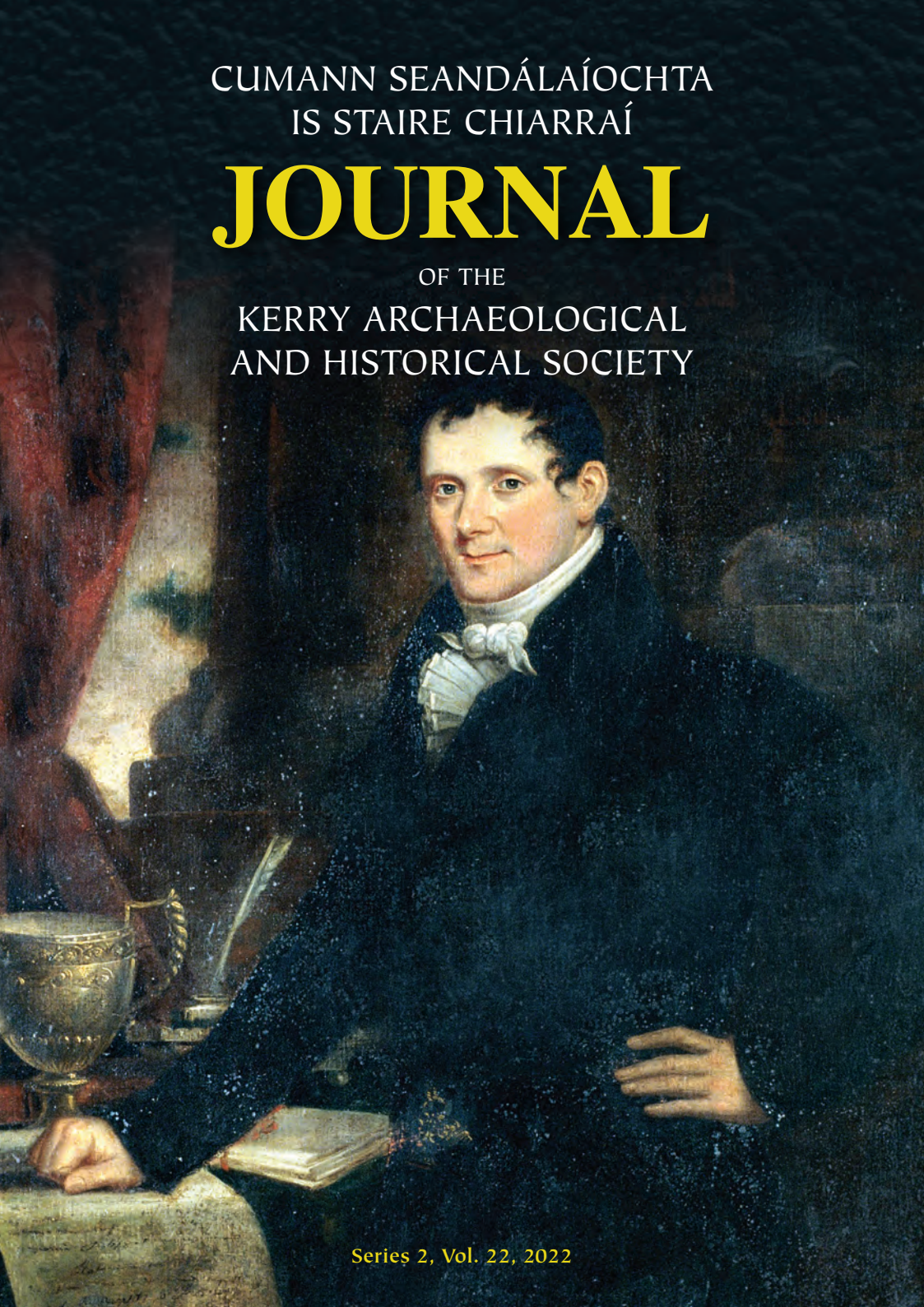
CUMANN SEANDÁLAÍOCHTA
IS STAIRE CHIARRAÍ

JOURNAL

OF THE
KERRY ARCHAEOLOGICAL
AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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Cover Illustration: Daniel O'Connell - the 'Liberator'

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Daniel O'Connell's cultural links to the Sea: Evidence from ship iconography and writing on plaster at Derrynane

By Dr Connie Kelleher

Plate 1: Daniel O'Connell's House in the National Historic Park (Image: C. Kelleher, National Monuments Service).

Introduction

The ancestral home of Daniel O'Connell at Derrynane has secrets to reveal. Hidden within a number of structures located in the National Historic Park is iconography that informs on the family's links with the sea, conjuring thoughts of coastal trade, smuggling and shipwreck. The strategic location of Derrynane House and its estate within the coastal fringe of south-west Kerry allowed access to the North Atlantic and beyond – and commercial contacts with the Continent and the New World (Plate 1). It also, of course, allowed goods to be brought ashore for distribution locally and inland, either as legitimate trade or smuggled goods, or both. Certainly the Liberator's uncle, Maurice 'Hunting Cap' O'Connell, while having a legitimate merchant business, was also suspected of being a smuggler. Such business transactions were par for the course, with piracy and smuggling a way of life for coastal dwellers throughout time, including in remote areas of south-west Kerry.

The lack of mention of Derrynane Harbour in documentary and cartographic sources, but even in more recent publications, has been commented upon previously.[1] It was perhaps this anonymity that enabled those working out of harbours like Derrynane to carry on both legal and clandestine activities, out of sight of the watchful eyes of officialdom.

The Cultural Landscape of Derrynane

The early derivation of the name Derrynane is 'Darrynane', or 'Darryene' reflecting either *Doir' Fhionáin* (the oak wood of St Fionán Cam), or *Dair Eighneán* translated as 'Ivied Oak' and perhaps referring specifically to the oak woodlands that once grew there.[2] The O'Connell estate is located within Derrynane National Historic Park (DNHP), the award-winning Green Flag public park, and is managed by the Office of Public Works (OPW).[3] Captain John O'Connell built the house sometime after 1702, when he had acquired a lease of the lands in the area. His son Dónal Mór took over the estate following his father's death and began building up the family's commercial trading business with the Continent. The estate passed subsequently to his son Maurice 'Hunting-Cap' O'Connell and it was upon his death in 1825 that it passed to his nephew Daniel O'Connell – the 'Liberator'.[4]

Derrynane is rich in medieval archaeology but the wider countryside too boasts extensive evidence for our prehistoric ancestors on the Iveragh Peninsula. While Neolithic indications are scarce, there is extensive evidence for Bronze Age influence, particularly the impressive rock art[5] found in the immediate area to Derrynane, but also with sites like megalithic tombs, all denoting a rich, cultural landscape that reflects a human presence in this coastal region from the earliest of times.[6] Indeed the beautiful Late-Bronze Age Derrynane Horn, discovered sometime prior to 1850 and now housed in the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin, similarly reflects a prehistoric musical presence in the area.[7] Several monuments are recorded within Derrynane Estate, of archaeological and architectural importance. These include the house and its range of buildings, two ringforts or stone cashels, two souterrains, and the national monument of Darrynane Beg Ogham Stone. On Abbey Island, to the south-west, the church of Ahamore (also known as Derrynane Abbey) and its attendant graveyard can be reached at low tide and it is here that the O'Connell family tomb can be viewed.[8]

The diverse landscape of Derrynane, with its wild uplands that roll down to merge with its coastal zone, is interspersed with several islands

that together provide an outstanding panorama of littoral hinterland, golden beaches and expanse of sea. Its inlets, harbour and quays reflect the use of this part of the coast of Kerry in the past by settlers and visitors, as well as vessels of all types and which continues into the present day. This maritime landscape includes a rich shipwreck heritage, with several wrecks recorded for the Derrynane area. One is that of the Portuguese ship *St Michael*, lost in the 'Great Storm' of February 1874, possibly off Hog's Head and the other, the schooner *Ethel B. Jacobs,* lost off Abbey Island in October 1899. Captain David Murray of an unnamed ship lost in 1741 at Derrynane permitted the afore-mentioned Hunting Cap O'Connell to salvage its cargo, which included indigo, an indication that Hunting Cap was directly involved in maritime enterprise prior to his inheriting Derrynane Estate.[9] The remains of another eighteenth-century wreck identified in Derrynane Harbour, to the north-west of Lamb Island, has the potential to also be linked with Hunting Cap's smuggling business, and is discussed further below.[10]

The extensive set of rock-cut steps, that lead over the hill from Derrynane pier to Béaltra and Bunnavalla quay, and known locally as the 'Mass Steps', hark of use too in antiquity by pirates and smugglers. The steps would certainly have facilitated the movement of smuggled goods across the hill and into Derrynane Estate in the time of Hunting Cap, but later too when his nephew was in charge. The routeway from the two harbours leads directly to the building known as the Summer House, and it is primarily within this little structure that new discoveries have been made, though another building, that of the Privy, also retains a previously unknown depiction. What is certain is that all are throwing even more light on the maritime cultural landscape of Derrynane, including the types of ships plying the nearby waters and activities taking place there in the time of Daniel O'Connell.[11]

O'Connell's Summer House

Located a short distance north-west of Derrynane House, this two-storey structure known as the 'Summer House' is arresting when first viewed, with its conical roof and gothic revivalist features, standing on its own on a height among the trees, akin to a playhouse or folly (Plate 2). Lady Chatterton, writing in 1838 during her rambles in the south of Ireland, recounted that she 'walked to the tower in the upper part of the grounds, which has been lately erected', and her accompanying sketch of O'Connell's House also shows the tower to the north-west, on an elevated

position within the trees (Figure 1). Its tapering roof is depicted, as is a possible attached structure, though there is no evidence on the ground for such an additional element, and it may instead simply represent the rock outcrop that the Summer House is built against on its northern side.[12]

Figure 1: Sketch by Lady Chatterton showing Summer House above and behind Derrynane House (Image from: Chatterton, 1839; Rambles in the South of Ireland, Saunders & Otley, London, 294).

The Summer House stood for many decades as a ruin but in recent times it has been the focus of conservation work by the OPW, which has given this enigmatic building a new lease of life (Plate 3).[13] The lower room has just one door, facing south-east, and a single window to the south-west. The upper floor is accessed by an external stone stairs on the north-east side; the doorway faces north-east and there are three windows and a fireplace. Mature trees now block the view from the southwest-facing window on the upper level, which is noticeably larger than the other two in the room and which when first built, when the trees were lower, would have afforded unhindered views across Derrynane Harbour, to Abbey Island, Bunnavalla and the wider Atlantic. This is confirmed by M.J. Cusack's later writings, in which she describes 'Darrynane' House and its associated estate, and in particular makes reference to the Summer House:

'In the midst of the shrubbery, perched high aloft upon an ivied rock, is a small circular turret, commanding, over the tops of the young trees, a view of the ocean and of the neighbouring hills. To this turret, Mr O'Connell frequently retired, to cogitate in solitude over his future political movements.'[14]

Plate 2: Summer House in Derrynane Estate (Image: JJ. Lalor, National Monuments Service).

Revelations on Plaster

In the course of archaeological fieldwork by the author at Derrynane, the Summer House and the Privy were inspected and it became immediately apparent that the original plasterwork survived on the walls in both structures. On closer scrutiny iconography in the form of ship graffiti was noted, incised into the plaster - in both rooms in the Summer House and in the door embrasure of one of the rooms of the Privy. The graffiti takes a number of forms, with depicted ships, nets, fishing scenes and other doodles, as well as writing in the hand of various individuals, including members of the O'Connell family. To date the assemblage of graffiti comprises fifteen ships, in large and small scale, and as partial and complete representations; fourteen are to be found in the Summer House and one in the Privy. Of the cursive writing, most is found in the upper room of the Summer House, while the lower room has a mix of earlier but also more recent graffiti. In the upper room, it is possible to discern

when the graffiti was incised into the plaster by studying how deeply it is embedded; some writing, and possibly the earliest, was scored into the newly-set surface of the plaster while other text was etched into the dried plaster at a later stage; more again was written onto the flat wall surface and original paintwork in the upper room. This appears to have been done using a quill and ink or a lead pencil. Some script, including an example in Irish in the upper room, has been deliberately scratched out but names are decipherable, including several 'O'Connells', as are some occasional dates, all mid-nineteenth century.

In the ruined Privy building, which is located immediately to the west of Derrynane House, within the trees and was the 'necessary' for the house before such facilities were accommodated indoors, one ship can be seen in the door jamb of the eastern room. The ships depicted in both buildings range from single-masted fishing boats to two- and three-masted sailing vessels. They are represented as both single ships on their own, such as that in the Privy, to more complex maritime scenes in the Summer House, with fish and nets deployed in some, and a wrecking or possible salvage scene in another.

Recording and Describing the Graffiti

The iconography has been the focus of survey and recording by the National Monuments Service (NMS), using a combination of tracing onto permatrace, conventional and infrared photography, as well as photogrammetry. While similar ship graffiti and fishing scenes adorn both the upper and lower rooms of the Summer House, the upper room contains the most examples. There is no apparent order to their location on the plaster, but most are located on the window embrasures in the upper room while those in the lower are only on the walls. To enable the record, each ship (and any associated fishing elements) has been attributed a number, while each section of writing is recorded on an individual basis. A selection from the graffiti is described below according to its location in the Summer House and Privy, and all the ships recorded are listed at the end of this paper.

Summer House Upper Room

Ships, writing and doodles of various types can be seen in the upper room. There are eight ships represented, three of which are located in the largest, southwest-facing window embrasure, with definitive details in two of them of hull shape, masts, anchors and sails, even flags fly from the masts.

Ship 1 is at the top, and unlike all the other ships in the Summer House, it is shown almost in 3-dimension: port and starboard sides of its bow face the viewer, with rounded stem, bilge and wooden planking illustrated, as is an over-hanging transom, where the rudder is shown in profile. The masts are clear, with their rigging, ratlines and extended bowsprit. It seems to have its anchor and cable deployed at the bow. Incised under Ship 1 is an incomplete ship, Ship 2, and again below that is Ship 3, once again a complete depiction, but drawn in profile. Ship 3's rigging is similarly depicted, with two pennants flying from the forward mast. Around the turn of the embrasure on the main wall is another ship, Ship 4, in what appears to be a wrecking scene (Plates 3 & 4). This three-masted vessel cut into the finished surface of the plaster is shown in the process of either sinking or stranding, as the ship is at an angle to the indicated waterline. Rigging lines extend from the forward mast to the bowsprit, with the bow clear of the water while the ship is sinking astern. The three masts are incomplete at the top; this may perhaps be a decision by the artist or it could also perhaps suggest either dismasting during the wrecking process or salvage of the wreck thereafter.

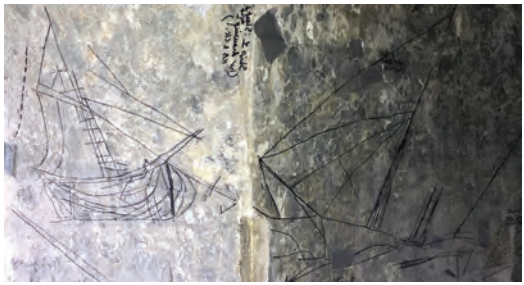

Plate 3 : Ship 1 and Ship 4 highlighted by placing tracing film over them, depicting a possible wrecking or salvage scene (Image: C. Kelleher & K. Brady, National Monuments Service).

Plate 4: Ship 3 with anchor at bow, sails and pennants blowing from masts (Image: J. Lalor, National Monuments Service).

Other graffiti in the upper room includes two fishing scenes; one comprises just a net with possible fish caught inside while the other is a ship, Ship 7, with a net deployed from its port stern; extending from the net are possible stone anchors or net weights depicted in the water, though these could also indicate traditional lobster pots that hung off net ropes and rested on the bottom, with the fishing vessel in the process of deploying or collecting them (Plate 5). A single vessel on its own is carved into the plaster over the fireplace, Ship 5, with both of the vessels shown, Ships 5 & 7, very much typologically adhering to the herring boats or mackerel yawls in use at the time of O'Connell.

Plate 5: Sketch of Ship 7 and its fishing scene in upper room (Sketch: K. Brady, National Monuments Service)

Examples of the writing in the upper room include several with the surname O'Connell, such as "Msr M O'Connell', along with 'Msr M McCarty' or 'McCanty'. The signature of John O'Connell is clear in an

area near the doorway and on the wall over the eastern window the name 'Daniel O'Connell' can be discerned. A section of writing in Irish, using a quill, in dark ink, has been scratched out and which seems to have retained the name 'Catherine O'Connell'. Directly over the door the following is inscribed:

'John Barton of Cahirciveen in the County of Kerry, Ireland'

Daniel O'Connell had associations with a John Barton, Bank Director in Dublin but it could also represent a local resident, as there were a couple of John Bartons recorded as living in Cahirciveen in the mid-late 1800s (Plate 6).[15] O'Connell also had links with the Barton family of wine merchants, and perhaps the name as written suggests these mercantile connections between O'Connell and trade to the Continent. A signature, possibly Honoriah O'Donoghue and with the date of October 8th 1852, can be seen at the top of the embrasure of the south-eastern window in the upper room of the Summer House and which again may point to familial connections on O'Connell's mother's side (who was an O'Donoghue).

Plate 6: Cursive writing above door in upper room: John Barton (Image: C. Kelleher, National Monuments Service).

Summer House Lower Room

In the lower room, seven more ships have been identified on the plaster, four etched in detail. Ship 9 is a fishing vessel, incised in large scale, with

a single mast. It too is shown fishing, with net deployed astern, beneath its hull; two fish are shown caught in the net (Plate 7). The detail on the fish suggests the species may be mackerel as they, along with herring and salmon, were the main fisheries catch at that time in the region, and certainly this would tie in with the type of ships depicted (particularly Ships 5 & 7 and Ship 15 in the Privy. Ship 10 faces the visitor as one enters the room, with two masts and sails unfurled. Representing a 'tall ship' or ocean-going vessel, this ship suggests overseas trade or travel (Plate 8). Beneath it, to the left is Ship 11, etched as a type of sailing yacht or hooker, with clean, raked transom, single mast and rigging detail. More recent graffiti has damaged this representation, but the ship's outline can be discerned nevertheless. A less well-defined ship, Ship 12, is shown to the left of the yacht, with masts suggested and stays indicated. To the right of the window, Ships 13 and 14 are mere outlines, with basic suggestions of ship features.

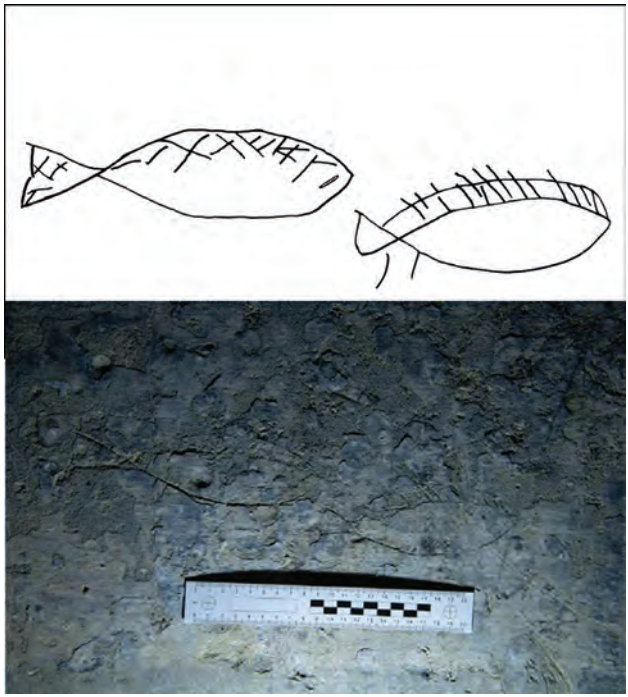

Plate 7: Representations of two fish associated with Ship 9 and its fishing scene, with sketch details above (Image and Sketch: K. Brady, National Monuments Servicey).

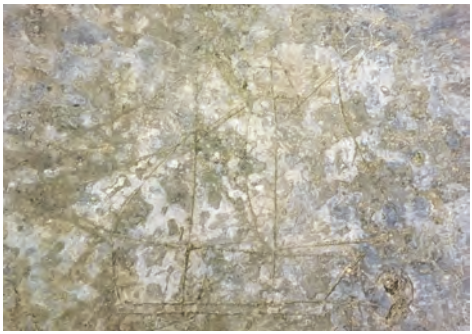

Plate 8: Full profile view of Ship 10 in lower room with its sails unfurled (Image: C. Kelleher, National Monuments Service).

The writing in the lower room is cruder and later, including relatively modern graffiti incised there when the Summer House was in a ruinous state, open to the elements and with the lower room fully accessible to all visitors. Located behind the door, on the jamb, however, is heavily incised writing in historic script. There, just above eye level can be seen the initials 'DO C' and the word 'DARRyENE' (Plate 9). Written with serif attached to most of the letters and the 'y' elevated, it shows the early name for Derrynane, written almost 'headstone-style'. The inscriber was obviously versed in such script and, while speculative and particularly so as there is no associated date, one can ponder if this could have been done by the hand of the Liberator himself?

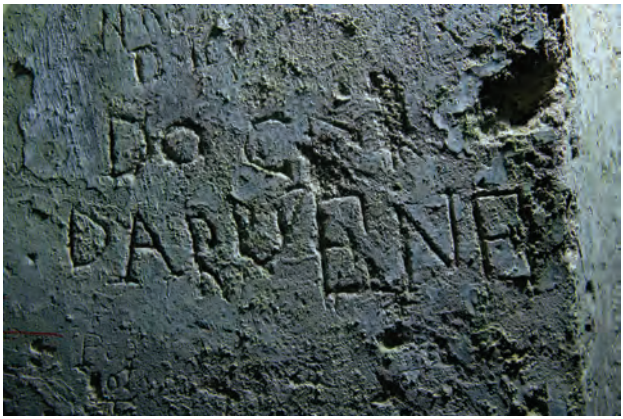

Plate 9: Heavily-incised initials 'DO C' and 'DARRyENE' in lower room (Image: C. Kelleher, National Monuments Service).

