

North Thomond & Aidhne

The History and Antiquities

of the

Diocese of Kilmacduagh

by

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1893

Chieftains of Kilmacduagh in the eleventh and twelfth centuries — Wars between the Princes of Thomond and Connaught—Hugh O'Connor slain at Turlogh Aidhne, near Clarinbridge — Raids on Thomond—Kilmacduagh invaded, 1116, by O'Brien—Roveheagh attacked—O'Brien retreats—Again, 1117, invades Kilmacduagh—O'Brien defeated—Chiefs of Aidhne inaugurated at Roveheagh—In 1133 Turlogh O'Brien invades Kilmacduagh—Destroys Roveheagh and ravages the West—O'Connor invades Munster 1151—Herenachs, or lay patrons, farm the Termon, or Church lands—O'Heynes Herenachs of Kilmacduagh—Synod of Kells.

MAELFAVAIL O'Heyne, brother of Maelrunaidh, the hero of Clontarf, attained to the chieftaincy of Aidhne soon after A.D. 1025. He seems to have retained the chieftaincy of his territory for the unusual period of twenty-three years. His death is recorded by the annalists, A.D. 1048.

He was succeeded in the chieftaincy by his son Cugeola. But of this chieftain we have hardly any record. O'Donovan thinks he may be the Lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, of whom the annalists record that he slew Donald Ruadh O'Brien A.D. 1056. This no doubt occurred in one of those fatal struggles between the O'Briens and O'Connors, which continued with little interruption during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in which the chieftains of Aidhne usually took part. Such a fatal conflict took place at Corcomroe, just about that particular date, on which occasion Donogh O'Brien suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of his nephew and his Connaught allies.

Those struggles originated in the mutual jealousies of the princes of the house of O'Brien. No sooner had they consigned the remains of their heroic father to his honoured grave, after the victory of Clontarf, than this spirit of dissension manifested itself, with the result that the influence which should naturally belong to the family of Ireland's late monarch was much weakened. The kings of Connaught were quick to notice those elements of weakness in the royal house of Munster, and to profit by them. In the divisions of their powerful neighbours they saw a favourable opportunity of aspiring to more than mere provincial rule. Accordingly, we see them, a few years after Clontarf, [1] invading Thomond, and plundering and destroying Kincora. By this act of aggression was inaugurated a long period of sanguinary strife between the two provinces. The conterminous districts of Clare and Galway became necessarily the theatre of most of those recurring engagements. Indeed, the civil history of North Thomond and of Aidhne might for nearly two hundred years after be summarised as devoted to strife and bloodshed through the rivalry of those contending royal houses.

Hugh O'Connor had early espoused the claims of Turlogh, grandson of Brian Boromhe, against Donogh, that monarch's youngest son. [2] This combination led to the crushing defeat of Donogh's troops at Corcomroe about 1055, to which we have already referred. [3]

O'Connor, desirous of giving as much completeness as possible to Donogh's defeat, led his Connaught troops against Kincora. On this occasion he destroyed not merely the fortress, but the town and church of Killaloe.

Though Turlogh O'Brien had availed himself of the support of his Western allies in crushing his powerful rival, he seems at the same time to have distrusted their zeal. He accordingly availed himself of the support of the King of Leinster to invade Connaught and humble its ambitious king. The invasion ended in disaster. O'Connor had intimation of his enemies' movements, and, having carefully prepared an ambush, into which they fell, they were defeated with loss. King Hugh O'Connor himself fell a few years later at Turlogh Aidhne, near Clarinbridge, A.D. 1067. O'Donovan tells us that this Turlogh Aidhne is probably the same place as Turlogh Art in Aidhne, between Moyseola and Kilcornan, which, as we have seen in a former chapter, is one of the most remarkable of our early battlefields. The notice of the O'Connor's fall, which we find in the annals, is so suggestive, that it may, we think, be inserted here.

“ The battle of Turlach Aidhnaich, [4] between Aedh of the Broken Spear, O'Connor, King of Connaught, and Aedh, the son of Art Uallach Ua Ruairc, and the men of Breifne along with him: Where fell Aedh O'Conchobhair, King of the Province of Connaught, the helmsman of the valour of Leath Chuinn ; and the chiefs of Connaught fell along with him.”

