

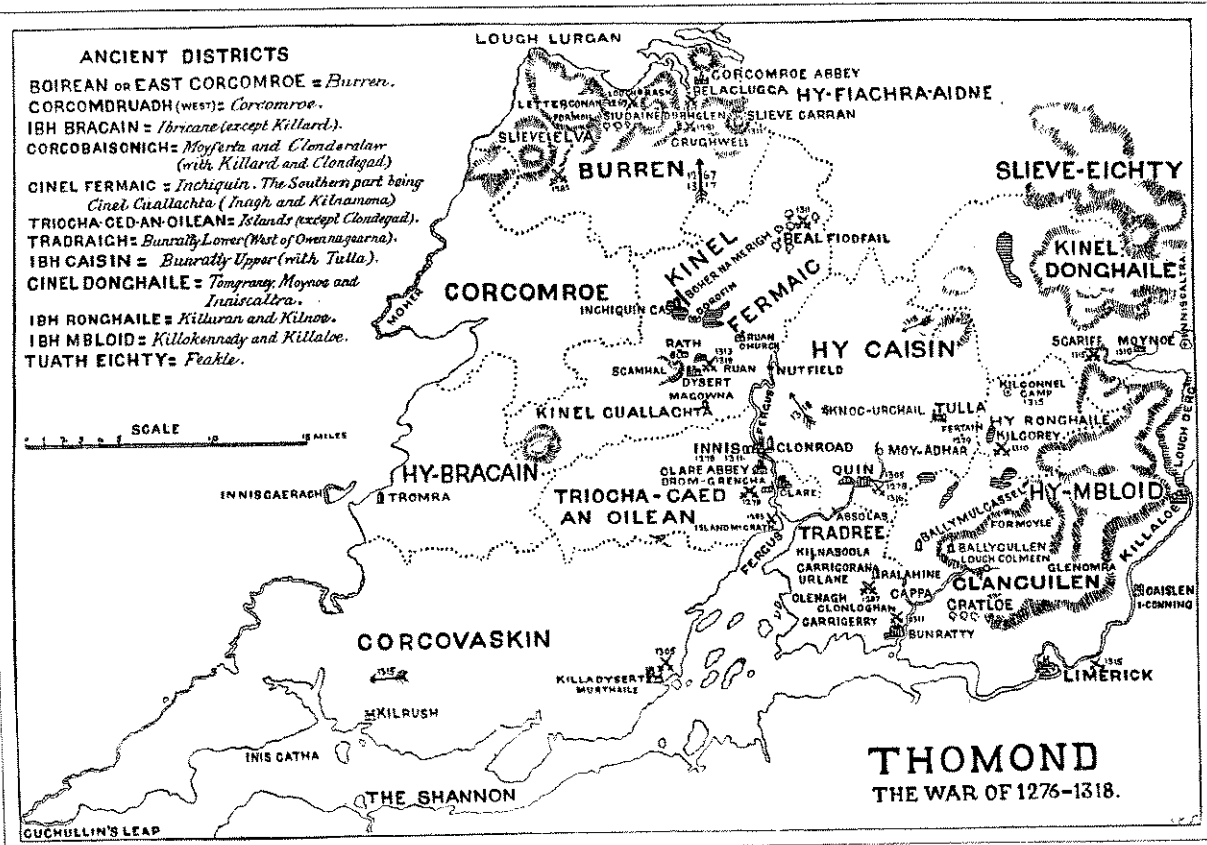
THE NORMANS IN THOMOND.—PART I., 1276-1287.

BY THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A.

In the early history of the English arms in Ireland one episode stands, in a great measure, isolated from other events, with strong personalities on both sides of the combat and noteworthy by its very failure. Two men of the Normans were opposed to two men of the Celts—Thomas and Richard de Clare, of the house of Strongbow, against Torlough and Mórtaigh O'Brian, of the race of Brian Boru—the gallantry and cunning of the Norman against the courage and versatility of the Dalcaissian; each side being reinforced by the countrymen of the other. The struggle of these kingly races from 1276 to 1318 I purpore relating at some length; for the independence of Thomond was ensured for over two centuries by the result, and its continued independence has affected the history of the West to this day: for, had the Norman prevailed and the English power reached without a break from Athlone to Cork, the whole of our history might have been radically different; so I claim for Dyseretoda a place among the decisive battles of our empire.