A noticeable line of discolouration on the lower part of the wall in the ground floor room, just above floor level, indicates a seat or a plinth was located here at some point, where perhaps one could sit and enjoy the iconography, or add to it as the case may be. The floor too, cobbled with spirals and circles of water-rolled pebbles, was put in there in the 1960s by visiting US students who were working in the park at the time.

The Privy or 'Necessary'

Referred to as the 'Necessary' in O'Connell's time, the privy to the west of Derrynane House is a stone-built structure with two rooms. Now in a dilapidated state, it still retains its plaster internally, in various stages of decay. The gardrobe in both rooms – seen as an area where a long bench was located on the walls directly opposite the two doorways – had an opening underneath the benches leading to a 'long drop' latrine exiting the building to the south and down slope. Ship 15 can be seen etched into the plaster of the eastern door jamb, in simple form and while incomplete, it is very much in the style of a traditional mackeral or herring boat, with single mast and rigging, and though cruder in form and larger in size, the representation is similar to Ship 5 over the fireplace in the upper room of the Summer House.

Figure 2: Details taken from painting by Robert Harvell the elder, (fl. 1800-1840), and Robert Havell the younger, (fl. 1820-1850), after an original watercolour of ca. 1831 by John Fogarty (© National Library of Ireland).

Discussion and Interpretation

The iconography in Derrynane is significant on a number of levels. Artistically, certain of the ship representations have been executed with such care and precision they can be likened to a sculptural painting. Indeed Ship 10 in the lower room of the Summer House displays striking similarities to the full-masted vessel depicted in the Robert Harvell painting of Derrynane (Figure 2). They can be appreciated therefore as works of art – with the plaster as the medium of expression for a time when links with the sea were a part of life in coastal communities like Derrynane.

Archaeologically, ships on plaster are most frequently found at medieval Irish monastic sites, and as identified by Brady and Corlett, they are an important source for details on ship typology.[16] The Derrynane collection is just one of only a few locations in Ireland to have such a wealth of graffiti examples in one location. Having that many ships represented tells a story of the types of ships in use at the time, the activities they were engaged in and the way they were lost. In turn the writing and doodles add depth to the story, when considering the thoughts behind the words. The ships reflect traditional fishing vessels for the most part, akin to half-deck cutters or mackerel yawls, hookers or herring boats, but with larger sailing ships also depicted.

While each ship can be interpreted in its own right, with each element of the ship providing insights into the mind of the individual who etched them – similarities in rudder type across several of the ships, for instance - when considered in the context of a scene, then they may tell a wider story. Ships 1 and 4 in the upper room of the Summer House, for example, are on the same level and when viewed together, the anchor or rope line extending from the bow of Ship 1, continues around the window embrasure and is then forward of the bow of Ship 4; this again suggests a possible salvage effort (Plate 4). Though the graffiti post-dates the wrecking of the ship in 1741 (as mentioned above), it may well represent a later ship lost in the harbour, and possibly visible from the window in the Summer House? It is clear that Hunting Cap and members of the O'Connell family were directly involved in the salvage of wrecks in the harbour in Derrynane over the years, as denoted above with the 1741 ship, but also as attested to in Daniel O'Connell's own writings to his uncle, for instance:

> 'To Hunting-Cap Sir, Dublin, 21 March 1805.
> The late wrecks on your coast have been much talked of here—and a long memorial from Berill was presented to the Board stating amongst other things that you had got more than forty Pipes of brandy and calling for instructions how to act.[17]

Though not suggestive of smuggling, it is clear that Hunting-Cap acquired some of his merchandise from trading ships and from ships lost. Perhaps Ship 1 and Ship 4 are visual representations of this lucrative activity, still on-going in the time of the Liberator? The fact that some of the ships and writing were clearly etched into fresh plaster places them firmly within his time. The eroded and water-rolled appearance of a lone carronade that faces seaward from Derrynane House, possibly came from a ship lost in the harbour, with the gun mid-eighteenth to early nineteenth century in date. It is also similar to the carronades on the site of the eighteenth-century wreck near Lamb Island, and which as previously mentioned, is associated with Hunting-Cap's smuggling business.[18]

Plate 10: Carronade at Derrynane House (Image: C. Kelleher, National Monuments Service)

The writings – and indeed doodles too - inform on visitors to the Summer House, whether left as 'calling cards' or just as scribbles, while other writing may perhaps be in the Liberator's own hand. Contemporary accounts state that Daniel O'Connell built the Summer House as a place

for quiet, private and secluded contemplation, but perhaps where he could also carry out business deals or deal in goods out of sight of watchful eyes of officialdom – perhaps delivered via the smuggler steps from Bunnavalla in the dead of night? The lone ship in the Privy is an outlier, but similar in form and typology to the others, so the artist perhaps felt the need to put his mark there when 'necessary'. We can ponder the minds of those who frequented the Summer House and Privy – O'Connell, his family and his associates – and who took time to leave their mark on the plasterwork of both buildings. Whatever the reason at the time, what can be said with certainty today is that the iconography is a significant addition to the O'Connell legacy and one that will remain to be studied and enjoyed for a long time to come.

Plate 11: Graffiti doodle of figure holding an umbrella in upper room of Summer House (Image: C. Kelleher, National Monuments Service).

The Future for Derrynane's Iconography

The Summer House remains closed while the OPW engages with conservation specialists to assess environmental conditions and analyse the plaster with respect to its protection and preservation. Recording continues too by NMS with consideration being given to other methodologies, including laser scanning (LiDar), 'raking light' survey and Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI), in tandem with more detailed interpretation of the ship typologies depicted. The combination of recording techniques and analysis of the ship iconography should

capture minute details on the plaster and add to results already gathered. Collaboration between the OPW and NMS continues, with the ultimate intention being to open up the Summer House and present the graffiti to the public, as an additional attraction in Derrynane Estate and National Historic Park.[19]

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the following: my colleagues Karl Brady, Fionnbarr Moore and John Lalor of the National Monuments Service; OPW Parks Supervisor Chris O'Neill; James O'Shea, Foreman at Derrynane National Historic Park and his Park and Garden colleagues; Adrian Corcoran, OPW Head Supervisor Guide and his several Park Guide colleagues in Derrynane; thanks are also due to local historian Tom Horgan and to local archaeologist Aoibheann Lambe.

About the Author

Dr Connie Kelleher is a senior archaeologist with the National Monuments Service in the Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage. A graduate of UCC with an MA in maritime archaeology and a PhD from Trinity College Dublin, Connie is a commercially trained underwater archaeologist. She has directed many underwater projects on a variety of archaeological sites in both the marine and freshwater environments. These include sites of shipwrecks, human remains and archaeological objects. Connie is visiting lecturer in underwater archaeology in the Archaeology Department, UCC and has published widely including two books: the co-authored with her colleagues: *RMS Lusitania: The Story of a Wreck* and her own book: *The Alliance of Pirates: Ireland and Atlantic Piracy in the early seventeenth century*.

Appendix: List of Ships Depicted at Derrynane:

Summer House Upper Room:

- **Ship 1:** SW window embrasure, single-masted with both standing and running rigging; shown bow-on, with wooden planking also traced. It is shown moored, with anchor deployed from bow; overhanging stern, with rudder clearly shown; rake of bow and stem suggests a trading vessel.
- **Ship 2**: Below Ship 1; Incomplete, showing forward sail and rigging, with partial hull indicated.

- **Ship 3:** Bottom of embrasure: fully rigged, three-masted vessel with rigging and two pennants (one with a cross) shown flying from forward mast; anchor shown stored at bow. Other lines associated suggestive of ship having been sketched before being etched.
- **Ship 4:** Immediately around corner of window, on main wall, opposite Ship 1; Three-masted vessel in process of wrecking, as waterline is indicated across vessel, with bow and bowsprit visible but ship sinking astern; may be a salvage effort.
- **Ship 5:** Over fireplace; small but complete representation of a single-masted ship, with rigging though plaster damage has masked some of rigging detail.
- **Ship 7:** East window, bottom of embrasure. Shows single masted fishing vessel with deployed net at stern. Possible stone anchors or net weights also shown below nets though these could also indicate traditional lobster pots that hung off net ropes and rested on the bottom. Vessel could be collecting or deploying them.
- **Ship 8:** In basic outline only, on lower part of wall between east and southeast windows.

Summer House Lower Room:

- **Ship 9:** Large ship with fishing scene immediately to right of door, middle of wall. Incised is masted vessel with square hull; net deployed and two fish clearly drawn below. From markings they look to represent mackerel.
- Immediately in front of door, three ships drawn.
- **Ship 10**: Two-masted, fully rigged in full sail, with rounded stem, overhanging stern and clear rudder depicted. Topsail also shown as part of sail plan and whole image is one that clearly suggests the artist knew their ships.
- **Ship 11:** To left and lower than Ship 10. This is a yacht-type depiction of a vessel, with single mast, but little rigging detail. Later graffiti has caused damage to the original ship. Possible net leading off from bow area of ship, though this could be fanciful.
  Ship 12: To left of Ship 11. Less well-defined ship outline with some masts and stays indicated.
- **Ships 13 & 14**: Located to right of window, on wall but are very basic in style.

Privy

- **Ship 15:** Single-masted ship with rigging on plaster located on left-hand jamb of doorway of eastern room. Incomplete.

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[3] Derrynane NHP won the Green Flag Peoples' Choice Award in 2021, placing it in the top ten favourite public parks in the world. Congratulations are due to Chris O'Neill, Park Superintendent and his team in the park. For more see: https://www.greenflagaward.org/news/worlds-top-10-green-flag-award-parks-announced/
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[7] Ibid. p. 108.
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visit: https://maps.archaeology.ie/HistoricEnvironment/
[9] WIID: Wreck Inventory of Ireland Database, National Monuments Service; Wreck Numbers: *St Michael* of 1974 – W05915 and *Ethel B. Jacobs* of 1899 – W05661.
[10] Breen, ibid.; Wreck Number W11615; see Wreck Viewer: www.archaeology.ie
[11] Kelleher, C., Brady, K. & O'Neill, C. (2019): 'Forgotten Ships, Hidden Scripts: Secrets of Daniel O'Connell's Summer House', in (ed.) *Archaeology Ireland*, Vol. 33 (4), pp. 30-34.
[12] Chatterton, Lady, Henrietta, G.M. (1839): *Rambles in the South of Ireland During the Year 1838*. Vol. I, Saunders & Otley, London, pp. 292, 294, 317
[13] Funding provided by the OPW and part funded by the Department of Culture, Heritage and the Gaeltacht.
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[15] National Archives of Ireland (NAI) Census 1841–1851:
http://censussearchforms.nationalarchives.ie/search/cs/results

[16] Brady, K. & Corlett, C. (2004): Holy Ships: Ships on plaster at Medieval Ecclesiastical Sites in Ireland', in (ed.) *Archaeology Ireland*, Vol. 18 (2), pp.28-31.
[17] Daniel O'Connell to his Uncle, Hunting-Cap, 21 March, 1805; 141; Vol. I; http://www.irishmanuscripts.ie/digital/The%20Correspondence%20of%20Daniel%20O'Connell%20Vol.%20I.%201792-1814/data/search.xml
[18] Breen, ibid.
[19] The author is grateful to colleagues Karl Brady and John Lalor for assistance with the recording.

The ringfort of Lissaniska and the petty kingdom of Aes Coinchind within Corcu Duibne

By Paul MacCotter

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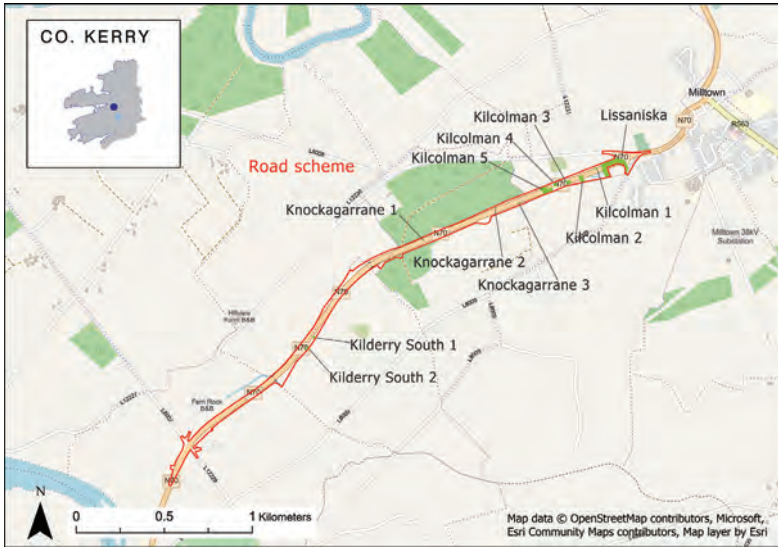

Figure 1: Location of N70 Kilderry Bends Improvement Scheme and the archaeological sites investigated along its route (image: Chiara Mazzanti, ACSU).

Origins

The kingdom of Corcu Duibne existed as a political unit from the beginning of recorded history until the early thirteenth century. It occupied the southern and western portions of the Dingle (or better) Corkaguiney peninsula, all of the peninsula of Iveragh, and the linking lands at the head of Dingle Bay in the lower Maine and Laune river valleys. Kingdoms in early Gaelic Ireland were arranged in hierarchies. Elsewhere I have proposed a four-tier structure for such hierarchies.[1] At the top was the

High-Kingship, then the large provincial and semi-provincial overkingdoms, then the regional kingdoms whose area often coincided with that of the reformed dioceses of the early twelfth century, and finally, beneath these, came the local kingdoms of barony size. These classifications are graduated in the early laws, where we find such terms as *rí cóicid*, *rí ruirech*, *rí tuath* and so on.[2]

In this schema Corcu Duibne is viewed as a regional kingdom comprised of three constituent local or petty kingdoms, one of which, Aes Coinchind, is the main subject of this study, containing as it does the ringfort of Lissaniska. More generally this paper contains much on the history of Corcu Duibne. It is only in the immediate pre-Invasion period that the sources are such as to allow us to reconstruct fully the shape or area of Corcu Duibne.[3] The evidence suggests, however, that its area is unlikely to have changed significantly over the preceding seven centuries. Political developments of the early thirteenth century finally saw the native rulers of Corcu Duibne replaced. Their descendants survived, however, as minor landowners and serviential middlemen into the seventeenth century and later. One of these descendants, Daniel O'Connell, was probably the leading Irish politician of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the shape of the three constituent local kingdoms of Corcu Duibne remained important administrative and infeudational units until well into the fourteenth century and, in one case, until the 1580s.[4]

We possess three classes of evidence for the early history of the Corcu Duibne: ogam, saga and genealogy. The first, ogam, as contemporary recording, is by far the most important and reliable. No less than seven ogam inscriptions record individuals associated with this people or polity (Corcu Duibne).[5] Linguists date ogam inscriptions to a period from perhaps the late fourth century to the middle of the seventh. These seven inscriptions commemorate individuals belonging to the *Muccoi Dovinia(s)*, the earliest name for the Corcu Duibne. Here the first part of the formula, Muccoi (Moccu), meaning 'sons of', operates as a form of surname prefix, while the second part, Dovinia(s) is the name of a female ancestress or, rather, a female divinity. This 'moccu *' formula was a widely used ogam gentilic marker until it became obsolete during the seventh century. The earliest recorded form of the names of many polities is found in the moccu formula. The claim of descent from a divinity by a population group is not unusual at this early period, although examples of female divinities are much rarer. (Ciarraige, immediate neighbours to Corcu Duibne, however, appear to be one such, from a goddess, Ciara,

while their neighbours to the east, the Corcu Loígde, have been derived from the '*gens* of the calf goddess').[6] Therefore, the form *Moccu Dovinia* tells us that this kingdom has pagan roots. Study of the seven ogams in question further reveals that two of these can be identified as pre-apocope inscriptions and thus datable to the earliest period of ogam, the late fourth and the fifth century. Furthermore, both stones also seem to bear the ogam version of the 'hic iacit' formula, KOI, in which case their commemorands were Christians.[7]

The kingdom of the Moccu Dovinia thus has pagan roots. Much of the early 'history' of Ireland we possess is the result of the work of the synthetic historians of the eighth and ninth centuries, who filtered and altered what they had received into a 'standard' or common tradition (*seanchas coitchenn*). Despite their best efforts, however, fragments of conflicting and older traditions (*scélshenchus*) survive which enable us to see something of the politics of proto-historical Ireland.[8] The synthetic histories and tales speak however of the Corcu Duibne and not the Moccu Dovinia, for by the seventh century this older formula was being replaced by newer gentilic denominators. One such was Corcu: seed (in a masculine sense) and in this process there was also the beginning of the re-writing of history to accord with the newer Christianised interpretation. In this way the Moccu Dovinia became the Corcu Duibne, and the goddess was disguised behind a fictional male, Corc Duibne. The 'new' genealogies made Corcu Duibne co-relatives of the various Múscraige, as well as of Corcu Baiscind of west Clare and Dál Riata of Antrim (and Scotland), all of whom in turn are identified with an earlier branch of the Érainn, the oldest ruling elite in Munster according to the proto histories.[9]

Here what is important is the association with the Múscraige. This is established by making Corc Duibne an incestuous brother to Connath *alias* Con Nuadet, ancestor to the various Múscraige groups, and making both men sons of the eponymous Coirpre Músc. This clearly brings Corcu Duibne nearer to Múscraige than to the other related groups. Another link is established by making the Caillech Bérri (Hag of Beara) foster mother to Corc Duibne. Indeed, in the prose introduction to one version of her poem the Caillech is said to be of Corcu Duibne 'and [saint] Fínán Cam has bequeathed to them that they shall never be without some wonderful glorious caillech [nun] among them'. This and another source identify her with Aes Coinchind of Corcu Duibne, although there is the possibility of confusion with neighbouring Corcu Loígde here (whose territory was coastal West Cork). These references give yet another link with

Múscraige, for later generations of this people certainly maintained a special reverence for the Caillech.[10]

Another partly euhemerised goddess is Mór or Mugain of Munster. She is identified as divinifying the sovereignty of the kingdom of Munster and had aspects which suggest that she was a sun goddess. The earliest material concerning Mór links her with the Érainn but, interestingly, the later material rather links her with the arriviste Eóganachta.[11] Her 'house', Tig Mhóire, an early enclosure, is in Baile Bhiocáire in Dún Chaoin at the western end of the northern peninsula of Corcu Duibne.[12]

Figure 2: Anglo Norman Cantreds (Source: Author).

Other divine figures with Corcu Duibne associations include Mug Roith, the great mythological wizard, who lived on Dairbre (Valentia Island), and Cú Roí mac Dáire, mythical king of Munster, with his magical revolving fortress whose ruins, high on Sliabh Mis on the borders of Corcu Duibne, tantalise to this day[13] (This is the inland promontory-fort of Caherconree). O'Rahilly's divinising tendencies aside, the demonisation of Mug Roith in some of the later accounts by clerical redactors confirms tellingly his earlier status as the sun god, perhaps in more than geographical partnership with Mór (a peninsula apiece, as it were).[14] The root of Dairbre is *dair*: oak tree, and we may note in passing the well-known role of oak groves (*drunemeton*; *fídnemed*) in druidic practise, as well as the druidical penchant for islands as cult sites, and the suggestion that some important early Irish church establishments, such as Armagh and Kildare, were erected upon or within such sacred oak woods.[15] All of this certainly indicates that Corcu Duibne in pre-Christian times, as a centre of worship of an extraordinary pantheon of gods, bore some especial status. As well as the solar couple, Mug Roith and Mór, we have the Caillech Bérri with her Corcudovinian associations as well as her neighbour, Donn, the Irish god of the dead, whose house, Tech Duinn, is now known as Bull rock, off Dursey Island.[16] It is certain that the kingdom of Corcu Duibne occupied its western peninsulas in an unbroken possession for the first 700 years of the historical period.

Corcu Duibne and Aes Coinchind: Extent and Borders

Uncertainty has long existed regarding the borders of Irish pre-Invasion kingdoms. I have attempted to answer many of the questions raised by this uncertainty in my book, *Medieval Ireland: territorial, political and economic divisions* (Dublin, 2008), where I have developed new methodologies and re-developed older ones for border and boundary study. Figure 2 shows the area of the three Anglo-Norman cantreds: Osurris, Moconekyn and Orathath, which were successors of the three trícha céts or local kingdoms of Corcu Duibne, namely Aes Irruis Tuascirt (Dingle peninsula to south of the mountains), Aes Irruis Deiscirt (most of the Iveragh peninsula) and Aes Coinchind (the lands at the head of Dingle Bay around Killorglin, Milltown and Castlemaine).[17] Note that this reconstruction differs significantly from the few earlier efforts to delineate this kingdom.[18] The primary focus of this study is Aes Coinchind, the local kingdom in which lay Lissaniska. Aes Coinchind is the name of the kingdom while Mag Coinchinn is the name of its territory.

