

The
O'Conors of Connaught

an Historical Memoir,

compiled from a MS of

The Late John O'Donovan, LL.D.

with additions

From the State Papers and Public Records

By the

Rt. Hon. Charles Owen O'Connor Don.

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CHAPTER I.

THE race whose history is traced in the following pages figure so conspicuously in the annals of Ireland, and have left so many monuments of their former greatness, that no difficulty exists in establishing their claim to a descent as ancient and unbroken as that of any family in Europe. The possibility of proving this is mainly due to the fact, that the Irish, more than any other nation, took great pains to record and to transmit to their successors the illustrious deeds of their predecessors. For this purpose, a special order in society was set apart, whose duty it was to record the principal historical events, and to transmit to future generations the genealogies and remarkable feats of their kings and chieftains. Out of this, also, probably arose a desire on the part of their genealogists and antiquarians to trace back the origin of their countrymen to fabulous periods of antiquity, and these pretensions, extending, in some instances, to the time of the Deluge, have produced a feeling even amongst educated Irishmen, that everything connected with the ancient history of their country is unworthy not only of credit but even of investigation.

The numerous Irish MSS. of very ancient date, which are still preserved, and which bear incontrovertible marks of authenticity, sufficiently demonstrate that this latter impression would be erroneous, and there can be no doubt that these MSS. are but small fragments of much later collections which have perished by lapse of time, or have been destroyed in successive revolutions. Even of the MSS. still extant many remain as sealed books, with their contents undeciphered, and, so far as the present generation is concerned, unknown, in consequence of the want of Irish scholars competent to interpret them, and O'Curry is probably right when he says, that notwithstanding the abundance of the material from which to compile it, the ancient history of has still to be written.

In all investigations into the origin of nations, the most we can expect to discover are certain main facts and important traditions, transmitted in such a way as to leave little doubt as to their general accuracy, although adorned with evident mythological and poetic ornament

The general accuracy of the main traditions and records in regard to ancient Irish history has been admitted and proclaimed by historians whose impartiality and authority cannot be disputed.

“ We see no reason,” says Pinkerton, “ for denying to Ireland a series of Kings older than any in Europe.” And Sir James Mackintosh says : “ In one aspect Irish history has been eminently fortunate. The chronicles of Ireland, written in the Irish language from the second century to the landing of Henry Plantagenet, have been recently published with the fullest evidence of their genuineness. The Irish nation, though they are robbed of their legends by this authentic publication, are yet by it enabled to boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other European nation possesses in its spoken language. They have exchanged their legendary antiquity for historical fame. Indeed, no other nation in Europe possesses any monument of literature, in its present spoken language, which goes back within several centuries of those chronicles. The ancient date of the MSS. concurs with the same internal proof as in the Saxon chronicles to support the truth of the outline of the narrative.” [1]

According to the preliminary account given in these ancient chronicles, Ireland was peopled at a very early period ; and after the Deluge Parthelon, from Mygdonia in Macedonia, is stated to have been the first to colonize the country. His descendants were subdued by the Firbolgs, or Belgæ, who in time had to give way to the Tuatha de Danans, called also Damnoni, and these last were brought under subjection by the sons of Milesius, [2] who probably arrived in Ireland about 300 years before the birth of Christ, although some writers place their advent at a much earlier, and some at a later, period. Whatever may have been the exact date of the Milesian invasion, it is very generally admitted that several centuries before the birth of Christ a colony Spain did succeed in establishing itself in Ireland, and that the descendants of its leaders became the kings or chief rulers of the country.

Milesius, according to the most generally received accounts, had three sons, who landed in Ireland : Heber, Heremon, and Ir ; and from Heremon the family whose memoir is attempted in the following pages, claims descent. To prove that descent, it is not necessary, even if it were possible, to go back step by step to Heremon himself. Irish history, as above mentioned, can scarcely claim authenticity much earlier than the second century after Christ, and if we find at or about that date, a monarch reigning, admittedly of the Heremonian line, a pedigree traced back to such a monarch may fairly claim to be connected with the line of Milesius.

“ The posterity of Heremon,” says O’Flaherty, “ by far outstripped all others in dignity and power. From whom to the death of Nial of the Nine Hostages, in A.D. 405, everyone in a direct line for fifty generations was either King of Ireland, or king’s son, excepting two.” To one of these monarchs, who reigned towards the close of the first century, the pedigree of the O’Conor family can be clearly traced.

