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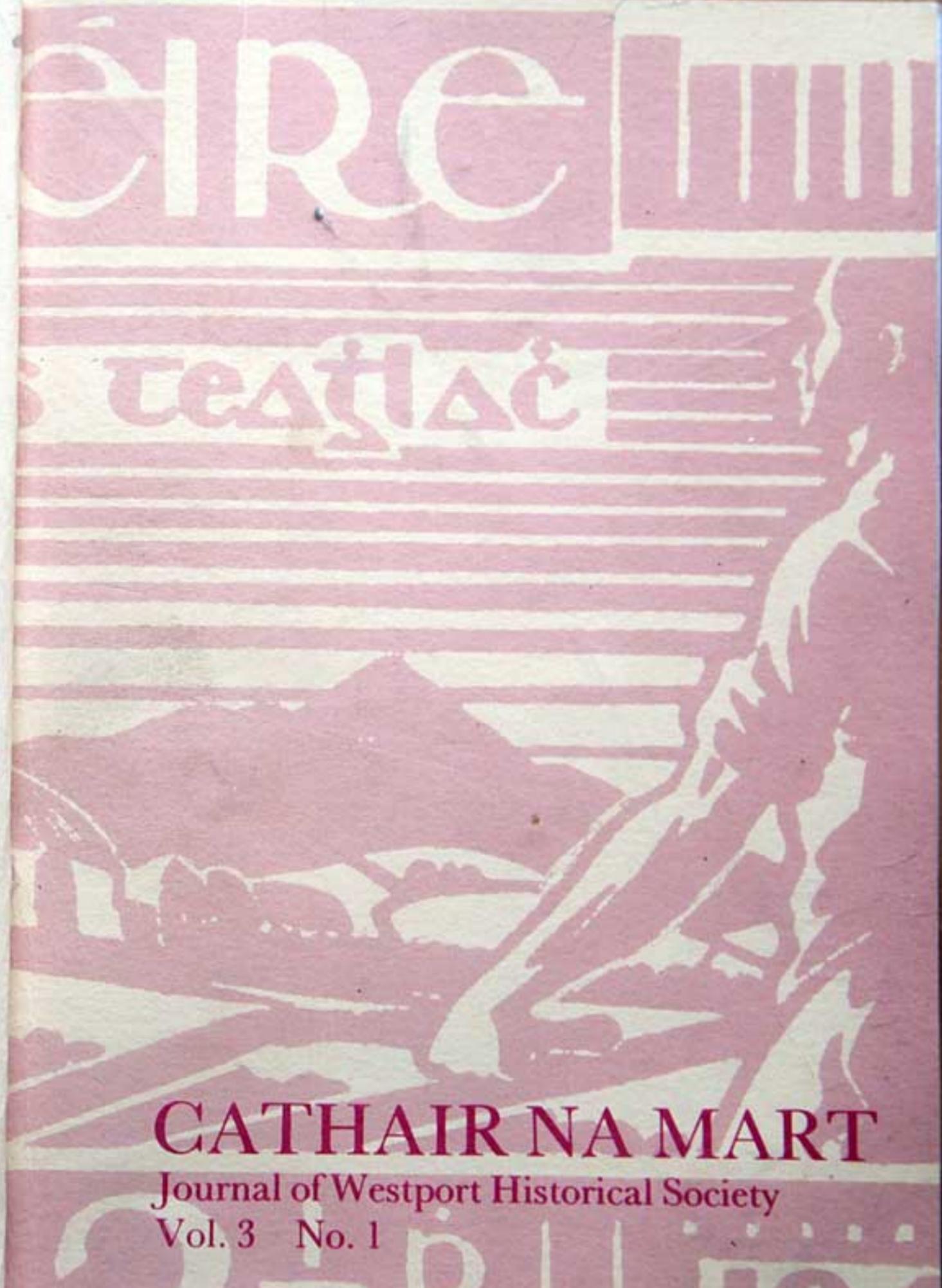
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CATHAIR NA MART

Journal of Westport Historical Society

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Caption for map on p.36

Map of Brittany showing sites of hospitals for Irish soldiers 1690-1692

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1.29, líne 2

in ionad 'John Staunton'

by chóir 'Patrick Staunton' a bheith ann.

The Westport Historical Society once more wishes to place on record a "míle buíochas" to the contributors of articles in this, the third publication of the Society. Our thanks also must go to our sponsors on this occasion, The Ulster Bank Ltd., Westport, under its considerate manager, Jack Bredin. Alas that we have exhausted our friends in the local banking scene

For this Journal to become a reality the help of the following was received and appreciated:

*The Galway Archaeological & Historical Society, and
The Michael Davitt National Memorial Museum, Straide, Co. Mayo.*

Already work has commenced on Journal No. 4. Any help that this society can give in bringing awareness to us all of our proud and rich heritage will continue, God willing, to be forthcoming.

JARLATH DUFFY,
Chairman,
Carrowholly,
Westport.

AUGHAGOWER

by John Keville

'And he went to the borders of Umhall, to Achadh Fhobhar, in which bishops are made. And there came to him the holy daughter, who received the veil from Patrick, and he ordained Senach the son of her father, and he gave him a new name, that is Lamb of God, and made him a bishop. And he made three demands of Patrick Patrick established a church in that place, near the daughter by name Mathona, and said to them: Good bishops shall be here, and of their seed shall be blessed men forever in this See (cathedra). The same is Achadh Fobhair, and they received Patrick's Mass' (Tireachán).

Rev. J. Ryan, S.J. in **Irish Monasticism** writes: 'Not all the bishops to whom St. Patrick entrusted churches found successors of the episcopal order. In Armagh, Trim and Sletty, it is certain that they did. Many other episcopal settlements disappear as such from the records, while others reappear only in the 8th or later centuries, and then as ordinary monasteries. St. Patrick was credited with a prophecy about Achad Fobair that "there shall be good bishops here", and it is hardly too much to assume that when the prediction was committed to writing, the course of history had proved its substantial truth.'

It is generally believed that there were bishops in Aughagower who exercised jurisdiction over the territory of Umhall down to the time when episcopal control was established on the continental model in the 12th century. That they were there in Tireachán's time is certain. St. Patrick's church government was episcopal rather than monastic. No doubt there was some tinge of monasticism in it, as one would expect from St. Patrick's training at Lérins and at Tours. Moreover, the clergy in the important foundations such as Armagh, and perhaps Aughagower, lived under the bishop, within the narrow confines of a lios, and thus by force of circumstances, became a religious family with the bishop as head. About this Father Ryan says: 'Such communities, though they did not profess monasticism, would differ little in externals from monasteries, just as a modern seminary, where there is no question of a religious rule, differs little in externals from the house of studies of a religious Order or Congregation. Still if the vow or vows of religion be accepted as an essential part of the monastic profession, it is not quite certain that they were monasteries. It may, however, be admitted as extremely likely that they had bound themselves by vow to lead a regular life, and submit to a strict code of religious discipline just as had the clergy of St. Eusebius at Vercelli or the household of St. Augustine at Hippo. This would leave them in essence communities of clergy rather than communities of monks.' The changeover to monasticism in those larger centres would be therefore quite an easy matter, but as regards the smaller settlements there was no question at all of monastic conditions. In the church of St. Patrick monasticism was only of secondary importance. Though St. Patrick is said to have desired that the country should abound in monks, it is certain that he never envisaged the wonderful change that swept over the country under the leadership of the presbyter-abbots, not much more than half a century after his death.

The monastic foundations, and they were many, soon forced the Patrician communities into line. There is no information about this changeover in the Aughagower community of clerics, but it is quite natural to expect that the same change took place there as in other large Patrician settlements. With a monastery in the neighbourhood at Lankhill, Aughagower could not be expected to stand apart from the great religious movement which was gripping the country from north to south, east to west. What happened in Armagh, most likely happened in Aughagower, and of Armagh at least something is known. A book of Leinster account refers to the fifth bishop of Armagh, Cormac, as an abbot, and all his successors bear the monastic not the hierarchic title. The Annals of Ulster refer to them simply as bishops. The conclusion is that at the time of Cormac (died 512 or 513) the community of Armagh was organised on a monastic basis, a change which would not be severely felt, seeing that from the beginning the settlement was based on Patrick's semi-monasticism. The bishop would rule henceforth both by virtue of episcopal authority, as well as by his position as head of the community, or abbot. A time came, however, when the positions of abbot and bishop of Armagh were not combined in the same person, which shows that Armagh had fallen fully into line with the system of government in the monasteries, where a priest was the abbot or head, and a somewhat inferior place was taken by the bishop.

What happened in Armagh probably happened also in the church or monastery of Aughagower. Whether the abbot continued to exercise his episcopal functions throughout the whole period down to the time of the Synod of Kells, or whether he delegated this sacred position to another person is unknown. All we know is that there were bishops in Aughagower down to the time when episcopacy on the European model was established in Ireland.

During the 700 years from the time of Bishop Senach to the time of the Synods, Aughagower remained the principal church of Umhall, and the erection of a Round Tower beside the church shows the important position which it still occupied as late as the days of Brian Ború. Proposals concerning the matter of dioceses to take the place of the old monastic conditions were put forward at the Synod of Fiodh Mhic Aonghusa in 1111, and again at the Synod of Rath Breasail in 1118. At Rath Breasail it was decreed that Connacht's share of dioceses should be five. The five tentatively named were Tuam, Cong, Clonfert, Killala and Ardcarne, but the final settlement seems to have been left to the Connacht bishops themselves. It was, however, found impossible to absorb the dioceses of the important Connacht tribes, and at the Synod of Kells, presided over by the Papal Legate, Cardinal Paparo, the number was increased to eight viz. Tuam, Mayo, Killala, Roscommon, Clonfert, Achonry, Clonmacnoise and Kilmacduagh. Aughagower has disappeared as a See. Most of the ancient Connacht monasteries now decayed, the endowments of the Patrician settlements remaining in the hands of the comharbs of St. Patrick, i.e. the Archbishops of Armagh. Disputes arose between the Connacht Sees and Armagh, and about 1210 the endowments were transferred to the bishop of the diocese, in which they lay. "The lands at Aughagower" says Canon Dalton, 'were

sufficiently important to be a special object of contention between the Archbishops of Armagh and Tuam. In 1216, Rome decided in favour of Tuam, and henceforth all dispute was at an end, and the church lands at Aughagower were one of the episcopal manors of the Archbishop of Tuam'.

In 795 the raids by the Northmen on the coasts of Ireland began, and of course the monasteries became the principal objects of attack. There is scant information about their raids on the Lordship of Umhall. The Annals of Ulster record as follows: (Knox)

'In 811 the Northmen descended on Umhall, but were slaughtered by the men of Umhall, and they slaughtered the Conmaicne. They came again the next year, and slaughtered the men of Umhall, killing Cosgrach, son of Flannabhrat, and Dunadach, King of Umhall.'

It was chiefly the wealth of the monasteries of Aughagower, which induced the Northmen to land on this western strip of coast, and it may be inferred that those churches and monasteries suffered heavily after the crushing defeat of the men of Umhall and the death of their king in 812 A.D. Perhaps matters were even worse during the period of Turgesius, but there are no entries in the Annals to confirm this. There is indeed nothing else to connect Aughagower with the Danish Period except the Round Tower.

The first Round Towers of Ireland are said to have been erected as a place of protection for the valuables of the churches on the approach of the Northmen. Rev. P. Power in **Early Christian Ireland** says 'Some of them (the Towers) date from the 9th century, and others from as late as the end of the 12th century. Brian Boru at the beginning of the 11th century built 32 of them, and many others were built about 1170 in the time of Donagh O'Carroll. The Tower of Ardmore was erected in the 12th century and Annaghdown in 1238.' Miss Stokes, according to Knox, attributes those of Aughagower and Meelick to the period from 973 to 1013. They are dated by the experts, according to architectural features and styles of masonry. The earliest towers are of rubble, the inequalities of which are filled in with small stones called spawls — hence the technical name 'spawled rubble'. They had square-headed and heavily-lintelled doorways. Those of the middle and late periods are of squared and hammer-dressed blocks set in courses, and the doorways have semi-circular heads. Those of the late period, as at Ardmore and Devenish are distinguished from those of the middle period, as at Aughagower, by architectural ornament. The Round Tower of Aughagower is a few yards from the mediaeval church. The top of it has long since fallen, the stones and mortar being piled up inside on the floor of the Tower, partly blocking up the doorway under which it is necessary to stoop when entering. Were it not for a large break on the north side, it might be safely said that not much more than the roof had disappeared. The stones from the large break must be in the Old Graveyard, where they are now grass-grown and completely hidden. The door is square-headed. Just opposite the door, but higher up in the wall is a window which is round-headed. It is about 3½ ft. high, and 2 ft. wide on the inside. The wall of the Tower is at least 4ft. in thickness. If it is assumed that not much more than the roof has fallen off, it can be seen from the projecting stones that there

were five storeys. The diameter of the Tower is about 8 ft.

A very interesting stone, which is thought to have been the top-most stone of the cap of the Tower is preserved in the staircase of the Curvey gallery in Aughagower Church. It is a well-cut conical stone about 2 ft. high and 1 ft. in diameter at the base. It weighs about six or seven stone. At the top of the cone is a hole about three inches deep and one inch across. This hole is considered to have held the base of a cross, when the stone was in position on the top of the Tower.

The time the cap of the Tower fell is unknown but there are stories in connection with the fall. The story goes that lightning hit the Tower with such force that the roof was carried away for the distance of one mile, and deposited in a field in the townland of Teevinish, where an unexplainable heap of stones really does exist. Another version of the story says that the disaster happened on the night of the Big Wind. The conical stone, already described, was carried off with the rest of the roof. Next morning a woman from Teevinish found it, and brought it down to Aughagower in her apron.

At the beginning of the eleventh century Brian Boru deposed Malachi and made himself árd-rí. Umhall looked with disfavour on this act. Malachi was reinstated after Brian was killed at Clontarf. Then the crown was passed again to the O'Brien family, but this time the northern Uí Neill openly opposed them, and neither Toirdhealach nor Muircheartach O'Brien was able to extend his authority over Leath Chuinn. Connacht failed to play an important part during the 11th century. The province was torn by dissention between the three great Uí Briúin families — the O'Connors, the O'Rourkes, and the O'Flahertys. One man, however, does figure prominently in Connacht about the middle of the century — he was Aedh O'Connor, known as Aedh an Gha Bhearnaigh or Hugh of the Gapped Spear. Had he lived long enough he might have raised Connacht in his time to the position it later held in the time of his grandson, Toirdhealach Mór.

Aedh had many victories, but he also had his disasters. One of those took place in the east of Aughagower Parish at the Caves of Aille.

The Annals of the Four Masters (Knox's Mayo) record:

'The cave of Alla Gerc in Ceara was demolished by the Conmaicni against the people of Conchubhair (Aedh), and eight score persons were suffocated there, and the jewels of Connacht were carried off from thence.'

The Annals of Loch Cé and the Annals of Ulster (Knox) have:

'A.D. 1063. The Cave of Alla in Cera was captured by the Connachtmen against the people of Aedh Ua Conchubhair, in which one hundred and sixty persons were suffocated.'

Knox remarks: 'The cave has been assumed to be Aille near Westport, which, in my opinion, never was in Carra. That is a cliff, where a river runs into natural caves, which could not be destroyed. There are no signs of ancient fortifications near it.'

Whether Ayle was ever in Ceara is unimportant. The caves are so near the boundary of Ceara and Umhall, that the compilers of the Annals may be forgiven

Inside Caves



a very slight mistake. The important thing is that Aedh of the Gapped Spear, notwithstanding all his victories over O'Rourkes, O'Flahertys, Munstermen and Conmaicne, suffered a serious disaster at the hands of the latter just two miles east of Aughagower.

A sheer precipice from 30 to 40 ft. high extending for a distance of at least 300 yards; the Ayle River bearing down its mud from the Partry Mountains, and rushing in floodtime into two large tunnels, the largest of which is over 30 yds. in breadth — such, in short, are the Cliffs of Ayle. The cliffs do not extend in a straight line. There is first a line of precipice 60 yards in length, and it is here the largest cave is situated. At right angles to this runs another line of cliff for a distance of more than 100 yards. Then there comes a third line at right angles to the second, at the end of which is the second cave, somewhat less wide than the first. The various layers of rock from a foot and a half to three feet in thickness can be seen the whole way up the face of the cliff to the overhanging rocks overhead, giving one the impression of a mighty wall constructed by some race of giants.

The river approaches northwards to within 30 yards of the first cave, then winds suddenly away, but after 50 yards it is forced again into a northward course, and carried slowly to the second cave, into which it flows. It now becomes an underground river for about five or six miles, reaching the open again at Ballyburke, well inside the boundary of Ceara. When the heavy rains of winter come, the river inundates its bank, and not only is part of the water forced into the first cave, but much of it spreads out over the adjoining fields. The arch-like mouth of the first cave is now almost completely blocked up, both by the flood-time sediment of the river and by breaches of overhanging rocks and earth. Not more than a foot of it is now open at the top. The second cave into which the river ordinarily runs, is not quite as wide, and is too low to enter except for a few yards. Seemingly, it was in the larger cave that the people of Aedh O'Connor met their death in 1063.

There are no signs of fortification around the place as has been already noted by Knox, and from the accounts in the Annals, there is no suggestion of a battle. It appears that Ceara and the border country of Umhall had been 'planted' by the O'Connors, or at least the inhabitants were willing O'Connor followers. Aedh had already beaten the Conmaicne and their neighbours, the O'Flahertys. A raid on the O'Connor outpost of Ceara was a safe reprisal. On the approach of the wild tribes from the hills into the plain, many people gathered up their valuables, and fled with them to the nearby cave, which was dry except in winter, hoping to escape the attentions of the hillmen. The hiding-place was discovered by the Conmaicne. Some of the bravest attempted to fight their way out into the open, and were struck down by the attackers. The more timid rushed as far as possible into the cave, leaving their valuables a prey to the mountaineers, who before their departure completely blocked up the mouth of the cave (thus 'demolishing' it) by tumbling down the overhanging rocks and earth over the already piled-up river sediment. By the time that assistance arrived for the imprisoned people, after the Conmaicne had gone, 160 unfortunates, perhaps women and children amongst them, were found already dead of suffocation.

Rory of the Yellow Hound was by no means as successful as his father, Aedh. In 1076 he submitted to O'Brien, then suddenly threw off this allegiance, and maintained his independence until 1082, when his brother Cathal, encouraged by O'Brien, set himself up as a rival. Rory overcame his rival, who was slain in battle, but the opposition of the Munster king was irresistible. He encamped his armies at least twice in the heart of Connacht at Loch Hackett, and laid waste the country. Munster fleets were sent up the Shannon and around the west coast and though those fleets were not always successful, the power of Rory was gradually diminishing. In 1092 his eyes were put out by O'Flaherty, after which he resigned the kingship, and entered the monastery of Clonmacnoise. O'Flaherty and O'Rourke were kings for a short period, and so was Tadhg, son of Ruaidhrí. Another son, Donnell, later became king, and attacked O'Brien in 1103. After three years he was deposed by O'Brien, who set up another brother named Turlough as king. This was the famous Toirdhealach Mór O'Connor.

