

"He was a son to Finn's son, Daire Derg. During his first year in the Fianna, he showed great sloth. And he used to beat both hounds and servitors. At Ros an Fheinnedhe (Finn's Point), on swelling Loch Lein (Killarney), the Fianna made complaint to Finn.

"Take now thy choice", said they. "whether to have us or Mac Lughaidh by himself".

"What harm hast thou done to the Fianna", said Finn to Mac Lughaidh. "seeing that one and all have a spite against thee?"

"I know not their occasion", said Mac Lughaidh, "unless indeed they are averse to my practice of athletic feats, and spear-casting, among them".

"Mac Lughaidh", said Finn reprovingly, "if armed service be thy design, in a great man's house, be quiet. Be surly in the rugged pass. Without a fault of his, beat not thy hound. Until thou ascertain her guilt, bring not a charge against thy wife. In battle, meddle not with a buffoon, for he is but a fool. Censure not any, if he be of grave repute. Stand not up to take part in a brawl. Have nothing to do with a mad man, or a wicked one. Two-thirds of thy gentleness be shown to women, and to creepers on the floor (children); likewise to men of art that make the duans (poems). And be not violent to the common people. Perverse alliance shun, and all that is prohibited. Yield not thy reverence to all. Utter not swaggering speech; norsay thou wilt not render the thing that is right. For a shameful thing it is to speak too stiffly, unless it be feasible to carry out thy words. So long as in the universe thou shalt exist, thy lord forsake not. Neither for gold, nor for any earthly valuable, abandon thou thy guarantee to him who places himself under thy protection. To a chief, utter not strenuous criticism of his people. For it is not a good man's occupation to abuse a great lord's people to their chief. Be not a tattling tale-bearer, nor a false one. Be not loquacious, nor rashly censorious. Be the multiplicity of thy chivalrous qualities what they may, yet have thou not the Irachts, (i.e. Mac Oireachta, the heirs),

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hostilely inclined to thee. Be not a frequenter of the drinking house, not given to carping on an ancient man. The conduct thou hearest commended that is right. Meddle not with a man of mean estate. Deal not in the refusal of thy meat, nor have, as familiar, anyone that is penurious. Force not thyself upon a chief, nor give him occasion to speak ill of thee. Stick to thy raiment; hold fast to thy armature until the stern fight, with its weapon-glitter, be well ended. Never renounce to back thy luck; yet follow after gentleness, Mac Lughaidh".

"Success and benediction" said Patrick. "A good story it is thou has told us. Where is Brogan the scribe?"

"Here, holy cleric", said Brogan.

"Be that tale written by thee", said Patrick.

And Brogan performed it on the spot.¹

OISIN and PATRICK

There are many legends concerning controversies between St. Patrick and Oisín. As they do not directly imply that they took place near Ballyhoura, they must be omitted.

There is, however, a local tradition that, when Oisín returned from Tir-na-nÓg, he was unhorsed at Glenosheen, near Ardpark.² According to that tradition, he was met at Kilbehenny by a beggar who asked him to raise higher on the shoulder the bag which the beggar was carrying. He did so, without dismounting. At Glenruadh (the red glen), the beggar repeated the request. Oisín obliged, but he noticed that, on the second occasion, the bag was much heavier than when first he lifted it. At Glenosheen, the third request of a similar nature was made. Again Oisín was agreeable. But the bag was now so heavy that Oisín had to lean firmly on the stirrups. The girth of the saddle broke, and Oisín was precipitated to the earth, where he became decrepid, blind and old, though previously in his prime. The horse galloped back to Tir na n-Óg.

Oisín was maintained in the house of St. Patrick. The housekeeper slightly referred to his enormous appetite.

"I could get an ivy leaf as large as your loaf of bread, a berry as big as your lump of butter, and a blackbird's leg as heavy as your leg of mutton", said Oisín.

"To hear you talk, one would think you could perform miracles", said the housekeeper.

Angry that his word should be doubted, Oisín located the berry and ivy leaf in Glenosheen that demonstrated the truth of his words. Then he was led to Glenanaar, at his request, to get the blackbird's leg. He was brought to the stone, in the farm of John Joseph O'Sullivan.

1. Acallumh na Senorach (O'Grady).

2. This tradition was told to Cornelius Ryan of Waterdyke, Shanballymore, Mallow, by an old man named Joyce, of Glenosheen, an uncle to the distinguished historian of that name. Cornelius Ryan repeated it to the writer.

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that bears the name of Carraig Oisín, in Lyre na Greine.

"Lift the stone, and take out the barra buabhaill (the bugle horn) and brass ball", said Oisín.

"I could not move it" said the guide. "There are many gullanes in its girth".

Oisín with one hand lifted the stone, and the guide took out the barra buabhaill from beneath it, and also the brass ball. Bran, the faithful Fenian hound, was with them.

Oisín blew a blast on the barra buabhaill.

"What seest thou in the distant sky?" he asked.

"Nought, save fleecy clouds", said the guide.

Oisín blew another blast.

"What seest thou now?"

"Nought, as before".

Again Oisín blew a blast under which the earth seemed to tremble.

"What seest thou now?"

"A black cloud coming from the east, pursued by another cloud, still blacker".

Nearer and nearer came the two clouds. The first one was a cloud of blackbirds, twittering in terror. The second was a single bird of enormous proportions. They pitched in the Glen. The single bird alighted among the smaller, and feasted on them.

Bran was straining at the leash.

"Unleash her", said Oisín.

Bran was unleashed, and sped, with the speed of lightning, for the giant bird. Seeing her coming, the bird braced itself for the encounter. They fought, and struggled in the glen. They rolled and tossed, and tumbled, now one being on top, and then the other. Feathers and flesh fell from the mouth of the dog, and blood gushed from its sides, where the talons of the bird had ripped its sinews. Both were weakening from loss of blood, and the fury of their struggle. At length the hound seized the bird's throat in a death grapple, and though flung by the mighty talons into the air, the hound's fangs loosed not their grip until the bird lay distended, lifeless.

Back came the hound, maddened with pain, to tear its master. Seizing the brass ball found under the stone, and guided by the laboured breathing of the animal, Oisín flung, and the ball crashed through the jaws of the hound, killing it instantly.

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The leg of the giant blackbird was taken to the wondering housekeeper.

The Harvest Offering

It was the custom of the time, according to this tradition, to give St. Patrick the fruits of a day's threshing with a flail, wielded by a single man, out of every homestead. There was one man who had a larger tract of land than his neighbours, and it was not considered equitable that from him, also, there should be bestowed on the saint only the produce of a single flail. Still that was the rule, and there was no exception.

One may suppose that the landholder in this fortunate position was Derball, the son of Aedh, whom we have already met.

To equalise matters, and also to repay Patrick for his kindness, Oisín undertook to do the day's threshing. He went to Glenanaar, caught a tree and pulled it out of the roots. Then he was led to a lighter, and straight, ash of fifty summers. This tree he also pulled up. Then he knotted the branches of the two trees together, weaving them one into the other. With this flail across his shoulders, he went to the farmyard, filled with ten stout ricks of corn.

The news of the mighty flail spread over Clu Mair, and the farmers came in their carts for miles around to see the huge weapon in operation.

Oisín swung his flail, and brought down the striker with a thud. Again and again he struck, and ere long he had the whole ten ricks of corn shreshed. The owner of the corn was away from home. The people loaded up, and conveyed the corn towards Ardpatrick. At a stream, they met the owner of the corn returning home. When he found it was from his own farmyard it was being taken, he was distracted. But, as it was a day's threshing by a single flail, he was told he could not interfere. He went to St. Patrick. When the saint arrived, he directed that all the loads on the Ardpatrick side of the stream were to go forward, and all those at the other side were to return.

And so it was done.¹

Thus was liberality to the Church inculcated.

Na Fir Bhreige

Na Fir Bhreige are five or six clusters of mighty granite rocks, rising perpendicularly on the summit of the ridge of the mountain, in a line due west of Seefin, and over-looking Ardpatrick. Viewed from the valley, on the County Cork side, a few miles distant, they look like groups of horsemen, or giant statues.

1. Tradition related by an old man named Joyce of Glenosheen said to have been an uncle of the historian, Dr. P.W. Joyce. It was told by him to Cornelius Ryan, Waterdyke, Shanballymore, Mallow, who repeated it to the writer.

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There is a tradition¹ that, in the time of Fionn Mac Cumhall, the Fianna were encamped on the mountain awaiting attack from a more powerful force than their own, approaching from the south. Being uncertain of his ability to defeat overwhelming numbers, the wily Fionn adopted a ruse. He dressed as a mendicant the man of largest stature in his army. He sent that man, as a beggar to meet the oncoming host. They would have come up with him about Clogher Hill, nearly midway between Doneraile and Kildorrery. From that hill, there would be a clear view of the Ballyhouras, and especially of Na Fir Bhreige. They were amazed at the stature of the beggar.

"Where are you from?" asked the king of the invaders.

"From Ceann Abhradh", said he.

"Where is that?"

"Yonder mountain".

"Are there many men as large as you there?"

"I am only a dwarf among them. From here you can see some of them standing on the top of the mountain waiting for you".

The king did not wait to hear any more. He ordered his forces to turn back. Thus Fionn Mac Cumhall drove off the invaders without striking a blow.

Saints around Ballyhoura

The seed sown by St. Patrick bore fruit around Ballyhoura. Angus Mac Nessa was nursed by his aunt, St. Ita of Killeedy, whose church is a little to the north of Ballagh and Gortnaclohy mountains, in Upper Connello, Co. Limerick.²

St. Nessa's mother was one of the three daughters of Cennthaelaidh, son of Cormac of the Deisi race of Co. Waterford. It is supposed he founded the church of Kilvickaneese, near Oldcourt, Doneraile.³ He was also named Mochaomhac. He probably founded Kilnacoomagh, the old name for Fortwilliam, Cahirduggan, Doneraile.⁴

St. Lachtain of Achadh Ur, now Freshford, Co. Kilkenny, was from Bealach Fheabhrat (Ballyhoura) "of the race of Conaire, seed of Heremon". He was a disciple of Comhgall, of Beannchuir (Bangor).⁵

1. This tradition was related by the late Father Ellard of the Cloyne diocese. I have not found it in manuscript.

2. O'Hanlon's Lives of Irish Saints.

3. & 4. Walter Jones in Cork Archaeological Journal.

5. Martyrology of Donegal.

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There was a holy well in the townland of Ballyhoura, near the traditional site of a church, in the farm of Mr. Corbett.¹

St. Lachtain used to be always standing, praying for the men of Munster, while affording them protection.² Lis Lachtin in Co. Kerry is called after him. The ruins of a Franciscan Monastery are there.³ His period was 600 A.D.

St. Ruadhan of Lorrha, Co. Tipperary, seems to have been St. Ruadhan, son of Fergus Beru, son of Eochaidh, son of Dera, son of Daire, son of Oilill Flann Beg, of the race of Eoghan Mor.⁴ His period was the sixth century.

As a result of a controversy with King Diarmuid of Leinster, about a criminal who had sought the protection of the saint, he predicted the desertion of Tara.⁵

St. Molaga was of the seventh century. His parents resided at Clochliathmuine, near Kilgollane, Marshalstown. This was the residence of the descendants of Mogh Ruith.⁶

When the wife of Cathald, son of Aedh, surnamed Flann Carthach, was giving birth to a son, about 620 A.D., she seemed to expire. St. Molaga, visiting the court of the king, heard the baby wail. "That is the wailing of a child that has lost its mother", said he. "Let it get a corresponding name". The child was called "Cu gan Mathair" (Round without mother). Through the prayers of St. Molaga, the mother was restored to life, and the child became king of Munster.⁷

The churches of Molaga were Eighnen Molaga, Marshalstown; Athcross, near Kildorrery; Church of Tuath O'Cuscraigh, Liathmuine (Clochliathin), Kilgullane. "Besides these, the churches of Molaga lay on the border of Tuath O'n-Duinnin, which comprised the southern slopes of Sliabh Caoin, now the Ballyhoura mountains."⁸

St. Curifin, or Cuirbin, the Pious, lived in Ui Fidhgheinte, Co. Limerick, in the ninth century. Ui Fidhgheinte got its name from Fiacha Fidhgheinte, son to Daire Cearb, son to Oilill Flann Beg, king of Munster. It comprised the barony of Coshma, i.e. Cois Maighe, beside the Maigue, and all to the west of the river Maigue.⁹

Its chief was king of Bruree.¹⁰

1. Walter Jones in Cork Archaeological Journal.

2. St. Cuimin of Condeire & O'Clery's Calendar. 3. O'Hanlon.

4. O'Clerk's Martyrology. 5. O'Hanlon. 6. O'Donovan in Book of Rights. 7. O'Hanlon. 8. O'Hanlon's Lives of Irish Saints.

9. O'Hanlon. 10. Book of Rights.

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St. Fintan lived at Gliach in the sixth century. He is the patron of Dunbleisque, now Doone, Co. Limerick.¹

St. Lua, or Molua, Abbot of Clonfert, was a son of Carthagh, of the family of Corcoiche, from the region of Ui Fidhgheinte.²

St. Sciath, virgin of Fert Seoithe, now Ardskeagh, Ballyhea.³

St. Mochua Luachra, or Cronan, Abbot of Ferns, seems to have been connected with Sliabh Luachra, near Castleisland, Co. Kerry. He died in 652 A.D.⁴

Battles at Carn Feradhaigh

Lughaidh Meann, son of a great grand-son of Cormac Cas,⁵ or fifth in descent from Mogh Nuadhat,⁶ made sword-land of the tract from Bearnna na tri gCarbad (between Seefin and Kilcruig)⁷ in Carn Feradhaigh (Corranmore)⁸ to Bealach na Luchaide (now Lochid Bridge on the Shannon),⁹ and from Ath na Boraimhe (now Killaloe)¹⁰ to Leim Conchulainn (now Loop Head, Co. Clare)¹¹. The sway of the Dal gCais extended from Leim Conchulainn to the borders of Ossory, and from Sliabh Echtghe (now the Aughty mountains) between Clare and Galway,¹² to Sliabh Eibhlinne, now Sliabh Felim.¹³

Guaire, a king of Connacht, son of Colman, came to plunder Munster. He claimed the territory from Sliabh Echtghe, now the Aughty mountains, to Limerick, which formerly belonged to Connacht.¹⁴

In Ui Fidhgheinte, he was met by Dioma, son of Ronan, son of Aonghus, king of Cashel at the time. They gave battle to one another at Carn Feradhaigh, now Corranmore, on the Ballyhouras.¹⁵ Guaire and the Connachtmen were defeated.¹⁶

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1. O'Hanlon. 2. O'Hanlon. 3. Dr. P.W. Joyce. 4. O'Hanlon.
5. Keating. 6. O'Curry. 7. O'Donovan. 8. Cannon Lynch.
9. O'Donovan in Book of Rights. 10. O'Donovan in Book of Rights.
11. O'Donovan. 12. Onomasticon. 13. Ogygia. 14. Keating.
15. Canon Lynch. 16. Keating.

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Failbhe Flann, king of Cashel, defeated the Connacians at Carn Feradhaigh in 622 A.D..¹ Conaill, chief of Ui Maine, fell there.

Guaire Aidhne of Galway had a reputation for great generosity and munificence. So had Cuana Mac Cailcin of Liathmhuine, Kilgullane, who had the title of king of Fermoy. Guaire became jealous of the reputation of his rival. He sent three druids to make a demand that Cuana would be likely to refuse. They desired from Cuana the district of Carn Chuilinn, now Athcross, near Kildorrery, with dominion over the inhabitants. They got their request. Then they confiscated the goods of the people and killed those who resisted. St. Molaga appeared on the scene, and they fled.²

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1. Four Masters.
2. O'Hanlon in Lives of Irish Saints.

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VII

CLANN EBHIR EXTENDING

Princely Families have Separate Seats

Aonghus, son of Nadfraoch, had by his wife Eithne, or Ina, daughter of Criomhthann, king of Leinster, a son, Felim, who was the common ancestor of the O'Sullivans, the MacCarthys, the MacAuliffes, and the O'Callaghans. Another son, Eochaidh, was the progenitor of the O'Keeffes. From a daughter, Ena, came the O'Dalys of Cork and Kerry. Another son, Breasal was the ancestor of Cormac Mac Cullenan, king and archbishop of Munster.¹

Aonghus fell at Cill Osnadha, four miles east of Leighlin, Co. Carlow, in 489 A.D.²

Felim and his brother, Eochaidh, reigned as joint kings of the two Munsters.³ Eochaidh must have fixed his royal abode at Glenamhain (Glanworth), for it is there his descendants, the O'Keeffes, exercised jurisdiction up to the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion.

The seat of Falvey Flann (Flann means red), ancestor of the MacCarthys, was at Cashel. The O'Sullivans, descended from Falvey's elder brother, Finghin, resided at Cnoc Rafann, now Knockgraffon, two miles north of Cahir, Co. Tipperary. The O'Donovans, descendants of Cairbre Aodhbha, had their seat at Brurea, Co. Limerick, and ruled Ui Fidhgheinte. The O'Mahonys, the Ui Eachach Mumhan, held sway over Kinalea and Kinclmeaky, around Bandon.

Finghin, ancestor of the O'Sullivans, was the eldest son of Hugh Dubh, who was born in 471 A.D.⁴ The name of Finghin appears on the regal roll before that of his brother, Failbhe, or Falvey. Finghin represented Munster at the assembly of Dromceat, near Newtown Limavady, Co. Derry, in 590⁵ or 574⁶ to decide the fate of the Bards.

"The MacCarthys owed the prominent position they held in Desmond, at the time of the English invasion, to the disturbed state of the province during the Danish wars, in which their immediate ancestor took a praiseworthy part, and to the impartial exercise of the authority they acquired through usurpation, and tanaistic right".⁷

1. The Eugenians. 2. Four Masters. 3. The Eugenians.
4. The Eugenians. 5. O'Donovan's Note in Four Masters, p.208
6. Hayden and Moonan's Short History of Ireland. 7. The
Eugenians.

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Ancestress of the O'Sullivans

Aedh Bennain, king of Iar-Luachair, in Kerry, in 600 A.D. had twelve sons and three daughters.¹ "Aedh seems to have grouped under his own authority the western states in opposition to the king of Cashel. It is doubtful whether this ambition outlived him. His daughter, Mor-Mhumhan, (Mor of Munster), figures in ancient story. She became the wife of Finghen, king of Cashel, and the ancestress of the most numerous family in Ireland --- the O'Sullivans".²

This "ancient story" is told in the Book of Leinster.³

Mor Mumhan, one of the three daughters of Aedh Bennain, had some infirmity at first, so that she could not get beyond the door.

"Sorrow to you", said a voice from the air above. The phrase was repeated.

"I should prefer that rather than its perpetual prophecy", said she.

"First or last?"

"First, indeed", said she.

A support was placed beneath her, and she jumped over the courtyard. None knew whither she went. For two years she travelled through Eire till she was in rags and tatters from sun and wind. When she arrived at Cashel, Finghin, son of Aodh Dubh, was king there. The daughter of the king of the Deise was his consort. For three days Mor remained with the sheep. One day, while caring the sheep, she entered the royal house, and went to the fire.

"Put out that slut", said Finghin.

"You shall have my brooch if you unite with her to-night", said the queen.

"I don't want to", said Finghin.

"Even though you don't want to, you'll have to", said the queen.

"Needs must" said Finghin. "Let me have the brooch".

The queen herself made ready for them. The maiden left her rags downstairs, and went to the king.

"Where do you come from, maiden", said Finghin.

She told him, and he understood her intentions. (It is suggested by the writer that, as a result of what she said, Finghin saw that union with her would avert the possibility of a war with her father).

1. Book of Fermoy. 2. Dr. Eoin Mac Neill's Phases of Irish History.

3. The translation of the story is by Torna = Tadhg O'Donnchadh)
It was done by him at the request of the writer.

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At first he offered her a fitting amount of silver. When morning arrived, she arose to go with the sheep.

"No", said Finghin. I will protect you from the queen".

"Put that brat (mantle) on her, and the queen's brooch on the brat", said Finghin.

"She must not be of equal status with me", said the queen.

"That which you have sold you will not have again", said Finghin. "She will remain, for her people are of the best. By her will every good woman in Eire be known, i.e. by Mor Munhan".

She remained with Finghin, and bore him a son, Sechnusach.

Afterwards, Finghin died,¹ and she went to Cathal Mac Finguine, king of Glenamhain (Glanworth), for the kingship of Munster was out of Cashel for the third time: Glenamhain once (before?),² and Aine (Knockaney) another time. But all were of the Eoghanacht.

A sister of hers who had been stolen, namely Ruithchern, daughter of Aedh Bennain, was brought to the Court of Cairidh (Dun Caireda) in the territory of Ui Liathain (now the barony of Barrymore), herding in slavery.

"'Tis a great blemish on the Court of Cairidh", said she, "that no luachair (rush) is cut for him: a youth's call in a high musical tone: but I know him not, and he does not know me".

Mac Mocherda was brought to her. A simpleton was he, and a prophet of God.

"Sing that, maiden," said he: "A youth's call in a high musical tone. I know him not; he does not know me. He who calls from Loch Lein is a fire looked at from afar".

"A great blemish for the Court of Cairidh it is that no luachair is cut for it", said she.

"The maid belongs to the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein", said Mac Mocherda.

The story was told to Mor. She went, and brought her sister to stay with her. The two sisters used to go aside, lamenting Finghin.

1. He died in 619 A.D.

2. Eochaidh, ancestor of the O'Keeffes, had been joint king of Munster with Felim, son of Aonghus, Fionguine, another scion of the O'Keeffe line, was king of Munster in 902.

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"Finghin was rough and vengeful;
He was wise, foolish, and strong;
Slippery when asked for a thing,
Rough when threatened.
My tryst is in the bog of Lothra,
Finghin's grave in the island".

Cathal was listening to her by the side of the brake.

Then he stood up and said:

"Though great has been my silence, is it more loving to think of a dead man than of me?"

"Even though the dead be in the clay, either a year or a day, and who preserves his goodly humanity, one must not forget to lament him", said Mor.

"O woman, yonder, do not overpraise the dead one".

"My dear man, as you have listened to my lamentations, 'tis your love will be worth while, since he who first had mine lives not".

From that hour he never saw her lamenting.

Mor gave Ruthchern to Lonan, son of Fludnech. He had been on a visit to the house of Cathal when Mor gave her sister to him.

Once on a time the king of the Deise came there.

"Stand up, Lonan, in the presence of the king".

"Lonan, son of Fuidnech, must not stir, on his having come in peace from the west", said Mor.

Abduction of Ruthchern

Lonan and his wife then went westwards to the sons of Aedh Bennain.

Cuana, son of Cailchin, from Liathmuine,¹ overtook them, and took away his wife from Lonan, and wounded himself.

(Cuana, described as Chief of Feara Mhuighe, i.e. Fermoy, was a descendant of Mogh Ruith,² who was of the race of O'Connor Kerry, a descendant of Fearghus, king of Ulster.³ The descendants of Mogh Ruith took the tribe name of O'Dubhagain.⁴ They were "lordly kings of the Fortuatha" (strangers) "They were placed centrally between Ui Fidhgheinte, (in Co. Limerick), and Glenamahain, i.e. Glanworth.⁵ St. Molaga was of this race.⁶)

Lonan escaped after being wounded, and arrived in the west.

1. Liathmuine is in the parish of Kilgollane, Marshalstown.
2. (O'Donovan in the Book of Rights). 3. O'Donovan.
4. O'Donovan in Book of Rights. 5. & 6. O'Donovan in Book of Rights.

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Then war was declared between the sons of Aedh Bannain and the sons of Cathal, because Lonan and his wife did not arrive safely in the west under the protection¹ of the sons of Cathal, some of whom were present at the abduction.

"How shall the battle be fought", said the men of Munster. "If the sons of Cathal go against the sons of Aedh, they will mutually fall by each other, on account of their equal vanity. Therefore, let the sons of Aedh go against the eastern auxiliaries, namely the Deise, and Eile,² and Muscraige Breogain, and eastern Feimhin, and the Fir Muighe. Cuana was king of Fir Muighe Fene.³

The sons of Cathal opposed Corco Luighde⁴, Corco Duibne⁵, The Ciarraighe,⁶ Corco Baiseind,⁷ and Corcomruadh.⁸

On the third day before the battle, three poets came to Cuana. Cuana began to bait them.

"Thence came ye, and what do ye require?" asked Cuana.

"Art-people we are. To Cuana we have come", said they.

"Cuana has been killed in a fight just now", said he.

"The way to Liathmuine⁹ was never deserted until to-day", said one of the poets. "The feet of the steeds of Munster rode it when Cuana was alive".

"Until the day that sand was placed about Cuana's sides, a closed door on the dun of Liathmuine was a thing of no significance", said another poet.

"Welcome. I am Cuana".

"Alas", said they. "You bring it on yourself. You will be dead before the end of the year".

The battle was fought: Lonan from the west against Cuana.

The sons of Cathal routed their opponents from Siude Mor¹⁰ to Luachair Dedaid.¹¹ The sons of Aedh routed their opponents eastwards to Cenn Curraig.¹²

Lonan pursues Cuana. At Dubid (or Dubfid)¹³ they meet. Cuana strikes Lonan, and pierces him with the weapon. When Cuana is turning away, a pointed holly-stick is driven through his groin, so that he becomes weak. Lonan then gives him a thrust

1. This word 'protection' indicates that the ancestors of the O'Keeffes were the overlords of the descendants of Mogh Ruith.

2. Ely O'Carroll country in Offaly and baronies of Eliogarthy and Ikerrin in Co. Tipperary (O'Donovan in Book of Rights).

3. Fir Muighe Fene referred to the district of Caoille between Ballyhoura and Nagle Mountains rather than to the site of the town of Fermoy. 4. South-west Cork. 5. North Kerry. 6. Kerry.

7. S.W. Clare. 8. Corcomroe in N.W. Clare 9. Clochliafin, Kilgollane, Marshalstown (O'Donovan). 10. Not identified. 11. Near Castleisland

12. Head of the Swamp. 13. Unidentified. - 84 -

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of a large spear, and, overpowering him, beheaded him.

"Ash and alder dress your house to-day, O! Ruthchern", said Mac Mocherda. "There will be widow's weeds on somebody because of the death of Cuana".

In the swamps of Cluain Maccu Birnd¹ the war goddess performed a wondrous deed. Behold, on the side of the meadow, the gravestone of Cuana, son of Cailchin.

Coldish tonight is the relict of Cuana: his wife, the fair one, his daughter, and his only son. Only those three remained with her that night.

That is the death-tale of Cuana.²

He died in 640 A.D.³

O'DUGGANS and O'KEEFFES

"In course of time the ruling family of Caeille (Crichad an Chaoilli), descendants of Mogh Ruith, took the name of O'Dubhagain. Later still, O'Keeffe of the Eoghanacht, or royal family of Cashel, ousted O'Dugan from the petty kingship, and from a section of the territorial lands. O'Brien ('Focaloir') states that up to the intrusion of O'Keeffe, there had been two O'Dugan chieftaincies -- one centring at Cahirduggan, in the western triucha, the other seated at Manning, in the eastern triucha".⁴

Cahirduggan is a couple of miles west of Doneraile. Manning is in Glanworth parish, to the east.

The O'Duggans were "lordly kings of the Fortuatha".⁵ The Fortuatha were strangers.⁶ In Leinster, the Fortuatha were tributary states.⁷

"Munster contained 20 kingdoms, including the suzerain kingdom of Cashel. Of these, twelve were tributary, and eight were free. The free kingdoms did not occupy more than one-third of the entire province. The free kingdoms were: Cashel, Dal gCais, Glennamhain (Glanworth), Raithlenn (Kinelmeaky), Loch Lein (Killarney, and into Duhallow), Ossory (which did not acknowledge allegiance), Ui Fidgente (part of Co. Limerick), Aine (Knockaney), the dynasties of the seven free states (we may omit Ossory) traced their descent to Ailill Olum, king of Cashel, said to have lived towards the end of the second century.⁸

Dr. MacNeill is in error in designating Ailill Olum as king of Cashel, as Cashel was not a seat of kings in his time. Bruree "was the principal seat of Oilill Olum".⁹

1. Unidentified. 2. Book of Leinster, translated by "Torna", (i.e. Tadhg O'Donoghue). 3. Book of Fermoy. 4. Canon Power's Crichad an Chaoilli pp 15.16. 5,6,7. O'Donovan in Book of Rights. 8. Dr. MacNeill's Celtic Ireland pp 78-79. 9. Book of Rights p.88.

Ballyhoura

Succession of Battles

Mor Mumhan, daughter of Aedh Bennain, died in 631 A.D.¹ "She was the wife of Finghin, king of Munster, ancestor of the O'Sullivans. She is described as the paragon of the Irishwomen of her time, in several old authorities".²

Faillbhe Flann, brother of Finghin, and ancestor of the MacCarthy's, died in 636 A.D.³ Flann means red. His antagonist at the battle of Carn Feradhaigh (Corranmore), that is, Guaire Aidhne, king of Connacht, died in 662.⁴

At the battle of Aine (Knockaney) in 666 A.D.,⁵ fought between the people of Aradh and Ui Fidhgheinte, districts separated by the Maigue and Morning Star rivers, Eoghan, son of Crunnmael, was slain. In 710 A.D., a battle was fought at Carn Feradhaigh (Corranmore) by the northern Des, i.e. Deis Beg, a district embracing Bruff and Knockaney.⁶ In 756, the battle of Cenn Febhrat (Ballyhoura) was fought "among the Munstermen, between each other"⁷ in which Bodbgal, Superior of Mungairt (Mungret) was slain.

While Aodh Orindigh reigned over Ireland (797 to 819 A.D.), the Lochlonnaigh (meaning strong at sea) came to Caoin Inis O'Bhfathaigh (O'Fahy's Beautiful Island), their numbers being the manning of sixty ships. The Eoghanachts of Loch Lein (Killarney) gave battle and slew 416 foreigners.⁸ In 812 A.D. there was a slaughter of foreigners by Cobhthach, son of Maolduin, lord of Loch Lein.

Another fleet entered the harbour of Limerick, and plundered Corca Baiscinn (South Clare), and Ui Conaill Gabhra (now the barony of Connello). The Ui conaill gave battle at Seannaid (Shanid), and many foreigners were slain.⁹ There were 350 Norsemen killed in battle in Ui Fidhgheinte.¹⁰ In 836 A.D. there was a slaughter of foreigners at Carn Feradhaigh (Corranmore).

Yet the Danes continued to come. "Turgeis, a Danish Chief, took possession of Clonmacnoise, and his wife used to issue orders from the High Altar of the Cathedral there".¹¹

1,2,3,4, The Annals of Ulster.

5. O'Donovan in Four Masters. 6. O'Donovan.

7. Annals of Ulster. 8. Keating.

9. Conaill of Ui Conaill Gabhra was a descendant of Fiacha Muilleathan (Silva Gadelica).

10. Keating. 11. Duaid Mac Firbis.

Ballyhoura

Three Sorrows of a Queen

Unappreciative of the seriousness of the new menace, the Irish kings fought one another.

In 862 A.D., Cearbhall, lord of Ossory, slaughtered the Eoghanacht, reached Fearsa Muighe Feine (Fermoy district), and bore away a hostage of the Aitheach Tuatha¹ of Munster.

In 902, Cormac Mac Cullenan, king and bishop of Cashel, with Flaithcheartaigh, Abbot of Scattery Island, defeated² Flann, son of Maelseachlainn, king of Leath Chuinn³ at Magh Lena.⁴ They also defeated the Ui Neill of the south, and the Connachtmén, and carried away the hostages of Connacht.

Cormac also defeated Cearbhall and Flann Sinna, king of Ireland in Offaly in 906 A.D.⁵ But Cearbhall, Flann Sinna, and Cathal O'Connor, king of Connacht, overwhelmed Cormac at Bealach Mughna (Ballaghmoon, near Carlow) in 908 A.D. There Cormac was slain.⁶

Gormlaith, daughter of Flann Sinna, had been apparently betrothed to Cormac Mac Cullenan, king of Cashel.⁷ As he had entered the Church, the marriage does not appear to have been consummated. She was then given in marriage to Cearbhall, king of Leinster.

"Cearbhall, wounded in that battle (of Ballaghmoon), lay long a-healing".⁸ As the queen sat on the couch at his feet, he boasted rudely of the death of Cormac.

"Why do you disrespect the memory of so good a king?" said the queen reproachfully.

Remembering that she had been betrothed to Cormac, her husband, in a jealous rage, cast with his foot the queen from the couch to the floor.

Thus affronted, in the presence of others, Gormlaith left her husband, and went to her father. He feared to quarrel with the king of Leinster, and refused to receive her.

She sought protection from Niall Glundubh, king of Ailech. Cearbhall died of his wounds, and Niall married her. On the death of Flann Sinna in 916, Niall became king of Ireland.⁹

After the death of Niall Glendubh in 918, Gormlaith entered religion, and died in 948, forty years after the battle of Bealach Mughna.¹⁰

1. Plebeians, not of the race of Oilill Olum (O'Donovan)
2. Four Masters. 3. Northern half of Ireland. 4. In parish of Kilbride, near Tullamore (O'Curry). 5. Four Masters. 6. Four Masters. 7 & 8. Dr. Eoin MacNeill in Phases of Irish History.
9. Ossory Annals. 10. Dr. Eoin MacNeill in Phases of Irish History.

Ballyhoura.

VIII

RIGHT OF SUCCESSION

Magnanimity of the Dal gCais

In the reign of Donnchadh, son of Flann, son of Sinna, king of Ireland, the kingship of Munster became vacant. The year was 922.¹ An assembly of the nobles of the province was held at Glennabhain (Glanworth)², the seat of the O'Keeffe branch of the Eoghanachts, to choose a successor to Buadhachan, son of Lachtna, who succeeded Cormac Mac Cullenan. Buadhachan had a daughter, Gormflath, who married Donal, king of the Deisi, by whom she had Ceallachain Chaisil. Ceinnide, son of Lorcán of the Dal gCais, came there, and claimed the sovereignty of Munster.

"No", said Gormflath. "It is the right of my son, Ceallachan to rule. Remember", she added, "the agreement arrived at between Fiacha Muilleathan and Cormac Cas that the descendants of each should rule alternately in Munster".

"That is so" said Ceinnide.

"It is the turn of the Eoghanacht now, and I claim the succession for my son", said she.

Ceinnide magnanimously withdrew his claim, and left the sovereignty to Ceallachan. Ceallachan held the kingship for ten years, and drove the Lochlonnaigh out of Munster.

He inflicted a very heavy defeat on the Danes of Limerick at Singland. "O'Sullivan was Ceallachan's general at this battle. Ceallachan slew Aulaff, the Danish commander, splitting his helmet and skull with a sword. O'Sullivan, striking between helmet and breastplate cut off the head of Moran, 'son of the king of Denmark! O'Keeffe ran Magnus, the standard-bearer, through the body".³

Treachery and Retribution

Being unable to cope with him otherwise, the Lochlonnaigh by guile got Ceallachan into their power.

Sitric, son of Turgesius and king of the Danes, proposed a marriage between his daughter Beibhionn and Ceallachan.⁴

Ceallachan, consenting, was about to go in state to visit the lady. Ceinnide suspected Sitric's intentions.

"Munster cannot be left unprotected in your absence", said he. "Take a small party with you".

The counsel of Ceinnide prevailed, and his son, Donn Cuan, with forty nobles, accompanied Ceallachan.

1. O'Donovan. 2. Keating. 3. Ancient History of Kerry by Friar O'Sullivan, Muckross Abbey. 4. Keating.

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"Isn't Ceallachan your greatest enemy? Why do you propose marriage with him", asked Sitric's wife of her husband.

"It is not for his good I am doing it", said Sitric.

Sitric's wife secretly entertained an affection for Ceallachan. At night, she stole out, disguised, and as Ceallaghan and his party approached, she warned him of his danger. He turned back. But Sitric had foreseen the possibility of a warning reaching Ceallachan. He had placed ambushers beside the highway. They barred Ceallachan's return. He fought them, but was overpowered. Ceallachan and Donn Cuan were captured, but some of the other nobles cut their way through, and arriving home, apprised Ceinnide of what had happened.

Ceinnide assembled the nobles, chiefs, and armed forces of Munster. He sent some by sea, and others by land. Donnchadh, son of Caomh (Keeffe), king of Fearnmuighe (Fermoy), was made leader of the land forces. But Ceinnide retained 2,000 under his own command. Failbhe Fionn, king of Desmond¹, headed the expedition sent by sea.

Ceinnide's strategy partook of the nature of an encircling movement. He directed the sea forces to go around by the east coast, the main land forces to march direct towards Dublin, while he, with his 2,000 men went towards the north, to cut off the Danes from a possible retreat to Scotland.

On the approach of the main Irish forces, the Danes removed Ceallachan and Donn Cuan to Ardmacha (Armagh). The sons of Turgesius, hearing of the advancing hosts from the north-west, took their captives to Dun Dealgan (Dundalk). Ceinnide, on reaching Ardmagh, and, hearing what had happened, hurried to Dundalk. The Lochlonnaigh retreated on board their ships with their prisoners. Ceinnide arrived at the strand, powerless to do more.

Then a fleet of ships appeared on the horizon. For a moment, Sitric must have thought they were Danish. He was quickly disillusioned. It was Failbhe Fionn.

Battle was joined. The clash was furious. Failbhe sought, and found, Sitric's ship. The prisoners, aboard it, were bound to the mast. Failbhe leaped on the Viking's vessel, cut Ceallachan's bonds with his sword, and, seizing Sitric, locked him in a grip of steel, swung him to the vessel's gunwale, and swept him overboard. Their weighty armour carried both to the bottom of the sea.

Seaghda (Shea), and Conaill, descendant of Fiacha Muilleathan, seized Sitric's brothers, Tor and Magnus, and swung them overboard, the four of them being drowned.

1. No part of Desmond, which varied in extent with the fortunes of the Geraldines, was ever north of Ballyhoura.

Ballyhoura

Their commanders being gone, the leaderless Lochlonnaigh were defeated, slain, and routed.¹

Ceallachan resumed the government of Munster, and drove the Danes out of Cork, Cashel, Limerick, and Waterford.