“ No family in Ireland,” says O’Donovan, [3] “ claims greater antiquity, and no family in Europe, royal or noble, can trace its descent through so many generations of legitimate ancestors. Mr. O’Conor, of Belanagare, after many years’ study of the original Irish MSS., and a long correspondence with the cleverest and most sceptical writers of his day, came to the conclusion that we may rely with implicit faith on the truth of Irish history from the commencement of the second century. ‘ An earlier or more creditable era of cultivation,’ he

observes, ‘ than that which began with the monarch, Feredach the Just, one hundred years after the birth of Christ, no nation in Europe can boast’ ” [4]

TURLOUGH MOR O’CONOR, MONARCH OF IRELAND.

A.D. 1106-1156.

AFTER the death of O’Rourke in 1102, Donnell, the eldest son of the late King Roderic, became for a short time King of Connaught, but he too was deposed, in 1106, by O’Brien, King of Munster, when his next brother, Turlough, then only fifteen years of age, was inaugurated, as mentioned before, at the ford of the Termon.

To follow the career of this great man through all the acts of his long and illustrious reign would be a task outstripping the ordinary limits of a family memoir, but as he was, in the words of O’Donovan, “ one of the greatest rulers that Ireland ever produced,” it will be necessary to devote more attention to his history than to that of any of his predecessors.

In the year 1110 Donnell M’Loughlin, King of Ailech, invaded Connaught, and carried off 3,000 prisoners, and many thousand cattle. Against this attack the youthful Turlough does not appear to have been able successfully to defend himself, although in the same year he was engaged in a conflict with the O’Ferralls and others, whom he defeated. Three years later, in 1114, the same Donnell M’Loughlin, who was king of the northern half of Ireland, made a circuit of the whole country, and was recognised as supreme monarch by all the princes and chieftains, including the King of Connaught, who met him at Dunloe on the Suck.

About this time Turlough O’Conor appears to have been engaged in family conflicts with his brother Donnell, whom he banished into Munster, and with the sons of Melaghlin O’Conor, and in one of these encounters he narrowly escaped being killed, having received a wound of a most dangerous character. After his recovery he crossed the Shannon into Leinster, attacked his old enemies, the O’Ferralls, and compelled Donnell O’Melaghlin, King of Meath, to submit to him, and, in order to weaken the future power of that kingdom, he divided the territory between O’Melaghlin’s two sons.

In the year 1118 Roderic, the late King of Connaught, and Donnell, his eldest son both died. All rivals to the throne of Connaught being thus removed, Turlough’s ambitious mind turned towards the idea of making himself supreme ruler over the whole of the island. Before attacking M’Loughlin, the reigning monarch, directly, it became necessary for his purposes to weaken the power of the other provincial kings, some of whom might prove dangerous rivals to his pretensions. Foremost amongst these, and by far the most powerful, was O’Brien, King of Munster, and against him, accordingly, Turlough first directed his efforts. Being joined by his father-in-law, Morrough O’Melaghlin, one of the kings of Meath, and by O’Rourke, Chief of Breifny, he marched into Munster as far as Glanmire, in the Co. Cork, defeated the O’Briens, and, carrying out the policy he had previously followed in Meath, divided the territory of Munster between O’Brien and McCarthy, and received hostages from both. He then returned to Leinster, attacked the Danes in Dublin, defeated them, rescued the son of O’Melaghlin, who was a captive in their power, and received hostages as a mark of their submission to his authority. Not satisfied with his previous assertion of his authority in Munster, he returned again to that province, marched against Kincora near Killaloe, tore down this, the royal palace of the O’Briens, and hurled its materials into the Shannon. By these proceedings O’Brien was humbled, and his power shaken, but still Turlough regarded him as his most formidable rival, and in the following year, having made an alliance with

M'Morrough, King of Leinster, and M'Gillpatrick, chief of Ossory, and with the Danes of Dublin, he made another expedition into Munster, proceeding down the Shannon to Killaloe, where he remained for some considerable time exercising sovereign sway.

