

The Conquest Of Connaught

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1224-37

Ireland
Under The Normans
1169-1216

By

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Ever since the beginning of the thirteenth century Cathal Crovderg O'Conor had remained in undisturbed possession of Connaught, holding it, since 1215 at any rate, by charter in fee during good service as a vassal of the Crown, subject to an annual rent of 300 marks. [1] Viewed as a feudal fief, Connaught on Cathal's death would pass under John's charter in ordinary course to his eldest son Aedh, and, as we have seen, [2] Cathal just before his death in 1224 was anxious to obtain from Henry III a confirmatory charter to Aedh in fee. No such confirmation appears to have been actually obtained, but on Cathal's death Aedh, we are told, ' assumed the government of Connaught . . . 1224. for he had been a king in dignity beside his father previously, and the hostages of Connaught were at his command.' [3] From this and other indications it may be inferred that Aedh was not inaugurated ' O'Conor' by the twelve chieftains of the Sil Murray according to ancient custom. In ordinary course it was more usual for the chieftainship to pass to a brother, brother's son, or cousin of the deceased chieftain—to some near male agnate otherwise qualified. In recent times, however, it had become increasingly common for a son to secure his father's vacant throne, and, if he proved himself ' the best man', to obtain or enforce recognition from the ' urrighs' or subordinate chieftains. Aedh would no doubt have preferred to owe his position to the free choice or the strong arms of his followers, rather than rely on English charters or English support, and it was perhaps to gain popularity with the clansmen that he burned the castle of Ardowlin and killed its occupants. But as he had to call upon the justiciar to support his claim to the throne, his succession may perhaps be regarded as the first important example of a Celtic chieftainship descending as a quasi-feudal fief from father to son.

King Aedh, son of Cathal, though apparently supported by the English, had rivals and enemies among his own kith and kin at home, ready to dispute his succession. Even before Cathal's death, Dermot, son of Rory O'Conor, the last ard-ri, made an abortive attempt to gain the sovereignty of Connaught, [4] and now, early in 1225, Turlough Turiough, and Aedh, also sons of Rory, obtained the assistance of Aedh O'Neill to contest the throne. The Sil Murray clans, with the exception of the Mac Dermots, together with the O'Flahertys and others, joined in the rebellion against Aedh, son of Cathal. After pillaging Eastern Connaught as far as the woods of Athlone, O'Neill marched to Carn-free, where he made Turlough O'Conor king. [5]

This was the beginning of a series of desolating wars which ended in the Anglo-Norman domination of Connaught under Richard de Burgh and his followers.

Meanwhile Aedh, unable to resist his enemies by himself, went for assistance to Athlone, where the English were at the time holding a court, ' and every one of them', we are told, ' was a friend of his, for his father's sake and his own, for he and his father before him were very liberal in wages to them. And he brought with him the justiciar [6] and as many of the foreigners of Erin as he thought sufficient'. Donough Cairbrech O'Brien and O'Melaghlín of Meath also assisted him with their

forces. There is an unusually elaborate account of this campaign, apparently derived from contemporary reports, in the Annals of Loch Cé, but we need not follow it in detail. The opposing forces which were operating in the north of the province came to no regular engagement, but there was a good deal of harrying and plundering the land. In fact the Irish malcontents were unable to face the Normans in the field of battle, while Aedh, son of Cathal, was unable to cope with his enemies without Norman aid. O'Neill, we are told, 'went on a quick march to his house on hearing that a large army of foreigners and Munstermen were coming against him'. [7] The forces of the sons of Rory dispersed, and were mainly concerned 'to protect their cows and people and to make peace for their sake until his foreigners should depart from Aedh son of Cathal.' [8] At the same time a second army of foreigners, led by Murrough O'Brien and 'the sheriff of Cork', entered Connaught from the south and harried the land. Aedh, son of Cathal, we are told, 'disliked their coming into the district, for it was not he who had invited them; but when they heard of all the spoils the justiciar with his foreigners had obtained, envy and jealousy seized them.' [9] By 'the sheriff of Cork' is, no doubt, intended Richard de Burgh. He had recently been appointed seneschal of Munster, [10] and this office would seem to have included that of sheriff. The King of Connaught would naturally have preferred to do without the aid of William de Burgh's son, but, on the other hand, it would have been very strange if Richard de Burgh, with his hereditary pretensions, did not have a finger in the open pie. The sons of Murrough O'Conor, another brother of Rory the late *ardri*, submitted to Aedh, son of Cathal, 'for the sake of their cows and people'. They formed a distinct sept known as Clan Murrough, and were at this time seated in Carra, County Mayo. O'Flaherty also submitted for the same reason, and was obliged to yield up the island fortresses [11] in Lough Corrib and the boats on the lake. On the other hand, Donough O'Brien was forced to submit to Aedh, son of Rory, and to make peace and 'drowning of candles' with him to effect the release of some of his chief men who had been captured. But in every case the submission was insincere.

No sooner were the foreigners, except a small band, departed from Aedh than O'Flaherty and the sons of Murrough and other 'royal heirs' raised the standard of revolt and once more joined the sons of Rory. Aedh accordingly dispatched messengers to the English requesting additional forces. His request was readily granted, 'for', adds the annalist, 'these expeditions were profitable to the foreigners, who used to obtain spoils and used not to encounter danger or conflict'. The English on this expedition were led by 'William Cras and the sons of Griffin'. By the former was meant William le Gras senior, cousin and seneschal of the Earl Marshal, and the latter were the sons of Griffin Fitz William, brother of Raymond le Gros. The elder of these, Matthew Fitz Griffin, held the manor of Knocktopher of the Earl Marshal. Evidently the earl, who had by this time returned to Ireland, entrusted the leadership of the campaign to his own men. This change of commanders is perhaps a premonitory symptom of that estrangement between Richard de Burgh and the lord of Leinster, which grew in strength next year and broke out with fatal consequences to the earl's brother a few years later. As before, there was no regular fighting, but much harrying of the land. The sons of Rory, once more deserted by the Connaught tribes (who went to protect their cows and people), sought refuge with O'Neill, 'and there resulted nothing to them from this hosting, but that the best territory in Erin was injured and destroyed through them'. [12] Famine and plague followed the plundering: 'Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.' It is ever thus, especially when the weaker side will neither submit nor face the 'trial by battle'.