Notwithstanding his experience of the Danes, Ceallachan became friends with them again, and, in time, was little better than they. In 934, he plundered Clonmacnoise.² In 941, Murtagh Mac Neale, with the High King's forces, went to Cashel, took Ceallachan prisoner, and conveyed him, with the hostages of Munster, to King Donagh Mac Laghlin.³

DALCASSIAN DOMINANCE

Revenge through Treachery

In 963, Donnchadh Mac Ceallachan, king of Cashel, was killed.⁴

The Dalcassians then became the dominant rulers.

In 965, Mathghamhain (Mahon), son of Ceinnide, held the sovereignty of Munster.⁵ Echthighern (Ahern), son of Ceinnide, was chief of Thomond, Mahon plundered Danish Limerick, and burned it. In battle, he slaughtered the foreigners, and burned their ships. In 968 he overwhelmed the Danes at Sulcoit, or Solloghed, near the present Limerick Junction.⁶

Mahon lead an army to Sciath-an-Eigis, now the hill of Skea, south of the Bandon river, in the barony of Kinelmeaky.⁷ He carried the hostages of Munster to his house, and "expelled the son of Bran, lord of Desmond".⁸

This "son of Bran" was Maelmhuaidh (Molloy), ancestor of the O'Mahony's of Kinelmeaky.

"When Donovan, son of Cathal, king of Ui Fidhgheinte, and Molloy, son of Bran, king of Desmond, perceived the increasing power and influence of Dal gCais, they were filled with envy and malice, conceiving that the crown of Munster would remain in that family for ever, if something were not done to check their career."⁹

"The Ui Cairbre¹⁰ in particular, whose territory¹¹ adjoining that of the Dal gCais, saw reasons to be apprehensive that the latter would extend their principality, which, at that time, extended from Hoclan to Limerick, and from Gnamchoill¹² to Luachair,¹³ or wrest some portion of it from them.

For these reasons, Molloy, son of Bran; Donovan, son of Cathal; and Ivor, king of the Danes of Limerick, formed a conspiracy to undermine the power of Mahon, son of Kennedy, king of Munster.¹⁴

At the instigation of Ivor, Donovan invited Mahon to a feast at his house at Bruree. Although Mahon suspected the loyalty of his host, he consented to accept the invitation, his safety having been guaranteed

1. Keating. 2 & 3 Four Masters. 4. Four Masters. 5. Four Masters. 6. Stephen Gwynn's History of Ireland. 7. O'Donovan in Four Masters. 8. Four Masters. 9. Cogadh Gaedheal re Gallaibh 10. O'Donovans, whose territory 11. was around Bruree. 12. Mile and a half east of Tipperary town. 13. Borders of Kerry. 14. Cogadh Gaedheal re Gallaibh.

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by Columb Mac Kieragan, successor of St. Barry, bishop of Cork, and others of the clergy of Munster.¹

Mahon attended the feast, but his treacherous host, violating the laws of hospitality, and the solemn compact with the clergy, seized upon his person, in order to deliver him to Molloy, son of Bran, and Ivor of Limerick, who were stationed in the neighbourhood, with a body of Irish and Danish troops.

"Donovan's people conducted Mahon to Cnoc-an-Rebhrainn (Knockinrewrin Cairn on the mountains of Sliabh Cacin (Ballyhoura) whither two of the clergy of St. Barry, and Molloy's people repaired to meet them. (Knockrourin is in the Streamhill mountains near which is a great Carin".² Streamhill is underneath Corranmore, and south of it.)

"Molloy had ordered his people, when they got Mahon into their hands, to dispatch him at once. This order was obeyed. A bright sharp sword was plunged into his heart. He held a Gospel at his breast to protect him by its sanctity. When, however, he perceived the naked sword extended to strike him, he cast the Gospel in the direction of the clergy, who were on an adjacent hillock. It struck the breast of one of the priests of Cork. Those who were looking on assert that he sent it the distance of a bowshot from one hillock to another.

"When Molloy, who was within sight of the tragic scene, observed the flashing of the sword, raised to strike the victim, he understood that the bloody deed was done, and he mounted his horse to depart.³

"What is to be done" asked one of the clergy who knew Molloy.

"Cure that man if he come to thee", said Molloy, with a sneer, and he took his departure.

"The priest became wroth, and cursing Molloy bitterly, predicted that he would come to an evil end, and that his monument would be erected near that very hill, in a situation where the sun would never shine upon it.

And this was verified. For Molloy afterwards lost his eyesight, and was killed in a hut constructed of alder trees at the ford of Bealach Leachta⁴ by Hugh, son of Gevennen of Deis Beg.⁵

1. Cogadh Gaedheal re Gallaibh. 2. Walter Jones, in Cork Archaeological Journal of April & June, 1910. Cnoc Reamhar is a big hill. (Dineen's Dictionary). There is a hill of the name near Mallow. 3. Cogadh Gaedheal re Gallaibh. 4. Bealach Leachta is obviously the 'Pass or way of the Melting' mentioned in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. Consequently, it would be Bearna Dearg. 5. Deis Beg was the area around Bruff, a further indication that this is the locality near which the events took place.

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The monument of Mahon is on the south side of the hill. Molloy lies on the north side, and the sun never shines on it.

"The two priests afterwards returned home, and told Columb Mac Kieragan, the Co-arb of St. Barry, what had been done, and gave him the Gospel, which was stained with the blood of Mahon. The holy prelate wept bitterly, and uttered a prophesy concerning the fate of the murderers."¹

The murder of Mahon occurred in the year 976.²

"When the news of the tragedy reached Brian, son of Ceinnide, and the Dal gCais, they were overwhelmed with grief. Brian expressed regret that his brother had not fallen in a battle behind the shelter of his shield before he relied on the treacherous word of Donovan, who delivered him to the infamous Molloy to be butchered in cold blood.

"After the murder of Mahon, Brian, son of Ceinneide, became king of Dal gCais. His first effort was against the Danes of Limerick. He slew Ivor, their king and two of his sons. Donovan sent for Harold, another son of Ivor, and made him king of the Danes of Munster.

"Hearing this, Brian made an incursion over Ui Fidhgheinte,³ seized a vast spoil of cattle, and slew Donovan, a praiseworthy deed. He plundered the city of Limerick, slew Harold, king of the Danes, and made a great slaughter of his people, returning home loaded with immense spoils.

"This was the second year after the murder of Mahon."⁴

"O'Donovan had taken into his pay 1,500 heavily armed Danes, commanded by Aolavius, a Danish soldier of great experience. Brian, in the Spring of 976, entered Ui Fidhgheinte, where, at Croom, he gave battle, in which Donovan, Aolavius, and their forces were cut to pieces.⁵

After the battle, Brian sent a herald to Molloy, king of Munster⁶ challenging him to come to battle at Bealach Leachta.⁷ He did so.

1. Cogadh Gaedheal re Gallaibh. 2. O'Donovan in Four Masters.
3. Middle plain of Limerick (Ogygia); West of the river Maigue, plus the barony of Coshma (Leabhar na gCeart); Mungret was in it (Book of Lismore). 4. End of Cogadh Gaedheal re Gallaibh.
5. John Collins of Myross. 6. John Collins of Myross.
7. Pass of the Melting. "This battle was fought at Bearn Dearg (Red Chair) on Sliabh Cacin" (Annals of Innisfallen). Red Chair is the pass west of Kileruig (O'Donovan), John Collins of Myross says Bealach Leachta is a mile east of Macroom, at the confluence of the Sullane and the Lee (Pedigree of the O'Donovan family). "Collins lacked the historical sense, and was more at home in poetry" writes Canon O'Mahony in his History of the O'Mahony Septs. "Collins's Pedigree of the O'Donovans is a compilation abounding in errors, and completely discarded by Dr. O'Donovan in his account of that Clan".

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Brian, son of Ceinnide, and his son, Moragh, were at the head of the Dal gCais. Maolmhuidh (Molloy), son of Bran, was at the head of the Eugenians, strengthened by Danish forces. Molloy was killed by the hand of Murogh. Of the Danes, 200 were slain, and great numbers of the Irish.¹

The battle was fought in 978 A.D.²

Brian, Soldier and Statesman

Donal O'Faolan, king of the Decies, made war on Brian. He was defeated at Fan Mic Connrach, where he was killed. Large numbers of the Lochlonnaigh, his auxiliaries, were slain, Brian pursued them to Waterford, and burned the town. He overthrew the Lochlonnaigh in twenty-five battles.³

The nobles of Leath Mogha (Mogh Nuadhat's half of Ireland was even at that time called Leath Mogh), and those of the greater part of Connacht, considered it was Brian, son of Ceinnide, that was undergoing the labour and hardship of expelling the foreigners, while Macilseachlainn, king of Ireland, gave himself up to a life of luxury and ease. They sent envoys to the High King to tell him what they thought. He refused to receive them.

Brian marched to Tara to request the High King to abdicate in his favour. Macilseachlainn, more amenable in the presence of Brian's army, asked for a month's respite to consult Leath Cuinn (Conn's northern half of Ireland). He got it. An envoy from the High King went to Aodh O'Neill, Eochaidh, king of Ulster, and to Cathal O'Conchubhar, king of Connacht.

"If you do not come to maintain the freedom of Tara, I will give sureties to Brian for submission", was the message of the High King.

"When Cinel Eoghan possessed Tara, they defended it", said O'Neill. "Let those who hold it now stand for its freedom".

The others feared the Dalcassians. "They never retreated from the Lochlonnaigh, and would not retreat from us", they said.

Macilseachlainn, still temporising, asked for a year to enable him to consult Leath Cuinn. He got it.

Brian returned home. A year later, he said: "I will visit those northerners, Aodh O'Neill, and Eochaidh, and learn what answer they will give me:", said he.

He assembled his forces, and marched to Dun Dealgan. There he received the hostages and sureties of Ulster. Macilseachlainn was obliged to relinquish the sovereignty of Ireland to Brian.

1. Annals of Innisfallen. 2. Four Masters. 3. Keating.

Brian fortified Cashel, Ceann Abhradh,¹ Dun Eochair Mhaighe,² Dun gCrot,³ Dun Cliach,⁴ Ros na Righ,⁵ Treada na Ríogh⁶ and other royal fortresses of Munster.

A Woman's Taunt

When Brian was residing at Cinn Choradh (Kincora), he asked Maolmordha, king of Leinster, to send him three masts from Fiodh Gailbhle.⁷ The king sent the masts, and went with them. Criticising the way in which one mast was being carried, he went under it himself. Under the strenuous exertion, the clasp of his tunic snapped. When he reached Cinn Choradh, he gave the tunic to his sister, Gormflaith, wife of Brian, to fix the clasp. Flinging the tunic into the fire, she scornfully remarked: "Neither your father or grandfather ever brooked subjection or slavery to anyone on earth."

That night, still smarting under his sister's taunt, Maolmordha watched Murchadha, son of Brian, and Conaing, son of Donn Cuan, playing chess. Murchadha, on the advice of Maolmordha, made a move on the chessboard, which lost him the game.

"Your advice to the Lochlonnaigh lost them the battle of Gleann Mama", said Murchadha.

"The next advice I shall give them will enable them to defeat you", said Maolmordha.

"I defy you to do so", said Murchadha.⁸

Clontarf and After

The king of Leinster, enraged, went home. Brian was advised to intercept him, departing.

"No", said he. "It would outrage the laws of hospitality. We shall meet him in battle".

Maolmordha assembled his nobles, and told them that he had been insulted at Cinn Choradh. It was planned to get the aid of the Lochlonnaigh to go against Brian. But Brian had not left in Ireland a sufficient force of them to fight a battle.

Clontarf was the result. It was fought in 1014. The Danes were defeated, but Brian was slain.

Only a remnant of 1,000 of Dalcassians returned from the conflict, while there survived three thousand of the race of Fiacha Muilleathan. At Mullagh Maisteon,⁹ the descendants

1. At Corranmore, Ballyhoura, are the remains of a circular stone fort. There are similar remains at Seefin, a peak overlooking Glenosheen. 2. Bruree. 3. At the base of Sliabh Crott in Glen of Aherlow (Four Masters. 4. Knockaney. 5. Near Doneraile (Crichad an Chaoille). 6. A triple fossed fort near Kilfinane. 7. "Wood of Gabhal" near river Teegile in parish of Cloonsast, north of Portarlinton (Index to Forus Feasa or Eirinn). 8. Keating. 9. Mullaghmast, five miles east of Athy (O'Donovan).

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of Fiacha demanded hostages, and the succession of the sovereignty of Munster from the survivors of Dal gCais. Donnchadh son of Brian refused. A battle was imminent.

Donnchadh put the wounded into Rath Maistean, and prepared for battle with the other two-thirds. Cinel Eoghan, seeing their determination, did not pursue their demand.¹

On the banks of the Barrow, Mac Giolla Padraig of Ossory demanded hostages, and received a like refusal. Dal gCais got ready for battle.

"Tie us to stakes" cried the wounded, "that we may fight with our kindred".

It was done. Moss was pressed against their wounds to stop the blood-gush caused by the excitement.

The Ossorians, seeing their unconquerable spirit, refused to fight them, though upbraided by Mac Giolla Padraig.

Donnchadh became king of Munster, and Macilseachlainn resumed the sovereignty of Ireland.

INVASION FACILITATED

Rivalry of MacCarthys and O'Briens

When Toiridhealbhach (Turloch) Mor, son of Ruaidhre O'Conchubhar (O'Connor) "held the sovereignty of the greater part of Ireland,"² he plundered Cashel and Ardfinnan. In 1115, he divided Munster, giving Donnchadh MacCarthaigh the southern part, and Conchubhar O'Brien the northern half. It was the policy of Turloch O'Connor to keep Munster divided, for a single ruler over the "two Munsters" might ambition the High-kingship. Indeed, the O'Briens had such an ambition. So had the Ui Neill of Ulster. The MacCarthys at the time seem to have been animated by provincial jealousies.

In 1107, the MacCarthys had expelled from his territory Culuachra O'Connor, king of Kerry. In 1138, Diarmuid Sluaghadhach O'Connor of Kerry, and Toirdhealbhach (Turloch) O'Brien assassinated Cormac MacCarthy in his own house in Cashel.³

"The beautiful stone-roofed church on the rock of Cashel, called Cormac's chapel, was built in the twelfth century by Cormac MacCarthy, and not by the celebrated king-bishop, Cormac Mac Cullenan, who was killed at the battle of Bealach Mughna in 908."⁴

In 1137 Conor O'Brien had given hostages to Diarmuid Mac Murchadha to secure his aid in subduing the MacCarthys.⁵ But Diarmuid did nothing about it.

1. Keating. 2. Keating. 3. Gleanings by W.F.T. Butler.

4. Dr. Petrie. 5. Orpen in the Normans.

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In 1150 Diarmuid Sluaghadhach O'Connor of Kerry and Turloch O'Brien defeated the princes of the Eugenian line at Ui Conaill Gabhra. (Connello, Co. Limerick). In 1151, the Mac Carthys defeated the O'Briens at Moin Mor, near Emly.¹

O'Connor escaped from the carnage into Kerry. Although assisted by Turloch O'Brien, Sluaghadhach O'Connor was so harassed in Kerry by Diarmuid MacCarthy that he fled from the territory, and so did O'Brien.² The power of the O'Connors of Kerry then waned.

In 1151³ Turloch O'Connor, king "of the greater part of Ireland", descended on Munster, plundered it as far as Moin Mor,⁴ and there meeting Turloch O'Brien returning from a predatory incursion into Desmond, defeated him with a loss of 7,000 men. Turloch O'Brien was banished,⁵ and Munster was divided between Tadhg O'Brien and Diarmuid, son of Cormac MacCarthy.

Kingdom Lost for a Woman

Murchadh Mac Floinn, king of Meath, had a beautiful daughter, Dearbhforgaill,⁶ whose eyes had brightened in the presence of Diarmuid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster.

Tighernan Caoch O'Ruairc of Breffni sought her hand. Her father, desiring an alliance with a friend of the High King, compelled her to marry O'Ruairc.

She was not happy with her husband. When he went on a pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory in Loch Derg, she sent a message to Mac Murchadha to come and carry her off⁷. He did so. She was then in her 44th year. That was in 1152⁸.

Hearing, on his return, that his wife had been forcibly carried off, O'Ruairc complained to the High King.

1. O'Donovan. 2. O'Donovan in Four Masters. 3. Orpen in the Normans. 4. Near Emly, says O'Donovan. But there is a Moin Mor near Mourne Abbey, and another beside the road through Glenanaar, east of Seefin, leading to Ardpatrik. 5. Four Masters. 6. She was a daughter of Murchadha Ua Maeleachlainn, king of Westmeath, according to the Four Masters. 7. Keating. 8. Joyce's Illustrated History of Ireland.

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The High King marched to Leinster. His nobles told Mac Murchadha that they would not defend the evil he had done.¹ The lady was restored to her husband. That was a year after her abduction.

"Dearbhforgaill, daughter of Murchadha Ua Maeleachlainn, came from the king of Leinster to Tighernan Ua Ruairc again".² "Nothing has been discovered to show that she continued to live for any time with O'Ruairc, after her return from Leinster. The probability is that she did not, and that she retired immediately after into the Monastery of Mellifont, where she died in 1193, in the 85th year of her age".³

Diarmuid Ua Murchadha was deposed and banished in 1166,⁴ not on account of Dearbhforgaill, but for his intolerable conduct.⁵

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1. Keating says the High King was Ruaidhri O'Connor. But Joyce and the Four Masters agree that he was Turloch O'Connor, father of Ruaidhri.

2. Four Masters. 3. O'Donovan's note in Four Masters.

4. & 5. Joyce's Illustrated History of Ireland.

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IX

NORMAN ADVENTURERS

Old Irish Families Driven Westwards

Diarmuid sought the aid of Henry II of England, then in France. In response to the friendly letters given by Henry to Diarmuid, Norman adventurers --- Fitzgilbert, Fitzstephen Maurice Fitzgerald, and Strongbow --- gave him aid. In 1169 they landed in Wexford.¹ The jealousies of provincial kings and princes threw opportunity in their path. In 1178, the O'Briens, assisted by the Fitzgeralds, and Burkes, drove the O'Donovans out of Croom and Bruree.² The O'Donovans migrated to Carbery, West Cork, which they wrested from the O'Driscolls.

"After the English Invasion, about 1192, the families of O'Sullivan and MacCarthy, who had previously been settled in the great plain of Munster, were driven by the English into Kerry, and then, those baronies (of Corca Dhuibhne, Iveragh, Magunihy) were seized upon by the MacCarthys and O'Sullivans, who reduced the families of the race of Conaire Mor to obscurity".³

"The territory of Eoghanacht-Graffon in Co. Tipperary, was the lordship of the O'Sullivans, who had their principal seat at Knockgrafton, on the banks of the Suir".⁴

Rapha was the nurse of Fiacha Muilleathan.⁵ Cnoc Raphann, or Knockgrafton, is a townland and parish two miles north of Cahir. It was "one of the regal houses of the kings of Munster in ancient times, when Fiacha Muilleathan, and other Momonian kings had their Courts there. It was to that seat Fiacha brought Cormac Airt king of Leath Cuinn, prisoner. In after ages, it was the estate, together with its annexes, of the O'Sullivans."⁶

This place, (Knockgrafton) remained in the possession of the descendants of Fiacha Muilleathan, the O'Sullivans, until 1192, when the English drove them from their rich plains into the mountains of Cork and Kerry, and erected within the rath of Knockgrafton a strong castle to secure their conquests. Of this castle only one small tower now remains but the outlines of some walls are traceable to a very considerable extent.⁷

O'Donovan visited Knockgrafton in 1840, and found the ancient ruins to consist of a large moat, surrounded by a

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1. Orpen in the Normans 2. Orpen. 3. O'Donovan in Book of Rights. 4. O'Halloran's History of Ireland. 5. Keating.
6. O'Brien's Topographical Dictionary.
7. O'Donovan in Four Masters.

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rath of ample dimensions. "The moat is 55 feet in perpendicular height, and 60 feet in diameter at the top. At the foot of the moat, on the western side, is a curious plateau, measuring 70 paces from north to south, and 57 paces from east to west."¹

"See how the historians of Munster place the MacCarthy before the O'Sullivans, who are their seniors in descent".²
"O'Sullivan Mor presided at meetings of the Munster chiefs, even when MacCarthy Mor was present".³

"In Desmond, Donell McCarty, base son of the Earl of Clancarty, opposeth Darby McOwen McCarthy for the Earldom but they agree both to be traitors to her Majesty. O'Sullivan Mor doth refuse to give the rod, according to the ancient custom, to either of them."⁴

"The McCarthys have been considered head of the family of Eugenians, and in fact head of the family of the line of Heber, but it is doubtful whether they can rightly claim this distinction, on the score of seniority of birth. From that point of view, it is claimed by the O'Sullivans".⁵

"In the best spellings, the name is written O'Suildubhain, or black-eyed."⁶

Normans Fight for a Lady

The O'Keeffes of Fermoy were expelled by the Roches, Condons and Flemings, and they settled in Duhallow, west of Millstreet.

In 1200, Sir William Fleming of Glanworth Castle had an only child, a daughter, Amy. Sir William Condon sought her hand, and his suit was rejected. He besieged the castle in order to take her by force. Her father sent a message to Sir Richard de la Roche: "Free my lands from that rabble, and the best reward of knighthood is yours."

A squadron of horse, headed by Roche, thundered up. Condon marshalled his forces to meet it. The charge was sounded. Spear and lance struck shield and helmet. Condon's cavalry, worsted, fled. His infantry scattered.

"Vile stain on chivalry", cried Roche, encountering Condon. "Take thy deserts. Let no man interfere."

"Let me teach this knave to fly", rejoined Condon.

Their horse fell under them, killed by blows intended for the riders. On foot the antagonists renewed the struggle. Condon put his foot behind Roche, and flung him backward.

1. O'Donovan. 2. Mac Firbis in Book of Genealogies.
3. Windle. 4. Sir Thomas Norreys, Vice President of Munster, in a letter of December 9th, 1958, to the English Privy Council.
5. Samuel Trant McCarthy in "The McCarthys." 6. O'Curry.

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In falling, Roche grasped a crossbow, and, with it, sent an arrow through Condon's heart, killing him instantly.¹

Before the English Invasion, O'Cacimh (O'Keeffe), and O'Dubhagain (Duggan), possessed Fermoy, Condons and Clangibbons. After the invasion, Fleming got Fear Muighe Feine (Fermoy), which passed by marriage to the Roches.²

Bishop's Action

The O'Sullivans subdued the O'Sheas, Moriartys, O'Connells, and others, of the peninsulas of Cork and Kerry.³ O'Sullivan Mor took from Dingle Bay to the Kenmare river and O'Sullivan Bere from Kenmare river to Bantry Bay.⁴

The name Beare was conferred on the haven to commemorate Beara, grand-daughter of the king of Castile, and mother of Oillill Olum, from whom the O'Sullivans were descended".⁵

Laurence O'Sullivan, bishop of Cloyne, died in 1204.

"Alan O'Sullivan, a Dominican Friar, was consecrated for Cloyne in 1240, and eight years afterwards was translated to Lismore".⁶ Christian, bishop of Emly, maintained a suit against Alan O'Sullivan, bishop of Cloyne, about a tenement in Kilcomyr,⁷ which he claimed in right of his See, and obtained a verdict.

"The Chief Justice refused to give judgement without the king's direction, because the defendant bishop had threatened to excommunicate him, if he did. The king commanded the Chief Justice to give judgment and damages according to the verdict", and "to imprison the bishop of Cloyne" "for prosecuting the suit in the spiritual court after his prohibition".⁸

The chronicle does not say how the matter ended.

Originally, the diocese of Imleach Ibhair (Emly) extended from Cluain Caoin, now Clonkeen, near Abington, in the barony of Ownybeg, Co. Limerick, to the Abhann Mor, now the Blackwater, in Co. Cork.⁹ Kileumner is on the north side of the Blackwater near Castletownroche, and, hence, would have been in the diocese of Emly. It is now in the diocese of Cloyne.

1. Dublin University Magazine for 1847. 2. O'Donovan in Book of Rights, p. 78. 3. & 4. Orpen in The Normans. 5. O'Donovan. 6,7,8. Sir James Ware's Antiquities. 9. Keating's Forus Feasa ar Eirinn.

THE GERALDINES

Rise and Fall of Remarkable Family

The Anglo-Normans, by battle, diplomacy, marriage, extended and consolidated their position.

"From the time Maurice Fitzgerald, and his kith and kin, first set foot on the Wexford coast, no family has played so important a part in the drama of Irish History as the Geraldines".¹ "Sprung from the stock of Gerald of Windsor and Nest of Wales, they spread out in many branches, and covered large tracts of land in all directions. The heads of the two principal branches became Earls of Kildare, and Earls of Desmond respectively. But there were many important offshoots, such as the Fitzwilliams, Barons of Naas; Fitzgriffins, Barons of Knocktopher; Fitzgibbons, or White Knights; Knights of Glin; Knights of Kerry; and many others less notable".²

Gerald, brother of Maurice, got Maynooth, and Imokilly, Co. Cork. Maurice had three sons: William, Thomas and Gerald. William got Carrickittle, in the parish of Kiltteely, Co. Limerick. Thomas got Shanid, and, through his son, John Fitzthomas, was ancestor of the Earls of Desmond. Maurice, another son of Thomas, was ancestor of the Fitzmaurices of Kerry. Gerald married a daughter of Homo de Valognes, who had obtained a grant of Ui Conaill Gabhra, and, through her, secured Croom.

Before the Fitzgeralds had established themselves in Co. Limerick, there had been ceaseless warfare with the former rulers of it. In 1178, the O'Donovans had been driven out, with the help of the O'Briens.³ "In 1199, the whole country along by the Shannon was laid waste in the wars between the Irish and English."⁴

"The Carties plaid the Divells"

Although Cormac MacCarthaigh had, in 1170, defeated⁵ the Norman Knights left to protect Port Lairge (Waterford), he was eventually driven out of the plains around Cashel, and, like the O'Sullivans, he established himself in West Cork, and Kerry. The MacCarthys brought the whole of those areas under their sway, and were entitled to tribute from the other families residing there.

There was ceaseless warfare between the MacCarthys and the Fitzgeralds, with varying fortunes. In 1261, at Callainn Gleann O'Ruachtain, in the parish of Kilgarvan, five miles east of Kenmare, the Fitzgeralds were overwhelmed by Fingen MacCarthy, son of Dermot of Dundrinan, a brother of Cormac Finn.⁶ John, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, Seneschal of Munster, and Maurice his son, were slain there.⁷

1. Orpen in The Normans. 2. Orpen. 3. Orpen in The Normans.
4. Orpen. 5. Four Masters. 6. Gibson's History of Cork.
7. Orpen in the Normans.

"The Carties plaid the divells in Desmond, where they burned, spoiled, preyed, and slue many an innocent. They became so strong, and prevailed so mightily, that for the space (so it is reported) of twelve yeeres, the Desmond durst not put plough in the ground of his own country. At length, through the operation of Satan, a love of discord was thrown between the Carties and the Odriscoles, Odonovans, MacDonach, Mac Mahonna, Mac Swines, and the inhabitants of Muscrie, in so much that their cruell dissention, they weakened themselves on all sides, that the Desmond in the end overcame and overtopped them all".¹

Gerald, or Garrett, son of the first Earl of Desmond, a creation of 1329, was a poet. Such was his reputation among the people of Co. Limerick, that, when he died in 1398, it was said "he had only gone into the water at Loch Gair (now Lough Gur, in the parish of Knockaney), west of Bruff, and came up every seven years to visit his castle".² "His spirit appears every seven years on Loch Gur, where he had a castle".³

Woman's Love - Another's Vengeance

Sir John, the fifth Earl, succeeded his father, the poet. He was drowned at Ardfinnan on the Suir, pursuing the Butlers.⁴

When Thomas, the sixth Earl, was a young man, he went hunting on the banks of the Feal, near Listowel. Losing his way, and being benighted, he took shelter in the house of William Mac Cormac, one of his dependents. Mac Cormac had a beautiful daughter, Catherine, and the young Earl suddenly became enamoured of her. He wooed, won, and married her. His honourable conduct was represented as an unpardonable offence. His uncle James availed of the situation to supplant his nephew as Chief. Thomas fled with his bride to Rouen in France. There he died in 1420. Henry V of England, then in France, attended at the grave as chief mourner.⁵

James became seventh Earl. In 1430, he captured Kilbrittan Castle from MacCarthy Reagh. But he assigned to Maurice, son of Thomas, the sixth Earl, the manors of Moyallow (Mallow) Kilcoleman, and Broghill.

Thomas, the grandson of James, became the eighth Earl, as his father, Garrett, had been made prisoner by the Butlers. The Geraldines and the Butlers agreed to settle their differences by a set battle. It was fought at Pilltown, Co. Kilkeeney, in 1462. The Butlers were defeated, and Edmund Butler, styled

1. Eanmer's Chronicle, Dublin Edition, 1809. 2. Orpen in The Normans. 3. Dr. O'Donovan. 4. Orpen. 5. Gibson.

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Mac Richard, who commanded the forces of Ormond, was made prisoner. He was ransomed by a copy of the Psalter of Cashel.

Thomas, the eighth Earl, was made Lord Chief Justice of Ireland in 1464. He was high in favour with Edward IV of England.

"Do you see aught amiss in the administration of my kingdom?" asked the king of the Geraldine.

"You would do well to divorce your present queen, and form an alliance with some powerful princess", said the Earl of Desmond.

The queen heard of the advice, procured his removal from office as Deputy of Ireland, and, with the king's signet, which she stole for the purpose, she impressed it on a warrant and got him executed by the Earl of Worcester, the new Deputy. The enraged king beheaded Worcester, and the queen fled.

In revenge for the death of Thomas, the eighth Earl, his son, Garrett, caused much disturbance in Munster.

James, the eleventh Earl, son of Maurice "Bacach", waged war on Cormac Oge MacCarthy of Muskerry. They met in a fierce engagement near Mourne Abbey, where the Earl was defeated with a loss of a thousand men.¹ The Earl's uncle, Sir Thomas of Desmond, who was married to Ellen, a daughter of MacCarthy of Muskerry, fought against his nephew at that battle. Later, he became twelfth Earl. His period was from 1529 to 1534.

"Greatest of all the Earls"

James Fitzmaurice, son of the twelfth Earl, was known as the "Court Page", presumably from the length of time he spent in England trying to secure succession to the title and estates of the Desmonds, which his uncle, Sir John, resisted.

James, the eldest son of Sir John, and one of the ablest of the Geraldines, claimed the Earldom on the death of his father in 1536. He was dubbed "the Pretended Earl", and the "Usurper".

But he won through. He was asked by Henry VIII to relinquish the authority of the "Bishop of Rome" before the title of Earl of Desmond would be conferred on him. He made large promises, "put his son into the king's hands",² but did not translate his promises into action.

In 1538, he married a daughter of O'Brien of Thomond. His first wife, Joan, daughter of Lord Fermoy, was still alive. He formed a confederacy with O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the king of Scotland. King Henry decided to displace him. He employed the Earl of Ormond to hunt him down.

1. Gibson's History of Cork. 2. Ormond writing to St. Leger.

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"In his Proper Place"

James Fitzmaurice, the "Court Page", was slain by Maurice Fitzjohn, brother to James Fitzjohn, "Usurper of the Earldom of Desmond". James Fitzjohn then assumed the earldom, and was joined by Lords Roche and Barry, the White Knight, Mac Carthy Reagh, and a host of Irish Chieftains. He was now too strong to be crushed. So Ormond tries friendly overtures". He spends two nights with him in the heart of his own country."¹

St Leger, on returning to Ireland for the second time, received the submission of Fitzjohn, who was then appointed one of the Council. Going to England in 1542, his title of Earl of Desmond was acknowledged. He died in 1558 at Askeaton. His son, Garrett, who succeeded him, is styled "the Great Earl of Desmond". "But this James, without doubt, was the greatest of all the Earls".²

Invited to England, Garrett went there, and Queen Elizabeth kept him there. She distrusted the Desmonds, and made the Ormonds her favourites. Garrett's brother, John, and his wife, Joan, made Munster so hot for the royalists that Garrett was allowed back in 1563. In 1565, he was ambushed by the Ormonds at Affane on the Blackwater a mile and a half south of Cappoquin, where he was wounded and captured.

"Where is now the Great Earl of Desmond?" asked Ormond's soldiers, jeeringly, as they bore him on a stretcher.

"In his proper place, on the necks of the Butlers", was the ready response.

Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Justice, toured Munster in 1567. He "demolished towns between Cork and Limerick".³ The Earl of Desmond met him at Kilmallock, and, instead of fighting, parleyed, and was taken prisoner to Dublin. His brother, John, was allowed to visit him, but this permission was merely a ruse to get John into custody. He was seized, and both were sent to England, and committed to the Tower in 1568.

Three-night Ride to Freedom

Sir Warham St. Leger was then made Lord Deputy for Munster and the Desmonds, being friendly with him, made their submission. Yet they were kept prisoners.

It was the policy of the Desmonds, generally successful, when the head of the house was made prisoner, to give as much trouble as possible. Thomas Ruadh, son of James, the "Usurper", by his first wife, Joan Roche, and his cousin, James Fitzmaurice, raided Kerry. Lady Ursula St Leger, in her husband's absence,

1. Gibson's History of Cork.
2. Gibson's History of Cork.
3. Four Masters.

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retired from Doneraile. She was besieged in the Castle of Carrigaline by James Fitzmaurice with 4,000 men. Sir Henry Sydney relieved the castle. Fitzmaurice rapidly marched to Kilmallock, and burned it before Sir Henry knew of his purpose, and pursued him.¹ For three days, and three nights, Fitzmaurice's forces "were carrying off the riches of the place to the woods of Aherlow, before they set fire to the town".²

When Sir John Perrott, reputed son of Henry VIII, was made Lord President of Munster in 1571, the Earl of Desmond and his brother, Sir John, were brought to Dublin from London. Sir John was allowed "to visit the fair plains of Munster"³ but the Earl was kept under open arrest in Dublin.

In 1573, the Earl was in a hunting excursion, and, while the chase was in progress, he and his party turned their horses' heads to the south. Riding for three nights, they arrived among the Geraldines in November. In a short time, he expelled the Government forces from Munster, and took the castles of Castlemartyr and Castlemaine.⁴

In 1576, when Sir William Drury was President of Munster, he was invited to the Earl of Desmond's castle at Tralee. He was met by 800 armed men. He charged them, and they fled.

"What is the meaning of this", said he to the Countess, who met him at the entrance to the castle.

"Oh, just a hunting party that approached to welcome you", said she, with ready wit.

He seemed to have accepted the explanation as genuine.

Fitzmaurice Slain

In 1578, Sir William Drury was made Lord Chief Justice, with the authority of Deputy. Enforcing the policy of the Queen, he harassed the Desmonds. The Earl caused a letter to be sent to James Fitzmaurice, who had gone to France in 1575, asking him to secure aid from that king, and to return to Ireland.

The King of France received him coolly. He went to Spain, but that king had made peace with England. However, he gave James a letter to Pope Gregory XIII. The Pope fitted out an expedition.

Fitzmaurice had met on the continent one Tom Stukely, said to have been a natural son of Henry VIII, and he gave the command of the expedition to Stukely. When Stukely arrived with the fleet at Lisbon, the King of Portugal induced him to take the expedition with the king's forces to Africa. He did so, and fell at Alcazar.

1. Orpen in the Normans. 2. Four Masters. 3. Four Masters.
4. Gibson's History of Cork.

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Unaware of Stukely's treachery, Fitzmaurice proceeded rapidly to Ireland. He landed at Smerwick, west of Dingle, in 1579, with Dr. Saunders, Papal Nuncio; Bishop O'Mulrian, of Killaloe; and Father Allen, a Jesuit.

Drury ordered the Earl of Desmond to attack the fort of Smerwick and raze it. The Earl, and his brother, John, made a pretence of doing so. But Fitzmaurice and his party were allowed to slip through.

Fitzmaurice marched to Co. Limerick. John of Desmond joined him. Passing through Connello, Theobald and Ulick Burke attacked him. Fitzmaurice, wounded by a bullet in the chest, rushed up to Theobald Burke, and cut his head in two with a blow of a sword.¹ Fitzmaurice died of his wound.

TRAGIC ENDING

Sir William Drury, the Earl of Kildare, and Sir Nicholas Malby, leaving Cork, pitched camp near Kilmallock. The Earl of Desmond came, and assured them he had no part in bringing over Fitzmaurice. He gave his son as a hostage to them. He was promised that his territory would not be plundered. The promise was not kept.

Sir William Drury left the camp to search the wood of Coill Mhor (Kilmore). He met John of Desmond, and James Oge, brother of the Earl, at Gort na Tiobrad (Springfield) in the parish of Killagholehane, in south Co. Limerick.² A fierce engagement ensued. The Lord Justice was defeated, wounded, and three captains, and 300 men slain. Drury retreated to Athnessy ford, on the Morning Star river, four miles from Kilmallock. From thence he was conveyed to Waterford, where he died.³

Ormond was made Governor of Munster, and St. Leger Provost Marshall. Queen Elizabeth considered St. Leger too friendly with the Desmonds to be entrusted with supreme control.

Malby defeated Sir John of Desmond at Monaster Neva⁴ or at Aenach Beg, five miles north-west of Bruff.⁵

When the Lord Deputy, Sir William Pelham, came south, the Earl of Desmond refused to join him. He was proclaimed traitor in 1579. He raised the standard of revolt on the Ballyhoura mountains, sweeping flocks and herds before him. He took preys from the lands of Lord Roche and Lord Barry. He captured Youghal, seized its riches and levelled its walls.⁶ In 1580, James Oge, brother of the Earl, was captured and killed.

1. Gibson's History of Cork. 2. & 3. Four Masters.

4. Gibson's History of Cork. 5. O'Donovan in Four Masters

6. Four Masters.

Butchery and Broken Faith

Arthur Lord Grey succeeded Pelham in 1580, on August 12. Grey was accompanied by Capt. Sir Walter Raleigh, and the poet Spenser, who was Grey's secretary.