Two years later, in 1120, he appears to have fallen out with his previous ally, Morrough O'Melaghlin, and he marched into Meath and expelled him from his territory. O'Melaghlin immediately sought the protection of the monarch M'Loughlin, who was his kinsman, and the latter marched as far as Athlone to give battle to O'Conor. It did not suit Turlough's purposes to engage in an open conflict with his sovereign at this moment. M'Loughlin was old, O'Conor young, and in full possession of all his faculties, he could afford to wait until the monarch's death, when the occasion of a new election might afford him an opportunity of pressing his claims, whereas a premature encounter might endanger his ultimate success ; accordingly, he temporised with the monarch, and what is called by the annalists " a false peace" was made between them.

Having by these means induced M'Loughlin to return to the north, O'Conor set about strengthening his own authority. He built two bridges over the Shannon—one at Athlone, and the other at Atheroe, and also a bridge over the Suck at Dunloe, near the present town of Ballinasloe ; and in order to prepare the country for his subsequent claims, he called together the great national fair, or celebration of games, sports, and combats at Tailton in Meath, which act was considered as the exclusive privilege of the chief monarch, as much as the calling together of the states general at Tara.

In the following year, 1121, the event expected by O'Conor occurred. M'Loughlin, King of Ulster, and Monarch of Ireland, died in the seventy-third year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign, and left the King of Connaught beyond doubt the most powerful of the subordinate kings. O'Brien of Munster was still, however, a rival. He had not acknowledged Turlough's supremacy, and although his country had been frequently ravaged, and he had suffered many defeats, he was yet unsubdued. Accordingly Turlough again organized an expedition against him. In this expedition he lost several of his chieftains, amongst others, O'Flaherty of West Connaught, O'Heyne of Hy Fiachrach, O'Lorcan, and many others. In 1122 he compelled M'Morrough of Leinster to submit to him, and in the same year received the hostages of Desmond. In 1124 he again proceeded into Munster, going down the Shannon to Lough Derg, where what was called the great fleet of Munster was given up to him, after which he remained encamped in the southern part of the County Galway for six months. About this time he erected three castles, the first buildings of the kind recorded ever to have been built in Ireland, namely, the Castle of Dunloe on the Suck, the Castle of Galway, and the Castle of Cul-maoile or Collooney, near Sligo. [5]

His next exploit appears to have been against Morrough O'Melaghlin, who had regained authority in Meath, whom he deposed, and placed three lords over Meath in his place, after which he marched to Dublin, defeated the Danes, and made his own son, Conor, King of Dublin, and of part of Leinster ; he then turned his forces again to the south, defeated McCarthy, and burned his camp, and marching thence into Ossory, remained there for eight months, and compelled the chieftains to recognise his authority, and to give him hostages.

Disturbances having again arisen in Munster in 1127, he led another expedition to the south, a portion of his forces marching by land, whilst the remainder sailed round the coast to Cork. Here he engaged and defeated Cormac M'Carthy, King of South Munster, and divided the province into three parts, and carried off many hostages. This success had, however, but a temporary result ; Turlough having returned to his own immediate territory, Cormac McCarthy again asserted his authority, deposed his son, who had been set up as one of the

petty kings, and with the other chieftains of Munster, prepared to attack the King of Connaught, who met him on sea, when an engagement took place between the fleets of Connaught and Munster, in which the former was victorious, after which peace was restored through the mediation of Celsus, Archbishop of Armagh.

Whilst these conflicts were going on in the south, the son of M'Loughlin, in the north, was preparing to attack the King of Connaught ; he had never submitted to him, and in 1131 marched with an army into Connaught, but was met near the Curlieu hills, and defeated with the loss of many chieftains.

O'Conor's power appeared to be now nearly established, yet the Munster men made another effort to throw it off ; in the year 1132 they carried the war into the enemy's country, demolished the Castle of Galway, defeated the men of West Connaught, and slew their leader, O'Flaherty.

Taking courage from these successes, Cormac M'Carthy and O'Brien, in the following year, marched into Connaught, a great part of which they laid waste, and having destroyed the castle and bridge at Athlone, retired without hostages. After this a conference was held, at which the chiefs and clergy of Connaught and Munster attended, and peace for one year was made between the combatants.

Relieved, by this truce, from anxiety in regard to attacks from Munster, O'Conor proceeded to extend his authority in Leinster. On the allegation that O'Melaghlin, King of Meath, had violated a treaty into which he had entered, he made a sudden incursion into Meath, took O'Melaghlin prisoner, and confined him in the fortress of Dunmore until he consented to abdicate in favour of Conor O'Conor, Turlough's son, who had previously been placed as ruler over Dublin, and who now became King also of Meath. The Meath men, however, received their new ruler with reluctance, and very shortly after he was assassinated by O'Dowly, chief of Tertullagh.