Hitherto Aedh O'Conor had been supported by the forces of the Crown, but now (in 1226) a change of policy on the part of the English Government took place. A plan which had been from time to time proposed by Richard de Burgh, but which had hitherto been rejected, or at least laid aside, was now put into operation. This was nothing less than the confiscation of the land of Connaught, and the granting of the greater part of it by royal charter to Richard de Burgh. The English Government may have been persuaded that Aedh, son of Cathal, was incapable of retaining the mastery of Connaught, that in view of the dissensions among the O'Conors and the Connaught clans, as to the succession to the throne, it was hopeless to expect peace in the province [13] under any native ruler, and that the present was a favourable opportunity for extending English domination over it. But when all is said that can fairly be said in favour of the new policy, the fact remains that it involved harsh treatment of King Cathal's son, and was not unnaturally regarded by him and his followers as an act of treachery and deception. Nor was this view confined to his Irish followers. Many of the Norman barons resented this treatment of an Irish king whose cause they had supported, and by whose side they had fought. At their head was Earl William Marshal, till now the justiciar, and the facts established by a study of the authorities show beyond a doubt that the earl's refusal to endorse the new policy was the

true cause of his supersession at this time by Geoffrey de Marisco, as well as of the opposition to that policy which speedily manifested itself among the earl's vassals. [14]

As has been mentioned, [15] when King John, in 1215, gave to Cathal Crowderg O'Conor a confirmatory charter of all the land of Connaught except the castle of Athlone, he made an alternative grant to Richard de Burgh of 'all the land of Connaught which William his father held of the king'. These two grants were mutually inconsistent, but the latter grant was held in abeyance, presumably to come into operation in the event of Cathal's default and forfeiture, and seisin was not given in pursuance of it. In 1219 Richard, then with the king in England, made a new offer for a charter materially curtailing for his own benefit Cathal's rights; [16] but this offer was rejected, and renewed protection was granted to Cathal for four years. [17] In 1220 Richard returned to Ireland [18] and received a general mandate for seisin of all the lands of which his father had been disseised, and this mandate was repeated in 1223. [19] In terms these mandates would seem to include Connaught, but no immediate steps to give seisin were taken. Apart from Connaught, Richard de Burgh inherited several valuable manors in the present counties of Limerick and Tipperary, and at his death these manors were valued at £332 14s. 4d. [20] Prior to 1225 he had allied himself to the de Lacys by his marriage with Egidia, daughter of Walter de Lacy, and he had received with her the cantred of Ardmayle in County Tipperary. [21] Through the influence of his uncle Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England, he was now high in favour with the king. In 1225 he was appointed seneschal of Munster and custodian of the castle of Limerick, and the Crown rent of 250 marks out of Decies and Desmond was assigned to him for his maintenance in the king's service. [22]

Next year the new policy was declared. On June 25, 1226, Earl William Marshal was superseded in the office of justiciar of Ireland by Geoffrey de Marisco. [23] No reason is assigned for this supersession, but five days later the new justiciar obtained the required orders to summon Aedh, son of Cathal, late King of Connaught, before the king's court in Dublin 'to surrender the land of Connaught, which he ought no longer to hold on account of his father's and his own forfeiture'. If Aedh refused to surrender, the justiciar was to ascertain by the court the truth of the forfeiture, and if it was found that Aedh had forfeited the land, the justiciar was to take it into the king's hand. [24] He was then to grant seisin thereof to Richard de Burgh, to hold of the king at the rent of 300 marks for the first five years and 500 marks subsequently. Five of the best cantreds nearest to the castle of Athlone were to be retained for the king's use. [25]

By the contemplated procedure the King of Connaught was to be treated as if he were simply a feudal tenant in chief of the Crown. No doubt this was his strict legal position. Under the charter granted to his father, Aedh held Connaught in fee during good service, and was not to be disseised of his land without judgement of the king's court. No feudal tenant on a charge of forfeiture could do more than demand to be tried by his peers. The precise act of forfeiture charged against Aedh is not stated. His sacking of Ardowlin and massacre of the garrison in 1224 was presumably an act of forfeiture, but seeing that the justiciar William Marshal afterwards aided him to recover his throne, it would seem to have been condoned. There may indeed have been other breaches of feudal obligation, and Aedh probably well knew or was informed that he had no adequate defence, and that he must rely on his own right arm if he was to retain his position. Irish kings who were ready to accept the protection afforded by a charter from the Crown, and the military assistance given to them, were seldom equally ready to observe the corresponding obligations, or to accept the consequences of default. When confronted with these consequences they would fall back upon their status as tribal chieftains, which they did not regard as impaired by their submission to the English king. And indeed, seeing that feudal law, even if applicable between Aedh and the Crown, did not affect Aedh's relations with his Irish subjects, the analogy between Aedh's position and that of an ordinary feudal baron was far from complete.

As already intimated, Aedh was not alone in resenting this strict application of feudal law to his case. William Marshal, who was ever zealous in defending the rights of the aristocracy of England against the Crown, took immediate action in his defence. With a chivalry and a daring worthy of his sire, but without, perhaps, his sire's incomparable temper and tact, he seems to have warned Aedh of what was in store for him, directed his bailiffs to withhold delivery of the royal castles, and started on his way to Ireland, apparently with the intention of thwarting the new justiciar and Richard de Burgh. The king, however, intimated his displeasure at William's going to Ireland, and ordered him before doing so to surrender his castles of Caermarthen and Cardigan. [26] Consequently William did not

continue his journey. He was not prepared to carry his opposition to the new policy to the point of a direct conflict with the king, his brother-in-law. He surrendered the castles, met the king in August, in the Welsh Marches, and submitted to his will. Then he went to Ireland with letters of protection on the king's service, [27] presumably to deliver the royal castles held by his bailiffs to Geoffrey de Marisco.