Knox gives an idea of happenings around Aughagower and the coast-strip of Umhall during the reign of Rory.

'Ruaidhrí O'Connor submitted to Turlough (O'Brien) in 1076, but the submission must have been temporary, as Turlough came again in 1079 (to Loch Hackett), and drove him out of Connacht, bringing a fleet as well as an army, for he went upon Loch Beannchair and Insi Módh and plundered the Cruach''.

Knox explains Loch Beannchair as Tullaghan Bay and the Cruach as Ballycroy:

'In 1088 Murtough O'Brien attacked Ruaidhrí, and sent a fleet round to the west coast, but Ruaidhrí slaughtered its crews.'

The 'West coast' must be taken as the west coast of the O'Connor country i.e. the coast of Umhall. There is indeed no mention of Aughagower, but it can be imagined that the roads of Aughagower filled with fighting men, hurrying to the shores of Cuan Módh and over to the islands, where already the O'Malley ships were in grips with the ships of the Munster invaders and joining in those terrible slaughters of 1079 and 1088 to repel the two O'Brien kings, Turlough O'Brien and Murtough O'Brien.

Toirdhealach Mór O'Connor reigned from 1106 to 1156, and before his death made himself master of three-quarters of the country. He brought his own unruly tribes under subjection, set up fortresses to deal with revolts, and built three stone castles of a new type to protect his boundaries from raids by the other provinces. The three stone castles were at Galway, Dunlo near Ballinasloe and at Collooney. A great part of Toirdhealach's life was spent warring against Munster, the power of which he finally broke at Moinmore, near Emly in 1155, just one year before his death. During his reign he had made many raids into Munster, and Munster troops had often devastated Connacht in reprisal. Munster troops had even raided as far afield as the parish of Aughagower.

Knox says: 'In 1133 Cormac MacCarthy and Conor O'Brien invaded Connacht and plundered a great part of the country, and destroyed Dunmore and Dún Mughdhord.' Dún Mughdhord was in the north of Aughagower Parish

near the spot where the parish borders on Islandeady and Westport. On its site was later built a strong Norman castle, a name which has been transferred to the townland around it. The fortress of Toirdhealach's time was also known as Dun Moghdhairne, by which name it is referred to in Hardiman's Galway. 'In the following year (1133) the King of Munster himself marched at the head of an army into Connacht, laid waste the places known as Ruaidhbheitheach and Bealatha, slew Cathal O'Connor, the righdhamhna or heir apparent to the throne of Connacht, and Giolla na Naomh O'Flynn, a chieftain of great power: after which he burned Dunmogh-dhairne and Dunmore, and all the other places of strength in the country.'

This seems to be the earliest reference to Dun Moghdhairne or Dun Mughdhord. This fortress may have been first erected by Toirdhealach Mór, but it is quite possible that it was erected before his time by his father, Rory of the Yellow Hound, who had to be on the alert in this part of the country against Munster invasions by sea; or even by his grandfather, Aedh of the Gapped Spear to guard against the raids of the Conmaicne, and prevent a repetition of what took place at Ayle in 1063.

In 1154 Toirdhealach O'Connor made an attempt at subduing Ulster, as he had already done with Munster. The men of Umhall, who assisted Toirdhealach on this northern raid were of course the Clan Máille, the ancestors of the numerous O'Malleys, who now inhabit the south-western portion of the parish of Aughagower.

Toirdhealach O'Connor established his many sons all over Connacht, even as far as the kingdom of Umhall, over which they and their descendants bore sway, till they were finally driven out by the Normans and forced into Magh Ai, where they were left to struggle for supremacy amongst themselves. Toirdhealach had three wives and according to MacFirbis Book of Genealogies, given by Knox, the number of his children was twenty-three. One, Muircheartach Muimhneach settled down in Umhall. With the Clann Máille in the islands, along the coast and in the mountains, it is likely that Muircheartach's settlements were in the flatter land to the east and included the northern part of Aughagower Parish. Neighbouring him in central Aughagower were the old monastery lands, then in possession of the Archbishop. That Muircheartach did settle in Aughagower can be inferred from some entries in the Annals. In 1230, when Muircheartach's son, Maghnus, submitted to his kinsman, Felim O'Connor who was temporarily supported by the Normans, that submission was made in Aughagower Parish. Again, under 1247 comes an entry from the Annals of Loch Cé which suggests an ugly dispute between neighbours about land, which ended in murder being committed. It reads:

'Benedictus Mac Oireachtaigh, airchineach of Achadh Fobhair of Umhall was killed on the festival of the Cross, the third day of summer, by the son of Conchubhar Ruadh, son of Muircheartach Muimhneach, and by the son of Maghnus, son of Muircheartach Muimhneach O'Connor, in treachery and deceit.'



Philibins Castle, Ayle

After the death of Toirdhealach Mór, his son Ruaidhrí became King of Connacht, and later King of Ireland. In 1169 came the Normans. Ruaidhrí soon retired to the monastery at Cong, and was succeeded by his son Conor Maonmhuighe. Next came Cathal Croibhdeirg, a young brother of Ruaidhrí's, who maintained his position in Connacht till his death in 1224, when he was succeeded by his son Aedh. Aedh's succession was disputed by Turlough, son of Ruaidhrí, and by the sons of Ruaidhrí in general, and there then occurred a most confusing period of history, in which most of the O'Connors were involved, including the Clann Muireadaigh, in and around Aughagower, a territory which must have been in an almost continual state of disturbance all through the O'Connor domination.

The succession of Aedh, son of Croibhdeirg, was supported by the Justiciary and an English army. Turlough, at first, was assisted by O'Neill, who soon went home 'because the sons of Ruaidhrí preferred their own assemblies'. The people of Magh Ai, that is the supporters of Turlough, fled with their cattle on the approach of Aedh and the Justiciary. They were pursued by Aedh and the English to the west of Co. Sligo, where many were killed or drowned, after their cattle had been taken from them. At the same time an army from Munster under O'Brien with more foreigners, devastated the south of Connacht on behalf of Aedh. Turlough and his brother, another Aedh, decided to disperse till the foreigners departed. Aedh, son of Croibhdeirg, came himself to Magh Eo, where he received the submission of the O'Connors of Carra and Umhall. The three armies of the Justiciary, of Aedh and of O'Brien met at Kilmaine, 'and the entire centre was filled with those three armies of foreigners and Gaedhils.' After O'Flaherty's submission, the foreigners departed.

No sooner had they gone than the rebellion flared up again, and they had to be brought back. The result was the second defeat of the sons of Ruaidhrí, including the O'Flahertys and the O'Connors of Umhall. Of this war between Aedh and Turlough, the Annals of Loch Cé record: 'after plundering and after killing of the cows and the people of the country, and exposing everyone to cold and famine, a great plague prevailed in the whole district viz. a species of fever, by which the towns used to be emptied, without a living man being left in them.' No doubt, famine and fever were rampant in the O'Connor country of Aughagower as well as throughout the other parts of the province. Then came a turn in the tide for Aedh, who had turned against the English on behalf of William Marshall. A meeting was arranged between Aedh and his party and William de Marisco, son of the Justiciary. Aedh seized Marisco and his party, and burned Athlone. The castle does not seem to have been taken, but the English were obliged to yield up the Connacht hostages before the Justiciary's son was released.

In 1227 the Justiciary himself determined to punish Aedh, who was obliged to flee to Tír Conaill. Marisco was now joined by the sons of Ruaidhrí. The Justiciary's object seemed to be to take hostages from all the O'Connor factions, irrespective of side, and so ensure peace. Meath troops were sent against the O'Flahertys and the Clan Muireadhaigh of Umhall. Hostages were given, and there seems to have been no fighting this time. The whole province was thus brought under subjection. After Marisco's departure Aedh came back, but at the River Boyle he was surprised by the sons of Ruaidhrí, who took his wife prisoner, but his brother Felim and himself escaped. He must have come to terms soon after with the English, for in 1228 he paid a visit to the Justiciary at Athlone where he was murdered by an Englishman in a fit of jealousy. At this period occurred the grant of two-thirds of Connacht to Richard de Burgo. Aedh, son of Ruaidhrí, was now set up as King of Connacht, or rather of the Five Cantreds, roughly consisting of Co. Roscommon and some neighbouring parts.

Turlough, the elder brother, was thus turned down by the English in favour of Aedh. The result was a war between the two brothers in which Aedh had the upper hand. Next, Aedh was attacked by Felim, son of Croibhdeirg, was defeated, but again restored by the English. In 1230 Aedh turned on the English, devastated Tír Máine and MacGoisdeilb's land, and so his rival Felim was set up in his stead. Aedh still had strong supporters in the Clan Muireadhaigh of Umhall. To deal with this opposition, Felim came to Aughagower.

As soon as Felim, son of Croibhdeirg was set up by the English, the O'Connors of Umhall, led by Maghnus, son of Muirheartach Muimhneach came to the assistance of the deposed King Aedh, son of Ruaidhrí. They were supported by O'Flaherty. Felim had the assistance of Richard de Burgo, to whom the grant of two-thirds of Connacht had just been made by the English king. Contests between the rival armies took place at Bun Gaillimhe, with Aedh's supporters on the western side of the river, and Felix and de Burgo on the east. No decision was obtained, so Felim and de Burgo decided on getting around the lakes into the enemy's territory, and raiding his cattle. They went by Droichead Inghne Goillin, thought by Knox to be Moyne, near Headford, defeated a force of

Aedh's men, ferried across the lake to oppose them, and then advanced to Magh Eo of the Saxons and to Tobar Pátraic. The 'Canons and devout people' of this place requested de Burgo to leave, 'and the foreigners proceeded down to Muine Maicin. The foreigners were loth to go from Magh Eo thither; but they had not obtained either hostages or pledges from Maghnus, son of Muirheartach Muimhneach. As they had not obtained hostages, they went on the morrow to Achadh Fobhair, and encamped in the town, to the west of the church at Margenana, on the brink of Loch Críchan. Maghnus, son of Muirheartach Muimhneach, went into their house, and gave them pledges.' (Knox) The rest of their journey was through Muine Maicin, Magh Sine, near Turlough, Luighne, Céis Corann and the Curlew Mountains.

The names Loch Críchan and Margenana have long since disappeared. It appears that the lake in question was the small lake known as Ballinlough Lake, from the name of a townland on its north-west side. This is certainly a lake whose name has been forgotten and has been re-named from a townland on its shore. There are really two lakes. The smaller one, a few hundred yards east of Ballinlough Lake is now called Garrew Lake from the name of another townland. Between the two lakes there is an extensive marsh, which provides some rough grazing in summer, but in winter is dangerous for animals. During the rainy season the two lakes form into one, and a great part of the marsh land becomes flooded. Besides the marsh between the lakes there are several other marshy areas on their south and west sides in the townlands of Ballygorman and Lankill.

Ballinlough Lake is drained by the Carrowbeg River, which flows north from the eastern side of the lake through the marsh. This is the river which passes through the town of Westport. The tiny Garrew Lake seems to have no outlet. Its water just oozes through the marsh till it reaches the river. In the 13th century, no doubt, the two lakes formed one. Margenana seems to be the Irish word Marc an Eanaigh, meaning the 'boundary of the marsh'. A search for the word 'marc' or 'marg' in place names around the lake has proved fruitless, but the word 'eanaigh' still persists in the name Doir' an Eanaigh, which is given to the western part of the tongue of land between the two lakes. The existence of an extensive marsh of several acres, the place-name containing the word 'eanaigh', and the fact that the lakes are nearly west of Aughagower seems fairly satisfactory evidence to prove that it was somewhere on the shores of those lakes that Maghnus, son of Muirheartach Muimhneach submitted to de Burgo and King Felim in the year 1230.

The policy of 1237 brought new settlers into Umhall, who began the building of castles, driving both O'Connors and O'Malleys into smaller areas of Umhall. In 1247 began another O'Connor rising, with the Clan Muireachtaigh playing a large part as usual. Some O'Connors attacked the Kilkerrin and Claregalway districts with some success. After plundering there, they went to Carra, whence they were driven out by Jordan de Exeter, sheriff of Connacht, and by the new settlers of Carra, the Stauntons. At the same time, the descendants of Muirheartach Muimhneach burned Buirgheas Cinn Tráchtá or Burrishoole then owned by the new settlers of North Umhall, the Butlers. This warfare

continued into the next year 1248, when Norman armies passed through Aughagower and raided all Umhall. This campaign of 1248, in which the parish of Aughagower suffered, as did the rest of Umhall, is told in the Annals of Loch Cé (Knox)

'1248: The sons of Maghnus and the sons of Conchubhar Ruadh joined together, and turned against the foreigners, and the castle of McHenry was burned by them, and its constable taken prisoner; and the preys of the North of Umhall were taken by them to Innsi Módh. Jordan de Exeter, however, and John Butler and Robin Lawless, and several persons along with them, assembled, and went to Baile Tobair Pátraic, and from thence to Achadh Fobhair, and they plundered all Umhall, north and south, on the morrow.'

The De Burgo to whom the grant of Galway and Mayo had been made by the English King was Richard, who died in 1243. Two sons of his are important in the history of Connacht. One of those, named Walter, took over his father's possessions, and lived till 1271. The other son was William of Athancip.

Walter's son, Richard the Red Earl, who succeeded him, had acquired territories in Ulster that had formerly been in the hands of De Courcy and the De Lacys, in addition to his immense possessions in Connacht. He was Earl of Ulster. After his defeat by Bruce in 1315 at Conor, he showed little energy in renewing the war, a matter which was taken well in hand by his kinsman William Liath, son of William of Athancip. A brother of William Liath de Burgo, named Philip cannot be omitted in the story of Aughagower. Through his son John came the Clan Philipin, who established themselves in the northern part of Aughagower Parish, as well as in Islandeady and Ceara. Through another son, Gilbert, were descended the Clan Gibbon, who in the 16th century were tenants of O'Malleys in the west of the parish of Aughagower, especially in the Knappaghs, as well as being tenants of the Church Lands around Aughagower Village.

The McPhilipins, according to Knox owned the castle of Aille and Aghle and Doon in the Barony of Burrishoole, though in another part of his Mayo he seemingly contradicts this statement by saying there were only two, namely, Aille and Doon. People from the latter place are sure that there were three, the third being at Greenhill (this is probably Caherikeeny Castle, which belonged to Rory McDonnell about 1574) close to Islandeady Railway Station, which seems to be inside the Barony of Burrishoole. All traces of this one seem to have disappeared. The castles of Aille and Doon are in Aughagower Parish. Only small portions of the ruins remain.

The O'Malleys built castles like their Norman-Irish neighbours, but they owned no castles in Aughagower Parish. The nearest castles to Aughagower were at Cathair na Mart and Belclare.

Referring to the Clan Gibbon, Knox writes: 'The MacGibbons had no separate clan lands, were freeholders under O'Malley, or tenants under other freeholders, and dwelt chiefly to the east (of Murrisk Barony), and round by the south to Aillemore. The MacGibbon estate in Knappagh may have dated from

the 14th century, but all dwelt within the barony held under O'Malley in the 16th century except the tenants of the ecclesiastical lands.'

A grandson of Edmond Albanach named Edmond na Feasoige was the McWilliam in 1458. Through his son, Walter, are descended the Bourkes of Erris. Through another son, Richard na Cuarsci came the Bourkes of Tirawley and of Castlebar, and through still another son called Ulick sprang the Bourkes of Carra and Umhall, amongst whom in the 16th century were such well-known historical characters as Richard Deamhan an Chorrain (Devil's Hook), Walter Fada, Richard an Iarainn, William, the Blind Abbot, and Tiobóid na Long, the latter of whom finally made up his mind to throw in his lot with the Queen, at no other place than Aughagower.

The Norman castle of Doon seems to have been built on the site of the old Irish stronghold of Dún Mughdhord. This castle has disappeared. The castle itself was in the townland of Dooncastle, not in the adjoining townland of Doon. According to local accounts, the stones of the castle were taken away more than a century ago and used by Lord Sligo in the building of Westport House.

The castle of Doon was on a small hill about 150 ft. high, and gave an excellent view towards the east and south-east, as far as, and even beyond Islandeady and Aille, where the other McPhilipin castles were situated. The space on top of the hill is in the form of an ellipse, the longer diameter being about 40 or 60 yards, and the shorter one about 20 yards. The castle was of the rectangular type, and measured about 40 ft. by 27 ft. The space between the castle proper and the outer fortifications, especially on the east and west sides, was therefore very confined.

According to local accounts, there were two large underground passages in the hill at a point about half way up, but these have long since been closed. These souterrains, may be connected with the old Irish stronghold of Dún Mughdhord, rather than with the Norman castle of the 15th and 16th centuries.

Nearly midway between the castle of Doon and Aille, those symbols of war and strife, is a spot representative of peace and tranquility, a spot in the townland of Cushen, frequented by pilgrims from far and near, and known as St. Anne's Well.

St. Anne's Well (to be exact there are two wells) is easily reached by turning northwards for 500 yards off the main Westport/Ballinrobe Road in the vicinity of Knockrooskey School. It is situated on the brink of a small lake. Much care and attention was bestowed on this well by a former Parish Priest of Aughagower, the late Rev. A. O'Toole. A wall was built around it, forming a tiny rectangular enclosure measuring 10 ft. by 9 ft. The space inside the wall was cemented and the well appears as a circular hole about 14 inches in diameter nearly in the centre of the concrete floor. Standing against the wall on the side nearest the lake, under a canopy of cement forming a sort of grotto, is a statue of St. Anne about 3 ft. high. This statue was presented to Father O'Toole by the late Mrs. Pat King of Aille. The rectangle is entered by a small gate. About 2 yards in front of the gate is a large flag embedded in the ground. It is about 4 ft. long by 3 ft. broad, but irregular in shape. At this flag the station in honour of St. Anne begins. Just



St. Anne's Well, Cushin

outside the rectangle and to the right as one looks across the lake towards Doon, is another small well where the 'stations' end. Between the flag-stone and the exterior well are stones as large as turf-sods, some scattered about, others collected into little heaps, resembling 'grogeens' of turf in a bog. The pilgrim, barefooted, stands on the large flag, and says ten Paters, ten Aves, and the Creed. Haly-way between the flag-stone and the gate-way, just a step or two, ten Paters and ten Aves are again said, after which the pilgrim enters the rectangle, where the same prayers are again repeated. Water from the well is then taken outside the gate, where feet and hands and face are washed. This washing is repeated at the other little well, where more prayers are said. Finally the pilgrim makes a 'grogeen' with four or five of the stones. Three visits on different days must be made before the stations are complete. These visits are made on Monday, Wednesday and the following Monday. Devotion at this well is not confined to Aughagower and Westport. Many people come from as far off as Newport and Castlebar.

The lake beside which St. Anne's Well is situated, appears to be shallow in places, and long thick reeds grow in these shallow spots, as well as along the brink. These reeds divide the lake into seven small lakelets, and there appears to be some connection between the seven lakes and the Seven Sacraments. Near the spot where the stations are performed, there is a small island about 20 yards out in the lake. Connecting the island with the shore is a narrow causeway, which is impassable except in very dry weather. Fr. O'Toole considered the island a crannog and that a hermit may have lived there at some time.