The assassination of his son immediately roused the indignation of Turlough, who marched an army into Meath, exacted an eric of 400 cows, and divided the kingdom between the son of O'Melaghlin, Dermot M'Murrough, and Tiernan O'Rourke, to be held under him. [6]

About the same time Turlough O'Conor's jealousy was excited, for some reason or another, against his own sons, Roderick and Hugh, and with unrelenting force of character, he seized their persons, threw the one into prison, and caused the eyes of the other to be put out. [7]

This practice of blinding or otherwise mutilating those who were regarded as dangerous rivals was common at this age, and was resorted to, as before explained, in order to put an end to any pretensions to the sovereignty which might be entertained by the persons implicated, for, according to the customs of the times, no person who was blind or mutilated was eligible as ruler. Turlough's severity to his sons was, however, considered so great that it became the subject of remonstrance from the chiefs and clergy of Connaught, who met together and petitioned the king to release his young son Roderick ; but the father was inexorable, and kept him in prison for a year, after which he was released through the intervention of the Bishops of Armagh and Cashel.

From this time forward the power of O'Conor [8] was on the increase, and that of the O'Briens on the wane. In Munster the remaining years of the reign of O'Brien passed in obscurity ; the decided ascendancy acquired by his rival having thrown the deeds of his latter days into the shade. Family dissensions again broke out between the races of Eoghan Mor and Cormac Cas, and the desertion of the latter, under two of their princes, to the ranks of

O'Conor, rendered O'Brien's pretensions to the monarchy quite contemptible. Nevertheless it would appear that the O'Briens were unwilling to acknowledge the superiority of O'Conor till the year 1151, when the great battle of Moin-Mor, near Emly, decided the contest. In this battle the army of Munster was totally defeated, and seven thousand of the Munster men, with Murtough, son of Conor O'Brien, King of Thomond, and the flower of the Dalcassian nobility, were left dead upon the field.

The result of this victory was decisive. Turlough O'Brien was obliged to fly to Ulster, where he took refuge with M'Loughlin, chief of the Northern Hy Nial, whilst the King of Connaught divided Munster between Teige O'Brien and Dermot, son of Cormac M'Carthy.

Turlough O'Conor now reigned supreme over all Ireland, and an opportunity was soon afforded to him for exercising his sovereign powers by the occurrence of an event which, in subsequent years, turned out to have the most momentous consequences. Dervorgill, daughter of O'Melaghlin, and wife of O'Rourke, was carried off, during the absence of her husband, [9] by Dermot M'Murrough, King of Leinster. She had not lived happily with her husband, and left his house, it is said, by the advice of her brother. The insult involved in this outrage naturally raised the ire of O'Rourke; he immediately declared war against M'Murrough, and invoked the aid of Turlough O'Conor as his sovereign. The latter took the side of the injured prince, marched an army into Leinster, forced Dermot to submit, and carried back the erring lady, [10] who was committed to the charge of her father's family, and subsequently entered as a penitent the convent of Cloonmacnoise.

About the same time, in 1151, [11] Cardinal John Papiron, papal legate, arrived in Ireland from Rome. He established rules for the good government of the Church, and a synod was held under his presidency in 1152 at Drogheda, which was attended by 300 ecclesiastics. Visitations of the different dioceses by the archbishops were ordered, and on the occasion of one of these, in 1151, Turlough O'Conor presented to the successor of St. Patrick, the Archbishop of Armagh, a ring of gold weighing twenty ounces. [12] Shortly after this O'Conor's supremacy was again disputed, O'Brien and M'Loughlin endeavouring to re-establish the supremacy of Ulster. The King of Connaught was then in his fifty-sixth year, and his military ardour was on the decline, yet learning the designs of the northern and southern princes he prepared at once to crush them in detail, and M'Loughlin having proceeded to Munster to reinstate O'Brien, O'Conor invaded Ulster both by land and sea.

Alarmed by the formidable attack made on his territory, M'Loughlin despatched agents to the coast of Scotland, to the Hebrides, and to the Isle of Man to engage men and ships, in order to enable him to cope with the superior fleet opposed to him. Having received these reinforcements, a naval engagement took place off the coast of Innishowen, which lasted from sunrise to sunset, in which the Ulster men and their allies were defeated, the foreigners were deprived of their ships, and the supremacy of O'Conor was completely restored.