Meanwhile, probably in July, Geoffrey de Marisco landed at Waterford. From his letter to the king, written shortly after his arrival in Dublin, we learn both his proceedings and the attitude of the Irish barons with regard thereto. He was about to proceed to Dublin to communicate the mandates to the king's subjects when he heard that Earl William, by the agency of Theobald Walter, was about to oppose his passage with all the force of Leinster. Having at length arrived at Dublin, he held a council, when all assembled rendered their oaths of fealty, except William Baron of Naas, Walter de Ridelisford, Matthew Fitz Griffin, and John de Clahull—all leading vassals of the earl. Theobald Walter too excused himself from taking the oath, asserting that he could not part with the custody of the castles confided to him by the earl without his mandate. 'All the [king's] castles of Ireland', says the justiciar, 'are fortified against the king, save the castle of Limerick in the custody of Richard de Burgh, who always assists the justiciar in the king's affairs.' This loyal assistance on the part of Richard de Burgh is not surprising, seeing that the king's affairs in Ireland at this time were virtually directed by Hubert de Burgh in his nephew's interest. 'All the Irish', adds Geoffrey, 'are so banded together and so wheedled by William Crassus (i.e. William le Gras, the Earl Marshal's seneschal) that they cannot be recalled from their conspiracy.' He goes on to state that the King of Connaught, 'at the instigation of William Crassus', had become heedless of the king's mandates; that he, Geoffrey, had summoned him to Dublin, but that as the king did not come he had appointed a day for him at Athlone. Thus far Geoffrey's letter. [28] In the Annals of Loch Cé, however, it is stated that when Aedh was summoned before the court in Dublin, 'he was betrayed in that court, until William Marshal, his own friend, came with his forces into the midst of the court; and they carried him out of it by force and conveyed him safely to his own country'. [29] Geoffrey's letter and other facts seem inconsistent with this dramatic action. Aedh did not appear when summoned, and it would seem that William Marshal was not in Ireland at the date of Geoffrey's letter. Nevertheless the entry is valuable as giving the Irish view of the diverse sympathies of Anglo-Irish political parties. Probably the substratum of fact was that William Marshal, through his seneschal William le Gras, warned Aedh of what was intended against him and advised him not to appear. The submission of William Marshal to the king's will was speedily followed by the withdrawal of opposition on the part of his vassals. William Marshal took no further part in Irish politics, but by his opposition to the scheme for the confiscation of Connaught he had sown the seeds of enmity towards his house which eight years later bore bitter fruit in the tragic death of the 'Knight of the Curragh'.

For what happened at Athlone we may rely on the Annals of Loch Cé. The meeting took place near a marsh outside Athlone. [30] William de Marisco, Geoffrey's son, appeared on behalf of the justiciar with eight horsemen. Aedh came across the marsh with a few of his chief men, and 'remembering the treachery and deception practised against him at Dublin', immediately seized William. Aedh's people actively supported him; the constable of Athlone was slain, and three of the deputation from the Government were taken prisoners and carried across the marsh. Then Aedh and the Connaught men plundered and burned the town of Athlone. 'This', says the short-sighted annalist, 'was a felicitous act for all the Connaught men, for they obtained their sons and daughters and the hostages of Connaught [in exchange for the prisoners], and peace for the Connaught men afterwards.' [31] The peace, however, was only for the moment, and this outbreak gave Aedh's enemies the pretext for which they were looking. He had now committed a clear act of forfeiture. In May 1227 the grant of Connaught in fee to Richard de Burgh on the terms already settled was formally executed, [32] and the tenants in chief of Ireland were summoned for an expedition into Connaught with a view to punishing Aedh and giving Richard seisin. [33] The whole of Connaught was soon overrun by the English. They brought with them the sons of Rory, whom they had previously opposed. Richard de Burgh himself, with Aedh, son of Rory, plundered the country about Inishmaine on Lough Mask and took hostages. The justiciar, Geoffrey de Marisco, with Turlough, son of Rory, took the hostages of the Sil Murray in the northern part of the present County Roscommon, and erected the castle of Rinnduin [34] on the shores of Lough Ree. Other detachments went against the O'Flahertys in the west of County Galway, into Carra in the middle of County Mayo, and to the country about Sligo, taking hostages and cattle. [35] Aedh, son of Cathal, fled to O'Donnell, and Connaught was for the moment reduced to submission without any serious opposition.

As for Aedh, he returned from Tirconnell in the same year with his wife and his brother Felim. His wife was captured by the sons of Rory and handed over to the English, while Aedh himself a little later was killed in the house of Geoffrey de Marisco. There was a natural suspicion of ‘an ugly treachery’, but it is clear that he was dethroned by the Connaught men themselves, and it is said that he was killed in a fit of jealousy by an Englishman with whose wife Aedh had taken liberties, and that the Englishman was hanged next day by Geoffrey for the deed. [36]

Though possibly unconnected with this affair, there was now another change in the office of justiciar. On February 13, 1228, Geoffrey de Marisco was superseded by Richard de Burgh. The king, when announcing the new appointment, stated that Geoffrey had expressed a wish to retire. [37] There are indications, however, that Geoffrey had quarrelled with Richard at this time. Geoffrey took no further part in the conquest of Connaught and was not one of those rewarded by a grant of lands there, and, as we have seen, he was opposed to Richard de Burgh and the other enemies of Earl Richard Marshal in 1234. Now in 1226-7 Richard de Burgh had been given the custody of the Crown lands in Decies and Desmond previously held by Thomas Fitz Anthony. [38] Richard complained to the king that the lands had been so alienated by Thomas Fitz Anthony that the residue did not suffice to yield the service due. Accordingly, in August 1227, the king ordered Geoffrey as justiciar to take in the king’s hand and deliver to Richard all the lands which had been so alienated, and to certify their value and the amount of the residue, so that the king might enjoin what was just. [39] As Geoffrey in his former justiciarship had got into trouble about the dealings with these lands, and as he and some of his friends appear to have benefited by the alienations, we have here a probable source of his quarrel with Richard de Burgh.

But Richard de Burgh had many friends and was now the leading figure among the Anglo-Normans. His grant of Connaught soon became effective, and constituted a partition of the province between him and the King of England. The five cantreds reserved to the latter bordered The along the Shannon from the river Suck northwards to Lough Allen, and thence to Lough Gill in County Sligo. They were known as Omany, Tirmany, Moy Ai, the Three Tuaths, and Moylurg and Tirerril considered as one cantred. Together they comprised nearly the whole of the present County Ros-common with parts of the adjoining baronies in County Galway, and the barony of Tirerril in County Sligo. [40] The remainder of the kingdom of Connaught, reckoned as twenty-five cantreds, was assigned to Richard de Burgh. As yet, however, he was far from having obtained ‘quiet enjoyment’ of his great fief, and unfortunately we have few indications of how he proposed to obtain it. There was certainly no immediate attempt at colonization on a large scale. There never was any question of a wholesale clearance of population from any part of the land ; and it was not proposed to do without the intervention of an Irish king. The difficulty seems to have been to find a king who would accept a subordinate position, with a restricted territory, while permitting the Normans to make settlements in the country, and who, at the same time, would be able to command the obedience of the leading Irish tribes.