The power of the O'Brians seems to have steadily declined from the submission of their great King Donalmore to the English. Donough Cairweach, though a powerful chief, and Conor Roe, called in later times of Sindane, held Thomond, Ormond, and Eastern Desmond with diminished splendour and men looked hopefully for the succession of Teige, Conor's son, for he was an able and popular prince, "great in action, with mighty gifts from the Holy Ghost, of a graceful and towering port, of great strength and agility of body and fortitude and firmness of mind . . . there was not an animal or creature under heaven he hated more than the English race;"¹ but a year after the abortive attempt of the Irish to elect a supreme monarch at Caoluisge, 1258, "the protecting and flourishing power, the graceful and real vine, the young Teige was untimely cut down by death";² "after Teige's death Brn died."³ King Conor was absolutely crushed by the blow; he refused to drink, rejoice, or take comfort. He sent his second son Brian "the red" to subdue the district beyond the Shannon, and, with only his household guards and the forces of Donough O'Dea, Prince of Kinel Fernac, left the great earthen palace which he had built at Clonroad and marched against the rebels in the

1. "Cathreim Theortheachbhaigh." This work, which I take as the foundation of my Paper, was written in 1493 by John, son of Kory Mac Grath, historian of Thomond. He uses old authorities and poems, and his history tallies perfectly with all the Annals and State Papers I have yet seen, even in very incidental matters. The T.C.D. copy was made from a medieval book in 1721, by the learned Antiquary, Andrew McCurtin, of Corofin, for Teige M'Nemara, of Kanna, a lineal descendant of the chiefs of Clan Cahlan, and whose interest in antiquities is shown by his restoration of the monuments of Quin Abbey, 1714. See also O'Curry, "Manuscript Materials," p. 234, notice xi. The R.I.A. possesses a MSS. of part of the Cathreim dating 1609. The continuation of the Annals of Inishalen, R.I.A., 23, F. 2, are precisely an abbreviation of R. 80. I seldom cite from them. The MSS. to which my notes refer is R.I.A. 14, B. 52. I seldom cite from them. The MSS. to which my notes refer is R.I.A. 14, B. 52.



[To face page 285.]

THE NORMANS IN THOMOND.

Burren: ravaging Dubh Gleann (Glen na Manne) he crossed the ford of the skulls (Bea a clogaidh) at the head of Pouldoody creek and marched into the valley behind Ballyvaughan, when Conor Carrach O'Loughlin fell upon him in the wood of Sivadane, and, after an obstinate fight, Conor, his son Seomur and many others were slain,² and the monks of the Abbey of East Burren (Corcomroe or De Petra fertile) buried the king on the North side of the channel³ and put over him his effigy carved in black marble (which remains to this day), with his flowing hair and tunic pointed shoes and a reliquary round his neck, his sceptre and crown adorned with fleurs-de-lis. Soon after he fell his son Brian returned in triumph, and was inaugurated by Stoda Mac Conmara, the hereditary Marshal, at Moy Adhar, where a mound and rath east of a small brook with a pillar on the opposite side, about 2 miles N.E. from Quin, mark "where the kings of Thomond were made."⁴ His election was unopposed, for his nephew Torlough (Thoirthealbhagh) was young, so Brian reigned at Clontoad for 9 years (1267-1276) and fought the English and governed with a strong hand. In 1276 Torlough, son of Teige Caoimhge O'Brien, revolted against the king, his uncle; he was aided by the Clan Cullen under Stoda M'Neil and Mac Conmara and the O'Deas (among whom he had been fostered). He they drove King Brian out of Clontoad, falling on him unexpectedly. He fled into Hy-Mbloid, where he had supporters, and after a conference they decided to seek aid from the Normans, so Brian went to "Thomas, the Earl of Clare's son, who was of English race, a man of great consequence, then residing at Cork," who undertook to head all the newly-come English in Munster if he was granted all that part of Thomond between the Shannon and a line drawn from Limerick to Athsollas.⁵

Thomas de Clare, (Thomas) having borne arms against the king at the battles of Lewes, eventually through jealousy of De Montfort came over to the royal side, and, in concert with his brother Gilbert,⁶ arranged a plan whereby Edward the King's son (who was in their custody) escaped. They provided a swift horse for the Prince, and then, letting the attendants exercise themselves till their steeds were worn out, the royal captive galloped away.⁷ This brought them pardon and favour inasmuch that the king (Henry III.) made Thomas his secretary (1) in 1271. Gilbert was married to the Princess Joan of Acre and Thomas de Clare got licence to settle in Ireland 1269 (2), but did not do so till Edward's return from the