The precise location of this petty kingdom was not clear to scholars due to the later (sixteenth century) location of the barony of Magunihy. This is an English language corruption of the Irish Magh gCoinchinn and was given by the Tudor administration to areas only partly corresponding to the original territory of Mag Coinchinn. This caused great confusion among historical geographers as it suggested that the territory of Magunihy barony had been part of Corcu Duibne when in fact this only applied to a small western part of the barony of Magunihy, the majority of Magunihy actually lying in what had been the earlier cantred of Yoghenacht Lokhelen alias the native kingdom of Éoghanacht Locha Léin. The problems with this identification were not addressed until my work on this question in recent years. The reason for the transference of the super domination 'Magunihy' to the east is of interest. The name of the principal Geraldine manor in the later, shrunken, Desmond of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was Killorglin *alias* Moconekyn, to which all the rents from the Irish of the cantreds of Moconekyn, Orathath and Yoghenacht Lokhelen were debited. The sixteenth century barony of Magunihy contained Killorglin and surrounds, as well as all of its modern descendant, so the name of the chief manor here, Moconekyn/Magunihy, was used for a single barony which descended from a union of two earlier cantreds, Moconekyn and Yoghenacht Lokhelen.[19] The saga of this misidentification is worthy of a paper of its own.[20]

The superdenomination Magunihy derives from Mag Coinchinn, later Maigh gCoinchinn. These names respectively mean 'the people of Coinchind' and 'the plain [or agricultural territory] of Coinchind'. Conchind or Conchinn is both a male and female forename. The term *mag* (Modern Irish *magh*) has the additional sense of a settled territory or an area of rich or developed agricultural land. As Figure 2 shows, by 1170 the Eóganacht territory did not extend very much west of Loch Léin itself. The Corcu Duibne kingdom of Aes Coinchind occupied the lands at the head of Dingle Bay, the lower Laune and Maine valleys inland as far as Listry and Firies respectively, while the upper Laune formed a border, with Ciarraige lying to north and Corcu Duibne to south of the river.[21] While it might appear at first sight that this distinctive salient of Ciarraige reaching south to the Laune and dividing Corcu Duibne from Eóganacht was the result of a late expansion, the evidence, somewhat startlingly, suggests that these convoluted borders were in fact very old indeed. This evidence is drawn from ogam epigraphy, in particular from the two stones from Rockfield on the Gweestin River, at the centre of this Ciarraige

salient, and which both commemorate individuals described as *Moccu Qerai* (Ciarraige), and which are post-apocope in form and thus no earlier than perhaps the late sixth century.[22] It is not certain that the location sites of such stones mark their original setting, but I suggest that this evidence is consistent with the distribution of the *Moccu Dovinia* stones discussed above, in giving early confirmation of later boundaries.

The threefold sub-division of Corcu Duibne is likely to be of considerable antiquity. This is especially suggested by the presence of an ogam inscription found in a souterrain at Coolmagort near Dunloe which reads CUNACENA.[23] This is the earlier *Cunocennos, the later Conchenn, and is the eponym of the local kingdom of Aes Coinchind which in turn is parent to the cantred of Moconekyn.[24] While this ogam stone was clearly not found in its original location it is unlikely to have travelled far before its re-use in the souterrain. Remarkably, Coolmagort lies exactly on the border between the cantred of Moconekyn and the half-cantred of Dunloe (and thus cantred of Orathach), suggesting that the thirteenth century border here between Aes Coinchind and Aes Irruis Deiscirt was unchanged since at least the sixth century. (A similar example of an ogam-demarcated border is found in Co. Kilkenny.)[25] That the twelfth century kingdom of Corcu Duibne was divided into three *trícha cét*s ruled by its three regnal families is clear from references contained in *Caithréim Cellacháin Chaisil*, a MacCarthy propaganda tract datable to the 1130s.[26] The general pattern of regnal organisation of twelfth century Ireland, when applied to Corcu Duibne, shows it to have been a regional kingdom composed of three local kingdoms or *trícha céts*, one regnal line apiece. The term *ur-rí*, which can be translated as 'under-king' is sometimes applied to such local kings, and, while the poor annalistic coverage of the south-west denies us record of such under-kings in Corcu Duibne, both Ó hUidhrin and the anonymous author of *Caithréim* describe the three regnal families of Corcu Duibne as possessing such a status.[27]

The surviving Corcu Duibne genealogies seem to have reached their final form largely around AD 900, before the era of surnames, and this account shows an early division of the stemma into the three divisions, Aes Irruis Tuascirt, Aes Irruis Deiscirt, and Aes Coinchind.[28] These mean 'the people of the northern peninsula', 'southern peninsula' and 'the people of Conchenn'. Conchenn is a personal name used by both sexes. Suspiciously, this does not occur in the genealogies, yet gives name to a territory, a people and the chief church of both. Was Conchenn perhaps an ethnic titular god or goddess, and, if this be so, then were the Aes

Coinchind not really of the Corcu Duibne at all but mere allies given a fictitious relationship of kinship by the politico-genealogists? These divisions are therefore at least as old as AD 900 and, as we have seen above in the case of the CUNACENA ogam, probably much older.

The origin of Conchenn is entirely mysterious. No such person appears in the Corcu Duibne genealogy of this segment. An early segment claiming Corcu Loígde descent were the Aes Conchind Mingthi alias Cenél Conchinni, whose eponym is treated as female in the genealogies.[29] It may be, therefore, that, Aes Coinchind were in fact of Corcu Loígde origin. In the genealogies Aes Irruis Deiscirt descend from Nuden while Aes Irruis Tuascirt descend from his brother, Erach. Aes Coinchind descend from Nuden's son, Flannán. There are problems in these genealogies, especially some rather obvious telescoping and also clear omissions.

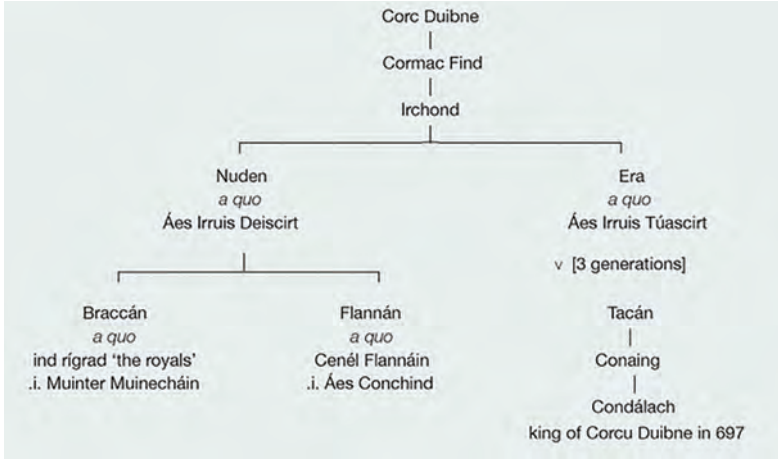

Figure 3: Corc Duibne Genealogy (Source: Author).

The line of Aes Irruis Tuascirt seems less affected and, using this as a guide and the standard three descents per century as an estimate, we discover that Nuden and Erach may have lived during the second half of the fifth century. Their father, Irchond, is then made grandson of the mythical Corc Duibne. That we are on shaky ground with such constructs is shown when we consult the pedigree of the Corcu Duibne saint, Fínán Cam. He seems to have lived around AD 600 but is made fifth in descent from Nuden, which would push back the *floruit* of the latter to the early

fifth century, at least. Perhaps significantly, none of the names of the men commemorated in the several *Moccu Dovinia* ogams occur in the genealogy, and these inscriptions in fact suggest that, as a polity, *Moccu Dovinia*/Corcu Duibne is older than our genealogical calculations suggest. Such calculations are of limited use but do suggest that the threefold division of Corcu Duibne is very old indeed. The incomplete nature of these genealogies is clear. We should not, of course, consider these genealogies to be factual in their earlier sections. Here we see the typical arrangement found throughout the genealogical corpus where polities or dynasties are genealogically connected remotely or pre-historically and mostly at the same generation or level. All this means is that, at the time the genealogies were written, these principal divisions of Corcu Duibne merely shared a tradition of common ancestry: their exact filiations were certainly unknown to them. The genealogies, however, are not the only source for these sub-kingdom names. An annal of 793 mentions Conchenn as a location. ('The battle of Conchenn, in which the king of Corcu Duibne fell').[30]

The Saints of Aes Coinchind: Cartach, Fínán Cam and Abán

Most hagiography reflects the fact that such material relates as much to the secular politics of its period of composition as to matters of spirituality. Hence it is a source of considerable interest to us. Aes Coinchind, like Aes Irruis Tuascirt, was something of a battleground between the ecclesiastical establishments of Corcu Duibne and Ciarraige Luachra during the twelfth century. The principal church of Aes Coinchind seems to have been Cell Achaid Coinchind or Killagh (in Kilcolman townland near Milltown), the site of a later colonial-era Augustinian priory. While Ó Riain makes its eponym a saint Coincheann with Connacht origins, its location in the heart of Aes Coinchind as well as its other Corcu Duibne associations rather suggest the name Cell Achaid Coinchind indicates that this church is the chief church of the territory of Coinchind, a status it retained under the Anglo-Normans.[31]

Fínán Cam was the chief saint of Corcu Duibne, chiefly associated with lands in western Uíbh Ráthach, Inisfallen island on Lough Leane and the church of Kinnity, Co. Offaly.[32] Cartach or Mochuta, of Lismore and Rahan, was a saint of the Uí Ferba segment of Ciarraige Luachra while his mother is assigned to Corcu Duibne. The earliest *vita* of Cartach is an important source. This has attracted an extraordinary range of estimates for its date of composition, ranging from the eighth century to *c*.1200.[33] I

would date it, on internal grounds, to a period around the middle of the twelfth century, while noting that it contains what appears to be earlier material.[34] This *vita* features a number of references to places and churches in Aes Coinchind which are of interest. Cartach is made the son of a powerful chieftain of Uí Ferba who possesses two strong lioses, one south of Sliabh Mis in a district called Agro Eolum and the other on the Maine. He is baptised by a saintly man named Edan or Aodhgan and duly founds a church at Cell Tulach which he is eventually forced to abandon because of the opposition of two local bishops. Later, when in Rahan, he counts among his disciples one Fachtna or Fiachna 'Coinceann'.[35] Here Cell Tulach is Kiltallagh while Agro Eolum, 'the territory (or túath) of Eolum', has been tentatively identified by Ó Corráin with a minor segment of Uí Ferba, the Corcu Ulum.[36] The parallel reference in the earliest *betha* of the saint mentions how Cartach built churches south of the Maine 'in Machaire Colmáin': the plain of Colmán.[37] This can hardly be a reference to other than the eponym of Kilcolman and, additionally, may provide an alternative name for the territory of Mag Coinchinn. Nothing further is known of this Colmán. The Fiachna associated with Aes Coinchind is elsewhere made eponym of Kilfeighny in north Kerry.[38] Here we have references to two churches in Aes Coinchind: Kiltallagh and Kilcolman, and a probable reference to a third, Kilnanare. This latter place has a tortuous onomastic history, but it seems likely that its original form may have been Cell na nAedgéin, showing a possible link with the Aodhgan who occurs in the *vita* of Cartach.[39] One Aédán of Cloonmealane in Kilnanare occurs in the martyrologies.[40]

Cartach's *vita* contains many elements which date part of it to the middle of the twelfth century, not least of which is the claims it makes to much of Aes Coinchind for Ciarraige Luachra and which suggest that, in addition to Aes Irruis Tuascirt, much of Aes Coinchind must also have been temporarily absorbed into Ciarraige Luachra at this time. Yet we know that, by *c*.1207, when lord Geoffrey de Mareis obtained a grant of all of Corcu Duibne, this included Kiltallagh, Kilcolman and Kilnanare. There is an ecclesiastical corollory to the secular recovery of these lands by Corcu Duibne. This is found in the earliest *betha* of Abán of Moyarney, Co. Wexford, which has been dated to the first years of the thirteenth century, but doubtless contains older material.[41] In this Abán is made to travel to 'Crích Eachach Coinchinn' in Corcu Duibne where he founds the churches of Cill Eachach Coinchinn (read Cell Achaid Coinchinn: Killagh) and Cill Aithfe (?) 'on Magh Coinchinn'. He duly gives both

churches to Fínán Cam, which must reflect the actual *status quo* at the time of writing.[42] Clearly Aes Coinchind alias Mag Coinchinn was a border area, perhaps long contested between Ciarraige and Corcu Duibne, and a prime area for the location of a church establishment of some significance open to the influences of both spheres. A somewhat later vernacular version of Cartach's *vita* describes Cell Tulach as a *sealla onóireach*, 'an esteemed church', and this reference, taken with the general treatment of Cell Tulach in the *vita*, suggests it to have been a significant church in the twelfth century.[43] Some confirmation of this may be found in the later possession of the entire western half of the parish of Kiltallagh by the priory of Killagh. This possession clearly associates Cell Tulach with Cell Achaid Coinchinn. In the case of Kilnanare, its presence in the rural deanery of Aghadoe and the possession by Killagh Priory of half of its tithes suggests that it lay in Aes Coinchind while there is some evidence to suggest that the parish may have been church land in the Anglo-Norman period.[44] It is clear, therefore, that these border-lands were in dispute both militarily and ecclesiastically between Ciarraige and Corcu Duibne over a significant period of time before the Anglo-Norman invasion, and that the 'official Corcodovinian' cult of Fínán Cam is also found in Aes Coinchind.

Kings of Corcu Duibne

Much of the political history of Corcu Duibne must remain obscure due to the neglect of the kingdom by the annalists who, even when they do mention its kings, often fail to name them. Our earliest reference concerns Slébene, 'king of Corcu Duibne', who was one of the guarantors of *Cáin Fuithirbe*, a law proclaimed at Killarney for the kingdom of Iar Mumu ('West Munster') in 683. He was, however, probably a king of Corcu Loígde rather than Corcu Duibne.[45] Then we note Condálach mac Conaing, who appears to be the king of Corcu Duibne who attended the proclamation of Cáin Adomnáin at Birr in 697.[46] The genealogies show him to have been of Aes Irruis Tuascirt. Our second such reference records the death of a king, Échtgal, in 785.[47] He is probably to be identified with the man of that name who occurs in the defective Aes Coinchind genealogy. Another possible early identification is that of Máel Bracha, a king of Iar Mumu whose death is recorded in 700. Ó Corráin appears to suggest this based on the extreme rarity of this personal name, whose only other occurrence is in the Aes Coinchind genealogy.[48] At this time the term Iar Mumu: West Munster, contained all of Munster to west of a line

linking Cork and Limerick, thus including among others the kingdoms of Corcu Duibne, Ciarraige Luachra and Eóganacht Locha Léin. A little later we have the obituary of another king of Corcu Duibne, Colmán, slain at the battle of Ballaghmoon along with the king of Ciarraige Luachra and other Munster nobles, in 908. He was also abbot of Kinnity, Co. Offaly, a monastery associated with Fínán Cam, patron saint of the Corcu Duibne.[49]

These references suggest that, as we would expect, the kingship of Corcu Duibne was contested by its three principal constituent lineages. It is hardly surprising, then, to see the lineage Uí Nuidín, representing the chief line of Aes Irruis Deiscirt, emerge dominant from the middle of the tenth century onwards. The earlier genealogy of this line, datable to the early tenth century, ends with Anrothán mac Longbardáin, who may well have been king of Corcu Duibne. His eldest son, Fálbe Finn, died in 960, a death record which suggests he was of importance. He is eponym of Uí Fáilbi (modern O'Falvey). Another son, Congal, died in 989 as king of Corcu Duibne. He is eponym of Uí Chongaile (modern O'Connell), kings of Aes Irruis Tuascirt. For half a century after 960 both lines competed for the kingship, with the Uí Fáilbi emerging dominant, only to face a new challenge from another line, the Uí Ségda, kings of Aes Coinchind (modern O'Shea). Congal's son, MacRaith, succeeded him as king and died in 1013. He appears to have been succeeded by his cousin, Crínán mac Fáilbi, who died as king of Corcu Duibne in 1027, probably succeeded in turn by the last recorded Uí Chongaile king, Gilla Meic Oíbleáin, who died in 1040. The Uí Ségda emerge immediately after this, as violent competitors with Uí Fáilbi. The first, unnamed Ua Ségda king was murdered the next year, no doubt at the hands of the Uí Fáilbi, whose next claimant or *rigdamna*, Mathgamhan, was probably slain in retaliation (in 1042). Nonetheless, the Uí Fáilbi appear to rule unchallenged for most of the remainder of the century. The peaceful death of king Cú Dub Ua Fáilbe is recorded in 1063, at a time when we find Corcu Duibne in conflict with Uíbh Echach of west Cork, resolved apparently by the slaying of the Uíbh Echach king by the Uí Fáilbi.[50] In 1096 king Mathgamhan Ua Ségda died peacefully, while an Ua Fáilbe *rigdamna* was slain while serving with the king of Munster's army at Mag Coba in Ulster in 1103. In 1115 Murchad Ua Ségda slew Lochlann Ua Fáilbe and, three years later, Tadg Ua Ségda is slain by the Uí Fáilbi and their allies, the Limerick Ostmen. The Uí Ségda are dominant at this time, however, and Murchad of 1115 is described as king of Corcu Duibne when banished to

Connacht following his part in a Kerry revolt against the authority of king Cormac MacCarthy of Desmond (in 1124).[51] Cormac's method of ruling was to replace the regnal families of his sub-kingdoms with their agnatic rivals, probably because these may have been thought to be too loyal to the former Uí Briain kings of Munster whom MacCarthaig had replaced in 1118.[52] It may well be that Cormac had replaced the Uí Fáilbi with the Uí Ségda. Murchad Ua Ségda was slain in 1127 in company with In Gilla Mantach Ua Fáilbe, but the circumstances are unrecorded. An Ua Fáilbe was certainly king in 1151, perhaps the unnamed member of that family, slain by the Uí Ségda in 1158.[53] The remaining references to the kingship of Corcu Duibne in the period between the Anglo-Norman invasion and the conquest of Kerry indicate that the Uí Fáilbi remained dominant.[54]

Mag Coinchinn alias Aes Coinchind and Ciarraige Luachra

The politics of Iar Mumha (by this time more or less modern Kerry) during the earlier twelfth century are largely concerned with its three constituent regional kingdoms, Ciarraige Luachra, Eóganacht Locha Léin and Corcu Duibne. The sole reference to conflict here comes from 1086 and involves the Ciarraige and Eóganachta.[55] While we might wish for more such evidence, it does allow us to speculate that perhaps Ciarraige were engaged in wars of expansion against their southern neighbours at this time. The period from 1118 onwards sees the resurgence of a line of Eóganacht Chaisil, the Meic Carthaig, who present a serious challenge to the century and a half-old Uí Briain dominance of Munster.[56] From this time forward Munster was frequently divided into two competing halves, Des Mumha or Cork and Tuad Mumha or Limerick, the latter the Uí Briain (O'Brien) segment. Generally, in Iar Mumha we find Ciarraige supporting Uí Briain and the other kingdoms supporting the Meic Carthaig or MacCarthys. Annals of 1127 and 1151 show Uí Ségda and Uí Fáilbe of Corcu Duibne and Uí Muircheartaig and Uí Chathail of Eóganacht co-operating against Uí Briain and their Uí Chonchobair (O'Connor Kerry) vassals.[57] The period 1138 to 1152 was one of renewed Uí Briain dominance and their key ally in Iar Mumha was king Diarmaid Súgach Ua Conchobair, described in his obituary (1154) as 'king of Ciarraige Luachra and Corcu Duibne'.[58] While this claim must be somewhat exaggerated it seems certain that Ua Conchobair had, during his lifetime, acquired overlordship of some northern parts Corcu Duibne, no doubt with the support of his Uí Briain masters.

The evidence for this comes mostly from ecclesiastical sources, some

of which we have already rehearsed above. The *Vita* of Cartach of Lismore, a Ciarraige saint, which I date to the period around the middle of the twelfth century, claims for the *paruchia* of Ciarraige Luachra the church of Kiltallagh and, apparently, those of Kilnanare and Kilcolman as well, all of which lie in Mag Coinchinn in Corcu Duibne. This source also lays claim to the lands of these churches for Ciarraige.[59] This *vita* has attracted an extraordinary range of estimates for its date of composition, ranging from the eighth century to *c*.1200. I would date it, on internal grounds, to a period around the middle of the twelfth century, while noting that it contains what appears to be earlier material. In addition, we note the possession by the Ciarraige of the baile of *Baile Uí Etersceóil (Ballinvoher) which gives them land access to Dingle Bay and physically detaches Aes Irruis Tuascirt from the remainder of Corcu Duibne, a situation which cannot represent the original position here and must be the result of Ciarraige expansionism.[61] From this it would seem that much of Mag Coinchinn had been held by the Uí Chonchobair during this period. Yet when Corcu Duibne was granted to its new Norman lord, Geoffrey de Mareis *c*.1200 it included all of these lands apart from *Baile Uí Etersceóil. Admittedly the parish of Kiltallagh retained Cartach as its patron, but its advowson lay with Killagh priory which also owned the entire western half of the parish, indicating clearly that Kiltallagh lay within de Mareis's grant, for de Mareis was the founder of the priory of Killagh alias *de Bello Loco* before 1216. As for neighbouring Kilnanare, its location within the deanery of Aghadoe and possession of half of its rectory by Killagh again indicates it to have lain in Mag Coinchinn. (The parishes of Killorglin, Kilgarrylander and part of Knockane complete the area of Mag Coinchinn).