As to how devotion to St. Anne in this part of the country originated, or when

it originated, is unknown. Perhaps there was some local saint bearing a somewhat similar name, and that the two names became confused. It is indeed quite possible that the name was Mathona.

It must be remembered, however, that some degree of devotion to the Blessed Virgin's parents, Joachim and Anne, were practised in Ireland in early times, but, of course, there is nothing to prove that wells were named after St. Anne.

In McFirbis's Table of Genealogies, the O'Malleys are made descend from Conall Oirbsean, son of Brian. Máille, from whom the main stock derived its name, lived about 900. From him descended Eoghan Ó Máille, who was King of Umhall in the 14th century, and from whom branched off the O'Tooles and McLoughlins. Till the arrival of the O'Connors in the time of Tóirdhealach Mór, the Clann Máille ruled over the entire territory of Umhall. One of them appears to have been both King of Umhall and aircheannach of the monastery lands in Aughagower. An entry in the Four Masters reads: 'In 1094 Giolla na n-Inghean Ó Cobhthaigh, king of Umhall and aircheannach of Aughagower was killed by the men of Ceara.' The invasion from the east must have lost the Clann Máille a great part of their lands, and their supreme authority over all Umhall was usurped by the O'Connors. The coming of the Butlers and Lawlesses did nothing to improve their situation, but the events following the Brown Earl's death, gave them a chance of recovering a great part of their lost possessions. These they held down to the end of the Elizabethan wars.

The **Composition of Connacht** 1585 describes O'Malley's country as consisting of two divisions of 36 quarters each, called Lorge Owle O'Mayle and Ilane na Moghere. Knox comments: 'If the former be meant for Lurg Umhaill Ó Maille, it means the end of O'Malley's Umhall, and describes the western half of the country and the great islands. Ilane na Moghere is the small island in Moher Lake, on which there are traces of stone building. It must have been a place of note, or it would not have given a name to half of the chiefry. We may take it to have been O'Malley's principal crannoge and place of safety for his valuables in troublous times; it may be O'Malley's island, which Dermot took in 1415.' Moher Lake is now generally referred to as Carrowmore Lake, and the name Moher is likely to become forgotten. The division known in the **Composition** as Ilane na Moghere comprises the whole of the south-western part of Aughagower Parish, now known as the half-parish of Cushlough.

The road from Westport to Leenane passes through the west and south-west of Aughagower Parish. It skirts Moher Lake immediately beyond Lisarneey crossroads; and Oilean na Mochaire, the little crannoge of the O'Malleys, cannot be missed, being the only island in the lake. The country in front extending to within three miles of Leenane, where the parish of Aughagower ends, is the ancient division, which in the Middle Ages was named after the island. From Lisarneey, we pass through the townlands of Carrowmore and Carrowreevagh before reaching Carrowkennedy, and here is St. Patrick's Well.

Three hundred yards on the Westport side of Carrowkennedy school and former Garda Station, the road makes a bend to avoid a hill. Climbing the hill we

slip down on the other side into a tiny valley. It is not really a well. It is a bullaun stone about 2 ft. 9 inches by 2 ft. The hole in the stone is 10 or 11 inches in diameter and about 8 inches deep. Slightly more than half the stone is roofed by another stone in which a high arch has been cut very beautifully. The rest of the hole is open to the rain and always contains some water. The high covering stone permits a complete view of the hole. To the back of the 'well', as well as over the arch, is a heap of stones conveying the impression of a small 'clamp' of turf. This 'clamp' is about 3 ft. by 3 ft. at the base, and about 4 ft. high. The whole, bullaun stone, arch and heap makes a very pleasing sight. The performing of stations here, very common in the past, has almost ceased. Water from the 'well' is regarded as a cure for ailments of the eyes.

On the southern rim of the little valley, about 50 yards from the bullaun stone, is an ancient graveyard. As at Lankill, there is no mistaking this graveyard, but it is Lankill on a small scale. Flags are there over the graves and at the heads of graves, but there are no very large flags as at Lankill. Nor can this little cillin of Carrowkennedy compare in size with the cillin of Lankill. It is nearly circular, but not quite. The longer diameter is about 25 yards, the shorter 20. Unbaptised children have been buried there in the past. On the south-west rim, in the same field as the graveyard and the 'well', is an underground passage. It starts at a point about 60 yards south-west of the bullaun stone and proceeds in that direction for a distance of 25 yards, ending up at a particularly rocky spot in the neighbouring field. This souterrain is now completely closed up, but according to local people, is sufficiently high to allow a tall man to pass through without stooping. It seems to have been used as a hiding place by the Republican Army in the troubled years preceding the Treaty of 1921. In its vicinity occurred the Carrowkennedy ambush.

Another of those bullaun stones occurs in the townland of Keelkill, also in the Carrowkennedy area. About half-way between Liscarney and Carrowkennedy, a road turns off to the left, linking the Ilane na Moghera area with the village of Aughagower. After travelling half a mile along this road, one enters Keelkill, where the bullaun stone may be seen about 200 yards from the road on the right-hand side, i.e. the mountain side of the road. The stone itself is even larger than the one at the Carrowkennedy 'cillin', measuring about 3 ft. by 2 ft. but the bowl in the stone is somewhat smaller, being about 8 inches in diameter and 5 inches deep. There are a few small stones around the 'well', as it is called, where people knelt in the days when stations were done here. There is no graveyard in connection with the bullaun stone in Keelkill.

A mile beyond Carrowkennedy in the direction of Leenane is Cushlough, where is situated the half-parish church. The church was built beside a small lake, as the name Cushlough implies, but modern drainage has caused the lake to almost disappear. Beyond Cushlough, where the Erriff Valley begins, the parish narrows, and after passing in order the townlands of Shrahlea, Derrintin, Goulane, Gleann na Caillighe, Shrahlatloe and Gleann na n-Éan, we finally reach the inside waters of Killary Bay, where the Ilane na Moghera country ends, as far as the parish of Aughagower is concerned.

The real anglicisation of Ireland began in the time of Henry VIII after the Kildare Fitzgeralds had been finally disposed of. Irish chiefs were terrified by the treatment of this Norman-Irish family and were ready to accept, at least for the time being, the earldoms and knighthoods which Henry VIII conferred on them and to acknowledge him as their liege.

Notwithstanding the rebellions in Ulster and Munster, time was found for the anglicisation of Connacht. In 1569 Fitton was appointed as President of Connacht, but his domineering manner, coupled with his suppression of Catholicism, only caused rebellion throughout the province. The next President, Sir Nicholas Malbie was more successful in preserving peace, though indeed he had on two occasions to march his armies through Aughagower to the farthest part of Umhall to suppress the followers of the famous Richard an Iarainn, husband of the still more famous Granuaile. When Fitzmaurice landed at Smerwick in 1579, the only support he got from Connacht was from Richard an Iarainn. Sir Nicholas Malbie, the President of Connacht, soon took possession of the castles of Liskillen and Dunamona, and Richard had to take refuge in the islands of Clew Bay. To force Richard's adherents on the mainland to forsake him, and thus to hurry Richard himself in from the Islands to be received into favour, Malbie sent part of his forces on a raid. Malbie himself says: 'This day the force which I entertained took a great prey out of the Owles from the O'Malleys and the Clangibbons whereupon they came to me immediately and submitted themselves.' Knowing the inland O'Malleys to be centered around their Ilane na Moghera crannoge, and part of the Clangibbons to be settled in the Knappaghs and on the old monastery lands, it may be concluded that the parish of Aughagower bore the brunt of Malbie's raid. Malbie himself had to leave for Munster before Richard came in, but before going he left a garrison at Burrishoole, instructing the captain in charge to receive Richard's pledge for good behaviour. Returning from Limerick a month later, he met at Quin in Co. Clare, the Burrishoole captain from whom he received Richard's letter of submission, and a report that Richard and his confederates had given pledges. In 1580 Sean MacOliverus, who was the McWilliam, died and Malbie, a tactful man, appointed his late enemy, Richard an Iarainn to the McWilliamship. Richard died in 1583. Richard was succeeded as McWilliam by Richard Mac Oliverus of the Tirawley Burkes. The succession seems to have been disputed by the Sliocht Ulick, and Malbie was obliged to return to Umhall to suppress the trouble. The Four Masters (Knox) record: 'A great army was led by the people of Sir Nicholas Malbie and the sons of the Earl of Clanricarde, Ulick and John, into Íochtar Tíre and Umhall Uí Mháille, and took a countless number of cattle spoils on that occasion and also burned and totally destroyed Cathair na Mart.' This entry makes it clear that the district affected by Malbie's second raid was the O'Malley country in the vicinity of Cathair na Mart. Considering that a 'countless number of cattle' were taken, the raid must have embraced a wide area and as four years previously, must have fallen heavily on the parish of Aughagower. Sir Nicholas Malbie died the next year 1584.

After the death of Richard MacOliverus, the McWilliam in 1586, there was

no attempt made by Sir John Perrott to appoint a successor, and as a result trouble ensued. The taniest was Edmond Burke of the Castlebar branch. His sons broke out in rebellion, and were joined by Richard, son of Deamhan an Chorráin of the Burkes of Umhall. An attempt was made to bring in Scots from the North, but Bingham suppressed the rebellion ruthlessly, hanging many of the Burkes. Bingham's severity was distasteful to Sir John Perrott, who now intervened with a peremptory order giving the rebels protection for three months on condition of giving pledges. At the end of that time he decided regarding the McWilliamship. The greater part of the lands, including the Lough Mask and Ballinrobe lands and castles, as well as the rents of Kilmaine and Tirawley, were given to the son of the last McWilliam, but the title was not restored. It had disappeared according to the terms of the **Composition**. This division of lands and rents was unsatisfactory to most of the Burkes and the rebellion spread, being now joined by O'Malleys and Clangibbons and McPhilipins, so Bingham was again sent against them. With O'Malleys, Gibbonses and McPhilipins on the warpath in this rebellion, it may be taken that all Aughagower was implicated, and that the lands of those chieftains did not go free when the forces of Bingham took thousands of cattle from Connemara and Erris and Umhall.

After Malbie's death, Sir Richard Bingham was appointed governor under Sir John Perrott in 1584. In 1585 came the Indenture of Composition for the County of Mayo, including Ross but excluding Costello. Sir John Perrott agreed to give up the practice of cessing upon the country for the support of the Queen's troops in consideration of a sufficient rent upon the land. The lords and chieftains were also to take from those holding under them a certain fixed rent, instead of their irregular cuttings and spendings. Also, all land was to descend by the English law of inheritance. The rent was fixed at ten shillings on each quarter of pasture or tillage land, that is at the rate of a penny an acre. The agreement also brought the rule of McWilliam in Mayo to a legal and effective end on the death of Sir Richard Burke, or Richard Mac Oliverus, who had succeeded Richard an Iarainn in 1583. Though McWilliams were later set up again, when the Queen's forces were powerless to prevent it, they had little hold on the country, and were abandoned by the local gentry, whenever the presence of the forces of the Queen enabled them to do so with safety.

The **Composition of Connacht** describes the lands of the various chiefs or landowners. O'Malley's lands, all in the Barony of Murrisk, have already been described as Lorge Owle Omayle consisting of 36 quarters, and Ilane na Moghere also consisting of 36 quarters, most of the latter being in Aughagower Parish. The lands of the Archbishop of Tuam, that is the old monastery lands of Aughagower, consisted of 7 quarters in the Barony of Murrisk, and 24 quarters in the Barony of Burrishoole. McPhilipin's lands in Burrishoole amounted to 24 quarters, a great part of which was in Aughagower Parish. The parish of Aughagower was therefore owned by O'Malley to the south, by McPhilipins to the north, and by the Archbishop in the centre.

In 1588 Sir John Perrott, who disliked Sir Richard Bingham and had him removed, resigned his post as Viceroy. He was succeeded by Fitzwilliam, a man

of little principle, who restored Bingham to the Governorship. This was the year of the Spanish Armada, and the refusal of some of the western chiefs to give up the shipwrecked Spaniards was the beginning of more trouble. In 1589 those in rebellion were Richard, son of Devil's Hook, Theobald, Walter and John, sons of Richard an Iarainn, the Burkes of Erris, Clangibbons, O'Flahertys and McPhilipins. To cope with this new rising, Bingham sent a force under Sir John Browne of the Neale, who marched by the old road from Ballintubber to the Reek, passing most certainly through Aughagower. Browne was killed with 25 of his men as he led a small body from Carrickahowley Castle towards Erris. The trouble spread to the country east of the Corrib, and though the O'Flahertys, Joyces and McDonnells were beaten by Bingham at Milltown, near Tuam, there was the prospect that all Connacht would soon be in a turmoil. Fitzwilliam, ignoring Bingham, made peace with the rebels at the Church of St. Nicholas in Galway, a peace, indeed, which did not last long, for the Burkes now got still more out of hand. The Blind Abbot was openly proclaimed the McWilliam at Rousakeera in spite of the Queen, and Bingham was again ordered to take the field. He pursued the rebels from Castlebar into Tirawley, where in a skirmish the Blind Abbot was wounded, and his foot had to be amputated, after which little of him is heard in history, though he lived until 1598 and was buried at Quin Abbey in Co. Clare. The Queen's soldiers marched throughout the mountains of Erris, south to Burrishoole, and then into McPhilipins country. Edmond, son of Richard an Iarainn now made peace, as did the other Burkes. Granuaile, at this point, again comes into history. Knox writes: 'After the peace was made, but before she knew of it, Grace O'Malley took two or three cargo-boats to the Isles of Arran and robbed some of Sir Thomas Le Strange's men to the value of twenty marks. Richard Burke, her son-in-law, was put in charge of her until she restored the plunder, and made good the damages.' This Richard Burke was Richard, son of Deamhan an Chorráin.

So ended in 1590 on McPhilipin's lands in Aughagower the second phase of Bingham's government of Connacht, begun by John Browne, when he marched his troops along the old road to the Reek, right through the heart of the parish.

In 1591 and 1592 O'Donnell, just after his escape from Dublin Castle, endeavoured to attract Connacht to his standard. The only response was from the Sliocht Ulick, led by Edmond, son of Richard an Iarainn. In 1592, Bingham went to Cloonagashel to hold Sessions, and to suppress the rebellion. Most of the gentlemen of the county were present, which shows that the Sliocht Ulick on this occasion had very little support, being confined to themselves and some McDonnells. The latter soon submitted, and the task of suppressing the Burkes of Umhall was thus made easy. This task brought Sir Richard Bingham to Burrishoole, where he met his ships, which had come round from Galway for the purpose of clearing the islands. Spending two days here, he proceeded to Cathair na Mart and thence to Aughagower. Bingham himself tells what happened in Aughagower: 'And at this place Tibbot Burke McRichard an Iarainn came in to us, and agreed unto all things for the Burkes, O'Malleys and Clangibbons to be received into Her Majesty's mercy and protection, laying in his foster-father

Edmund McTibbot, and one Tibbot MacGibbon to remain as pledges till the other pledges for the several septs should be brought in, and the other conditions be performed at full.' Bingham insisted at this Aughagower conference that 'every principal sept should lay in a separate pledge, the Burkes by themselves, and so in like sort the O'Malleys, as also the Clandonnells, by which we have divided them from one another. And upon all these septs (for of each name there are divers septs) we shall have nine or ten pledges. They are to pay 1500 marks towards the cost of soldiers specially raised. And within a certain time they are to make restitution of spoils committed on any of Her Majesty's subjects since 1588.'

Knox writes of the Aughagower meeting: 'Theobald, Mac Ricaird an Iarainn, better known as Tibbot na Long, so named because he became to some extent a sea captain, made use of and owned a ship and went afloat himself, entered into the history of Mayo at Aughagower, and thereafter, played a great part, being the most influential man of the Sliocht Ulick after the death of his brother Edmund, and was generally on the Queen's side in the rebellions. His rise marks the decay of the tribal system and the growth of the civil. His position was due to possession of property. Several of the Sliocht Ulick were his seniors, and under the old conditions would have been leaders. But his possession and good abilities made him a man of great importance. He was brought up under Sir George Bingham, and spoke and wrote English. He married Maedhbh, called Maud in English, sister of Donogh O'Connor Sligo. His inheritance was estimated at forty quarters in Carra and Gallen and the Owles'.

Bingham, however, does not seem to have been fully satisfied with Tiobóid na Long's professions of loyalty in Aughagower. The next year 1583 he was arrested by the governor upon information that he was in correspondence with Brian Óg O'Rorke, offering to raise Mayomen to assist the Ulster chiefs. His mother, Grace O'Malley now went to England to effect his release, as well as the release of her brother Donnell, who had been accused of killing some soldiers, to arrange the succession of her sons to their father's lands, and to secure maintenance for herself in her old age. The Queen in a letter to Bingham expresses pity for the old woman, and desires him to deal leniently with her sons, as well as to yield her some maintenance for the rest of her years. Tibbot was released, and this same year 1593, he took part in putting down a raid into Mayo by some rebel Burkes with troops from McGuire. In 1595 he sends in a list of the Burkes killed in 1583 as evidence of his loyalty, and in justification of his application for a pension. He remained loyal to the Queen all through the O'Neill-O'Donnell wars. So ends another phase of Bingham's rule in Connacht.

In 1595 Captain George Bingham, cousin of Sir Richard, while holding Sligo Castle with a mixed English and Connacht force, was murdered by one of his party named Ulick Burke, and the castle was handed over to O'Donnell. The latter was now able to advance into Costello country, and when Bingham was sent to intercept him at Ballysodare, he found that O'Donnell had got there some hours before him and had made his escape. This reverse was followed by the defeat of the Queen's troops under Captain Fowle in Erris, and the Mayo

chieftains were again in open rebellion. Bingham was accused of causing the mischief by his harshness and cruelty, and was ordered to stand his trial in Athlone for his muddling of Connacht affairs. He seems to have suspected foul play from some of those on his own side, who might have charged his murder on the Connacht rebels, and instead of going to Athlone he fled to England, where he was treated as a fugitive from justice and ordered back to Ireland to stand his trial. He set off with the new Governor, Sir Conyers Clifford, but becoming ill, he had to be left at Chester. Later, the Queen ordered his trial to be held in Dublin. Knox says that the course of the trial is not in the records, but that Bingham was in London in 1597, where he wrote a letter which shows that he had been acquitted.

At the end of 1595, O'Donnell was again in Mayo at Kilmaine to inaugurate a McWilliam in place of the Blind Abbot. There were several competitors including Tiobóid na Long. O'Donnell induced the assembled chiefs to confer the honour on a young man named Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach of the Tirawley Burkes, much to the vexation of the older and more qualified Burkes. These had to hide their vexation while O'Donnell was in Mayo, but the unpopular selection made matters easy for Sir Conyers Clifford on taking charge in 1597, when he rallied most of the Mayo chiefs to his standard. Though O'Donnell took Athenry at the beginning of this year, Clifford was able to rout the McWilliam out of the province, and the majority of the chiefs were received into favour. Some of them were even allowed small groups of men to operate with the Governor. The battle of the Yellow Ford in 1598 completely changed the situation. All Connacht was at the mercy of O'Donnell, and McWilliam was again able to return. Tiobóid na Long, and the clans of Umhall remained submissive to Clifford.