1 "Annals of the Four Masters."
 2 Continuation of "Annals of Inisfallen"; older version MSS., T.C.D., F. 1. 18.
 3 "Cath.", p. 15.
 4 Meph Adhar in Toomagh parish, an irregular mound pear-shaped in plan, about 102 ft. x 82, and 20 feet at its greatest height, with a fosse round it. Near the stream is a heap of stones, and a short distance from the opposite bank a pillar 6' 4" high, 3' 2" wide, possibly "the pillar of numerous horses" of the Cathbarn. The Ann. 4 Masters record the cutting down of the tree of Meph Adhar, first by Meleach-lain M'Donnell, 981, and again by Hugh O'Conor, 1051. (O'Hanrahan, 1879, vol. ii., pt. 3, cap. xi.) says it takes its name from the Belgians (Frisches).
 5 "Cath.", p. 18.
 6 The De Clares traced descent from Geoffrey, illegitimate son of Richard Duke of Normandy, whose grandson Richard accompanied William the Conqueror to England, and got lands near Tunbridge, whence the former surname of "De Tonsbridge," they seem to have been looked on with suspicion by the Plantagenets.
 7 Cassell's "History," vol. i., cap. lv.
 8 "Hume," chap. xxi.

Holy Land and coronation in 1274; he had married Juliana, one of the daughters of Maurice Lord Desmond and Emmaline, daughter of Lord Salisbury, and got a grant of Maurice's lands in trust (3) from Prince Edward. These he regranted to Sir W. de Valence, allowing as part payment a sum of £500, paid him in the Holy Land (4). He had a nominal right to Thomond, for Robert de Musegro, a former grantee, had surrendered Tradree, O'Conmook and his castle at "Bonreth" to the king (conditionally on being allowed the cost of repairing, provisioning, and defending the same. The justiciary gave (5) the hostages held by Musegro (6), who undertook to warrant the new settler's title. Geoffrey de Geneville held the lands in trust till Easter, 1276, when De Clare granted to Musegro the safer and more satisfactory manors of Hampstead, Aldworth, Compton, (7) and Alverscote² in England, (8) in exchange for Tradree, and the king (who had granted Thomond to De Clare in fee the previous year) gave him licence to enfeoff knights in the various lands (10); thus De Clare was established in the angle made by the Fergus and Shannon as securely as Edward, King of England, and Brian, King of Thomond, could make him.⁴

The English had succeeded in getting a footing in Thomond even in the reign of Conor. King Henry III had in 1221¹ granted for his life "The land of Desmond" to the "King of Desmond" (Donough O'Garra) at a tribute of 130 marks; but six years after the grantee's death, Henry by a patent at Westminster gave Tradree (the very district assigned to De Clare) to Robert Musegro, allowing him to build castles on the same, giving him 200 good oaks from Criolloe, and the right of weekly markets and an annual fair at Bunratty.¹ The cantred of Islands (including the royal city and palace of Inis Clonroad) was given to John FitzGeoffry the justiciary; next year Master Mathew, clerk to King Conor, made an offer to King Henry for Thomond (2000 marks entry and 100 per annum, 1000 and 200 per annum, or 300 per annum without fine of entry) complaining

¹ Pembroke says De Clare came to Ireland 1274, and is followed by Grace and Cox. Ware says wrongly 1276. The seals of Youghal, 1393 and 1526, bear De Clare's shield.

² Luffield, son of Cas, A.D. 870, Assessor of the Palatians, is said to have given his daughter Aelie in marriage to a royal druid named Tradi. Aelie asked her father for his patrimony, which he, in accordance with an oracle, surrendered to her husband, whence it was named Tradraithe (O'Curry's Lectures, vol. II., lect. x.). Malton, brother of Brian Born, defeated the Danes at Tradree and Kinniscob, before 978, and Hugh O'Conor wasted the district, 1052.

³ De Clare had a grant from the king of Alverscote, 1266, and from Sir Siphward of Hampstead, 1269 (Cal. Rowl. Patent vol. 5, p. 40 and 43). They lay in Oxford, Worcester, and Rutland (Abbreviatio chart. orig. vol. I., p. 25).

⁴ De Clare's ten grants here cited will be found thus—No. 1, in Cal. Rowl. Pat., p. 44, Anno, 1271, and from No. 2, in the Cal. of State Papers, Ireland, under these dates 1269, Ap. 8; 1270, March 30; 1272, May 3; 1275, Oct. 23; 1276, Feb. 12; March 2; May 13; 1275, Jan. 26; 1276, July 6.