Uí Ségda, kings of Mag Coinchinn

The antiquarian, Gilla na Naoimh Ó hUidhrin, in a poem written during the last years of the fourteenth century, attempted to reconstruct the political landscape of pre-Invasion Ireland as it had been two hundred years earlier. In this work he names the three regnal families of Corcu Duibne, allotting 'Ó Ráthach' to Ó Seaghdha, Magh Coinchinn to Ó Conghaile and the unnamed section on the northern peninsula ('from the Maine to Ventry') to Ó Fáilbhe.[62] Ó hUidhrin, however, was bluffing. All other sources locate Uí Fáilbe in Aes Irruis Deiscirt, Uí Chongaile in Aes Irruis Tuascirt, and Uí Ségda in Mag Coinchinn. Ó hUidhrin cannot have been familiar with the tract, *Caithréim Cellacháin Chaisil*, which,

fortunately, contains several indications which help correct his erroneous schema. *Caithréim* is a MacCarthy propaganda tract or work of pseudo-history which, although set during the tenth century, actually portrays the political realities of the period in which it was composed (around 1130). In *Caithréim*, we find Fáilbe Finn and his son Cú Dub represented as kings of Corcu Duibne. In the same way the literary representatives of Uí Ségda (Ségda and his son, Aed) are shown as kings of Mag Coinchinn, while Congail (a quo Uí Chongaile) is made king of 'Aes Irruis'.[63] What this tells us is that, around 1130, Uí Fáilbe were over-kings of Corcu Duibne (as we have seen above) while Uí Ségda were sub-kings of Aes Coinchind, thus eliminating the difficulties caused by Ó hUidhrin's fictional reconstruction. This also reconciles the subsequent association of Uí Ségda with the territory of Túath Clainne Sheaghdha, and with the later pattern of surname distribution in the sixteenth century, when the chief branches of the O Sheas are found at Dunloe, Killorglin, and the upper Inny valley, that is, in or near what had been Aes Coinchind. Furthermore, the only Ségda (a rare first name) to occur in the Corcu Duibne genealogies is found in those of Aes Coinchind. If – and this is far from certain – these genealogies are in correct order, this Ségda may have lived around AD 700 or a little later. While the traditional picture of Irish surname formation sees this as too early a date for the *floruit* of a surname eponym, research by Byrne has shown that, when surnames were adopted (usually after 900), they sometimes used the name of an ancestor who may have lived as far back as the eighth century.[64] Given this understanding, and the defective nature of the Corcu Duibne genealogies, it is perfectly possible, if not probable, that the Ségda of these is the eponymous ancestor to Uí Ségda, venerated perhaps as he may have been the last of the line to hold the kingship of all of Corcu Duibne. The traditions connecting the O Sheas with Ballycarbery in Iveragh are late and must derive from a line of fictional accounts ultimately owing its existence to Ó hUidhrin's fiction. Remarkably, one of the surviving lines of the O Shea gentry of *c.*1600, though in much reduced circumstances, possessed a genealogy deriving from this early Ségda of Aes Coinchind (see below).

As we shall see, Uí Ségda appear to have retained a portion of Moconekyn (as it became under the Normans) as tenants in the early colonial period, that known as Toughclannyhea to south of Killorglin. This was later lost to succeeding branches of the O Sullivans, perhaps during the fourteenth century and certainly by the fifteenth century.

Records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries show the O Sheas as one of the principal clerical families in Iveragh and Dunkerron and suggest that their chieftains survived in the upper Inny and Caragh valleys in much reduced circumstances down to the early seventeenth century. A branch was an important yeoman family at Dunloe during the last decades of the sixteenth century, perhaps operating as stewards for O Sullivan Mór there.[65] Generally, O Sheas are found in this period well scattered across the Iveragh peninsula and in Magunihy, in contrast to the more limited distribution of O Falveys and O Connells. O Shea clerics are associated with the vicarages of Killemlagh, Killinane and especially Glanmakee/Templenoe, as well as others in Magunihy.[66] In the case of Glanmakee a line of O Sheas 'of noble birth' appear to have monopolised the vicarage throughout most of the second half of the fifteenth century. The church of Glanmakee or Inse Rua lies in the upper Caragh valley, adjacent to the western end of Tuoghclannyhea (tl. Shronahiree More). The next valley to the west is that of the Inny. Most of its upper reaches were part of the quarter of Sheskinane in the seventeenth century. This place is mentioned in the only surviving pedigree of the O Sheas, dating to around 1604.[67] It treats firstly of the O Shea or O Shee family of Tipperary and Kilkenny, and goes on to derive them from one Amhlaoibh Ó Séaghdha of Seiscenean (Sheskinane), who is also made ancestor to a second line, called 'Muintir Secdhe Iab Rathach' (O Shea of Iveragh). (Incidentally, there is no evidence that the Shees of Tipperary were in any way related to the O Sheas of Iveragh.) This ends in a group of brothers who can be identified in a contemporary (1601) fiant which, unfortunately, does not give their address.[68] Given the prominence attributed to Seiscenean in the pedigree one suspects that this is where the family resided in 1604. Although demonstrating authentic features, especially in its earlier sections, the pedigree is clearly fictional in later portions, and its derivation of both segments from an ancestor living on the marginal mountain lands of the upper Inny says more about the time of its composition around 1600 than about any earlier history.[69] The pedigree does tell us that a line of genealogically literate O Shea minor gentry survived in the mountainous hinterland of Iveragh down to the early seventeenth century, whose roots can be traced back eastwards through the Glanmakee clerics of the fifteenth century to an earlier settlement in Tuoghclannyhea (see below) within their ancestral homeland of Aes Coinchind.

Figure 4: Part of Kilcoleman Demesne under excavation at Kilcolman 1–3 & 5, with Fort Agnes in the centre, looking south-west (Photo: Ian Russell, ACSU).

Lissaniska and Fort Agnes

This essay derives from a historical report on the ringfort at Lissaniska in the townland of Kilcolman in the civil parish of Kilcolman.[70] This lies a short distance from a second ringfort known as Fort Agnes. The lowlands of Mag Coinchinn are relatively well-endowed with ringforts and associated phenomena. These two ringforts are among eight in total lying in a western direction from Lissaniska to the Laune near Killorglin. A second, and even more closely located set of ringforts can be found in the townland of Kilgobnet and its surrounding townlands, while yet more ringforts can be found around Killorglin and its western hinterland. Of special interest are Lissaniska and Fort Agnes on the one hand, and the Kilgobnet group on the other.[71]

One of the few identifiable ancient areal units to survive in Kerry into the early modern period is that known in the seventeenth century as Tuoghclannyhea. This stretched from the Laune near Dunloe westward to Lough Caragh and was part of the estates of the MacGillycuddys.[72] Its name partially survives – colloquially – as Tuogh, in reference to parts of Knockane parish. Head-rents were due from this territory to both the Earls of Desmond and the Knights of Kerry.[73] Parts of Tuogh are found occupied by colonial settlers at the end of the thirteenth century, but its mention in 1365 (as Meyan: that is, its caput of Meanus) indicates that it was then largely in the occupation of the Gaelic Irish.[74] The form Túath

Chlainne Sheaghdha: the túath or territory of the O Sheas, must indicate its original Irish possessors, the kings of Mag Coinchinn, for Tuogh lies within the cantred of Mayconcken, while at the very centre of Tuogh lies the ringforts of Kilgobnet. This suggests that Túath Chlainne Sheaghdha was the demesne or royal túath of Mag Coinchinn. This is further suggested by the group of ringforts found in and around Kilgobnet, of mostly high-status construction and showing features otherwise associated with royal settlement. Typical of such royal estates would also be the presence nearby of the *óenach* site of the kingdom, the site of the royal annual commercial, legal and sporting gathering. The famous Killorglin Puck Fair, held annually on the ancient Irish feast of Lughnasadh and with a history dating back at least as far as AD1600, is claimed in local tradition to have originated at Kilgobnet.[75]

Figure 5: Excavations at Kilcolman superimposed on first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map, surveyed 1840 and published 1846 (image: Chiara Mazzanti, ACSU).

It was customary for the locations of major churches to have lain at some distance from the royal centres of their kingdom.[76] It is clear from its presence in the early life of Abán, the Romanesque church that stood on the site from the early twelfth century, and even its very name, that Cell Achaid Coinchinn was the chief church of Mag Coinchinn.[77] The nearby ringforts of Lissaniska and Fort Agnes must therefore have been

associated with the church here as they lie within a short distance of the priory.[78] Important churches possessed large estates with resident clerical populations and significant leaders, such as airchinneachs and other potentially married clergy, all needing residences. Fort Agnes may have been one such, as perhaps were the ringforts in Kilderry South, Knockagarrane, Rathpoge and Cloonmore surrounding. All of these lay within Kilcolman parish which may, as appears often to have been the case, preserve the shape of the earlier church estate of Cell Achaid.

Excavation director Ed Lyne gives an occupation period for Lissaniska from the seventh to the eleventh centuries.[79] Excavation here suggests that Lissaniska or *Lios an Uisce*, 'the watery lios' is named from flax retting ponds deliberately built into the inner of the ringfort's three ditches, in one of which flax has been found.[80] 'Wet retting' is the process whereby linen fibres are obtained from the woody stem of the flax plant by immersion in a stream or still pond, evidence of which may be as old as the Neolithic period in Ireland. Retting pits were often overlooked by archaeologists until recently.[81] It appears that the design of the ringfort at Lissaniska incorporates water management features which may date to the construction of the ringfort in the late seventh century, and which were specifically related to the flax retting process. It appears therefore that Lissaniska ringfort may have been specifically designed to produce garment fabric for the Cell Achaid church estate.[82] Such an enterprise clearly involved the participation of specialised craft workers such as we would expect to find attached to any wealthy church or secular estate.

The Cantred of Moconekyn and its Heirs: 1200 to 1600

That the Anglo-Norman cantreds of Osurris, Moconekyn and Orathath preserve faithfully the shape of the earlier *trícha*s of Corcu Duibne is certain. For our purposes note Mag Coinchinn > Moconekyn. The Anglo-Norman conquest of Kerry appears to have taken place during the period 1201-07, the latter date being given for the erection of a castle at Dunloe just inside Corcu Duibne.[83] The Gaelic kingdom of Corca Dhuibhne was given as a unit to Geoffrey de Mareis, probably by King John. De Mareis already possessed extensive lands in Limerick and Leinster. While we have few reliable dates it is certain that de Mareis oversaw an intelligent and thoughtful pattern of settlement and infrastructure designed to make maximum use of the agriculturally poor lands of Corcu Duibne, all in the period up to around 1235, when he enfeoffed his son, Robert, here. Geoffrey based his settlement upon the pre-existing arrangement of the

three trícha céts of Corcu Duibne. Sensibly, he chose the central one, Moconekyn, for the location of his lordship complex. Here Geoffrey founded his caput, at Killorglin, where he built his chief castle and, almost certainly, surrounded it with an incorporated borough, a town.[84] A few miles to the north he founded the Augustinian priory of Saint Mary *de bello loco* (of the beautiful place) which he richly endowed with a handsome estate and benefices from throughout Corcu Duibne (this was no later than 1216). Such was his confidence in the future of what he was constructing that he stipulated in its foundation charter that no native Irish could become monks in Killagh. He completed his lordship ensemble by erecting a leper hospital or lazar house between Killorglin and Killagh, which he endowed with some land.[85] De Mareis founded another town at Dingle and a demesne manor in Iveragh, probably at Ballycarbery.[86] The history of these is outside of the scope of the present paper.

Most of this cantred saw significant colonial settlement, even into the foothills of the Reeks.[87] The lack of a resident lord after the death of Robert de Mareis *c*.1240 rendered the de Mareis lordship in Corca Dhuibhne vulnerable. The first sign of trouble came after the battle of Callann, when the Carbery MacCarthys burned the castle of Killorglin.[88] Order was restored at Tuairín Cormaic, and Killorglin must have been rebuilt. Domhall Ruadh MacCarthy, king of Desmond, fought with the Geraldines at Callann and appears to have remained loyal to their interests in general. In 1281 however Domhall Ruadh had no choice but to reluctantly head an Irish revolt in Kerry in order to protect his position. During this revolt in 1281, 'Cell Fhorglann was raised and its castle burned, and great forays were made there, and people slain'.[89] This entry clearly refers to the destruction of the town of Killorglin and of its people, and the town may never have recovered from this attack. Within a few years of this the lord of 'Mayconcken and Orathath', Thomas de Clare, sold the cantreds to Thomas fitz Maurice of Shanid.[90] This charter makes mention of 'the castle of Kyllorgelan and all his lands in the vill of Kyllorgelan' which suggests that something of the town may still have remained. The town seems to have gone into terminal decline after 1281, the castle did not, however, and remained the chief fortification of the Shanid Geraldines (soon to become earls of Desmond) in south Kerry. We get occasional glimpses of its function, as in 1302, when lucrative rents were being paid from the Irish of Desmond to the manor of Killorglin, which continued to be the case down to the end of the Desmond palatinate, when Killorglin still operated as the chief manor of

Desmond.[91] It seems clear that the Desmond Geraldine policy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was one of retaining and fortifying the core of Mayconcken and linking it to Geraldine Trughanackmy along the route Castlemaine – Killagh – Killorglin.

Dungeel and Ballyvirrane occur together in the MacCarthy entail of 1365. By the sixteenth century they both formed part of the estate of the Sliocht Chormaic MacCarthys of Dungeel, whose lands comprised most of the portion of Killorglin parish lying east of the Laune, with the remainder being in the possession of Slught Murry (a branch of the O Moriartys).[92] Ballyvirrane lies in Kilcolman parish and must once have belonged to the priory.

The parish of Kilgarrylander also occurs as Garrenlondry, from Garrán a' Londraigh, the wood of the Laundry (later Landers) family. A second name here was Garrylondry, used contemporaneously, and this gives the present Kilgarrylander.[93] While this appears to refer to the church of the parish, located in Keel townland, it is rather a contraction of Keelgarrylanders (Coill Garraí a'Londraigh: the wood of [the townland of] Landers' garden). Therefore Garrán a' Londraigh refers to the entire fee/parish while Garraí a'Londraigh refers to the chief place of the lords of the manor, in Keel townland and around. In 1307 a pleading concerning this place listed a number of tenants with Anglo-Norman names (Cole, Ketyng, de More) who held their land from one Patrick Cole who in turn held from the lord of the fee, John Laundry.[94] The next family we meet exercising some 'lordship' in Kilgarrylander are the O Moriartys of Castledrum, who killed (accidentally perhaps) their overlord, the last earl of Desmond, in 1583, and brought his head in a bag to the English at Tralee. At this time Domhnall O Moriarty held most of the parish of Kilgarrylander.[95] To judge from the appearance of O Moriartys in the lists of local clergy here, they must have become established in Kilgarrylander and Kiltallagh during the fifteenth century.[96] The remainder of the parish consisted of the MacCarthy lands of Ardcanaght.

In 1290 Andrew Laundry was impleading Thomas Crispyn for thirty acres in 'Kyltullach' (Kiltallagh).[97] Crispyn is an Anglo-Norman surname and, in 1584, the lands of Edmund Crisbine of Ballincrisbin, yeoman, 'slain in the recent rebellion', were confiscated.[98] This is the modern Ballycrispin in Kiltallagh, and this record demonstrates the rare survival of a Norman family into the sixteenth century in this area. In the Desmond Survey Kiltallagh is represented by the manor of Castlemaine, and is divided into two halves, the two quarters of Kiltallagh and the two

quarters of Gambonston. Castlemaine castle is late and is unlikely to be much older than the sixteenth century. This arrangement overlies an older but similar one, where the western section of Kiltallagh, containing Kiltallagh itself (in Gransha Lower townland), was part of the lands of Killagh priory while the eastern section, much of which comprised the large townland of Ballygamboon, was a secular fee of Killorglin.[99] The surname Gambon occurs in records of Anglo-Norman Kerry. In the genealogy of the Clann Ruadhraí O Sullivans of Iveragh the family chief, Domhnall, who lived during the first half of the fourteenth century, is made the son of *inghen an Ghambúnaigh*: 'the Gambon's daughter'.[100] This record is of significant interest in that it shows a close relationship between an important settler family located in colonial Mayconcken and the O Sullivans of Iveragh *c*.1300. The Gambon lands here had come into the possession of the O Moriartys of Kilgarrylander by the sixteenth century.[101]

The estate of Kilnanare first appears on record in 1252, when Maurice le Fletcher sought possession of eleven ploughlands here by descent from his father, Adam, of which nine were held by John le Chanu and Amira his wife and two by Thomas fitz Robert. All eleven ploughlands are named, and the list begins with Kilnanare, while the other places which can be identified include Fieries, Cloonmealane and Knocknamucklagh, all in Kilnanare parish. Then, in 1290, William son of John le Chanu, sought 24 acres of arable and 100 acres of woodland in Fieries ('Fouerys') then held by Nicholas fitz Maurice fitz Thomas, and a ploughland in Incheres, Chanu's claim being that these lands had earlier belonged to his mother, Amira, who had inherited from her father, William fitz Richard.[102] Le Chanu represents the later surname Hore, prominently associated with the Corkaguiney peninsula, while Thomas fitz Robert was the ruling FitzMaurice of his day and Nicholas was his grandson. The FitzMaurices held the manor of Molahiffe, adjacent to Kilnanare, and clearly had acquired an interest in part of Kilnanare as well. We know that the FitzMaurices lost Molahiffe to the MacCarthys during the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and it must have been at this time that Kilnanare also passes to the MacCarthys (of Coshmaing), who certainly held Cloonmealane by 1353.[103] As with most of the parishes lying in southern and central Corcu Duibne, Kilnanare again had half of its rectory impropriate to Killagh.

Killagh Priory: Later History

We know little regarding this priory in its earlier centuries apart from its foundation by Geoffrey de Mareis, and the wealth of the priory.[104] Constitutionally forbidden to accept Irish as monks, the first hint of pressure in this area comes from a request from its prior to have papal confirmation of this statute in 1403. In 1411 however, an Irishman was made prior having obtained papal exemption from the statute. Then, in 1444, we hear that the priory is located 'in a place where wars are almost continuously going on'. In 1455 one John Fitzgerald was admitted a canon of Killagh despite being the son of a previous prior. By around 1475 we find Fitzgerald, then prior, facing a threat from one Finghín MacCarthy 'of noble birth' and the situation becomes even more complex by 1484 when one Odo O Moriarty enters the fray. Finghín was dead by 1489 and his claims were then being pressed by Cormac MacCarthy, a twelve-year-old. Eventually, by 1497, and apparently with the earl of Desmond's support, Odo finally triumphed, even though admitting that he had repulsed the MacCarthy attacks by force and had imprisoned and mutilated Fitzgerald. The earls of Desmond are recorded as lay patrons of the priory at this time. A later Odo O Moriarty held the priorship until its suppression in 1576. Even this late the lands of the priory were significant, consisting of around two-thirds of the parish of Kilcolman and half of that of Kiltallagh, including Kilcolman itself. An arrangement whereby a separate parish church (Kilcolman alias White Church) served the laity seems to have existed from the beginning, and both names are used interchangeably for the parish.[105]

About the Author

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Reference Notes

[1] See my *Medieval Ireland: territorial, political and economic divisions* (Dublin, 2008), 45-6.

[2] F. Kelly, *A guide to early Irish law* (Dublin, 2009), p. 327.

[3] MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, 167-9.

[4] See my 'Lordship and colony in Anglo-Norman Kerry: 1177-1400', *Journal of Kerry Arch. and Hist. Soc.* (henceforth *JKAHS*) 2/4 (2004), 39-85: 46, 48, 54, 56, 67-8.

[5] R. Macalister, *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* i, (Dublin, 1945), nos. 150, 154, 156, 163, 175, 178; D. McManus, *A guide to Ogam* (Maynooth, 1991), 1-5, 70-1. Ogam is a form of writing unique to Gaelic (Irish) and is essentially a linear code to a unique sequence of sounds. It represents the first form of written Gaelic.

[6] J. MacNeill, 'Early Irish population-groups: their nomenclature, classification and chronology', *PRIA* 29 *C* (1911), 59–109: 64, 71-3, 77, 80-3; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, 3, 37-8.

[7] Macalister, *Corpus*, nos. 156, 163; McManus, *Guide to Ogam*, 51, 94-5, 119; Swift, *Ogam stones*, 64, 69, 97, 106-8.

[8] K. Hughes, 'The church in Irish society, 400-800', in Ó Cróinín, *A new history of Ireland* i, 301-330: 302-3; Ó Cróinín, 'Ireland: 400-800', 182-4; J. Carney, 'Language and literature to 1169' in Ó Cróinín, *A new history of Ireland* i, 451-510: 479-80.

[9] M.A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* i, (Dublin, 1962), 372, 378-80; L. Ó Buachalla, 'The Érainn or Érna', in *JCHAS* 49 (1944), 106-115: 111-13.

[10] D. Ó hAodha (ed.), 'The lament of the old woman of Beare', Ó Corráin, Breatnach and McCone (eds.), *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: celtic studies in honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth, 1989), 308-31, passim; Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings*, 166-8; A. and B. Rees, *Celtic Heritage: ancient tradition in Ireland and Wales* (London, 1961), 135; S. Ó Coileáin, 'The structure of a literary cycle', *Ériu* 25 (1974), 108-9.

[11] Idem, 'Aspects of the theme of king and goddess in Irish literature', *Étude Celtiques* 7:1 (1955), 76–114: 89-90, 101-03.

[12] P. Ó Siochfhradha, *Triocha Céad Chorca Dhuibhne* i, (Dublin, 1938), 75-6;); J. Cuppage, I. Bennet, et al, *Archaeological Survey of the Dingle Peninsula* (Ballyferriter, 1986), 345.

[13] M. Sjoestedt, 'Forbus Droma Damhghaire', in *Revue Celtique* 43 (1926), 1-123: 56; O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, 491; Rees and Rees, *Celtic Heritage*, 55-7, 137-9.