A fleet of Italians and Spaniards landed at Dun-an-Oir (fort of Gold) at Smerwick west of Dingle. Grey was unable to capture the fort. He negotiated with the garrison, got a surrender on terms, and then every soldier in the fort, numbering 700 "was butchered in cold blood".¹ This was 1580.² Sir John of Desmond defeated ten battalions of his enemies at Gortnapishy at the base of Slievenamon in 1581.³

The outlawed 16th Earl of Desmond, "surrounded by desperate men, betook themselves to the wilds, near the Lakes of Killarney. Before dawn, on January 4th, 1581, they were encamped near Aghadoe. The Earl and Countess, by the watch-fires all night, were in sleep when the alarm, and the hoofs of Zouch's cavalry, awoke them. They barely escaped, he in his shirt, to the bank of the river, where they remained three hours, 'up to their chins in water'."⁴

In September, 1581, the Earl made an incursion around Cashel. When pursued by a large force, he turned, and slew 400 men. In 1582, he invaded Butler's territory, and defeated the Butlers.⁵

"After four years of blood and rapine, Elizabeth offered terms to those who returned to their allegiance, except Earl Garrett and his kindred. Most of his supporters fell away from him and Desmond was isolated."⁶

In the winter of 1582, the Earl spent a cold Christmas in Kilcruig Wood. This place is near Redchair, between Kildorrery and Kilmallock.

In 1583, a "party of Moriartys, of the race of Aedh Bennain, found the Earl concealed in Gleann an Ghinntigh wood, near the river Maine, five miles from Tralee, took him prisoner, and beheaded him".⁷ A soldier named Daniel Kelly slew him.⁸

John of Desmond lived in the mountains, "a sort of Irish Robin Hood".⁹ A quarrel had arisen between David Lord Barry, who resided at Castlelyons, and Fitzgerald, Seneschal of Imokilly. John of Desmond was anxious to compose the quarrel. Capt. Dowdall sent one Richard Mac James, an Irish spy of his to Drumfineen, near the Blackwater, where Barry and the Seneschal had their camp. A messenger of Desmond told him that Sir John of Desmond would be there next morning to assist in the mediation. The spy prevailed with the man, whom Desmond was sending to the Seneschal of Imokilly, to go with him to Cork". There he informed Zouch of Desmond's visit. Hastily proceeding to Castlelyons, Zouch "perceived two horsemen, who proved to be Sir John of Desmond and James Fitzjohn of Strancally, whom they surrounded, and carried to Cork.

1. Leland. 2. Gwynn's History of Ireland. 3. Book of the Galtees by Paul F. Flynn. 4. Gibson's History of Cork. 5. Gibson's History of Cork. 6. Doninick O'Daly's Geraldines. 7. Gibson's History of Cork. 8. O'Daly's Geraldines. 9. Gibson's History of Cork.

Sallyhaura

Sir John of Desmond, being wounded, died by the way, but his body was hanged by the heels on a gibbet near the north gate, and his head sent to Dublin, to be placed on the castle. James Fitzjohn was also hanged and quartered."¹ This happened in 1581.

The Desmond estates, consisting of over half a million acres, were confiscated in 1583, after the attainder of the Earl by Perrott's Parliament.²

Bishop of Emly

Murrough O'Brien was appointed Bishop of Emly on January 24th, 1567. He was one of the agents sent to the continent by James Fitzmaurice to solicit aid for the defence of the Catholic Faith in Ireland.

The Bishop of Emly, "having been expelled from his See by the heretics, has repaired to Rome, and there been graciously received by the Pope. He is now returning to his See by way of Portugal; and the Pope, who deems him a good man, commends him to the Cardinal's special charity, and good offices", wrote the Cardinal Secretary to the Nuncios of Spain and Portugal on April 7th, 1573.

In June, 1573, O'Brien arrived in Madrid, and was promised aid. He remained in Spain until November, 1574. His belongings were sent to Ireland, and were seized at Waterford by Drury's men, for the ports were full of spies for the British.

The Bishop landed at Galway on March 28th, 1578, and for six years eluded capture. He was eventually seized by Myler McGrath, and imprisoned in Dublin Castle.

"The Bishop of Emly, who is equally constant in the faith, is at present confined in Dublin dungeons. They are now preparing for him too the leather boots, and mean to apply the fiery ordeal, as they did with the Archbishop, and thus, if possible, they may compel him to abandon his religion", wrote O'Mulrian, Bishop of Killaloe, to the Cardinal Secretary on October 29th, 1584.

He was still a prisoner in 1586, and died in prison, but the year of his death is uncertain.³

Geoffrey Keating was born in Borris, ten miles south of Clonmel, about 1570. He was educated at Cahir, and later at Bordeaux. Having been ordained, he returned to Ireland about 1610.

Elinor Laffan, wife of Squire Mockler, fancied a sermon he delivered referred to herself. She complained him to Carew.

1. Smith's History of Cork. 2. Spenser in Ireland.
3. Irish Martyrs of the Penal Days.

Ballyhours

President of Munster. Soldiers were sent to apprehend him. He concealed himself in Poll Grauna, a cave in the Glen of Aherlow. While hiding there, he accumulated materials for his work, Forus Feasa ar Eirinn. He completed it in 1631.

In 1644, he assisted in building a church at Tubrid,¹ near Clonmel. He died in 1650, and is buried at Tubrid.

Religious Persecution

Dermot O'Hurley, whose parents resided at Lycadoun, a few miles outside Limerick, was consecrated Archbishop of Cashel at Rome in 1581.² Myler McGrath, a Catholic priest who had deserted the Faith, had been made Protestant bishop of Cashel at the time.³

Archbishop O'Hurley reached Drogheda in 1581, and stayed in hiding at the Castle of Slane, owned by Baron Fleming, a Catholic. Robert Dillon, a Privy Councillor, met him there, and gave information to Dublin Castle. The Archbishop fled. Baron Slane was ordered to find him or take the consequences. The Baron found him at Carrick-on-Suir, and sorrowfully, handed him the warrant. The Archbishop accompanied the Baron to Dublin, and was thrown into a dungeon in the Castle.⁴

Loftus, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir H. Wallop, were Lords Justices at the time. They tried to convict O'Hurley of being a party to the aid sent from Rome to the Earl of Desmond. He refuted the charge. They wrote to London for instructions, and were told to proceed "by torture, or any other severe manner of proceeding".⁵

"Early in March, 1584, the stocks were set up in the Castle yard. Head, arms, and legs were thrust through the openings, and the legs, up to the knees, were immersed in a mixture of oil and tallow in raw-leather great boots. A red-hot fire was brought to bear on his legs."⁶ The oil, heated by the flames, penetrated the soles, legs, and other parts, torturing them in an intolerable way, so that pieces of the skin dropped from the flesh, portion of the flesh from the bared bones. On June 30th, 1584, he was strangled by a halter of twisted osiers.⁷

SPENSER

Spenser, who came to Ireland in 1580 as secretary to Lord Grey, was appointed Registrar in Chancery in Dublin in 1582. In 1586, he was made "undertaker" in respect of 3,028 acres of the confiscated Desmond Estates, of which 3,000 acres were at Kilcoleman and Rossagh, near Doneraile.⁸

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1. Eoin Cathmhaoilach Mac Giolla Eain.
 2. Irish Martyrs of the Penal Days by Myles V. Ronan.
 3. Book of the Galtees. 4. Irish Martyrs of the Penal Days.
 5. State Papers. 6 & 7. Irish Martyrs of the Penal Days.
 8. Spenser in Ireland.

Ballyhoura

Kilyoyenesie, or Kilvicanase, east of the Bregoge river, and south of Ballyshane, was part of the Spenser grant. He sought to secure Ballyellis and Ardadam also, but the Synans contested the claim, and the court decided in their favour. The Franciscan monastery at Buttevant, founded by David Oge Barry in 1251,¹ came into Spenser's possession in 1597.

Kilcoleman Castle, erected by the first Earl of Desmond in 1347, became the residence of Spenser. In it he wrote "the Fairie Queene" and other poems. Sir Walter Raleigh visited him there in 1589.² Admiring the poems that Spenser read for him, he brought the poet to the notice of Queen Elizabeth. She granted him a pension.

In 1588, he had resigned the Dublin appointment, and purchased a clerkship to the Government Council in Munster.

In 1594 Spenser married Elizabeth Boyle, said to have been a kinswoman of the first Earl of Cork.³ By her he had four children.

Unlike St. Leger, he favoured the policy of Elizabeth to exterminate the Irish by starvation. He records that he saw emaciated beings crawl on all fours, unable to stand, and eat grass and dead carrion. St. Leger opposed this policy as being calculated to ruin the towns by depriving them of their customers.⁴ "The Irish peasants were shot and strangled like foxes and jackalls."⁵ Yet that was the policy supported by Spenser.

Spenser apparently acted as sheriff of Cork in 1598. Then "Munster rose at the call of the Earl of Tyrone".⁶ Sir Thomas Norreys had to fly from Kilmallock. "The barony of Buttevant" was spoiled on October 15th, and Kilcoleman sacked and burned.⁷ Spenser's wife and four children barely escaped with their lives. There was a tradition that a fifth child perished in the flames. Tradition errs. There was no fifth child.

In December, 1598, Spenser went to England, wrote an account of happenings in Munster, and pleaded for strong forces to quell the rising there. He died in Westminster within four weeks⁸ of starvation,⁹ "of want of bread".¹⁰

ESSEX FIASCO

The Earl of Essex arrived in Ireland in April, 1599 as Viceroy. He led his army southward to Cahir, and thence to Limerick. Sir Thomas Norreys, to join him, marched from Mallow with the Earl of Thomond and 2000 foot. Word was brought that the Irish, to the number of 1000 were encamped near Sir George Bowser's castle, Kiltelly. Norreys, with his horse,

1. Four Masters. 2. Spenser in Ireland. 3. Dr. Grosart.

4. Smith's History of Cork. 5. Froude. 6. Spenser in Ireland. 7. Spenser in Ireland. 8. Spenser in Ireland.

9. Gibson's History Cork. 10. Ben Johnson

Ballyhouna

rode forward, leaving his foot to follow. Overtaking the Irish, he charged them, and received a pike wound in the head, "said to have been inflicted by Burke."¹ The foot, not arriving in time, caused Norreys to retire. When the Lord Lieutenant reached him, he embraced the wounded Norreys "with some signs of love and sorrow". Seeing the wound dressed, he departed. Shortly afterwards, Norreys "left the world, and died of that wound".²

At Askeaton Castle, there was an onset by the Irish against Essex. Captain Jennings and Captain Browne were slain, and Sir Henry Norreys, brother of Sir Thomas, "received his death-wound, having his leg broken with a shot".³

The Lord Lieutenant marched to Kilmallock, Lismore, Dungarvan, and returned to Dublin, and thence to England. He was sharply criticised by the Queen for wasting men and treasure in Munster, instead of marching against Tyrone.

In the same year, 1599, while the Earl of Ormond was Lord Lieutenant, "Tyrone marched into Munster. He encamped within two miles of Cork. His son-in-law, Maguire, went towards Passage on the south side of the river. Sir Warham St. Leger, and Sir Henry Power, who were in joint commission for the command of these parts, went towards Maguire, and met him within five miles of Kinsale, Maguire expecting Tyrone with all his forces to come thither. But the water of the river of Cork did rise so high that Tyrone could not pass over the river to join Maguire. In the meantime, our men alighted on him at a small ford.

"Sir Warham St. Leger and Sir Henry Power had fifty horses. They charged Maguire and his troop. In the encounter, Sir Warham shot Maguire with his pistol in the head, and at the same instant Maguire runs Sir Warham with a horseman's staff into the body. Both died of their wounds, Maguire on the same day, and Sir Warham within a few days after.

"Tyrone, grieved, returned to his own country".⁴

"The Sungan Earl"

In 1600, George Carew was President of Munster. In 1598, the Earl of Tyrone sent 4,000 men to Munster, and gave James, son of Thomas Fitzgerald, eldest son of James, the fifteenth Earl of Desmond, by Lord Roche's daughter, the title of Earl of Desmond.⁵ He was afterwards known as "the Sungan Earl of Desmond."⁶

In October, 1600, the Queen released James Fitzgerald, son to the attainted Earl of Desmond, from the Tower, and created him Earl of Desmond, in order to withdraw his father's followers from the Sungan Earl." When the people, who at first had welcomed him, saw him

1. This was Thomas Burke, brother of the Baron of Castleconnel (Dr. P.W. Joyce). 2,3,4. Chronicle of Ireland by Sir John Perrott. 5. Smith's History of Cork. 6. Pacata Hibernia.

attending the Protestant church at Kilmallock, their acclamation turned to execration. He returned to England, and died in 1601.¹

John of Desmond, brother to the "Sugan Earl", held Lough Gur Castle, near Bruff, against Carew. The Captain in charge surrendered it for a bribe of Fifty Pounds.² John of Desmond retired to Aherlow. Nugent, an agent of Carew, tried to shoot him, but was prevented by John Coppinger.

Dermot O'Connor, of the O'Connor Don family, who was married to a daughter of the attainted Earl of Desmond, in conspiracy with Carew, seized the "Sugan Earl", but his followers becoming suspicious of O'Connor, rescued the Earl before he could be handed over to the English forces in Kilmallock.³

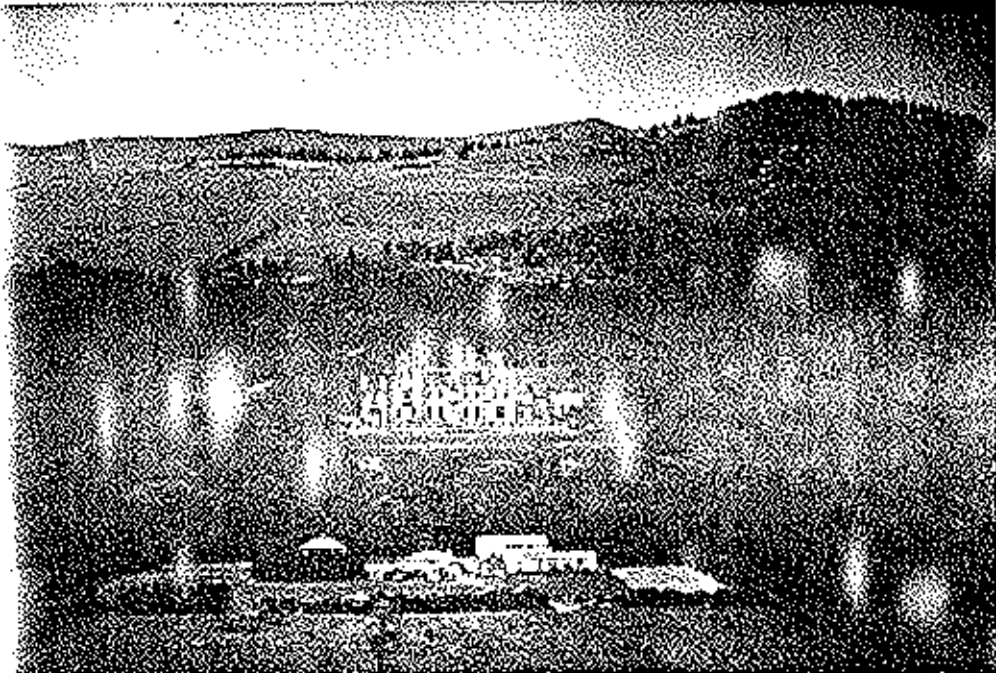
In 1600, as "the Sugan Earl" was proceeding from Connoloe to the Glen of Aherlow, he was attacked by Sir George Thornton from Kilmallock, and 120 of his followers slain. He took refuge in the caves of Slieve Grot, not far from Kilbehenny. There he was taken by the White Knight, and handed over to the English. He was sent to England in August, 1601, and died in the Tower of London in 1608.⁴

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1. Smith's History of Cork. 2. & 3. Book of Galtees.
4. Smith's History of Cork.



KILCOLMAN CASTLE.



CASTLE OLIVER
FROM THE
BALLYHOURAS



LABACALLY
(THE HAG'S OED)



GRAIGUE
(AUTHOR'S BIRTHPLACE)

Ballyhouna

X

SPANISH AID

Fall of Kinsale and Dunboy

On the arrival at Kinsale on September 23rd, 1601, of the Spanish forces under Don Juan d'Aquila, O'Sullivan Beare placed his castle of Dunboy on the shores of Berehaven at their disposal. A Spanish garrison was put into it.

Don Juan was besieged in Kinsale by the British, and O'Neill and O'Donnell hurried down from the North to relieve him. The southern Irish Chieftains joined them. They surrounded the British. O'Neill counselled delay in order to weaken the British by starvation. Impetuous O'Donnell precipitated attack. The British, apprised of it, repulsed it. Panic seizing the Irish, they fled. Don Juan surrendered on terms.

The Spanish commander agreed to give up the castles of Castlehaven, Baltimore, and Dunboy, in all of which Spanish garrisons had been placed. O'Sullivan was furious, and, by a stratagem, regained control of Dunboy, and determined to hold it.

The British troops marched towards Dunboy, and, apprised of an ambush by Captain Tyrrell in the rough ground between Bantry and Berehaven, were conveyed to Dunboy by sea.

The defences of Dunboy were strengthened in accordance with the skilled advice of Friar Dominick Collins, two Spaniards, and an Italian.

The siege of the castle, commenced on June 6th, 1602, continued until June 18th. The garrison, commanded by Richard Mac Geoghegan of Meath, numbered 143. Against them was an army of 2,000 with two batteries of artillery.

The closing scenes of the siege are described by Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, in *Pacata Hibernia*:

Then Mac Geoghegan, chief commander of the place, being wounded, with diverse shot in the body, the rest made choice of one Thomas Taylor, an Englishman's son (the dearest and inwardest man with Tyrrell, and married to his niece) to be their chief. (Mac Geoghegan) having nine barrels of powder, drew himself and it into the vault, and there sat down by it, with a light match in his hand, vowing and protesting to set it on fire, and blow up the castle, himself, and all the rest, except they might have promise of life. This was refused by the Lord President, and a new battery was trained on the vault, intending to bury them in the ruins. After a few times discharged, and the bullets entering among them in the cellar, the rest that were with Taylor, partly by intercession, but chiefly by compulsion, threatening to deliver him up if he were obstinate, about ten o'clock of the morning of the same day, constrained him to yield simply.

"Sir George Thornton, the sergeant major, Captain Roger Harvie, Captain Power, and others, entering the vault to receive them, found Richard Geoghegan lying there mortally wounded, who, perceiving Taylor and the rest, ready to render themselves, raised himself from the ground, snatching a light candle, and staggering therewith to a barrel of powder. Captain Power caught him, and held him in his arms with intent to make him prisoner, until he was by our men instantly killed".¹

Taylor and the others were brought prisoners to the British camp, and 58 were executed. Not one man escaped.

"So obstinate and resolved a defence had not been seen within the kingdom".²

RETREAT OF O'SULLIVAN BEARE

Remarkable Exploit in Mid-Winter

"Many of O'Sullivan's followers now abandoned him in despair. At last even Tyrrell and his party had to leave him. The English forces were gradually hemming him in, and, towards the end of December, 1602, Sir Charles Wilmot encamped in Glengariff, within two miles of him. For several days there was skirmishing between the outposts of the two armies, and at last the English succeeded, after a bitter fight of six hours, in driving off from before the camp of the Irish, a vast number of cows, horses, and sheep, their chief means of subsistence.

"Finding that he could no longer maintain himself and his followers where he was, O'Sullivan resolved to bid farewell to the last of his inheritance, and seek shelter in Ulster. On the last day of the year 1602, he set out from Glengariff on his memorable retreat with four hundred fighting men, and six hundred women and children and servants.

"His march was one unbroken scene of conflict and hardship. They were everywhere confronted and pursued by enemies, who attacked them when they dared. And they suffered continually from fatigue, cold and hunger.

"They fled in such haste that they were able to bring with them only one day's provisions, trusting to be able to obtain food as they fared along. For O'Sullivan had plenty of money which had been sent to him from Spain.

"They found the country people too terrified by Carew's threats to give them help or shelter, or to sell them food. As they could not buy, they had to take by force. That explains much of the hostility they encountered.

"But it must be confessed that some of the Irish Chiefs attacked them for no other motive than to gain favour with the Government. Scarcely a day passed without losses. Some fell behind, 1 & 2. Sir George Carew in Pacata Hibernia.

Ballyhoura

or left the ranks, overcome with weariness. Some sank and died from accumulated hardships. Others were killed in fighting."¹

On the first night of his march, O'Sullivan pitched his tents 26 miles from Glengariff, at Augeris, in the Muskerry country.² Before midday, on January 1st, 1603, he reached Ballyvourney, and his soldiers having paid their vows to St. Gobnata, they proceeded towards the Blackwater.

The sons of Thady MacCarthy attacked them in the rear. Several times they were driven off, and again returned. At length O'Sullivan attacked with his whole column, and put the MacCarthys and their followers to flight.

Covering twenty-four miles that day, he pitched his tents at nightfall in O'Keeffe's country. That was at the bend of the Blackwater, a few miles west of Millstreet.

On the dawn of the next day, he marched by the base of Sliabh Luachra.³ This is now Mullaghareirk. At the ford of Babahallagh, near Liscarroll, an English garrison under Cuffe, with Viscount Barry's nephew, and a band of his dependents, contested the ford for an hour, but was forced to yield. "Four of the Catholics fell. The royalists lost more. Many were wounded.....The Catholics having buried their dead, and in turns carrying the wounded in military litters, accomplished a march of thirty miles that day".⁴

Advancing, probably by the village of Churchtown, and "skirting the north base of the Ballyhoura mountains, by Ardskeagh (now Ballyhea),⁵ they encamped one night by the old hill of Ardpatrick".⁶

There is a tradition⁷ in the district that there was a skirmish in Glenanaar with the pursuing Barrys, and in it one of O'Sullivan Beare's family was wounded. The wounded man was taken to an herb doctor in Glenanaar. There he was concealed and healed. Then he married the herb doctor's daughter. The O'Sullivans have been in the place ever since.

The place where they resided is near the junction of the Ogeen and the Cunanagar, both streams rising in Glenanaar. The cliffs of two sides of the Ogeen constituted the glen from which Glenanaar got its name. But the Ordnance Map has split the glen to form the boundary between Co. Cork and Co. Limerick. Nevertheless, the local people have always retained the name Glenanaar for both sides of the glen, although the Ordnance Map includes the Co. Cork portion in the townland of Ballintlea. The residence of the O'Sullivans was in the Co. Cork portion.

1. Joyce's Short History of Ireland. 2. Don Philip O'Sullivan's History of Catholic Ireland. 3. Don Philip O'Sullivan. 4. Don Philip O'Sullivan. 5. Dr. P.W. Joyce. 6. Joyce's Short History of Ireland. 7. Related by Michael O'Sullivan, Glenanaar.

Ballyhoura

Ballintlea became the property of the Coote family, but the family of the late Lord Justice Moriarty held it under Fee Farm Grant. In a letter of December 29th, 1911, the late Lord Justice Moriarty wrote to the present writer: "My father was owner in Fee Farm of this property, under a Fee Farm rent of (I think) Two Hundred Pounds a year, payable to a Capt. Charles Coote. The Land Act of 1881, and the previous land agitation, destroyed his interest in the property".

The father of Lord Justice Moriarty informed the present writer's uncle, John O'Sullivan, when he was a young man, that the O'Sullivan family had been at that time, over 250 years in the place. That would have been over 80 years ago. So that the dates would tend to confirm the tradition.

Dr. P.W. Joyce, a native of Glenosheen, writing from Barnalee, 18, Leinster Road West, Rathmines, Dublin, to the writer, on November 5th, 1912, says: "When O'Sullivan Beare marched from Liscarroll, after the encounter with the Barrys (January, 1603), he skirted the north base of the Ballyhoura Hills till he reached Ardpatrik, where he encamped for the night. They did not pass by, or through, Glenanaar; for by this course they would have to go through the narrow and high pass of Poulaflaiken (between Glenanaar and Glenosheen), which was, at that time, impassable for an army. The only way from the Liscarroll part of the Cork plain to the Ardpatrik part of the Limerick plain was then by the pass of Ballyhoura (three miles north of Doneraile), and, on leaving the Ballyhoura hills on your right, on by Ardskeagh, now Ballyhea."

Admitting the accuracy of this route, it is practically certain that a military commander, passing that way, would have sent a few horsemen up the mountain slope, by the pass leading through Glenanaar, in order to have a view of the Co. Limerick plain, and be prepared for a possible ambush.

The tradition that O'Sullivan Beare fought a skirmish at Glenanaar with his pursuers, before they were finally shaken off, was related to the writer by Michael O'Sullivan and David Carver, both of Glenanaar. That skirmish is the theme of a spirited poem by Dr. Robert Dwyer Joyce, who was born in Glenosheen. It is published in the Ballads of Irish Chivalry, edited by his brother, Dr. P.W. Joyce. It is entitled "Battle of the Raven's Glen". Dr. R.D. Joyce "had an account of the skirmish only from local oral tradition. The Records make no mention of it."

The Raven's Glen, as another name for Glenanaar, recalls the legend of the death struggle between the giant bird of raven hue and Bran, the hound of Oisín, after his return from Tir-na-nÓg.

1. Dr. P.W. Joyce, in a note to the ballad.

THE BATTLE OF THE RAVEN'S GLEN

From the halls of his splendour by Bantry and Beara,
From his turrets that look o'er the silver Kinmera,
With his band of brave warriors O'Sullivan bore him,
Till the mountains of Limerick rose darkly before him;
There he camped on the heath where the deep pools were paven
With the stars of the night, in the Glen of the Raven.

In that glen was no sound save the murmur of fountains,
And the moonbeams were silvering the thunder-split mountains;
When a horse tramp was heard from the Ounanaar's water,
Sounding down from the gorge of the dark Vale of Slaughter;
And the rider ne'er reined till his long plume was waven
By the breezes that sighed through the Glen of the Raven.

Up sprang from the heather the chieftains around him,
And they asked where the foe 'mid the moorlands had found him;
For they knew he had passed through the battle's fierce labour,
From the foam o'er his steed and the blood on his sabre;
While the rocks with the hoofs of their chargers were graven,
As they pranced into lines in the Glen of the Raven.

'Twas the scout of lone Bregoge: he'd heard in the gloaming
Fierce yells o'er that rough torrents' roaring and foaming;
Then a dash and a shout and a rushing did follow,
For the foe burst around him from hillside and hollow;
But a road to his chief through their ranks he had claven -
Now he stood by his side in the Glen of the Raven.

Up started Black Hugh from his couch by the fountain,
The outlaw of Darra from Brone's rugged mountain.
"There's a passage" he said, "over Ounanaar's water,
Where Glanna Morna of old were defeated with slaughter;
There bide we the steps of the traitor and craven,
And he ne'er shall come down through the Glen of the Raven".

The ambush was set in the Passage of Lightning,
And now in the moonlight sharp weapons came brightening,
The lance of the Saxon from Mulla and Mallow,
And the pike of the kern from the wilds of Duhallow:
Soon they clash with the swords of the men of Bearhaven,
Who now slowly retreat to the Glen of the Raven.

Then O'Sullivan burst like the angel of slaughter,
On the foe by the current of Geeragh's wild water,
And his brave men of Cork and of Kerry's wild regions
Were the rushing destroyers, his death-dealing legions;
And onward they rode over traitor and craven,
Whose bones long bestrewed the lone Glen of the Raven.

All silent again over forest and mountain,
Save the voice in that glen of Ossheen's ancient fountain;
While O'Sullivan's crest with its proud eagle feather,
And broadswords and pikes glitter now from the heather;
For where the dark pools with the bright stars are paven,
Secure rests the clan in the Glen of the Raven.

NOTE:

Dr. P.W. Joyce confounds the Ounanaar with the Ogeen river. They are distinct until they join at the south-eastern angle of Lyre na Greine. The Ounanaar bounds Lyre na Greine on the east, while the Ogeen bounds it on the south and west. Dr. Joyce, in another note, says: "Knockbrone, also called Carrigeennamronety, the 'Hill of the Millstones', is situated about two miles north of Kildorrery, on the confines of the counties of Cork and Limerick". "Geeragh's wild water" is Ounageeragh (Sheep River), which has one of its head waters in Lyre na Freaghaun", according to Dr. P.W. Joyce. Lyre na Freaghaun means glen of the whortleberries. It is beside Seefin.

Dr. Joyce said "One of the torrents coming down from Blackrock flows through a glen called Glenagaddy, the 'Glen of the Robber', at the north-west side of the mountain, and three-quarters of a mile west of Lyre na freaghaun glen at the east side. The name 'Glenagaddy' which I fear is now forgotten in the neighbourhood, preserves the memory of the 'Black Robber' of the ballad who is also commemorated both in legends and in place-names all over Ireland, as well as in the Highlands of Scotland, under his full Irish name, Gadaighe Dubh O'Dubhain, the 'Black Robber O'Dwan! In this glen is the 'waterfall brown and clear' of the ballad, a quarter of a mile above the public road, from which it is seen conspicuously.....The proper Irish name of this fall is Easmore (great waterfall).....After emerging from the glen, the little stream crosses the road, and flows by St. Anne's Well below and near Ardpatrick..... This pretty little stream has a curious name "the Noneen", literally "the Daisy", meaning, I suppose, the "Daisy-fringed river".

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Ballyhoura

The remnant of Barry's forces, following O'Sullivan, but afraid to attack the main column, would naturally have tried to overwhelm the small reconnoitring party, before it turned to join the others by way of Glenosheen. Hence the skirmish in Glenanaar may have occurred, as tradition says it did.

In any event, Ardpatrick is at the north side of a ridge of the mountain, while Glenanaar, on the south side of the same ridge, is only a couple of miles away.

It is possible, however, that the wounded member of the O'Sullivans may have been brought from Liscarroll, in the military litter, mentioned by Don Philip O'Sullivan.

The wounded member of the family must have been a son of Dermot O'Sullivan, who accompanied his nephew, O'Sullivan Beare. Dermot had seventeen children, thirteen of whom "perished in the dark days" in Ireland.¹ Even if he knew, which he could not, of where his brothers had found havens in the homes of the people, through whose territory they had passed, Don Philip O'Sullivan, in his Catholic History of Ireland, would not have revealed their existence, for it would have led to their extirpation, owing to the bitter hostility excited among the royalists, and their allies, by the determined resistance of O'Sullivan Beare.

From Ardpatrick, O'Sullivan marched to the Glen of Aherlow.

They pitched their camp near the woods. On the following day, refreshing themselves with cresses and water, they turned towards the Shannon, by way of what is now Limerick Junction. "The Gibbons, mercenaries of the White Knight, natives of Limerick City, and a few English, superior in numbers, but very undisciplined, attacked, not in column, but in a mob".² After a contest of eight hours, O'Sullivan reached Kilnamanagh, at night. Fires were lit, for the cold was severe.

On the day after, they were engaged with the enemy's musketeers, until they arrived at Donohill Fort. They stormed it, and consumed what food was stored there. Covering twenty miles, they reached Solloghed village, where they halted.

At break of day, they took the route to Slieve Felim, and meeting larger forces, sent by Ormond, they attacked, and drove them off. Thomas Burke and Daniel O'Malley made a detour, with sixty men, to look for food. Attacked by the enemy, Daniel and twenty men were killed; Thomas was captured, and the rest routed. O'Sullivan rescued Thomas.

1. & 2. Don Philip O'Sullivan's Catholic History.

Crossing the Shannon

The next halt was in the village of Lattaragh, which is near Nenagh, three miles south of Toomevara.¹ There was a garrisoned fort in this village, and as a shelter from its sallies and gunfire, O'Sullivan put his men into a small church and its enclosure. At dawn on January 6th a storm of red hot balls blazed on O'Sullivan and his party as they proceeded on their journey. Through ceaseless skirmishing, he reached the village of Brosna at nightfall.

On the following day, January 7th, they concealed themselves in the wood of Brosna, and, in two days, they built two boats of osiers and young trees, and at night carried them to the Shannon at Portland, opposite Portumna, but on the Tipperary side. The boats on the Shannon had been removed to prevent a crossing.

The boat built by the O'Malleys sank with its load of ten men in mid-stream. That built by Dermot O'Sullivan, father of Don Philip, was 26 feet long, and six feet broad, the bottom covered with the hides of eleven horses, which they had killed. It carried thirty armed men across at a time. They drew the remaining horses after them, swimming and tied to the poop.

At daybreak, when the soldiers had got over, Donogh Mac Egan, sheriff of Tipperary, who held the adjoining port of Kiltaroo, surrounded the baggage, and began to drive the women into the river. Thomas Burke, with twenty pikes and as many marksmen, who were in ambush, attacked and slew Donogh and fifteen of his comrades, routing and wounding most of the others. The remainder of O'Sullivan's party then crossed the river.²

Royalists Routed

On the Connacht side of the river, O'Madden assembled the natives, and sniped the passing party. They reached Magheranearla before mid-day, picked up what food they could find, and continued towards Aughrim, about four miles south-west of Ballinasloe.

O'Sullivan sent eighty armed men in front, followed by the baggage, while he, with 200 men - all he had left - brought up the rear. He was obliged to leave behind some worn-out beasts, and some men exhausted by the march, or weakened by wounds.

When he reached Aughrim, Capt. Henry Malby, an Englishman, Thomas Burke, brother of the Earl of Clanrickarde, and Richard Burke, with five companies of foot, and two troops of horse, and a band of country people, attacked him.

O'Sullivan, avoiding the shock of the enemy's cavalry, marched his column through an adjacent swampy and boggy ground to a thin low copsewood not far off. The royalist cavalry dismounted, and joined their pikemen, and both running through the bog tried to seize the copse before O'Sullivan. The royalist musketeers pressed O'Sullivan's

1. Onomasticon. 2. Don Philip O'Sullivan's Catholic History of Ireland.

Ballyhoura

rear. He sent William Burke and forty gunmen against them, but they were driven back with the loss of fourteen marksmen. Then O'Sullivan suddenly turned his entire force against the pursuers. Taken by surprise, many of them fled. The bravest held their ground. Twenty of O'Sullivan's marksmen, placed on the flanks, shot down eleven royalists. Then came the clash of sword and spear. Capt. Maurice O'Sullivan ran his spear through Richard Burke. Dermot O'Houlaghan and Cornelius O'Morogh killed Malby. The royalists were routed. "O'Connor, a peer of the bravest in the fight, shouted victory."¹

About 100 royalists fell. The Irish lost 14.

"O'Sullivan fled that evening, and the following night, through a host of surrounding enemies, through O'Kelly's country, with such haste that he left some soldiers worn out on the road, and overcome with sleep."² Next morning, when the English returned to the scene of the conflict, they slew the sick and wounded whom they found there.

Survivors Reach O'Rourke's

At dawn on the following day, O'Sullivan crossed Slieve Murray (Slieve Mary, near Castlekelly)³, and followed by Mac David, Burke, with a crowd of men, mostly unarmed, throwing missiles at them, reached the thick woods of Slieve O'Flynn, (near Ballinlough, in west Roscommon).⁴ They lit fires and rested. A man came and told them that they were to be surrounded and attacked at daybreak. They kindled larger fires, to deceive the enemy, and moved on, stumbling through the darkness. Mac David again pursued them in the morning, and again hurled missiles at them. Although not more than sixty fighting men now, they beat off the attack. Killing two horses, they ate the flesh, and rested. Making brogues of the hides, they struggled towards the wood of Diahbhrach (Bracklieve?). A fire was kindled to attract the stragglers.

When day broke, the natives, coming to investigate the strange fire, talked to O'Sullivan, and brought him food. They told Oliver Lambert, President of Connacht, that the fire had been lit by labourers.

The remnant of O'Sullivan's band were now footsore from the hard weather and long march. O'Connor suffered intensely. The highways and horsepaths having been blocked here and there by enemies, the route had been through narrow passes and obstructed valleys.

A guide was wanted, and he appeared. A man clad in a linen garment, his feet bare, his temples bound with a white wreath carrying in his hand a long wand, tipped with an iron point, greeted O'Sullivan and the rest, and offered to guide them.

1. & 2. Don Philip O'Sullivan's Catholic History of Ireland.
3. Joyce. 4. Joyce.

Giving him 200 gold pieces, O'Sullivan accepted his services. In the dead of night, the guide led them through the village of Knockvicar, beside the river Boyle, where it enters Lough Key,¹ where they were refreshed with fire and food. In the twilight they found a stray beast, lank and worn with age, and placing O'Connor on him, they got over the Curlew Hills. Reaching the plain, O'Connor walked. After daybreak, the guide showed O'Sullivan the castle of O'Rourke in the distance. He bid them farewell, assuring them that all danger was past.

They arrived at Leitrim fort at 11 a.m., their numbers reduced to 35, of whom 18 were armed. 16 were followers, and one was a woman, "wife of the chief's uncle, Dermot O'Sullivan, father of Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare"². They were cordially received and hospitably entertained by O'Rourke.

O'Sullivans in Spain

O'Sullivan and Capt. Tyrrell were the honoured guests of O'Rourke for several weeks. Then Tyrrell went to O'Carroll's country.

A price was set on O'Sullivan's head. In a proclamation issued at Cork by the Lords Justices of Ireland, it was announced:

"If any person or persons of whatever degree or quality whatsoever, shall unto the Lord President bring the live body of that wicked and unnatural traitor, Donell O Sullyvane, also O Sullyvane Beare, shall have the sum of three hundred pounds sterling; and for the said Donell's head two hundred pounds."

Notwithstanding the proclamation, and the reward for his head, O'Sullivan returned to Glengariff for his wife and child, whom he had left behind on his departure for the North, and, with them, he sailed for Spain. There he was received with honour by King Philip.

He was assassinated by an Englishman named Bath in his 57th year.

Dermot O'Sullivan, father of Don Philip, and uncle of Donal O'Sullivan Beare, died at the age of 100 years. He was buried at the Franciscan Monastery at Corunna in Spain. Don Philip's mother, Joanna, a daughter of Donal Mac Sweeney, was interred in the same tomb soon after. His sister, Helena, was drowned on the voyage returning to Ireland. Another sister became a nun. His brother, Daniel, was killed by a canon ball in a Spanish naval battle with the Turks. Dermot's mother was "Ellinor, fair daughter of the great Kildare"³ "Her name was Sheela Fitzgerald".⁴

"Joanna Mac Sweeney gave birth to 17 children, of whom 13 died before the fall of Dunboy".⁵ Don Philip was "one of 17 children, of which number 13 sons died young men before the battle of Kinsale".⁶ Don Philip does not say so. He says they "perished in the dark days"

1. Joyce. 2. Joyce. 3. Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare.
4. Matthew Byrne. 5. Friar O'Sullivan's History of the Kingdom of Kerry. 6. Sir James Ware's Antiquities.