Roderick O'Connor succeeded as King of Connaught. Less fortunate than his predecessor, he was dethroned by Turlogh O'Brien, and it was only on the death of Turlogh that he attempted to reassert his authority as king. Soon after the accession of Mortogh, Turlogh O'Brien's second son, O'Connor invaded Thomond [5] with a powerful army, and defeated Mortogh O'Brien on the Shannon, and again at Corcomroe. Indeed, Corcomroe was ravaged by the Western troops three times that year ! And, speaking of his raids there, the annalists add : “ And it is wonderful if he left any cattle or people without destroying on those occasions.” In a naval engagement, the Munster forces were once more defeated by the Connaught troops. O'Connor soon after, aided by Mac Loughlin, Prince of Aileach, marched on Kincora, which he left in ruins, with many other places of importance.

In the opening years of the twelfth century, we find the energies of the Connaught king as active as ever. In 1115 he “ plundered the country” as far as limerick. [6] And in the following year he marched against Kincora, which he again completely ruined. His gallant rival was, indeed, prevented by illness from offering any effective opposition.

Meantime, the command of the Dalgais was assumed by Dermot, brother of King Mortogh O'Brien. In order to avenge recent defeats and humiliations, he invaded Aidhne, A.D. 1116, and proceeded to attack Roveheagh, then a fortress of importance, which was situated in the modern parish of Clarinbridge. [7] After a fierce attack on the fortress, Dermot O'Brien was compelled to retreat to Thomond by a hasty flight, having “ left behind them their provisions, their horses, their arms, and their armour.” [8]

To avenge his defeat, Dermot O'Brien was in the field in the following year, A.D. 1117. He again invaded Aidhne and plundered it. But the Connaught forces, quickly summoned together, and commanded by Cathal O'Connor, were sent in pursuit, and defeated them, pursuing them to the mountains of Burren and Echtge, and committing “ acts of conflagration and slaughter.” [9]

Roveheagh, which is referred to in the preceding passage, was the place of inauguration for the chiefs of Aidhne. It must have been, therefore, a place of considerable importance and of strength.

We are informed by O'Donovan [10] that the place of inauguration of Irish chieftains was "always a celebrated or remarkable place, appointed of old for the purpose, where there was a stone with the impression of two feet," believed to mark the size of the feet of the first chief of the territory. The historian of the territory should be present at the inauguration. An oath was administered to the chief, by which he bound himself to respect the laws and customs of his tribe and territory. As a symbol of authority, a white wand was placed in his hand as he stood in the supposed footprints of his predecessor. There were also other ceremonies observed, some of which were of a distinctly religious character. But, in every instance, it was indispensable that the chief or prince should be descended from the original conqueror of the territory, free from personal blemish, and of an age to lead his troops.

We find no notice of any recognised chief of Aidhne during the closing half of the eleventh century, notwithstanding the important events which mark its history. The succession from Cugeola, the last Lord of Aidhne, whom we have noticed, is given as follows by O'Donovan : [11]—

"Giolla na Naomb O'Heyne was son of Cugeola ;
Flann was son of Giolla na Naomb ;
Connor was son of Flann ;
Hugh O'Heyne was son of Connor."

There can be little doubt that this Hugh O'Heyne was the recognised chief of Aidhne, and the same Lord of Aidhne who in 1121 aided O'Connor in effecting a disastrous invasion of Munster. Soon after the events of 1117, Turlogh O'Connor, then aspiring to the position of monarch of Ireland, invaded Munster, and marched against Kincora, which he again destroyed. Continuing his march southward, he burned Cashel and Lismore, and ravaged St. Carthagh's ternion lands. In this incursion O'Connor was supported by O'Flaherty of West Connaught, [12] and by Hugh O'Heyne, Lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, both of whom were slain. The Annals of Ulster, recording O'Heyne's death on that memorable occasion, speak of him as "King of O'Fiachrach." Roused by such sacrilegious outrages, the Munster forces rally under Connor O'Brien, and, attacking the enemy at Ardfinan, gain a complete victory. [13]

In A.D. 1124, a strong castle was erected at Galway, where two of the sons of Auslis O'Heyne were slain by O'Flaherty of Iar Connaught. The annalists, recording the death, A.D. 1125, state that it occurred through treachery. There is no reason to believe that this Auslis O'Heyne or his sons were chiefs of their native territory. Hugh, Lord of Aidhne, seems to have been succeeded by his son, Gillikelly O'Heyne, who was slain with his son Hugh, A.D. 1153.