Knox writes: 'In the beginning of 1599 the whole country was at the mercy of O'Donnell, who made Ballymote his headquarters. When he made a raid into Thomond with a large force at the end of January, he sent a party under McWilliam and Niall Garve O'Donnell into Mayo, who plundered from Costello to the Owles without opposition.' Quoting from the Four Masters, he continues: 'McWilliam and Niall Garve arrived with their forces at the island of Leathardan, and they attacked the place boldly and fiercely, and though the defence was made against them bravely it did not profit those who made it, for they leaped from every side and quarter into the place among them. Eighteen of the chief men of Clangibbon were slain and slaughtered, and a great number of others besides. The place was plundered by them also.'

Knox explains: 'This island seems to have been a crannoge on the little lake of Lahardane, about a mile from Aughagower. On its west side is a small mound which may have been an island or peninsula before the lake was lowered. It is so small that it is difficult to believe that many men were inside it. This is the only case I know in this county of occupation of a crannog as a crannog by Anglo-Norman settlers. In other cases a stone castle was built. The despatch of a party to rob in Mayo shows little real support O'Donnell got there.'

The same year 1599 Clifford was killed in the Curlew Mountains, when advancing to relieve Collooney Castle, held by O'Connor Sligo, and surrounded

by O'Donnell, while Tiobóid na Long, was waiting with ships in Donegal Bay to assist the Governor, when he would advance to Sligo. O'Donnell tried unsuccessfully to bring Tiobóid and his ships over to his own side. Then came Mountjoy and Carew and Dowcra, who outrivalled O'Donnell in burning and destruction. Niall Garbh was won over to the Queen, and Hugh O'Donnell spent most of his time in Connacht, where he was much safer than in his own territory. Even McWilliam began to notice the turn of the tide. He even offered, or pretended to offer to capture O'Donnell at Killybegs, and hand him over to the Queen on condition of being made Earl of Mayo and receiving a thousand pounds. The Queen would not part with the money until he had first rendered the service offered, though she did agree to make him Earl of Mayo. The money not forthcoming, the project fell through and McWilliam went with O'Donnell to fight the battle of Kinsale, and after it accompanied him to Spain. The name McWilliam disappeared forever.

Aughagower 1920's



SÉAMAS Ó hARGADÁIN (JAMES HARDIMAN) 1782-1855

le Críostóir Túinléigh, B.A., B.Comm.

Is mór an t-údar iontais a laighead is a scríobhadh ar Shéamas Ó hArgadáin, nuair a cuimhnítear ar an gcaoi ar chaith sé an chuid is mó dhá shaol ag obair ar shon na hÉireann, ó thaobh na litríochta, na staire is na náisiúntachta. Ba chomhaimsireach é le daoine mar Sheán Ó Donnabháin (1809-1861), Eoghan Ó Comhraidhe (1796-1862), George Petrie (1789-1866) is an t-Urramach James Henthorn Todd (1805-1869). Chuidigh sé le Tomás Dáibhis, tráth ar cuireadh tús le Cumann na n-Éireannach Óg, agus chuir sé roinnt dánta i gcló sa *Nation*. Is mór an meas a bhí aige ar James Clarence Mangan agus is géar an truaí a bhíodh aige leis an bhfile in am a anró. Tá leidir dhe chuid an fhile i mbailiúchán Í Argadáin, in Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann, inar iarr Ó Mangáin iasacht puint ar an Argadáin.¹

Cloistear cuid mhaith cainte fán dream thuasluaite, ach is corruair a bhíos trácht ar bith ar eagarthóir *Irish Minstrelsy*, leabhra ar dhúirt an Craoibhín Aoibhinn ina dtaobh go raibh ins an saothar úd cuid mhaith den fhilíocht is fearr a cumadh i nGaeilge le cupla céad blian aniar. "Níor sáraíodh an leabhar seo fós, mar chnuasach luachmhar d'fhilíocht na hÉireann," a scríobh sé.²

Tús a Shaoil

Is deacair a rá le cinnteacht cén áit ar rugadh Séamas Ó hArgadáin. Do réir a charad is a chomh-oibritheora, Seán Ó Donnabháin, is i gCathair na Mart a rugadh é sa mbliain 1782.³ Bíodh sin fíor nó a mhalairt, ní thig linn a dhul taobh amuigh dhe. Ní luann an mac ainm a athar ná a mháthar in aon cheann de na scríbhinní a d'fhág sé ina dhiaidh, ach in 23 E 21, Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann; maoítear ansin gur rugadh is gur tóigeadh a athair is a uncail cupla míle ón áit ar rugadh Toirdhealbhadh Ó Cearbhalláin, i gCondae na Midhe, go raibh aithne ag an mbeirt ar an bhfile agus gur iomadh scéal a chuala sé féin óna athair i dtaobh Í Chearbhalláin.

Pé ar bith scéal é, is dócha go mba Ó hArgadáin sloinne a athar, nó, i mBéarla, *Hargadon*. Tá an sloinne sin coitianta fós féin, in áiteacha thart timpeall Chondae Mhuigheo is Chondae Shligigh. Is cosúil, ina cheann sin, go dtugtaí *Hargadon* ar an mac, Séamas, ach is ceist eile ar fad cén uair a thosaigh seisean ag tabhairt *Hardiman* de shloinne air féin; níl fiú a theastas beireatais le fáil againn. Tá dhe scéal ag Ó Donnabháin go raibh Séamas Ó hArgadáin ag brath a dhul isteach sa riail go luath ina shaol, ach ó tharla é bheith ar leathshúil, nach nglacfaí leis in aon ord beannaithe, gan cead speisialta ón bPápa. Bhí an Pápa, faraoir, fá bhraighdeanas ag Napoleon san am úd agus nuair a tháinig freagra ón Róimh, thar éis ocht mbliain, agus an cead oifigiuil ann don scoláire óg bheith ina shagart *quamquam luscum*, bhí a intinn athraithe, sa gcaoi gur i ndlith na tíre a bhí a shuim.⁴

Am éigin i rith na mbliain úd, d'aistrigh athair Í Argadáin chun na Gaillimhe. Is cosúil gur siopadóir dhe shaghas éigin a bhí ann, más inchreite ar scríobh Ó Donnabháin.⁵ Béidir nach bhfuil ann ach tuairim, mar níor thug an Donnabhán fuinse a colais; amannta ní bhíonn an lán-cheart aige.

Mar bhall de Chumann Leabharlainne Bhaile Átha Cliath, is túisce a luaitear Ó hArgadáin i saol litríochta na tíre. Sa mbliain 1810 a rinneadh ball de⁶ agus an bhliain ina diaidh sin fuair sé posta mar fho-choimisinéara in Oifig na n-Annála Poiblí, i mBaile Átha Cliath; *As a person of ability, care and diligence, he was appointed to be sub-commissioner to methodize, regulate and digest the Records, Rolls, Instruments . . . in any of our Public Offices and Repositories . . .*⁷ Bhí seoladh aige ar Shráid Céipil, an uair seo. I measc cnuasach leitreach san Acadamh, tá an ceann seo ag baint leis an gceapachán.

31, Skinner's Row,
Dublin
20th August, 1811.

My Dear Hardiman,

It is with feelings of most lively pleasure I have to communicate to you the intelligence that I this day saw an order from the Board of Public Records appointing you to the expected situation under them.

I remain, Yours truly
Thomas Gilchrist

Ní heol dúinn cén caighdeán oideachais a bhí aige an tráth sin, ná cén áit a bhfuair sé a oideachais. Caithfidh go raibh greim maith aige ar na teangacha claisiceacha, ós rud é go raibh faoi dul le sagartóireacht, agus is cinnte nach ligfí isteach ag obair in Oifig na n-Annála Poiblí é, mara mbeadh sé i ndan na láimhscríbhinní poiblí a léamh, mar is i Laidin a bhí mórán díobh. Naoi mbliana déag a chaith sé fá na coimisinéaraí úd.

Sa mbliain 1813, agus é mór le lucht léinn na cathrach, thóig Ó hArgadáin teach ar léas ag 36, Paradise Row;⁸ 36, Sráid Wellington, atá anois air. Is go dtí an áit seo a chuaigh Ó hArgadáin, a bhean is a mháthair chun cónaí. Bhí an mháthair ina baintrigh sa mbliain 1816, ach níl fhios againn cén fad roimhe sin a d'éag an t-athair. Marcella Hall a hainm baiste agus b'as Oireamh í, gar dho Chaisleán an Bharra.⁹ Chónaigh sí leis an mac is a bhainchéile go dtí go bhfuair sí bás.

Chomh maith le obair a phosta, thosaigh Ó hArgadáin ag léamh cúrsa dlí agus sa mbliain 1815 bhain sé gradam aturnae amach.¹⁰ Is cosúil gur ón uair seo amach a chuaigh sé dáríre in éadan na hoibre ar chaith sé cuid mhaith dá shaol léi; sé sin, beo-litríocht na tíre, mar bhí sí i mbéal na ndaoine agus ins na hamhráin, a tharrtháil do na glúine a bhí le teacht.

Bhí d'ádh ar an Argadán nach raibh sé gann in airgead, mar bhí scoláirí eile dhá chomhairsirigh, nuair a thosaigh sé ar an obair úd. Ní luadhfeamuid anseo ach sompla nó dó mar léargus ar a chaighdeán maireachtála. Sa mbliain 1818, thug sé suas le £1,000 ar ghabháltas talún i mbarúntacht Chearra, i gCondae Mhuigheo.¹¹ Dhá bhliain roimhe sin, bhronn a mháthair feilm bheag air, a bhí aici ar Oireamh sa mbarúntach céanna.¹² Lig sé an talamh seo ar fad amach ar chíos. Thug sé £800 ar thalamh sa gceanntar céanna, sa mbliain 1819.¹³ Isteach

le chéile, bhí ionann's dhá chéad acra sa deireadh aige agus é ag fáil cíosa mhaith as. Dá bhrí sin, is léir gurbh shear maith gnotha an t-Argadán.

Thaitnigh a phosta faoi na coimisinéaraí thar cionn leis. Chomh fada siar leis an mbliain 1812, cuireadh tuarascáil mhór go leor óna láimh os cóir na gcoimisinéaraí.¹⁴ Is léir gur chuir sé spéis mhór i stair is cultúr na tíre, ach, rud níos tábhachtaí ná sin, béidir, is soiléir a thuig sé an géarghá a bhí le obair dhúthrachtach ó gach taobh, leis na mílte láimhscríbhinn Gaeilge, a bhí scaipthe thart timpeall na tíre, a chur ar láimh tharrthála. Ní air amháin a bhí sábháil na scríbhinn úd ag brath, mar b'údar spéise do scoláirí í le i bhfad roimhe sin. Ná ní raibh cumainn is fundúireachta gan spéis san obair, ach níor bhain Ó hArgadáin le aon chumann roimh *The Archaeological Society*, a bunaíodh idir 1813 is 1814.¹⁵ Níor chuir an cumann rud ar bith i gcló, chomh fada le m'eolas, ach thiocfaidh dhó go raibh Ó hArgadáin freagrach as cuid mhaith dá imeachtaí.¹⁶

Údar Staire na Gaillimhe.

Sa mbliain 1820, a foilsíodh Stair na Gaillimhe.¹⁷ Is beag a bhí i gcló, an tráth úd, i dtaobh stair áitiuil bailte is dúichí na hÉireann; tá liosta tugtha ag an Argadán de na háitheacha a raibh cuid dá stair i gcló suas go dtí a aimsir féin.¹⁸ Ní mór cuimneachtáil go raibh obair lán-aimsireach, an-chrúógach, air in Oifig na n-Annála Poiblí, san am a bhí sé i mbun a leabhair. Gach nóiméad a bhí le spáráil aige, chaitheadh sé é ag obair ar an leabhar. Rinne sé cuardach fairsing ar láimhscríbhinní is páipéir phríomháideacha, áit ar bith a raibh siad le fáil, sa tír seo is i Sasana.¹⁹ Bhain sé úsáid go háirid as miontuairiscí shean-Bhardas na Gaillimhe.²⁰ Is mór a moladh a shaothar lena linn féin agus ó shoin; tarpaintear meas mhuintir na Gaillimhe air, ins an sliocht seo as leitir a cuireadh chuige ar an 14ú lá dhe Mhí na Nollag, 1822;

I have been directed by the members of the Amicable Society [of Galway] to signify to you that you have been unanimously elected an Honorary Member of their Body on Friday last and they desire that I should intimate to you that they have been induced to take this step by a knowledge of your general merit as a Member of Society and the place which your name has attained in the literary world.

Tá le tuigsin gur chuir Ó hArgadáin an leabhar i gcló ar a chostas féin, gan é féin a chur fá chomaoin airgid ag duine ar bith. Is fada an leabhar as cló anois. Chuir *An Curadh Connachtach* cló ar ghearr-insean den leabhar, tuairim na bliana 1926, ach tá sin as cló le blianta, freisin.

Bailitheoir Láimhscríbhinn

Fhad is bhí an t-Argadán ag scríobh an leabhair staire, bhí sé, ar nós go leor eile dhe lucht léinn na haimsire, go dícheallach ag bailiú láimhscríbhinn Gaeilge. Láimhscríbhinn fhiúntach ar bith nach raibh fáil aige uirthi, d'íocfadh sé go maith as cóip dhi a chur dhá scríobh dhó féin. Ba ghearr ag bailiú é nuair a thuig sé go mbeadh gá le scríobhaí, nó grafaire, le cuid den obair a dhéanamh dhó.

B'é Finghin Ó Scanaill, file is scríobhaí as Cill Airne, an chéad duine a d'fhostaigh sé go seasmhach chun na hoibre úd. Is don Argadán a scríobh Ó Scanaill roinnt mhaith de na láimhscríbhinní atá anois i mbailiúchán *Egerton*, in Iarsmalainn na Breataine.²¹ Tugtar *Hardiman's Scribe* air, scaite, ins na leabhra tagartha.



James Hardiman

Bhí Philip Gibbons ag obair dhó mar scríobhaí, freisin.²² Is é a scríobh cuid mhaith de Egerton 117, ón mbéalaithe, i gcondaethe éagsúla i gConnachta. Sa mbliain 1822 a rinneadh an obair scríbhneoireachta seo agus is dóigh go bhfuil sí ar cheann de na céad láimhscríbhinní a fuair Ó hArgadáin.

Is mór an scríbhneoireacht a rinne Séamas Ó Scoraighe dhó, ón mbliain 1821 amach;²³ b'as Port Lairge Séamas agus bhí roinnt mhaith scríofa aige ar gramadaigh na Gaeilge. B'eisean a chuir Ó Donnabháin in aithne dhon Argadán den chéad uair agus bhí Ó Donnabháin buíoch dó go lá a bháis. Cailleadh Ó Scoraighe sa mbliain 1827 agus chuaidh Ó hArgadáin i bpáirt le Ó Donnabháin le íoc as inscríbhinn a ghearradh ar lic a uaighe i reilig Mhuileann an Bhata.²⁴

Thar éis bháis Í Scoraighe, rinne an t-Argadáin socrú le Ó Donnabháin bheith ina scríobhaí aige, agus lean Ó Donnabháin den obair go dtí 1830. I gceann de na leitreacha a scríobh Ó Donnabháin ag cur síos ar an socrú a rinneadh, léitear; *5 Nov. 1828 I agree with Mr. Hardiman for twelve months to write for him whatever he wishes at six shillings per week and breakfast. He owes me to this day 5 pounds.*²⁵ D'amhdaigh Ó Donnabháin gur mór a d'fhólaím sé ón staraí agus gurb é Ó hArgadáin a chuir formhór lucht léinn na tíre in aithne dhó.²⁶ Ar aon nós, d'éirigh cairdeas buan idir an bheirt. Is fiú inseacht anseo gurb é Ó hArgadáin a mhol Ó Donnabháin, mar an múinteoir a b'fhearr leis an nGaeilge a mhúnadh, do Thomas Larcom, ceannasaí obair céad-scilbhéarachta na hÉireann.²⁷

Errew Monastery



Turas go duiche Í Chearbhalláin

Thuig an t-Argadán gur beag d'fhliocht Chonnacht a bhí bailithe go dtí a aimsir féin. Dá bhri sin, chuir sé roimhe a shean-iarracht a dhéanamh ar a dtiocfadh leis di a chruinniú is a chaomhúint. Is mór, ina dhiaidh sin, a bhí ag teacht idir é agus a chuspóir a chur i ghrígh.

Anall go dtí an bhliain 1825, nó mar sin, is áibhéil an lán oibre a bhí idir lámha aige in Oifig na n-Annála Poiblí. Sa mbliain a luaitear, chuir sé an tuarascáil ba mhó agus ba tábhachtaí uaidh fós os cóir na gcoimisinéaraí.²⁸ Idir 1824 is 1826, léigh sé dhá aiste thábhachtach san Acadamh.²⁹ Timpeall's an bhliain 1826, freisin, chuaidh sé go Cill Ruis i gCondae an Chláir, le seilbh fháil ar an bhfoclóir Gaeilge-Béarla, ar chaith Peadar Ó Conaill, as an gcondae sin, dá fhichead blian dá chur i dtoll a chéile.³⁰ Seo an chéad obair thábhachtach scríbhneoireachta a rinne Ó Donnabháin don Argadán, nuair a d'aithscríobh sé tuilleadh cóip dó.³¹

Seo é an t-am freisin a scríobhadh den chéad uair furmhór na n-amhrán le Torlach Ó Cearbhalláin atá i gcló in *Irish Minstrelsy*.³² Is mór an lán eile atá in *Irish Minstrelsy*, seachas amhráin Chearbhalláin. Is ann a cuireadh cló den chéad uair ar mórán amhrán a cloistear coitianta fós ar fud na tíre. Foilsíodh ann, freisin, dea-shomplaí d'fhilíocht an 17ú céad is an 18ú céad, chomh maith le roinnt somplaí den dán díreach.

Deireadh Oifig na n-Annála Poiblí

Ba mhór an chailliúint do scoláirí is lucht staidéir é, nuair a chuir an Rialtas stop le obair choimisinéaraí na n-Annála Poiblí, sa mbliain 1830.³³ Ach oiread le gach duine a chaill a phosta faoi na coimisinéaraí, b'éigean d'Ó hArgadáin éirí as an taighde a bhí ar siúl beagnach deich mbliain is fiche aige. Bhí cuid mhaith óna láimh i gcló, cheana féin, agus bhí tuilleadh réidh don chló aige. Ní nach ionadh, mar sin, gur chuir Sir John Gilbert go tréan in aghaidh an Rialtais is an droch-mheasa a bhí siad a chaitheamh le Annála Poiblí na Éireann.³⁴

Ag cur síos dó ar chéad-bhunú Oifig na n-Annála Poiblí, scríobh sé:

*Fortunately for the Public, these Commissioners obtained the assistance of James Hardiman, and other good Irish Archivists, who efficiently collected scattered documents, made various excellent arrangements, prepared transcripts and calendars, some of which were printed and others passing through the press when these labours were abruptly terminated by the unexpected revocation of the commission in 1830.*³⁵

Thug an duine céanna roinnt somplaí le taspáint don phobal cé mar goideadh, gan oiread is focal amhdála, mórán den obair a bhí déanta ag Ó hArgadáin is a chomh-scoláirí agus a cuireadh i gcló blianta ina dhiaidh sin in *Prefaces to the Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls*, v. 1-2.³⁶ Ní ba mheasa fós, tugadh fá deara go raibh roinnt botún déanta ins na *Calendars* ar eolas a bhí i gcló roimhe sin ag na coimisinéaraí, rudaí nach raibh aon údáras ná bunús leo ins na bun-scríbhinní.