Ballykoura

in Ireland, meaning the closing years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. To have been killed, or wounded and concealed, in the retreat from Glengariff, is the more likely theory. Their identity would have been kept secret to save them.

"Philip O'Sullivan was a gentleman of an ancient Irish family in that part of Co. Cork called Bear, where he was born. He inherited the hatred of his family to the English, which he has sufficiently discovered in his Catholic History". He was a sea captain under King Philip."¹

The mother of Donal Caum O'Sullivan Beare, who led the epic retreat from Glengariff, was a daughter of the Earl of Thomond. His two sons entered the Spanish service, and died without issue.²

IRELAND under ELIZABETH

The policy of Queen Elizabeth was to crush the Chieftains who opposed her, and to exterminate the Irish people by starvation. The result of the policy was recorded by the poet Spenser, who approved of it, and profited by the plunder. He says he saw emaciated beings crawl on all fours, being unable to stand, and eat grass and dead carrion.

"Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came, creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them. They looked anatomies of death. They spake like ghosts, crying out of their graves. They did eat of the carrion, happy when they could find them.....And, if they found a plot of watercress, or shamrock, there they flocked, as to a feast for the time, yet unable long to continue therewithal, that in a short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of men and beast."³

Sir Warham St. Leger opposed this policy as being calculated to ruin the towns, by depriving them of their customers, and the produce brought by the country people to the markets.⁴

Case of Tanistry

Donough Mac Tadhg O'Callaghan was the Chieftain of Pobul O'Callaghan, a district surrounding Millstreet. He had a son, Conchubhar (Conor) O'Callaghan. That son was the father of Tadhg and Eleanor O'Callaghan. In due course Tadhg and Eleanor married. Tadhg became the father of Donough Mac Tadhg Og. Eleanor, by her husband, Art O'Keeffe, had a son Manus O'Keeffe. Pobul O'Keeffe was west of Millstreet, where the Blackwater's course bends from a southerly to an easterly direction.

Donough Mac Tadhg Og O'Callaghan died without issue, and according to the Law of Tanistry, the Chieftains land should, in such circumstances, go to the oldest and most

1. Sir James Ware's Irish Antiquities. 2. Friar O'Sullivan's History of the Kingdom of Kerry. 3. Fynes Moryson's History of Ireland 1509-1603. 4. Smith's History of Cork.

worthy of the surname and blood of him who had died. Conor O'Callaghan was the oldest and most worthy of the surname, and he entered on the land, claiming to be Chieftain of Pobul O'Callaghan.

To strengthen his claim, and title, he surrendered his estate, right, and interest, to Queen Elizabeth, and obtained a regrant of it. Then he made sub-devisees to others.

Manus O'Keaffe ejected the lessee of the sub-devisee, and enfeoffed Cahill O'Callaghan.

A law suit followed, in which for three or four years, it was argued whether the Common Law of England, applied to Ireland by Poynings Act, was or was not consistent with Tanistry. The arguments advanced in the case questioned even the re-grant by Queen Elizabeth, and created a sense of insecurity as to their titles in the minds of both parties. The result was that they made a settlement dividing the territory between their respective devisees.¹

THE ST LEGERS

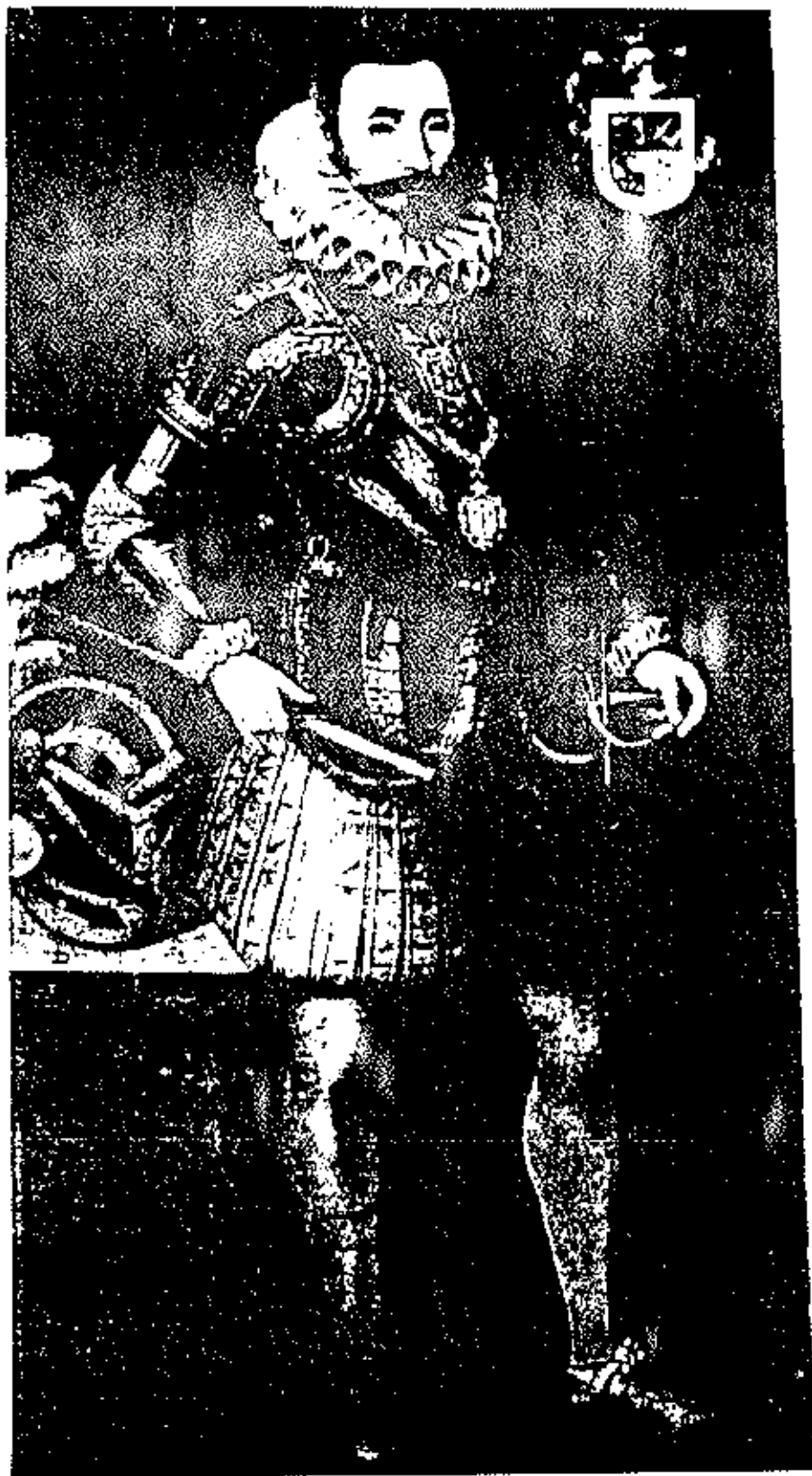
The St. Legers, who settled in Doneraile, were originally from Kent. In 1540 Sir Anthony St Leger was made Lord Deputy of Ireland. He overcame the O'Briens of Thomond in 1547. His eldest son, Sir Warham St. Leger, was appointed President of Munster. The appointment was never confirmed by the Queen, as she considered him too friendly with the Desmonds. She preferred their rivals, the Ormonds. After the death of Sir Warham St. Leger, in his encounter with Maguire in 1599, his son, William St Leger, became President of Munster. "On the 2nd of July, (1642) the Lord President St. Leger died at his house in Doneraile."²

The lands which the St. Legers obtained around Doneraile, Charleville and part of Tipperary had belonged to the Synans, who were of French extraction.³ The Synans built the castles Richardstown, Cahirduggan, Doneraile, and Castlepook. The Roches, however, succeeded to Castlepook and Cahirduggan. "In 1636, Sir William St Leger purchased from Nicholas Shynan (Synan) of Tologmore, Co. Cork, the lands of Doneraile, Ballyellis, Ballyandrew, Byblox, Castlepooke, Knockshahan, Kilbrack, Carkerbeg, Ballyno Russell, Ardgilbert, Ardadam, Carrigeens, for three hundred pounds."⁴ In 1639, he bought land in Co. Tipperary from the Synans.⁵

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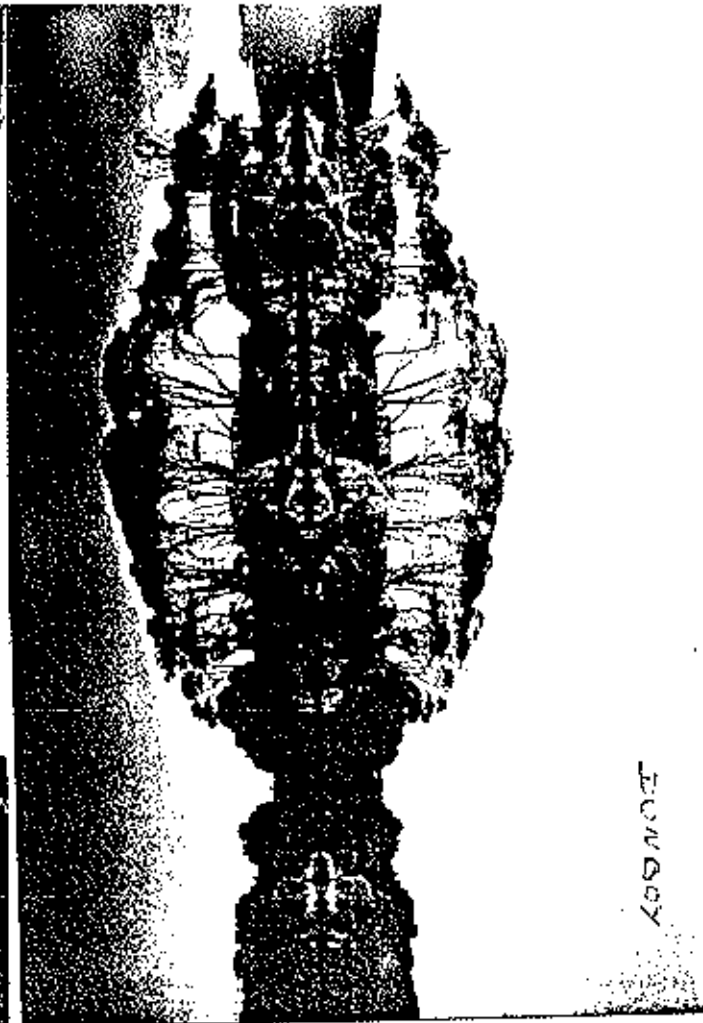
1. Sir John Davies Reports of Cases Adjudged in Kings Bench. Translated in 1672.

2. Smith's History of Cork. 3. Walter Jones. 4. Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal for 1913, 5. Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal for 1913.

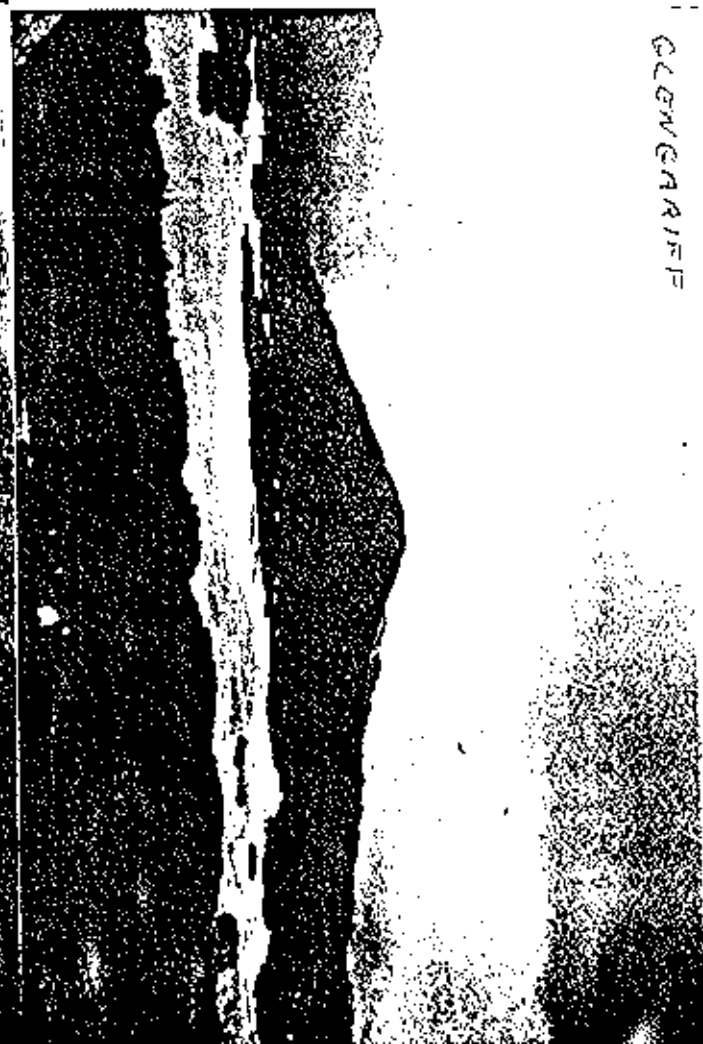


1561 . DOMHNALL Ó SÚILLEABHÁIN BEARA . 1618

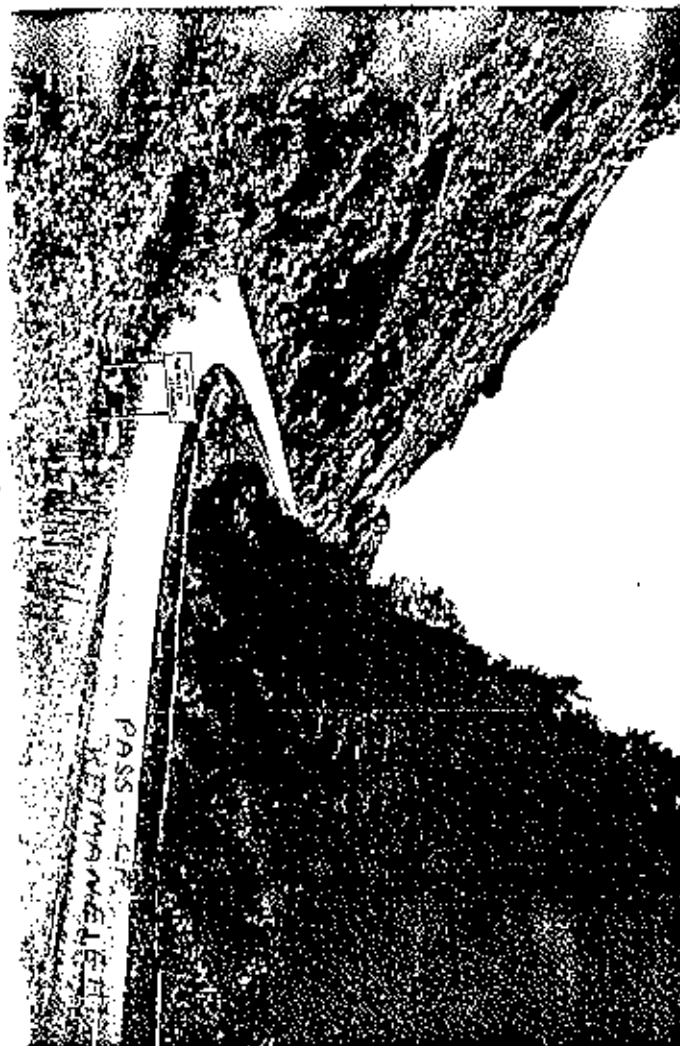
From Painting in University College, Cork



EDUNDOY



GLENGARIFF



PASS - CP
KEMMELTHER



GOUGNEBORN

CATHOLIC CONFEDERATION

Victorious Progress Collapses

Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, played a conspicuous, and indeed dominant, part in saving the English garrisons from defeat and disaster subsequent to the battle of Kinsale. It was his promptitude in conveying to Queen Elizabeth the news of the British victory at Kinsale that brought him to her notice. He became an able, and ruthless, commander.

When James I came to the throne of England in April, 1603, the hope of the dispossessed Irish Catholic Chieftains was high that a Catholic king would restore them to their lands.

The hope was vain. They suffered a similar disillusionment when Charles I ascended the throne in 1626.

When Charles I and the Long Parliament were at Loggerheads in 1640, the Irish Chieftains, and Anglo-Norman Catholic nobles thought the moment opportune to attempt to regain by force of arms the land of which they had been deprived by successive British adventurers. Fighting broke out in Ireland in October 1641.

St. Leger was then President of Munster.

The confederate Irish marched to Kilmallock, intending to take Limerick. St. Leger, with Lords Dungarvan, Broghill, and Kinelmeaky, three sons of the first Earl of Cork, and the Earl of Barrymore, son-in-law to the Earl of Cork, together with 1,500 men, marched to Redchair, on the Ballyhounas, between Cork and Limerick counties.¹

"Mountgarrett is generalissimo. The Lord of Ikerrin, and the two Bourkes, are with him. Their number is 10,000 horse and foot. But half of them are not armed. Loughmoy is but a simple colonel. They have with them many gentlemen of quality. Patrick Purcell and Oliver Stephenson are newly come to them."²

"On Monday we went to the other side of the hill in bravado, and they dislodged from Kilmallock to Knockorden, which castle they took with pickaxes, and they are now quartered at Ballyhea. Old Mr. Mead is in Rase Castle, and has fortified it. He sent me word he would live and die in it.

"On Tuesday last, the enemy advanced to our outguards with 150 horses, but 15 of ours made them retreat. An old trooper waved his hat towards the place where the enemy thought we lay which made them all, without a blow, return faster than they came.

1. Smith's History of Cork.

2. Lord Broghill, in a letter to his father, the Earl of Cork.

"The same day they desired a safe conduct, and they would treat with us, which we granted. Yesterday, there came in Patrick Walsh, a lawyer, requiring three things: 1. Freedom of conscience; 2. the king's prerogative to be maintained; 3. the natives of the country might have the same privileges that the English enjoy.

"To which the Lord President answered, like a cunning fox (not having force to do it with the sword) that, for freedom of religion, they have always had it; that he will stand for the king's prerogative as much as any man, for his office, and all that he has, is immediately from the king; and, for the last, he will be as earnest for the privileges as any man, being one himself.

"Some of the noblemen, knowing Walsh, expressed surprise that a person of his parts and education would be seen with rebels.

"They are no rebels', said he, 'and I will convince you, if I can speak in private with the Lord President'.

"Walsh told the Lord President that the Confederate Irish had the king's commission to raise forces to assist the king. Next day, at the President's house, Walsh produced the Commission under the Great Seal, authorising Lord Muskerry to raise 4,000 men.¹

"The President was greatly surprised. St. Leger announced to the other lords the existence of the Commission, and that he would dismiss his men". 'I would rather die than be a rebel', said he"

The lords withdrew to their homes. The President dispersed his men, and retired to Cork. He died on the following July at Doneraile Court.²

Doneraile Castle was burned in 1642 by Lord Mountgarrett's forces. In 1645, Lord Castlenhaven sacked and burned Doneraile castle and town. The castle was again restored, and was in a good state of preservation in 1725.³

Lord Inchiquin succeeded his father-in-law, St. Leger, as President of Munster.

Irish Surprised and Routed

The Irish marched to Mallow, and took Short Castle. Garret Barry was appointed General of the forces. He had seen service under the king of Spain. On the British side, the Earl of Cork's sons, Lords Broghill, Dungarvan, and Kinelmeaky, opposed the Irish.

Their headquarters were at Lismore, Youghal, and Bandon. Some fighting occurred near those towns, but the Irish failed to capture them. Every other town in the province except Cork City was held by the Confederates.

1. Lord Broghill's letter to his father, the Earl of Cork.

2. Smith's History of Cork.

3. Walter Jones in Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal.

Ballyhoura

In 1642 re-inforcements arrived for the British who were hard pressed.

Cork was invested on the south side by General Barry and Lord Muskerry. Lord Roche was expected to invest the north side.

The Earl of Inchiquin, son-in-law of St. Leger, and Colonel Jephson, with fresh British troops, raided Orrery and Roche's country, relieved the castle of Rathgogan, near Charleville, and took Ballyhea on February 27th

On April 13th, Lord Muskerry, whose camp was at Rochestown, caused a party of his men to chase English scouts to the city. Lord Inchiquin, in retaliation, with 300 foot and two troops of horse, made a sally against Lord Muskerry, took him by surprise, and routed his army.¹

The Irish quitted the siege of Cork, marched to Limerick, where they captured much artillery and ammunition. They did not return to Cork until August. The British had then consolidated and strengthened their positions.

On August 20th, returning from Limerick to Cork, the Irish attacked Sir Philip Perceval's castle at Liscarroll. The resistance offered by this castle, and by that at Annagh, enabled Inchiquin to assemble his forces, and hasten to their relief. On September 3rd, a battle was fought around Liscarroll castle between the besieging army and the forces of Inchiquin, in which the Irish suffered a heavy defeat.

In the Irish army were Lords Muskerry, Roche, Ikerrin, Dunboyne, and Garret Barry. On the British side were Lords Broghill, Dungarvan, Kinelmeaky, and their brother Francis Boyle, afterwards Lord Shannon, and also Lord Barrymore. In this battle, Lord Kinelmeaky was slain.²

A series of successful encounters fell to the British arms after the battle of Liscarroll.

Massacre and Retribution

Lord Broghill and Colonel Jephson were added to Lord Inchiquin as a Commission for Munster. They were ordered to spoil all the corn and other provisions of the Irish army that they could not bring into their garrisons. On February 20th, 1643, Lord Inchiquin seized all the cattle in the baronies of Imokilly and Barrymore, and drove them into the garrisons of Cork, Kinsale and Youghal. This left the country in a deplorable condition.

1. & 2. Smith's History of Cork.

The castle of the Condons at Cloghleigh (now Kilworth)¹ was taken on June 3rd, after an obstinate defence by its owner. The 20 men, 11 women, and seven children, in the castle were butchered by the British.²

Retreating from here to Fermoy, and crossing the Funcheon, they were pursued by the Irish forces under the Earl of Castlehaven, who had arrived on June 4th. As soon as the English entered the narrow defile between the Funcheon and Fermoy, they were attacked in the rear by the Irish. The English horse were pushed into the defile among the men, throwing them into disorder and confusion which resulted in a rout. The English lost all their colours, save two, and also two pieces of cannon. Lieutenant Walter St Leger was among the slain, with other officers and 300 soldiers. Sir Charles Vavasour was made prisoner. "It was the most considerable loss the English yet received"³.

The Irish failed to take Ca poquin and Lismore. Broghill was in command there.

On September 15th there was a cessation of arms for a year.

CONFLICT RENEWED

In the beginning of 1645, the Earl of Castlehaven took most of the castles of Co. Cork. The castle of Annah, between Liscarroll and Limerick, being on a kind of island, surrounded by a morass, and bravely defended by one Fisher, resisted, though battered almost to ruins. In several sorties, Fisher killed 300 Irish.⁴ He was eventually killed, and the garrison, after surrendering, put to the sword.⁴

Lord Castlehaven also took Mallow, Milltown, Walshestown, Templeconilla, and Doneraile. Doneraile castle was burned, but afterwards restored.

Lord Broghill stemmed the successive tide of victories. He defeated Lieut-General Purcell at Castlelyons, and raised the siege of Youghal. Castlehaven, before reaching Youghal, had taken the castles of Conna, Castlelyons, Lismore, and Rostellan in Cork Harbour.

In October, 1645, the Papal Nuncio, John Baptist Rinucini, arrived in Kenmare with arms and money for the Confederate Irish. He attended the Confederation at Kilkenny.

On May 3rd, 1647, Lord Inchiquin captured several places in Waterford, and in August he took Cashel by storm. On November 13th, he met the Irish army under Taaf at Knockinoss, near Castlemagher, and inflicted a heavy defeat on it.

Lord Inchiquin made a truce with the Irish army from May to November in 1648. Lords Clanrickard and Taaf declared for peace. The Nuncio declared for war. Owing to the cleavage of opinion between the southern and western nobles on the one hand, and the

1. The Munster Circuit. 2. Smith's History of Cork. 3. Borlace.
4. Smith's History of Cork.

Ballyhoura

Nuncio and Owen Roe O'Neill on the other, the Nuncio quitted the kingdom in February, 1649. A peace was concluded at Kilkenny on January 17th, 1649. Owen Roe and the Earl of Antrim refused to submit to it. By that peace, Catholics were to have the free exercise of their religion, and the restoration of the estates forfeited at Cork, Youghal and Dungarvan.

CROMWELL'S ADVENT

Then Charles I was beheaded, and the British Parliament appointed Oliver Cromwell to the supreme command in Ireland.

Charles II was proclaimed king at Youghal on February 16th, and soon after in other towns in the province. Prince Rupert arrived in Kinsale on February 10th, and there proclaimed Charles king. The Marquis of Ormond waited on him. There was a fresh orientation of allegiance by Irish chieftains and nobles. Lord Inchiquin was made Lieut. General of the army, and the Earl of Castlehaven Lieut.-General of the horse, and Lord Taaf master of the Ordnance.

Prince Rupert returned to Lisbon.

On August 14th, 1649, Cromwell landed in Dublin with 9,000 foot, and 4,000 horse. He took Drogheda by storm, and put 3,000 to the sword.

Cork, Youghal, Bandon, and Kinsale revolted to the Parliament, and against the king. Lord Broghill was sent by Cromwell to the assistance of the revolters. Lord Inchiquin, doubtless foreseeing a forlorn fight, retired to Clare. Cromwell wintered at Youghal.¹

In the spring of 1650, Cromwell laid siege to Clonmel, and failed to take it. He sent for Broghill, and their combined forces succeeded. Without Broghill, Cromwell would probably have been defeated, as his troops had been twice beaten, and disease had set in among them.

Broghill then marched to Carrigadrohid, which he invested with his foot troops. With his horse, he hurried to Macroom. The Irish, under Bishop Egan of Ross, fired the castle, and retired to the Park. Broghill attacked and defeated them on May 10th. He captured the bishop, brought him to Carrigadrohid, and asked him to get the garrison there to surrender. The Bishop advised the garrison to hold out to the last, and was immediately hanged. Broghill caused trunks of trees, resembling cannon, to be drawn by oxen in sight of the garrison. Mistaking the trees for pieces of ordnance, the garrison surrendered on terms.

Cromwell embarked for England on May 29th, leaving his son-in-law, Ireton, in command of the army.

In 1652, Limerick was invested by Ireton. Lord Muskerry marched to relieve it. When his forces reached the Blackwater, they were met at Knockbrack by Broghill, sent by Ireton to intercept them. Amid thunder, lightning, and rain, "with horse

¹. Smith's History of Cork

head to horse head, hacking with their swords", as Lord Broghill described it, victory fell to the British.¹

In 1655, many of the Irish were transplanted to Connacht, which, says Ludlow, "so shattered them that they never made any head afterwards."

Ireland was then surveyed, and the forfeited lands given to Cromwell's soldiers for arrears of pay, the acreage being in proportion to the amount of the arrears.

KINGS CHARLES and JAMES

In 1657, the Dictatorship of Cromwell was losing power, and such popularity as it possessed, in England. Broghill, who seems to have been an astute politician, as well as an able commander, privately discussed with the chief persons in Munster the restoration of Charles II. He knew there was a similar movement in England. So he sent his brother, Lord Shandon, to Charles at Brussels with an offer of 5,000 of his Protestant subjects. Charles, hearing that General Monk intended his restoration in England, decided to await events there.

Cromwell died in 1658. In 1659, Sir Charles Coote in Ulster, and Broghill in Munster, openly declared for the king. England did so too, and Charles was restored on May 29th, 1660. Broghill was then made Lord Orrery, and Lord President of Munster.

Lord Clancarty received back his honours and estates, through the influence of the Duke of Ormond. Part of the estate was retained by adventurers. Lacking powerful friends, most of the other Irish chieftains could not obtain the restoration of any part of their ancient territory. Many of them exiled themselves, in France or Spain. Others lost the records of their lineage in occupations which concealed their identity.

William of Orange

After the death of Charles II in 1684, and the accession of James II in 1685, the fears of Protestants were aroused by legal proceedings which jeopardised their interests. In 1685, on quo warranto sought by Attorney General Nagle, a Catholic, judgment was entered by Chief Justice Rice, declaring invalid most of the charters granted to Corporations in Ireland.

Tyrconnell, the Lord Lieutenant, was a Catholic.

James II tried to restore the Catholic faith in England. That eventuated in a revolt in 1688. James fled. He landed at Kinsale on March 12th. Going to Cork, he heard Mass at a church near the Franciscan friary. Louis XIV, king of France, sent 5,000 troops to assist him. James sent back 5,000 Irish troops, under Major General McCarthy, instead of the French troops.

1. Smith's History of Cork

Ballyhoura

In 1689, the English brought over William of Orange, and made him king. In July, 1690, he defeated James at the Boyne. In September, the Earl of Marlborough entered Cork Harbour with a fleet, and captured Cork. Seven Irish regiments were taken prisoners. They included the forces of Tyrone, Clancarty, Barrett, O'Sullivan. There were 160 prisoners blown up in the Breda man-of-war in Cork Harbour. Many prisoners escaped, others were killed making their escape, and 1,000 were sent to England.

The remaining Irish forces in the south retreated to Limerick City, and were besieged by the British in 1691. A stubborn defence was made by the Irish. The most memorable incident was the blowing up of a siege train that was being brought from Dublin to batter down the walls. It is described by Dr. P.W. Joyce.¹

The Siege Train

Sarsfield left Limerick with 500 picked horsemen. They "crossed Thomond Bridge into Clare on the night of Sunday, August 10th, galloped northward, and crossed the Shannon into Tipperary by a deep and dangerous ford above Killaloe. As morning approached, they halted on the northern base of Kimaulta, or Keeper Hill - a lofty mountain, 15 miles in a direct line from Limerick. Monday morning.....they turned southwards, and rested in the glens at the eastern extremity of Slieve Felim mountains. Towards nightfall on that day, Sarsfield's scouts brought word that the convoy were preparing to encamp beside Ballyneety. The old castle of Ballyneety stood on the summit of a rock, then called Kinmagown (Magown's Hill), but since known as Sarsfield's rock, two miles from the village of Cullen, near Limerick Junction Railway Station.

"At midnight, they set out southwards, for a ride of about twelve miles, across country in the moonlight, and passing through Cullen, came on the encampment about 2 o'clock in the morning, taking the whole party by surprise."²

They overwhelmed the convoy, and filling the guns with powder, putting their muzzles into the earth, piling casks of powder around them, and covering them with the baggage of the escort, they set a fuse to the pile. A mighty explosion rent the air, split Ballyneety castle, and was heard in Limerick city. The ordnance was destroyed, and Sarsfield rode back to Limerick.²

Limerick was surrendered on the signing of a treaty guaranteeing freedom of worship to the Catholics of Ireland. Its terms were quickly broken by the British, and a long period of religious persecution followed.

1. Note in Ballads of Irish Chivalry.

2. Dr. P.W. Joyce.

XII

CATHOLICS DESPOILEDUnbridled Despotism in Operation

"During the 17th century there were three great confiscations in Ireland. The first occurred in the reign of James I, and is known as the Ulster Plantation. James formed the idea of planting an English colony in Ulster, and of Anglicising and Protestantising that portion of the island. His scheme was attended with considerable success. The catholic population was expelled, and their possessions, to the extent of 2,836,837 acres, handed over to English and Scotch settlers."¹

"Oliver Cromwell was determined to carry out in Leinster and Munster the policy which had been successfully initiated, and accomplished, in Ulster. He accordingly drove the Papists out of these parts of the country, and transferred their lands, amounting to 7,800,000 acres, to his followers."²

"The last confiscation of the century occurred after the Williamite invasion, when 1,060,792 acres were wrested from the old proprietors".³

Now the new landlords treated the Irish peasantry as described by an Englishman, Arthur Young. Writing in 1776, he said: "The landlord of an Irish estate, inhabited by Roman Catholics, is a sort of despot who yields obedience in whatever concerns the poor to no law but that of his will".⁴ "Nothing satisfies him but an unlimited submission. Disrespect, or anything tending towards sauciness, he may punish with his cane, or his horsewhip, with the most perfect security. A poor man would have his bones broken if he offered to lift his hand in his own self-defence."⁵

"In the month of June 1809, at the races of Carlow, I saw a poor man's cheek laid open by the stroke of a whip. The inhuman wretch who inflicted the wound was a gentleman of some rank in the country. The unhappy sufferer was standing in his way, and without requesting him to move, he struck him with less ceremony than an English squire would a dog".⁶

As Lady St Leger was driving one day towards Doneraile, her spirited thoroughbreds shied, and bounded aside, on seeing a poor woman trudging with her thirteen children towards the town. Lady St Leger calmed the restive horses, and then drew her long coach whip on the poor woman. The tip of the leash of the whip hit the eye of the babe sleeping in its mother's arms, and tore the eye from the socket.⁷ Local tradition says the incident occurred at Carker Pike.

As a man named Roche of Jamestown, Co. Limerick, whose sister, Bridget, was married to Donal O'Sullivan of Glenanaar, was

1,2,3, Irish Land Question by Barry O'Brien. 4,5. Tour in Ireland.

6. Wakefield's Statistical & Political Account of Ireland

7. Galloping O'Sullivan by Maurice Regal Fitzgerald of Glenanaar.

walking towards Doneraile, he passed "Squireen" Evans of Carker riding a horse. As he did not raise his hat, Evans commenced to horse-whip him. He rushed in, pulled Evans off his horse, and thrashed him with his own whip. The influence of the O'Sullivans, and the unpopularity of Evans with the neighbouring landlords secured the acquittal of Roche from the consequences of his rash, if manly, act.¹

Lord Doneraile Assaults a Priest

In 1766, St Leger Aldworth of Newmarket became Baron Doneraile on the death of his uncle, Hayes, the fourth Viscount Doneraile.

The new peer had drawn a peasant girl from the paths of virtue. Shortly afterwards, the girl's brother committed a crime calling for ecclesiastical censure. Father Neale, by direction of the Bishop of the diocese, uttered appropriate strictures. The girl appealed to Lord Doneraile in her brother's favour, and he promised redress.

Accompanied by his kinsman, Capt. St Leger, Lord Doneraile sought the priest in the small cottage in which he resided. He was an old man, living in seclusion owing to the penal laws. He was reading his Office when a loud voice called him forth. He rose from his knees, and, book in hand, bareheaded, and feeble with age, he obeyed his lordship's summons.

"You have dared to hurl the censures of your Papist Church against one of my men. I, Lord Doneraile, command you to remove it instantly".

If the matter rested with me, I could do so. But it does not. I am bound to obey the Bishop. The censure could not be removed save by the Bishop's orders."

Losing his temper, the angry peer struck the defenceless old priest repeatedly, until the blood flowed. The stunned and bleeding priest retreated to his humble dwelling.

He was indeed a courageous attorney who defied the powerful St Leger influence of the time, to bring an action against Lord Doneraile. The case was listed for the Cork Summer Assizes in 1870.

The Munster Bar, however, showed no inclination to imitate the example of the attorney. The St Legers could have ruined the prospects of preferment of a barrister who antagonised them. Yet, John Philpot Curran, who was a native of Newmarket, and whose father had been Seneschal of the Manor Court of the Aldworth family, volunteered to be a plaintiff's counsel.

Curran depicted in scathing terms the outrageous conduct of Lord Doneraile, and eulogised the inoffensive character of the humble priest. He termed Capt St Leger a renegade soldier, a drummed-out Dragoon.

1. Related by Richard Lillis of Doneraile.

Capt. St Leger went into the witness chair.

"You are a soldier, sir".

"No, I am an officer".

"I see, You are an officer, but no soldier".

The witnesses for the defence, under cross examination, proved the plaintiff's case, and the jury, finding a verdict for Father Neale, awarded him thirty guineas damages.

Capt. St Leger challenged Curran to a duel. Curran accepted the challenge. After an exchange of shots, which were ineffective, the affair terminated. Capt. St Leger died soon afterwards, "of fright," said Curran, "of the report of his own pistol."¹

The incident curbed the arrogance and intolerance of the St Legers.

Law as Administered

Owing to the manner in which the law was administered, the people were taught to rely for success on their wits.

Sir Richard Pyne, who had been appointed Chief Justice of the Kings Bench in 1694, had the reputation of being susceptible to gifts. He had a residence at Waterpark, on the banks of the Blackwater, in Ballynoe, Fermoy. He raised excellent cattle, and was a good judge of them.

The case of Nangle v Weller was listed for the Cork Assizes at which the Chief Justice was to sit. On the day before that on which the judge was to leave Waterpark for the Assizes, Mr. Weller sent him twenty-five splendid heifers. His lordship sent a gracious message to Mr. Weller.

Next day, the judge set out for Cork on his coach and six. Having passed Rathcormac, he came to the bridge over the Bride River, half a mile farther on. There the road was blocked by a fine drove of valuable shorthorns.

"Whose beasts are these, my man", asked the judge of the drover.

"They belong to Judge Pyne, your honour".

"And where are you taking them now?"

"They were grazing on the farm of my master, Mr. Nangle, and, as the Assizes are coming on at Cork, my master thought that the judge might like to see that he took good care of them."

1. The Munster Circuit.

Ballyhoura

So, I'm taking them to Waterpark to the judge."

"Here is a guinea for you, and tell your master that, as he took good care of the cattle, I will take good care of him".

To the astonishment of Weller, the judge decided in favour of Nangle.¹

When the Chief Justice returned to Waterpark, he asked the steward, "Are all the cattle safe?"

"Perfectly, my lord".

"Where did you put the beasts I received when going to Cork?"

"They are where you left them, my lord."

"Where I left them ! Impossible. I left them on the road at Rathcormac."

The steward was perplexed.

"Con," said the judge, "I'll have a look at them myself."

But he saw only the twenty-five left by Mr. Weller's men.

"I don't mean these, said he. "I mean the fifty shorthorns which came after I left home."

"These are all the cattle on the land, except what we bred ourselves," said the steward.