[14] O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology*, 519-22.

[15] B. Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts* (London, 1997), 197-8; Byrne, *Kings and*

High Kings, 27; A. Lucas, 'The sacred trees of Ireland', JCHAS 68 (1963), 16-54: 27-30.
[16] O'Rahilly, *History and Mythology*, 198-9, 483-4, 492-3; Rees and Rees, *Celtic Heritage*, 97-8.
[17] MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, 167-9.
[18] See especially T.J. Barrington, *Discovering Kerry* (Dublin, 1976), 26, 283.
[19] MacCotter, 'The Cantreds of Desmond', in *JCHAS* 2000, 49-68: 60; idem, 'The sub-infeudation and descent of the Fitzstephen/Carew moiety of Desmond, ii, in *JCHAS* 1997, 89-106:103.
[20] D. Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans* (Dublin, 1972), 2; K. Nicholls, 'The Gaelic lords in the Seventh to Sixteenth centuries' in J. Larner (ed.), *Killarney: History and Heritage* (Cork, 2005), 29-39: 31-2; Hogan, *Onomasticon*, under 'Aes cúile'.
[21] The cantred of Moconekyn (Mag Coinchinn) approximately contained the civil parishes of Killorglin, Kilcolman, Kilgarrylander, Kiltallagh, Kilnanare, and parts of Knockane.
[22] Macalister, *Corpus*, nos. 243-4; McManus, *Guide to Ogam*, 111.
[23] Macalister, *Corpus* i, p. 193; MacManus, *Guide to Ogam*, 102.
[24] K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), 185.
[25] MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, 181.
[26] A. Bugge (ed.), *Caithreim Cellachain Caisil: The Victorious Career of Cellachan of Cashel* (Christiana, 1905), 20, 28. For the dating of this tract see D. Ó Corráin, 'Caithréim Cheallacháin Chaisil: history or propaganda' in *Ériu* 25 (1974), 1-69. For the *trícha cét* see my *Medieval Ireland*.
[27] MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, passim, especially 45-6; Bugge, *Caithreim Cellachain Caisil*, 44.
[28] The main Corcu Duibne genealogies are found in the Book of Lecan, 107vd41-108vb20 = Ballymote 146b20-147b4. See also O'Brien, *Corpus*, 378-9.
[29] O'Brien, *Corpus*, 259, 261; F.J. Byrne, '*Dercu*: the feminine of *mocu*', *Éigse* 28 (1995) 42–70: 65.
[30] R. Macalister (ed.), *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (five vols., Irish Texts Society, 1938-56), v, 30, 72; S. Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Dublin, 1951), (henceforth AI), s. a. 793.
[31] P. Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin, 2011), p. 179.
[32] See my 'Medieval Land Divisions of Áes Irruis Tuascirt and Áes Irruis Deiscirt, Sub-Kingdoms of Corcu Duibne', forthcoming, and for the sources Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 330.
[33] C. Etchingham, *Church Organization in Ireland, AD650 TO 1000*, (Maynooth,1999), 98.
[34] The work appears to be a syncretism of earlier material and material from

around the middle of the twelfth century. The earlier material includes the conquest of Uí Torna by Ciarraige (MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, 170) and the location of the residence of the king of Ciarraige at or near Tralee (174). This contrasts sharply with a later tradition locating the royal residence at Asdee on the Shannon estuary (172), an arrangement confirmed in the annals (MIA, 1145-7.3, 1151.3). Again, the claims contained in the vita to Áes Coinchinn (171, 175, 182) reflect the political situation as it prevailed around 1150.

[35] C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hibernia* i, 170-1, 175, 182.

[36] JKAHS 10 (1977), 17.

[37] Idem (ed.), *Bethada Náem nÉrenn, Lives of Irish Saints* (2 vols., Oxford, 1922), i, 293.

[38] Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hibernia* i, 182.

[39] The following forms are attested, mostly in the Calendars of Papal Registers: Kilmoginan (1306), Kilmaynean (1398), Kilnania (1462), Kyllnanaegan (1471), Kylnanawayn (1481), Kyllmaneayn (1492), Kilnanea (1615), Killenogh (1622), Killuanea (1656), Kilnanane (local pronunciation, 1840), Kilnanare (OS). O'Donovan (OSL, Co. Kerry) suggests an original Cill na nAen while O'Connell ('annatis, Ardfertensis', 15n) suggests Cill na nAedhán.

[40] E. Johnson, 'the saints of Kerry in the early middle ages' in M. Bric (ed.), *Kerry: History and Society* (Dublin, 2020), 79-95: 90.

[41] Ó Riain, *Dictionary of Irish Saints*, pp. 51-2.

[42] Plummer, *Bethada Náem nÉrenn* i, 8.

[43] P. Power (ed.), *Life of St. Declan of Ardmore and Life of St. Mochuda of Lismore* (ITS xiv, London, 1914), 84.

[44] MacCotter, 'See-lands of Ardfert', 197.

[45] S. Ó Coileáin, 'Mag Fuithirbe revisited', in *Éigse* 23 (1989) 16–26: 19.

[46] M. Ní Dhonnchadha, 'The Guarantor List of Cáin Adomnáin, 697', in *Peritia* 1 (1982), 178–215: 180, 202-3.

[47] AI, s.a. 785.

[48] Ibid., s.a. 700; Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans*, 2.

[49] AFM, 903.7; CS, 908.

[50] AI, 989.4, 1013.4, 1027.2, 1040.3, 1041.9, 1042.2, 1062.4, 1063.4, 1066.3.

[51] AI, 1096.5, 1115.7, 1118.6, 1124.4; J. O'Donovan (ed.), *The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the earliest period to the year 1616* (7 vols, Dublin, 1856), (henceforth AFM), s.a. 1103.

[52] MacCotter, 'The Rise of Meic Carthaig and the Political Geography of Desmuma', *JCHAS* 111 (2006), 59–76: 67-8.

[53] AI, 1127.5; MIA, 1151.3; AFM, 1158.

[54] AI, 1189.7, 1201.5.

[55] AI, 1086.6.

[56] For what follows see my 'Rise of Meic Carthaig', passim.

[57] AI, 1127.5, 1151.3.

[58] MIA, 1154.1.
[59] Etchingham, *Church Organization*, 98.
[61] Paul MacCotter, 'The Cantreds of Desmond' in JCHAS 105 (2000), pp. 59-60.
[62] J. Carney (ed.), *Topographical Poems by Seán Mór Ó Dubhagáin and Giolla na Naomh Ó hUidhrín* (Dublin, 1943), 49.
[63] Bugge, *Caithreim Cellachain Caisil*, 13, 22-3, 29, 44, 49.
[64] E. MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland* (Dublin, 1973), ix; Byrne, *Kings and High Kings*, xxxiii-xxxv.
[65] Fiants of Elizabeth, nos. 2258, 4888, 6576 (p. 530).
[66] CPR, xii, 6, 107, 228, 664-5; xiii, 122, 344, 629; xiv, 116-7, xvii, 227; 'annatis, Ardfertensis', 5, 24.
[67] Oxford University College Lat. 103, ff. 22-3.
[68] Fiant of Elizabeth, no. 6555 (p. 496).
[69] In the later sections of the pedigree names are repeated in an artificial manner while it contains far too many generations.
[70] 'Appendix 18: Historical context' (i.e. MacCotter, P. 2022. 'Appendix 18: Historical context', in E. Lyne, N70 Kilderry Bends Improvement Scheme, Co. Kerry. Stage (iv) Final Excavation Report, Lissaniska, Co. Kerry (17E0328), 305–22. Unpublished report prepared for Kerry County Council.
[71] I am obliged to Dr Tomás Ó Carragáin for drawing this Kilgobnet group to my attention.
[72] Maziere-Brady, *McGillycuddy Papers*, 1-2, 73-, 145.
[73] Ibid., 49-50; NAI Lodge's Records, ii, 380.
[74] 'Anglo-Norman Kerry', 61.
[75] A. O'Sullivan and J. Sheehan, *The Iveragh Peninsula: an archaeological survey of South Kerry* (Cork, 1996), 295.
[76] Personal communication, Dr. Tomás Ó Carragáin.
[77] Denise Maher, 'Signatures in Stone: masons' marks in Killagh Priory' in Michael Connolly, *The Unquiet Grave: the development of Kerry's burial grounds through the ages* (Tralee, 2012), pp. 126-145: p. 130.
[78] Although Lissaniska itself lies in the present townland of Kilcolman it would appear that it originally lay just outside of the southern boundary of the townland (pers. comm. John Knightly).
[79] K. Cleary, E. Lyne, J. Olney, 'Past lifeways between the Maine and the Laune: Archaeological excavations on the N70 Kilderry Bends Road Improvement Scheme', JKAHS 2/21 2021, 33-58: 44.
[80] Cleary, Lyne and Olney, 'Past lifeways', 42-3.
[81] F.W. Tanner, 'Microbiology of Flax Retting' in the *Botanical Gazette* 74/2 (1922), pp. 174-85, especially p. 176; S. Karg, 'New research on the cultural history of the useful plant Linum usitatissimum L. (flax), a resource for food and textiles for 8,000 years' in *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 2011, pp.

507-08.
[82] Flax is the oldest fibre plant in cultivation. Linen is a fabric derived from the Flax plant. Flax was grown both for oil seed and linen yarn in Neolithic Mesopotamia. Later, it is found in use in Egypt, where the pharaohs were dressed in fine linen yarn upon death, and elsewhere in North Africa and the Near East. Evidence of flax cultivation is also found in Switzerland from a similarly early period. Later we find flax referred to as *Linum* in Latin and *Lin* in Proto-Celtic. Smyth states that Flax was introduced into north western Europe by the Romans. (E. Hyams, *Plants in the service of man* (London, 1971) 95-98; W. Smyth, 'Flax cultivation in Ireland: the development and demise of a regional staple' in Smyth, W.J., Whelan, K., Hughes, T.J., *Common ground: essays on the historical geography of Ireland presented to T. Jones Hughes* (Cork, 1988), pp. 234-252: 237.)
[83] For what follows see my 'Anglo-Norman Kerry', 40-42, 58, 67-8.
[84] Ibid., 58; CDI iii, 458-9; MacCotter, 'Anglo-Norman Kerry', p. 78 note 90.
[85] This leprosarium lay 'on the south side of the road leading from the Abbey of Killagha to the Castle of Killorgland and the river of Leane' and its lands consisted of seven acres of great Irish measure (Desmond Survey).
[86] MacCotter, 'Anglo-Norman Kerry', 67. For the estates of Iveragh see Paul MacCotter 'Medieval Land Divisions of Peninsular Corcu Duibne' in Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Churches in the Irish Landscape AD 400-1100* (Cork University Press, forthcoming, 2021).
[87] MacCotter, 'Anglo-Norman Kerry', p. 60.
[88] For much of what follows in this section see my 'Anglo-Norman Kerry', 49-52, 54-6, 61-2, 67-8.
[89] AI, 1281.5.
[90] CDI iii, 458-9.
[91] MacCotter, 'Sub-infeudation and descent', 102-3.
[92] NAI MS Lodge's Records, iii, 206; v, 290; Armagh Public Library MS KH 11 24 f. 195.
[93] *Archivium Hibernicum* 4 ('Visitation of 1615'), 186.
[94] NAI MS RC 7/2, 232; MacCotter, 'Cantreds of Desmond', p. 61.
[95] Fiant of Elizabeth, no. 5265.
[96] CPR xv, 450-1; xvi, 210-11, 469-70; O'Connell, 'annatis, Ardfertensis', 24.
[97] NAI RC 7/2, 195.
[98] NAI Lodge's Records, ii, 218.
[99] Fiant of Elizabeth, no. 2849.
[100] *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, 166.
[101] NAI Lodge's Records, v, 264; *Irish Genealogist*, 4, pp. 443-4.
[102] NAI RC 7/1, 146; 7/2, 162, 194.
[103] MacCotter, 'Anglo-Norman Kerry',61-4.
[104] For what follows see CPR v, 151, 552; vi, 278; ix, 503; xi, 198; xiii, 170,

‘We are almost on the lip of the volcano’ The Blueshirts in County Kerry, 1933-35

By Owen O’Shea

Introduction

During the mid-1930s, the Blueshirts injected Irish politics with a combination of what Diarmaid Ferriter describes as ‘menace, vitriol, violence and fun.’[2] A uniformed organisation with the same outward trappings of fascism as many similar European groups, the Blueshirts – and their increasingly violent engagements with the IRA and Fianna Fáil supporters – infused politics with new bitterness and division between 1932 and 1935 and served to resurrect many of the cleavages of the Civil War. Led for most of their existence by the bombastic megalomaniac, Eoin O’Duffy, the Blueshirts, as Manning asserts, entered a political arena ‘envenomed and inflamed’ by the memory of the Civil War, but the history of the controversial organisation remains the subject of few specific studies.[3] Monographs by Maurice Manning and Mike Cronin, as well as a biography of Blueshirt leader, Eoin O’Duffy, by Fearghal McGarry, have greatly improved our understanding of the origin and impact of the Blueshirts - but their activity and political influence at a county or regional level has not been adequately assessed.[4] This article is not concerned with the politics of the Blueshirts and whether they were fascists or not, nor is it an analysis of the organisation’s political opponents which encouraged their expansion and growth. Rather, it aims to assess their organisational strength and level of activity in Kerry, a county in which Civil War divisions ran much deeper than most. It will consider how active the organisation was in the county between 1932 and 1935 with the aim of establishing their impact on politics in Kerry and the legacy they left behind.

Army Comrades’ Association

During the period 1932-35, the Blueshirts had four different identities and iterations: the Army Comrades’ Association (ACA), founded on 10 February 1932; the National Guard which was set up on 20 July 1933 with Eoin O’Duffy as Director-General (it was subsequently banned by the government on 22 August); the Young Ireland Association, again under O’Duffy, and also proscribed by the government on 8 December

1933; and the League of Youth which was established in December 1933.[5] O'Duffy headed up the League until his resignation in November 1934 and he was he replaced by Commandant Ned Cronin. In the interim, in September 1933, O'Duffy had assumed the leadership of a new political party, Fine Gael. For the purposes of simplicity, the term Blueshirt (members began wearing a blue shirt from about March 1933) will be used in this article to refer to all of these organisational iterations - unless one of the particular organisations is explicitly referred to.

The ACA was established, relatively uncontroversially, to represent and promote the rights of ex-members of the National Army who were concerned that a Fianna Fáil government would undermine their interests. It soon became overtly critical of the new government under Éamon de Valera, whose party they alleged was associated with 'thuggery, intimidation and communism which would lead to a destruction of the values the majority had fought for in the War of the Independence and the Civil War'.[6] ACA members became increasingly active in providing protection for Cumann na nGeadheal representatives during that party's meetings in the face of heckling and occasional violence from their political opponents (It was alleged that free speech was being subverted by the De Valera regime). Those opponents included IRA prisoners who had been in custody under the Cumann na nGaedheal administration and who, during one of the very first actions of the new Fianna Fáil government in March 1932, were released from prison. Moreover, the provisions of public safety legislation, which granted gardaí powers of arrest as well as the prohibition of groups such as the IRA, were suspended, prompting fears in the ACA that the IRA and the radical left 'were an adjunct to the Fianna Fáil regime and given freedom to act with impunity.'[7]

The first branch of the ACA in Kerry was formed in Listowel on 10 April 1932 under the presidency of Con Brosnan, a captain in the Free State army and a prominent Gaelic football star from Newtownsandes.[8] A north Kerry committee of the ACA was set up in November 1932 under Jack Ahern, later a Fine Gael county councillor.[9] The County Convention of March 1933 in Killarney was attended by delegates from Kenmare, Ballyheigue and Abbeydorney as well as Listowel. In the following month, 'a very impressive gathering' of members from the Killarney, Kenmare and Cahersiveen areas was addressed by the former Minister for Finance, Ernest Blythe TD and Professor John Marcus O'Sullivan, Cumann na nGaedheal TD for Kerry.[10] During 1932, there were very few

recordings of activity by the ACA in the county. The election of February 1932 had provided a major boost for Fianna Fáil which increased its vote to win five of the seven seats in Kerry, leaving just two Cumann na nGaedheal incumbents, John Marcus O'Sullivan and Fionán Lynch. The campaign itself was largely peaceful in Kerry. However, as soon as the election results indicating that a Fianna Fáil government would be formed were known, Fianna Fáil and IRA supporters in Listowel 'trooped down to the Garda station and ordered the guards to leave as the new Republican police force which de Valera was about to replace them with would be due within a matter of days.'[11] A quick baton charge defused the situation promptly. There were no other such incidents of note during the campaign.

The general election campaign of a year later in January 1933, was a very different affair. The campaign confirmed the ACA's close political alignment with Cumann na nGaedheal, but also witnessed the first episodes of violence in which members were involved in Kerry.[12] There were scenes of 'turmoil and commotion' in Ballyduff when the Cumann na nGaedheal candidate, Con Brosnan, was confronted about remarks he had made at a recent meeting.[13] A car-load of ACA members arrived and during a melee, a Fianna Fáil worker and an ex-soldier, James Donoghue, was shot in the ankle.[14] Brosnan's personation agent had to be escorted home after the close of polling as iron bars had been produced earlier the day in a row between ACA and Fianna Fáil members.[15] Separately, there were baton charges and damage to property in Tralee town centre when the Cumann na nGaedheal leader, WT Cosgrave, arrived to attend a large public meeting and up to fifty people were injured.[16] On the same day, a Civic Guard was injured in clashes in Listowel during disturbances involving members of the ACA and a baton charge followed.[17] Despite these isolated incidents however, the 1933 election campaign in Kerry never descended into the type of widespread 'running battles' between the ACA and IRA which occurred in other parts of the country.[18]

Eoin O'Duffy and Kerry

The sacking of Eoin O'Duffy as Commissioner of An Garda Síochána by the Fianna Fáil government shortly after the 1933 election exacerbated prevailing tensions. In his role as head of the Garda, he had been a regular visitor to Kerry. He was not, however, held in universal esteem. Despite having left the Free State army by the time the tragic incidents of the spring of 1923 unfolded in the county (O'Duffy became commissioner of the new Civic Guard (later An Garda Síochána) in September 1922),

he was dubbed by many anti-Treatyites as 'the Butcher of Ballyseedy' and accused of having made 'Kerry a graveyard in 1922.'[19] The feelings between Kerry anti-Treatyites and O'Duffy were mutual. Speaking in 1933, he claimed, bizarrely, that: 'Kerry's entire record in the Black and Tan struggle consisted in shooting an unfortunate soldier the day of the truce.'[20] However misplaced and untrue, this attitude reflected a widely held belief in IRA headquarters during the War of Independence that the Kerry brigades were ill-disciplined and ineffective.[21] O'Duffy was a consistent visitor to Kerry in the late 1920s. He attended, for example, the Kerry Garda Sports Day as Commissioner at Tralee Sportsfield in July 1929 and the Tralee Garda Sports in July 1931, presenting a donation of five guineas to the Dick Fitzgerald Memorial Fund for the construction of the new football stadium in Killarney.

O'Duffy failed to endear himself to people in Kerry in other ways. He had a much-publicised spat with *The Kerryman* newspaper at the beginning of 1934. While speaking in Kanturk, County Cork in February, O'Duffy condemned *The Kerryman* for sitting on the political fence.[22] The General took umbrage with the newspaper's reporting of remarks of Fianna Fáil TD, Seán Moylan, in Tralee months previously. In a colourful and sarcastic response, the *Kerryman* condemned O'Duffy's 'cowardly innuendo' and insisted the accusations were made because the newspaper did not 'back up the rodomontade which he [O'Duffy] unloads, week after week, in his peregrinations.'[23] O'Duffy's diatribe was all the more remarkable given the evident pro-Treaty stance the *Kerryman* had adopted during the 1923 general election and its subsequent Cumann na nGaedheal leanings.[24] But O'Duffy was having none of it, insisting in a letter to the newspaper that 'Fine Gael is going ahead, and the League of Youth is going ahead, under the present leadership, with or without the support of *The Kerryman* or any other paper, local or otherwise, which may choose to vilify the organisation or me.'[25]

As the Blueshirts continued to expand across the country, the organisation came together with the Centre Party and Cumann na nGaedheal to establish the United Ireland Party (Fine Gael) in September 1933 with O'Duffy as party leader.[26] As O'Duffy, widely credited as a gifted and dynamic organiser, set about touring the country in a show of vigour and strength (in March 1934, he visited 23 of the 26 counties) he renewed his acquaintance with Kerry.[27] The county would continue to be a central part of the General's itinerary and political focus.

Blueshirt Membership in Kerry

Assessing the strength of the Blueshirts in Kerry during this period is stymied by limited source material. Mike Cronin has cited the lack of formal records for the organisation which hampers any assessment of their strength and the role of individual members in counties like Kerry.[28] His research on the number of registered members presents the following limited, but valuable, data for Kerry:

	Oct. 1932	*Mar. 1934*	*Aug. 1934*	*Sept. 1935*
Kerry	300	1,777	316.	23
Ireland	8,337	37,937	47,923	4,050[29]

It can be deduced from these figures that Kerry membership, at its highest level, constituted 4.7 percent of the Blueshirts national membership, this in March 1934. This placed the county membership as the seventh highest on a list of all twenty-six counties at this juncture.