Towards the middle of the century, A.D. 1132, we find Turlogh O'Brien, King of Munster, preparing to avenge the humiliations to which his beautiful province had been so recently subjected. He accordingly marched into Aidhne, A.D. 1133. He laid siege to Roveheagh, seized and levelled the fort, and destroyed the historic "red beech" which cast the shelter of ancient branches over the inauguration-stone of the territorial chiefs. O'Donovan, commenting on this entry of the annalists, says : "This tree, which was evidently the inauguration-tree of the Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, gave name to the hamlet of Roveheagh in the parish of Kileely, barony of Dunkellin and county of Galway." The fort was, he thinks, a circular "caisseal," or stone wall, built in the cyclopean fashion around the tree. [14] Marching soon after towards Athlone, O'Brien encountered the King of Connaught, whom he defeated with great slaughter. Among the slain was O'Flaherty of Iar Connaught, by whom, as we have seen, the sons of Auslis O'Heyne had been treacherously slain. Turlogh O'Connor was compelled to fly before the victorious Munster troops into the fastnesses of West Connaught. Meantime the

victors laid waste “ the entire of Connaught, from the river Drowes to the Shannon, and to the southern mountains of Echtge, and took with them a prey of a thousand cows.” [15]

Encouraged and aided by Teigue, brother of Turlogh O’Brien, Turlogh O’Connor invaded Munster, A.D. 1151. [16] He had on this occasion secured the support of the infamous Leinster king, MacMorrough. The annalists tell us that they “ plundered Munster before them till they reached Moin Mor,” [17] in the present parish of Emly, County. Tipperary. There a fierce struggle took place between O’Brien and the confederates, in which O’Brien was defeated, with a loss of seven thousand men,— “ a slaughter unparalleled throughout the war of succession.” Having banished Turlogh O’Brien, O’Connor asserted his supremacy over Munster, and was recognised as Ard-Kigh with opposition. He accordingly divided Munster, and appointed two subordinate kings, assigning the sovereignty of Thomond to Teigue O’Brien, and that of Desmond to Dermod Mac Carthy. The exiled King of Munster, however, sought and secured the aid of Mac Loughlin, Prince of Aileach, and of the Northern tribes. O’Connor, supported by his Connaught troops and his Munster allies, marched without delay into Westmeath. As a powerful detachment of the Connaught forces, under command of Roderick O’Connor, [18] heir-apparent, were pitching their tents at Fardrum, County Westmeath, the Northmen rushed upon them unexpectedly, and defeated them with great slaughter. Giolla-cheallaigh Ua Eidhin, Lord of Aidhne, and his son Aedh (Hugh) are the first amongst the chiefs who fell on that fatal day, whose names are given by the Four Masters.

The chieftainship of Aidhne, thus rendered vacant by the death of Gillikelly O’Heyne, was assumed by his second son, Gilla na Naomb, [19] of whom the Irish annals preserve no record.

In 1154 we find Turlogh O’Connor once more engaged in one of those predatory incursions so frequent during his reign, in which his son was slain, with one of the subordinate chiefs of Aidhne,—Donnchadh O’Cathail, Lord of Cinel Aedh in Echtge, the eastern district of Aidhne.

The hostility between the Munster chiefs and those of South Connaught, fostered by the ambition of these princes, seemed only to grow in intensity with time, as we shall see in a future chapter. And though Turlogh O’Connor maintained till his death in A.D. 1156 his authority as Ard-Righ with opposition, it must be felt that the success of his ambitious aims was purchased at a very high price. Nor is it easy, on a review of his reign, to see his special claims on the high-sounding and somewhat adulatory terms in which he is referred to by the annalists as “ the splendour of Ireland, and Augustus of the West.”