The remaining years of Turlough's reign were spent in consolidating the power which he had at length acquired, and one of the last of his public acts was to receive the submission of his old rival, Turlough O'Brien, who acknowledged him as his supreme sovereign, and gave him hostages for his good behaviour. A few months after this, in 1156, Turlough O'Conor died; [13] he willed all his personal effects, consisting of jewellery and vessels of gold and silver, to be distributed between different churches, and directed that his body should be buried near the altar of St. Kiaran, in the great church of Cloonmacnoise.

Turlough O'Conor, styled in the ancient annals "Turlough the Great," left many descendants to perpetuate his race, having been married no less than three times, and having had

children by each marriage. His first wife was Tailtín, daughter of Morrough O'Melaghlin, King of Meath ; by her he had several sons : amongst others, Malisa, the eldest, who became abbot of Roscommon ; Conor, who was for a time King of Dublin and Meath, and who was assassinated in 1144 ; Roderic, born in 1117; Hugh, who was blinded in 1136, and who died at an advanced age in 1194 ; and probably several others. Turlough's first wife died in 1128, and in 1131 he married, secondly, Dervorgilla, daughter of Donnell M'Loughlin, late Monarch of Ireland. She was, according to the annalists, the mother of Cathal Crovedearg, afterwards King of Connaught, and ancestor of the O'Conor Don and O'Conor Roe family. Dervorgilla died in 1151. Subsequently Turlough married his third wife, Durcoulagh, daughter of Melachlin O'Mulroony, who died in 1169. Besides the sons above-mentioned, Turlough had the following ; by which of his wives it is not stated : — Brian Luighnech, ancestor of the O'Conor Sligo family ; Manus, ancestor of the Clanmanus ; Loughlin, ancestor of the Clanloughlin ; Muirchertach Muimhnech, ancestor of the warlike sept of the Clan Murtoùgh, which supplied several kings to Connaught ; and many others, the number in all being, according to O'Donovan, at least twenty. By his first and second marriages he became united with the chief royal family in Ireland, out of which the hereditary monarchs of the country had been almost invariably selected, but what little effect marriage relationships had in these days is apparent from the fact that he set aside the brother of his first wife, who was King of Meath, replacing him by his own son, Conor, and he himself took possession of the position of Monarch of Ireland, which, according to the usual custom, more properly belonged to the brother of his second wife.

Though so much of Turlough O'Conor's reign was given up to warlike pursuits, there are evidences that the arts of peace were not neglected, and that he was not merely a savage warrior, and his people wild, irreligious, uninstructed boors. No Irish monarch has left more lasting monuments of his munificence to the Church, or attention to the wants of his country, than Turlough O'Conor.

The old cathedral church of Tuam, with its magnificent stone cross, stands to the present day as a testimony of his devotion to the Church. Referring to this cathedral, Petrie says [14] : —

“ Of the ancient church of Tuam the chancel only remains ; but, fortunately, this is sufficient to make us acquainted with its general style of architecture, and to show that it was not only a larger, but a more splendid structure than Cormac's church at Cashel, and not unworthy of the powerful monarch to whom it chiefly owed its erection. This chancel is a square of 26 feet in external measurement, and the walls are 4 feet in thickness. The great feature of this chancel is its triumphal arch, now, erroneously, supposed to be a doorway, which is perhaps the most magnificent specimen of its kind remaining in Ireland. It is composed externally of six semicircular, con- centric, and compressed arches, of which the outer is 20 feet 6 inches in width at its base, and 19 feet 5 inches in height ; and the inner, 15 feet 8 inches in width, and 16 in height.”

Outside of this church, and for security attached to it, was the famous stone cross, unique both as regards its immense height and exquisite workmanship. This cross, of which also an engraving is given, was about 30 feet high, and was composed of eight stones, including the base. Three of the stones are missing, but those that remain are all covered with most intricate and beautifully carved lace-work. At Cloonmacnoise, on the Shannon, further specimens of the workmanship of Turlough's reign may still be seen, and the great belfry, or turret, was erected there under his auspices by Gillechrist O'Malone, the abbot, in 1120.