Now that Aedh, son of Cathal, was out of the way, it might be supposed that the Connaught clans would have united under the house of Rory ; but ‘a great war broke out in Connaught between the two sons of Rory, for (Aedh) the younger son did not yield submission to (Turlough) the elder, and they destroyed Connaught between them’. [41] Indeed what might be superficially regarded as the ‘War of the Connaught Succession’ between members of the O’Conor family, but what was in fact the ‘War of the Conquest of Connaught’ by Richard de Burgh, lasted, with brief intermissions, from its commencement, in 1225, for altogether twelve years, and did not terminate until a king was found who was willing to hold the Saxon king’s five cantreds as his territory and leave the rest of Connaught to the domination of Richard de Burgh. It would be unprofitable to follow minutely all the fortunes of this war, though for most years the annalistic materials for doing so are unusually abundant ; but in order to understand how the Normans became dominant in Connaught—or rather perhaps how it was that the change of rulers was so long in coining about—it is essential to note the chief phases of the conflict and the influence of English political changes in postponing the inevitable result.

On returning to Ireland as justiciar, Richard de Burgh, like his father before him, became the King-maker of Connaught. At first he favoured Aedh, son of Rory, and he ‘was made king by the election of the justiciar and the chiefs of Connaught in preference to Turlough his elder brother. [42] But it seems that the war between the sons of Rory went on. ‘The churches and territories of Connaught were pillaged by them, and its clergy and folk of learning were expelled into foreign countries.’ [43]

The year 1229 is a blank in the annals as regards affairs in Connaught, [44] but the Close Roll shows that in July the king ordered Richard de Burgh to retain as demesne of the king the best lands in the five cantreds and to take counsel as to settling the residue to the king's advantage, and that a grant was made by the king to Adam de Staunton, lord of Moone in County Kildare, of five knights' fees about Dunamon on the river Suck. [45] It is probable that Richard also made some grants, and that it was in this year he erected the castle of Meelick on the Shannon, where his father in 1203 seems to have utilized the church as the core of a mote. [46]

Probably, however, the actual settlement had not proceeded far when next year (1230) King Aedh, son of Rory, turned against Richard de Burgh. This he did at the instigation of Donn Og Mageraghty and Cormac Mac Dermot, 'for', says the annalist, 'they pledged their word that they would not belong to any king who would bring them into the house of the foreigners'. [47] Presumably Richard de Burgh, in pursuance of the king's mandate, had been trying to induce them to become tenants of the English Crown. Aedh and his followers set about plundering the new settlements made by the English in Tirmany and the lands of the Mac Costellos. Richard de Burgh now took up the cause of Felim, son of Cathal, Crowderg, representative of the rival branch of the O'Conors. He entered Connaught from the south, accompanied by Felim, and supported, not only by the English barons, but also by the kings of Thomond and Desmond with their Gaelic forces. [48] After skirmishing somewhat ineffectually with the O'Flahertys near Galway, and obtaining pledges from Manus O'Connor of Clan Murtough in the region about Clew Bay, they marched through the southern part of the present County Sligo and over the Curliou hills, with the object of forcing an engagement with Aedh, son of Rory, and the Sil Murray, who were in a wood near Lough Key. At length, contrary to the advice of King Aedh, whose plan was to clear the cattle from the country and avoid a battle, Donn Og Mageraghty resisted the march of Richard de Burgh and was slain and his force routed. Thereupon Aedh fled to O'Neill, the cattle of the Sil Murray, which had been driven off for safety across the Shannon to the glens of Slieve-anierin in County Leitrim, of Cathal, were rounded up, and Felim was made king by king, the justiciar. [49]

Felim apparently proved no more tractable than Aedh, son of Rory, and was imprisoned next year by Richard at his castle of Meelick. We are left to conjecture the cause, but probably like Aedh he resented his subordinate and circumscribed position. Aedh now made peace with Richard, whose terms, whatever they were, he must have accepted and was once more made king (1232). In this year Richard erected a castle at Galway, and Adam de Staunton commenced another at Dunamon.

But now a change took place as the immediate result of political changes in England. On July 29, 1232, Hubert de Burgh, who with all his shortcomings was the most faithful minister of the Crown since the death of the great William Marshal, and after Stephen Langton its most patriotic adviser, was dismissed and disgraced, and the king fell under the influence of his old guardian, Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, and his Poitevin nephew (?) Peter of Rivaux. A clean sweep was made of the old officials, lucrative posts were showered on the creatures of Peter des Roches, and bands of Poitevin mercenaries were brought into England. At the same time the baronial party, naturally incensed at their exclusion from the councils of the king, were weakened by the deaths of the younger William Marshal and Randolph, Earl of Chester. The former, who had proved himself a not unworthy successor of his father, died prematurely in May 1231, and the latter, who had long headed the old feudal aristocracy, died in October 1232.

Two important consequences to Ireland followed from this change in the king's advisers. We have already dealt with the revolt and tragic death of Earl Richard Marshal, which was directly traceable to Poitevin intrigues. The more immediate consequence was the fall of Richard de Burgh and the temporary undoing of his work in Connaught. At first an attempt was made to save Hubert de Burgh from his enemies by appointing him Justiciar of Ireland, with his nephew, Richard, as deputy, [50] and thus leaving open a retreat for him there. But the appointment was a dead letter. Before the end of July 1232 almost all the offices at the king's disposal in Ireland were lavished upon Peter of Rivaux, and Hubert was ignominiously dismissed. In Ireland Peter was given for life the offices of treasurer and chamberlain of the Exchequer, the king's prisage of wines, the custody of all the king's ports and coasts, the custody of the king's Jews, also the custodies of the king's escheats and wards, of the king's castles of Athlone, Drogheda, and Randown, with the king's five cantreds in Connaught, the custody of all vacant archbishoprics and bishoprics, of the city of Limerick with its castle, of Decies and Desmond with the city of Cork and the king's vill of Dungarvan. [51] Never before had such

power in Ireland been concentrated in the hands of one man—and he an untried foreigner resident in England. The Chancery of Ireland was conferred on Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester and Chancellor of England, to be administered by deputy. [52] The office of justiciar was indeed committed during pleasure to Maurice Fitz Gerald, grandson of the first Maurice, but the office was shorn of most of its powers, and Maurice was to call in the aid and counsel of Peter's bailiffs and the Deputy Chancellor in the king's affairs, and without their presence nothing was to be done. [53]