⁵ Among the nominal grantees, John Fitz Thomas held Cruchid (Crughwell) O'Casin, and part of Corkenrocht, wasted by the Irish, 1282. John Fitz Geffry held the cantred of Islands at 43 marks, and Musegro held Tradree at half a mark, and O'Casin at 200 marks. Conor O'Brien used to pay 140 marks for Thomond.—("Cal. St. Papers, Ireland.")

⁶ Tracts, T.C.D., Fagel, M. ii. 34.

⁷ For the grants to Musegro see Cal. St. Papers, Ireland, under dates Jan. 11; 1248, May 2, 1251 (oaks), and Feb. 23, 1253; Camden says wrongly in his "Britannia" that Musegro granted the Irish lands to the king, and the latter gave them to Richard de Clare.

that the Crown bailiffs were very offensive and troublesome and harassed Conor with lawsuits at Limerick, so the king bade the justiciary to desist from these suits and take 100 marks security from the King of Thomond. A few years after this (1257) there was a great war between Conor O'Brien and the English of Munster, who were slaughtered and wasted by him and his son Teige,¹ who, says MacGrath, "did not suffer one of that nation to inhabit the size of the meadow but in that flourishing kingdom." Brian followed in his brother's footsteps and in 1270 turned against the English and took the castle of Clare (Clar-atha-da-Cornah), but three years later Lord Desmond led a great army into Thomond² and subdued Brian (no doubt this facilitated Tortough's revolt). Finally King Edward confirmed De Clare in De Musegro's lands in 1275 (the being bound to the Crown in five knights' fees) which Brian Ruidh confirmed. The armies of King Brian, De Clare, Fitzgerald, and the Butlers mustered one evening at the Thomond gate of Limerick and by a forced march fell on Clonroad Palace at early dawn; fortunately for Tortough he was absent in Corcoyraskin (Moyferta and Clonderlaw) receiving the fealty of the Mac Mahons, so Brian occupied the deserted town and palace, and being joined by the O'Grades and others took the town of Quin (Quinché) an important strategic post against the Mac Nemans and necessary for keeping open the road to his Norman allies. It had a church, dedicated to St. Kinehan and afterwards rebuilt by De Clare, massive, battlemented, with huge stone gutters and narrow lancet windows, "at once a church and a fortress." The Norman eventually strengthened his position by erecting a fort on the eastern bank of the stream a great court 120 feet square with walls nearly 10 feet thick and round towers 40 feet broad at three of its angles; he also repaired "the defensive thick walled castle of lime and stone, which was a sheltered impregnable fortress, a wide whitewashed mansion, which he founded at the clear harboured mouth of the Raité"—Bunratty—the most historic castle of a historic county. Brian then ravaged the O'Dees and Clan Cullen, but the latter collected their families and cattle and fled over the northern border into the woods and mountains of Shelve Eachby.

Tortough fled from Corcoyraskin up the Atlantic coast, resting a night at Tromra (the house of Donald, son of Teige Almuin O'Brien) opposite Mutton Island. He took refuge first in Corcoyraskin and then among the Clan Cullen, and won over the De Burghoses (who were jealous of De Clare), the Siol Anmchadha (O'Madagans), and the O'Kellys of Hy Mary; he was also joined by some of the Mac Mahons, O'Germans, and the sons of O'Brien of Thomra. Fends now broke out along the border, and the Clan Cullen so

¹ "Annals of the Four Masters."

² I find no earlier occurrence of the name "Clare" for Thomond than MacGrath, 1439, who also calls the Abbey of Forgy by that name, as does Bishop Theobald's exemplification of Donalmore's charter, 1461. The name, no doubt, is derivable from the plank bridge at the important Castle of "Clar" (and not from the Normans); nor did it finally displace "Thomond" till far down the 17th century.

³ "Annals of Clonmacnois"; "Annals of the Four Masters."

⁴ "Cal. State Papers," No. 1192.