So it was. The sagacious Mr. Nangle had timed the journey of the cattle to synchronise with the drive of the Chief Justice, and he had schooled the herd what he was to say on meeting the judge. When the judge's coach was out of sight, the herd had driven the cattle home again.²

The Whiteboys

Nearly the whole lands of Ireland were now in the ownership of landlords who were largely, and indeed mainly, of a different race and religion to the majority of the ancient inhabitants of the country. Many of these landlords had been officers in Cromwell's army, and had received grants of land in discharge of arrears of pay. These lands had been confiscated from Irish Catholic, and Norman Catholic, nobility. The new owners were actively, and bitterly, hostile to the racial, national, and religious, sentiments of their tenantry. Those tenantry were tolerated only as indispensable rent-payers, providing the landlords with funds for drink, debauchery, and dissipation.

1. The Munster Circuit. 2. The Munster Circuit.

Ballyhoura

The tenantry had no security of tenure of their holdings. They could be evicted at the mere whim of the landlord, or his agent, and, very often, that meant the estate bailiff. Evictions frequently took place in order to give the little farm to a well-to-do neighbour who was able to pay an increased rent and coveted the smaller holding adjoining him.

These evictions threw men on the roadside, who, seeing their means of livelihood gone, and their families starving, became desperate. They sought revenge on the agent, the bailiff, or the man who now occupied their little farm.

In Co. Limerick in 1760, an association, known as the Whiteboys, was formed.¹ The Whiteboy Act of 1776² indicates its object. It recites:

"Whereas it has frequently happened of late years, in different parts of the kingdom, that several persons, calling themselves Whiteboys, and others, as well by night as in the day time, have, in a riotous, disorderly, and tumultuous manner, assembled together, and have abused and injured the persons, habitations and properties, of many of his Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, and have taken, and carried away their horses and arms, and have compelled them to surrender up, quit, and leave their habitations, farms, and places of abode, and have with threats and violence imposed sundry oaths, and solemn declarations, contrary to law.....to the great terror of his Majesty's subjects".....

Abductions

Abduction -- the forcible kidnapping of young girls of fortune -- was rife from 1600 to 1800. In 1634, the Irish House of Commons passed an Act to punish abductors. Still the crime continued. In 1707, the Irish House of Commons made forcible abduction a capital felony. The statute recites that "one John Bryan, being a person of no property, did forcibly abduct, and carry away, Margaret McNamara, junior, she being entitled to a fortune of Two Thousand Pounds sterling", which fortune should not be touched by the said John Bryan.

Abduction Clubs were formed, the members bound by oath to aid one another in their enterprises. The members of the clubs were usually "squireens", that is the idle, dissolute, penniless sons of country gentlemen. When a girl was marked out for prey, the members of the club drew lots for her. If he to whose lot she fell, failed to win her openly, he carried her off by force.

Mr. Strange of Ullard, Co. Kilkenny, and Mr. Garret Byrne of Ballyann, Co. Carlow, abducted two heiresses, Catherine Kennedy, aged 15 years, of Rathmeadon, on the confines of

1. Moonan and Hayden's Short History of Ireland.
2. 15 & 16 Geo.III c. 21.

Waterford and Kilkenny, and her sister, Ann, aged 14 years. The father of the girls was dead.

The girls resisted vehemently the advances of their abductors.

They were moved at night from place to place to escape discovery. Finally they were found on board a vessel which reached Milford Haven from Arklow. Their abductors escaped, but were captured, and hanged.¹

Love's Labour Lost

Eleanor Arbuthnot was a daughter of Mr. George Arbuthnot of Elderslie, Surrey. Her sister was married to Captain the Hon. George Gough, eldest son of Field Marshal Lord Gough. She lived with her husband at Rathronan House, about three miles from Clonmel. With her lived her two sisters, Laura and Eleanor. The sisters were beautiful and charming young ladies, particularly Eleanor, the younger, and both possessed considerable fortunes.

At Hunt meetings, at balls, and at other functions, the sisters, especially Eleanor, had many admirers. Among these was Mr. John Carden of Barnane, near Holy Cross Abbey, Thurles. He was a cousin of Sir John Carden of Templemore. Mr. Carden was a Deputy Lieutenant of the county, a magistrate, a grand juror, and a landowner.

With Eleanor, Mr. Carden became infatuated, but she did not appear to reciprocate his affection. He attended every function at which he could get a glimpse of her. Her family did not encourage his attentions. When he spoke to her, she was polite, but cold. This attitude did not cool his ardour. He interpreted her simplest act as indicative of feeling for him. He proposed for her, and was refused. He attributed the refusal to the family, and not to the lady. He persisted in his wooing.

His presence wherever she was likely to be seen was as unfailing as her own shadow in sunshine. But his devotion was fruitless.

On Sunday, July 2nd, 1854, the three sisters, and Miss Linden, a lady friend, were driven in an outside car to Rathronan Church, to attend the service. They saw Mr. Carden in the graveyard attached to the Church, doubtless to catch a glimpse of his idol as she passed into the church.

During the service, rain fell. The coachman, Dwyer, fearing that the ladies would get wet on the homeward journey, drove back to Rathronan House for a covered car. As he was bringing the covered car through the gate of the avenue, he noticed there a carriage to which were attached two beautiful thoroughbreds, and a party of six stalwart men. He drove onto the church. At the entrance to the churchyard was a groom with two saddled horses.

After the service, the four ladies got into the covered car. Eleanor occupied an inner seat. Mr. Carden followed them on horseback. At the gate entering Rathronan demesne, six men jumped forward, and, seizing the reins of the horse attached to the covered car, brought it to a stop. The coachman was felled to the ground, and the traces cut.

1. The Munster Circuit.

Carden, dismounting, tried to pull Eleanor from the covered car. She resisted. Laura defended her. He pulled Laura out. Miss Linden struck Carden on the nose, and blood, spurring from it, sprinkled his shirt and coat. Mrs. Gough, being in a certain condition, got out of the vehicle, and ran screaming up the avenue towards the house.

McGrath, a workman, hearing the screams, and seeing the lady's distress, rushed to the gate, calling a herd to follow. The coachman recovered from the blow he received, and dashed at the assailants. McGrath struck Carden on the ear, and stunned him for a moment. The herd tackled some of the others. Fiercely they fought, struggled, fell and rose again to continue the fight. Carden still vehemently endeavoured to secure Eleanor.

"Why don't you use your weapons", shouted Carden to his men. But they considered they had gone near enough to the gallows for him, and they would not draw their pistols.

McGrath, the coachman, and the herd were severely buffeted and wounded. They shouted for help. Answering shouts were heard. Rescuers were approaching. His men urged Carden to fly. Still he persisted. They seized him, and bundled him into his own conveyance. The gallant thoroughbreds sped for Templemore.

The police at Cashel and Clonmel were notified. Mounted, they rode for Templemore, suspecting that the fugitives would drive there. At Farney Bridge, three or four miles north of Holy Cross, and four or five miles from the entrance gate to Barnane, they sighted the galloping steeds, sagging after a twenty-mile flight from Rathronan. They overtook, and captured the party in the carriage.

Carden was dazed, and bore the marks of many head wounds. Beside him was a loaded six-barrelled revolver. He was taken a prisoner to Clonmel.

At the Assizes held there on July 27th, 1854, he was convicted of the attempt forcibly to abduct Eleanor Arbuthnot, and he was sentenced by Judge Ball to two years imprisonment, with hard labour.¹

The Arbuthnots removed to Kingston, now Dun Laoghaire. Even there, after his release, Mr. Carden sought glimpses of the lady he loved. Another attempt to abduct her was feared, and he was bound over, although he disclaimed such an intention. He never married. Neither did the object of his affections. And one wonders did she, after all, love the man, and was his failure to win her due to his impetuosity?

His abortive attempt to carry her off was planned in great detail. He had arranged for relays of horses to Galway, and had chartered a boat, which was actually waiting there to take them to London. In this enterprise, he incurred an expenditure
1. New Ireland.

Ballyhoura

of Seven Thousand Pounds. He never desired the lady's fortune, he declared. One can well believe him.

Farmer Foiled

The practice of the "squireens" was imitated by the sons of farmers. The Whiteboys lent themselves to the assistance of the abductors.

A family named Dunlea resided near Charleville, now Rathluire. Consisting of sons and a daughter, they were reputed to be well-off. A man named Capliss planned with the Whiteboys to carry her off. The abduction was to take place on a Saturday night. The Dunleas got secret intimation of it, its time, and object. The daughter was placed in safe-keeping. Her younger brother, of her size and appearance, dressed in her clothes, remained up ironing clothes for next morning, while the others retired to bed.

As 12 midnight, a body of horsemen arrived, wearing white shirts over their clothes. The young "woman" was unceremoniously seized, flung upon one of the horses and was whisked away to Templebraden, a village in Co. Limerick, where a friend of Capliss lived. "She" was left there that night.

Next morning, Capliss came for his intended bride, and found his mistake. Young Dunlea, and the daughter of his host of the night, fell in love, and were married immediately. Miss Dunlea was also quickly married to an adjoining farmer.¹

Honora Goolden of Glengurt, Co. Limerick, was carried off by a young farmer named John Brown, with intent to marry her. He was charged at Limerick Assizes in 1822 with abducting her forcibly, and against her will. He was convicted, but, on a point taken before the Court for Crown Cases Reserved, that, in the indictment, no venue was laid for the abduction, the conviction was quashed.²

Love Triumphs

Major Weston was a fiery Protestant Tory who had a small estate at Ballinacurragh, in the Kilfinane district. His daughter, Mary Rosaleen Weston, was a charming and beautiful young woman. She attended a dancing school at Kilfinane, for the children of the surrounding gentlemen. There she met John O'Dwyer of Glendarragh, a lineal descendant of the noted Rapparee, "Shawn O'Duibhir a Ghleanna", Baron of Kilmana, whose title was forfeited after the Williamite Wars, and who subsequently died a General in the French service.

They fell deeply in love. O'Dwyer was a Catholic. Miss Weston was a Protestant. Flinging prudence to the winds, she eloped with him from her father's house.

Major Weston invoked the aid of the law against the Papist who had abducted his daughter. O'Dwyer had to "go on his keeping". His young wife was sheltered by his relatives.

Capt. Oliver of Clonodfoy, Ballyorgan, frequently sheltered O'Dwyer, and became his fast friend. He interceded with the Major

1. Related by Patz Kenny, Glengarragh.

2. Limerick Special Commission Cases.

on his behalf, and arranged a meeting between them. The Major was charmed with O'Dwyer's gentlemanly bearing, and agreeable manners, and forgave him. He received the young couple into his home, and introduced O'Dwyer to his circle of friends. O'Dwyer acquired the dissolute habits of that circle, and died at the age of forty, leaving two sons and a daughter.

This daughter, Elizabeth, was born at Keal, Glenroe, Co. Limerick, in 1795, and was the mother of Dr. Patrick Joyce, the distinguished historian, and of Dr. Robert Dwyer Joyce, the author of stirring national ballads.¹

The Joyces

The Joyces came originally from Co. Galway. Seán Mór Joyce settled down as general manager of an estate at Linna, Co. Kerry. His son, Gearoid Mór, moved to Athlacca, Co. Limerick, married Mary Anne Hogan of that place, and left a son, known as "Robert of the Irish". He was noted for his knowledge of Irish folk-lore, history and tradition. He moved from Athlacca about 1790, and settled in Glenosheen. He married Anne Howard, whose people were from Kinsale. He died in 1828.

"Robert of the Irish" had a son locally known as "Garrett the scholar", because of his studious habits, educational acquirements. He had eight sons, two of whom, Robert Dwyer Joyce and Patrick Weston Joyce, have left their imprint on Irish literature. Robert Dwyer Joyce became a medical doctor, and went to Boston, where he practised his profession. He became the friend of John Boyle O'Reilly, whom he assisted in editing the "Boston Pilot". While yet a medical student in Cork, he published his first book of verse. He returned from America in poor health, and died at his brother's residence in Dublin in 1883.

Patrick Weston Joyce became head of Marlborough Training College, Dublin; President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, and a Commissioner for the Publication of the Ancient Laws of Ireland. He was also an M.A., and L.L.D. of T.C.D. He was the author of works of recognised authority on the history, tradition, and music of Ireland. He married a Protestant lady, who became a convert to the Catholic Church shortly after the marriage.

Michael Joyce, the eldest son of "Garrett the Scholar", was also singularly gifted. He was acquainted with the mythology of ancient Greece and Rome, as well as saturated with the traditions and story of his native land. The library of the Ashtowns at Castle Oliver, Clonodfoy, Ballyorgan, was always open to him, and he frequently enriched his mind from its treasures. His sons and daughters have been successful in the teaching profession, and in the other careers they adopted. One of them, Mr. W.B. Joyce, B.A., F.R.S.A. was Head Master of the Dublin Model School, and a member of the Free State Board Censors.²

1. P.J. Lonergan, Kildorrery, a great-great grandson of Mary Rosaleen Weston O'Dwyer.

2. P.J. Lonergan, Kildorrery.

A Girl's Betrayal

In 1769, Robert, second Earl of Kingsborough, when Viscount Kingsborough, had married Caroline, only daughter of Richard Fitzgerald of Mount O'Phaly, Co. Kildare. A brother of Lady Kingsborough had an illegitimate son, named Henry Fitzgerald, whom Lady Kingsborough brought up with her own children. One of her children, named Mary, was very beautiful, and possessed an abundance of curling hair.

Young Henry Fitzgerald, when old enough, entered the army, and, backed by the Kingston influence, rose rapidly to the rank of Colonel. He married well, and lived with his wife at Bishop's Gate, London. He gained the affections of Mary King. She disappeared in 1797.

The parents of Mary King had no suspicion that anybody was responsible for her disappearance. The river was dragged for her body. A large reward was offered for information regarding her, her beautiful hair being described to aid identification.

To the London residence of Lady Kingsborough came a young woman to see her. She said that some weeks before that a gentleman and a young lady came to a lodging house at Kensington, where the young woman caller was a servant. The lady had a mass of beautiful hair. On entering the lady's bedroom one day, she saw the lady cutting off her hair.

While the servant was speaking, Colonel Fitzgerald walked into the room. He had been accustomed to call to condole with the parents on the disappearance of the daughter.

"Oh, my lady, that's the very gentleman who brought the young lady to our house", said the servant.

Colonel Fitzgerald rushed from the house.

Lord and Lady Kingsborough, shocked and stunned, recovered their daughter immediately, and carried her to the family seat at Mitchelstown.

Robert King, second son of Lord Kingsborough, challenged Colonel Fitzgerald to a duel. It was fought in Hyde Park on October 1st, 1797. Six shots were fired, none of which took effect. Fitzgerald's powder being used up, it was arranged to resume next morning. But the police arrested both.

When Colonel Fitzgerald was released, he came disguised to Mitchelstown, and stayed at Barry's Hotel, opposite to the entrance to the Kingstown demesne. His handsome, martial, bearing and secret furtive, movements, aroused the suspicions of Mr. Barry, who thought he might be Capt. Brennan, the Raparee, of Kilworth mountains. He mentioned the matter to Lord Kingsborough.

Lord Kingsborough instantly guessed the identity of the visitor. He went to the hotel, and enquired for the visitor. But the stranger, having observed that his lordship was at home, and that an attempted abduction would be futile, had driven to Kilworth. Lord Kingsborough, and his son, Colonel King, followed.

His lordship enquired at the hotel if a stranger had arrived that day. The reply was in the affirmative.

7. The Munster Circuit.

"Take him my compliments, and say that I want to see him on business".

The waiter went up to the visitor's room, and delivered the message. The door of the room was locked.

"Do not disturb me at this late hour. I can attend to no business this evening," was the answer that came from inside.

Lord Kingsborough and his party recognised the voice as that of Colonel Fitzgerald. They demanded admittance, and were refused. They burst through the door, and rushed into the room. Colonel Fitzgerald had a brace of pistols. Colonel King went to seize him. Lord Kingsborough, violently excited, fired. Fitzgerald fell, mortally wounded.

Lord Kingsborough, now the Earl of Kingston, was tried in the House of Lords, and Colonel King at the Cork Spring Assizes, in 1798. No witnesses appeared to prove the charge, and they were acquitted.

Popery Laws

By two Acts of Parliament, the 2nd and 8th of Queen Anne, it was enacted "That every Papist, or person professing the Popish religion, should, after the 24th March, 1703, be disabled to buy or purchase, either in his own name, or in the name of any other, to his own use, or in trust for him, any lands tenements or hereditaments; or to have, hold, occupy, or enjoy, any greater interest therein, other than leases not exceeding thirty-one years in possession, and not in reversion, whereon a rent not less than two-thirds of the improved yearly value, at the time of making such lease, should be reserved; and that all securities taken, or entered into, to cover, secure, or make good such lease, purchase, or conveyance, should be void; and that any Protestant might, in any court of law or equity, sue for all such lands, and incumbrances conveyed, or make to any Papist, or person professing the Popish religion, or to any other person, or persons, in trust for him, her, or them, contrary to these Acts".

Between 1703 and 1709 inclusive, one hundred and fifty Catholic landholders conformed to Protestantism, in order to save their estates.

Under the Penal Laws, a Protestant could obtain possession, without compensation, of landed property in the ownership of a Catholic. Catholic land owners defeated that law in some instances by getting a friendly Protestant to secure legal ownership of the estate, leaving the Catholic in possession at a nominal rent.

1. The Munster Circuit.

Ballyhoura

A Catholic gentleman named Duggan owned an estate in Co. Kerry. Hearing that a Protestant neighbour was about to take proceedings to deprive him of his property, he asked a Protestant friend named Deane Freeman of Castlecree, midway between Kanturk and Buttevant, to forestall the "popish Discoverer", and save the property.

The Discoverer, on his way to Dublin, happened to call at Mr. Freeman's house, and told him his business. Mr. Freeman said he had business in Dublin also, and offered to pay half the expenses of the chaise to Dublin. The Discoverer gladly agreed.

They halted at Clonmel at the house of a hard-drinking, fox-hunting, squire, a friend of Mr. Duggan, and of Mr. Freeman. The latter told the Squire the object of the journey. The Squire plied the Discoverer with so much liquor that he was unable to leave next day. Mr. Freeman went on alone.

The Discoverer did not reach Dublin until a week later. The discovery he made then was that the various denominations of land theretofore owned by the papist Duggan were now the property of the staunch Protestant, Deane Freeman of Castlecree.¹

"Knight of the Knife"

At fairs and markets, and other places at which the people assembled, John Purcell collected the rents of the properties over which he was agent. On March 11th, 1811, he had had a fatiguing day. It was long past dinner hour when he rode home to Highfort, near Buttevant. He was both tired and hungry. A meal of cold meat and bread in his bedroom sufficed him. He was considerate to his servants, and did not put them to trouble. His bedroom adjoined the parlour on the ground floor. The door between the two rooms had been nailed up. There was separate access to each room from a passage, or corridor.

About one o'clock in the morning, Mr. Purcell was awakened by a noise as of footsteps approaching the parlour windows. He listened. The windows were pushed in. The thud of feet on the carpet indicated that a large party had entered.

Mr. Purcell arose. Then he paused. His weapons. They were in the office, out of reach. Disheartening thought. The only instrument available was the knife he had used at supper. He seized it. He could hear the table in the parlour being removed from its position beside the nailed door. Then the door itself was wrenched open.

The curtained window kept the bedroom in darkness. The opened window of the parlour let the moonlight stream through. Men with fire-arms, and blackened faces, could be seen in the parlour. One of them entered the doorway between the two rooms. Mr. Purcell plunged the knife into him. "I am killed", said he, reeling back among his comrades. A second man rushed into the doorway. The knife was buried in his breast. "I am done for", said he, falling backwards.

"Fire", shouted someone in authority. There was a loud report. A brace of balls, and a number of slugs, lodged in the bedroom wall. Before the smoke cleared away, the gunman fell wounded among his companions.

A rush was made for the bedroom. The gallant defender struck home. But he received a blow on the head, and was tightly gripped.

1. The Munster Circuit.

Ballyhoura

On the floor, now slippery with blood, assailant and his antagonist fell. Mr. Purcell thrust with his knife. After some time, he found the weapon ineffective. He passed his finger along the blade. It was bent near the point. He tried to straighten it. The hold of his assailant relaxed. He was dead.

The raiders, finding so many of their comrades killed or wounded, and believing there must be a strong garrison in the house, retreated, bearing away their casualties through the parlour window. The darkness of the bedroom concealed the fact that they were opposed by only one man. Mr. Purcell's servant took care not to wake during the encounter.

Of the nine men who took part in the raid, there had been two killed, and several wounded.

Next morning, Mr. Purcell went to the house of Maurice Noonan, whom he had recognised as the man who had fired the gun. Noonan lived in the vicinity. Under Noonan's bed he found the gun, which he identified.

Noonan was arrested. "Mr. Purcell had like to do for me", said he. He was tried at Cork Assizes on September 9th, convicted, and hanged.

Mr. Purcell was knighted for his exploit. Subsequently he was known in the country as "The Knight of the Knife".¹ He was an ancestor of the late Capt. Raymond Purcell of Burton Park, Churchtown, Buttevant.

1. The Munster Circuit.

THE BARRY FAMILY

"This country gives the title of earl to this ancient and noble family of the Barrys"¹. In so writing, Smith was referring to the territory of Ui Liathain, now the barony of Barrymore, situated north of Cobh, and south of Fermoy.

In 1179, Robert Fitzstephen granted three cantreds, including this territory, to his sister's son, Philip de Barry, who had come over with him to Ireland. In 1205, Philip built the castle of Barrys Court, near Carrigtwohill. The other cantreds granted to Philip were Imokilly, Orrery and Kilmore, with the town of Buttevant.

The Barrys spread themselves over Co. Cork in three families: Barrymore of Ui Liathain and Buttevant; Barryroe of Rathbarry, now Castlefreke; and Barry Oge south of the Bandon river, near Kinsale.

It was in Buttevant, however, they left the most remarkable monuments of their position, power, and piety.

Cill na Mullagh, the original name of Buttevant, "was formerly an ancient corporation, being governed by a Mayor and Alderman, but, by the wars, gone to decay."² "In this place are the remains of a sumptuous ruin of the ancient abbey of Friars Minors, founded by David de Barry, in the reign of King Edward I. He was Lord Justice of Ireland, and his tomb still remains in the choir opposite the great altar".³

This Sir David de Barry was Lord Justice in 1267.

"On Ballybeg, on the other side of the river, was a monastery of Augustinians, founded in 1237, and dedicated to St. Thomas by Philip de Barry, being endowed by his son, David, who founded the Friary of Buttevant".⁴

"To the east of the town stand the ruins of Lord Barry's castle, boldly and strongly erected on a rock over the river Awbeg".⁵ "The town belongs to the Earl of Barrymore, and the new turnpike road from Cork to Limerick runs through it".⁶

Gerald de Barry was Bishop of Cork in 1359.

Baron Barry of Buttevant was a creation of 1420. The title became a viscountcy in 1555. In 1628, Daniel, Lord Barry, was elevated to the Earldom of Barrymore. The title of Viscount Buttevant is long extinct. The title of Earl of Barrymore expired in 1823, when the last holder went to the continent, and died a Catholic there. For the Barrys of Barrymore had become Protestant to save their estates.

"Fine Jump for a Papist"

One of the few noble families in the south of Ireland to retain the Catholic Faith during its proscription in penal times was that

1. Smith's History of Cork, p. 145. 2. Smith's History of Cork, p.293. 3. Smith's History of Cork. 4,5,6. Smith's History of Cork.

of the Barrys of Ballyvonare, on the south-western slopes of the Ballyhouras. The extensive estates which the family once possessed in this area have dwindled to a mere 2,000 acres, or so, more than half of which is mountain.

Militancy in defence of the Faith led to the confiscation of most of their property. That characteristic, animating the father of the present owner of Ballyvonare, led to an exciting incident at a meeting of the Duhallow Hunt, of which the Barrys had always been members.

At Graigue, Shanballymore, Mr. John Harold Barry, who was a splendid horseman, jumped a particularly high fence.

"A fine jump for a Papist", said Lord Doneraile.

Harold Barry overheard the remark. He jumped back again, and horsewhipped Lord Doneraile.¹

Lord Doneraile and himself had been excellent friends before the incident, and, when the annoyance aroused by it had subsided, their friendship became warmer than ever. It was on an occasion on which Lord Doneraile was about to go on a visit to Harold Barry at Ballyvonare that he was bitten by a pet fox.² He contracted hydrophobia, and died on August 25th, 1887.³

It was the grandfather of the present owner of Ballyvonare, and of Mr. Phillip Harold Barry of Ballyellis, who gave evidence for the defence in the Doneraile Conspiracy Trials. In keeping with that tradition, Mr. Phillip Harold Barry gave evidence at a military inquiry in Cork in September, 1920, on behalf of three men, named Hennessy, Feore, and Fitzgerald, who had been convicted by Court martial of participation in an ambush at Ballyvourney on August 25th of that year.⁴

There was a Lieutenant Barry, and a Major Lombard, of the North Corks, killed at Oulart Hill, Wexford, in 1798, in an attack on the insurgents.⁵ Colonel Foote, who was in command, escaped through the fleetness, and endurance of his horse, which brought him home to Killavullen.⁶ This Lieutenant Barry was probably a member of a Protestant branch of the family.

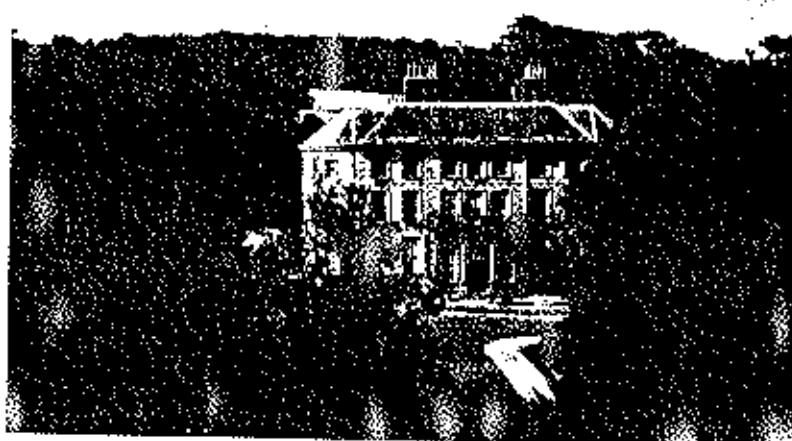
A tradition⁷ states that a younger member of the Barry family of Ballyvonare fought on the side of the insurgents, and was wounded at Wexford. He was brought to Hacketstown, Co. Limerick, nursed back to health, and, fearing to return home, lest he should ruin his family, married the daughter of a farmer. His descendant, Kevin Barry, was murdered in Dublin Castle by the Black and Tans.

The Barrys at Hacketstown and Ballyvonare "must belong to the same family, for they have the same piercing eyes" said my informant.

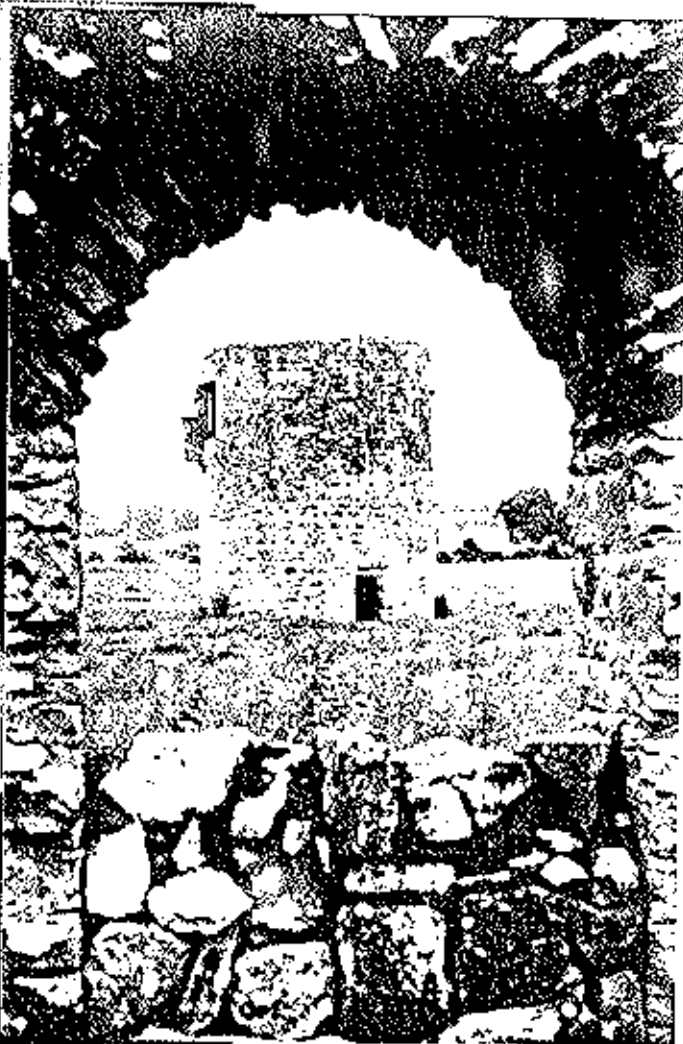
1. Related by James Dwane, Ballinguiroe. Confirmed by J.H. Barry
2. Related by Harold Barry. 3 & 4. Cork Examiner. 5. Mitchel's History of Ireland. 6. Local tradition. 7. Related by James Dwane of Ballinguiroe, Kildorrery.



DANIEL O'CONNELL, THE GREAT IRISH AGITATOR.



(ABOVE) DONERAILE COURT



(ABOVE)
BALLYBEG ABBEY
BUTTEVANT



(ABOVE)
BARRYS COURT
CARRIGTHOILL



(RIGHT)
LORD BARRY'S CASTLE
BUTTEVANT

Ballyhoura

Such a tradition does not survive in the family at Ballyvonare

During the Famine years, the grandfather of the present owner employed three hundred labourers, and fed them¹, being determined that no one should die of starvation in his district, if he could prevent it. In the yard at Ballyvonare, at the present day, is a vast cauldron, of 250 gallon capacity, in which food was cooked for the people in the Famine period. The Soup Kitchen of 1847 is still there. And it has been comparatively recently roofed.

When hedge schools were no longer held, and the National schools had not yet been established, a school was built by Mr. Barry at the entrance to his avenue, and there the children of his employees and others were taught by a teacher whom he maintained at his own expense.²

The Harolds

The male line of the Barrys having failed, Mary Barry, daughter and heiress of John Barry of Ballyvonare, in 1780, married Richard Harold, of Pennywell, Limerick. The Harolds were of Danish descent. One of them was Mayor of Limerick. And there hangs on the wall of the dining room at Ballyvonare, a painting of a Miss Harold who is alleged to have led the women of Limerick in "manning" the walls during the famous siege of Sarsfield's days.

McCarthy Despoiled

In 1592, Tadhg Mac Owen McCarthy of Drishane Castle surrendered his lands to Queen Elizabeth, and obtained a regrant of them. This course was intended to strengthen his title, and enable him to bequeath his estates to the oldest son, Owen Mac Tadhg, instead of letting their descent pass in accordance with the Irish system of Tanistry.

Owen died at Drishane Castle on November 10th, 1637, and his eldest son, Donogh Mac Owen, inherited Drishane, Kilmeedy, Carrigaphooka Castles and lands. For his participation in the Insurrection of 1641, the castles and lands of Donogh were forfeited, and reverted to the Earl of Clancarthy. Subsequently, the Earl of Clancarthy being a minor, the Countesses Dowager Clancarthy restored the lands and castles to Donogh.

In 1701, Donogh Mac Owen McCarthy, who then resided at Drishane, being a Catholic, thought it prudent to take steps to prevent the estates being filched from him by a Protestant "Discoverer". He passed a bond, probably a mortgage, to Thomas Connor, his Dublin Attorney and manager for Five Hundred Pounds. Connor thus became ostensibly the legal owner. But, apparently, to avert the complications that might arise on the death of Connor, and the discovery of the bond, a "defeazure", or cancellation, was executed. Connor continued to act for Donogh, and no demand was made for payment of the Five Hundred Pounds, as the transaction was probably fictitious. The date of the cancellation was 1704.

1. & 2. Related by Phillip Harold Barry, Ballyellis.

In 1718, Donogh Mac Owen made a will leaving the ploughlands of Drishane, Glencomigeen, and Liscahane, to Donogh McCarthy, son and heir of Charles McCarthy of Kilcorney, and he died the same year.

His widow, or the executors, never proved the will. But the widow made over her life interest to her grand-nephew, Denis O'Leary. That aroused the Mc Carthys of Kilcorney and Dooneen to dispute the will.

While the McCarthys were embroiled over the will, Wallis, a Protestant, who was a trustee under it, turned Protestant "Discoverer" and claimed the estates.

In 1725, Thomas Connor, the Dublin attorney, died, leaving everything he possessed to his daughter, Ann, and her husband, Anthony Hamilton, of Meath. They found the bond for Five Hundred Pounds, but not the "defeazure" of 1704, and sought payment.

Wallis got the lands of Drishane, Glencomigeen, Kilmesdy, and Carrigaphooka, advertised for sale. They were sold on May 4th, 1728. Wallis bought Drishane, Liscahane, and Glencomigeen for Four Hundred Pounds, although they were worth Three Thousand Pounds. Sir Matthew Deane of Cork bought Carrigaphooka for Three Hundred Pounds, and John Leader of Tullig bought Carrigacolleen for One Hundred and Ten Pounds. These two, however, seem to have really bought in order to save the properties for the McCarthys, for they never entered into possession, or paid the purchase money. Consequently, Colonel Donogh Mac Owen McCart retained Coomlegane, Carrigaphooka, and Glencolleen.

The widow was turned out of Drishane, and died in Millstreet. Tradition says she died of exposure on the doorstep of Drishane Castle.¹

High-Handed Magistrates

Men named Coleman and Froaly and others were sentenced in 1800 by Co. Limerick magistrates to seven years transportation for administering unlawful oaths -- an offence which the magistrates had no jurisdiction to try under the Insurrection Act. The conviction was quashed on certiorari, but the men were not released from Limerick Gaol.

A Habeas Corpus issued. The gaoler, Milwood, refused to accept it. On May 22nd, it was served on the under gaoler. There was no return made to the writ, and an attachment order was issued. Then it was shown that the prisoners were in military custody.

1. Bonapart Wyse in Cork Archaeological Journal.

Ballyhoura

Major Uniacke and the gaoler, Milwood, sent the prisoners to New Geneva prison. Writs of Habeas Corpus were sent to the governor of that prison. He sent the prisoners back to Limerick.

On May 26th, they were again taken before the magistrates, given no time to prepare a defence, and convicted of a threat to murder "all Protestants, Palatines, and Stags" (informers). They appealed, but were kept in prison until released on recognisance by the Judge of Assize.

The Chief Justice said the magistrates should be attached for assuming an authority they did not possess.

Mr. Justice Downs said it was one of the greatest contempts of Court. Uniacke prevented the matter coming before the Court.

Mr. Justice Chamberlain said conspiring with other magistrates to convict a man of an overt act of high treason, without a jury, was unprecedented. An attachment should issue against Major Uniacke.

Major Uniacke submitted to the attachment, and stated that he did not sign the conviction of Froaly, not having been at that particular trial.

The Court discharged the attachment on payment of costs.¹

This case is reminiscent of the face-saving antics of General Chiang Kai-Shek and Marshal Chang Hsueh Liang. The Marshal imprisoned his Commander-in-Chief, and then, after negotiation, released him, apologised, and submitted to a sentence which was immediately commuted.

Caravats and Shanavests

In Tipperary about 1800 there were two factions called Caravats and Shanavests. For burning the house of a man who had taken land which had been previously in the possession of a neighbour, a man named Hanly, had been hanged.

"I will not leave here until I see the caravat about the fellow's neck", said Paudeen Gar at the place of execution.

Paudeen belonged to the rival faction. Hence, Hanly's party was called the Caravats, and Paudeen Gar's party, which took to wearing old vests, was called the Shanavests.

In January, 1811, a large number of Caravats, estimated at more than a hundred, assembled one night, blowing horns, firing shots and creating a disturbance. Military and police were also out that night, and were attracted by the noise. They approached, and ordered the people to stand. Instead of doing so, they ran. The police pursued, fired at, and captured a number of men.

Leaving ten prisoners in charge of the military, the police searched an adjoining house. There they found a large fire lighting, nine or ten men with their clothes on, lying under or on the beds, and some firearms in the house. They were marched to Cashel.

1. Rowe's Reports.

At a Special Commission for Co. Tipperary, held in February, 1811, the prisoners were charged under the Riot and Whiteboy Acts, and sentenced to be whipped three times.¹

TITHES and TURMOIL.

In addition to the exactions of the land-owning class, the people had to endure a still more obnoxious levy, in the form of tithes for the support of a religion, alien and hostile to that professed by themselves.

The tithes were generally collected by proctors, who, by insolence, harshness, and arrogance, aggravated the people whose crops, or cattle, they seized in satisfaction of their demands. As local bidders for the seizures were intimidated, the produce and cattle were sent to Dublin to be sold.

At Newtownbarry, in 1831, where the people assembled on a fair day, to show their sympathy with those whose goods were to be auctioned, the yeomanry attacked them, killed thirteen, and wounded twenty.

At Carrickshock, in 1831, there were thirty-seven policemen with the man who went to serve processes for tithes. The local people assembled, some with short pikes. In a narrow breen, bordered by a low wall, they attacked the police, and killed ten of them. Their leader, Gibbons, and several policemen were wounded. Three peasants were killed.

In 1834, at Rathcormac, Co. Waterford, the crops of a poor woman were seized. There was resistance. The police fired into the unarmed crowd, and killed several.

At the cross of Brough, less than a mile from Doneraile, in the bed of the Skenanagh river, two tithe proctors were killed. Two farmer's daughters were hanged in Cork for it, on the evidence of two children, one of seven years, and the other of eight years, who said they saw the girls closing their door as the crowd swept by.²

On November 21st 1840, Arthur Malowney and George Moore went to value the tithes of the parish of Ballybacon, Co. Tipperary. Four armed constables went with them. Shots were fired at them over a wall. Constable Edward Prendergast received ten slugs. Then between 14 and 20 men, all armed, jumped over the wall.