With the fall of his uncle, the Earl of Kent, Richard de Burgh speedily lost the king's favour. In August he was peremptorily ordered to release Felim on his finding sureties to abide any charge that might be made against him, [54] and to deliver up the royal castles to Peter of Rivaux. On September 2 he was superseded in the office of justiciar by Maurice Fitz Gerald. Richard released Felim, with consequences which did not make for the peace of Connaught, and after some delay surrendered the castles; but a special commission was appointed to audit his accounts and to prosecute the king's plaint against him, [55] and the justiciar was afterwards ordered to take into the king's hand the land of Connaught and keep it for the king's use. [56] Richard refused to surrender his castle of Meelick, and the king gave orders first to the justiciar and then to Felim O'Conor to take it by force. [57] This, however, was not done, and in the spring of 1234 Richard de Burgh regained the king's favour, if he did not add to his own reputation, by the action he took against Richard Marshal.

Meanwhile Felim O'Conor made use of his liberty to destroy his rivals. Acting with the Mac Dermots and others, he organized a hosting into Connaught, in the course of which Aedh, son of Rory, King of Connaught, one of his brothers, and two of his nephews, were slain, and with them fell for ever the sovereignty of this branch of the O'Conors. Felim then proceeded to destroy the castles that had been erected by Richard de Burgh and the sons of Rory, namely, the castles of Galway and Dunamon, the Hen's castle and the Hag's Castle, the two last island castles probably those in Lough Corrib and Lough Mask respectively. [58] He now 'assumed the sovereignty and government over the Connaught men', and, owing to the king's quarrel with Richard de Burgh, he was not interfered with. Indeed it was in May of this year that the king fatuously invited Felim to take the castle of Meelick from Richard, while at the same moment he was urging the justiciar to subjugate to the king's power the whole of Connaught. Such futile and virtually inconsistent mandates show how little the king understood of the real position of affairs in Connaught and give us the measure of his intellect, which never knew how to adapt means to ends. By this time indeed (July 1233) Henry began to make preparations for an immediate expedition in person to Ireland. [59] This was certainly a wise project, but on August 28, having on his hands the more pressing task of countering the revolt of Richard Marshal in Wales, Henry changed his purpose and countermanded the preparations. [60]

The capricious change in Henry's attitude towards Richard de Burgh had effects outside the borders of Connaught. In 1234 the Mac Carthys, as we have seen, attacked Tralee, Felim advanced into Westmeath and burned Ballyloughloe and Ardnurcher, where the Normans had mote-castles from early times, [61] and — more ominous still—Donough Cairbrech O'Brien, King of Thomond, who had for so many years worked loyally with the de Burghs and fought by their side, now allied himself with Felim, attacked the city of Limerick, and plundered O'Heyne, a chieftain in the south, of Galway who had remained faithful to Richard in his adversity. [62]

But Felim's day of independence lasted only as long as the royal ire against Richard de Burgh, or to favour, rather, perhaps we should say, while the Poitevins controlled Henry's emotions. In April 1234 the Bishop of Winchester and Peter of Rivaux were dismissed from their offices. In May Richard regained the king's favour as a reward for his action against the Earl Marshal, and in September his land of Connaught was restored to him as before. The justiciar, Maurice Fitz Gerald, was ordered to give him seisin, and Richard himself was urged to exert himself strenuously to take possession of the land. [63] In fact the conquest of Connaught had to be begun over again.

Next year (1235) there was a general muster of the feudal host under Maurice Fitz Gerald to obtain once more the submission of Connaught. Among the leaders expressly named were Richard de Burgh, Hugh de Lacy, Walter de Ridelisford, and John de Cogan. To these we may probably add Gerald de Prendergast, Gerald de Roche, Peter de Bermingham, Matthew Fitz Griffin, and John le Botiller. All of these shared in the exploitation of Connaught, and nearly all were now or later connected by marriage. Thus Hugh de Lacy married as his second wife Emeline, daughter of Walter de

Ridelisford ; John de Cogan married a daughter of Gerald de Prendergast ; Gerald married as his second wife a daughter of Richard de Burgh ; while Richard was married to Egidia, daughter of Walter de Lacy. At first the feudal host went northwards from Athlone by Roscommon and Elphin to Boyle Abbey. They failed, however, to come to close quarters with Felim, who well knew their strength, and only succeeded in carrying off the cattle of the Sil Murray, which had as usual been driven for safety to the glens of Leitrim. Then they turned south into Thomond to punish O'Brien for his defection. Felim followed them to succour his ally, [64] but their joint forces were defeated, and O'Brien at once made peace and returned to his allegiance, while Felim lied to O'Donnell. O'Flaherty also made peace, and he and O'Heyne assisted the foreigners with their boats in ravaging the islands in Clew Bay. [65] Here Manus O'Conor, head of Clan Murtough, who alone in the lands of Richard de Burgh seems to have resisted, had retreated with his cattle.

After punishing O'Donnell for granting asylum Assault of to Felim, the army assaulted the island-rock of Lough Cé , which belonged to Mac Dermot. This assault is peculiarly interesting, not only as being an almost, if not quite, unique case of the Irish at this period defending a fortress, but also as showing that the Normans employed siege-engines, when required, in Ireland. They appear to have mounted on ships some small *pierriers*, or engines for discharging large stones, and to have constructed galleries or covered ways to protect the men working the engines. [66] With these they threw many stones into the island-fortress, but without avail. They then made some rude boats out of the timber of some neighbouring houses, filled them with combustible materials, bound them together into one large raft, and tied empty barrels around it to keep it afloat. When all was ready a large vessel protected by a plank-house towed the whole construction towards the fortress to set it on fire. The garrison, however, smitten with fear at these stratagems, surrendered on terms. The justiciar put a ward in the fortress, but twenty days later one of them treacherously locked out the rest, and they fled to Trinity Island, to the protection of Clarus Mac Mailin, Archdeacon of Elphin, whom they had previously befriended—an ignominious ending to a successful siege.