⁵ It evidently did not exist in 1278, but was built before 1280, and burned 1305. It probably remained a ruin in 1318, as De Clare camped in the church. The Franciscans in later years utilized its ruins for the noble Abbey on its site. See Depens and plan in our Journal, vol. II., Series 4, by T. N. Deane, and vol. VIII., Series 4, by T. J. Westropp. The "Annals of Inishaden," T.C.D. MS., record its building in 1279-80.

ravaged Tridree that De Clare had to make a trench and wall from Lathem Creek to Rosmaher, which was, of course, as efficient as the Roman wall or Great wall of China to keep out the wild tribes. Torlough and his forces entered Thomond from the North East through Kinel Doneghait. The enemies met for the first time at Moy Gressain: a fierce but confused battle turned against Brian, and numbers fell on both sides; amongst them was De Clare's brother-in-law, Patrick FitzMaurice. Bunnraty was filled with lamentation, and each felt his loss as if he had been their relative. Brian had fled thither and was at dinner with De Clare, when the latter's wife denounced the unfortunate king as the sole cause of her brother's death and got leave to hang him. He was seized at the table and brought out of the castle; he was then "bound to a stern steed" and dragged to death; his head was cut off, and the mangled body suspended by its feet from a gallows. This frightful deed was aggravated by the unusually solemn alliance existing between the murderer and his victim. "They had sworn to each other all the oaths of Munster, as bells, relics of the saints, and bacchalls . . . and for confirmation of this indissoluble bond . . . they drew part of the blood of each other which they put in a vessel and mingled together;"¹² nay more, at the sacrament they had divided the host between them. This hideous tale was used in the remonstrance of the Irish chiefs to Pope John XXII. to show the treachery of the English. Some writers¹³ say that soon after this the Irish drove Desmond and De Clare into Shere Bloom (Shere Bannry, Holmshead and Ware) and beset them till they killed and ate their horses, having finally to make an ignominious surrender by promising to make satisfaction for Brian's death and give up Roscommon Castle, but the silence of the Irish authorities on an event so flattering to their nation throws doubt on the story.

The murdered king left several sons. Donough, the eldest, was now leader of the Clan Brian, and proceeded to revenge his father's death: he very nearly succeeded. De Clare and a detachment of his troops were at Quin the following year (1278) when Donough surrounded them, and driving a number of them into St. Finighan's Church, burned it over their heads. The "Annals of Clonmacnoise" say De Clare was in the building; however, he with difficulty escaped to Bunnraty with the loss of most of his men. He now strove to make a compact with Torlough, but the prince refused, and going in haste to Moy Adhar, was inaugurated king by Sioda. The clever Norman then sent a flattering and hypocritical message to Donough, who laid aside his resentment, joined his father's murderer and reduced Uathine¹⁴ and the Burren, the O'Longhins and the

¹ Ann. Clonmacnoise. The Ann. Four Masters say "drawn between horses." The Cathrein "barbarously executed." Penbridge "O'Brine interfidit." The letter to the Pope, "Subito de mensa et convivio strepitum in cauda trahi fecit episcopum, amputato quoque capite, truncum corporis per pedes suspendi fecit in ligno" (Forum's Societronicon).

² "Ann. Clonmacnoise."

³ They say "In majores confederacionis et amicitie signum, de eandem hostia consecrante in duas divisa partes, nequiter communicavit (Don Thomas de Clare Comes Glovornie frater)." "Ware, Cox, and Ireland."

⁴ Uathine (Wathney or O'wney, Co. Limerick) appears as held on lease by De Clare in 1283. His Abbot was fined for harbouring the Irish, Nov. 1290 ("Gal. State Papers, Ireland"), confirming M'Grath's statement as to his sympathy with the O'Briens.

Mac Mahons, Torlough fled from Clonroad to the Clan Cuilen, and the brave Sioda, falling on the allies at Quin, was slain, and his little troop scattered; his bard sings:

"'Tis sad, oh cheerful Sioda, whom none dare oppose in war,
When you came to Limerick, and when Brian fled before your cavalry,
None could gamine your fame, nor King Torlough's,
Deadly thy blows, and red thy dart at Magh Gressain,
I count for ever and cannot tell the number of thy deeds.
Many in Quin's battle of swords, in the fight were laid supine,
Thy coming into Quin without thy host, I cannot but greatly lament."

Goretha (Cuntheadhe) Mac Conmara, his son, was chosen chief in his stead: "the choice was not a pebble instead of an egg." He, with Torlough and the latter's brother Donald, fled to the woods of Furroor (Forhair), and as De Clare refused peace, they prepared for a raid.