The police and the valuers ran back to the house of Thomas Shea, and bolted the door after them. The pursuers broke into the lower part of the house through a window, knocked down Constable Prendergast, and struck Malowney on the head with pistols and guns.

1. Trials of Caravats and Shanavests in 1811.

2. Note in Canon Sheehan's Glenanaar.

Ballyhours

Malowney fell on his face and hands on the floor.

"Get out of the way, for I fear the design is against you and Malowney", said George Moore to Prendergast.

"Now is the time to make our escape", said Constable Hewson.

Prendergast and the rest of them got away.

Malowney died of his injuries.

Thomas Power, who was identified by Prendergast as one of the party was convicted of the murder of Malowney, and sentenced to be hanged.¹

About 1823, four tithe proctors came to make, for unpaid tithes, a seizure of pigs at a house within a quarter of a mile of the Ballyhea Catholic Church, and on the Charleville side of it. The local people assembled, and beat the proctors to death with stones. Several persons were arrested, but no witness could be procured to give evidence against any of them, and they had to be released.²

Two proctors tried to make a seizure at Skehanagh, Doneraile. Resistance was offered. A crowd gathered. The proctors ran. They were followed, and overtaken in the yard of a farmer named Heaphy of Ballysheera. There they were killed with stones. Heaphy and his sister, Lizzie, then a girl of seventeen, saw who had killed the proctors, but they refused to divulge the names. They were themselves arrested for harbouring felons. They were tried and convicted. Both were hanged at Skaghargannon (i.e., Gannon's high whitethorn bush) within less than a mile from Doneraile.³

The Tithe Commutation Act 1838 killed the tithe agitation. It reduced tithes by one-fourth. "By merging the tithe in the rent, the fight between the tithe-payer and the proctor was determined."⁴

Murder, Robbery, Rape

Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1799, wrote:

"I put a stop to the burning of houses, and the murder of the inhabitants by the yeomen, or any other persons who delighted in that amusement; to the flogging for the purpose of extorting confession; and to the free quarters which comprehended universal rape and robbery throughout the country."

This was after the failure of the insurrection of 1798. But, as this sort of thing had gone on before the insurrection, the rising of an unarmed people would need no other explanation. It was part of the policy of the British Government to provoke that rising in order to pave the way for the union of the two legislatures in 1800.

1. Special Commission for Tipperary in 1844.
2. & 3. Related by James Dwané, Ballyguirree, Kildorrery, whose father was born and reared on the Ballyhours, not far from Ballyhea.
4. History of Ireland by Sir James O'Connor.

Ballyhoura

A party of British troops from Cork city was on its way to Wexford to suppress the rising there. They proceeded by an old road, now disused, over the Ballyhoura mountains, a little to the north-west of Kilcolman castle. To assist them to draw the cannon up the hill, they seized two horses of a farmer who was ploughing beside the road. The astute farmer ostensibly assented willingly. He helped the troops to drive the horses, whipping them vigorously himself. On reaching the top of the hill, the horses were panting, and sweating. The farmer asked the officer in charge to let him unyoke the horses, and walk them backwards and forwards along a breen adjoining the road. The officer consented. The farmer walked the horses up and down the breen for some time until they were refreshed. Then suddenly jumping on the back of the good animal, he galloped away for all he was worth, and left the worthless old nag to the surprised and bewildered military.[†]

"A Papist Conspiracy"

In 1815, the Protestant curate of Roscrea was Rev. John Hamilton of Fermanagh. He had been for a time a tutor in the family of Birch, wealthy Protestant distillers in Roscrea. Subsequently, he was made a magistrate.

The Monaghan militia, all Protestants, were stationed in the town.

Messrs. Daniel and Stephen Egan, Catholics, were rival distillers in Roscrea.

Hamilton and Halpin, an informer, attached to Major Sirr's forces, dressed up a straw figure in a suit of Mr. Hamilton's clothes, placed it in a sitting position in the parlour with its back to the window. Hamilton gave pistols to Halpin and a confederate named Dyer. The window was left open, and the straw figure was shot in the back.

The sensation caused by the supposed attack on the Minister was magnified into a Papist conspiracy. The Egans were alleged to be implicated in it. They were arrested, and conveyed to Clonmel. On the way, they were urged to escape, when, of course, they would be shot. They refused to make the attempt. They were tried, but the perjured evidence broke down in cross-examination, and they were acquitted.

* * * * *

†. Related by Canon Barrett of Macroom, who was born near the scene of this incident.

Ballyhoura

XIII

AGRARIAN WARFARE

Land Agent Murdered

In 1823, Mr. Franks, an agent of part of the vast Kingston estates, had a farm at Lisnagourneen, between Rockmills and Kildorrery, where he lived with his wife and son, now grown to manhood.

Young Franks wooed a Miss Kearney, heiress of a large farm in the locality. Her father had died a few years before 1823. Her step-sister was married to a Mr. Keeffe, who managed the farm, and looked with jealousy on the suitors of Miss Kearney. Young Franks' father had dealt harshly with defaulting tenants.

In the month of September, 1823, a party of armed men, some with shirts over their clothes - symbol of the Whiteboys - entered Franks' house, shot father and son, and suffocated Mrs. Franks, unintentionally, perhaps. They did not see the servant, Mary Myers, crouched under the table.

Three brothers, Patrick, Maurice, and John Cronin, were arrested, and tried at Cork Spring Assizes in 1824.

Edward Magner, an informer, said he was one of the raiding party. He was wearing a woman's cap and gown. Patrick Cronin wore a shawl and apron. They tied a shawl around Mrs. Franks' face to hinder her shouting. Patrick Cronin flung a jug at the face of Mr. Franks, and Magner fired at him with a pistol loaded with slugs. Young Franks was beaten to death.

Mary Myers corroborated.

The three Cronins were convicted, and executed.

They solemnly protested their innocence.¹

Suspicion still clung to Mr. O'Keefe. He was arrested, and, with a man named Thomas Burke, was tried at the Autumn Assizes for Co. Cork in August, 1825.

An informer, named Timothy Murphy, identified Thomas Burke as one of the gang that committed the murder, but he did not recognise Keeffe. In cross-examination by Daniel O'Connell, Murphy had to admit participation in so many crimes that Baron Penryfather said, "It is unnecessary to question him further".

A man named Clover identified Keeffe as one of those present at the murder. In cross-examination, he said he was employed by Franks, knew of the intended crime for several days before its perpetration, and gave no warning to his master. Edward Magner

1. The Munster Circuit.

gave evidence, and admitted his connection with the Whiteboys.

Mary Myers also identified Keeffe, but, in cross-examination by O'Connell, admitted she had stated on two occasions that she did not see Keeffe that night.

Respectable witnesses gave evidence of the excellent character of Keeffe and Burke, and the jury acquitted them.¹

The Doneraile Conspiracy

An Extraordinary Drama

The county seats of Lord Doneraile, MacCarthy-Morrrough, Stawell, Hill, Creagh, Norcott, Evans, and Harold Barry, were in the parish of Doneraile. In 1829, a conspiracy was alleged to exist in the parish to assassinate Admiral Evans of Oldtown, Mr. George Bond Low, Baronial High Constable, and Mr. Michael Creagh, High Sheriff, of Creagh Castle.

Dr. Norcott of Park House, Doneraile, and his daughter, were returning one night from a party at Oldtown when shots were fired at his carriage, wounding the coachman and footman on the box, and sending pellets through the carriage.

An information was laid by Patrick Daly, an informer. Several persons were arrested.

According to Daly, he was in a public house of Denis Duane of Doneraile with Daniel Keeffe of Ballynere, Darby Morrison of Wallstown, Richard Griffin of Wallstown, and John Wagner, son-in-law to William Finn of Doneraile. Daniel Keeffe asked John Wagner to lend him a gun.

"For what purpose? Is it fowling?"

"Suppose so," said Keeffe.

"A bad shot you are," said Wagner.

"Better than you," said Keeffe, "for the last bird you fired at, you missed."

"What bird do you mean," asked Morrison.

"George Bond Low", said Wagner.

"I do not deny that I fired at him and missed, but I have another charge ready for him. If I cannot get the opportunity, others will. There is not a man of ours in Wallstown and Droumdeer that will not be ready to shoot him. You ought all to join in it. And Daniel Keeffe, you may get the gun from John Keeffe that we took from Mr. Fennell."

¹. The Munster Circuit.

Ballyhoura

On March 5th, Daly was in the house of Thomas Desmond, farmer, of Milltown, whom he knew to be a captain of the Whiteboys. Desmond told him there were many pikes made by Patrick Regan of Newtown and John Hare of Cooline. They were given to Cornelius Brosnahan of Ardglass, a farmer, and to Daniel Corkery of Shandrum, another farmer, and to himself. They had been distributed to trusty friends.

On March 10th, Daly said he was on the farm of Cornelius Garvin of Knockanaar, near Buttevant, and met William Nolan, who told him that Edward Howell of Rathclare, in the Buttevant electoral division, Edward McGrath of Sag, and himself, had taken Mr. Coote's double-barrelled gun from the barn at Knockanaar.

Over twenty men had been taken into custody, and of these, four were put forward for trial at the Cork Summer Assizes in 1829. Their names were Leary, Shine, Roche, and McGrath.

John Leary was about 70 years of age. He was a tenant of Mr. Creagh, father of the High Sheriff, and had paid Two Hundred and Twenty Pounds a year rent for over 20 years. He was highly esteemed by his landlord. William Shine was a tenant of Capt. Creagh, on whose land he lived. McGrath was brother to a man hanged at the previous Cork Assizes for shooting at George Bond Low. Roche was a farm labourer of doubtful character. It was considered unfair at the time to put a man of O'Leary's character on trial with the others.

The witnesses for the prosecution -- David Sheehan, Patrick Nowlan, Patrick Daly, Owen Daly, and Thomas Murphy -- were all accomplices or spies. They swore that "Leary was the captain, the leading conspirator, and that, in a tent at the fair of Rathclare, near Buttevant, he produced a paper for signature by all who consented to the murder of Admiral Evans, George Bond Low, and Mr. Creagh, and agreed to shoot the three."

Mr. Low's steward said he was warned not to go to the fair of Kildorrery with his master. He urged his master not to go. Yet he went. At the fair, he was fired at, but escaped unhurt.

For the defence, Harold Barry of Ballyvonare, Garrett Nagle of Ballinamona Castle, Very Rev. Dr. O'Brien P.P. of Doneraile, and Lieutenant Coote, and Arthur Creagh, landlord of Leary, gave evidence discrediting the witnesses for the prosecution. Harold Barry said he did not believe David Sheehan and Patrick Daly entitled to credit on their oaths. Charles Daly said his brother, "Patrick asked me to join him in plotting to convict the prisoners." Mr. Creagh said he did not believe "Leary had hand, act, or part, in the conspiracy to murder my son".

Yet the whole four were convicted, and sentenced to death.

"There is no justice for us, only vengeance", said one of the prisoners.¹

1. The Munster Circuit.

The Liberator

The relatives of the untried men were seized with terror. They knew there was only one resource between the remaining men and the halter. That was the skill and legal acumen of Daniel O'Connell. Fortunately, he was at Derrynane in Co. Kerry. But that was ninety miles from Cork city.

As next day was Saturday, the Court adjourned until Monday the trial of the other prisoners.

A farmer named William Burke, brother of one of the prisoners, rode to Derrynane for O'Connell. He left Cork at 5 p.m. on Saturday, and, heedless of night, of rain, of wind, and lonely road, he sped on, reaching Derrynane on Sunday morning.

When he arrived, O'Connell was at breakfast. Looking from the window, O'Connell saw the foam-flecked steaming horse, with drooping head and heaving chest. The rider was admitted immediately to O'Connell's library.

"I left Cork last evening at 5 o'clock, and rode ninety miles to see you, Counsellor. The friends of the prisoners yet untried for the Doneraile conspiracy sent me for you. If you don't undertake their defence, Doherty will hang them all. There's a hundred guineas for you. If you come, they'll be safe; if not, they'll all be hanged."

O'Connell accepted the retainer, and promised to start for Cork at once. Burke was induced to take food, and rest his horse. Then he returned, and reached Cork before O'Connell.

"What news, William?" The words came from a hundred throats.

"O'Connell will be here in an hour".

A shout of joy rent the air. It reverberated through George's Street, where the courthouse was situated, and echoed through St. Patrick St., Grand Parade, and the South Mall. It penetrated the prison walls, and awoke hope in the breasts of the prisoners.

Edward Connors of Glenanaar, a well-dressed, respectable farmer of herculean build, and three other decent looking men, named Barrett, Wallis, and Lynch, were placed in the dock, and their trial commenced shortly after 9 a.m. on October 26th, 1829. Baron Pennefather and Judge Torrens refused to postpone the trial for the advent of O'Connell. Mr. McCarthy, counsel for the prisoners, tried delaying tactics. "It is the business of the Court to defeat artifice", said Judge Torrens.

While the Solicitor General was stating the case for the prosecution, vociferous cheering announced the arrival of O'Connell. The Liberator bowed to the judges, and asked to be allowed some breakfast in Court. "Most certainly", said their lordships. Eating sandwiches, and drinking milk, O'Connell listened to the Crown Prosecutor. "That's not law", he interjected when he heard a legal point incorrectly stated. The Court ruled with O'Connell. The Solicitor General then quoted an Act of Parliament. "That Act has expired" said O'Connell. He cowed the Solicitor General.

Ballyhaura

When David Sheehan and Patrick Daly had given evidence, O'Connell elicited the fact that they had been constantly together in Dublin before the trial. The inference was that they had been in collaboration, and, by suggestion, coached in what to say. The contradictions and discrepancies in their statements were established. "It's little I thought, Mr. O'Connell, I'd be answering you to-day", blurted out Daly. "I never saw such drilling of witnesses in all my life," said O'Connell.

One of the jurors said "some of his brother jurors would not believe a single word sworn by Sheehan, Nowlan or the Dalys". Yet on their oaths four men had been convicted.

Barrett was acquitted, and the jury disagreed as to the three others. Their re-trial was postponed.

A witness for the defence named Keerin was taken away by a policeman before the trial, and was not produced. Another witness named Daniel Keeffe had also disappeared.

On the following Thursday four men were put on their trial.

They were John Burke, John Shine, Edmund Connors and Murphy. Shine's brother, William, had been already convicted, and sentenced. Edmund Connors was from Glenanuar.

During the trial Baron Pennefather sent for the depositions made before the magistrate by Patrick Daly. It had been withheld by the Crown. The judge gave it to O'Connell. It did not contain a word about the assassinations to which Daly had sworn at the trial.

The jury brought in a verdict of not guilty.

The Crown did not proceed further with the trials then. The sentences of death on Leary, William Shine, Roche, and McGrath were changed to transportation for life.

At the Spring Assizes of 1830, Connors, Wallis, and Lynch were again tried. Lynch was convicted and hanged. The others were acquitted.¹

Barrister and Magistrate

On August 29th, 1829, Mr. Croke, a barrister, appeared for the defence in a civil proceeding at Bruff Petty Sessions Court. When the case was called, he said "I appear as Counsel."

"It is a rule of the Court that Counsel shall not be heard", said Darby O'Grady, the presiding magistrate.

"It is a rule which may be departed from," said Mr. Croke.
1. The Munster Circuit.

"We have made the rule, and shall not depart from it," said Mr. O'Grady.

"I think it is unconstitutional," said Mr. Croke.

"What signifies to us what you think?" said O'Grady.

"What I think is of as much importance as what the magistrates think", said Croke.

"Take the Counsellor, and put him in the dock", said O'Grady.

That was done. To secure his release he had to apologise.

The Bar Council brought the matter before the Lord Chancellor. The Lord Chancellor wrote to O'Grady. O'Grady, in reply, said Mr. Croke had been guilty of a "very violent riot in the Court, such as had rendered absolutely necessary the harsh measures which were adopted towards him."

That letter was sent by the Lord Chancellor to the Bar Council.

Mr. Croke brought an action for libel against Mr. O'Grady, for the statements in the letter. The jury awarded him Five Hundred Pounds.

Soon afterwards, Mr. Croke was appointed Solicitor General for New South Wales.

His nephew became the famous Dr. Croke, Archbishop of Cashel.¹

Faction Fights

Faction fights at fairs had become of rather common occurrence in the early half of the nineteenth century. They were a symbol of destruction of national consciousness.

When the police arrived to quell the riots, they were set upon by both sides. The police, on occasion, fired on the rioters, and there were casualties.

A riot which occurred at Borrisokane on June 26th 1829 was one of the most serious of the kind. Three or four were killed, and several wounded.

"I saw a fight among the common people", said a witness at the ensuing Clonmel Assizes.² "There were from fifteen to twenty sticks up on each side.....The friends of the parties interfered, and separated them".

Four mounted horse policemen cantered up the street. One was knocked off his horse with a stone. The three others rode on, but returned, and rescued their comrade.

"I came to see the fun; I would not go home until I had seen the fun," said another witness.

1. The Munster Circuit.

2. A Report of Seven Trials at Clonmel Assizes 1829.

Ballyhoura

Intimation of the riot was conveyed to Capt. Robbyn, a magistrate, formerly in the police. He brought a number of armed foot police. He read the Riot Act, and then, as the riot continued, he ordered the police to fire. They did so, with fatal results.

Constable Robert St Leger, who was a considerable distance from the place where the Riot Act was read, was seen to shoot a man named Denis Whelan, then in a yard adjoining the street. Whether the shooting took place before or after the reading of the Riot Act was not clear. He was charged with the murder of Whelan, and acquitted.

Constable John Hodgins was charged with the murder of Thomas Smith on the same day. During the rioting, he discharged his musket into a gateway, and, returning, said "I have left one Papist low." He was acquitted.

Constable Richard Dalton was charged with shooting at John Dalton on the same occasion with intent to murder him.

Dalton said that, on the street of Borrisokane, accused asked him, "Are you a Catholic, or a Protestant?" "A Catholic," replied Dalton. "I will have your life", said Dalton. A Mrs Mossop came to his assistance, and the policeman stabbed her in the breast. The policeman fired a shot, and the bullet whizzed past Dalton.

Constable Bokes said accused had been knocked down with a stone, and was bleeding. Before the shot was fired, Dalton had gone in the direction of the crowd who were throwing stones.

By direction of the judge, accused was acquitted.

On the evening of the riots, on June 26th, John Ledger was alleged to have fired two shots out of his house, and wounded Michael Fell and Patrick Mara. Mara was going home from the fair with a cow.

Ledger was tried for attempted murder.

Winifred Macnamara said, as she was passing Ledger's door, his wife caught the gun in his hand, and said "John, don't fire". "Begone", said he. "I will not be prevented by you. I will spill Papishes' blood".

For the defence, it was alleged that a mob attacked, and threw stones at prisoner's house.

The jury acquitted the accused.

Two days after the fair, as the funeral of Thomas Smith, who had been killed during the riots, was passing the house of John Ledger, shots were fired from it, and four men were killed.

Ledger and his companions, George Lambert, Robert Lambert, and Samuel Read, were charged with the murder.

"How many did you kill, Ledger?", asked Capt. Dobbyn, the magistrate.

"As many as I could" said Ledger.

"Blood and 'ounds," said Daniel Houlahan, who overheard the conversation. "Look at the gentleman winking at the murderer."

For the defence, it was alleged that, after the riots, Ledger was a marked man, and that, on the occasion of the funeral, an attack with stones was made on his house, and an attempt made to burn it.

The prisoners were acquitted.¹

Land Hunger Tragedies

A teeming population, the best land in the possession of alien owners, and their privileged Protestant supporters, who manned the yeomanry, the masses of the people eking out an existence on the poorer soil and paying exorbitant rents, which, in bad seasons, were beyond their means, and then being evicted from their holdings, and thrown on the roadside, for non-payment, constituted a problem which provoked the lowest passions of the down-trodden.

At Bunkey, between Limerick and Newport, Michael Kelly held nine acres of a farm of twelve acres, the remaining three being in the possession of William Ryan. Ryan's rent being in arrear, the landlord, Briggs, evicted him, and gave the three acres to Michael Kelly who had paid his rent regularly. Immediately there was intense enmity between the two families.

On Sept. 17th, 1847, Michael Kelly was fired at and wounded by William Ryan, and, on Sept. 22nd, John Kelly, brother of Michael, was shot dead in his own house at Knocksentry. Ryan was tried, convicted, and executed.

William Frewen, a farmer was transported for life for harbouring Ryan after the murder.²

At Duntryleague, a few miles from Galbally, a family named Dea was evicted by the Court of Chancery in May 1847. John Noonan was made tenant of the farm. On the following June, as Noonan and his brother-in-law, Edmund Murphy, were walking on the road at Carrickroche, Andrew and Patrick Dea from behind a fence fired at them. Murphy fell dead. Noonan returned the fire, and the Deas fled.

Andrew Dea was arrested in Liverpool, when about to sail for America. He was tried, convicted and executed. Patrick Dea was arrested, and sentenced to transportation.³

1. A report of Seven Trials at Clonmel Summer Assizes of 1829,

2. & 3. Limerick Special Commission Cases.

Ballyhoura

Private Vengeance

Raids for arms and money for the Whiteboys were frequent. After a time, they developed into acts of personal spite, and vindictiveness arising out of local disputes. When so inspired, they were accompanied by acts of brutality.

At Adamstown, otherwise known as Ballydaly, three miles from Bruff, lived John McEniry. On an adjoining holding, John Renehan resided. There had been Court proceedings between them, arising out of an assault by Renehan on McEniry's workman, when he went for cattle that had been trespassing on Renehan's land.

On the night of Sunday, October 3rd, 1847, shortly after the hearing in Court, a party of armed men went to McEniry's house, and demanded arms. He fired a shot to frighten the raiders. Shots were fired into the house. The raiders broke in. McEniry hid under a tick. His wife threw them a pistol. They demanded money. She gave them 8/-. They said it was not enough. She borrowed 14/- from the workman and gave it. Still they were not satisfied. She got 20/- out of a box, and gave it to them. They found McEniry in a further search, dragged him out, and shot him. He died soon after.

For aiding and abetting the murder, John Renehan was tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged.¹

An armed party attacked the house of John Noonan of Ballygruile, Co. Limerick. He had no money to give, and was warned to have it on the following Monday. He told the police. On Monday, November 29th, 1847, the raiders arrived. The police were already secreted in the house. Fire was opened. A man named John Walsh was shot dead. A policeman was wounded. Denis Ryan was captured, tried, and pleaded guilty to an assault on the house, and was transported for life.²

A Girl's Ordeal

Catherine Moloney was a girl of 18, or 19 years. She resided with her father and mother and brother, and an elder sister, at Lisnamuck, within five miles of Rathkeale. Her father, Roger Moloney, in addition to being a prosperous farmer, was a salesmaster of timber at Curraghekase. Her brother-in-law had beaten a bailiff named Coghlan, and had then escaped to America.

On November 14th, 1847, a number of armed men broke into the house at night. Roger Moloney and his son, believing the raiders were after them, concealed themselves over the ceiling. The raiders broke into the bedroom occupied by the two girls, and seized the younger one by the hair. They dragged her out. She held to her sister's night-dress, and brought it with her. She caught the bannisters as they pulled her downstairs. They broke. She threw a frock over her shoulders. They drew her after them over the rough road. Her bare feet were lacerated.

1 & 2. Limerick Special Commission Cases.

Michael Looney, uncle of Coghlan, the bailiff, out of pity for her, lifted her on his shoulders. They took her to the house of Mr. Creagh of Kilgrogan, a mile and a half from her father's house, and left her there. She returned home next day. Looney was sober, but the others were under the influence of drink.

For this offence, Daniel Looney, Michael Madigan, Jerh. Garvan, Thomas Frawley, and Patrick Gleeson, were transported for fourteen years. On account of his humanity towards the girl, Michael Looney got off with twelve months imprisonment.¹

On the evening of December 13th, 1847, a man fired a shot into the house of Michael McCarthy of Killonahan, midway between Patrickswell and Croom. McCarthy was land bailiff to Wm Morris Lee. His daughter, Bridget, was standing near the door when the shot was fired. She ran out, and caught the raider by the neck, bringing him to the ground. The others in the house came out, and bound the raider with the ropes, until the police arrived.

Under the name of Thomas Hickey, the raider was sentenced to two years imprisonment.

Raiders Routed

A successful defence against a party of at least eight armed raiders was made by two brothers William Staunton and Thomas Staunton, and their families, who lived in two houses which were almost in the same yard, at Glenacurra, about five or six miles from Galbally.

At dusk, on Sunday evening, July 4th, 1847, a party of armed men came to the house of William Staunton. John Staunton, a son of Thomas, happening to go out into the yard, saw them. He seized the guns of two of the raiders, and held them until his brother Denis came to his assistance. Denis wrenched one of the guns away, and struck one of the attackers with it. John pursued the other, and struck him on the back with a stone. Returning he went to the aid of his father, who was in grips with another man. William Staunton was knocked on the ground by a raider, who then sat on him. Thomas Staunton seized a pike to relieve William. He was struck with a gun, and the pike fell from him. He seized his assailant by the neck, and knocked him down. Another man with a gun rushed at him, and they struggled for half an hour. The raider snapped the pistol at him, and Staunton ran. But, seeing his sons, John and Denis, fighting with the men in the yard, he returned, and felled one of the attackers. One of his sons, with a stone, stunned another of them. They held that man, and the others soon after departed.

When they had gone, Mrs. Catherine Staunton found the box in her room broken, and the money gone from it. But she found the Eight Pounds it contained on the floor of the room. It had been dropped in the excitement of the struggle outside.

For this adventure, Patrick Richardson, Maurice Darcy, Michael Kennedy, and John Connery, all of whom the Stauntons identified, were transported for ten years.²

1. & 2. Limerick Special Commission Cases.

Ballyhoura

Land Agent Killed

James Watson was a land agent who resided at Ballycorney, Co. Clare. Within view of his house, there lived a tenant named John Crowe. For rent owed by Crowe, his fourteen cows were distrained by Watson.

"Perhaps the seizing of these cattle will be a dear act for Mr. Watson. He will yet pay for the cattle", said Kelly, a servant of Crowe.

On May 17th, 1847, as Watson was riding along the road, William Ryan with a gun jumped out of a ditch. Watson spurred his horse forward. Patrick Ryan leaped in front of him, and seized the reins, stopping the horse. Watson was thrown off. In falling, he discharged his pistol. The bullet went wide. Watson was badly beaten, William Ryan having broken his gun on him. Watson died.

The stock of the gun was found on the road, and the barrel was later found on Crowe's premises.

Before the murder, one of the Ryans was unable to repay a loan of one shilling and six pence to another man. After the murder, he had Five Pounds in his possession. The Ryans and James Hayes had been seen on the road with a gun a short time before the murder took place.

Patrick Ryan and James Hayes were convicted and sentenced to be hanged for aiding and abetting William Ryan in the murder. William Ryan was executed for another murder.

John Crowe was charged with being an accessory before the fact to the murder.

"God or man would not blame me to kill that ruffian", said he to Garrett Saughnessy, while he was awaiting trial in Limerick Jail. Shaughnessy gave evidence of the remark.

Crowe was convicted and sentenced to be hanged.¹

The Famine

Then the Famine came, and intensified the sufferings of the people.

On July 27th, 1846, Father Mathew "passed from Cork to Dublin and this doomed plant (the potato) bloomed in all the luxuriance of an abundant harvest. Returning on 3rd August, I beheld with sorrow one wide waste of putrefying vegetation."²

The famine began in the Autumn of that year.

"Some of the people rushed into the towns; others wandered listlessly along the highways ... They grasped at everything that promised sustenance; they plucked turnips from the fields;

1. Co. Clare Special Commission
2. The Census for Ireland for 1851.

many lived on a single meal of cabbage a day. In some cases, they feasted on the dead bodies of horses, asses and dogs."¹ Nettle-tops, wild mustard and watercress, were sought with desperate eagerness. Seaweed was greedily devoured.² Many died from eating diseased potatoes."³

While the people were dying, corn was being exported from Ireland. Indian corn was imported. Bought for Nine Pounds, or Ten Pounds a ton, it was selling for Seventeen Pounds, Five shillings in Cork. In the shape of meal, it was Eighteen Pounds, Ten Shillings to Nineteen Pounds a ton in Limerick. One firm in Cork was said to have cleared Forty Thousand Pounds, and another, Eighty Thousand from speculation. Retail shops were so few and far between for the sale of corn that the labourer on public works had to walk twenty miles in order to buy a single stone of meal.⁴

Reproductive work was forbidden in the British Government's famine relief schemes. Consequently, "roads were made leading to nowhere; hills were dug away and filled up again"⁵ The farmers, leaving their fields untilled, flocked to the public works, "because the public work was no work, but a farcial excuse for getting a day's wages".⁶ "The means taken to meet the famine of 1846 proved the precursors and preparers of the famine of 1847".⁷

Then a plague fell. It was known as the "road fever". It swept away the well-fed as well as the hungry. "Without food or fuel, bed or bedding, whole families are shut up in hovels, dropping one by one into the arms of death!"⁸ Food was pushed into the hovels on shovels, fear of the plague deterring entry.

The prison was regarded as a refuge. Smaller offences were committed to gain admission.⁹ Sheep-stealing was a means adopted to secure the blessing of transportation beyond the seas. Botany Bay was transformed from an Inferno into a Paradise of sufficient food, and fine future.¹⁰

The prisons were soon crowded. "Fever and dysentery are prevalent among the prisoners, and some die before they can be brought to hospital, which is filled with the sick and dying. Clad in miserable rags, crowded together during the day, and heaped together during the night, contagious disease has taken root within the prison walls."¹¹

In 1847, the Irish Relief Act, familiarly known as the Soup Kitchen Act, was passed. While that Act was being administered, deaths from starvation practically ceased.

1. The Parnell Movement. 2. Census Commissioners. 3. Ditto.
4. The Parnell Movement. 5. The Parnell Movement. 6. The
Fitzgibbons History. 7. The Parnell Movement. 8. Cork
Examiner, quoted by Census Commissioners. 9. Report of Inspectors
General of Prisons. 10. The Parnell Movement. 11. Inspector
General's Report.

Ballyhoura

Landlords bargained cheaply with rapacious shipowners to convey the poor people wholesale out of the country. "Crowded and filthy, carrying double the legal number of passengers, who were ill-fed, and imperfectly clothed, and having no doctor on board, the holds were like the Black Hole of Calcutta, and deaths were in myriads."¹

"The lands have been literally swept for rent....Rent has seldom or ever been looked for more sharply, and levied more unsparingly, than this year" (1849)² "Families are here literally naked, and progressing surely and quickly to the grave by diarrhoea and dropsy."³

"What was going on in the Union of Kilrush was repeated, possibly even exceeded, in many other parts of Ireland".⁴

The Encumbered Estates Acts of 1848 and 1850 were devised to get rid of bankrupt Irish landlords, and substitute English and Scottish landlords for them. The same policy was to be applied to the tenants. "Remove Irishmen to the banks of the Ganges, or the Indus ... and they would be far more in their element there than in a country to which an inexorable fate has confined them".⁵

The ruling caste in England, and the Irish landlords, were united in the policy of the extermination of the Irish peasant, so far as it could be accomplished. O'Connell having died in 1847, the political party which succeeded him sought well-paid Government positions for themselves, and did nothing to save the people.

In desperation a few earnest men, notably William Smith O'Brien, whose brother subsequently became Lord Inchiquin; John Blake Dillon, Charles Gavan Duffy, and D'Arcy McGee, determined on the expedient of insurrection.

Ballingarry

The insurrection of 1848, led by William Smith O'Brien, culminated, and collapsed, at Ballingarry, in Co. Limerick.

The brief fight which took place there was described by Sub-inspector Thomas Trant of Callan at Clonmel Special Commission, at which the insurgent leaders were tried.⁶

It had been reported that Smith O'Brien and other prominent associates with a large force of men, had proceeded from Mullinahone in the direction of Ballingarry. Sub-Inspector Trant was ordered to proceed there with forty-six policemen. He reached the Commons, near the village, on July 29th, 1848. There he saw a crowd of people whose numbers he estimated at 3,000. He did not attack them, but he marched his men towards the slate house of Widow McCormick, situated on a slope about a mile away.

1. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy in Four Years of Irish History.
2. & 3. Blue Book of Returns relating to Evictions in Kilrush Union.
4. The Parnell Movement. 5. The Times of February 22nd, 1847.
6. Report of State Trials 1848 to 1850.

The crowds followed him, running, and were outflanking him when he reached the house. He entered, and barricaded it. He placed his men guarding the door and windows. He was upstairs, and saw that the house was surrounded.

"Tell Mr. Trant that Mr. O'Brien is below", said a voice from outside.

He went down, but Mr. O'Brien had gone.

"A proposal has been made", said his men.

The proposal was that the police were to surrender their arms and they would be allowed to go free. It was rejected.

Mr. O'Brien had been under the impression that, when called on to do so, the police would lay down their arms, or hand them over to the insurgents. Consequently, until then, he would not allow the insurgents to fire on the police, or attack them. He was disillusioned at Ballingarry. He gave the order for attack.

There was a crash of stones and shots from without. The police returned the fire. The insurgents were behind a wall. Perhaps a hundred shots were fired at the house. The Sub-Inspector's party fired about 230 rounds. In less than three quarters of an hour the firing ceased.

Sub-Inspector Cox and twenty-two policemen arrived from Cashel. They attacked, and dispersed, the insurgents.

Smith O'Brien was convicted at Clonmel, and sentenced to death. The sentence was afterwards commuted to transportation to Van Diemen's Land.

Thomas Francis Meagher, and Terrence Bellew McManus, who were with Smith O'Brien at Ballingarry, were sentenced to be hanged and quartered, but the sentences were also changed to transportation for life to the same place.

Fenianism

John F. Meagher, John Mitchell, MacManus, John Martin and others, who had been in the insurrectionary movement, were transported to Van Diemen's Land, now Tasmania, in 1848, escaped from there to America. James Stephens, who had been with Smith O'Brien at Ballingarry, succeeded in reaching America also. These men inspired the Irish in America with fresh hope.

In 1858, Stephens visited Skibbereen, and enrolled Jeremiah O'Donovan of Rosscarbery, afterwards known as O'Donovan Rossa, in the Fenian Brotherhood. The movement spread, and, in 1865, there were 15,000 Irishmen in the British army sworn into the Fenian ranks.

John O'Leary, James Stephens and O'Donovan Rossa, were arrested. Stephens escaped from Richmond Jail. O'Leary and O'Donovan Rossa were sent to penal servitude.

Fenianism did not eventuate in an insurrection, but its intensity led to the disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and the abolition of tithes.

The Home Rule movement, which originated in 1870, attracted the adhesion of Charles Stuart Parnell. But Fenianism was the force that set his thoughts "irrevocably in favour of nationalist principles."¹ Many of the Fenian refugees found shelter and protection in the house of Mrs. Parnell, and were enabled to escape. The executions, in 1867, of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien in Manchester for the rescue of Colonel Kelly and Capt. Deasy, two leaders of the Fenian Brotherhood, was "the turning point in the mental history of Mr. Parnell."²

Three against an Empire

In March, 1867, the Fenians of Munster were unaware that General Massey, who was to have led them in an armed, or rather practically unarmed, rising against British rule, had been arrested as he was coming from Dublin to do so. They assembled at the several venues previously arranged, but, in the absence of orders, practically nothing was done.

However, at Castlemartyr, an attack was made on a police barrack on March 5th. One Fenian was shot dead, and the attack failed.

O'Neill-Crowley, and some of those who took part in the attack, marched towards Limerick Junction in the hope of falling in with the main body of insurgents. When they reached the boundary of Co. Limerick, they must have learned the real state of affairs. The Rising had collapsed, and they were in the position of outlaws.

With O'Neill-Crowley were Capt. John McClure, who had seen service with the American army, and John Edward Kelly, a Kinsale man, who had also been in America.³

They sought shelter in Kilclooney Wood, which was then a small plantation of fifteen acres, about a mile west of Sraherla, which is in the Kildorrery parish, but on the Co. Limerick boundary.

O'Neill-Crowley was sent to Cork, disguised as a carman, to learn news of other districts. During his absence, intimation was received that the military from Mitchelstown were coming to surround the wood. The bulk of the Fenians who had come to support O'Neill-Crowley and his comrades, were practically unarmed. McClure and Kelly did not want them mown down, and ordered them to disperse. Knowing that O'Neill-Crowley, on returning from Cork, would seek the shelter of the wood, McClure and Kelly remained there in order to warn him. He arrived as early as he was expected.

1. & 2. The Parnell Movement. 3. Philip O'Neill of Kinsale.

In the early morning the wood was surrounded on all sides. The troops availed of every road converging on it.

The wood was in a valley, through which flows the Ounagaorah. The land slopes upward, rather steeply, from the river to hills that are several hundred feet higher than the site of the wood.

Firing opened. The three insurgents returned the fire of the military. The muzzle-loaders of that time did not permit of rapid fire. The soldiers crept nearer. At length O'Neill-Crowley was fatally wounded, and the military, creeping on them from behind, seized McClure and Kelly.

The officer in charge of the military, recognising a brave man in the fallen foe, asked Crowley if he desired anything. "A priest", replied Crowley. To Father O'Connell of Marshalstown, a couple of miles distant, a messenger was sent. The priest came, and gave the dying patriot the consolations of his religion. Crowley died on the way to Mitchelstown Hospital.

McClure and Kelly were taken to Cork. They were tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The sentences were commuted to penal servitude. They were transported to Western Australia. After a few years, Kelly's health gave way, and he was released in March, 1871. He died in Boston in 1884.

The fight at Kilclooney Wood captured the imagination of the people to a greater degree than much more important episodes. A ballad composed soon afterwards has been sung ever since in the districts around at social gatherings. As true history is said to be enshrined in those ballads, it may be given here.

It being on Sunday morning between 4 and 5 o'clock,
The soldiers and the peelers round Kilclooney Wood did flock
With vengeance on their countenance, their orders were severe
Informer's information that quickly brought them here.

Crowley stood inside the wood, and to McClure did say:
"May God direct us for the best, we have to fight out way"
"We are but three in number: on me you may rely
"We're true United Irishmen. We'll fight until we die".

The shots came from the soldiers in every degree,
And Crowley and his comrades retired from tree to tree.
But as they were going all along, they knew their chance was small
And Crowley's finger was shot off, all by a musket ball.