This brief outline of the civil history of St. Colman Mac Duagh’s diocese during one of the most troubled periods of our history, will help us to understand more clearly the ecclesiastical aspects of the history of the period. If we see abuses with pain, which robbed the country of much of its earlier fame, we can also see that they originated in warfare, and were continued by the turbulent conduct of petty chieftains. The picture of prevailing abuses under which the Irish Church groaned in the middle of the eleventh century, is graphically drawn by the Four Masters. Writing under date 1050, they say: “ There grew up dishonesty amongst all, so that no protection was extended to church or fortress, gossiped or mutual oath.” But the Synod of Killaloe, held in that very year, which “ enacted a law and a restraint on every injustice,” [20] showed the anxiety of the Church to deal with those evils. Early in the twelfth century the work of reform was still more energetically continued by St. Celsus of Armagh, whose sanctity and influence was recognised by natives and foreigners alike. The same great work of reform, continued with still greater energy by St. Malachy, seems to have been crowned with signal success by the celebration of the Synod of Kells, convened in A.D. 1152 under Cardinal Paparo.

It was natural, perhaps necessary, that the acts of violence, aggression, and lawlessness which marked the period should tend to social disorganisation, and prove fatal to the interests of the Church. The Church groaned under the oppression of the laity. The descendants of those by whom the Church was originally endowed became her greatest oppressors, and frequently seized the revenues of the Church, and her offices of honour and authority only for themselves. Montalembert, referring to this abuse, writes ; “ After the ninth century, in consequence of the relaxation of discipline, the invasion of married clerks, and the increasing value of land, the line of spiritual descent confounded itself more and more with that of natural inheritance. And then arose a crowd of abbots purely lay and hereditary, as proud of being the descendants of some holy founder, as they were happy to possess the vast domains with which the foundation had been gradually enriched.” [21]

It is well known that this crying abuse extended so far that the See of Armagh [22] continued to be held for fifteen generations by lay intruders. In the instructions given by Pope Innocent III. to Cardinal Paparo regarding the celebration of the Council of Kells. he refers to this evil as “ that pernicious practice which allowed sons and grandsons to succeed to their fathers and grandfathers in ecclesiastical benefices.” [23] To this truly pernicious practice St. Bernard ascribes the evils by which the Church was afflicted in the twelfth century.

Those lay intruders are commonly known in Irish history as “ Herenachs.” Their office was intended to be a means of relieving ecclesiastics of the distracting charge of temporalities by transferring them to the care of laymen. It was, therefore, originally useful, and had the sanction of the Church. It was natural that those selected for such offices of trust, should be of the families by whom the endowments of the churches or monasteries were originally made. But those families soon claimed election to those offices as a matter of right. They could present for election to the office any member of the family whom they wished, though recognising the bishop’s right to reject him “ for just reasons.” In such a case the family would proceed to a new election. It was only when the family became extinct, or failed to agree as to a choice, that the right of election of Herenachs was ceded to the clergy. When the family became extinct, the bishop and clergy were to choose another family from which to select their Herenachs, under the usual conditions. [24]

The Church lands, usually designated “ termon” lands, of which the Herenachs obtained charge, were free from all secular or State taxes, and were charged only, as Ware tells us, “ with certain pensions to be paid yearly to the bishop of the diocese whereto they belonged.” [25] But in farming those termon lands they generally consulted most for their own interests, disregarding the rights of the churches which they were bound to protect. Being generally laymen and married, their cupidity was stimulated by a desire to enrich their children. And as the evil increased with time, the authority and control of abbot and bishop was entirely ignored. Even Gerald Barry assures us of this. He writes, “ Though the consent of the bishop was originally necessary to the appointment of the Herenach, yet, in course of time, many of them maintained the abbey lands in their person in defiance of both temporal and spiritual authority.” It was thus that those men even dared to assume the name as well as the emoluments of abbot, and sometimes even of bishop.

Under the title “ Coarb”—a term also familiar to Irish students—we not unfrequently meet the Irish lay bishop of our mediæval Church. Its meaning, therefore, is analogous to that of Herenach, and is sometimes used for it. But it is most generally used to designate a successor to the dignity of prelate. The term, no doubt, may be sometimes used to designate canonically consecrated bishops. This is the opinion of Sir John Davis. But it is certain that the Coarbs were very frequently laymen who usurped the position and emoluments of bishop. But though assuming the insignia of the episcopal office, and arrogating to themselves the influence and titles of abbots or bishops, they were careful to engage duly consecrated eccles-

iastics for the discharge of the sacred functions of their office. Hence, though having neither orders nor ecclesiastical training, they are frequently spoken of as abbots and bishops in our histories. It is not to be wondered at that such men should have exercised an evil influence on the religious houses and sees which were subject to their authority. In vain did the Church remonstrate against the injustice and profanation. The evil went on increasing, until at length it was met by the active opposition of St Malachy, and of the other great prelates who adorned the Irish Church at the period, by the scathing invectives of St. Bernard, and by the marked censure of the Pope.