Filí Chonnacht

Is cinnte go raibh Séamas Ó hArgadáin i ndan saothar filí a thréimhse féin a mheas, thar aon ní eile agus thar aon duine eile lena linn. Is dó atá an chreidiúint ag dul go bhfuil oiread sin againn inniu is atá d'fhilíocht Antoine Í Reachtabhra

(1779-1835), Mhichíl Mhic Shuibhne (1760-1820) agus Riocard Bairéid (1740-1820).

Sa mbliain 1903, nuair a foilsíodh *Amhráin atá leagtha ar an Reachtúire*, bhí an Craoibhín thar éis úsáid a bhaint as láimhscríbhinn as an Acadamh Ríoga, i nganfhios gur cheann de chuid Í Argadáin í. Sa leabhar úd, freisin, tá peictiúr den Reachtabhra a tarraingeadh le peann is dúbhach, ach gan aon ainm línitheora leis. Chuile sheans gurb é Séamas Óg Ó hArgadáin, mac leis an staraí, a rinne é, mar bhí scil san ealaín sin aige.³⁷ Is cosúil gur timpeall na bliana 1832, nó 1833, a chruinníodh amhráin an Reachtabhraigh, agus tá fianaise againn ón Argadán féin go raibh aithne phearsanta aige ar an bhfile; *Anthony Rafferty . . . played the violin tolerably and was accustomed to recite his own poems as well as other old Irish compositions, and to sing his own songs, accompanied by the music of his violin. I knew him well. He was an honest man.*³⁸ In áit eile san aiste chéana, tá peictiúr dhe Pháidín Mac Conhaola, píobaire Gaillimheach, a tharraing Séamas Óg, sa mbliain 1849, in aithris ar cheann a rinne Branston in 1840. Bhí suim ag an mac in obair an athar.

An t-Ollamh Tomás Ó Máille, nach maireann, a chuir filíocht Mhichíl Mhic Shuibhne in eagar agus, mar amhdaíonn sé féin, is as láimhscríbhinn dhe chuid Í Argadáin a bhain sé a lán den adhbhar. Is cosúil go bhfuair Ó hArgadáin roinnt de na hamhráin úd scríofa roimh a aimsir féin agus gurb é Aimhistín Mac Concalon, scríobhaí as an gClochán, Condae na Gaillimhe, a bhreac ar pháipéar iad, ó bhéalaithris seanchaithe, ar shon an Argadáin.³⁹

As an bhFuinseanaigh, in aice le Conga Feicín, Micheál Mac Suibhne, ach rinne sé imirce go Conamara agus é ina fhear óg agus is ann a chaith sé an chuid eile dhá bheatha. Luaidh Ó hArgadáin go raibh beagán Laidne ar an bhfile agus gurbh fhear beag é, nach raibh ro-dhathúil.⁴⁰

Is iomdha duine a chuireadh amhráin chuig Ó hArgadáin ó am go chéile; bhíodh cuid de na hamhráin ud nua-cheaptha, tuilleadh arna mbreacadh ar pháipéar ó bhéalaithris.⁴¹ Is docha gur ar an gcaoi seo a fuair sé slam maith d'amhráin an Bhairéadaigh sa mbliain 1839, nó 1840, ó Patrick Knight, innealltóir.⁴² Sa mbaile beag a dtugtar Bearaic air, thimpeall's sé mhíle ó Bhéal an Mhuirthid, a rugadh Riocard Bairéad, sa mbliain 1729. Bhí an-cháil air mar mhúinteoir agus deirtear go raibh eolas aige ar cheithre teangacha. Insithear go leor scéalta ina thaobh agus deirtear gur chaith sé seal i bpríosún Chaisleán an Bharra dhe bharr gnothaí poilitíochta. Ar an gCarn a fuair sé bás, in 1819, agus hadhlacadh i Mainistir na Croise é.

In Gaillimh

Timpeall na bliana 1830, shocraigh Séamas Ó hArgadáin Baile Átha Cliath fhágáil agus a dhul chum chónaí i gCathair na Gaillimhe. Cheannaigh sé "Taylor's Hill House" teach nua le ocht n-acraí talún ina thimpeall, ach ní dheacha chun cónaí ann go dtí 1832. "Ardmore" atá mar ainm ar an teach seo faoi láthair.

Is fiú a inseacht anseo go raibh an-mhuinín ag an bhfoilsitheoir, Joseph L. Robins, as leabhra Í Argadáin. Chaith Robins is a bhean tamall ar cuairt tigh Í Argadáin.⁴³ Is inspéise na leitreacha a scríobh Robins chuig an Argadán idir 1827 is 1832, mar tá cuir síos iontu ar a lán dár bhain le eagarthóireacht is

clódóireacht san am.⁴⁴ B'é Robins a thóig cúram na socraide air féin, nuair a cailleadh Thomas Furlong, aistriitheoir codach de na hamhráin a chuir Ó hArgadáin in eagar.

Thart ar an am seo, dhíol Ó hArgadáin láimhscríbhinní le Iarsmalainn na Breataine atá ina bpáirt mhór de bhailiúchán Egerton anois⁴⁵. £460 a fuair sé orthu⁴⁶ agus, theastaigh an t-airgead uaidh lena thaighde ar thiodal Netterville a chríochnú⁴⁷. Séard a bhí sa scéal úd, tiodal *Viscount Netterville of Dowch* a bheith caite ón mbliain 1826, sa gcaoi gur iarr James Netterville, as Coarsefield, Condae Mhuigheo, ar Ó hArgadáin, an ceart a bhí aige ar an tiodal a scrúdú. Rinne an t-Argadán an t-iniúchadh ba riachtanach agus sa deireadh thiar thall tugadh an cheist os cóir Teach na d'Tiarnaí i Londain áit ar tugadh breith i bhfabhar James Netterville.⁴⁸ Ní bhfuair Ó hArgadáin oiread is pinginn ar shon a chuid oibre, chomh fada lenar n-eolas.

Ceol na hÉireann

Le cois móráin eile, is cinnte gurbh údar suime aige ceol na hÉireann agus, go háirid na fuinn bhreá, cheolmhara, a seinntí lena linn ag píobairí. I nGaillimh féin, deirtear, bhí suas le cúigear píobairí ag bailiú ceol na tíre ó bhéal na ndaoine dhon Argadán. Nuair a bhí John Edward Pigot ag bailiú amhrán is ceoil, is ón staraí a fuair sé roinnt mhaith;⁴⁹ agus mar an gcéanna le William Forde as Corcaigh. Is idir 1840 is 1850 a bhí an bheirt sin ag taisteal san Iarthar. Thóig Forde cuid mhaith fonn síos ó Pháidín Mac Conshaola, píobaire Gaillimheach, ach is de bharr teist Í Argadán air a bhí cáil ar Pháidín.⁵⁰

Is dócha go raibh sé ar intinn ag an Argadán tuilleadh amhrán a chur i gcló, de leitheid a raibh aige in *Irish Minstrelsy* agus tá luaite aige, thall is i bhfus, gur mhian leis leabhar amhrán maille le ceol a fhoilsiú.⁵¹ Bhí adbhar leabhair cruinnithe aige sa láimhscríbhinn a huimhrithear Egerton 110 anois agus is dóigh gur am éicin idir 1828 is 1830 a cuireadh an cnuasach i dtoll a chéile, mar b'é Seán Ó Donnabháin an grafaire a bhí aige. Sé an tiodal atá air, *A Collection of Lyrical Compositions consisting of Songs, Jacobite Relics, etc., in the Irish Language; By the most celebrated Bards chiefly of the Province of Munster during the Eighteenth Century.*⁵²

Mainistir Oirimh

Ar mhainistir na bProinsiasach in Oireamh, gar dho Chaisleán an Bharra, tá inscír bhinn os cionn an dorais, ag léiriú gurbh é Séamas Ó hArgadáin a leag bunchloch na Mainistreach nua, ar an 21ú d'Iúil, 1840.⁵³ Tá dhe scéal ag seandaoine an cheanntair gur casadh duine dhe bhráithre mhainistir Bhéal Átha Glúinín ar Mhac Í Argadán, i nGaillimh, cupla bliain roimh an dáta a luaitear thuas, agus gur innis an bráthair don staraí gur mhaith leis an Ardeaspog go mbeadh scoil ag na Proinsiasaigh, i mball éicin i gCondae Mhuigheo.

Bhí sealbhas ag Ó hArgadáin i gCondae Mhuigheo agus gheall sé go dtiúradh sé láthair mhainistreach is scoile do na bráithre as, chomh maith le oiread talún is a thug an Blácach do na bráithre i mBéal Átha Glúinín. Bíodh an scéal fíor nó a mhalairt, is cinnte gur thug an staraí deich n-acraí uaidh,⁵⁴ rud a d'fhág an pobal úd buíoch ó shoin dó. Is iomdha duine a thug síntiús, lena chois sin, agus tá liosta díobh fós i gcartlann mhainistir Oirimh. Ní miste a luadh gur thug an t-Argadán míle leabhar dhe bhronntanas don mhainistir in 1844.

Chomh maith le bunscolaíocht, bhí oiliunt sna claisicí le fáil ag daltaí scoil Oirimh. Is ann a fuair an Dr. Mac Giolla Mhártan is an Dr. Ó hUiginn a gcéad-eolas ar na claisicí is ar an ard-mhatamaitic.⁵⁵ Is ann, freisin, a fuair an Canónach Uilioc de Búrca a chéad-cheachtanna Gaeilge; agus sin ón Argadán féin, más fíor an scéal. Bhí Ó hArgadáin ar cuairt in Oireamh, tráth, san am a bhí an Búrcach ina scoláire ann.⁵⁶

Deir muintir na háite is na bráithre go raibh rún ag Ó hArgadáin a dhul chun cónaí in Oireamh i ndeireadh a shaoil. Dá fhonn sin, thóig sé "Errew House," in aice leis an mainistir, ach do réir mar tharla, níor chónaigh sé ariamh ann agus is leis na bráithre a d'fhanadh sé, am ar bith a rinne a chuairt san áit. Ba mhian leis go n-adhlacfaí é thar éis a bhaí i reilig na mainistreach, ach ní mar sin a tharla.⁵⁷ Lig sé an teach ar chíos, chomh maith leis an ngabhaltas a bhí aige sa gceanntar. Tá an teach ina fhothrach anois.

Bhí an t-Ardeaspog Mac Haeil is an staraí an-mhór le chéile ar fea i bhfad.⁵⁸ Mar is eol do chách, chuir an t-Ardeaspog go dian in aghaidh Coláistí na Bainríona, a bunaíodh sa mbliain 1845. De bhrí gur ghlac Ó hArgadáin posta mar leabharlannaí i gColáiste na Gaillinhe, rud nár thaithnigh leis an Dr. Mac Haeil, d'fhuaraigh a gcairdeas.

Leabhra eile

Bhí Séamas Ó hArgadáin ar dhuine den chéad dream a chuir tús le Cumann Seandálaíochta na hÉireann, a bunaíodh sa mbliain 1840, cumann a raibh an Dr. Todd mar chéad-rúnaí air. Ba ghearr fá lántseol an cumann, nuair a thug Todd cuireadh don Argadán bheith ina bhall den choiste. Ghlac sé leis an gcuireadh agus uaidh sin amach d'oibrigh go dúthrachtach ar shon an chumainn.⁵⁹ Bhí Ó hArgadáin ina bhall bunaidh, freisin, den Chumann Ceilteach ón mbliain 1850. Haontaíodh an dá chumann le chéile sa mbliain 1853 agus leanadh dá n-obair fhoilsitheoireachta go ceann i bhfad.⁶⁰

Chuir Ó hArgadáin roinnt mhaith leabhar in eagar don chumann. Orthu siúd bhí *A Statute Passed at a Parliament held at Kilkenny, A.D. 1376, etc.*, sa mbliain 1842. Leabhar eile dhíobh, *A Topographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught*, a chum Ruaidhri Ó Flaitheartaigh sa seachtú céad déag; sa mbliain 1846 a foilsíodh eagrán Í Argadán. Tá giota beag de leitir san Acadamh, a scríobh Ó hArgadáin chuig caraid éigin ag trácht ar an leabhar deiridh seo. Chuile sheans gur chuig a charaid, an Dr. Ó Domhnaill, Easpog na Gaillinhe, a scríobh sé í, agus is mar seo a lean sé, *some sheets have been printed off and when it shall be done I think I may then lawfully burn the pen, and turn to the topography of a different place.*⁶¹

Cúrsaí Poilitíochta

Bíodh nach dtig a bhréagnú gurbh fhíor-Éireannach a bhí ann i gcónaí, ní páirt mhór a ghlac Ó hArgadáin bpoilitíocht na tíre. Bhí an-chairdeas idir é féin is Tomás Dáibhis agus nuair a thagadh an sár-Éireannach úd go Gaillimh, d'fhanadh sé i gcónaí tigh Í Argadán. Ghlacadh an Dáibhiseach comhairle le Ó hArgadáin i dtaobh mórán mion-phointí ag baint le stair na hÉireann. Chuir Ó hArgadáin roinnt amhrán i gcló i bpáipéar Dháibhis, *The Nation*,⁶² agus is dóigh gur le haghaidh an pháipéir chéanna a díarr Dáibhis air glac aistí a scríobh ag baint leis an bPál.⁶³

Nuair a bhain Ó hArgadáin faoi i nGaillimh, níor thréig sé an phríomh-chathair ar fad, ach théadh sé ann go mion minic ar ócáidí éagsúla.⁶⁴ I nGaillimh, ba ghearr gur toghadh é mar dhlíodóir oifigiúil do Choimisinéaraí Chathair na Gaillimhe. Bhí an-mhuinín ag an dream úd as Séamas agus d'fhágadh siad ceist achrannach ar bith a bhain le Bardas na cathrach ina lámha.⁶⁵ Isé a phléidh cúis an Bhardais, nuair a féachadh leis an mbóthar iarainn a thabhairt chun an Iarthair.⁶⁶ Bhí sé ina bhall den *Galway Royal Institute* agus isé a fuair an chairt ríoga don chumann in 1839.⁶⁶ Bhronn sé suas le míle leabhar ar an gcumann,⁶⁷ ach tá an leabharlann scaipthe ó shoin. Dá fhad thiar a bhí sé is mór an líon scoláirí a thagadh dá cheadú i dtaobh pointí iomadúla ag baint le Gaeilge, stair, nó eile. D'amhdaigh Ó Donnabháin an chabhair a fuair sé in dá leabhar.⁶⁸

Bhí Easpuig na hÉireann in aghaidh bunú Choláistí na Bainríona, de bhri nach raibh aon alt ina mbunreacht i dtaobh an chreidimh Chaitlicigh, ach is do shagart paráiste Uachtar Ard, an Dr. S.L. Ó Giardhubháin, a tugadh cuireadh bheith ina uachtarán ar Choláiste na Gaillimhe. Ghlac Séamas Ó hArgadáin is Seán Ó Donnabháin le postaí ins na Coláistí nua, chomh maith, duine dhíobh mar Ollamh le Gaeilge i gColáiste Bhéal Feirsde agus an duine eile mar Leabharlannaí i gColáiste na Gaillimhe. Is dóigh go bhfuigheadh Ó Donnabháin Ollamhnacht na Gaeilge i nGaillimh marach é bheith ceaptha ag uachtarán Choláiste Chorcaí Ollamhnacht na Gaeilge a thabhairt ansin dó. Go Béal Feirsde a chuaigh sé sa deireadh agus mhínigh an scéal ar fad dá charaid i nGaillimh.⁶⁹

Bhí Ó hArgadáin páirteach in imeachtaí Choláiste na Gaillimhe agus i gceapadh na n-ollamh ón gcéad-tosach. Is chuige a thiontaigh an t-uachtarán nua le haghaidh comhairle is eolais fá rún. Seo ceann de na leitreacha a chuir an t-uachtarán chuig Ó hArgadáin;

*I would like to be guided in a choice of professors for my College by the advice of as I would desire in all things to be guided by his sound judgement and advice, but this can unfortunately only be done indirectly and 'tis therefore, as I know He can and does speak freely and undisguisedly with you, that I have selected you as the mediator for obtaining his advice and direction for my guidance*⁷⁰

Roimhe seo, sa mbliain 1846, hainmníodh Séamas le haghaidh Ollamhnacht na Gaeilge i nGaillimh, ach dhiúltaigh sé an posta, £100 sa mbliain ar a dó nó a trí dhe léachtaí sa tseachtain a bhí leis an ollamhnacht.⁷¹ Rinne an t-uachtarán a dhícheall le ugach an staraí a athrú, nuair a scríobh sé chuige arís ar an adhbhar céanna in 1848, ach ní ghéillfeadh an t-Argadán. Seo an freagra a fuair sé ón gCíordhubhán;

I received your letter of 13th inst in which I am sorry to see that you declined the chair of Irish Literature; but it may be all for the better as happily there are but few applications for the library and I shall have much pleasure in naming you for that office. The salary is £150 per annum, and in forming our Library I am afraid you will have much more trouble than would devolve upon you in the chair of Irish. We expect a large grant for this purpose in the next session of Parliament. However, I may congratulate Galway for having the honour of the services of her Historian in an office which he is most calculated to fill with efficiency and zest. P.P.S.

*Perhaps you would be able to suggest a person to fill the Chair of Irish; you know the person must be Irish, as we would not be ashamed of . . .*⁷²

Bhí sé ina leabharlannaí Coláiste go bhfuair sé bás; ina theannta sin, hainmníodh é mar dhlíodóir dhon Choláiste.⁷³ Ba ghnách leis scríobh chuig na nuachtáin fá nithe ag baint le stair is eile agus chuir sé leidir amháin chuig *The Galway Vindicator* ar an 9ú lá d'Aibreán, 1852, ag cur síos ar stair Ord na n-Aibhistíneach i nGaillimh.⁷⁴ Thugadh sé cabhair ar mhóran bealaí don ord úd, rud a d'fhág a shagairt buíoch dó agus thugadar cuireadh don staraí bunchloch a séipéil nua sa gcathair a leagan. Rinne sé sin, i láthair mórmhaithe na Gaillimhe, idir chléir is tuataigh, ar an 28ú dhe Lúnas, 1855.⁷⁵

Deireadh an aistir

Taobh amuigh d'Ó Donnabháin, Petrie, Ó Comhraidhe agus beirt nó triúr eile dhe scoláirí móra Bhaile Átha Cliath, is beag scoláire Gaeilge ba mhó cáil ná Séamas Ó hArgadáin. Dá bhri sin, ba mhór an chailliuint do Ghaillimh, don Choláiste, is do chúrsaí léinn na tíre fré chéile, nuair a d'éag sé go tobann ar an 13ú lá de Mhí na Samhna, 1855. Thar éis nach mbíodh an tsláinte ro-mhaith aige, anois is arís, ní raibh aoinne ag súil lena bhás.⁷⁶

Is mór a héagaoineadh a bhás ar thréimhseacháin na Gaillimhe san am agus lean sluagh rí-mhór dhen phobal a shocraid go dtí reilig mhainistir na bProinsiasach. Níl aon leacht ann inniu le taspáint cár cuireadh an staraí, ná níl aon tagairt dó i leabhra na mainistreach. Bhí a bhainchéile básaithe roimhe agus ní raibh acu ach aon mhac amháin, chomh fada lenar n-eolas. Séamas a bhí air sin agus fuair seisean gach ar fhág an t-athair ina dhiaidh. Phós Séamas cailín de Fhlaitheartach as Árann.