He went down by the riverside in an agony of pain.
The soldiers followed after him. He fired on them again.
He killed and wounded 18 of them, never missing his mark,
Till he received a fatal ball which pierced him through the heart.

There on the river bank he lay, and for a priest did call.
His dying words were "Pray for me, and God be with you all".
In Ballymacoda chapel yard his remains were gently laid.
"May God have mercy on his soul," have all true people prayed.²

1. Philip O'Neil, Kinsale. 2. This ballad was recited for the writer by Mr. Walsh of Kilclooney.

Ballyhoura

Eviction Barricade

In 1868, the improvident owner of Ballycohey, Co. Tipperary, sold the estate to William Scully. The new owner promptly raised the rents on the tenants. When they were unable to pay, he evicted them. One of the tenants, named Michael Dwyer, did not tamely submit to eviction. He barricaded his house, and, when Scully and the police came to take possession, he opened fire on them. They returned the fire. A policeman, and Scully's steward, received fatal injuries. O'Dwyer was wounded in the head. In the confusion, the small garrison escaped from the house. Eventually, they made their way to America.¹ The sturdy defender of his home subsequently returned to his native land.

One Man Beats Five Policemen

About 1860, there lived in Kilconnors, some four miles east of Doneraile a man named Edmund Connors. He was over six feet in height, and of powerful physique. He was the youngest of a large family, and the only one then at home. The others had gone to America. His aged mother was the only one living in the house with him.

One Sunday, after Mass in Doneraile, he had been in a public house with Richard Lillis of Doneraile. Having drunk a couple of pints of porter, both walked down the town together, Connors being on his way home. At the bridge over the Awbeg, which flows by the bottom of the town, they met a young policeman.

"You're drunk," said he to Connors.

"I am not", said Connors.

"You are", said the policeman.

"I am not", repeated Connors.

"You are", said the policeman, "and I'll arrest you".

"Don't do that" said Connors, for there's no one at home with my mother, and she'd lose her life if I didn't go home to her".

"I don't care", said the policeman. "You'll have to come with me to the barrack".

"I can't" said Connors. "I must go home to my mother."

"You'll have to come with me," said the policeman.

"Well, I won't"

1. The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland (Michael Davitt).

The policeman blew his whistle, and four other policemen came running from the barrack towards him. They ran, not together, but one after the other. As they got near, Connors caught the policeman beside him, and threw him on the road, which was wet and dirty. Then he seized the first policeman to arrive, and threw him on top of the one on the ground. He did the same thing to each policeman as he approached. And as each man got up off the ground separately, he threw that man down again. So that he had only one man to deal with at any one time. At last the police asked him to desist, and they would let him go home. He desisted, and the police returned to the barrack.

Connors was summoned to court. Richard Lillis went to Garrett Nagle, a magistrate of great influence, who lived at Ballinamona, and told him what had happened. Garrett Nagle attended the Court, and instead of getting Connors convicted, he got him acquitted, and threatened the police that "the jackets should be taken off them".¹

Land Agent Wounded

The Earls of Kingston were the descendants of the Fitzgibbon, the White Knight, who took the Earl of Desmond from the cave of Slievegort, and surrendered him to Sir Walter Raleigh, receiving One Thousand Pounds reward for that service.

The hospitality of the Kingstons, the expenses of contested elections, and their social rivalry with wealthy English peers, led them to ruin. They mortgaged their property to the extent of Four Hundred Thousand Pounds. Their estates in Cork, Limerick, and Tipperary, were quickly diminished in area.

A large slice of this heavily mortgaged property, from Kilbehenny in Co. Limerick, to Araglin, in Co. Cork, was sold to an English manufacturer of Staleybridge. He raised the rents, and put his agent into Galtee Castle to collect them.

One of the tenants, Patrick Ryan, was unable to pay the increased rent, and was evicted. Soon after, the agent was fired at from the shrubbery. The distance saved him from injury. He discharged his revolver at the bushes. A little later, he saw Ryan crossing a field. The police searched for Ryan, and failed to find him. At length, he got away in a fishing smack from Kinsale.

His wife and children were ejected from the shanty put against a fence to shelter them.

The agent erected an iron house near Galtee Castle, and it was occupied by four armed police to protect him.

On March 30th, 1876, the agent went to Mitchelstown to collect the rents. He was returning to Galtee Castle that evening about 5 p.m. He was on an outside car. With him on one side, sat Constable Nugent, while on the other side of the car, sat another constable, the steward and a bailiff. All of them were armed.

At Garryleigh, between Kilbehenny and Mitchelstown, a shower of slugs and shot rattled on the vehicle. John Hyland, the coachman, fell dead. Five slugs hit the agent in the legs, arms, and face.

1. Related by Richard Lillis, Doneraile.

Ballyhoura

Constable Nugent's tunic was torn, and his shoulder and knee wounded.

Nugent closed with the man who fired. The second constable fired at another man, but he escaped. A third man fired at the constable but missed. He also escaped.

The man seized by Constable Nugent was Thomas Crowe, a native of Tipperary. He was tried at Cork Summer Assizes in 1876, convicted, and hanged.¹

The Land League

Famine was again threatened in 1879. At a meeting in Dublin in that year, inspired by a desire to avert, or at least mitigate, the impending distress, the Land League was formed.

At Westport, Mr. Parnell told the people "You must show the landlords that you intend to hold a firm grip of your homesteads and land".² The English plan of meeting the distress³ was to give the landlords over a million pounds to be used by them in giving employment to their tenants, and thus ward off impending famine. It was really a bribe to stay evictions. Yet over 10,000 evictions took place.

At Ennis in 1880, Mr. Parnell advised the people not to bid for farms from which others had been evicted. "What are you to do to a tenant who bids for a farm from which another tenant has been evicted?" he asked. "Shoot him", said several voices. "A very much better way, a more Christian and charitable way" is....."by isolating him from the rest of his country as if he were the leper of old."⁴ Henceforward, the boycotting of the offender, who was nicknamed the "grabber", became the most potent weapon of the Land League.

By these means in Ireland, and by his unbribable independence of British parties in Parliament, and his undeviating and adamant fidelity to his country, Parnell focussed the attention of England and the world on the Irish question.

The British tried coercion to break the spirit of the people. They arrested Parnell in October, 1880, and lodged him in Kilmainham Gaol.

Coercion in Operation

Mr. Clifford Lloyd was sent to Kilmallock in 1881 to enforce the coercion regime in that area. On the first day of his arrival, he ordered people who were talking in groups in the street to disperse. As they did not immediately obey, he struck them violently with his cane. He ordered the police to attack a band

1. The Munster Circuit. 2. Freeman's Journal, June 8th, 1879.
3. The Relief of Distress Act. 4. Freeman's Journal, Sept 20th, 1880.

playing through the streets.

Soon after, he directed the police to disperse some women standing on the sidewalks. As women will, they told the police what they thought of them. They were brought to Court, charged with insulting language. The charge was laughed at, and the ladies were discharged.

Later, however, the war on women became serious. Several of them were sent to varying terms of imprisonment by Clifford Lloyd and other magistrates. In 1882, a woman was reading "United Ireland" in a shop in Waterford, and a policeman knocked her down, and searched her in an indecent manner.¹ In Cappamore, Co. Limerick, a policeman, with a bayonet, wounded a girl of 12 years, named Burke, because she was singing "Harvey Duff".²

In 1881, Clifford Lloyd was sent to Clare. There a man was killed by the police while they were protecting a process-server. In April, a policeman and two farmers were killed. Police, assisting in the collection of poor rate on the estate of a Mr. Blake, fired into the people, and killed a young girl and a feeble old woman.

"The period of increased crime was the period of Mr. Clifford Lloyd's appearance in Co. Clare".³

There were 17,341 tenants evicted in 1881. These were largely the results of arrears of rent which had accumulated in 1878 and 1879.⁴

"Remember Mitchelstown"

Conditions in Ireland were far worse under coercion than before it was applied. Hence, the Gladstone Government of England was forced to negotiate with Parnell in Kilmainham, and accept his terms of abolishing coercion, which was causing the turmoil, and settling the question of arrears, which was causing the evictions.

Parnell, released, was omnipotent. But the assassinations in May, 1882, of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, in the Phoenix Park, rendered Parnell impotent, and retarded the beneficent progress of remedial legislative reform. Years of coercion followed.

However, in August, 1881, a Land Act had been passed, which gave to the tenant the right to a fair rent, fixity of tenure and free sale. But the most important provision of the Act was the power conferred on the Land Commission, constituted under the Act to purchase estates, and resell the holdings comprised in them to their respective tenants, advancing three-fourths of the price to the tenants.

In 1885, as Gladstone was about to introduce a new Coercion Bill for Ireland, his Government was defeated in the House of Commons, and a Tory Government came into power. The Tories passed the Ashbourne Act of 1885, which extended the land purchase provisions of the Act of 1881, by enabling the Land Commission to advance to the tenant the whole of the price of the holding, instead of three-fourths of it.

1. & 2. Hansard. 3 & 4. The Parnell Movement.

Ballyhouna

Many holdings were brought under that Act, and a better era seemed dawning.

At the ensuing general election, the Tories, with the Irish Party, had a majority of only four over the Liberals. Defeated on the Queen's Speech in 1886, the Marquis of Salisbury gave place to Mr. Gladstone, and he secured the Irish vote with the promise of a Home Rule Bill. Mr. Gladstone coupled the Home Rule Bill with a Land Purchase Bill to ex-proprietate the Irish landlords, and make proprietors of the tenants. The Liberals split on the Land Purchase Bill. Gladstone went to the country and was defeated.

The Tories, returned to power in 1887, immediately passed a Coercion Act.¹ Under it, they proclaimed a public meeting to be held at Mitchelstown. Balfour, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, sent, in code, to the police a telegram. The telegram, in code, was brought to the "Cork Herald", on which George Mac Sweeney, subsequently Sergeant MacSweeney, K.C., was leader-writer, and Herbert Honahan was sub-editor. Late in the night, George MacSweeney succeeded in de-coding the telegram.² It read "Don't hesitate to shoot".

The meeting was held in Mitchelstown on September 9th, 1887. It was addressed by Mr. Labouchere, M.P. The Police with their notetaker forced their way to the platform to clear a passage, they struck several persons with their batons. The people retaliated with their blackthorns. The police were driven from the Square of Mitchelstown. They retreated to the barracks. From the windows of the barracks they opened fire on the people on the Square.

Michael Lonergan of Galbally was shot dead. John Shinnick of Fermoy, a car owner, who had refused that morning to drive the police to Mitchelstown, and John Casey of Mitchelstown, were fatally wounded. Several others were also wounded, but the wounds did not prove fatal.³

Subsequently, Mr. Gladstone, concluding a notable speech in Parliament on the Home Rule question uttered the warning, "Remember Mitchelstown".

* * * * *

1. 50 & 51 Viet. c.20. 2. Related by Herbert Honahan, who was struck with a baton that day. 3. Cork Examiner of September 9th, 1887.

THE ERA OF ARMS

Rifles Replace Rherotic

In Easter Week, 1916, when the Rising took place in Dublin, no official intimation came to local volunteers as to how they should co-operate. Most of their leaders, in order to be available when instructions came, thought it prudent to sleep away from home.

Thomas Kent, and his brothers, David, Richard, and William, slept at home at Bawnard House, Castlelyons, on the night of May 1st, 1916. Thomas held the rank of Commandant in the Volunteers. Early on the morning of May 2nd, they were awakened by loud knocking on the hall door. Through a window, they saw the house surrounded by police and military.

"What do ye want", said Thomas, dressing himself.

"We are police, and have orders to arrest the whole family", was the reply.

"We are soldiers of the Irish Republic, and there is no surrender", said Thomas.

The police fired a volley at the house. The Kents replied. Head Constable Rowe was shot dead. Other R.I.C. were wounded. The conflict lasted three hours. Military reinforcements arrived. David Kent was wounded in the side, and two fingers were blown off. The Kents exhausted their ammunition, and were obliged to surrender.

Richard Kent, an athlete, in an effort to escape from his captors, was mortally wounded by their fire.

The Kents were lined up against the house, and the R.I.C. levelled their rifles.

"I am in command here", said a military medical officer, "and I take these men as prisoners". He came between the firing party and the prisoners.

David and Richard Kent were taken to Fermoy military hospital where Richard died two days later.

Thomas and William Kent were taken to Cork and court-martialled. William was acquitted, and Thomas was condemned and executed on May 9th by a firing squad.

David Kent was subsequently court-martialled in Dublin, and sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life. He was released on the general amnesty.

He was thrice elected T.D., but never took his seat, as he would not subscribe to the oath then required of members of the Dail.

Ballyhoura

Guerilla Warfare

Guerilla warfare in the south may be said to have opened at Knocklong on May 13th, 1919. A young Tipperary man, named J.J. Hogan, was being conveyed to Cork Gaol by a party of R.I.C. when the police were attacked, and the prisoner rescued from them. Sergeant Wallace and Constable Enright were killed in the fight.

Dan Breen and Soan Treacy, who led the attack, were dangerously wounded, and, as they had to be concealed while they were receiving medical and surgical care, they were removed to Danganbeg, later to Tournafulla, Co. Limerick, and subsequently to Knocknagoshel, Co. Kerry. Both of them recovered.

At Danganbeg, they had been attended by Dr. Edward Hartnett and Mr. Woulfe M.P.S.I. of Abbeyfeale, both of whom were afterwards harassed and annoyed by the Black and Tans.

Ballylanders Barrack captured

Early in April, 1920, the police barrack at Ballylanders, garrisoned by eight R.I.C., was attacked by the I.R.A., under the command of Tom Malone. The attackers entered the houses opposite and the houses adjoining the barrack. They broke through the roof of one of the adjoining houses, and from that roof they made a hole in the roof of the barrack. Through the aperture in the roof of the barrack, they dropped bombs, and at the same time rifle fire was opened on the windows of the barrack from the opposite houses.

The attack lasted one and a half hours, and then the police came out and surrendered. Constables Stafford, Roberts, and Winters, were wounded slightly.¹

One volunteer, John Meade, was shot through the lung, but recovered.² The I.R.A. captured rifles, ammunition, and bombs.

Kilmallock Barrack Burned

The attack on Kilmallock Police Barrack, commenced on the night of June 4th, 1920, continued during the darkness, and left the building a smouldering ruin next morning.

The I.R.A., under the command of Sean Wall, with Tom Malone second in command, occupied the houses adjoining the barrack. They broke through the roof of the next house to it, but the roof of the barrack was much lower than the roof of that on which were the I.R.A. Consequently, the roof of the barrack had to be pounded with 56 lb. weights attached to ropes. Bottles filled with paraffin oil were thrown on the holes made by the iron weight. A hose from the Irish-American Oil Company's pump was played on the building. Then it was set on fire, and consumed, with the exception of a wing at the back.³

Sergeant Keane and Constable Moreton fell early in the fight.⁴

1. Report in Cork Examiner. 2. Related by Donnehadh Hannigan
3. Related by Donnehadh Hannigan. 4. Report in Cork Examiner.

The police had indicated that they would surrender, and Liam Scully came in front of the barrack. He was shot in the neck, and succumbed.

The I.R.A., observing a train coming from Buttevant, realised that the line had not been disconnected, as they had expected and planned, and they withdrew. The police escaped out of the burning building.

The fight had gone on from 11 p.m. to 5 a.m.

The body of Liam Scully was taken to Tournafulla, West Limerick, where his brother was a schoolteacher. His burial took place at night at Templeglantine.

In these barrack attacks two men participated who subsequently played a conspicuous part in the activities of the East Limerick Flying Column. They were Tadhg Crowley T.D. of Ballylanders, and Donnchadh Hannigan, who may be, not inaptly, described as the De Wet of the Guerilla warfare in the south.

Surrender

Early in July, 1920, four armed policemen, going from Elton to Kilfinane, were relieved of their rifles by Tadhg Crowley, Patrick Clancy, and nine other volunteers, at a spot within one and a half miles of Kilfinane.

There were twelve men under Donnchadh Hannigan in ambush near Emly on July 13th, 1920. They waited from 4 a.m. until 2 p.m. for the police and military patrol to appear. Then they went to a house for food. It was almost ready when their scouts reported the British in sight. Hastily they resumed their positions. They could see the police and soldiers on the hill of Knockarron, where they stayed for over an hour.

About 3.30 p.m. the British saw a volunteer incautiously crossing the road with a shotgun in his hand. They spread out for a distance of 250 yards and took cover.

The I.R.A. attacked. One policeman surrendered immediately. Others fought. At the end of 20 minutes, a second policeman surrendered. One constable fled. Six soldiers under a corporal took to the fields, seeking the best cover available. They fought for two and a half hours, and then surrendered.¹

In that encounter, the I.R.A. had only five rifles, three of which had been captured from the Elton police, and two brought by Donnchadh Hannigan and Patrick Clancy from West Limerick. They had two shotguns, and two revolvers. Their ammunition consisted of 70 rounds. They now secured eight rifles and 650 rounds of ammunition.

In the Irish Independent of July 15th, 1920 appeared the note given by Donnchadh Hannigan to the officer in charge of the military certifying that the soldiers "fought bravely, but were outmanoeuvred, and compelled to surrender."

1. Related by Donnchadh Hannigan.

Ballyhoura

The officer gave the I.R.A. leader a note saying "On July 13th 1920, we were attacked by armed men. We were completely surrounded and compelled to surrender. We were courteously treated by our captors, and we owe them our lives."

Kildorrery Ambush

Martial Law having been proclaimed over East Limerick, the I.R.A. moved on August 7th, 1920, to Ballinlough, near Ballindangan, Mitchelstown.

Joined by men from Ballindangan and Glanworth, they laid an ambush within two hundred yards of Kildorrery. At 11 a.m. a police patrol appeared. It was called on to surrender, and refused. Fire was opened by both sides. The police were all wounded, and some of the wounds proved fatal. Six rifles and 300 rounds of ammunition were captured by the I.R.A.

With the I.R.A. was a trained nurse, Miss O'Sullivan. She fixed up an improvised hospital in the house of a man named Collins, who was 85 years of age. There she treated and dressed the wounds of the R.I.C. But Collins could not restrain his delight over the victory of the I.R.A. throwing his hat into the air, and recalling the fight of O'Neill-Crowley at Kilclooney Wood, three miles distant, in 1867.¹

After leaving Kildorrery, the I.R.A. were drenched with heavy rain as they proceeded south-west towards Ballyveelick, near Skennakilla. It was dark as they marched by Anns Grove, about two miles north of Castletownroche. The waving of a handkerchief by a girl attracted their attention. They guessed it was a signal, and took cover. Immediately a force of seventy military and police went by, on their way to Kildorrery. The fifteen tired and drenched men of the I.R.A. would not have been in form for another encounter, and suffered the British to pass unmolested. The girl who waved the handkerchief saved many lives.

The I.R.A. stayed in the district that night, and, on the following morning, a Sunday, they marched by Glenanaar to Glenrue.¹

An eyewitness² describes a tense moment:

"After the ambush, the I.R.A. party, numbering fourteen, came along south west of Rockmills, to Lisnagourneen, then by Ballydoyle, and turned by Ballywalter, crossing the road a few yards from Welsted's gate, then through the fields and crossing the rabbit field, overlooking the bridge, leading to Anns Grove. Before reaching the latter, they turned in at the small bridge, and went through Ballygriggan. Between the cross and the Ballygriggan gate entrance is a cottage, and the fence comes from the river towards this cottage. About half way in this fence is a gate, and, when coming to the gate, they just saw the soldiers and police coming from Castletownroche for the scene of the ambush, led by the sergeant of the R.I.C. from Castletownroche.

¹ "They lay on the grass, and by whatever shelter the ditch afforded."
1. Related by Donnchadh Hannigan. 2. Related by Denis Power, G.A.A. Handicapper, Ballywalter.

until the force had passed on.

"I ought to remember all about it, as I met the military and police between here (Ballywalter) and Welsted's gate, and may have got into serious trouble, as I had a starting revolver in my possession. But, as I was known to the sergeant, I was not questioned.

"If the I.R.A. had known in time of the coming of the British forces, they would have a great chance of ambushing them from the height over the bridge, and they could easily have got away through furze and cover to Dannanstown.

"The I.R.A. contingent were led by Tommy Barry of Glanworth, now in the Gardai."¹

Varying Fortunes of War

In the month of October, 1920, at Grange, a few miles west of Bruff, the I.R.A. encountered the British in armoured cars, equipped with machine guns. The I.R.A. were forced to retreat. One of their men, Liam Burke of Glanworth, was wounded in the hip. They removed him, conveyed him to Cork, where he was medically and surgically attended and restored to health.²

About the middle of December, 1920, at Garryspillane, Knocklong, nine I.R.A. men attacked two lorries of British soldiers. While the fight was in progress, the British received reinforcements, and the I.R.A. were forced to retreat. One of their men, Capt. John Riordan was fatally wounded.²

Daring Deeds

From Mitchelstown creamery in July, 1920, the I.R.A. ambushed a party of ten or twelve soldiers escorting a water wagon from the military barrack to the fountain. The military were called on to surrender. They replied with rifle fire. The fire was returned, and three or four soldiers fell. The rest of them fled to the barrack. Two I.R.A. men were wounded, and were got away. Two military rifles were captured by the I.R.A., who made good their retreat before the main body of military arrived.³

On Christmas Day, 1920, an attempt was made to convey rifle ammunition from a ship lying at Cork Quays. Tom Malone, Donal Hannigan, a brother of Donnchadh, and Liam Burke, just out of hospital after recovering from the wounds he received at Grange in October, had collected the ammunition, and were proceeding with it towards Parnell bridge, when they were held up by a Douglas Street patrol from Union Quay. Donnchadh Hannigan and Liam Burke got through after a cursory search. But, as Malone was about to be searched, he bolted, and dashed past Hannigan and Burke. He was fired at, chased, and captured.

1. Related by Denis Power, G.A.A. Handicapper, Ballywalter.
2. Donnchadh Hannigan. 3. The Kerryman, December 7th, 1935.

Ballyhoura

The ammunition was found in his pockets. He was interned in Spike Island.¹ He escaped from that fortress with Sean MacSwiney and Sean Collins, in a boat which took a line across a part of the harbour that was not illuminated with the search lights.

On September 7th, 1919, as seventeen soldiers, armed, were proceeding to Church in Fermoy, they were attacked by armed men. One soldier was shot dead, and two others were wounded. The attackers collected the seventeen rifles, and drove away in a motor car. Trees felled behind them, when they had passed, frustrated the pursuing military.

Drumkeen Ambush

The East Limerick Brigade moved from place to place in the hope of encountering a British military or police patrol. They had travelled from Killeely to Drumkeen in February, 1921, when they were informed by their scouts that, at 1 p.m., two lorries had passed from Pallasgreen to Cahereonlish with a party of Auxiliaries.

The I.R.A. blocked the roads, and waited in ambush for the return of the Auxiliaries. They came back at 1.30 p.m. The first lorry tried to dash through the barricade. The driver was shot dead at the wheel, and the lorry struck against an embankment.

The second lorry stopped in the centre of the road, and its occupants refused to surrender. Hand grenades were hurled among them, while rifle fire raked them. Eleven of the occupants of the lorry were killed.

Commandant Liam Hayes of the I.R.A. Killeely, was wounded.

A man in civilian dress escaped across the fields. Thinking he might be a civilian prisoner carried as a hostage, the I.R.A. did not fire on him. He was really a District Inspector of R.I.C.²

Aeroplane Brought Down

The Brigade were resting at Ballinsmona, about two and a half miles from Kilfinane, when an aeroplane passed overhead, flying low, apparently trying to locate them. It was fired on. The bullet holed the petrol tank, and the pilot landed in a field to see what was wrong with the machine. He had not heard the rifle report.

The pilot walked to Kilfinane to get military protection for the aeroplane. While he was away, the I.R.A. burned the machine and captured the observer.²

Soon afterwards, several aeroplanes of the Fermoy Squadron zoomed over the district, and dropped leaflets threatening that, unless Flying Officer McKay was released within 36 hours, four houses in Kilfinane and four houses in Kilmallock would be burned.

1. Related by Donnchadh Hannigan. 2. Related by Donnchadh Hannigan.

Ballyhouna

Commandant Donnchadh Hannigan wrote to the Air Force Authorities in Fermoy regretting that the threat contained in the leaflets had prevented the release of the Flying Officer, which was about to take place when the leaflets were found. Owing to the threats, the officer would now be detained for an indefinite period, and no indication could be given when he would be released.

No houses were burned, and Flying Officer McKay was released after five days' detention.¹

Prior to this incident, the Black and Tans had burned the house of Clancy's of Cush, Kilfinane.

Sraharla Ambush

The shortest road from Galbally to Kildorrery passes through low hills separating the Ballyhounas from the Galtees. It runs through Glenrue, to Sraharla, which is a defile within a short distance of Kilclooney, where O'Neill-Crowley, almost alone, fought the British army in 1867.

On May 2nd, 1921, a cycling patrol passed that way to Kildorrery. The I.R.A. decided to ambush it on its return. Before the patrol returned, and even before the ambushers had taken up their positions, four lorries with seventy military Auxiliaries, accompanied by an armoured car, swung into the glen. They sighted Sean Carroll's men going into position, and opened fire on them in front and in flank. Three were killed. They were Lieut. T. Hennessy, Killonan, Captain P. Starr of Nenagh; and Captain Jim Horan of Caherconlish, Co. Limerick, Paddy Casey, Ballybricken. Caherconlish was captured, tried by Courtmartial in Cork, and executed. Fire was opened from the hillside on the British, enabling Carroll's men to retreat from an untenable position.²

The odds being too heavily against them, the I.R.A. withdrew.

(Capt. Starr was buried at Lisboney, Nenagh; Capt. Horan and Lieut. Hennessy in Limerick Churchyard.³)

Lackelly Encounter

Marching from Sraharla and Kilclooney to Knocklong, a distance of fifteen miles, the I.R.A. were spread over a three mile area. A small section was attacked at Lackelly, near Knocklong, and four men were killed. They were Capt. W. O'Riordan of Glenrue, Kilfinane; Tom Howard, Glenbrohane, Knocklong; Patrick ("Waller") Ryan, Murroe, Co. Limerick; and John Frahill, Rath Murroe, Co. Limerick. Several prisoners were taken.

1. Donnchadh Hannigan. 2. The Kerryman.
3. Related by Sergt. W.J. McCormack, Knocklong.

Ballyhoura

Commandant Hannigan was in Knocklong when he heard of the fight. Collecting his men, he proceeded to the scene. He attacked the military, and compelled them to release the prisoners. The fight occurred in an open plain. The military were driven to take shelter in a house almost in the centre of the plain.

The commandant sent for re-inforcements, but they did not arrive in time. Owing to the small number of men under his command, he could not get close to the house without heavy losses. Finally no reply to their fire came from the house. The military had escaped from it by a side which the I.R.A. had not sufficient men to surround.

The fight had lasted for five hours, and the military were able to carry off their wounded.

Blocking the roads to prevent a sudden return of the military, the I.R.A. secured transport from the local farmers, and conveyed their four dead comrades to Mohane, near Herbertstown, where they were waked and buried. The local priest officiated at the graveside.¹ About August, 1921, they were raised, and reinterred. Thomas Howard and William Riordan were buried at Glenbrohane, and the other two were buried at Murroe.²

An Abortive Conference

Summoned to a Conference at Anacarty, near Dundrum, Co. Tipperary, by Capt. O'Malley of General Headquarters, Dublin, the whole East Limerick Flying Column was taken to Kiltceely, under Brigadier Sean Wall and Vice Brigadier Hannigan, who was O.C. of the Flying Column.

At Kiltceely, one of their flanks was attacked. One man was wounded, and taken prisoner.

The main body was then disbanded. Brigadier Wall and Vice Brigadier Hannigan proceeded with twelve men to Anacarty. They were informed that the meeting would be held at 12 o'clock, at a place of which they would be apprised.

They arrived at Anacarty at 8 a.m. on the first Friday of May, 1921, having travelled all night.

They divided into two units, one being a quarter of a mile from the other. They waited until 2 p.m., but they received no message.

A patrol of Black and Tans approached the house in which were Brigadier Wall and Vice Brigadier Hannigan, and three men. The owner of the house became panic-stricken. He asked Brigadier Wall to go out to meet the approaching force. Brigadier Wall, out of consideration for the man's feelings, went out. He was promptly taken prisoner.

The small party in the house attempted to rescue their leader. They fired on the Black and Tans. The fire was returned. The I.R.A. left the house, and fought in the open. Sergeant Kingston R.I.C. was shot dead, and the Black and Tans retreated. Instead of carrying Brigadier Wall a prisoner with them, they shot him dead, and left him on the road.³ The conference was never held.

¹ Related by Donnchadh Hannigan. ² Related by Sergt. W.J. McGovern, Garda Síochana, Knocklong. ³ Related by Donnchadh Hannigan.

NORTH-EAST CORK

Exciting Episodes

The activities of the North-East Cork columns of the I.R.A. were carried on in the midst of a network of strong British military posts. This I.R.A. Battalion operated over an area embracing Killavullen parish on the west to the furthest end of Kilbehenny parish on the east; and from the Co. Limerick boundary on the north, roughly the Ballyhoure mountains, to the southern boundary of the Ballyhooley parish and along by Fermoy.

In this area there were numerous British garrisons. There were two military barracks in Fermoy, with an average of 700 men in each, together with 30 R.I.C. and Black and Tans; Kilworth Camp and Moorepark, with an average of 250 men in each (Kilworth had 1,500 men during the Summer training period); Castletownroche, with 50 military and 20 to 25 R.I.C. and Black and Tans; Mitchelstown, with an average of 40 men, together with 20 R.I.C. and Black and Tans; Ballinacorney Camp, with an average of 300 men; and Doneraile, with 20 R.I.C. and Black and Tans.

The Battalions operations extended over ten parishes. The British had over 2,000 trained soldiers, and about 150 R.I.C. and Black and Tans. The I.R.A. had 1,000 men on the rolls, but the number of fighting men on active service was comparatively small.

The officers of this, the third Battalion, from a period early in 1920, were:

O/C Thomas Barry, Glanworth; Vice O/C William C. "Dorney" O'Regan, Doneraile; Adj. Dannie Shinnick, Castletownroche; Qr/Mr. John Curtin, Ballindangan.

The Companies were: Ballyhooley, Ballindangan, Castletownroche, Doneraile, Glanworth, Killavullen, Kildorrery, Kilbehenny, Mitchelstown, Shanballymore.¹

Kildorrery Ambushes

In May, 1920, two British officers, amorously inclined, had been relieving the monotony of barrack life at Castletownroche by converse with two interesting young ladies, at a spot within 200 yards of the R.I.C. building. One evening, they were met by a small band of the I.R.A., under Dannie Shinnick, and relieved of their revolvers. Not a shot was fired on either side.

Information having been received that R.I.C. and Black and Tans had been patrolling between Kildorrery and Oliver's house, Rockmills, an ambush was prepared. It consisted of 14 men, under O/C Tom Barry, Glanworth. It was set on a hill slope leading to a stream called the Brook,

1. Supplied by O/C Tom Barry, Glanworth.

and was half a mile from Rockmills, on the Kildorrery side.

About 2 p.m., on Sunday, July 11th, 1920, a patrol of five police appeared half a mile from the ambush position. Suddenly, they crossed the fence, and advanced in extended order. They had evidently been warned. The I.R.A. would have been taken on the flank, and as shot guns are no match for rifles at long range, they retreated under cover of scrub. The informant was traced that evening. It was a girl. She was deported. If a man, he would probably have got a card on his back.

After that, the patrol never went out on Sundays, on this route, but it did so on Saturdays at 10 a.m.

Another ambush was prepared.

Donnchadh Hannigan, O/C East Limerick Brigade, and Tadhg Crowley, called on Tom Barry, and informed him that they were billeted in the Battalion area at Ballinlough, near Ballindangan, and offered their assistance. He told them of the projected ambush, and they offered to co-operate. The offer was accepted.

The day was fixed. It was the beginning of the second week of August, 1920. The East Limerick men, with the Ballinlough and Ballindangan contingents, remained in these two districts until the night before the ambush. Then they moved into the positions selected for them.

On Friday night, Captain Tim Barry, 1st Lieut. David Bernard, and O/C Tom Barry stayed in an unoccupied house, a quarter of a mile from where the ambush was to be. Their bed was hay; their breakfast bread and milk, for they could not light a fire, lest it should be seen.

At 5 a.m. Donnchadh Hannigan arrived, and all set off to take up their positions. They lined the fence about 500 or 600 yards on the south side of Kildorrery, and on the right hand side leading to the village. In a cottage, at the base of the ambush position, Nurse O'Sullivan, who accompanied Donnchadh Hannigan, equipped with nurse's uniform and cap, laid a table with first aid requirements.

Donnchadh Hannigan took charge.

At 9 a.m. a man with a horse and rake for making hay arrived in the field in which the ambush was set. "Whoa Fanny. Whoa Fanny. Good old Fanny." said he, patting the horse on the neck. Then he looked around. Seeing the ambushers, his body stiffened, and his eyes and mouth opened wide.

A few minutes later, two other men entered the top end of the field. One of them was Kennedy, who was subsequently sought by the Black and Tans, at the time O'Donnell was murdered by them.

They were ordered to proceed to the off side of the field, and carry on with their work, but, when they got the signal, they were to get over the fence, and lie down. The signal was not necessary. They kept a sharp look-out.

"They're Coming"

Sharp at 10 a.m. the word went along the line, "They're coming". There were two R.I.C. and four Black and Tans. They advanced somewhat extended, about 30 yards from the first to the last. "Hie, Hie, up there", said one of them. "We'll have a pitch and toss down here", said another.

"Surrender", shouted Donnehadh Hannigan, blowing his whistle.

For answer, they put their rifles to their shoulders. Instantly, a fusillade burst upon them. One of them fell, firing, his last shot going up into the air. One of them rushed to the fence at the opposite side of the road, but the rain of bullets stopped him. Wounded they all threw up their hands. The I.R.A. collected the six rifles and ammunition.

One of the Black and Tans was badly wounded in the stomach. He was attended by Miss O'Sullivan, but died half an hour later. The other five were also treated for their wounds by the nurse. They were then removed to a cottage half a mile from the scene of the ambush, and locked up, with instructions not to leave for an hour.

The column, in strength about 21, then retreated to Lisnagourneen, where they received refreshments, and the local men proceeded to their own areas. Scouts were provided for the East Limerick men, who retreated along by Ballywalter to Skenakilla, where Dan Joe Sullivan attended to their comforts until they returned to their own area.¹

In revenge, British forces, next day, searched houses, broke furniture, helped themselves to drink and money, in Kildorrery, Glanworth, and Shanballymore. In Glanworth, they looted and burned.

A Narrow Escape

Early in November, 1920, some of the East Limerick unit arrived in Glanworth with two men whom they suspected of giving information to the enemy. They were moving by the village at night, and commenced to send out scouts. As none of the scouts returned, the other members of the unit became suspicious, and changed their route. It was lucky they did so. A party of military had arrived in the village, concealed themselves, and captured each scout as he reached them. Later the scouts were taken to Kilworth Camp, but all of them were released, except David Barry, who was transferred to Ballykinlar.

A Column, under Tom Barry O/C Glanworth, and William Regan Vice O/C, Doneraile, having lain in wait for a patrol of R.I.C. at Doneraile, which did not come out to them, and a military patrol at Shanballymore, which also neglected to turn up, went to Glanworth early in November. They were billeted

1. Related by O/C Tom Barry, Glanworth.

in Dunmahon for a few days.

While there, they heard of the murder by Black and Tans of O'Donnell of Kildorrery at a cottage in Scart, about a mile from his residence. It appears they had been looking for Kennedy, who had been working in the hay field on the morning of the ambush near Kildorrery. Kennedy was actually in the cottage, but, while the Tans were bullying O'Donnell, prior to shooting him, Kennedy made a dash from the cottage, and escaped.

One of the Tans who was there when O'Donnell was murdered was an Englishman who had been wounded in the Kildorrery ambush.

The leaders of the Column were making arrangements to move into the Kildorrery area when, at 3 p.m. on November 26th, 1920, two volunteers of the Glanworth Company arrived with the information that two lorries of military had passed to Kildorrery, probably in connection with a sham inquiry into the murder of O'Donnell. It was decided to ambush them on their return.¹

Labacally Ambush

Labacally Hill is on the main road to Fermoy, and about a mile from Glanworth. It is a very steep hill, about a quarter of a mile long. It is quite close to a cromlech, commonly known as "The Hag's Bed". On both sides of it are fences, parts of which are 5½ feet high, with a sprinkling of thick thorn hedges. The River Funcheon is 400 yards from the north side of the road.

Accordingly, it was decided to occupy the fence on the south side. It was dark when they arrived. As they were about to place a barricade across the road, they saw the lights of the first lorry coming from Glanworth. They rushed to their positions, on the crest of the hill. They had eleven riflemen, two with bombs, some with revolvers, and others with shot guns.

It was intended to let the first lorry pass, and attack the second, which would, presumably, contain the officers. Not seeing the second lorry, they blazed into the first. The military replied with their rifles. The sharp rattle of rifles, the cracks of the shotguns and revolvers, sounded rapidly from both sides. Then the dead thud of a bomb, and the ensuing explosion seemed to stun the enemy for a moment.

The driver of the lorry tried desperately to get away. The ambushers near the top of the hill tried to get the driver with a bullet. The lorry swerved. Fire was intensified. The lorry swerved again, and dashed towards the fence. Bullets still swept it. The lorry was righted again, and got away, firing coming from it as it fled.

When the lorry had gone, some of the I.R.A. went out on the road to search for arms that might have been dropped. They came upon a wounded British officer, who gave the name of Lieut. Milton of the 1st Buffs. He was wounded in the calf of the leg. The wound was dressed, and he was allowed to proceed to Fermoy.

There were two British soldiers killed, and seven wounded, including the driver.

1. Related by Tom Barry O/C Glanworth.

Ballyhoura

The only casualties on the side of the I.R.A. were Tom Barry, Glanworth, who got a bullet wound on the left arm, and John Leamy, Glanworth, who received a wound on the head. Both wounds were slight. After being treated by Miss Kelleher, Glanworth, John Leamy was taken to Dr. Foley of Ballyhooley, by whom he was treated.