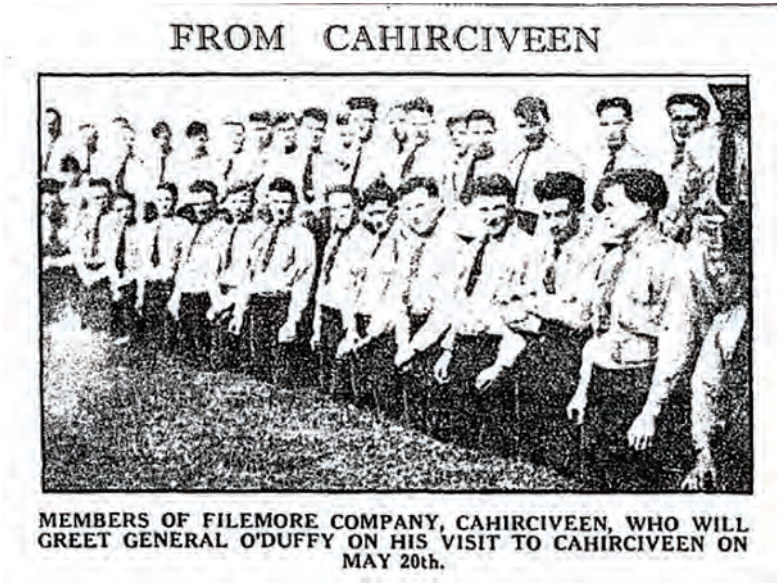

Plate 1: Foilmore Blueshirts, United Ireland, 19 May 1934. (Source: Author).

In determining levels of activity and membership in Kerry, press reports, including those in the official newspapers of the Blueshirts and Fine Gael, are useful despite the multiple interchangeable references to the ACA, the Blueshirts, the League of Youth, and Fine Gael. Many detailed reports on the organisation in Kerry are found in its own publication, *The Blueshirt (*which was circulated primarily among the membership), as well as in *United Ireland*, the newspaper founded by Fine Gael in 1933. These reports have to be viewed through the prism of the inherent biases of the publications themselves but they are an important source of information. These and other newspaper reports suggest that the Blueshirts had little or no presence in many parts of Kerry for most of this period. There are, for example, hardly any accounts of any branches or any significant activities in Tralee and Killarney. Listowel was the largest urban centre in which there was a strong membership. In relation to the rest of north Kerry, press coverage points to active units in Tarbert, Athea, Ballylongford, Knockanure, Ballybunion and Newtownsandes. O'Duffy regularly insisted that north Kerry would 'stand solid' for the cause.[30]

Outside of north Kerry, there were two other areas in which the Blueshirts established and maintained a foothold. Despite being a rural and relatively remote area, Glencar was a particular stronghold. Glencar was the location, for example, for the south Kerry convention of the League of Youth in October 1934 and in the same month, O'Duffy addressed 180 delegates at a meeting at the Glencar Hotel.[31] Glencar would also be the scene for many outbreaks of violence involving the Blueshirts. The other pocket of activity and steady membership was the southwest of the county, particularly the greater Cahersiveen and Waterville area. Twice, in the spring of 1934, it was declared that the progress in developing the Blueshirt organisation in south Kerry was more rapid than anywhere else in the entire country.[32] It was reported that 460 men and women paraded in Cahersiveen to welcome Eoin O'Duffy in May 1934.[33] There were branches of the Blueshirts in Waterville, Lohar, Foilmore and the surrounding areas.

Evidence for the presence of formally established units in other parts of the county are sparse. There are references, for example, to 'representatives' being present at a dance in Beaufort in 1934, including people from Killarney, Glenflesk, Barraduff, Rathmore, Gneeveguilla, Killorglin, Kenmare, Muckross, Milltown and Ballyhar. However it is not clear whether these were simply supporters or registered members.[34] The

United Ireland boasted of the presence of 500 members of the Blueshirts at a parade in Barraduff in April 1934 but this may be an exaggeration given that the entire county membership reached just under 1,800 at its peak.[35] In May 1934, south Kerry TD Fionán Lynch proclaimed that the 'Blueshirt baby is growing into a fine lusty youth in Kerry.'[36] He was certainly exaggerating however when he declared that the organisation had 120,000 members nationally.[37] In reality, membership never exceeded 50,000.

The relative strength of the Blueshirts in the greater Listowel and Cahersiveen areas can be attributed, in part, to the presence, respectively, of long-serving Cumann na nGeadheal TDs, James Crowley and Fionán Lynch. Crowley was elected MP for North Kerry in 1918 and was a Sinn Féin, and later, Cumann na nGaedheal TD, for the county until 1932, when he lost his seat in the face of a surge in support for Fianna Fáil. In somewhat controversial circumstances, at the 1933 general election, Cumann na nGaedheal declined to nominate Crowley, opting instead for Con Brosnan as their candidate in the north Kerry area. Brosnan failed to win the seat however. James Crowley was later treasurer of the Kerry Executive of Fine Gael. Fionán Lynch, a veteran of the Easter Rising in Dublin, had been elected MP for South Kerry in 1918 and was a member of the Executive Council between 1922 and 1932. Lynch declared that he was proud to wear the blue shirt: 'we are not ashamed, we are proud of it, we will make any sacrifice, even life itself for it.'[38]

Another key advocate was Professor John Marcus O'Sullivan of University College Dublin, who was a Cumann na nGaedheal TD for Kerry from 1923 (and a Fine Gael TD until 1948) and Minister for Education between 1926 and 1932.[39] He was one of the former ministers who had their firearms licence revoked by the Fianna Fáil government in July 1933.[40] He was not as vocal a campaigner like Crowley and Lynch but he was an outspoken critic of De Valera's attempts to suppress the Blueshirts which he presented as Fianna Fáil trying to introduce 'party government in excelsis,' under a leader who 'would allow himself to drop into dictatorship.'[41] In the same vein, he continued: 'There was to be no tolerance [in Fianna Fáil] for the people who were not prepared to worship the new god and bow before the President [De Valera].[42] Another prominent figure in the Blueshirts in north Kerry was Listowel solicitor, Louis O'Connell. O'Duffy was the best man at the marriage of O'Connell and Mary Moran in Dublin in 1935, an occasion on which both the bride and groom wore blue and the newlyweds were honoured with a Guard of Honour by north Kerry Blueshirt officers.[43]

Plate 2: James Crowley TD, a member of the Blueshirts and his wife, Clementine Crowley (née Burson), a member of the Blueblouses

The women's section of the organisation, known as the Blueblouses, had a presence in a small number of areas. The number of members is difficult to quantify but reports from Kerry reference the presence of women members and 'several lady officers.'[44] Clementine (Clem) Crowley (*neé* Burson), wife of James Crowley TD, was the figurehead of

the Blueblouses in Listowel. She was said to ensure the 'splendid discipline' of the girls in the Listowel district.[45] A large unit was established in Listowel in February 1934 with forty-six 'girls of Listowel' joining the organisation.[46] The officers were Clementine Crowley (Captain), Julia Stack (Vice-Captain), Miss Sweeney (Treasurer) and Miss Stack (Secretary). Their meeting concluded with 'the singing of the National Anthem and the victory salute.'[47] There was also a registered women's branch of the League of Youth in Kenmare.[48] Cronin refers to O'Duffy's ambition to involve young people in the organisation and to present it as a youthful body, full of vitality. There were, for example, 'a number of boys' in the Castlegregory district who wrote to headquarters in August 1933, 'urging the speedy formation of a juvenile section of the National Guard.'[49] A boys' section of the League of Youth was formed in Killarney in 1934 with almost thirty members and there was a girls section in Killorglin in 1934.[50]

The extra-political, social and sporting exploits of the Blueshirts have been the subject of limited analysis.[51] O'Duffy – a firm believer in the role of sport in achieving national well-being – was a strong advocate of having his members involved in social activities both as a means of recruitment and as a demonstration of the virility and vitality of the rank and file Later these activities would be used as a means to defy the government when the Blueshirts were banned.[52] But social events and gatherings also offered an escape from the mundanity and drudgery of life in early-1930s Ireland.[53] Such was the reputation for enjoyable social occasions organised by local units in Kerry that an envious Fianna Fáil supporter who attended a Blueshirt dance in Glenbeigh remarked that 'The Blueshirts have all the sport: we have to go where the sport is.'[54] The Listowel Blueshirts sponsored a cycle of nearly 200 members who travelled from Listowel to Moyvane and Knocknanure in May 1934. Moyvane was also home to a sports day organised by the League of Youth three months later.[55] A sports meeting hosted by the Tarbert League of Youth in September 1934 attracted a reported 3,000 people and was replete with a marching Blueshirt band and an 'imposing parade.' The tug-o-war provided 'an exceptional thrill.'[56]

Dances were a common feature of the Blueshirts' activities in Kerry. The *United Ireland* reported that 400 people attended a Fine Gael dance in Beaufort in February 1934 and the majority of those present wore blue shirts or blouses.[57] The following month 200 couples attended a League of Youth dance in Killorglin where the revelry continued until 6am.[58] In

October 1934, the North Kerry League of Youth held their 'First Annual All-Night Dance' at the Plaza in Listowel.[59] A few weeks later, General O'Duffy was guest of honour at the North Kerry Divisional Dance at which the venue was decorated with 'an illuminated banner designed by Mr Amadee Crowley, consisting of St Patrick's Badge in the centre, surrounded by the words, "Kerry Blues Stand by O'Duffy."'[60]

Plate 3: Killorglin Blueshirts (Source: Killorglin Archive Society)

Amid rising political tensions, these events often attracted protests from republicans. At Beaufort, an attempt was made to burn the building which was hosting a large dance but the effort was prevented by those present.[61] Some 200 men shouting 'Up Dev' and 'Up the Republic' attempted to gain access to a League of Youth dance in Killorglin and a baton charge by gardaí was required to prevent a serious outbreak of violence. Several local men were bound to the peace by the District Justice.[62] There were 'scenes of wild disorder' when a group of IRA men raided a Blueshirt dance being hosted at the home of Pat Quirke in Glencar. A young member of the family narrowly escaped injury when a stone was thrown through a window and Quirke's shop was also attacked and damaged.[63] The whole district, the *Kerry Champion* noted, was 'in a state of wild excitement' thereafter.[64] Several of Quirke's neighbours were charged with 'riotous assembly.' Jeremiah Sullivan was sentenced to six months in jail

and his fellow accused – Timothy Sullivan, Patrick Griffin, Patrick Shea, Eugene Doherty, Eugene McGillycuddy, Denis McGillycuddy, Michael Griffin, Batt Murphy, Myles Sweeney and John Foley – received sentences of three months' imprisonment.[65]

Rallies and Violence

O'Duffy and his allies revelled in the public meeting as a rallying point for members, as a recruiting exercise, and as a platform to castigate and undermine their opponents. Marches by members before and after large gatherings were designed as a show of strength and any suitable occasion was used to assemble the rank and file.[66] The rally as a public occasion provided an entertaining and colourful spectacle for onlookers. *The Liberator* newspaper captured the excitement and anticipation ahead of a Blueshirt meeting in Cahersiveen – which, unusually, passed off peacefully – in the summer of 1934:

> From early morning, motors and buses poured into the town from Cork, Tralee, Listowel, etc., bringing contingents of Gardaí. These were followed by two Crossley tenders of troops in full war kit and two armoured cars … Scaremongers spread a rumour that Caragh railway bridge was set on fire … At last Mass, Rev. D. O'Sullivan, C.C., made an earnest appeal to people for peace and made a eulogistic reference to the Garda, who he said had an onerous and difficult duty … From early morning, blue-shirted boys and girls from outlying districts commenced to come in …[67]

Violent clashes between the Blueshirts and the IRA in Kerry became increasingly frequent during 1933, much of it fuelled by deepening concern about, and the impact of, the Economic War with Britain.[68] The papers of Éamon de Valera in the UCD Archives list a total of seventeen armed attacks on Blueshirt members in Kerry between mid-August and the beginning of December 1933.[69] Violence erupted to such an extent that Blueshirt meetings placed a considerable strain on Garda resources: an estimated 600 gardaí were present in Listowel for an O'Duffy meeting in May 1934, supplemented by three lorry loads of military and an ambulance.[70] The imposition on policing was frequently used by local Fianna Fáil members to condemn their opponents for placing a 'very heavy national burden' on the police.[71] On the night of the Listowel rally, Eddie Somers of Lixnaw was set upon after a dance at Kilflynn and required medical intervention.[72] Meanwhile, two brothers in Listowel

required stitches to their heads during a clash with Blueshirts returning home from a Fine Gael dance in July 1934: it was 'alleged that batons and hurleys were freely used and the combatants dispersed when Gardaí with drawn batons charged up Convent Street.'[73]

THE KERRY REPORTER, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1933.

TRALEE GARDA BARRACKS ATTACKED.

Machine-Gun Alleged to Have Been Used.

Tralee, Saturday.

A startling occurrence took place about one o'clock this morning, when the Tralee Gardai Barracks was attacked, it is alleged, with a machine-gun.

At the rere of the building this morning about twenty bullet marks can be seen on the walls, as well as shattered window sills and drain pipes.

Several bullets pierced the windows and entered the building.

No member of the Gardai, however, was injured, although it is stated that bullets passed over some members of the Gardai force as they lay in bed.

Inside the building some bullets passed through the dividing walls, and others passed through the roof.

GEN. O'DUFFY.

The attacking point would seem tobe located somewhere in the vicinity of Waterloo Lane, at the rere of the building.

Plate 4: Report from the Kerry Reporter, 14 October 1933 (Source: The Kerry Reporter).

The most violent incident of this period in Kerry occurred when O'Duffy attended a meeting of the newly established United Ireland Party (Fine Gael) in Tralee on 6 October 1933. When they learned of the meeting, the local IRA planned an audacious attempt to assassinate O'Duffy on his way to Tralee. According to one of those involved in the plot, Dan Keating, the order was given by John Joe Sheehy of Tralee. The location where the assailants assembled, Ballyseedy, was the site of the

infamous massacre of eight republican prisoners in March 1923 as the Civil War plumbed its shocking depths in Kerry. Keating recalled:

> We decided anyway to take him [O'Duffy] out of it, the IRA in Kerry. Six of us assembled in Ballyseedy … I was up in the railway station [in Tralee] and Christy Leen was on the roadside to give me the number of the car when it'd come. The reception party was Johnny O'Connor, John Duggan, my brother Tadhg and Josie Hassett – they were well armed, they had a Thompson machine-gun and two rifles, he wouldn't escape.[74]

Keating claimed that the attempt was foiled when IRA man, Stephen Coughlan (later a Labour TD for Limerick) phoned through the wrong registration number: 'his conscience got the best of him,' recalled Keating 'and he decided to give the wrong number. And Duffy escaped into town.'[75]

As O'Duffy and the General Secretary of the Blueshirts, Ned Cronin, walked to the Foresters Hall where the meeting was due to be held, violence erupted at Bridge Street. The pair were struck several times. O'Duffy was struck on the head with a hammer and was bleeding profusely.[76] Several people with hurleys, taken from Caball's cycle shop in Lower Rock Street, jostled the party. Contrary to what O'Duffy would claim afterwards, the Gardaí did move in to pull him away from his assailants. As other delegates made their way to the convention, they were attacked and abused.[77] The *Cork Examiner* recorded:

> Cars bringing delegates were stoned as they passed through the Gardaí cordons. Batons were drawn on one occasion … One of the delegates who left the Foresters' Hall where the convention was held was severely beaten with hurleys. Most of those who attended remained in the Hall until military arrived to escort them out of town. A bus in which Gardaí reinforcements arrived was stoned and a baton charge followed.[78]

That evening, O'Duffy's car was burned out in Denny Street and several windows in local premises were smashed.[79] A fully-armed military unit was needed to escort the principals to the Grand Hotel where they were spending the night. Windows in the hotel were smashed and at around 1am, a machine gun was used to fire 20 rounds into the garda station which was 'riddled with bullets'.[80] The following morning, an undetonated bomb was found in the Foresters' Hall.[81] Eleven people were

admitted to the County Infirmary, among them P. Donovan of Abbey Street who 'sustained broken arms and legs.'[82]

In the days which followed, the actions of O'Duffy's assailants were condemned from the pulpit. The Dean of Kerry, Monsignor O'Leary, told parishioners in Tralee that those who attacked O'Duffy 'were guilty of murder in their hearts.'[83] O'Duffy, who wore a bandage on his head for several days, later described being hit with a hammer and being 'saturated with blood.'[84] He said that his assailants were all recognisable, adding that 'I was left completely at the mercy of the mob.'[85] A few days later, four former members of the National Army in Tralee were threatened and warned to leave Tralee.[86] However, the IRA issued a statement stating that the organisation had nothing to do with making any such orders. Meanwhile, several of those who had attended the meeting in Tralee were attacked and intimidated in their homes.[87]

The government response was provided by the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Seán Lemass, who insisted the government would not permit the 'development of another civil war situation in this country.'[88] But he apportioned the blame in one direction:

> In recent months they [the Blueshirts] had gone to different towns and cities holding provocative parades, making provocative speeches and parading in the uniform of an organisation which was declared illegal by the government with pubic approval. I regret to say that in a number of centres they have succeeded in getting bands of stupid and irresponsible people to play their game.[89]

During a Dáil debate on the incident, John Marcus O'Sullivan TD accused the government of turning a blind eye to republican violence while trying to keep their 'hands clean.'[90] Another TD, Frank McDermot, claimed that Tralee had emboldened the IRA and that at meetings in other parts of the country, there were cries of 'Up Tralee' and 'Up Kerry'.[91] In the Circuit Court in Tralee in January 1934, a number of successful claims for malicious injury were entered against Tralee Urban District Council. General O'Duffy was awarded £240 for the loss of his car by Judge EJ McElligott. When another series of claims came before him later in the month, the judge remarked that it was appalling that this 'outburst' had cost £606 in claims for injuries and damage.[92]

Conor Brady has noted that the riot in Tralee ensured that the Fianna Fáil administration 'finally decided' to revive and utilise the full

provisions of the military tribunals which had been set up to deal with IRA members involved in violence.[93] Fourteen men were arrested following the incident in Tralee and they were tried before a military tribunal and convicted.[94] Fianna Fáil members condemned the arrests as well as O'Duffy's 'treasonable actions.'[95] Several Kerry TDs, sports clubs, and public bodies with a Fianna Fáil majority condemned the detention of the prisoners but De Valera refused to yield.[96] His government had been simultaneously repressing both the IRA and the Blueshirts since the beginning of 1933.[97] He insisted that his government 'cannot and will not permit disorder, no matter what the pretext of it may be, to go unpunished.'[98] Eventually, as Tim Pat Coogan noted, De Valera had no choice but to travel to Tralee to attempt to avert what was threatening to become a one-day strike by many workers.[99] During a speech in Tralee, De Valera called for an end to organised groups like the Blueshirts and the IRA dictating what liberties citizens should enjoy.[100] He openly challenged claims made by local IRA leader John Joe Sheehy about the conditions in which the prisoners were being detained and insisted that IRA violence was 'playing into the hands of the Blueshirts.'[101]


The Dillon family of Dromorien, County Kerry, who, on the night of 10th June, showed conspicuous bravery in repulsing an attack by armed raiders who entered their home.

Plate 5: The Dillon family of Dromerin, Listowl who were attacked in 1934, United Ireland, 14 July 1934 (Source: Author).

Other Violent Incidents

While Tralee was the most egregious episode, there were plenty other outbreaks of violence and disorder in other parts of Kerry. The Glenbeigh-Glencar area, in particular, was a hotbed of clashes between Blueshirts members and the IRA and Fianna Fáil supporters. There was, for example, 'great disorder' as Fianna Fáil TD Jack Flynn was heckled while addressing those leaving Mass at Glencar in June 1934. There followed 'terrible confusion, and blows were exchanged between rival supporters.'[102] In August, there was fighting between rival factions at the Caragh Lake Regatta. Tim Falvey from Glenbeigh was 'stripped of his blue shirt, which was later sprinkled with oil, set up a pole and burned. The band played while the shirt was on fire.' Falvey and other Blueshirts 'came in for rough handling from the crowd.'[103] Later that evening, members of the IRA were set upon near Lickeen at Glencar by Blueshirts: 'blows were exchanged.'[104] Shortly after Christmas 1934, five Blueshirts were arrested in the Glencar area following attacks on two local homes belonging to the Murphy and O'Connor families.[105] Elsewhere, it was reported that Maurice Daly, a member of the Blueshirts from Glencar, was involved in a high-speed car chase with Gardaí in Cork city in December 1934. During the incident, he knocked down and injured a Garda sergeant who tried to stop him. When he was finally apprehended, Daly was found to have two blue shirts and a revolver in the rear of his car.[106]

J Anthony Gaughan has documented many of the incidents of trouble and violence which occurred in north Kerry in 1933-5 in his book, *Listowel and its Vicinity*.[107] Through the early months of 1934, north Kerry was home to a series of sinister incidents, which, remarkably, never led to loss of life. The atmosphere in Ballybunion in March 1934 was 'electric' according the *Kerry Champion* ahead of a meeting of 200 members of the United Ireland Party outside the Garda barracks.[108] There followed heckling from republicans as well as scuffles, baton charges by Gardaí who attempted to keep the factions apart, and a stampede during which stones rained down. Among the speakers were John Marcus O'Sullivan and Ernest Blythe who wore a blue shirt and was 'received with the Fascist salute by his supporters.'[109]

Raids on the homes of Blueshirts by IRA members were common. Twenty armed and masked men entered the home of the chairman of the North Kerry Executive of Fine Gael (later a county councillor), John C. O'Connor, in April 1934 in search for blue shirts but they left empty-

handed.[110] The following month, ten men were charged with 'entering houses and stealing five blueshirts and one blue blouse.' Three men – Thomas Canty of Killahan and Patrick Kirby and Maurice Kelliher of Ballinclogher – were charged with the offences, while five others – Michael Brosnan, Ballinclogher, Patrick Mahoney, Ahabeg, William Burris, Ballyrehan, James Flaherty, Crotta, and Patrick Connell Garrynagore – were released from custody.[111] Elsewhere, 'terror prevailed' in Dromerin and Gornaminch near Listowel in June when the homes of members of the Blueshirts were raided by armed men and an elderly woman, 'of frail physique', Bridget Dillon, was knocked to the ground following a severe blow in the face with the butt-end of a revolver.'[112] The Dillons had been active in the Army Comrades Association since its foundation. Individual members of the Blueshirts were often deliberately targeted. Brian Twomey, its Deputy Director in the Abbeydorney District – who clamed to be 'the first in Abbeydorney to wear a blue shirt' described how 'I and my brothers have suffered a lot' for their role in the local unit. His home had been 'riddled with bullets' following an affray with opponents in Ballyduff.[113]

The Split

By the autumn of 1934, many of the leading figures in Fine Gael were deeply perturbed by the level of violence which continued to be a feature of Blueshirt meetings around the country and there were concerns about O'Duffy's policy position on several issues as well as his provocative rhetoric and demeanour. He eventually resigned as leader of Fine Gael on 21 September but insisted on remaining as head of the Blueshirts. However, Ned Cronin, the original driving force behind the Army Comrades' Association, took over as leader of the Blueshirts in September and he retained the support of the majority of its members. Undeterred, O'Duffy continued to tour the country, claiming to be the real leader of the Blueshirts and he established his own newspaper, *The Blueshirt,* to promote himself as much as the rank and file. Two factions under O'Duffy and Cronin operated in parallel.