Donald, the king's brother, marched to Dromgrencha, a wooded hill near Clare Abbey, and fell upon Mahon O'Brien (an adherent of Clan Brian)¹⁵ and the Kinel Donghaile (O'Gradise), who, when they saw the red striped banner of Donald, and the standards of O'wney, Clan Cuilen and Kinel Fennate, fled past Ennis, leaving it to the enemy, who massacred the men, and carried the women, children, and cattle westward, but being overtaken by De Clare and the Clan Brian, massacred the captives and slaughtered the cattle at Moyn-na-seed, and escaping with difficulty through the woods, joined King Torlough between Rath and Dysert. After this cruel raid the king fled to O'wney, and Goretha to Donadmooie Mac Carthy, Prince of Desmond. De Clare sent to offer a large sum for the surrender of "Mac Conmara" ("son of the sea hound, or hero"). No, replied Mac Carthy, I will not surrender the "hound against his will, for he does not belong to me."¹⁶

Next year, 1279, De Clare collected a force at Ferrain (near Tulla), but Donald fell on some of the levies at Coill Dring, scattering, and slaughtering them. He then sent their weapons, harps, and shields to Torlough, and the broken shields and golden spurs of the knights, in derision, to De Clare, who lost heart, and after pretending to make great preparations,¹⁷ tampered with some of Torlough's allies; the king repaid him by revenging Tridree up to the town of Bunnraty, and forced him to recognise his title and banish Donald. In the spring of 1280, M'Carthy effected a compromise, Torlough was to keep eastern Thomond with its fertile soil, its lakes abounding in fish, and the natural strongholds of Shere Eachty, and Shere Bernagh behind him. Donough was given the west, with its endless forests, the sea shore and the defensible valleys of Burren and Kinel Fennate. It was no part of De Clare's policy to let

¹ "Gath," p. 36.

² Mahon was son of Brian, son of Donald Connachta, the brother of Donough Carbreach; he lived to see the end of this war, and was slain in 1320. The continuation of the "Annals of Inisfallen" describe the fight of Clare Abbey as "a bloody slaughter of all their forces."

³ "Gath," p. 45; "Ann. Inisfallen," R. I. A. copy.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.—John de Hiwys held his lands from De Clare on presenting a pair of gilded spurs ("Gal. State Papers, Ireland").

⁵ Also described (with a pious thanksgiving for M'Carthy's safe return) in "Ann. Inisfallen," T. C. D. copy.

maters settle, so he summoned the English nobles to meet him. Burke and Butler marched through Turlough's land from the north, and met De Clare and Fitzgerald at Tiohraí-na-hinnison. Donough could not resist joining them, so Turlough in alarm sent Donald, Dermot MacMahon and Coréba M'Connara (under protection of Butler and the Earl of Ulster) to stipulate for peace. De Clare strove to get them seized, but Butler insisted on keeping faith; the English quarrelled and got into confusion "like a skein of tangled thread," till the Earl of Ulster, "a Solomon for wisdom," ordered hostages to be given to De Clare, and Turlough to be confined in East Thomond, and the English retired! This peace was soon broken. Donald came to Quin to purchase wine for his brother's palace. Quin seems to have been the frontier fortress of the Normans, and being near Clonroad, an army could in a few hours fall on that palace without having to march along the face of the hills held by the Clan Outlen. The prince had completed his purchase, and the Irish and garrison were peacefully mingled near the Castle, when a Norman soldier, seeing Donald mounting his horse, struck at him with his lance, and wounded him in the groin. In his agony the victim struck his slayer with a sheen, and the Norman with difficulty staggered back to the castle, falling dead in the gate. Taking up their prince's nearly lifeless body (the lance projecting through his back) the O'Briens rode off pursued by the garrison. Thus died the brave but merciless Donald.

"The son of Teige's death is Munster's ruin,
No man dare challenge his wrath

When supporting the rights of the house of Teige,
I see the country pierced, wide plains already red.

The fields red beneath their armies,
Their white flags and their faces red.

The sun is obscured, the hills are blighted,
The pure wind has fallen on each soft plain and sea.

The fishes are disturbed, and the fenland's harvests flooded,
There are cries and groans aloud for the patron of the poor.

He was pierced by a stranger's lance,
Donald beg O'Brien, the combatant, with javelins.