It would, however, be an error to assume that this great abuse was unknown outside Ireland. It was also well known in Germany and France, though perhaps less general in those countries than in Ireland.

The Church lands were, as we have seen, called “termon” lands, from the Latin word *terminus*, a boundary. The limits of such lands were determined by the bishop and prince of the territory. It was a matter of great importance that the limits of those termon lands, should be easily known, as they secured a certain right of sanctuary and important civil exemptions for the tenants who lived upon them.

The termon lands of Kilmacduagh were extensive. Harris mentions a deed of sale effected by a certain Roland Lynch, Protestant Bishop of Kilmacduagh, to Robert Blake, of the lands given by King Guaire to the See, and consisting of twenty-eight denominations or town-lands, for £5 sterling a year. This number of town-lands is not much less than those of which the parish of Kilmacduagh consists at present. We think it not improbable that the village of Tarmon, where a rude stone cross stood until recently, marked the southern limit of the Kilmacduagh Church lands ; while a similar cross, which may still be seen at the village of Cranna, may have marked their limit on the north.

The O’Heynes, direct descendants of the first royal patron of Kilmacduagh, were, as might be expected, Herenachs of the See. At even a comparatively late period we find Edmond O’Heyne mentioned as Herenach of Kilmacduagh. There is no evidence, however, that they abused their position as trustees of the Church lands. There is, on the other hand, presumptive evidence that their generosity to the See was not unworthy of the descendants of the open-handed and charitable Guaire. The splendid monastery, rebuilt under their patronage for the Canons Regular of St. Augustine on the site of St. Colman’s monastery, is still popularly known as “Hynes Abbey.” Even at the present day the striking remains of its ornate architecture command the admiration of every visitor.

But we seek in vain for one of the family who was Bishop of Kilmacduagh, or “Coarb” of St. Colman. It would have been only in harmony with the spirit of the times, and a comparatively easy matter, to place some “junior member of the family” in possession of the dignity and its emoluments.

We seek in vain for an O’Heyne amongst the bishops of the See. Yet we find that the family governed some of our most important Irish Sees with wisdom, sanctity, and learning. Two bishops of the name assisted at the Synod of Kells,—namely, Hugh O’Heyne, [26] who is styled Archbishop of Connaught, and Aedh or Hugh O’Heyne, Bishop of Cork. In 1205, O’Heyne, Archbishop of Cashel, retired from his diocese to Holy Cross Abbey. Connor O’Heyne, Bishop of Killaloe, attended the Fourth Lateran Council, and died 1217. In A.D. 1438 [27] we find John O’Heynes, of the Kinvara family, governing the See of Clonfert. The absence of their name, therefore, from the bishops of the See of which they were patrons, would seem to indicate on their part a strong disapproval of one of the worst abuses of the age in connection with lay patronage.

Under the circumstances of those troubled ages, it was not unnatural that abuses should have arisen in Ireland. And when, in A.D. 1152, Cardinal Paparo, Legate of Pope Eugene III., opened the Council of Kells, the suppression of this lay ascendancy was one of the great questions with which the three hundred ecclesiastics assembled there were called upon to deal

Another measure, full of interest in itself and of utility to the Irish Church, which occupied the special attention of the Synod, was a reduction in the number of Sees and a readjustment of Irish dioceses.

Up to this period the limits of diocese in Ireland, though often conterminous with the territory of the tribe or clan, were not always clearly defined. There were also, prior to this period, many bishops in Ireland without any fixed sees whatever. Hence the number of bishops in Ireland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and earlier, was very large. This can be no matter of surprise, if it be true, as advanced by many writers, that St. Patrick consecrated not less than three hundred and fifty bishops [28] in our country.