The split played out among the branches in Kerry. Letters to the press disputed who the real leader of the organisation was, for example, Capt. JJ O'Sullivan of Caherdaniel denied a claim that all south Kerry units supported Ned Cronin and that branch was supporting O'Duffy.[114] So confident was O'Duffy in the loyalty of Kerry Blueshirts that he insisted, when he resigned as leader of Fine Gael, that Blueshirts in the county

were unanimous in their support. He was adamant that he remained the head of the League of Youth, adding that:

> Kerry will meet to-day, and I prophesy that not one vote will be cast against me. If there is, I will disappear from public life.[115]

It was typical of the flowery rhetoric and exaggeratory verbiage for which O'Duffy was renowned but there was an element of truth in his contention. A convention of 200 members in Glencar pledged fidelity to him as 'the only Director General we are willing to recognise.'[116] At the same meeting, the south Kerry director of the League of Youth, Tim O'Connor, who had had previously declared 'in favour of the Fine Gael Control' instead insisted he would now stand 'with the majority of the Blueshirts of South Kerry.'[117] In November, O'Duffy claimed, incorrectly, to have '90 per cent on my side' in counties including Kerry.[118]

The *United Ireland* newspaper, loyal to Cronin, countered many of O'Duffy's claims of support in Kerry: in November 1934, it published a claim from the 'County Director of South Kerry' that just eight of the twenty-six units were present at an O'Duffy meeting in Glencar and that only about fifty Blueshirts would 'fall away from Headquarters and Comdt. Cronin.'[119] Matters continued to be fractious with headquarters declaring north Kerry to be merely 'an embryo division and not worthy of consideration.'[120] Weeks later, all of the officers in south Kerry resigned *en masse* in support of O'Duffy.[121] The invective was increasingly splenetic as the O'Duffy and Cronin wings of the organisation exchanged barbs, particularly through the pages of *The Blueshirt* and *United Ireland*. Solicitor Louis O'Connell and county councillor JC O'Connor of Newtownsandes, in particular exchanged numerous letters attacking and defending the respective wings of the organisation.[122]

At the beginning of 1935, and as the organisation continued to disintegrate, O'Duffy remained a regular visitor to Kerry. The Lohar branch, for example, met to express the unanimous support of its forty members for O'Duffy as Director General while the members in Foilmore also expressed full confidence in him.[123] At Waterville in January, O'Duffy addressed 300 people 'many of whom were formerly members of Fine Gael.'[124] Many of those who remained loyal to O'Duffy shared a hostility to the party he had briefly led: one north Kerry member who had backed the new party felt that Fine Gael had 'left their supporters down' by severing their connections with O'Duffy and the Blueshirts.[125] From the beginning of 1935, there was a very significant reduction in the number

of violent episodes or incidents in Kerry: in the early months of the year, it was clashes in the neighbouring counties of Limerick and Cork which made the pages of the Kerry press rather than any such occurrences in the county itself. Kerry branches rapidly dwindled and petered out. If evidence was required that the popularity of O'Duffy and the Blueshirts had fallen dramatically it was apparent in an attendance of just eighty-five people at 'an uninspiring' meeting of O'Duffy's new party, the short-lived National Corporate Party held in Listowel in October 1935.[126]

Conclusion

To what extent did the Blueshirts serve as a disruptive and destabilising force in Kerry in the mid-1930s? TM Donovan, a historian and author of *A Popular History of East Kerry* used a letter to *The Liberator* to warn about the peril facing his native county and the country in October 1934. There were, he suggested, 'three semi-private armies' in Ireland including 'an IRA Army with socialistic aims, a Citizens' Army with Communist aims, and a Fascist Army opposing Socialists and Communists!' He concluded that very few citizens recognised 'that we are almost on the lip of the volcano, or rather on the verge of the deep slope that leads down to anarchy and revolution.'[127] There is no disputing how violent – and potentially fatal – some of the incidents involving the Blueshirts in Kerry had become by the end of 1933. Given the number and scale of the riots and assaults which took place across the county during 1933 and 1934, it is remarkable that nobody was killed. Dozens of people were injured, maimed, assaulted and attacked during stand-alone incidents and events, countless others were involved in fighting and rioting, and Eoin O'Duffy escaped an assassination attempt and was the victim of a serious assault. As such, this violence – instigated by both the Blueshirts as well as Fianna Fáil and IRA members – was the closest the county ever came to a resumption of civil war. The period during which the Blueshirts, in their various guises, existed and mobilised, was undoubtedly the 'final instalment of the Civil War saga' and was a period of considerable political unrest but the impact in Kerry was short-lived.[128] These actions were carried out by a very small proportion of the population and were committed by individuals and members of organisations who had very limited public support. In Kerry, the Blueshirt organisation never had a countywide reach and never had more than 1,800 members.

Electoral outcomes are a good measure of popular support for the Blueshirts and their political masters in Cumann na nGaedheal/Fine Gael,

and therefore the results of the general election of 1933, referred to above, and the local elections of 1934, are informative. The approach to local elections under Cumann na nGaedheal during the 1920s and early 1930s lacked any coherence or clear strategy and county council elections were usually regarded with disdain.[129] The county convention of Fine Gael held in May 1934 decided against a formal decision or instruction to its branches, instead leaving it to the district executives of the party to choose whether to nominate candidates.[130] Despite the dithering and indifference, the party fielded an extensive panel of candidates in Kerry who were designated as members of the United Ireland Party on the ballot paper.[131] Ten candidates secured seats on Kerry County Council – of a total of the 34 available slots – but Fianna Fáil candidates won almost double that with nineteen.[132] The poor results in Kerry were replicated across the country.[133]

After the demise of the Blueshirts, Fine Gael in Kerry experienced no electoral benefit from the Blueshirt phenomenon. Party support took a downward spiral. Though it would be two years after the Blueshirt movement ground to a halt before voters went to the polls in a general election, Fine Gael received no political bounce. Though Fine Gael retained two of the seven seats in the constituency at the elections of 1937 and 1938, in the mid-1940s, party support plunged to just 10% of the poll in the county.[134] This was significantly below the party's electoral performance nationally which in 1943 and 1944, stood at 23% and 21% of the vote, respectively.[135] During the early-1940s, the party was even being outpolled by Labour in Kerry. It also failed to field a candidate in Kerry North in 1944. With the exception of the 1951 general election - when Fine Gael held two seats in the county – the party had just one of the county's seven seats between 1943 and 1961 despite something of a recovery nationally in the early-1950s and early-1960s.[136]

Blueshirtism failed to gain any meaningful electoral traction in the county. And, more importantly, it never presented any real threat to the democratic and electoral processes which had, and continued to endure, in the years after the Civil War. As O'Halpin has rightly concluded, while the Blueshirts posed a significant threat to public order, they never either planned or threatened any organised armed action against the Irish state.[137] Nor was there, concludes Kissane, any coordinated conspiracy to undermine the institutions of the state.[138] This is borne out in County Kerry. So while the Blueshirts, as John A. Murphy rightly argued, 'added colour to the drabness of life in the 1930s' including in Kerry, and though

they succeeded in stoking and reopening many of the divisions of the Civil War, they never threatened or became sufficiently organised, coordinated or coherent to secure wider popular support or to destabilise the Irish state.[139]

Plate 6: Rally of the Ladies Branch of the Kenmare League of Youth (Source: Author)

About the Author

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[97] Bill Kissane, 'Defending Democracy? The Legislative Response to Political

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[98] Letter to Kerry Fianna Fáil Executive, 30 November, UCDA, Papers of Éamon de Valera, P150/2279; McCullagh, *De Valera: Rule*, p. 67.
[99] Tim Pat Coogan, *De Valera: Long Fellow, Long Shadow* (Hutchinson, 1993), 472-3.
[100] Bill Kissane, *The Politics of the Irish Civil War* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 193-4; McCullagh, *De Valera: Rule*, 67.
[101] Speech in Tralee, 17 December 1933; UCDA, Papers of Éamon de Valera, P150/2279
[102] *Liberator*, 19 June 1934
[103] *Kerry News*, 27 August 1934
[104] Ibid.
[105] *Liberator*, 29 December 1934
[106] *Kerryman*, 22 December 1934
[107] Gaughan, *Listowel and its Vicinity*, p. 419
[108] *Kerry Champion*, 10 March 1934
[109] *Kerry Champion*, 10 March 1934
[110] *United Ireland*, 28 April 1934
[111] *Kerry News*, 23 May 1934
[112] *Kerryman*, 16 June 1934
[113] *Blueshirt*, 2 February 1935
[114] *Blueshirt*, 20 October 1934.
[115] *United Ireland*, 6 October 1934
[116] *Blueshirt*, 27 October 1934
[117] Ibid.
[118] *Blueshirt*, 3 November 1934
[119] *United Ireland*, 3 November 1934
[120] *Blueshirt*, 3 November 1934
[121] *Blueshirt*, 1 December 1934
[122] *Blueshirt*, 1 and 8 December 1934; *United Ireland*, 15 December 1934
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[124] *Blueshirt*, 5 January 1935
[125] Brian Twomey, Abbeydorney, Letter to the Editor, *Blueshirt*, 2 February 1935
[126] Gaughan, *Listowel and its Vicinity*, 427-8; *Kerryman*, 26 October 1935.
[127] *Liberator*, 4 Oct. 1934
[128] Manning, *Blueshirts*, p. 242.
[129] Ciara Meehan, *The Cosgrave Party: A History of Cumann na nGaedheal 1923-33*, (Royal Irish Academy, 2010), p. 28-9.
[130] *Kerry Champion*, 5 May 1934
[131] Kerry County Council, *Local Election Results 1899-1991* (Kerry County Council, 1999), 49-54; *United Ireland*, 9 June 1934

[132] Ibid.
[133] Mel Farell … book … p. 274; Eunan O'Halpin, Defending Ireland: The Irish State and its Enemies since 1922 (Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 119; Laffan, Judging WT Cosgrave, p. 310-1.
[134] Owen O'Shea in Maurice Bric …
[135]Geraldine Kennedy (ed.), *Nealon's Guide to the 29th Dáil and Seanad* (Dublin, 2002), p. 201.
[136]Fine Gael achieved the following percentage of the vote at general elections between 1948 and 1965: 1948 – 19.8%; 1951 – 25.7%; 1954 – 32.0%; 1957 – 26.6%; 1961 – 32.0%; and 1965 – 33.9%; see Kennedy, *Nealon's Guide*, p. 201.
[137] O'Halpin, Defending Ireland, p. 120.
[138] Kissane, 'Defending Democracy?', p. 164.
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Corca Dhuibhne agus Feachtais Dhónaill Uí Chonaill, 1823-43

Le Muiris Bric, MRIA

Sa lá atá inniu ann, is dócha gurb í an phríomh-chuimhne atá againn ar Dhónall Ó Conaill (1775-1847) ná an cheannasaíocht a thug sé don bhfeachtas um Fhuascailt na gCaitliceach sa bhliain 1829. Ar shlí amháin, is féidir linn míniú gonta a thabhairt ar an bhFuascailt: gur cheadaigh sí do Chaitlicigh na hÉireann glacadh le suíocháin mar fheisirí tofa i bParlaimint na Breataine. Mar sin féin, bhí tábhacht eile léi chomh maith: go raibh ar chumas Chaitlicigh dlithe an náisiúin a scagadh, a cheistiú agus i ndeireadh báire, reachtaíocht a rith de réir mar a thuigeadar leas na tíre. Ós mar sin a bhí, bhí Rialtas na Breataine ag admháil go raibh athrú bunúsach taréis teacht ar Stát a tháinig chun cinn faoi thionchar creideamh, diagacht, traidisiún agus struchtúr na hEaglaise Protastúnaí, go raibh an Stát toilteanach an ceangal stairiúil sin idir é féin agus an Eaglais Oifigiúil a ath-mhúnlú agus ligean do shaoránaigh an Rí a bhí ina gCaitlicigh leas na tíre a phlé agus gan a mheas go rabhadar faoi thionchar an Phápa nó easpaig ar bith. Beart réabhlóideach é seo: ná reachtófaí dlithe na tíre a thuilleadh ar leas an Chinsil Phrotastúnaí ("The Protestant Ascendancy").[1] Nílim ag maíomh gur imigh an "Protestant Ascendancy" thar oíche ná an meon a lean é. Dá ainneoin sin, is léir go raibh polaitíocht an tsean-shaoil ag athrú agus gur tús ré nua é 1829 i gCiarraí, i gCorca Dhuibhne agus in áiteanna eile sa tír nach iad.

Chun an Fuascailt a bhaint amach, bhunaigh an Conallach Cumann na gCaitliceach sa bhliain 1823. Ní gnáth-chumann a bhí ann mar gur nasc sé lucht leanúna Uí Chonaill ar leibhéal an pharóiste áitiúil léis na brainsí a bhí ag gniomhú ar leibhéil an chontae, an chúige agus i ndeire báire, leo siúd a bhí i bhfeighil feachtas náisiúnta an Chumainn i mBaile Átha Cliath. Ina theannta sin, bhí ciste airgid dá chuid féin ag an gCumann, an "Cíos Caitliceach". Cé gur mhéadaigh an Cíos seo ó phingin amháin in aghaidh na míosa go scilling, nó níos mó - do réir maoine an duine - dhlúithigh an Cíos lucht leanúna Uí Chonaill le chéile, árd agus íseal, mar a dhein an t-eagar a leagadh ar an gCumann i dtosach báire. Ní neart go chur le chéile. Chothaigh an Cumann saghas feachtais phobail - nó "*popular crusade*" - a tharraing ní ar thraidisiún an fhoiréigin ach ar

chumhacht agus ar údarás na ndaoine féin - daonchumhacht - nó "*people power*" - chun freagracht rialtas na tíre a chinntiú. Rud réabhlóideach ab ea é seo í hamháin i stair na hÉireann ach i Stair na hEorpa: cosmhuintir na hÉireann mar aisteoirí nua-chumhachtacha i bPolaitiocht na tíre.[2]

I gCorca Dhuibhne, bunaíodh Cumann na gCaitliceach - agus an Cíos Caitliceach a bhain leis - i rith na bliana 1824. Fé mhí na Nollag 1824, bhí £26 bailithe ó "pharóistí aontaithe an Daingin" (An Daingean, Fionntrá, an Ghairfeanach, Cill Drumann agus Cinn Aird). De ghnáth, bailítí an t-airgead lasmuigh den séipéal tar éis Aifrinn an Domhnaigh. De réir mar a chuaigh an Cumann i dtreis, áfach, ceapadh bailitheoirí speisialta chun an Cíos a bhailiú agus ina dhiaidh sin, foilsíodh na síntiúis sna páipéirí nuachtáin. Is léir ós na tuarascála sin nach é amháin go raibh airgead á sheoladh chun an Árd-Chumann í mBaile Átha Claith ach go raibh líonra an Chumainn áitiúil gníomhach go leor freisin. Ina measc bhí sagart paróiste an Daingin (1823-39), an tAth. Tomás Ó Foghlú.[3] Go deimhin, thug Ó Foghlú tacaíocht phoibli d'Ó Conaill go luath agus go háirithe, rompu siúd sa chléir a raibh amhras orthu faoi thionchar Uí Chonaill ar Chaitlicigh an chontae nuair a bhí an Eaglais ag teacht chun cinn arís taréis blianta fada Ré na bPéin Dlithe.

Bhí an-tábhacht le moladh an Ath. Uí Fhoghlú agus is iomaí uair a shuigh sé mar chathaoirleach ar chruinnithe chun an Fhuascailt a chur chun cinn i gCorca Dhuibhne. De ghnáth, tionóladh na cruinnithe sin i séipéal an Daingin. Is ann a í cuireadh crot ar Chumann na gCaitliceach, an t-achainí í bhfábhar na Fuascailte a phlé agus tacaíocht na ndaoine a fhógairt ar shon Uí Chonaill. I gCathair Saidhbhín, mar shampla, léirigh na daoine a dtacaoícht mar leanas i mi na Nollag 1824:

> That viewing with unqualified admiration the prudence, energy, and talent with which the proceedings of the Catholic Association have been hitherto characterised, we feel ourselves, both as Catholics and Irishmen, imperatively called upon to aid them, by every possible exertion, in those Constitutional efforts they are making for the complete restoration of the Catholics of this Kingdom to the rights and privileges of the British Constitution ... That from the conviction we entertain that the Catholic Rent is the most powerful and efficient engine, under prudent management, that could possibly be devised for effecting such desirable objects, we earnestly recommend its general adoption.[4]

Bhí roinnt de Phrotastúnaigh an chontae á gcorrú freisin í bhfábhar na Fuascailte. Ina measc siúd, bhí beirt fheisire Chontae Chiarraí, Muiris Mac Gearailt, Ridire Chiarraí (1774-1849) agus an Coirnéal Séamas Crosbie ó Chaisleán Bhaile Uí Thaidhg (1760-1836). Bhí bá stairiúil idir an Ridire agus Fuascailt na gCaitliceach, fiú sular tháinig an Conallach chun cinn. Nuair a bhí sé ina bhall de shean-Phairlimint na hÉireann (1795-1800) - a cuireadh ar ceal sa bhliain 1800 - mhol sé an Fhuascailt agus sa bhliain 1799, thacaigh sé le hAcht an Aontaithe ar an dtuiscint go gcuirfí an bheart sin i gcrích i Westminster. Nuair nár deineadh, lean an Ridire ag treabhadh leis go dtí 1829. Mar aon leis sin, cé ná raibh sé ina bhall de Chumann na gCaitliceach, d'fhreastail sé ar mhórán de na cruinnithe poiblí, fiú nuair a tionóladh iad i séipéil Chaitliceacha. Chomh fada siar le 1808, bhí sé i measc caoga Protastúnach mór-le-rá i gCiarraí a rith an rún "that to confer on that respectable and meritorious body [na Caitlicigh] a full participation of all the privileges we enjoy, would be both just and politic". Mar sin fein, sa bhliain 1826, léirigh "the Hare Election", mar a tugadh air, ná raibh tacaíocht na bProtastúnach socair agus chuir cuid acu é seo in iúl san olltoghchán.[5]

Ritheadh an toghchán ag am rí-thábhachtach í ngluaiseacht na Fuascailte í gCiarraí. Mar fheisirí a sheas leis an bhFuascailt, thacaigh Ó Conaill le ath-thogha an Ridire agus Crosbie. Bhí ana-thábhacht ag baint le tacaíocht dá short mar cé ná raibh ar chumas Caitliceach suí sa Pháirlimint, bhí ceart vótála aige ón mblian 1793 ar an gcoinníoll go raibh luach 40 scilling sa bhlian ar a chuid talún. B'iad siúd na "*40 shilling freeholders*". Mar thoradh ar sin, ós rud é go raibh an Tiarna Ventry ar cheann de na húinéirí talún ba mhó i gCiarraí, bhí na céadta saor-shealbhadóiri féna smacht, rud a thug an-thionchar dó in aimsir thoghcháin, go háirithe nuair a bhí comórtas idir triúr don dá shuiochán. Sin mar a thit amach sa bhlian 1826 nuair a d'fhógair William Hare (1801-56) go raibh sé chun seasamh ar son an chontae.

Iarrthóir mór-le-rá ab ea Hare. Ainmníodh a sheanathair, Uilliam, mar chéad Iarla Lios Tuathail sa bhliain 1822 agus bhí beagnach 28,000 acra aige i dtuaisceart an chontae. Bhí eastát eile aige i gContae Chorcaí mar a raibh a athair mar fheisire parlaiminte. Cé ná raibh an-chleachtadh ag Hare ar pholaitíocht Chiarraí agus nár chónaigh sé sa chontae fiú amháin, cheap sé go raibh lá na Fuascailte gar go leor agus dá bharr san, go n-ísleofaí tionchar agus cumhacht sean-theaghlaigh Protastúnach Chiarraí.