The second lorry stopped at the bottom of the hill to let the first gain the crest, lest it should fail to do so, and run backwards, presumably. But, hearing the firing at the top of the hill, they deserted the lorry, and retreated by the river and railway to Fermoy, three miles away.

The I.R.A. retired to the village for refreshments, which they got at the houses of Messrs. Reynolds and Gallagher. Reinforced by the Ballindangan Company, they took up position around the village, fearing reprisals. Military arrived in large numbers, but did no damage, beyond helping themselves to free beer. After searching and parading for an hour, they withdrew.

"After the military had withdrawn, we retreated to Barrys of Ballylegan at 2 a.m., where we had some food. Then we struck for Jim Jobins of Skehanagh (Tooreen), where we were sure of a hearty welcome. The distance would be twelve miles across country. We travelled by Shanballymore, through Clogher, towards our destination.

"It was a lovely night until we got to Shanballymore. Then it started to rain, getting heavier as we reached Clogher. When we came to a stream (the Ogeen) which runs from far-famed Glenanaar to the Awbeg, one would ordinarily traverse the bank until one met a bridge. But the party were so wet by this time that they jumped in, and walked across.

"We landed at Jim Tobins at 8 a.m. on the morning of the 27th. We had been on our feet since we started for the ambush at 4 p.m. on 26th. We retired to bed until our clothes were dry. We stayed there for a week, and then went on to Kildorrery."¹

Reconnoitring

"When we were billeted at Hennessy's, Noonan's, Clancy's, and Gallagher's, of Quitrent, we got news of the Tans moving out around Kildorrery at night, and that the Englishman who figured in the shooting of O'Donnell was causing a good deal of trouble, threatening people, and firing shots in the street. We decided to get him.

"We got into position in the village. One section was posted in the graveyard to cover the rear of the barrack. A second section was by the arch at the house of Mr. McDonnell, V.S. to command the main street. The bulk of the party, with scouts, went to the creamery at the cross in the village, where there was a ruined house.

1. Related by Tom Barry.

Ballyhoura

"As we were within a hundred yards of this position, we heard two revolver shots being fired at the cross. We dashed up to get him, but were greatly disappointed when we heard him running down the road, and into the barrack, before we could reach him.

"It appears that he got a tip from someone that we were around.

"Hoping to get him again, we moved away quietly towards Marshalstown, and from there to the Mitchelstown area, to combine with the East Limerick Column, and prepare an ambush for Glenacurrane.

"We were in the area only two days, and, while out training in a field near our headquarters at Larry Moriarty's, our scouts of the Mitchelstown Company brought word that British military were searching Glenacurrane Wood, where we proposed to have the ambush. It was only three fields from where we were. Naturally, we lay low.

"At a meeting of senior officers present, namely, Donnchadh Hannigan, Justin and Jack McCarthy, with Tom Barry, "Dorney" Regan, and Dannie Shinnick, it was decided to move into the Limerick area for a few days, until things would quieten down. Then we would bring off the ambush."¹

Glenacurrane Ambush

"So, on the same evening, Monday, December 15th, 1920, we moved onto the Glenrue area, where we were joined by more of the East Limerick men, including Sean Forde (or Tom Malone) who had already figured in the capture of Ballylanders, and Kilmallock barracks, with Donnchadh Hannigan's Column.

"We decided to chance our luck again in Glenacurrane, and fixed on Friday, December 19th, for the job. Therefore, on Thursday evening, the senior officers of both Columns, with Dan O'Keeffe, Capt. of the Mitchelstown company, and Moss Walsh also of Mitchelstown, went and inspected the position.

"Glenacurrane is about three miles from Mitchelstown, on the way to Galbally. The road runs through a glen, and the ground on one side rises sharply. On the west, it is pretty steep, from seventy to eighty feet above the road, and covered with trees and bushes. On the east, there is a gentle slope to about the same height. That slope is interspersed with large boulders, which afford splendid cover and an excellent view of the road below. The whole position would cover about a mile.

"We had all our Columns mobilized at 5.30 a.m. on the morning of the 19th December. There was considerable frost on the ground as we moved off to take up our positions.

"We formed sections of about twelve men each, with a man in charge. Our strength would be about seventy men. We had a Hotchkiss gun, captured in Mallow, with Dick Willis of Mallow as gunner, and Leo Callaghan, Mallow, as assistant. Sean Forde took charge of this section. Ned Walsh, Glenrue, was in charge of the bombing section.

1. Related by Tom Barry.

Ballyhoura

Tim Barry, Glanworth, Jack and Justin McCarthy, Kilfinane, and P.J. Luddy, Mitchelstown were in charge of other sections. "Derney" Rogan took charge of about 30 men on the east side. Dan Keefe and W.J. Ryan were in charge of outposts.¹

"Donnehadh Hannigan and Tom Barry were in complete charge.

"Shortly after noon, a lorry and a Crossley tender, passed towards Fermoy. We did not care to attack, lest they should have any prisoners going to Kilworth Internment Camp, about six miles distant.

"We felled a tree across the road at the Galbally side, and diverted all traffic to a back road. We held doubtful persons as temporary prisoners, including tramps, and a Protestant Minister from Galbally. The minister was asked to give his word not to inform the enemy. He refused, saying he considered it his duty to report it.

"About 4.30 p.m., we saw the cars, some 200 yards apart, returning from Mitchelstown. The first car was allowed to drive up to the tree. The occupants were called onto surrender. For answer, they opened fire. The fire was returned from both sides of the road. By this time, the second lorry had got right under the machine gun.

"Willis let it rip. All blazed away, with rifles, shotguns, and bombs.

"Then the first lorry backed from the tree. The second lorry continued to advance. In the excitement, neither driver noticed the other vehicle, and they crashed into each other.

"They became an easy target. They had no chance of cover. They were within range of a concentrated fire.

"The noise was deafening. The Hotchkiss and the bomb explosions, the rifle and shot guns turned the glen into an inferno. In one rattle of the machine gun, Willis cut the windscreen of one of the cars straight across, like the cut of a knife.

"The soldiers, finding themselves in a hopeless position, jumped out and surrendered. Two of them had been killed, and five wounded.

"The fight lasted about eight minutes.²

"The wounded were attended to. The remainder were taken to an old shed as prisoners. The two dead bodies were removed to a fence a good distance from the lorries. The lorries were then burned. (The British authorities at the time said the dead bodies were burned in the lorries. This was part of their propaganda against the I.R.A.)

"After collecting 18 rifles, about 1,500 rounds of '303 ammunition, a case of 30 bombs, and two bags of mails, we retreated towards Glenrue and Tully in Co. Limerick. We released the civilian prisoners.

Ballyhoura

"This party of soldiers belonged to the Lincolnshire Regiment, stationed in Tipperary town. In revenge for their defeat, they burned two houses, and looted a number of shops. The R.I.C. in Mitchelstown burned hay, the property of a wanted man, then "on the run".

"The I.R.A. escaped without a scratch in the ambush.

"In the captured mails were three medals. I have one of them. It is inscribed 'Lieut. E.R. Litchford, for gallant conduct in Ireland! It is slightly larger than a half crown, and must be good silver, as it still retains its colour though buried for nearly a year.

"The following day, the British Cabinet issued orders to their Commander-in-Chief in Ireland to carry hostages in future when travelling through the country, owing to the deadly attack on British soldiers near Mitchelstown.

"The Column of the 3rd Battalion then decided to retire to Quilrent, Kildorrery. Tom Malone was to drive his old Ford car with Willis and Callaghan, carrying the machine gun. Tom Barry, and Dannie Shinnick were to go with them. "Dorney" Regan was to march with the remainder of the Column.

"We had just started from Sweeneys of Tully, which would be a few hundred yards from the road, when Tom Malone found he needed water for the engine. He had only just returned with the water when a youth ran up breathlessly, (I don't know his name) to tell us that about 30 soldiers were in ambush at both sides of the road near Rea's public house, Darragh. He said they had held him up, and taken from him the money he had for groceries.

It was lucky for us, as we intended going that way, and we would be an easy target passing through, as they commanded a position inside two high walls. Crowded on a motor car, we would have had no chance. We owe our lives to this unknown youth.

"We changed our route to Kilclooney, where we spent the night and went on to Glanworth area the following night."

A Close Shave

"On January 6th, 1921, representatives of all the Brigades in the south met at Barrys of Ballylegan, Glanworth, under the chairmanship of Liam Lynch. The main object was to discuss the pushing of the fight into the inactive areas. The officers present included Liam Lynch, Cork No. 2; Sean Hegarty and Florrie O'Donoghue, Cork No. 1; Charlie Hurley and Dick Barrett, Cork No. 3; Donnchadh Hannigan and Shamus Malone of East Limerick. Shamus Robinson, Tipperary South; Jimmy Leahy, Mid Tipperary. The local Column saw to the safety of the men in and out of the area.

1. Related by Tom Barry.

Ballyhoura

"A Brigade Council was held subsequently at McCarthy's of Lombardstown, and then the O/cs returned to their respective areas with the Battalion officers.

"'Dorney' Regan and I returned to Glanworth, and put up at Gallaghers of Clontinty. On the following morning, Jerry Anglum of Glanworth arrived to say that we were surrounded by military, who were searching all houses and fields. He had been held up on the road, at the passage entering Gallaghers, but got through when he said he was working at Gallaghers.

"We were in bed when he arrived at 8 a.m. We hurriedly dressed and got out, only to find soldiers on every side. There was nothing for it but to move independently, and chance our luck.

"We were both well-armed. We had rifles, revolvers, and bombs, and, after the meeting, a lot of documents which we could not afford to lose. Martial Law was in force in the county, and capture with arms meant execution. We didn't fancy such a fate, so, no matter what the odds, it was better to die fighting than against a wall.

"When half way down the passage, we saw half a dozen soldiers coming in from the road. We got into a clump of bushes at the end of a cottage acre. There we lay until 4 p.m. that evening when the military withdrew.

"We had scarcely left Gallagher's house when a party of military rushed in and searched it, as well as the outhouses.

"They must have seen us, but as we wore trench coats perhaps they took us to be members of their own party. We were lucky to escape.

Abortive Efforts

"Our next attempt was Castletownroche R.I.C. barracks. The Column, under 'Dorney' Regan, moved into position near the gate of the Close after dusk. A party from Glanworth, Ballindangan, Rockmills, and Ballyhoooley, under Tom Barry, Battalion O/C, took up a position at Conwasmore demesne, Ballyhoooley, to deal with the military who might be expected from Fermoy.

"Unfortunately, as the Column under 'Dorney' Regan were moving into the place selected, one of the men from an adjoining company, called to assist, accidentally discharged a shot. This accident put the Black and Tans on the alert, and, as the element of surprise was thus frustrated, the attack was called off.

"Information was received from our Intelligence Department of the Headquarters in Dublin, that the British military Command of the south had arranged a meeting of Generals to be held in the Victoria Barracks, Cork, on February 15th, 1921, at 2 p.m.

Ballyhoura

"It was decided to capture the General of that area, if he were passing through with a small escort. For that purpose, our Column took up a position at Gortroche Wood, Ballyhookey. The Fermoy Column held the road by Caum, Glenville. On the other roads, the bridges had been blown up. Therefore, the enemy should traverse either of the routes occupied by our Columns.

"We had cycle scouts from the local company working between the two Columns, so that if either was in action, the other could rush to assist, as they were scarcely one and a half miles apart.

"However, an aeroplane which was scouting happened to see the outposts of the Fermoy Column. It informed the enemy. Instead of running into the ambush, the British tried to surround the Column, and it had to withdraw.

"We were immediately informed of what had occurred, and we, also withdrew."¹

Kilbrack Ambush

"A few days afterwards in February, 1921, the Column moved into the Doneraile area, and took up a position on Skaghargannon Hill, Kilbrack. The O/C sent out a few men who fired on some Lancers from Ballinvenare Camp, scarcely two miles distant, for the purpose of drawing out a party of military. The ruse worked.

"It was not long until a lorry arrived. To get the driver, a bomb was thrown when the lorry entered the ambush, and fire was opened on it. The bomb struck the front of the lorry, near the driver, and hopped back on the road, where it exploded, without doing any damage.

"The lorry dashed through, under heavy fire, until it got clear of the ambush. Then it halted. Immediately, it opened fire with a machine gun, and swept the ditch occupied by the Column.

"Reinforcements for the military might arrive at any moment. But the machine gun had to be silenced before the Column could retreat.

"The O/C picked five men from the party, and led by himself, they worked around into a good flank position. From the fence of a labourer's cottage, they had a good view of the machine gun, which was still keeping up a heavy fire on the position occupied by the I.R.A. Column.

"The flanking party opened fire on the machine gunner. This unexpected fusillade took the military by surprise, and the machine gun remained silent for a few minutes. The flanking party quickly evacuated this untenable spot. The machine gun was turned on it, but the bushes were the only billets for the bullets."

1. Related by Tom Barry.

Ballyhoura

"The main portion of the Column availed of this diversion to retire from a position on which they held a very precarious foothold. The bushes and ground in their vicinity had been swept by the fire of the machine gun.

"They all got away safely, without a man getting a wound. The Lancers had five wounded.

Other Incidents

"In May, 1921, two Black and Tans were ambushed, and shot dead, by a party under Paddy Cronin, Rockmills. The attack took place near this village, on the road leading to Kildorrery. The I.R.A. escaped without a wound.

"At the same time, the Column attacked Castletownroche R.I.C. barracks, from the front, near Close gate. The I.R.A., under 'Dorney' Regan, escaped without a scratch.

"The British then burned the houses of John Noonan, Quitrent, Kildorrery; Edward Creed and D. Birmingham, of Kildorrery; Denis Cronin, Rockmills; and James Daly of Shanballymore. They blew up the houses of David Barry of Glanworth; Donal Shinnick, Castletownroche; William Stackpoole, Rockmills; John Linehan, Ballyhooley; and Michael Walsh, Castlequarter, Kildorrery.

"The I.R.A. retaliated by blowing up the houses of British loyalists. The ones selected were those of Oliver, Rockmills; Penrose Welstead, Ballywalter; Lord Listowel, Conwamore, Ballyhooley; and Cooke Collis, Kilworth.

"This action was effective in stopping the British military from carrying out any further reprisals of this nature.

"In the month of May, a party of military surrounded Anakissa chapel while the people were at Mass. They searched adjacent houses, in one of which the late Tom Hunter of Castletownroche was staying. He just managed to escape.

"Two spies were subsequently executed in the district.

"Early in June, an R.I.C. patrol was ambushed in Kildorrery. One Constable was shot dead, and a sergeant wounded. The I.R.A. got their arms and ammunition, and got away without any casualties. William Kearney of Glanworth had charge of the ambush. The I.R.A. had only revolvers. The attack took place from the archway of Mr. McDonnell V.S. A Civilian was wounded, but not seriously.¹

1. Related by Tom Barry O/C Glanworth.

Ballyhoura

Local Activities

British forces were kept on edge by minor attacks. There were snipings at Kilworth, and Moorepark military camps, Fermoy aerodrome, Kildorrery R.I.C. Barracks; the holding up of a train at Glanworth, and the destruction of enemy coal supplies; an ambush at Grange, Fermoy, in which a soldier was wounded; train raided at Ballyhooley, and mails taken, containing pay for the troops at Fermoy; two soldiers captured at Glanworth, and relieved of their revolvers; two soldiers captured and disarmed at Drumdeer; Crown forces attacked at Castletownroche, and three wounded.

"The Truce arrived, but still the Battalion was not finished. About September, 1921, the I.R.A. prisoners detained at Kilworth Camp started a tunnel from a hut close to the outer barbed wire entanglements. After digging some time, they found they should go 30 yards further, in order to get beyond a wall of sheet iron. They might be shifted before they had tunnelled that 30 yards.

"They got in touch with a carpenter named Murphy from West Cork. He volunteered to draw the nails out of one sheet of iron, so that it could be moved out of the way. Murphy got in touch with the officers of our Battalion, and they gladly gave their help.

"The evening for the escape arrived. It was towards the end of September. Murphy removed the nails, and seventeen prisoners, under James Quirke, Wexford, got safely away. On getting out of the tunnel, they had to run across an open space to the sheet iron, and, getting through, crawl along a path for 400 yards.

"This path was the greatest danger. There was a sentry walking up and down it, and each man, on getting out, had to wait until the sentry turned a corner to the right. It was necessary to be clear away before an officer visited the hut.

"The local Battalion provided food, bedding, and guidance, until they could return to their own areas. Not one of them was ever recaptured. Murphy, for his own safety, had to accompany them and forfeit his job.

"Early in October, 1921, John Leahy, Captain of the Ballyhooley Column, was rescued from Kilworth Camp. It was learned that, on a certain hour each day, Leahy was taken out under an escort of two or three soldiers to draw some coal at the south end of the camp.

"Word was conveyed to Leahy to expect his friends on a certain day, and to be ready. On that day, Liam Kearney and Owen Curtin of Glanworth dashed up the Camp road in a motor car. As Leahy and his escort were approaching, the motor car slowed down. Leahy jumped into it, and the car, speeding up again, knocked down one of the soldiers, and was gone in a few seconds. It was the last daring feat before the enemy evacuation.

"Curtin was the driver of the car in the capture of General Lucas. Leahy was subsequently killed accidentally in America." ¹

¹. Related by Tom Barry, Battalion O/C Glanworth.

NORTH CORK

Daring Exploits of I.R.A.

West of a line drawn between Mallow and Buttevant, there were many daring exploits carried out by the 4th Brigade of the I.R.A. in North Cork.

In that area, there were military garrisons in Mallow and in Buttevant barracks, and in Kanturk Union buildings. There were companies of soldiers in Newmarket, Auxiliaries in Millstreet, while there were Black and Tans and R.I.C. in all these places.

The I.R.A. would scarcely number more than 1,000. Of these, there would not be more than from twenty to forty men on active service at any one time. They were practically unarmed until September, 1920, when an audacious raid on Mallow barracks, while the 17th Lancers were out exercising their horses, provided the I.R.A. with a supply of arms and ammunition.

On October 11th, 1920, at Ballydrocane, about half a mile from Kanturk, soldiers carrying food to the military stationed at Newmarket were ambushed. One soldier was shot dead, and six rifles were captured.¹

At Meelin, about four miles from Newmarket, on January 4th, 1921, an ambush was set. A scout was sent to Newmarket with instructions to telegraph to Meelin if he saw lorries leaving for that place. The message was to be "Two (or three) boxes waiting at the station", according to the number of lorries he saw departing.

The message arrived, and the I.R.A. took up their positions. Two lorries came on, and fire was opened on them. One lorry dashed through, and got away. The driver of the second lorry was wounded, and the lorry stopped.

As the military appeared to have civilians as hostages, the I.R.A. did not proceed with the attack, and withdrew. Reinforcements soon arrived for the military.

That night, Meelin was sacked.²

On May 4th, 1921, a spy was shot near Rathmore, and left on the road, with a card pinned to his breast. The woman who cooked for the Black and Tans and R.I.C. saw him, and reported to the barrack. The police went out to investigate. They were ambushed and shot.³

^{1,2,3.} Related by Daniel Vaughan ex - T-D.

Ballyhoura

" A QUIET TOWN "

"Mallow is a very quiet town; nothing ever happens here".

An officer of the British military garrison at Mallow barracks was filling in an idle hour by writing thus to a friend. Most of the garrison, belonging to a regiment of Lancers, were out exercising their horses.'

Before the letter was finished, a knock came to the barrack gates.

"Who is there", demanded the sentry.

"A letter for the Officer Commanding".

"Come inside".

The gates were opened. The visitor with the letter stepped inside. The sentry kept the point of the bayonet towards the visitor. He held out a hand for the letter. The visitor stooped, and put the safety catch on the rifle. Then he snatched the rifle from the hand of the sentry. The daring intruder was Ernie O'Malley.

"Hands up", said he to the soldiers in the vicinity.

Hands were raised. He unlocked the gates, and opened them. Motor cars drove in with the I.R.A. of North Cork. They rushed for the arsenal, and loaded up the rifles, revolvers, and ammunition in the barracks. One N.C.O. who resisted was shot.

The motor cars carried off to the Musherua mountains thirty rifles, two Hotchkiss guns, small arms and 4,000 rounds of ammunition.¹

That night, the British armed forces burned Mallow creamery, part of the town, and created a reign of terror among the peaceful inhabitants.

So that, on September 28th, 1920, something did really happen in that "very quiet town".

TOOREENGARV

Tooreengarv is a narrow defile, about two miles west of Kingwilliamstown, on the road to Castleisland. An ambush was set there on January 28th, 1921. A trench was cut across the road. At that time, very few motor cars were on the road, except military ones.

About 2.30 p.m. two touring cars were seen coming from the direction of Castleisland. As they entered the bend of the road, shots were fired to speed the cars into the trench. They sped, but the rising ground enabled the drivers to pull up within three feet of the cavity.

The occupants of the cars jumped out, and some took shelter from the fire under the cars. Others stood on the road, and were shot down. An officer, who subsequently was found to be a Major Holmes, fell as he was getting out of his car, and fractured his thigh. He limped towards the fence, and got six bullet wounds.

Ballyhouna

When the occupants of the cars had surrendered, one R.I.C. in the shelter of a projecting ledge, continued to fight for fifteen minutes. Then he received a bullet in the right elbow, and put up his hands.

Major Holmes was given oranges from his own car to assuage his thirst. Then an Inspector of schools drove up. Major Holmes was put into his car, and driven by the Inspector to the nearest hospital.

The I.R.A. captured seven rifles and seven revolvers and drove away with them on one of the officers' cars. The other car was burned on the road.

Before the ambush, one volunteer came up to Sean Moylan, who was in command of the I.R.A. "I cannot fight here to-day", said he. "Why not?" "Because I was bound to the peace the last Court day". "Go back to your place".

That night, four houses in Kingwilliamstown were blown up by the military from Buttevant and Tralee.¹

A Train Ambushed

At the Glebe cutting on the railway line at Drishanebeg, about a mile east of Millstreet station, a train conveying about fourteen soldiers was ambushed on February 11th, 1921, by the I.R.A. of Millstreet under Adj. J. Crowley, assisted by the Dooneen, Coolecross, and Rathcoole companies, under Commandant C.J. Meaney.

About 7 p.m. a train was heard approaching from Rathcoole. When nearly a mile away, a long and shrill whistle came from it, denoting that military were aboard.

A bicycle lamp was put into position between the rails, with its light towards the oncoming engine. The train slowed up and stopped.

The Comandant called on the military to surrender to the Irish Republic. The answer was a rifle shot. The I.R.A. opened fire on the carriages containing the military. The groans of the wounded could be heard over the rattle of the rifles. Oil torches thrown down the side of the embankment illuminated the carriages. After a hopeless fight, the military surrendered. There were fourteen rifles and 700 rounds of ammunition collected by the I.R.A.² One soldier was killed, and six wounded.³

CLONBANNIN

On March 5th, 1921, an ambush was set at Clonbannin, about mid-way between Kanturk and Millstreet, on the main road between Mallow and Killarney. It was under the charge of Sean Moylan, now Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Industry and Commerce.

1. Related by Daniel Vaughan, ex T-D.
2. Kerryman of December 7th, 1935.
3. Cork Examiner.

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It comprised columns from Newmarket, Millstreet, Charleville, with a contingent from Kerry. Two Newmarket sections, under Mike Sullivan, occupied a furze brake dominating the road. The Kerry men protected the west flank. The Charleville men were detailed to cover Clonbannin Cross to the west.

Between Clonbannin Cross and the site of the ambush was a boreen, or private car passage, which gave access to the rear of the Newmarket men. Realising that the boreen was more important than Clonbannin Cross, Vice-Commandant Ned Ryan, who was O.C. of the Charleville Flying Column, posted his men in the boreen to protect the rear of the Newmarket men. It was fortunate that he did so.

About 3 p.m., the approach of five military lorries from Killarney was signalled. A few minutes later, the leading lorry drove into the ambush. As it was passing Shaughnessy's farmhouse, a Hotchkiss gun was played on it. Further on, it was engaged by the Newmarket columns. The lorry was stopped.

Then another lorry came on, and a hundred yards behind it was a touring car. An armoured car followed the tourer. About a hundred yards behind the armoured car was another lorry.

Fire was opened on the tourer. It swerved across the road and stopped. The armoured car, in an attempt to pass it collided with it, was deflected into the dyke, and sank in the soft ground.

The Hotchkiss gun sprayed the second lorry with deadly effect. All the vehicles were enfiladed.

A tall man, in officer's uniform, jumped from the tourer and ran for cover towards the north side of the road. He never got there. A bullet from an ambusher's rifle blew out his brains. Thus fell Brigadier General H.R. Cumming, D.S.O.

Every man in the touring car appeared to have been killed.

A lorry tried to pass the tourer to encircle the attackers. The driver was shot, and the lorry stopped.

Some of the military were shot getting off the lorries. An officer ordered a charge. There was no response. Some of the officers stood on the road, trying to discover where the I.R.A. were lying. They were shot down.

An attempt to encircle the ambushers on the west side was broken by men under Denis Galvin, who, subsequently, became a prominent officer in the Free State army. A similar manoeuvre was tried on the east side, towards Clonbannin Cross. Meeting the boreen, twelve Auxiliaries, in charge of a military officer, crept along it, under the shelter of the fences.

Vice-Commandant Ryan, with eight men, at the top of the boreen, allowed them to approach within forty, or fifty yards. Then his party opened fire. Some of the Auxiliaries fell. Others took cover in the dykes. One of them got on a fence, and was shot. Another went back to the main road, and was shot there.

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The remaining Auxiliaries crept back to the shelter of the lorries, and ceased fire. The armoured car, although still stationary, dominated the roadway, for the whole length of the quarter of a mile ambush. Capture of the rifles and ammunition of the party was out of the question, without heavy loss of life by the I.R.A. So they withdrew unscathed. The losses of the military were estimated at thirteen dead, and fifteen wounded, but these figures were never officially confirmed.¹

"When, in the dusk of evening, some of us were retiring from the scene of the ambush, we saw in a field, beyond the fence we were approaching, an officer and half a dozen soldiers. He beckoned to us to come on. We were wearing dark coats and belts, and probably he thought we were Auxiliaries. We advanced to the fence, and opened fire. The officer fell, wounded in the thigh, and the soldiers fled. The officer, using a hay-fork as a crutch, reached his comrades."²

Official Report

British Military Headquarters in the South of Ireland issued a report of the engagement.

"Colonel Commandant H.R. Cumming, D.S.O., commanding the Kerry Brigade, escorted th three tenders, containing parties of the East Lancs.Regiment, and one armoured car, were proceeding yesterday afternoon from Rathmore to Buttevant, when heavy fire was opened on the whole convoy from high ground on both sides of the road, in the neighbourhood of Clonbannin. The driver being severely wounded, the leading tender ran into the ditch. All the troops left their cars, and went into action, but the armoured car, in endeavouring to pass the brigade commander's car, was ditched. Col-Commandant Cumming was hit in the head, shortly after leaving his car, and died instantly.

"After an engagement lasting about an hour, a party from the head of the convoy succeeded in working its way around to the flank and rear of the rebels, on the south side of the road, but, before effective fire could be opened, the attackers fled.

"Numbers of the ambushers, who were still holding the north side of the road, retired on their flanks being threatened. However, few ambushers were seen during the engagement, as slopes and banks on both sides of the road were thickly covered with gorse.

"The road was not cut, but mines had been laid, which did not explode. The attackers, the majority of whom were armed with service rifles, greatly out-numbered the troops. The total military casualties were two officers, and two other ranks, killed, and two other ranks wounded."³

1. Gleaned from various sources. Submitted to Sean Moylan, and returned without comment. 2. Related by Dan Vaughan, ex T-D. 3. Published in Cork Examiner of March 7th, 1921.

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West Limerick

Having been sentenced to twelve months hard labour by a military Court martial, on March 12th, 1919, Robert J. Byrne went on hunger strike, and was transferred to Limerick Workhouse Hospital, where he was kept under a guard of R.I.C.

On Sunday, April 6th, visitors to the hospital were numerous. A party of men mixed with the visitors. Suddenly, they tried to overpower the police guarding Byrne. A fight developed. When Byrne was rising from the bed, he was shot by Constable O'Brien or Constable Spillane, he said. Constable O'Brien was shot dead, and Constable Spillane was seriously wounded. Three other constables and a warder were slightly wounded, Byrne was rescued, but he died on the following Sunday, April 13th.

Ambush at Abbeyfeale

The police were ambushed at Abbeyfeale on Saturday, September 18th, 1920. Constable Mahony was killed, and five others wounded.

The Black and Tans created terror in the town on the following night, with rifle volleys, and bomb explosions on the street. Houses were raided and searched, and their occupants threatened and terrified. In New Street, the house of a chemist prominent in the Republican movement was destroyed. Dr. Edward Hartnett, who had given medical aid to wounded volunteers, was carried around the country in a lorry as a hostage by the Black and Tans.¹

A bomb was exploded in the house of John Collins of Bridge Street., who had two sons in the I.R.A. The Devon Road Creamery was set on fire, and its manager, Mr. O'Mahony, narrowly escaped being shot.

Robert Browne, whose brother lost his life in the attack on Gortatlea R.I.C. barracks, was captured at Knockalougha by the Black and Tans, conveyed to a lonely road, and shot dead.²

Mick Collins, whose brothers, James and Denis, were in the active service unit, was arrested, chained to a tree, and a machine gun played bullets around him. He was badly beaten, and flung from a fast travelling lorry on the way to Limerick.²

"I have just shot two men. I was standing at the barrack gate, and said 'Good Evening' to two young men who were passing. They took no notice, and I followed them, as they looked suspicious. They kept looking back, and then broke into a run. I ran after them, and they went through a gap in the hedge on the right of the road. I shouted to them to halt, and, as they would not stop running, I shot them."

1. & 2. The Kerryman Dec.7th,1935.

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That was the admission made by a Black and Tan to Sergeant Lattimer of the Abbeyfeale police. The sergeant gave evidence of it at a military inquiry into the shooting of Patrick Hartnett, a postman, and Jeremiah Healy, a blacksmith, both of Abbeyfeale, and both unmarried, who had been shot dead on September 20th, 1920.

The Black and Tan who shot these men, without other provocation than he mentioned to the sergeant, was retained in the force. And the military inquiry, which adjourned, was never resumed.¹

Further Ambushes

In May, 1921, a patrol of Black and Tans was ambushed at Drumeollogher. One was killed, and several wounded. On the following night, several houses in the village were burned as a reprisal.¹

On the morning of June 5th, 1921, some thirty members of the I.R.A. entered Abbeyfeale, and occupied a number of houses in the centre of Main Street. An insulting notice was posted on the door of the Black and Tan barrack.

About 6.30 a.m., a dozen Black and Tans and police left the barrack, and, seeing a notice on a telegraph pole, they halted to remove it. They were fired on. Constable Jolly was killed, and several others were wounded. Some of the Black and Tans returned the fire. One of them, firing from the hip, sent a bullet through a window, and it struck the rifle of Jimmy Collins, wounding him slightly in the mouth.

The I.R.A. then left the town.

Subsequently, Head Constable Casey, at the risk of his own life, saved a resident from a Black and Tan, inflamed with liquor.¹

BALLYHAHILL

An Epic Encounter

The East Limerick Column, under Donnchadh Hannigan O.C. went to the assistance of the hard-pressed West Limerick men, and reached Athea on Good Friday, 1921. On Easter Sunday, half a dozen lorries of military and Black and Tans approached Athea. The I.R.A. had moved to Ballyhahill.

Owing to the fact that only a few men could billet at any one farmhouse, the I.R.A. were scattered over an area of five miles.

A scout, hurrying to Danaghers of Wood Lawn, apprised Sean Finn O.C. West Limerick, and Donnchadh Hannigan, O.C. East Limerick, that Black and Tans were in the vicinity. At 3 p.m. Mr. Danagher told them he heard the reports of shooting in the neighbourhood. They went towards the

¹. The Kerryman, December 7th, 1935.

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sounds of firing. A fight was in progress at an adjacent house. Three East Limerick men in it, named Quane, Walsh, and Howard, were being attacked from three sides.

The men who had been in Danagher's house approached on the fourth side. Hannigan blew varying notes on whistles he carried. The sounds were recognised, and understood, by the three men in the house. But they mystified the Black and Tans, and caused them to look to their rear, lest they should be surrounded. The men in the house retreated from it and joined their comrades.

A running fight followed. After half an hour, Quane of Redchair, Ballyorgan, was shot through the neck, the bullet passing out through his cheek. He begged of the others to leave him to his fate, as he would be an encumbrance to them. They refused. They carried him with them.

The British called on them to surrender. They replied with their rifles.

The fight had been waging two hours when Sean Finn, O.C. West Limerick, was fatally wounded.

"Good bye, lads. Carry on. I'm done", were his last words.

A Black and Tan stood on the fence to approach the dead man. He was shot down by Tom Howard.

"I have him shot, Boss", said he to Donnehadh Hannigan.

"I have spent all my ammunition" said Volunteer Seamus Finn, of the East Limerick Flying Column.

"Get the rifle, Jimmy", said Hannigan. That was the rifle of the dead West Limerick, O.C.

The opposing forces were only forty yards apart, and the body of Brigadier Sean Finn and his rifle was midway between them.

Young Finn rushed forward against a blaze of intense, but nervous rifle fire, and retrieved the rifle and ammunition. The trail of the bullets through which he passed unscathed could be seen in the furrows ploughed through the grass.

The Black and Tans, using their lorries, got in front of the I.R.A., to cut off their retreat. The I.R.A. charged this new front at the "double". The Auxiliaries took the cover of the intervening fence. On reaching the fence, however, the I.R.A. suddenly wheeled, and got into an adjacent lios or rath for cover. The Black and Tans, unable, or too nervous, to attempt to locate them, withdrew, as the shades of evening, and the fogs of the Shannon descended.

A hospitable farmer refreshed the I.R.A. with a bucket of new milk. The whistles of the Auxiliaries were again heard, and the I.R.A. withdrew to the house of another farmer, where

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hot tea, "one-way bread", and fresh eggs sustained them for further encounters.

Volunteer Quans bore his sufferings bravely. He lost a great deal of blood, and had to be content with meagre first-aid treatment. He recovered.

Volunteer Finn was immediately promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, and General Headquarters confirmed the promotion. He has since died.¹

The Truce

Early in July, preparations were made for an ambush at Berragh between Newcastlewest and Abbeyfeale. Forty men of the North Cork Brigade participated. Mines were laid. On July 9th the men took up their positions in the ambuscade.

Four military lorries and a private motor car passed. In accordance with the invariable tactics of the I.R.A., the attack was held up for the return of the lorries in the afternoon, or evening. They did not return.

Next day, no military passed along that road.

The third day came the Truce.² That was July 11th.

End.

* * * * *

1. Related by Donnchadh Hannigan.
2. The Kerryman, December 7th, 1935.

EPilogue

Ballyhoura ends with the Truce.

The Truce was not the end of the conflict with England. That country now tried to win back at the treaty table what she had lost on the battlefield. Michael Collins, who had organised the fighting and finance from 1917 to 1921, was asked to lead the negotiations. His chief opponent was Lloyd George, the wily Welsh prime minister, who was not above using underhand methods to get his way.

Pádraig, as can be seen from the letter on the next page, wrote to Michael (Mícheál O Coileáin) in London warning him of certain developments. The reply shows that Michael knew *more about it than any other individual on our side*. He signed the Treaty with this depth of knowledge convinced that it was as much as could be obtained from England at the time.

Many in Ireland felt he had betrayed them. They had fought for a Republic, they had obtained merely a Free State. Civil War broke out. As we mentioned at the beginning of the book in the note about the author this disrupted Pádraig's honeymoon. Tragically it caused General Michael Collins's death. He was shot in an ambush in his own native Co Cork.

The use of the Irish language in the letter is interesting. The letter-head is in Irish and English. Yet *Dáil Éireann, Government of Ireland*, is in Irish only. A *Chara* means *Friend*, or *Dear Friend*. *Do Chara go buan* means *your friend for ever*.

DÁIL ÉIREANN.

AIREACHT AIRSÍD

Át-cliait.

Department of Finance

DUBLIN.

29th November 1932.

To:
P. O'Sullivan Esq.
Ossory Hotel.

A Chára,

Your letter of the 26th inst., was sent on to London, and was delivered to me this morning on my return.

Thanks for your "criticism" You may be sure I appreciate it, and understand fully the spirit in which it is put forward. With reference to the "compliments and praise" allegation, you will agree with me on reflection that if we were to contradict openly or covertly every statement of this kind that appeared from every scribe, we should find our hands quite full. I am only surprised that any Irishman should have such an extraordinarily high opinion of an English or Welsh politician as to consider it that one or other, or both, should exert an intellectual or personal superiority over his own countrymen.

You made reference also to a certain secret circular - it would be well that it should be known that were it not for the work of the Delegates and for their investigation and discriminating powers that circular would never have been brought to light. The Writer knows more about it than any other individual on our side - he also understands perfectly where to fix responsibility for it.

Do chara go bun,

Micéal O Conaill

The within pass
is valid for the
district outside
the D.M.P. area.

W. M. C. area

Inspector General



4.5.16

No. 13434

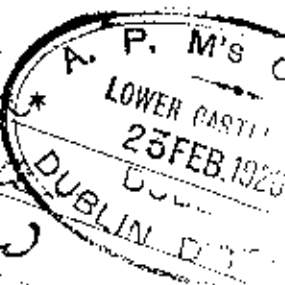
Patrick Sullivan

of 47 Gardiner Road

is permitted to

be above

R. S. [Signature]



Ref. No.

ÓSLAIG NA h-ÉIREANN.

Dept. Commanding Officer's.
To O.C's
Commanding Outposts.

H. Q. REGULAR FORCES.
4th Battalion,
Station Railway Hotel, GALEY.
Date 30th June, 1926

The bearer, Pádraig O'Sullivan (name subscribed under-
neath) of 47 Mount Pleasant Square, Ranelagh, Dublin and
wife are proceeding to Dublin by train.

Please arrange to pass them through your lines. If
there is any difficulty as to their identity, the Adjutant-
General, Beggars Bush can be queried.

Austin Brennan Comdt.
Commanding Officer.

Signature of Bearer *Pádraig O'Sullivan*