Workmanship in the precious metals also was not backward, and in the smaller reliquary cross, called the “ Cross of Cong,” which is still preserved in the Royal Irish Academy [...]we have a further memorial of King Turlough’s reign. “ This cross,” says Sir William Wilde, “ is undoubtedly one of the finest specimens of its age in the western world. In its centre there is a large polished crystal, under which was placed origin-ally the relic sent from Rome to King Turlough O’Conor in 1125, and referred to in the *Annals of Innisfallen* in that year.” Around it is an inscription : “ A prayer for Turlough O’Conor, the King of Erin, for whom this shrine was made.” [15]

Besides these specimens of ecclesiastical architecture and workmanship, the castles of Galway, Ballinasloe, and Collooney, were erected by King Turlough, [16] ‘ as well as the first stone bridges over the Shannon at Athlone, and the Suck at Ballinasloe.’ [17] In this reign also we have the first account of money having been coined by an Irish prince. [18] Previously, the Danes who had settled in Ireland had established a coinage, but there is no account of the regular establishment of a mint until the time of King Turlough, although it is evident from many records that the precious metals, whether in the shape of coins, or merely as bars, had long been used as a medium of exchange.

Turlough having gained the superiority in Ireland by the force of his own character, and not by hereditary right, left nothing undone to consolidate that authority, and to raise up and benefit his people. “ In life and in death,” says Gratianus Lucius, “ he was not less eminent for his piety than for the government of his kingdom, whether agitated by the troubles of war, or enjoyihg the rich blessings of peace.” [19]

[1] Sir J. Mackintosh’s *History of England*, Vol. I., chap, ii., p. 88.

[2] The following amusing distinctions between the descendants of the different races of the Irish are taken from M’Firbis’s genealogies : —

“ Everyone who is white of skin, brown of hair, bold, honourable, daring, prosperous, bountiful in the bestowal of property, wealth, and rings, and who is not afraid of battle or combat, they are the descendants of Milesius in Erinn.”

“ Everyone who is fair-haired, vengeful, large, and every plunderer ; every musical person, the professors of musical and entertaining performances, who are adepts in all Druidical and magical arts, they are the descendants of the Tuatha de Danans.”

“ Everyone who is black-haired, who is a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, contemptible ; every wretched, mean, strolling, unsteady, harsh, and inhospitable person ; every slave, every mean thief, the disturbers of every council, and every assembly, and the promoters of discord among the people, these are the descendants of the Firbolgs.”

See O’Curry’s *MS, Materials for Irish History*, p. 223.

[3] O’Donovan MS.

[4] *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. xxxix.

[5] *Chronicum Scotorum*, edited by Hennessy, p. 325.

[6] *Annals of Cloonmacnoise*.

[7] In the *Annals of Cloonmacnoise* it is stated : “ Turlough O’Conor, King of Ireland, did put out the eyes of his own son Hugh, for some heinous misdemeanour of his.”

[8] O’Donoran MS.

[9] *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 1 103.

[10] *Ibid*, p. 1107.

[11] *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 1095.

[12] *Ibid*, p. 1095.

[13] A.D. 1 156. Turlough O’Conor, King of Connaught, Meath, Breifoe, Munster, and of all Ireland with opposition, flood of the glory and splendour of Ireland, the Augustus of the west of Europe, a man full of charity and mercy, hospitality and chivalry, died after the 68th year of his age, and was interred at Cloonmacnoise, beside the altar of Kieran, after having made his will, and distributed gold and silver, cows and horses, amongst the clergy and churches of Ireland in general.” — *Annals of the Four Masters*. p. 1191.

[14] Petrie’s *Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, pp. 317, 318.

[15] The learned author of *Cambrensis Everims*^ Vol. I^ p* 67, states : “ This cross Turlongfa O’Coor ordered to be carried in procession through Ireland, and honoured everywhere with the greatest veneration.”

[16] *Chromcum Scoiorum*^ p. 325.

[17] *ChronUum Scdorum*, p. 323 : " A.D. 1 1 16, three principal bridges were constructed by Turlough O*Conor in this year, viz., the bridge of Athluain, the bridge of Ath Cr6ha (Shannon Harbour), and the bridge of Dun Leodha (Ballinasloe)."

[18] According to the *Annals of Ulster* ^ Turlough O’Conor, in the year 11 50, erected a mint, and had silver money coined at Cloonmacnoise.

[19] *Gratiimus Lucius*, chap, ix., p. 59.

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