Chum file áirid, Theophylus Ó Floinn, amhrán in ómós don staraí, tráth.

*Do bhéarfa mé an chuairt so go Connachta gan spás,
Go Gaillibh ina dhiaidh sin na long agus na mbád,
Fá dhéin Shéamais Hardiman, nach bhfuil a leithid le fagháil,
Sé scríobhadh an cheart-Ghaodhlic le caol-pheann ar cláir.*

*Tá aige plannda den ard-shuil mar chéile mná,
Budh deise agus b'shearr méin dá bhfuil i gCrígh Fáil;
Thug sí searc dhó mar thug Déirdre do Naoise an áidh,
Cumann ban Éireann agus Alban le fagháil.*

*Tá sé 'na bhréagán ag an Eaglais agus ag uaisle Gaodhal,
An tréan-shear rioghamhuil chuireadh síos na Gaill gach lá;
Is fada thrid Éire chuaigh a chlú agus a cháil,
Is go mbudh fada buan saoghlaich é aguinn le fagháil.*

*Go mbudh fada buan i n-aensheacht an triúr sin le fagháil,
Séamas Hardiman na féile agus Ó Conaill an áidh,
An laoghan craosach Mac Guidhir fuair buadh in gach árd
Eidir Sagsana agus Éire agus Albain go bráth.*

San áit ar tóigeadh sin asiti,⁷⁷ deirtear gur scríobh Pádraig Mag Fhloinn (sciobhaí Í Argadáin an uair úd) roinnt amhrán ó bhéal Theophylus Ó Floinn, Gaillimh, sa mbliain 1835, agus go ndeacha Ó Floinn go dtí a mhac ins na Státaí sa mbliain 1836.

Tá mé fá chomaoín ag an Dr. Tomás Ó Raghallaigh, M.A., agus an tOllamh Tomás S. Ó Máille, a chuir comhairle orm; ag Bhrighid, Bean Fhlaitheartaigh Mhic hIarnáin (as Inis Mór, Ara), a thug pictiúr Í Argadáin ar iasacht dom; fresin, ag údaráis an Acadaimh Ríoga, de bhárr cead úsáid a bhaint as í. Ba mhaith liom buíochas a ghabháil leo siúd agus le lucht stiúrtha na hOifige Iris Poiblí agus Oifig Clár na gCáipéisí.

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- 2 de Híde, *Mise agus an Connradh*, lch. 11.
- 3 Leitreacha na Suirbhéireachta Ordonáis, *Condae Mhuigheo*, iml. i, 448.
- 4 *ibid.* iml. i, 443.
- 5 *ibid.* iml. i, 443.
- 6 Egerton 74, fol. 1.
- 7 *Report from the Commissioners on Public Records (1) 1810-1815*, lch. 5.
- 8 Registry of Deeds Office, 1883; 5: 227.
- 9 *ibid.* 1816; 707; 515, No. 484561.
- 10 *Burke's Connaught Journal*, Márta, 1815; tá an nuachtán Gaillimbeach seo le fáil in Iarsmalainn na Breataine.
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- 12 *ibid.* 707, lch. 515, uimhir 484651, 1816.
- 13 *ibid.* uimhir 740; 57; 503992; 1819.
- 14 *Records of Ireland*, 2nd rep., suppl., lgh. 73-76.
- 15 O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum*, iml. i, lch. 642 (Egerton 144).
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- 18 *ibid.*, lch. i (réamhrá).
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- 21 O'Grady, *op. cit.*, iml. i, Flower, iml. ii.
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- 23 *ibid.*, lch. 247.
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- 27 *ibid.*, iml. I (Ean.-Meith., 1862), lch. 108.
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- 30 Cf. O'Grady, *op. cit.*, iml. i, lgh. 161-164.
- 31 Egerton 84 agus 85.
- 32 23 E 21, 80.
- 33 Tugtar cuntas iomlán ar na fáthanna bhí leis in *Parliamentary Papers*, iml. lviii (1830).
- 34 An Irish Archivist [i.e. John T. Gilbert], *Public Records in Ireland*.
- 35 *ibid.*, lch. 124 et seq.
- 36 *ibid.*, lgh. 22-25.
- 37 Cf. 12 N 21, uimhir 296 (Acad. Ríoga na hÉir).
- 38 32 O 42.
- 39 23 H 32.
- 40 23 O 42.
- 41 Féach 23 F 22, 12 N 20, uimhir 111, 12 N 21, uimh. 297-298.
- 42 Tá siad cláraithe anois mar 23 H 34; thug Knight cuntas ar an bhfile in *Erris in the Irish Highlands* agus in *The Atlantic Railway*. Cf., freisin, J. B. Trotter, *Walks through Ireland in the Years 1812, 1814 and 1817*, lgh. 498-501.
- 43 12 N 21, uimhir 251.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 243-254.

⁴⁵ Féach 12 M 1, Acad. Ríoga na hÉir., nóta i scríbhneoireacht Í Argadáin, *Catalogue of MSS. relating to the History, Antiquities and Literature of Ireland, preserved in the Library of James Hardiman. Jas. Hardiman was several years making this valuable collection; but was obliged to dispose of it to the Trustees of the British Museum for the 3rd of its value, viz., about £500 to enable him to complete the Netterville Peerage for Mr. James Netterville, who afterwards behaved most ungratefully to said J.H.*

⁴⁶ 12 N 20, uimhir 63, leidir ó Iarsmalainn na Breataine, ar an 16ú lá d'Iúl, 1832

Dear Sir,

I am directed to offer you . . . the sum of £460, Four hundred and sixty pounds, for your collection of MSS. You to reserve the MSS. No. 20 Eg. and 41 in your catalogue.

Yours truly,

M. Forshall, Librarian.

⁴⁷ Féach nóta 45, thuas.

⁴⁸ Doubleday and Lord Howard de Walden (cag.), *The Complete Peerage*.

⁴⁹ P. W. Joyce, *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs*, lch. xi.

⁵⁰ "Paddy Coneely, the Galway Piper" (*Irish Penny Journal*, iml. I, uimhir 14, lgh. 105-108).

⁵¹ 12 N 40, Acad. Ríoga na hÉir., leidir ó Thomás Dáibhis;

My Dear Sir,

You say you are going to publish more songs; why not with music? I am sure Hudson would delight to arrange the airs for you. And one song with music is a better apostle of Irish than 29 without. If you would write a set of papers on the Pale at different epochs.

Well good bye,

Yours truly,

Thomas Davis.

Níl aon dáta ar an leidir. Is dócha gurb é William Eliott Hudson (1796-1853), a luaitear sa leidir; ba dlíodóir é agus scoláire Gaeilge, a chuir spéis mhór i gcúrsaí ceoil is amhrán.

⁵² Flower, *op. cit.*, lch. 618.

⁵³ Cf. "Catholic Annals" (*Catholic Directory*, 1841, lch. 385).

⁵⁴ Registry Deeds Office, 1844; 14; 42.

⁵⁵ An Br. S. Ó Maolaidh, láimhscríbhinn i gCartlainn Mhainistir Oirimh.

⁵⁶ Ulick Bourke, *The Aryan Origin of the Celtic Race*, lch. 359.

⁵⁷ Cáipéisí i gCartlainn Mhainistir Oirimh.

⁵⁸ 12 N 20, uimh. 174-179.

⁵⁹ 12 N 21, uimh. 285-293 (1842-1847).

⁶⁰ de Híde *Mise agus an Connradh*, lch. 14, *Ba mhór an obair scoláireachta do rinne siad.*

⁶¹ Seán de Búrca, as Ráth Úin, le hais Chathair na Gaillimhe, a thug an leidir seo don Acadamh roinnt blian ó shoin,

⁶² 23 H 34; *The Nation*, 14 Samhna, 1842.

⁶³ Féach nóta 51, thuas.

⁶⁴ Maidir le seolta, féach 12 N 20 agus 12 N 21.

⁶⁵ 12 N 20, uimh. 338, 340.

⁶⁶ *ibid.* uimh. 341.

⁶⁷ *ibid.* uimh. 169.

⁶⁸ *A Grammar of the Irish Language*, lch. viii, *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann*, réamh-chaint.

⁶⁹ 12 N 10, uimhir 68.

⁷⁰ 12 N 20, uimhir 334.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, uimhir 330.

⁷² *ibid.*, uimhir 332.

⁷³ *ibid.*, uimhir 335, leidir a scríobh an Ciardhuabhán ar an 10ú lá de Mhí na Samhna; *I hereby appoint James Hardiman, Gent., Attorney and Solicitor to be Law Agent to the Queen's College of Galway.*

⁷⁴ *The Gailliv, An illustrated History of the Ancient City of Galway*, lch. 26.

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, lch. 29.

⁷⁶ 12 N 21, uimhir 310.

⁷⁷ 23 O 42, Acad. Ríoga na hÉireann.

[Reprint from *GALVIA*, Irisleabhar Chumann Seandáliúochta is Staire na Gaillimhe, Iml. 3, 1956.]

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF WESTPORT PART III

PRE-FAMINE WESTPORT 1825-1845

by Peadar Ó Flanagáin, B.A.

In Cathair na Mart, Vol. 2, No. 1, I dealt with the development of the new town of Westport in a period of rapid expansion from 1780 to 1825. In this article, I propose to monitor further development in the town to the Famine times under three main headings:

- (1) Politics, Religion and Education
- (2) Trade, Commerce and Industry
- (3) Administration, Services, Law and Order

(1) POLITICS, RELIGION & EDUCATION

The Catholic Association founded by Daniel O'Connell had as its aim the granting of civil liberties to the Catholic population who formed the great majority of the people of Ireland. It was a mass organisation with branches all over the country even in the remote parishes of the West of Ireland. Associate members were asked to pay 1/- (one shilling) a year and the Catholic clergy who were honorary members of the Association were its chief organisers.

In Aughaval Parish the organiser was Fr. Bernard Burke, who had been appointed to administer the Parish by Dr. Oliver Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam, in 1821. Fr. Burke on his appointment had completed the church and its interior and also built chapels at Drummin and Lecanvey, and the parochial school on Castlebar Street (1824). As organiser for the Catholic Association he was responsible for the collection of the Catholic Rent — the subscription of 1d. per month collected at the chapel door, which went towards the expenses of the Catholic Association. The movement grew in the years 1826-1829 into a mass organisation under the leadership of O'Connell. Following a number of abortive Emancipation Acts, O'Connell who was a Catholic and thus debarred from taking a seat in the House of Commons, was persuaded to stand for Clare in the by-election of 1828. He had the full support of the Catholic Association and won a resounding victory, the result of which was the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 granting to Catholics the right to sit in Parliament and to all but the highest offices.

The granting of Emancipation was celebrated by the lighting of bonfires and the erection of commemorative crosses, one of which remains to this day at Thornhill erected by the McDonnell family. The campaign for Emancipation also introduced the priest into politics, as the clergy were foremost in organising the people at local level.

Those who lost out were the 40/- freeholders who were disfranchised by the Act, the new qualification being the £10 freehold.

The Commission of Public Instruction gives the following statistics regarding religious denominations in Aughaval parish in 1831 and 1834 respectively:

Established Church	633 - 483
Catholic Church	13,193 - 14,358
Presbyterian	17 - 58
Methodist etc.	78 - 53

The Parish Church (Established) was situated in the Demesne and was attended weekly by approximately 300. There was a non-resident Vicar and three curates. The Catholic chapel situated on the Mall was attended by approximately 3,000-4,000 weekly, there was Mass twice on Sundays and Holidays and one on weekdays. There was a non-resident Parish Priest, a resident Administrator and three curates.

A Presbyterian Meeting House had recently been built at Distillery Road and a resident minister conducted service to 34-40 parishioners twice on Sundays and once on Friday evenings.

There was a Wesleyan Methodist Meeting House on the Mall in which a resident minister conducted service three times on Sundays and twice each week-day for approximately 80-100 parishioners.

A male and female national school was conducted at Castlebar Street under Mr. and Mrs. Harrow, Master and Mistress, who were paid partly by the Board



Ruins of Church, Westport Demesne

and partly by local subscriptions. There were 236 males and 103 females on the rolls. The female school had recently closed because of lack of local subscription.

A male and female free school under the Kildare Street and Tuam Diocesan Societies was lodged in a new building in the Newport Road (now known as the Lecture Hall). This building had been converted into a fever hospital at the time of the cholera epidemic of 1831 and subsequently the upper storey of the building, built by public subscription, was consecrated for Protestant service. These schools were run by Mr. and Mrs. Jas. Daly who received a grant from the Society together with local subscriptions. There was a total of 79 on the rolls. In the town of Westport there were also quite a number of private schools with numbers varying from 13 to 100, payment being made quarterly by the children and also an Infant School conducted by Samuel Flynn and Susan Wilkes, with 43 on the rolls, £23 p.a. paid by local subscription.

The years after the granting of Catholic Emancipation until the death of O'Connell in Genoa saw the second great popular movement led by the Liberator — the Repeal of the Act of Union. O'Connell was now a figure of European importance and the undisputed leader of the Irish people.

Inglis in 1834 refers to the absence of Lord Sligo from Westport during this period when he became Governor of Jamaica and to the results of O'Connell's emancipation of the Catholics:

“Good and bad men have alike been driven from the representation of counties and boroughs in Ireland, by agitation; but in all cases — in cases where the people were wrong, as well as in those where they were right, they were originally mere tools in the hands of the resident working agitators — the priests — who were themselves tools in the hands of the absentee master agitator. Some change has now taken place in this. O'Connell does not work now, so much through the medium of priests, as directly upon the people by epistles and speeches, and my persuasion is that the fiats of O'Connell would be obeyed, even if the priesthood opposed them. I believe it frequently happens now and will happen still more frequently, that it is the priests who, through self-interest, find it necessary to move with the people — not the people who are incited to agitation by the priests. This I know to be the opinion of several of the more respectable Catholic dignitaries, who are opposed to O'Connell and agitation.”

The year 1843 saw the peak of the Repeal agitation when O'Connell organised the Irish people as they had never been organised before by means of monster meetings at which over 100,000 people attended — one such meeting was held outside Westport on the top of Shecaun. The agitation was defeated by the government by coercion, and O'Connell died on the eve of the famine on his journey to Rome, of a broken heart.

Before his death Dr. Oliver Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam, had secured for his friend, Dean Bernard Burke, a papal brief appointing him Parish Priest of Westport (Aughaval). The Dean was also the first named on the list of clergy of the diocese to succeed Dr. Kelly, but the bishops of the province favoured one of

their number, Dr. McHale, who was appointed. Dr. McHale promptly appointed the Dean to the rural parish of Kilmeena, and on his first visitation to Westport was welcomed by the Dean and parishioners, only to be told privately by the Dean of his appointment to the Parish of Westport. McHale attempted without success to question the brief appointment of, but Rome held in favour of the Dean who was to be the last resident Parish Priest of Westport.

In the Church of Ireland (Established Church) the position was similar in that the Vicar of Westport had been non-resident. In 1836 Archdeacon Grace resigned his incumbency and Rev. Patrick Pouden was appointed Vicar. The Vicar paid rent to Lord Sligo for the Glebe land and there was also a charge on the Glebe house to the Board of First Fruits for money advanced for its building. He also paid the rent of the school house.

The English novelist, W. M. Thackeray, describes a Sunday in Westport during his visit in 1840:

"The chapel is before the Inn where I resided, and on Sunday from a very early hour, the side of the street was thronged with worshippers, who came to attend the various services. Nor are the Catholics the only devout people of this remote district. There is a large Presbyterian church very well attended, as was the Established church service in the pretty church in the park. There was no organ, but the clerk and a choir of children sang hymns sweetly and truly; and a charity sermon being preached for the benefit of the Diocesan Schools, I saw many pound notes in the plate, showing that the Protestants here were as ardent as their Roman Catholic brethren."

Unhappy with the running of the National Schools and desirous of having an order of nuns in the parish, Dean Burke applied in 1841 to Mother McAuley, foundress of the Sisters of Mercy to found a house in Westport. In 1842, three sisters were sent from Carlow under Sr. Mary Paul Cullen (a sister of Cardinal Cullen). The sisters were put up at first in the Dean's own house on the Mall, while the convent was under construction on a site donated by Lord Sligo at Altamont Street. Dean Burke himself contributed £200 and set about the task of fund-raising for the balance of £3,000 throughout Ireland and England. The convent was first occupied by the sisters in 1843? and the schools were occupied in 1845. The small community took on new recruits locally and were given charge of the parochial schools, at first on Castlebar Street and later at Altamont Street.

(2) TRADE, COMMERCE & INDUSTRY

The trade of Westport Quay consisted of the export of agricultural produce, and the import of timber from America and the Baltic and British manufactured goods. In 1834, 116,117 quarters of grain and 5,410 cwts. of flour and meal were exported to British ports. The number of registered vessels amounted to six, some 101 ships entered the port and 153 cleared the port in that year. A herring fishery existed, though not as extensive as in former years.

In the town, an extensive distillery was founded by Wm. Levingstone in 1826, which produced annually 60,000 gallons of whiskey and consumed 29,000

bushels of grain. The distillery which was situated at what is now called Distillery Road, was water-powered by means of a mill-race from the Carrowbeg River which ran down one side of Altamont Street, where the Convent Primary School is now situated. The brewing business of Levingstones on Bridge Street was in decline at this time, because of the reduction of the tax on spirits. The Levingstones employed some 150 people on a regular basis.

A second brewery and malting concern was run by Messrs. Graham, together with two salt-works and three corn stores at the Quay, and a tannery in the town, giving employment to some 30 people in summer and 60 in winter. The Manor flour and oat mills which were built by Lord Sligo in 1808 situated near the present railway viaduct, were water driven by two water-wheels with 30 horse power.