Donald of the sword, the fair hero-branch of Cé,
Who will ne'er be let return by the Son of the living God."²

De Clare and Donough then surprised Turlough, who fled as before to Furroor, but soon came out of its defiles with so strong an army that De Clare made peace, and summoning the rivals before him—we can fancy the princes scowling at each other, and the crafty face of the Machiavel of Thomond as he addressed them—said, "Whichever of you first attacks the other shall have my support." Turlough took up the challenge and ravaged Donough's subjects, the O'Quins and O'Deas, though he had been fostered among the latter (however his foster brothers, Donough and Muiréadach O'Deaghad, were with him). The cost of this year's war was £128 15s. 2d., lent by Theobald Butler. Turlough, with difficulty, brought his plunder to Slieve Eochty, for the people of Kindel

¹ "Cath," p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Fernac,¹ outnumbering his army, pursued, so that Coréba had to cover his retreat. Soon afterwards Turlough's army ravaged Dunh Glean, and routed an ambuscade laid by Donough, of whose followers they slew Conor Carrach O'Loughlin and O'Hehir, chief of Ibh Flanchadha, losing of their own men Dermot M'Mahon and Aresias O'Grady,² and forced Donough back into the rugged and lonely hills for Turlough's men had acquired an appetite for fighting, "even though their faces were red and their hands blistered" by their exertions; thus the king got temporary possession of the West.

1262. Donough fled to Hy Fiachra,³ and Turlough, having formed a camp on Slieve Elva⁴ (a bold ridge north of Lisdoonvarna) trusting to Coréba to keep peace in the East, was unprepared for a foe, when the standards of the prince appeared before the camp, and the royal forces, not having time to arm themselves, fled. Turlough, with difficulty escaped, and Donough was reinstated over Western Clare.

1263.⁵ Next year a conference took place between the rivals near Island Maegrath, on the west bank of the Fergus, where it suddenly widens into the broad estuary below Clare Castle. Donough and his men having drunk too much mead, abused Turlough so grossly that he vowed vengeance, and winning over Donald O'Conor and Congalach O'Loughlin (thereby winning Corcomroe from Donough) he took advantage of a violent storm to desert the conference with his new adherents, intending to attack Donough's three houses; the latter prince seeing this, sprang on his horse, and with a few followers, attempted to retire, but was set on by the Clan Turlough, and after slaying Kennedy O'Brien and wounding Mahon O'Loughlin, his horse was killed. The unfortunate prince plunged, severely wounded, and in his armour, into the Fergus, swollen by the recent storm; many of Turlough's men swam after him, others poured showers of arrows over him; he lost strength, and calling to God for mercy, so that all his foes heard, he raised his hands to heaven, and was swept under by the current.⁶ His body was recovered and buried. He was a courteous, merry prince, and encouraged learning;

¹ Maegrath says expressly, "they took many towers," contradicting the received opinion that except Bunratty, Clare, Clonroad, and Rosroe, the other towers are of the 16th, 16th, and 17th centuries.

² O'Donovan thinks that the O'Grady's "Inquisition," 1287, they do not appear in De Clare's "Inquisition," 1287.

³ Aresias, son of Malachi was fourth in descent from Ghnada, or Ghnada, who gave his name to the clan, and his descendant, Sir Denis O'Grady, or Brady, got a patent of his estates, Jan. 6, 1543, and is ancestor by his son John of the O'Grady of Killybrowen, and by his son Hugh, first Protestant Bishop of Meath, of the Bradies of Raheens, Co. Clare, and Myscall, Co. Carlow.

⁴ The Dalgaels suffered from swelled hands on other occasions than Clonarf; some attribute this to their love of display in decorating their sword-blis with gold wire.

⁵ Probably this the little district of Hy Fiachra, adjoining Burren and in the barony of Kiltoran (Tines and Customs of Hy Mary), and not the great Northern Hy Fiachra.

⁶ The scene of a battle of Cormae-Ji-fada, King of Ireland, A.D. 239. "Annals For Masters."

⁷ The "Four Masters" say 1265, but De Clare's leave of absence in 1264 confirms Maegrath in this date. The position of the conference is fixed by Turlough's retreat "along the estuary Westward," and Donough's death in the Fergus.

⁸ Note how perfectly this scene corresponds to the spirited verses in Maconary's

"Horatius."

⁹ "Cath," p. 56.

292 ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

he had reigned jointly with Torlough in Thomond for nearly seven years:—

“The death of Donchad is the loss of the learned, the grief of every bard, Brian Rua's son of no timid fight, sweet were his wars in the west;

The cold earth is now his bed, and we his tribe are in sorrow,
We loved him as the ocean loves the sources of the Shannon.”

Torlough was now sole king, and in 1284 defeated Donough's brother Torlough Oge, and took Ennis from him, adding a stone castle to the west entrenchments of Clonroad—

“Torlough, of the full courts and numerous throngs,
Laid first the stones of my foundation deep
In Innis, lying westward of Cuanuadh,
Where he let no man with ambition come.”