As the result of this campaign Felim ‘ made peace with the justiciar and obtained the king’s five cantreds out of which he was to receive rent and customs’, [67] and Mac Dermot submitted at the same time. This amounted to a recognition by Felim of the partition of Connaught between himself and Richard de Burgh, the latter indeed getting the lion’s share, but each holding as a tenant of the Crown at a definite rent. The Four Masters however state that Felim was given ‘ the king’s five cantreds free of tribute or rent’, but it is quite certain that this was not the fact. In this year Felim paid £90 13s. 4d. towards his fine for the farm of the five cantreds, and his rent at this time seems to have been £400 a year. [68] At a later period he paid a rent of £300 for a reduced territory. This rent eventually fell into large arrears, but it seems to have been paid with tolerable regularity as long as Felim lived. [69] Felim and his successors no doubt enjoyed the empty title of King of Connaught, but apart from all question of rent, their rights and jurisdiction were confined to the cantreds which they held of the King of England, and owing to their outbreaks as time went on these cantreds were reduced in number. These facts, absolutely vital to the understanding of the subsequent history of Connaught, have been too often ignored or obscured by writers on the subject. [70]

The rent of Richard de Burgh for his share of Connaught consisting of twenty-five cantreds was 500 marks a year. He had also made a line of 8,000 marks for the recovery of his land and for acquittance of his account when justiciar. In June 1236, however, Richard went to England to confer with the king, and he obtained a remission of £1,000 out of his fine, and easier terms for the payment of the balance. [71]

While Richard de Burgh was in England, the justiciar, Maurice Fitz Gerald, for some unexplained reason [72] once more banished Felim and gave the possession of the five cantreds to Brian, son of Turlough, son of Rory. Felim, however, soon returned, and a bitter contest followed between the descendants of Cathal Crovderg and those of Rory. Felim succeeded in crossing the bawn of the castle of Rinn-duin, [73] where his rival Brian was installed, and driving off the cattle which had been collected in ‘ the island’ beyond—i.e. on the point of the peninsula cut off by a large ditch (which may still be seen) connected with the lake—and in the fighting that ensued ‘ a multitude of the host of cursed candle-extinguished [excommunicated] people were slain in the island and outside’. [74] From this expression we may infer that Felim had the spiritual support of the local church.

When Richard de Burgh returned from England he still supported Felim. He appears, however,

to have left the justiciar to deal with the king's five cantreds and went to quell or disperse those in his own part of Connaught who had turned against Felim. [75] This was done without much trouble, but the contest between Felim and the sons of Rory, though confined to the five cantreds, went on during this year and part of the next, when it ended in the final dispersal of the surviving descendants of Rory, 'so that they had no residence in Sil Murray'. [76]

The annalist sums up the whole of this disturbed period as follows : 'During the period of twelve years down from the war of O'Neill [1225] were the Foreigners and Gael plundering in turn, without sovereignty or supremacy being possessed by one beyond the other, but the Foreigners able to destroy it [Connaught] every time they came into it ; and the King and royal heirs of Connaught pillaging and profaning territories and churches after them.' From the point of view of the invaders the main trouble was with the O'Conors. The Normans had no difficulty in overrunning the country, and the lesser chieftains seem to have been ready enough to submit and become vassals of Richard de Burgh, but as soon as an O'Conor was set up as king, he either rebelled or was attacked by rival O'Conors of the same or, more usually, of a different branch of the family. The agony of the province incident to the change of masters was further prolonged for several years owing to the capricious change in English politics which brought about the temporary fall of Richard de Burgh in 1232. At last, in 1237, peace was once more made by Maurice Fitz Gerald with Felim O'Conor, and the five cantreds were once more given to him. From this time up to Felim's death in 1265, though in his later years, in consequence of the outbreaks of his son Aedh, some of his territory was taken from him, Felim personally remained a loyal vassal of the Crown, and Connaught, especially in the territory of the de Burghs, enjoyed comparative peace.

In the course of these twelve years Richard de Burgh made at least three great campaigns in Connaught : one in 1227 against Aedh, son of Cathal, another in 1230 against Aedh, son of Rory, and a third in 1235 against Felim, son of Cathal. Each time he banished the king who tried to thwart him, and each time he had the whole country at his mercy, until at last he forced Felim to accept his terms. But he did much more than this, as we shall see in the next chapter. He introduced into the districts he had subdued a new class of proprietors, or as they might more aptly be termed local rulers, who, whatever their faults, were much more modern in their ideas of political subordination, social order, and rural economy, than those who had preceded them, and the settlement thus established, more firmly in some places than in others, but influencing directly or indirectly at least three-fourths of the province, made on the whole for order and progress for at least a century. To Richard de Burgh, rather than to his father, 1 critical history will give the title of 'Conqueror of Connaught'.

[1] *Ante*, vol. ii, pp. 189, 263, 285-7.

[2] *Supra*, p. 40.

[3] *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1224.

[4] *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1221.

[5] *Ann. Ulst.* 1225. In *Ann. Loch Cé* there is a double entry : first under 1224 (following the *Annals of Ulster* even in a blunder as to an important verb), and again at greater length from another source, under 1225, probably the true date. The *Four Masters*, 1225, combine the two sources and correct the faulty verb.

[6] William Marshal the younger was justiciar up to June 25, 1226, when he was superseded by Geoffrey de Marisco : *Pat. Roll*, 10 Hen. III, p. 47. Geoffrey, however, conducted this campaign (*Ann. Ulst.*, 1225) as deputy of the Earl Marshal, who had been summoned to England in November 1224 : *Rot. Claus.*, 9 Hen. III. vol. ii, p. 96 b.

[7] *Ann. Ulst.*, 1225.

[8] *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1225, pp. 279, 281.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1225, p. 281.

[10] *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, vol. i, nos. 1114, 1216, 1288. We usually read of the seneschal of a liberty, such as Leinster or Meath, and the sheriff of a county, such as Dublin or Waterford ; but at this time Munster does not seem to have been divided into separate shire-grounds. In the *Irish Pipe Roll* for 19 Hen. III we find the sheriff of Munster's account, but no separate sheriff of Cork is mentioned.

[11] *Inis-cremha*, or 'Wild Garlic Island', and *Oilen na circe*, or 'Hen Island'. See O'Flaherty's *West Connacht*, p. 25.

[12] *Ann. Loch Cé*, 1225 (p. 289). It will be observed that throughout the long-disputed succession to the throne of Connaught between the sons of Rory and the sons of Cathal Crovderg, the former,

when driven out, sought protection and aid from O'Neill, while the latter had recourse to O'Donnell. Lassairfhina, daughter of Cathal Crovderg, was wife of this O'Donnell : Ann. Loch Cé, 1239.