At Cloonagh were the extensive flour mills of Messrs. McDonnell and Whittle, the ruins of which can still be seen — they were water-powered from the Belclare River. The McDonnells also had a corn and flour mill at the Quay. At Belclare was a cotton factory of 26 looms employing 30 men and also women and children. There, was also situated a bleach-green and a linen and cotton manufacturing industry of Messrs. Pinkerton and Thompson of 24 looms, producing weekly 48 webs of 52 yds. each, giving regular employment to 50 and up to 200 when in full operation. At this time, however, there was a marked decline in the important linen market, as reported by H. D. Inglis during his visit here in 1834:

Grove House, Mill Street



"Westport was once a very flourishing town. The linen trade was extensively carried out there, and 8 years ago, as many as 900 pieces were measured and sold on a market-day. Now the quantity scarcely averages 100 pieces. Taking the whole district including Westport, Castlebar, Newport-Pratt, Bailinrobe and the immediate country, about 500 pieces are sold weekly, and about 30,000 are supposed to be, less or more employed in the trade. No trade gives such universal employment as this, not fewer than 60 persons are employed, from first to last, in preparing a web of linen.

The linen trade in this district, and probably in other districts, is the source of all extras which are obtained beyond the absolute necessities of life.

The land is let in very small portions; 7 or 8 acres is about the usual size of a 'take'. Potatoes are raised for the family consumption, grain to pay the rent; and the flax is destined for clothing and extras. The decline of the linen trade has produced great want of employment; and the condition of the agriculturists throughout these districts has very much deteriorated."

Of Westport Quay he reports:

"Westport possesses a considerable export trade in grain. About 15,000 tons are exported, of which the largest portion is oats; the next barley; and the smallest portion, wheat. There are extensive corn stores at the quay; and the harbour is good and secure."

Inglis happened to be in Westport on a Thursday, which, then as now, was a market day. He gives an interesting account:

"The town had an appearance of considerable business; but with the exception of manufactured linen, this appearance was deceptive. It is true, there were many people on the market, and much buying and selling; but the articles brought to market, were in most cases of very trifling value. I saw hundreds of women, standing with but a few hanks of linen yarn worth a shilling or two; hundreds with an apron full of wool, worth much less. Some of these bundles of wool, indeed, were the shearings of one or two sheep, the property of the farmer's wife or daughter, and were sent to be converted into ribbon or gloves, but notwithstanding these exceptions, it is certain that there is much evidence of the poverty of the surrounding country, in the small value of the articles to market and in the great distance they are carried. I know of 3, 2 and even 1 egg, being brought to Westport from a distance of 2 miles. I saw a girl take her seat in the market with 5 eggs, worth 1½d. and she walked as much as a mile and a half to bring these to market."

W. M. Thackeray writes of the dying trade of Westport Quay in 1840, in his *Irish Sketch Book*:

"There was a long handsome pier (which, no doubt, remains at this present minute), and one solitary cutter lying alongside it which may

or may not be there now. There were about three boats lying near the cutter, and six sailors, with long shadows, lolling about the pier. As for the warehouses, they are enormous; and might accommodate, I should think, not only the trade of Westport, but Manchester too. There are huge streets of these houses, ten storeys high, with cranes, owners' names, etc., marked Wine Stores, Flour Stores, Bonded Tobacco Warehouses, and so forth. The six sailors that were singing on the pier no doubt are each admirals of as many fleets of a hundred sail that bring wines and tobacco from all quarters of the world to fill these enormous warehouses. These dismal mausoleums, as vast as pyramids, are the places where the dead trade of Westport lies buried — a trade that, in its lifetime, probably was about as big as a mouse. Nor is this the first nor the hundredth place to be seen in this country, which sanguine builders have erected to accommodate an imaginary commerce. Mill-owners over-mill themselves, squires over-castle themselves, little tradesmen about Dublin and the cities over-villa and over-gig themselves, and we hear sad tales about hereditary bondage, and the accursed tyranny of England."

However the statistics of the same period tell a different tale. On 31 December 1843 there were four sailing vessels (aggregate tonnage, 83 tons) registered at the port. During that year, 73 ships entered the harbour and 151 sailed from the harbour coast-wise. Two ships entered from the colonies and are sailed to the colonies. During 1835, the exports amounted to £87,805, consisting of 292,485 cwts. of corn, meal and flour, 1,061 cwts. of provisions, 5,561 gallons of spirits, 11 bales of wool, 7 bales of linen, and 77 bales of flax and tow. Imports in 1835 amounted to £28,517 consisting of 2,533 tons of coal, calum and cinders, 250 tons of iron, 30 tons of cast-iron, 20 tons of lead, 166 tons of slates and stones, 1,400 tons of salt, 2,878 cwts of corn, meal and flour, 165 cwts of ashes, 3,200 cwts. of potatoes, 284 cwts. of barilla, 128 pieces of sugar, 1,759 tons of flax seed, 138 casks of tallow, 509 barrels of herrings, 11,172 gallons of spirits and 260 packages of glass and earthenware. The estimated amount of inland carriage to the town consists of 14,000 tons of exportation, 3,375 tons of agricultural produce for local consumption as food, 1,000 tons of agricultural produce for the use of breweries and distilleries, 50 tons of excisable articles not received by direct importation and 7,000 tons of stone, lime, turf and other heavy and bulky articles, and the estimated amount of inland carriage from the town consists of 1,860 tons of imported goods, 840 tons of produce of breweries and distilliers and 900 tons of coal, manure and other heavy and bulky articles.

As can be seen Westport was an important entrepôt port for a large inland region.

Jonathan Binns, an Assistant Agricultural Commissioner on the Irish Poor inquiry visited Westport, and in his account "The Miseries and Beauties of Ireland" (1837) reports on the spirit trade:

"The town of Westport contains about 4,500 inhabitants, 400 houses and 53 licensed public houses or spirit shops — so that there is rather

more than one spirit shop to every 8 houses. In the rest of the barony, with a rural population of nearly 30,000, there are but 6 licensed houses a less number than formerly. The increase of the licensed spirit shops has been considerably checked of late by the refusal of the magistrates to grant licenses, but over the unlicensed houses, which vary in number as the seasons are good or bad, they cannot of course exercise any control. When the oat crop has been plentiful, the price of grain is proportionately low, a large portion of it is secretly malted and distilled. In this way, it yields more than if sold in the market in its raw state; and under these circumstances, the unlicensed houses frequently exceed in number those that are licensed.

Notwithstanding these facts, the people are a sober people. It was remarked in evidence that in most places 'they were more hungry than drunk'."

(3) ADMINISTRATION, SERVICES, LAW & ORDER

Under the 9th George IV, 15 Town Commissioners were elected to oversee the paving of the streets, town lighting and the watch. No records of the Commissioners appear to be extant. In 1831 the town contained 617 houses and 4,448 inhabitants. There were four fairs held each year and the market day was Thursday.

The town had a Market House on the Octagon and a Linen Hall on the Malls.

The town contained one hotel — Robinsons on the Mall (now Cavanaugh's Hotel) which was the subject of great praise by visitors to the town. The hotel which was built and furnished by the first Marquess of Sligo was let rent free to the landlords, Mr. and Mrs. Robinson, provided they maintained a service for visitors to the town. In addition to Robinson's Hotel on the Mall, there was the Eagle Hotel run by Mary Walsh on Castlebar Street.

A branch of the Bank of Ireland had been established since 1825 and was situated on Mill Street. Messrs. Alexander and George Clendinning were joint Agents, and Mr. Stephen William Dudgeon was Manager of the recently established National Bank of Ireland (founded by O'Connell) on Higgins Street. The Post Office was situated on High Street (in the premises presently owned by Miss McGing) and Miss Elizabeth Hildebrand was the post mistress. There was a news room on the Mall.

Westport was also the head of a coastguard district with out-stations at Innishturk, Old Head, Islandmore, Mynish, Achill Beg and Killeen. The force of 6 officers and 52 men was under a resident inspecting Commander.

The military barracks was situated above the town at John's Row (Barrack Hill) and had accommodation for 5 companies of infantry (both regular and militia). This was also the H.Q. of the local South Mayo Militia. J. J. Lovelock was Barrack Master.

The General Sessions for the county were held in the newly-constructed court-house at Castlebar Street in April and October (the equivalent of our

Circuit Court) and Petty Sessions were held every Thursday, attended by the local magistrates or justices of the peace, (the equivalent of our District Court). A manorial court for small claims under £10 Irish was held on the last Friday of every month. John Large was keeper of the Courthouse and Bridewell.

Inglis gives us an account of the Petty Sessions which he attended in 1834:

"I attended a Petty Sessions at Westport and found a good deal to interest me. The classes of cases were the same as I had already seen elsewhere; but there was some little difference in the character of the assault cases, which were of a less barbarous kind than those I have seen tried at the Tralee sessions. Here, also, were more cases of larceny, which had been very rare further south. I found at Westport the same contempt of truth, the same disregard of an oath, the same clanship as I had found elsewhere.

Most of the cases tried, originated in the competition for, or possession of, land. Many were cases of trespassing; many cases in which the driving cattle to pound, created contentions and outrage; and some, cases of disputed possession of land and houses, which had been the cause of outrage. The Clerk of the Sessions informed me that the criminal business had greatly increased since the decline of the linen trade; and that it rarely happened that those in full employment,

Market House



were implicated in any matter requiring magisterial interference. I saw less formality and more of the free and easy at the session here, than I had seen elsewhere. Everyone took a hand in what was going on, Lord Sligo's driver was sitting near, would say of a witness 'Don't believe it, your Worship', and a clerk, an interpreter, or even a reporter for a newspaper, would suggest a question, and the magistrates would interrogate accordingly."

The Irish Poor Law Act of 1838 set up the Poor Law Board (the predecessor of the modern Health Boards) which divided the country into a number of Unions based on the major towns with their hinterlands. Westport was selected as the centre for the Union which covered some of the most remote areas of the country stretching from the Killaries to Ballycroy. It was declared on 13 July 1840, comprising an area of 341,117 acres with a population (1831) of 77,512, with the following divisions: Westport 15,315, Lewisburgh, 9,718, Clare Island, 3,632, Aghagower 12,025, Clogher 4,417, Kilmeena 9,000, Kilmaclassar, 3,444, Newport, 11,761, Achill 5,277, Ballycroy, 2,925. There were 8 ex-officio and 26 elected guardians of which 5 were elected for the Westport Electoral District. The Unions were to be financed by the Poor Rate, a rate on property which remains to the present day. A workhouse was erected in the principal town of each Union. The Westport workhouse was contracted for on 29 October 1840, on a site belonging to Lord Sligo at Cahernamart where the present U.D.C. housing scheme exists. The site of some 7 acres was subject to a ground rent of £14.3s. 6d., a matter of contention up to the present time. The workhouse was designed to a common plan for such buildings and for the accommodation of 1,000 paupers. The cost was estimated at £7,800 for the building, etc., and £2,000 for the site, etc. The total cost to the Union by 6 February 1843, at which date the workhouse was not open for the reception of paupers, was £1,612. The balance was met by a loan from the Poor Law Board.

The Westport Guardians held their first meeting in August 1840 under the chairmanship of Lord Sligo. They borrowed £9,800 to finance the workhouse and the building was finished two years later and was seen by W.M. Thackeray, the novelist, on his visit to Westport in that year:

"Hard by was a large Gothic building — it is but a poorhouse; but it looked like a grand castle in the grey evening."

That year the building was declared fit for the reception of paupers by the Board but because of the difficulty in collecting the poor rate to finance the running of the Union, remained closed.

In 1843 the following were elected for the Westport Electoral District: Marquess of Sligo, Westport House; Charles F. Higgins, Trafalgar Lodge; William Levingstone; H.W. McIlree; William Graham; of Westport.

For Louisburgh Electoral District: George Clendinning, Westport; Redmond Lyons, Accony; John Gibbons, Clooncra.

For Aghagower Electoral District: Dominick Kearns and Patrick Gallagher of Westport.

Mr. John Ross was Master of the workhouse.

The difficulty of collecting the poor rate remained, and in 1844 a warship and two revenue cruisers were dispatched to Clew Bay, and the rate collectors had the assistance of 2 companies of the 69th Regiment, and a troop of the 10th Hussars, together with 2 magistrates, two police inspectors and 50 constables to help in the collection of the rate; a situation which led to questions in the House of Commons. The Workhouse remained closed and in debt, and the Board of Guardians resigned in October 1844 and a new board was elected. Finally in June 1845, a writ of Mandamus was issued against the Board, forcing them to open their doors on 8 November of that year. Under the Poor Law Guardians a dispensary was set up in Westport for the town and district with a resident medical officer. This dispensary served an area of 77,927 acres with a population of 26,345, and in 1840/41 it expended £169.0s. 1d. and administered to 1,450 patients. By 1844 the dispensary administered outdoor relief to 7,400 of the poor, a great number of whom were visited by the medical officer in their homes. Dr. Thomas Hamilton Burke was the dispensary doctor.

The population of the town in 1841 (the last census prior to the Famine) was 4,912 which included Westport Quay (547).

The Royal Mail Coach left from the Royal Mail Coach Office on the South Mall (Reidy's T.V. Mart) and from Robinson's Hotel, every morning at 3 a.m. travelling via Castlebar, Tuam, Ballinasloe, Athlone, to Dublin. A car left each morning at 5.00 a.m. from Shop Street to Ballinasloe, meeting the Grand Canal Boat to Dublin. A mail-car left the Royal Mail Coach Office at 5.30 a.m. each morning to Castlebar, connecting with the Sligo Royal Mail. The 'Shareholders' Car' left Robinson's Hotel at 7.30 a.m. each morning for Galway. A mail-car left from Peter Street each day at 4.00 p.m. for Louisburgh and a car from Bridge Street each day at 4.00 p.m. for Newport.

Thus we see further growth in Westport in the first half of the 19th century. However, there were signs already appearing of the terrible calamity that awaited the people — The Famine.

1. H. D. Inglis — A Journey throughout Ireland, 1834.
2. Jonathan Binns — The Miseries and Beauties of Ireland, 1837.
3. W. M. Thackeray — Irish Sketch Book, 1862.
4. Lewis — Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, 1837.
5. Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland, 1845.
6. Slaters Directory — 1846.

**LES FLEURS DE SAINT-PATRICE
(THE FLOWERS OF SAINT-PATRICE)**

A fourth-century link with the Loire Valley.

by Gérard Aubertin, M. Société Française d'Études Irlandaises.

The modern tourists in the Loire Valley are generally in a hurry and restrict themselves to visiting the royal palaces which appear in sumptuous photographs in guide books and books on art. And indeed, the **châteaux** of Samur, Langeais, Amboise, Chenonceaux, Azay-le-Rideau, Chambord, Valencay, Villandry and Cheverny, to name but a few, are worthy of our attention. Apart from those who happen to be Irish or mere Hibernomaniacs, tourists in their search for architectural beauty do not stop at the lovely village of Saint-Patrice.

Saint-Patrice is situated about five miles to the west of Langeais. The church, which is closed, since there is no resident priest in the parish, is in a beautiful secluded location, dreaming in the golden light which is typical of the Loire Valley. The vicarage is now a private house. There is around this place an atmosphere of deep serenity, and the memory of Saint Patrick's miracle is fading away in a silence that is never disturbed, even by tourists.

Yet the village was for many centuries a centre of importance for Irish pilgrimages. Legend relates that Saint Patrick arrived at dusk on Christmas Day, at the junction of the Indre and Loire rivers. Being too tired to continue his journey to Tours, and finding nobody to help him to cross the river, he made a raft with his cloak and sailed to the opposite bank. There, he climbed about half-way up the wooded hill of Chabrol and placed his soaking mantle on the bare branches of a thorn bush. When his cloak was dry, he took it up and saw that the hawthorn miraculously was in full bloom, and had spread out its branches to shield him from the cold. And Patrick spent the night there . . .

To this day the hawthorn of Saint-Patrice blooms twice a year — in May, like the other thorns, but again at the end of December when all the trees in the forest have shed their leaves. The devotion of pilgrims and parishioners was such, that around 1890 a small oratory was built near the hawthorn. Old people in the village (today much dechristianized) still revere 'les fleurs de Saint-Patrice', and some of them remember the last pilgrimages which appear to have ceased before World War Two.¹

Dr. Richard Hayes in his book **Old Irish Links with France**,² quotes a letter from Mr. Fowler, great-grandson of Garret Byrne, the famous Wicklow chieftain, himself the brother of the celebrated William Byrne. Mr. Fowler visited Saint-Patrice on St. Patrick's Day and wrote:

"It was a thrilling experience for me to see in a French church, and hear an impassioned preacher portray to a foreign, if friendly, people the glories of Saint Patrick and of the apostolic nation to whom he brought the Light."

The fourth and fifth centuries are a remote period, unhappy and unenlightened, which saw the breakup of the Roman empire under the weight of the Barbarian invasions. But locally, the period is illuminated by the exceptional



Bare branches of the hawthorn



Hawthorn in full bloom

personality of Saint Martin of Tours. Numerous pictures and carvings tell us of the humble soldier of Amiens who, on meeting a poor ragged man, divided his own cloak with his sword and gave him half of it. Apart from this widely known miracle, it is important to have a look at the extraordinary greatness of the man who was to be made bishop of Tours against his will.

Saint Martin was born in Sabaria, in Pannonia, in 316 A.D. His parents reared him in Italy, near the Ticino. They were pagans of high social rank, his father being at first a soldier, but later reaching the rank of tribune. Martin himself spent his youth in the army. It was only in 340 that the Emperor released him definitively from the army, so that at last he was able to devote himself wholeheartedly to his religious duties. He went to Pannonia, to which place his parents had returned, and tried to convert them to Christianity. He was only partially successful in this attempt, for his mother became a Christian, but his father remained a pagan. He came to Poitiers in 357, and became the first abbot of Ligugé. In 371 he was inveigled out of the monastery to become bishop of Tours.

Saint Martin's life was a prodigious one. He founded the abbey of Marmoutier and evangelized the provinces of Poitou and Touraine, as well as presiding over the important diocese of Tours. He went several times to Trier in order to obtain some favours from the Court, where he sat at the Emperor's table, and earned the respect of Maximus and his wife. He introduced monastic life into Gaul. We know that he also travelled throughout Picardy, Flanders and Dauphiné. The fortitude he demonstrated by undertaking such long journeys in such a troubled age is astonishing. He died at Candes circa 397.

But let us return to Saint Patrick and to the French village named after him.³ Legends about the saint's birthplace are often contradictory, but all are agreed that his mother, Concessa, was the sister of Saint Martin of Tours. There is a good reason to believe that, when Saint Patrick fled from slavery in Ulster, where he worked as a shepherd for Milcho, he made his way to his uncle in order to receive the religious education he needed. It is believed that he sailed to Nantes. Various authorities have stated that it was possible to make the crossing in three days with favourable winds. The flight from Ulster probably took place in 395, so, as Saint Martin died circa 397, there was a period of two years during which the meeting could have taken place. Historians wrote that Saint Patrick became very learned in the theology of the Christian church, and gained a sound knowledge of the British, Gallic, Irish, Latin and Greek languages at the college of Tours. It is also believed that later on, he placed himself under the tutorship of Saint Germain at Auxerre, and that they went together to Italy, probably after Saint Martin's death.