The number of bishops was therefore, from an early period, in excess of the number of Sees. We are even informed by Lombard [29] that a diocese might sometimes have as many bishops as it had churches. There can be little doubt that this was frequently owing to lay patronage. Indeed, we are assured by Lombard that Ireland had a larger number of bishops than England, Scotland, and islands of the British seas together.

But the reduction of the number of Sees and the formation of parishes, though necessarily a work of extreme difficulty, was, with the co-operation of the Irish Church, successfully effected by the Cardinal Legate.

While respecting the primacy of Armagh, he established an Archiepiscopal See in each province, and assigned to each a certain number of suffragan Sees. The entire number of suffragan Sees then established in Ireland is estimated by Dr. Carew [30] as thirty-four.

The amalgamation of the old dioceses, as given by Ware, [31] is very interesting. But for our purposes it is only necessary to see the arrangement of Sees in the western province.

Under Guaire were the Sees of Mayo, Killala, Roscommon, Achonry, Clonmacnoise, and Kilmacogh. The quaint Keating [32] gives nearly the same ecclesiastical division. "The jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Tuam extends over the dioceses of Mayo, Killala, Roscommon, Clonfert, Achonry, Cluain Mac Nois, and Kilmacogh, in Irish Cill Mac Duagh. But these," he adds, "are now fewer, and some of them are entirely unknown." The See of Mayo was afterwards united to Tuam. The diocese of Roscommon is now known as Elphin. The diocese of Clonmacnoise was united to the diocese of Ardagh, after a protracted ecclesiastical controversy. The diocese of Emaghdime, not mentioned, was united to Tuam in 1324. The union is regarded by Mr. Hardiman as "as singular an instance of ecclesiastical rapacity as occurs in the ecclesiastical annals of Ireland." [33] It is therefore clear that, amidst the changes and amalgamations, the independence and territorial extent of the diocese of Kilmacduagh were respected by the Legate and the Synod of Kells.

Of the Bishops of Kilmacduagh during the period under review we discover hardly any record. From A.D. 967, the date of Abbot Donchadh's death, to the Synod of Kells, we have only one entry referring to them in the *Annals*.

In A.D. 1093 the Four Masters record the death of the successor of Colman of Cill Mac Duagh. From the Annals of Ulster it would appear that his name was Ailill O’Niallan. In the fuller entry of the Ulster *Annals* he is styled Coarb of Kiaran, Cronan, and Mac Duagh.

- [1] A.D. 1016.
- [2] *History of the Dalcas*, Cronnolly, p. 287.
- [3] *Memoirs of the O’Briens*, p. 44.
- [4] A.D. 1067.
- [5] A.D. 1088.
- [6] *Memoir of the O’Briens*, p. 60.
- [7] North-west of the parish of Kileely, barony of Dunkellin, County Galway.
- [8] Four Masters, A.D. 1116.
- [9] *Ibid.* 1118.
- [10] *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 451.
- [11] *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 398.
- [12] Four Masters, A.D. 1121.
- [13] *Iar Connaught*, p. 374.
- [14] *Iar Connaught*, p. 375.
- [15] *Ibid.*
- [16] Four Masters.
- [17] *Ibid.*
- [18] Four Masters, A.D. 1153.
- [19] “ Servant of the Saints.”
- [20] Four Masters.
- [21] *Monks of the West*, vol. iii. p. 287.
- [22] Ware.
- [23] *Comment, de Regno Hib.*, Lombard, p. 99.
- [24] Ware.
- [25] *Wares Antiq*, p. 43.
- [26] Keating, p. 518.
- [27] *Hib. Dom.* p. 220.
- [28] *Monks of the West*, vol. iii. p. 281 ; *Lanigan*, vol. i. p. 335.
- [29] *Com, De Regno Hib.*, p. 31.
- [30] *Eccles, Hist.* p. 130.
- [31] *Antiq.* p. 39.
- [32] *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 518.
- [33] *Hardiman, Hist. of Galway*, p. 234.

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Author : Fahey, Jerome, 1848-

Subject : Christian antiquities

Publisher : Dublin, M. H. Gill & son

Year : 1893

Language : English

Digitizing sponsor : Google

Book from the collections of : unknown library

Collection : americana

Source : Internet Archive

<http://www.archive.org/details/historyandantiq00fahegoog>

Edited and uploaded to www.aughty.org

August 30 2010