- [13] In this very year (1226) fighting went on between the clan-groups of Connaught, and several chieftains were killed.
- [14] Miss Norgate (Minority of Hen. III, p. 260) rightly sees in Geoffrey's appointment the hand of Hubert de Burgh, Richard's uncle (not 'brother' as she says), but she can only attribute 'the jealousy of the de Burghs' to Earl William's 'successes in Wales and Ireland and his marriage with the king's sister'. These things may have partly influenced Hubert, but as regards Ireland, Richard de Burgh had a much stronger motive. He well knew that as long as William Marshal was justiciar he could not carry out his long-cherished scheme for the confiscation of Connaught.
- [15] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 285, note.
- [16] Rot. Claus. 3 Hen. III, p. 401.
- [17] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 928.
- [18] Four Masters, 1219.
- [19] Rot. Claus. 4 Hen. III, p. 427, and 7 Hen. III, p. 551.
- [20] Cal. Inq. P. M., 27 Hen. III, no. 19. These manors, besides Eselon, Castleconnell, Kilfeakle, and Kilsheelan, mentioned *ante*, vol. ii, pp. 166-9, were 'Wethemtire', more correctly Wetheni-tire, *Uaithne tire*, now represented by the barony of Owey, County Tipperary, and to be equated with the manor of Castle Amory (Irish Pipe Roll, 1 Ed. I, 36th Rep. D. K., p. 22, where the names mentioned can be found in this barony ; cf Eccl. Taxation, Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. v, p. 281) ; 'Tristelaweran and Balihodan', now Inch St. Lawrence and Ballyhobin in the barony of Clanwilliam, County Limerick ; 'Castrum Wilekin', *Caislen Uilcin* (Four Masters, 1200), according to O'Donovan, Castle Erkin in the same barony ; Tiperacht, Tibberaghny near Carrick-on-Suir (Rot. Chart. 2 John, p. 71 b) ; 'Cloneridan', Clonkerdin in the parish of Whitechurch, County Kilkenny. 'Lisrothorach', now Lisronagh (Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. v, p. 307, where the older form of the name is given) ; 'Oleithach', *Ui Luighdhech*, the ancient barony of Ileagh, where Borrisoleigh retains the name and marks the Norman site (see Four Masters, vol. v, p. 1749, note) ; 'Lother', *Lothra*, Lorrha (the manor along with 'Tyrdeglass' or Terryglass belonged to the Earl of Ulster prior to 1333, Inquis. P. M.. 'William de Burgo', 7 Ed. III) ; 'Grellach', perhaps Grallagh in the parish of Dolla, Upper Ormond. Castle Amory and these last five manors have not, I think, hitherto been identified.
- [21] Rot. Claus. 9 Hen. III, p. 85 b (Cal. no. 1268), where Ioganach Cassel, *Eoghanacht Caisil*, is to be equated with the cantred of Ardmayle, restored to Walter de Lacy in 1217 ; Cal. no. 743. As Egidia de Lacy survived Richard, and as his sons were minors at his death in 1243, the statement that he married a daughter of Aedh, son of Cathal, who was the mother of his younger sons, made by an Irish genealogist (see 'West Connaught', Hardiman's note, p. 38) and followed in 'The O'Conors of Connaught' (p. 97), must be dismissed as apocryphal.
- [22] Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, nos. 1288, 1292.
- [23] *Ibid.*, vol. i, nos. 1380, 1383.
- [24] Patent Roll, 10 Hen. III, p. 48.
- [25] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
- [26] Patent Roll, 10 Hen. III, p. 80 (July 10).
- [27] *Ibid.*, p. 59 (August 27).
- [28] Royal Letters (Shirley), vol. i, p. 290.
- [29] Ann. Loch Cé, vol. i, p. 298. There is some confusion as to the date. The text gives 1226, which seems to be the true year, but the indicia supplied point to 1227.
- [30] The Irish name of the place. *Lathach-caech-tuaitbhil*, 'the northern blind slough', is still partly preserved in that of the village of Bellaugh (*bél láthaigh* = 'entrance to the marsh'), lying west of Athlone.
- [31] Ann. Loch Cé, 1227 (*recte* 1226).
- [32] Cal. Chart. Roll, 11 Hen. III, p. 42.
- [33] Scutage was exacted from those who failed to attend, see Cal. no. 1581.
- [34] For description and early history of the Castle of Rinnduin, see my paper on Athlone Castle, Journ. R. S. A. I, 1907, pp. 274-5.
- [35] Ann. Loch Cé, 1227.
- [36] Ann. Ulst. 1228. In the Annals of Clonmacnois it is stated that Aedh 'came to an atonement' with Geoffrey, and was by him restored to the kingdom of Connaught, and being afterwards in Geoffrey's house was killed, &c, as above. There is no other authority for Aedh's restoration to

the throne. It is not improbable, however, that he came to Geoffrey with overtures for assistance, and even that these overtures were favourably received by Geoffrey.