People will certainly challenge these traditions. Be that as it may, the former village of Saint-Patrice was first erected on the hill of Chabrol. The name of the Saint was quoted for the first time in the eleventh century, in a charter of the abbey of Noyers: ECCLESIA SANCTI PATRICII. This charter states that Archambault gave the church of Chabrol and the surrounding lands with a view to the founding of a village. This ancient church, built in 1032, is still in existence but is now secularized. The nave belongs to the eleventh century. The porch dates back to the thirteenth century, while the altarpiece would appear to belong to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. At a certain date the inhabitants deserted the village of Chabrol and settled in the valley, near the river. A few houses dating back to the sixteenth century remain at the foot of the hill. The new settlement seems to be relatively modern, if we consider the appearance of the first house built on the new site. The new church was built in 1849 and was consecrated on the 9th of April 1850.

Visitors intending to visit the new church must collect the key from an old lady in the village. The two stained glass windows on the right, near the entrance, have been donated by the local parish. The first one depicts Saint Patrick hanging his cloak on the bare branches of a thorn tree. The second window shows him taking up his mantle and finding the hawthorn in full bloom. The saint appears beardless, wearing a robe, a cord around his waist, with a satchel over his shoulder.

On the left stands a statue of Saint Patrick clad as a bishop, mitred, carrying his crozier. It is quite an ordinary statue without the slightest aesthetic value. Beneath the pulpit hangs a banner made out of a heavy red material embroidered with gold thread, picturing the saint with the invocation 'Saint-Patrice Priez pour nous'. Over the high altar, to the left, the apostle is depicted in a window in canonicals. Here again he is represented as clean-shaven as in the church of Saint-Patrice in Rouen. A panel below shows the thorn in bloom, and the inscription reads 'SANCTUS PATRICIUS — Mre [manufacture?] de Tours, 1850'.



Banner — gold on red cloth



Oratory on site of miracle

Up the hill, the old church of Chabrol, as well as the oratory, are now on the private grounds of the Château de Chabrol. I am truly indebted to Mr. Rogers, as American, present owner of the castle, who kindly showed me these two monuments. The church, in which the former owners kept cattle, has been magnificently restored. The result testifies to the perfect taste of Mr. and Mrs. Rogers.

The forest now growing around the small oratory is of recent origin. Saint Patrick's thorn tree probably disappeared a long time ago. Today, another hawthorn stands in its place, and Mr. Rogers assures me categorically that at Christmas time, when all the trees in the forest are leafless, this hawthorn bursts into bloom with red flowers . . .

Some fifteen years ago, a group of Irish people asked for the key and visited the new church.⁴ Since their visit, there have been no other callers, except for an unknown American nun and the author of this communication who, on July 15, 1983, was homesick for Clew Bay and the unforgettable outline of the Reek.

Notes:

- ¹ This tradition is linked with the legend of Glastonbury (Somerset), where Saint Joseph of Arimatea, Saint John's Agathos Dikaios, is said to have landed at Christmas 63 A.D. He carried the Holy Grail and the Holy Thorn taken from Christ's crown. To this day, on Wirral Hill, a bush bursts into bloom at Christmas time.
- ² Published by M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin 1940.
- ³ There are two other villages named Saint-Patrice: Saint-Patrice-de-Claids (Manche) and Saint-Patrice-du-Désert (Orne). If we draw a line between the former and Tours, we notice that the latter is about half way, slightly to the north-east of that line.
- ⁴ I wonder if they also visited the village of Sandillon (Loiret)? Its church contains the relic of Saint Patrick's pelvic bone (la relique de l'Irlandais). Legend says that the lord of this place murdered his chaplain while he was celebrating Mass. Later on, he went to Ireland, brought back the relic and gave it to the church, to atone for his crime. It is also believed, but there is no evidence to substantiate the claim, that Isabelle Romée, Joan of Arc's mother, died at Sandillon on the night of the 28th to the 29th of November 1458. (Source: Jacques H. Bauchy, in the *Guide du Val de Loire mystérieux*, Ed. Tchou, 1977).

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE LAND LEAGUE MEETING AT WESTPORT

8th JUNE, 1879.

by Gerard P. Moran, M.A.

By June, 1879, the land question had come to dominate the political and social situation in Ireland. The population of Mayo was being stirred into action by tenant leaders within the county. These leaders had tried unsuccessfully in the previous two years to organise the tenants into an effective force to fight for their demands. The Louisburgh Tenants Defence Association was formed in 1875 to fight the local landlord, the Marquis of Sligo, who had increased their rents by 25 per cent. This association achieved little and within a few weeks it was dormant, like many of the associations that had come into being around this time. Another attempt was made in October, 1878, to found a tenants' organisation which would protect the tenants from evictions and rack renting. The main inspiration for this organisation, the Mayo Farmers Club, came from James Daly, a Castlebar newspaper owner, John J. Loudon, a Westport barrister and grazier, and Hugh Feeney, a Castlebar shopkeeper. Although the club had come into being it never achieved anything. The tenants showed an apathy towards agitating. The reasons for this were twofold. Firstly, the failure of the parliamentary movement to obtain agrarian legislative reform in the 1870's dampened their spirits. Secondly, the potato average was back to the average in 1878, at three tons per acre. In 1877 the tenants had been worried when the yield had decreased to 1.8 tons per acre. When the potato crop went down to 1.4 tons per acre in 1879, the lowest level for nearly forty years, the people began to fear that a famine type situation had returned to the West of Ireland.

In February, 1879, the tenants on the Bourke estate, near Irishtown, called on James Daly to highlight their grievances in his newspaper, *The Connaught Telegraph*. Their rents had just been increased by 25 per cent. Daly had been carrying on this type of crusade against the landlords for the previous three years. However, he was of the opinion that this form of action was not achieving any gains for the tenants and he informed them that more benefits would accrue from a demonstration which would indicate to the world the conditions under which they lived.¹ Both James Daly and Michael Davitt claimed responsibility for this meeting taking place. It would be wrong to minimise the role of either man, but the evidence does show that the initial idea came from Daly. The first indication that a meeting was about to take place was in February, 1879, when a notice appeared in the *Connaught Telegraph*. Davitt, on the other hand, states he first became involved in March.² Davitt did provide the organising skills and was responsible for obtaining the speakers. He was still a Fenian, unlike Daly, and all of the speakers, with the exception of Loudon and Daly, were Fenians. On the rostrum were John O'Connor-Power, John Ferguson of Glasgow, Thomas Brennan, a Dublin Fenian who had worked in Mayo, Matthew Harris of Ballinasloe and Malachy O'Sullivan of Ballinasloe.

The Irishtown meeting proved to be a resounding success and it would have devastating effects in Mayo over the next few weeks. In the following six weeks

meetings were held in various centres throughout Mayo to highlight the tenants' grievances. Demonstrations took place at Claremorris, Knock and Ballindine. It was obvious that these meetings had been generated by the momentum gained through the Irishtown meeting and they could not continue without the support from the political forces that had recently come to prominence in the country, such as Parnell. The local demonstrations that took place after the Irishtown meeting were not addressed by any of the leading activists from Mayo or Ireland. It was at this point that the prominence and organising skills of Michael Davitt came into play. The tenant leaders in Mayo had decided to hold a demonstration, similar to that at Irishtown, at Westport, on the 8th June. Parnell promised to speak at the meeting because of Davitt's invocations.³ This was a major coup for the agitation in the West of Ireland because it brought the radical section of the Home Rule party in contact with the agrarian problems. It also gave Parnell the opportunity to use the movement to further his leadership ambitions. But there were soon certain rumblings at work which seemed to indicate that the Westport meeting might not take place.

On the day before the Westport meeting the Archbishop of Tuam, John McHale, denounced the meeting in a letter to the *Freeman's Journal*. He attacked the organising committee, stating that the tenant leaders were only intent on furthering their own personal aims. This opinion was shared by many members of the hierarchy at this time. Many reasons are put forward for McHale's denunciation. It is stated that he was trying to play down his nationalist role, which had previously landed him in trouble with Rome. He was now well advanced in age, being eighty-nine years old and in his forty-fifth year as Archbishop of Tuam, and was being forced by Rome to take on a co-adjutor. By taking this course of action he may have felt that he would get an assistant that would be to his liking, possibly his nephew, Rev. Richard McHale, who was vicar-general of the archdiocese. The possibility also exists that the letter may not have been written by McHale himself but by his nephew, as it would appear that he had some part in the drafting.⁴ A third and more plausible reason was McHale's distrust of constitutional nationalist leaders who associated themselves with agrarian movements. Since the defection of Keogh and Sadlier from the Independent Irish Party in the 1850's he had held back from supporting such movements. It was only after a large number of deaneries in his archdiocese had come out in support of the Home Rule movement in 1873 that he espoused it. He did not comment on the Land League again until July, when he wrote to the organising committee of a land demonstration in Ballyhaunis. In his letter he said that he hoped that the tenant farmers would not allow themselves to be dictated to by people other than the priests, who had always been friendly to them.

McHale's denunciation of the meeting did create problems. Davitt feared that Parnell would not attend and was greatly relieved when the Meath M.P. re-affirmed that he would be speaking at Westport on the 8th June.⁵ As a result of the Archbishop's letter no clergyman attended the meeting. To add to the problems no local person was prepared to act as chairman. James Daly, who had acted in this capacity at Irishtown, was called on to take the chair. In his address



Monument erected by Westport Historical Society 1981 to the Davitt/Parnell Meeting held at Attyreeca.

Daly called for three cheers for the Archbishop and this was enthusiastically given. He said that if he had any knowledge of the movement being involved with secret societies he would repudiate it. The object of the meeting was to seek a reduction in rent and to denounce local landlords, in particular the Marquis of Sligo. Daly regretted the breach that was taking place between the people and the clergy and added that the conflict would not be the fault of the faithful people.⁶ Some of the speakers were highly critical of the Archbishop of Tuam's denunciation. This led the Freeman's Journal to state, on the following day, that the clergy had always been the protector of the tenant farmer and anybody who tried to separate them was the deadly foe of Ireland.

There were many clergymen who would have attended the meeting but for McHale's intervention. The reason they had not turned up at the Irishtown meeting was because one of their own was involved, Canon Geoffrey Bourke. Most of them were well aware of the plight and circumstances of their flock. In the 1870's it was they who generally provided the leadership which led to public awareness of the tenants' situation. Fr. Lavelle of Partry, Fr. Malone of Belmullet and Fr. Joyce of Louisburgh were just a few of the priests who had laboured incessantly for their parishioners. The priests from the Westport deanery had come out against the prevailing land laws at the end of May, 1879. They called for rent abatements and a long term solution to the land question, through a readjustment of rents.⁷ It was not long before the clergy of Claremorris, Waterford, Killaloe and Cahirciveen followed this lead.

Besides Parnell, the other speakers were Davitt, Loudon, Matthew Harris, M. M. O'Sullivan, Thomas Joyce of Louisburgh, John Walsh of Balla and Thomas Hastings of Louisburgh. Parnell's attendance showed that he was committed to a solution to the land question. While he had spoken at land demonstrations in 1878, such as that of the Ballinasloe Tenants Defence Association, he had not as yet shown complete solidarity with the people on the question. As he left his hotel he was escorted by a large force of people to the meeting place. He urged the 8,000 tenants present to keep a firm grip on their homesteads. Ireland had suffered more than any other European country through landlordism and while these countries had become aware of the disadvantages and abolished landlords, Ireland still retained them. In his opinion the solution lay in making the tenants the owners of their holdings, but in the meantime a system would have to be devised which would keep the tenant on his holding, by means of a fair rent. To him, the increased self-respect which would be gained amongst the tenants would augur well for the self-government of Ireland.⁸ Parnell's attendance did increase the stature of the demonstration. It overshadowed the meetings held between the Irishtown and Westport demonstrations, which were as important, but this was entirely due to the increased prestige it received as a result of Parnell's presence.

Davitt in his speech, which was his first during the agitation, attacked the systems of government under which the Irish people lived and declared himself a separatist. He called on the tenants to organise themselves for the purpose of becoming the owners of their own farms. As far as he was concerned the tenants



1946 Stamp: Issued 16 September 1946 to commemorate the centenary of the birth of Michael Davitt and Charles Stewart Parnell. The design by R. J. King has for its centre-piece a cottage with the figure of a ploughman in the foreground and bears the inscription "Tir agus Teaghlach" (Country and Homestead). In the background is Croagh Patrick which places the scene in the county of Michael Davitt.

1981 Stamp: Issued 10 December 1981 to commemorate the centenary of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881. The Act resulted from agitation on behalf of impoverished tenants by the Land League founded in 1879 with Michael Davitt and Charles Stewart Parnell at its head. It conceded for the first time the rights of free sale, fixity of tenure and fair rent. The stamp features a drawing of an eviction scene based on a photograph from the Lawrence Collection which is now held in the National Library of Ireland.



should not rely entirely on the Irish Parliamentary Party, as there were only a few members who were totally trustworthy.⁹ (This was a direct reference to the landlord element in the party who had consistently opposed the land reforms introduced by the party at Westminster). The Westport meeting marked the debut of the father of the Land League and the inspiring light behind the movement.

The most forceful speech came from Michael M. O'Sullivan, a national teacher from Ballinasloe and the secretary of the Ballinasloe Tenants Defence Association. He told his audience that they should not rely on moral force alone; but that it should be backed up with the power of the sword. As he progressed he informed his listeners that they must depend on themselves and no one else. At that a 1798 pike was raised amongst the crowd amidst great cheers.¹⁰ While the rest of the speeches were moderate they returned to the question of the need for tenant organisation. As is stated by Patrick O'Farrell, '... the misery and resentment endemic to peasant Ireland had been screwed up to desperation point and would burst out spontaneously, if it were harnessed and organised'.¹¹

The Westport meeting signalled the true rise of the land agitation. It was by far the most important meeting of the whole campaign. The tenants were spurred on by the commitment of Parnell, Davitt and the other tenant leaders. As yet the agitation was not organised as there was no leadership or directing force behind it. Parnell did not become officially associated with the leadership until three months later. The danger did exist that once the initial enthusiasm fuelled by these meetings would wear away that the agitation would fizzle out. Unlike the demonstration of the 1870's the movement was heading in a direction that would pose a direct threat to landlordism.¹²

The meeting was criticised from many areas. Extensive reports of the speeches were published by British and Irish newspapers, who sent representatives to the demonstration. This marked a stark contrast to the Irishtown meeting, when the only newspapers to publish any of the proceedings were Daly's Connaught Telegraph and the Tuam Herald, whose proprietor was also actively involved in the land campaign. Both the Freeman's Journal and the Limerick Reporter condemned it, with the Freeman stating that it was a confiscatory meeting. Its proprietor, Dwyer Gray, was in disagreement with Parnell at this time, mainly over political matters. Within Mayo, the Ballina Herald denounced a group of Crossmolina tenants who travelled to the meeting and attacked Daly as the instigator.¹³

The movement in Mayo was intensified by the Westport meeting. While a central organisation was not founded until August, 1879, to knit the demonstrations together, the Land League of Mayo, it was due to the impetus generated by the Westport meeting that this came into being. On the 18th June, a committee was formed to organise a demonstration in Claremorris and other meetings followed in the county. It was at this meeting that priests and people joined together for the first time in the land agitation. The pro-tenant right section of the clergy, under Canon Ulick Bourke, the parish priest of Claremorris, came forward for the first time since McHale's denunciation, to show their solidarity with the movement. This was the first visible attempt at reconciling the clergy and the people within the new agitation. The priests were aware that it was imperative for them to join with their parishioners, otherwise they feared the people would go their own way. In the long run it was felt that the people might stay away from their influence in social and political matters. There were curates and parish priests, who, while uninterested in the objectives of the movement, realised that by not participating it would leave the way open for the more militant sections of the community to take over. The Westport meeting made this very plain to them. It also resulted in the British media taking note of the new agitation in the West of Ireland. Many of them now sent special correspondents to Ireland to investigate the distress and to monitor the growth of the land agitation. Ireland was now being aroused from her sleep, a dormant slumber that had enveloped her since the time of O'Connell.

¹ Connaught Telegraph, 22 Feb. (1879).

² Davitt, M., *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland*, pp. 146-7.

³ *Ibid.* p.152.

⁴ Larkin, E., *The Roman Catholic Church and the creation of the modern Irish State*, p.93.

⁵ Davitt, *op. cit.* p.153.

⁶ Freeman's Journal, 9 Jan. (1879).

⁷ Nation 31 May (1879).

⁸ Moody, T. W., *Davitt and Irish Revolution, 1846-'82*, pp.305-6.

⁹ *Ibid.* p.304.

¹⁰ Bew, P., *Land and the National Question in Ireland, 1858-'82*, pp.58-9.

¹¹ O'Farrell, P., *Ireland's English Question* p.169.

¹² Clark, S., "The Social composition of the Land League" in *Irish Historical Studies* xvii (Sep. 1971) p.441.

¹³ Connaught Telegraph, 31 May (1879).

APPENDIX

List of those who presented to The Most Noble Howe Peter Marquis of Sligo a gift in 1838.

George Clendinning	James T. S. Stuart
George Ousley Higgins	William Robinson
Samuel Smyth	Henry Hindebrand
Fitzgerald Higgins	Rev. Giles Eyre
William M. Patten	John Gibbons
William Levingstone	John McGreal
Richard Levingstone	Patrick T. Gibbons
Courtney Kenny	John Finglass M.D.
Owen O'Malley	Joseph O'Finglass M.D.
William & William Grahame	Pat Sheridan
Joseph Burke	Joseph Kelly
Alexander C. Lambert	Edward Kenny
The Very Rev. Dean Burke	W. H. Hemsworth
(Matthias McDonnell and his six sons)	Francis Burke
Charles F. Higgins	Geo. Clendinning Junior
John C. Larmine	William Hilderbrand
Joseph Suche	Richard Noke
Rev. P. Gibbons P.P.	Alexander Clendinning
John C. Garvey	John Francis Burke
Robert Levingston	Alexander O'Malley
Rev. William Baker Stoney	Charles O'Malley
Myles Gordan	Charles Malley
George Hildebrand	James O'Malley
James Smyth	Thomas V. Clendinning
James Pinkerton	Charles Mahon
John Ellis	George Mahon
	Robert Browne
	J. W. Browne
William Parker	George Browne
Robert William McIlree	Rev. Thomas Keveny P.C.C.
George Woods	R. Manning
Patrick O'Grady P.P.	Theobald Burke
Myles Sheridan P.P.	Charles Wilson Clerk
John Dudgeon	Charles Byrne
William Dudgeon	Richard Gibbons
Robert Buckanan	James Needin
R. & W. Ekins	John Saville
George Lawrence	Henry Browne
George Moore	Francis Woodhouse
George H. Moore	Michael Madden
Augustus Moore	Doctor Durkan
Michael O'Malley	Pat Kelly
Austin O'Malley	William Davis
Thomas Dillon M.D.	Thomas Gilden C.M. of the Peace
George Townsend Browne	Neal Davis
George Augustus Browne	George Hausbrow
Dominick Browne	John Iagoe
James Arthur Browne	Rev. Francis Rutledge
George M. Sheridan	Henry Jordan
William T. Hoban	Patrick McGreal M.D.
John Bourke	John Malley
Sir Samuel O'Malley	W. S. Malley
William Fitzmaurice	Lieut. Colonel Blake
John McLaughlin	Henry O'Malley
Dominick McLoughlin	Matthew Gibbons
	Sir W. O'Malley
	Peter Browne