He was now undisputed King of all Thomond (save Tradree), and plentiful harvests, calm seas, and fine weather favoured his reign.

Thomas De Clare, as if feeling his occupation gone, got licence to leave Ireland for three years to look after his English estates (September 27, 1284).¹ No sooner was he in England than the tribes lodged a complaint against the English. Torlough received the deputation next spring in his palace of Clonroad, and in response wasted Tradree. De Clare was detained in England, having, besides his own concerns, to appear in a lawsuit at Esher, 1286, in favour of Cecilia, wife of John de Masegros, who claimed £120 out of Aylescote, which had been granted by De Clare to her son Robert.² The Norman, much enraged by the ravage of his estates, returned and gathered another army. On August 29, 1287, Torlough met him within the borders of Tradree, and was again victorious. De Clare was slain (it is said, by a blow of the king's massive battle-axe, which clove the shoulder at the neck through his armour), and along with him fell Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice, Sir Richard de Taaffe, Sir Richard Dexter, and Sir Nicholas Teeling. The inquisitions taken after his death are extant, and show that he held large estates at Youghal and Inchiquin, Co. Cork, Ballyduff and Moyvenich, in Limerick, and Bunratty, worth £357 11s. 5d. per annum.³ He was succeeded by his son, Gilbert de

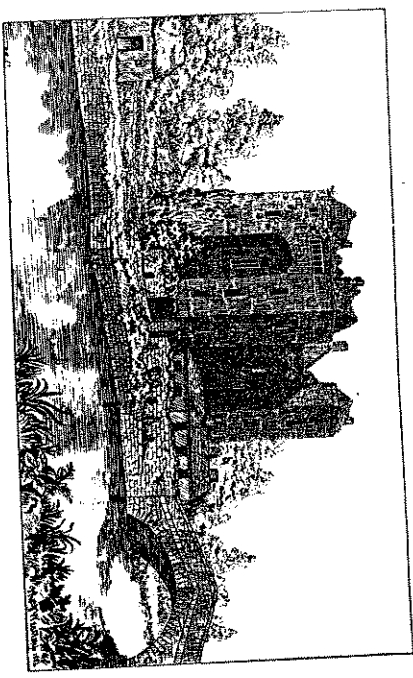
ballke in Tradree 1287

¹ “Cal. State Papers, Ireland.”

² *Ibid.*, No. 212.

³ “Annals of Clon.” Cox and Ware. The continuation of the Ann. Instalen say, “The Earl Theobald de Clare who was the protector of the English in Munster, Gerald Fitzmaurice, Richard Faure, Richard Decoin and Nich. Teeling were slain in a battle which they fought against Torlough son of Isidart. The date is taken from Sir Maurice de Lee's deposition (“Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1301). Mr. James Frost and Mr. George Stacpole Mahon, tell me they have failed to identify the battle field, and that no tradition of De Clare exists among the peasantry of Tradree, probably from the influx of English settlers, as the reverse is the case at Dyseret and Corcomroe.”

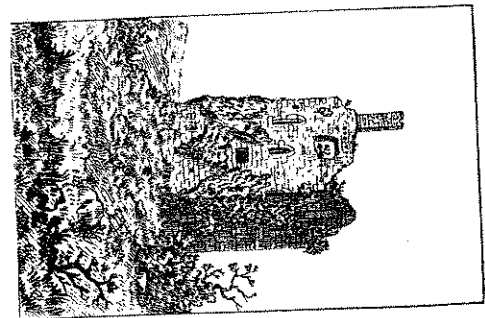
⁴ September 18, 1287, (“Cal. State Papers, Ireland,” No. 459). This throws much light on the Norman Colony; Gerald, brother-in-law of De Clare (“Fitzmaurice”), held Rath Lahryn (Kaharines) at 4 marks. Ruc de Aftoun held Cahrynamahin. Robert Bagot of Dinnary; Gilbert Feppard of Carrigat, 4s; Peter Kingat (? Kingsale) of Ballymarkaban (near Quin), 13/4; Walter Russell of Ulane, 6s/8; Walter Feppard of Clengah, 6s/8; W. St. Alban of Ballygrylleen; John de Hyves of Carthill et ten of a pair of gilt spurs and a pair of white gloves at Michaelmas; Patrick de Layuoperm



Bunratty Castle, Co. Clare.



St. Finghin's Church, Quin.



O'Dea's Castle, Dyseret.

THE NORMANS IN THOMOND.