- [37] Pat. Roll, 12 Hen. III.
- [38] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, nos. 1462, 1502.
- [39] Rot. Claus. 11 Hen. III, p. 195 *b*.
- [40] For an attempt at a more precise demarkation see a paper by Mr. H. T. Knox, Journ. R. S. A. I., 1901, p. 365.
- [41] Four Masters. Annals of Boyle, 1228.
- [42] Four Masters, 1228. The entry in the Annals of Loch Cé is that 'Aedh son of Rory assumed the sovereignty of Connaught, and his brothers along with him'.
- [43] Ann. Ulst., 1228.
- [44] The entries in the Annals of Loch Ce, 1229, touching the plundering of Rinnduin, &c, are misplaced. They are repeated under 1236, the true date.
- [45] Close Roll, 13 Hen. III, m. 7, p. 194.
- [46] *Ante*, vol. ii, p. 192, Felim was imprisoned here in 1231.
- [47] Ann. Loch Cé, 1230.
- [48] Annals of Inisfallen, 1230 (Dublin MS.).
- [49] Annals of Loch Cé, Ulster, Boyle, and Clonmacnois, 1230. The account given in Roger of Wendover (Coxe, vol. iv, pp. 213-14), apparently of this battle, receives no support from the detailed statements of the Irish annalists, and is certainly wrong in stating that Geoffrey de Marisco was then justiciar and leader of the English forces.
- [50] Pat. Roll, 16 Hen. III, p. 487 (July 1).
- [51] Cal. Chart. Roll, 16 Hen. III, m. 3, p. 166.
- [52] Close Roll, 16 Hen. III, p. 112. Geoffrey de Turville, the chancellor's deputy, had been chamberlain of the Exchequer from 1226. He was appointed treasurer in 1234, an office which he honourably filled up to his death in 1250. He was elected Bishop of Ossory in 1244.
- [53] *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.
- [54] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
- [55] Cal. Patent Roll, 17 Hen. III, p. 10 (Feb. 4, 1233).
- [56] Close Roll, 17 Hen. III, p. 306 (May 3, 1233).
- [57] *Ibid.*, and Cal. Patent Roll, 17 Hen. III, p. 17.
- [58] Ann. Loch Cé, 1233.
- [59] Close Roll, 17 Hen. III, pp. 316-17. At the same time the king ordered that (Cormac Finn) Mac Carthy should be restored to the state from which he was removed by Richard de Burgh.
- [60] *Ibid.*, p. 322.
- [61] Ann. Clonmacnois, 1234. For the mote at Ballyloughloe (*Baile locha luatha*) see Journal R. S. A. I., vol. xxxvii (1907), p. 273. It is probably to be identified with the castle of 'Laghelachon' restored to Walter de Lacy in 1215: Rot. Pat., 17 John, p. 148 *b*. For the castle of Ardnurcher see *ante*, vol. ii, p. 89.
- [62] Ann. Loch Cé, 1235. In the Pipe Roll for 19 Hen. III may be found a reference to O'Brien's defection. Hugh de Barry, sheriff of Limerick, took credit for expenses 'in repairing the injuries caused by D. Carebrach at Limerick': 35th Rep. D. K., p. 35.
- [63] Close Roll, 18 Hen. III, pp. 525, 561. The king bade him 'quod de terra predicta perquirenda viriliter et potenter se intromittat'.
- [64] It was probably at this time that Felim broke down the castle of Meelick: Ann. Loch Cé, vol. i, p. 333.
- [65] See O'Flaherty's West Connaught, p. 51. As there stated the boats must have been drawn overland from Lough Comb to Leenane in Killary Harbour.
- [66] Ann. Loch Ce, 1235, p. 328. Compare the curious phonetic passage in the Annals of Boyle as given in O'Grady's Catalogue of Irish MSS. The editor of the Annals of Loch Cé misunderstands the technical terms *go ngailleribh ocus co pirrélaibh*, which are probably loan-words from the French. A pirrel was, presumably, a small *pierrier* (Lat. *petraria*), a general term here denoting a *trébuchet*, or a mangonel, as it was more often called in England, and *gailler* is probably *galerie*. The word *créfal*, which the editor takes as 'an earthen wall', appears in the Annals of Connacht and in the Annals of Boyle as *crebannach*. It probably denoted some sort of wooden mounting for the *pierrier*, and was carried on board ship. The dauphin brought a *trébuchet* to England in 1217: see Minority of Henry III (Norgate), p. 27.
- [67] Ann. Loch Cé, 1235.
- [68] Pipe Roll (Ireland), 19 Hen. III, 35th Rep. D. K., p. 37. For the two and a half years ending with

Easter term 1235 Master Stephen de Turri ‘ accounts for £1,000 rent of Connaught, viz. at £400 per year’. Most of the money was expended on works at the bridge of Athlone and the castles of Randown, Athlone, and Ardnurcher.

- [69] The next extant account is in the Pipe Roll for the 46th year of Henry III, P. R. O. Dublin, from which the following is taken : ‘ Fethelmus Okonechor (Felim O’Conor) [owes] £600 for the farm of the said three cantreds (viz. Mackny, Tyrthotha, and Maylurg, i. e. *Magh n-Ai, Trituatha,* and *Magh Luirg*) for this and the preceding year, as is contained in the bond of the said Felim which is in the treasury, and £1,050 arrears of the same for several preceding years, as is contained in roll 44.’ That is to say, at Michaelmas 1262, Felim owed five and a half years’ rent at £300 a year.
- [70] Mr. Knox is perhaps the only writer who has recognized the true position of Felim and his successors.
- [71] Cal. Docs. Ireland, vol. i, no. 2342.
- [72] A consequence if not the cause of this quarrel was the erection ‘ against Connaught’ of a castle called ‘ Muille Uanach’ (probably in Onagh, a townland in the parish of Taghmaconnell on the east side of the river Suck, due west of Athlone), perhaps to keep the way open from Athlone to Galway : Ann. Loch Cé, 1238. It is called ‘ Mayllonach’ in 1245: Cal. Docs. Irel., vol. i, no. 2792.
- [73] The castle of Rinn-duin was not entered, nor probably the inner ward. The ditch of the inner ward is connected with a ditch running south-west and cutting off the point of the peninsula. For a description of the existing remains and a slight sketch of the early history of the castle see Journ. R. S. A. I., 1907, pp. 274-5. New works had been going on there in the previous year : Pipe Roll (Ireland ;, 19 Hen. III, *loc. cit.*, p. 37.
- [74] Ann. Loch Cé, 1236.
- [75] The passage in the Annals of Loch Ce, vol. i, p. 337, is rather confused, but probably it should be rendered thus : ‘ When Mac William heard of the defeat inflicted on those of his people who had turned against him [i. e. Felim], he joined O’Connor [i. e. Felim] and went to expel or subdue them.’ The annalist then tells how Dermot, son of Maghnus [son of Turlough O’Conor went for protection to Maghnus of Clan Murtough, and how Richard pursued him and forced him to submit. This Dermot had apparently fought against Felim. The annalist would not call Brian, son of Turlough, son of Rory, ‘ O’Conor’ simply, as supposed by Mr. Knox (Hist. of Mayo, p. 87), whereas he frequently in this same year calls Felim by that title. The above interpretation is virtually that of the Four Masters. The editor of the Annals of Loch Ce supposes that Richard went to attack or pacify Felim, but that is just what he did not do. In these events we may probably see the first sign of that jealousy between the de Burghs and the Geraldines in Connaught which in after years manifested itself more openly.
- [76] Ann. Loch Cé, 1237. Brian, son of Turlough, son of Rory, the justiciar’s protege, seems to have retired to the monastery of Knockmoy, where he ended his days in 1267.
- [77] See *ante*, vol. ii, p. 198.

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