Mheas sé go gcaithfeadh na sean-theaghlaigh iad féin a chosaint roimh lá na cinniúna agus mar chéad chéim, go raibh sé chun seasamh chun guth ar leith a thabhairt dóibh agus a leas a chosaint. Bhí an Tiarna Ventry orthu siúd a bhí míshuaimhneasach faoi chumhacht pholaitíochta Uí Chonaill agus ós mar sin a bhí, d'ordaigh sé dá shaor-shealbhadoirí daichead scilling vótáil ar son Hare. Ar ndóigh, is fíor go bhféadfadh na saor-shealbhadóirí an chluas bhodhar a thabhairt do Ventry ach is fíor freisin - dá ndéanfaidis amhlaidh - nach ndéanfaí a gcuid léasanna talún a athnuachan, go méadófaí an cíos orthu, nó go dtiocfaí ar chúis éigin chun iad a dhíshealbhú. Ós rud é gur caitheadh vótaí go hoscailte - agus ní faoi rún - bhí a fhios ag Ó Conaill ná féadfadh sé brath ar thionóntaithe Ventry agus iad ag dul go Tigh na Cúirte i dTrá Lí le vótáil ar an 26ú Meitheamh 1826, go háirithe nuair a bhí an Tiarna Ventry ag iarraidh *juggernaut* Uí Chonaill a stopadh. Ní raibh Ventry sásta seasamh siar a thuilleadh agus polaitíocht Chontae Chiarraí ag sleamhnú - mar a thuig sé an scéal - i dtreo "lámha nua" Uí Chonaill agus a lucht leanúna.[6]

Ath-thoghadh an Ridire, de bhrí go raibh tiarnaí talún an chontae - na Conallaigh ina measc - sásta seasamh leis. Ní hamhlaidh don Coirnéal Crosbie, áfach. Go deimhin, bhí comórtas ar leith idir Hare agus Crosbie ag bagairt, go háirithe nuair a tháinig buíon mhór de shaor-shealbhadóirí an Tiarna Ventry go Trá Lí, á dtionlacan ag na póilíní, chun a vótaí a chaitheamh. Bhí sé deacair achrann a sheachaint, go háirithe ós rud é go raibh an dá bhuíon - lucht leanúna Crosbie agus lucht leanúna Ventry - ag cur fúthu i bhfoisceacht dá chéile ar an mbaile. Ní raibh ach an barrach a lasadh. Agus go deimhin, sin mar a tharla an tráthnóna roimh oscailt Thigh na Cúirte nuair a tháinig an *militia* ar an bhfód chun an dá bhuíon a choimeád óna cheile. Sé an toradh a bhí air seo ná gur maraíodh cúigear - cé ná rabhadar faoi arm - agus gur gortaíodh triúr eile go dona. Cé gur cuireadh an toghchán ar athló ar feadh seachtaine, níor mhaolaigh an teannas idir an dá bhuíon, go háirithe nuair a cúisíodh an tArd-Shirriam, fear a bhí i bhfábhar Hare, sna dúnmharaithe. Ath-thionóladh an toghchán seachtain ina dhiaidh sin agus fógraíodh Hare agus an Ridire araon ina bhfeisirí parlaiminte do Chontae Chiarraí. Bhuaigh iarrthóir Ventry an lá. Bíodh san mar atá, áfach, ní raibh ann ach "bua Piorrach" agus d'fhág toradh an toghcháin a rian ar pholaitíocht an chontae agus go háirithe, ar stádas agus ar thionchar polaitiochta an Tiarna Ventry.[7] Ina theannta sin, ce gur chloígh a shaor-shealbhadoiri leis an Tiarna Ventry in 1826, ceapadh nach mar sin a bheadh taréis na Fuascailte, go háirithe ós rud é go raibh Ó Conaill meáite ar shean-pholaiteoirí an chontae a chur ar

Pictiúr 1: Dónall Ó Conaill, 1775-1847 (© OPW- Derrynane House).

leataoibh ach amháin, dar ndóigh, iad siúd a bhí dílis dó féin. Ní raibh Ventry sásta. áfach, aon sórt aitheantais a thabhairt d'ionadaithe an phobail ach amháin dá leitheid féin: "*natural aristocracy*" na háite, a tógadh agus a hoileadh chun an bheart a dhéanamh, ina n-ionad siúd - de réir mar a thuig sé iad - ná raibh aon taithí acu ar a leithéid.

Idir an dá linn, lean feachtas Uí Chonaill ag treabhadh leis. Ag cruinniú i séipéal an Daingin sa bhFeabhra 1827, glacadh le "achainí umhal Chaitlicigh Rómhánacha Bhaile an Daingin" go gcaithfí iarracht níos fearr a dhéanamh chun an Cíos Caitliceach a bhailiú, go háirithe má bhí Cumann na gCaitliceach ag súil le vótaí na saor-shealbhadóirí a mhealladh chúchu. Dá seasódh na saor-shealbhadóirí in aghaidh An Tiarna Ventry, níor mhór don gCumann a bheith ullamh chun teacht i gcabhair orthu dá mbeadh aon trioblóid idir iad agus a dtiarnaí talún dá bharr. De réir an Ath. Uí Fhoghlú, b'é Fuascailt na gCaitliceach an "beart mór náisiúnta" a bhí le cur i gcrích, gur ar na daoine féin a bhí toradh an fheachtais ag brath agus gur cheart do na daoine a dheimhniú nach ndéanfaí iarracht arís - mar a deineadh tar éis Chonradh Luimní a shárú - a gcearta a cheilt orthu. Ní raibh le déanamh ach seasamh le chéile. Ni rabhadar chun filleadh ar mheon ná ar Ré na bPéin Dlithe ach chun an tír a ath-nuachan faoi bhrat ceart na ndaoine, neamhspleách ar a gcreideamh pearsanta, agus gan bac ó éinne, an Rialtas san áireamh.[8]

Ba mhór an spreagadh a thug toghadh Uí Chonaill mar fheisire parlaiminte sa Chlár ar an 6ú Iúil 1828 don saghas sin cainte. Tar éis an toghcháin, tháinig méadú mór ar an gCíos Caitliceach agus mar is léir ó na síntiúis a foilsíodh sna nuachtáin, níor thug muintir Chorca Dhuibhne droim láimhe dó. Ina measc bhí uncail an Tiarna Ventry, ó Thigh Beaufort in aice Chill Airne. Dá réir sin, is léir go raibh teaghlach Ventry scoilte ar cheist na Fuascailte. Cé nach raibh an tiarna agus a uncail an-mhór lena chéile ar aon chuma, ní miste a rá, cé gur fhan Ventry mar cheann ar na Caomhaigh i gCorca Dhuibhne, go raibh géag dá theaghlach féin mór leis na Conallaigh. Go deimhin, ní hé amháin gur sheol Mullins faoi dhéin an Chíosa ach bhí a mhac, Frederick William Mullins (1805-54), ina fhocheann ar choiste polaitíochta Uí Chonaill féin sa chontae agus thaistil sé i bhfochair Uí Chonaill go Londain nuair a ghlac an Conallach a shuíochán i dTigh na bhFeisirí. Níos faide anonn, ghníomhaigh Frederick William ar son na gConallach mar fheisire ó Chontae Chiarrai idir 1831 agus 1837.[9]

Agus a shuíochán tógtha aige sa bhFeabhra 1830, thug Ó Conaill aghaidh ar chaibidil eile dá shaol poiblí: a shaol mar fheisire parlaiminte.

Ós rud é nár iocadh aon tuarastal le feisirí ag an am, áfach, agus de bhreis air sin, gur fhéach Ó Conaill air féin ní hamháin mar fheisire parlaiminte ach mar cheannaire ar ghluaiseacht náisiúnta, bhí gá le cíos agus le heagraíocht de shórt éigin chun tacú lena shaothar le linn na 1830í. Cuireadh Cumann na gCaitliceach ar ceal mar choinníol leis an bhFuascailt. Cheap Diúc Wellington - a bhí ina phríomh-aire ag an am - gur chuir an Cumann go mór le tionchar polaitíochta Uí Chonaill agus gur ghá é a chur faoi chois. Cé gur ghlac Ó Conaill leis an rún ag an am, thuig sé gan morán moille gur ghá dhó eagraíocht dá chuid féin a bheith aige. De réir mar a dhein sé athnuachan ar a eagraíochtaí cúnta, áfach, chuir an rialtas faoi chois iad ceann i ndiaidh a chéile. Níor dhein Ó Conaill ach iad a athbhunú faoi theidil nua, maraon leis na cíosanna a ghaibh leo. Ar an mbonn sin, bhí ar chumas Uí Chonaill tarrac le linn na 1830í ní hamháin ar chiste airgid ach ar an eagraíocht a tháinig le liosta na síntiús. Faoi mar a scríobh an tAth. McEnnery, Déan Chiarraí agus sagart paróiste Thrá Lí, bhí sé de dhualgas ar mhuintir Chiarraí cloí le hÓ Conaill tar éis 1829 faoi mar a dheineadar roimhe sin:

> that man [Ó Conaill] ... first aroused Ireland to a just sense of her degradation, - pointed out ... her resources and her strength - and who, using the one, and directing, yet moderating, the other, exhibited his Country to England, and to the world, as a nation too powerful and too moral to be any longer enslaved.[10]

D'aontaigh an tAth. Ó Foghlú leis sin agus arís eile, cuireadh cruth níos fearr ar eagraíocht Uí Chonaill agus ar an gCíos. Sa bhliain 1829, ceapadh William Nelligan mar "phríomh bhailitheoir Corcaguiny". Chuidigh sagairt, fir ghnó na háite, agus daoine eile nach iad, leis an athchóiriú, ina measc an Dr. Blennerhassett, an dochtúir áitiúil, agus "Protastúnach Soilsithe" go raibh an-mheas air.[11] D'ainneoin a leithéid de thacaíocht, bhí a fhios ag Ó Conaill go raibh rogha eile ag a lucht leanúna, nó ag cuid acu ar aon chuma: traidisiún na mBuachaillí Bána.

Tháinig na Buachaillí Bána chun tosaigh sna 1760í. Cé go raibh gach cineál gearáin acu faoi chíosanna agus léasanna, b'é an príomh-ghearán a bhí acu ná na deachúna. Murab ionann agus modhanna an Chumainn Chaitlicigh, áfach, bhain na Buachaillí Bána leas as an bhfoiréigean chun a gcuspóirí a bhaint amach, rud nár mhol Ó Conaill in aonchor. Do réir Uí Chonaill, ní raibh le rá faoi mhodhanna na mBuachaillí Bána ach gur thugadar leathscéal don Rialtas gach saghas agóide a bhrú fé chois.[12] Mar

sin féin, cé gur thug muintir Chorca Dhuibhne áird ar a chomhairle agus é i gceannas ar an bhfeachtas um Fhuascailt na gChaitliceach, níor imígh na Buachaillí Bána i léig. I mí na Márta 1822, mar shampla, bhí tuairisc ó Bhaile an Bhóthair (Abhainn an Scáil) go raibh na Buachaillí Bána gníomhach sa cheantar, gur ghaibh giúistísí na háite cuid acu agus gur cuireadh í bpríosún an Daingin iad.[13] D'ainneoin sin, bhí tuairiscí dá shórt annamh go leor sna fithidí. Luaim anseo iad, áfach, lena mhíniú go raghadh na Buachaillí Bana i muinín a modhanna oibre féin i ndiaidh 1829 mura gcuirfeadh Ó Conaill feabhas ar shaol na ndaoine. Go deimhin, bhí seo ar cheann de phríomh théamaí na 1830í: teannas idir Ó Conaill - agus é ag obair laistigh den dlí - agus na Buachaillí Bána agus iad ag gníomhú, da mba ghá, lasmuigh dho, go háirithe nuair a bhí na deachúna á bplé.

Le fada an lá, bhí córas na ndeachún ar phríomh ghearáin na hÉireann. Faoin gcóras seo, bhí ar fheirmeoirí na tíre - pé cineál creidimh a bhí acu - an deichiú cuid de tháirgeadh na talún a íoc chun Eaglais Oifigiúil na tíre - sé sin Eaglais na hÉireann - a chothú, cé ná raibh tromlach mór na tíre ina mbaill den eaglais sin agus ós mar sin a bhí, ná fuaireadar aon saghas cúitimh dá bhárr. Ina theannta sin, ní hamháin go raibh feidhim dlí leis na deachúna ach gur saghas maoine iad agus, ar nós gach saghas maoine, bhí sé de cheart ag an ministéir Protastúnach a chuid deachúna a dhíol ar aghaidh do réir mar a oir sin dó. Óna thaobh siúd de, fuair an ministéir céadchodán áirithe dá dheachúna gan mórán trioblóide agus ó thaobh an cheannaitheora de, fuair seisean cead dlithiúl chun na deachúna a bhailiú agus brabach a dhéanamh ar an socrú a bhí déannta leis an ministéir. Bhí gach éinne sásta lasmuigh dóibh siúd a dúirt nárbh é sin an bun chuspóir a bhí ag an gcóras í dtosach báire. Bhí cásanna eile ann leis inar bhailigh tuataigh deachúna, ina measc an Tiarna Ventry. I measc tailte Ventry, bhí áiteanna ar nós an tsean-theampall í gCill Maolchéadair. Nuair a bronnadh an áit sin ar Ventry, ní hé hamháin go bhfuair sé an talamh ach go bhfuair sé pé rud a bhain léi, deachúna an tsean-theampaill san áireamh. Cé gurab ait an rud é, agus gur tháinig sé salach ar an mbonn ar a raibh córas na ndeachún í bhfeidhm ó luathstair na hEaglaise, bhí sé de cheart ag an Tiarna Ventry agus ag tuataigh eile ar nós Iarla Chorcai, go raibh seanthalamh eaglasta acu i gCorca Dhuibhne, deachúna a bhailiú anseo agus ansiúd ar an leithinis.[14]

Arís, cheap daoine ar nós an Ath. Úi Foghlú nach raibh aon bhunús - o thaobh cirt agus móráltachta do, ar aon chuma - le córas na ndeachún agus gur cheart deireadh a chur leis, go háirithe nuair a bhí gach saghas brú ar

chosmhuintir na háite. Mar a scríobh fear amháin ón nDaingean sa bhlian 1831:

> The hardships of the tithe system are the more galling as being an anomalous tax not only without a return of any retributive good to the payers, but as contributing to perpetuate what they must conscientiously believe to be an evil - and further, as prostituting that which ought to be held most sacred, in order to forward the unhallowed pursuits of luxury or avarice.[15]

Ní túisce a bhí Ó Conaill í Westminster ná gur ath-chorraíodh gluaiseacht na frith-dheachúna. Tugadh tacaíocht mhaith don ngluaiseacht in Iarthar Chiarraí agus tionóladh cruinnithe chun na deachúna a chur ar ceal. Cheana féin, bhí Fuascailt na gCaitliceach bainte amach ag na daoine. D'fhéadfhadh siad an bheart chéanna a dhéanamh i gcás na ndeachún. Ar aon chuma, muna n-éireodh leo, bhí ar a gcumas dul i dtuilleamaí na Buachaillí Bána. Agus is mar sin a thárla, ni hamháin i gCorca Dhuibhne ach ar fuaid na tíre. Le linn na 1830í, lean na daoine tradisiúin na mBuachaillí Bána agus an bóthar polaiticiúil araon.

Fad is a bhí na cruinnithe ar siúl i séipéil an Daingin agus achainíocha ín aghaidh na ndeachún á bplé agus á síniú, bhí eagraíocht eile ag feidhmiú freisin ina sli féin. Cé nár tugadh "Na Buachaillí Bána" mar ainm uirthi, bhí sé ag gniomhiú lasmuigh de ghluaiseacht Uí Chonaill agus iad siúd a chuidigh léis. I mí an Mheithimh 1832, d'fhoilsíodar ceithre rún a dhearbhaigh ná híocfaí na deachúna a thuilleadh i gCorca Dhuibhne, ná beadh aon chaidreamh idir mhuintir na háite agus iad siúd a raibh aon saghas baint acu leis an gcóras (go háirithe na meastóirí), agus ná beadh éinne sásta mura gcuirfi deireadh leis an gcóras go léir. Cé ná raibh aon dul as ag an ngnáth dhuine ach glacadh léis na rún seo - agus dá thoradh sin, áird agus fraoch na frith-dheachúna a sheachaint - ní raibh úinéri na ndeachún sásta scaoileadh lena gcuid maoine. Go deimhin, nuair nár íochadh na deachúna - fé mar a bhí meastaithe ag na meastóirí - scuabadar ainmhithe chun siúil ina n-ionad. I mí an Mheithimh 1833, mar shampla, thóg ionadaithe an Tiarna Ventry 35 bó ó cheanntar Mín Áirde nuair nár iochadh na deachúna. I mBaile an Mhóraigh, tógadh tarbh agus 54 bó chun siúil ar son an Oirm. Franklin ar an gcúis chéanna. Sa dá chás seo - gan trácht ar a thuilleadh nach iad - bhí airm an chontae ag gniomhiú as son na mbailitheoiri. I dtosach mí Mheán Fómhair 1832, bhí an t-airm ag cosaint bailitheoiri deachúna an Tiarna Ventry timpeall ar Bhealach an Bhlascaoid. Ós mar sin a bhí, chuidigh an gnás seo leis an smaoineamh

ná raibh sé mar aidhm ag institiúidí an Stáit - agus sa chás seo an t-arm - ach cuidiú leo siúd a bhí in uachtar i saol sóisialta agus polaitíochta na linne.[16]

Dá ainneoin sin, lean lucht na frith-dheachúna orthu agus bhaineader leas as pé buntáiste a bhí acu, ba chuma cén sort é. Nuair a tháinig meastóiri go Dún Urlann chun na deachúna a mheas í mí na Lúnasa 1832, deineadh "severe beating" orthu agus b'éigean dóibh bailiú leo ar eagla a maraithe. Uaireanta eile, mar shampla, nuair a gabhadh ainmhithe í gCill Ghobáin i n-ionad na ndeachún, deineadh an focal "deachúna" a ghearradh ar dhroim na n-ainmhithe ionas ná féadfai iad a dhíol sa cheant agus luach na ndeachún a ghnóthú sa tslí sin. I mí Dheire Fomhair 1835, dódh 80 beart coirce gur le haibhéardaí an Tiarna Ventry iad.[17] Tugann scéal ó Chill Chuáin léargas ar an gcleasaíocht idir mhuintir an pharóiste agus iad siúd a bhí í mbun deachúna a bhailiú. De réir dealraimh, ceapadh beirt oifigeach chun toghairm an dlí a chur ar mhuintir an pharóiste agus dá bhárr sin, go mbeadh orthu na deachúna a íoc seachas ainmhaithe a bheith a ngabháil ina n-ionad:

> Two process servers ... were employed on the 16th of April [1836] to serve the [paríshioners] with tithe subpoenas ... they accordingly repaired to the town of Dingle where, as it was market-day, some of the defendants might be expected to be, but having suspected the intention of the process-servers, [the paríshioners] returned to their dwelling houses in the parísh, and warned the rest of the paríshioners of the danger. The consequence was, that [they were later] assailed by upwards of 100 men, women, and children, by whom [they] were stripped for the purpose of pilfering ... the subpoena, and threatened with personal injury if [they] attempted to serve a tithe-process.[18]

Is léir ón scéal sin - agus ó scéalta eile dá short - go raibh an feachtas í gcoinne na ndeachúna éifeachtach go leor in Iarthar Chiarraí. Is léir freisin go raibh muintir Chorca Dhuibhne meáite ar dheireadh a chur le córas na ndeachún, gur chuidigh siad le straitéisí na nBuachaillí Bána agus Uí Chonaill araon chun críoch a chur leis, agus go raibh tuiscint neamh-fhoirimiúil eatarru chun é sin a dhéanamh. Sa treo sin, tionóladh cruinniú i seipéal an Daingin ar an 26ú Eanair 1834 chun an cás in aghaidh na ndeachún a chur chun cinn. Mar thoradh ar an gcruinniú, shínigh 720 duine ó pharóiste an Daingin maraon le 372 ó pharóiste aontaithe Chill Maoilchéadair, Dhún Urlainn, Chill Chuáin, Dhún Chaoin agus Mhárthain, achainí í gcoinne na ndeachún. Ní raibh aon amhras leis ach

gur chuir tionchar an Tiarna Ventry ar an gcóras le crot an rúin. Mar adúirt an *Tralee Mercury*, ní hé amháin gur socraíodh ar achainí ach gur thit rud eile amach: "[although] Corkaguigny did not speak the languages of men aggrieved, for fear of drawing the dread displeasure of the landlord or agent ... thank God, that day is gone". Ní raibh muintir na leithinise sásta a thuilleadh iad féin a iompar mar a dheineadar í dtoghchán 1826. Má bhí gearán acu, bhíodar sásta é a chur in iúl.[19]

D'ainneoin éifeacht an fheachtais fhrith-dheachún, agus gur mhúscail sé gach saghas tuairime ón dtaobh seo agus ón dtaobh siúd den scéal, bhi rudaí eile ag bagairt a bhí níos práinní do mhuintir Chorca Dhuibhne, ina measc calar na bliana 1832. Ar an 22ú Meán Fómhair 1832, d'fhógair an *Tralee Mercury* go raibh 26 cás den ghalar sa Daingean le coicíos anuas agus go raibh 14 dóibh siúd mar othair san oispidéal áitiúl. Cé go bhfuil sé deacair teacht ar líon na marbh - ní foláir nó go raibh saghas drogaill ar chuid acu siúd in Iarthar Duibhneach teacht chuig an oispidéil - tá an chosúlacht ar an scéal go bhfuair suas le 50 bás i rith na paindéime ar an leithinis. Cé go raibh an líon sin níos ísle ná mar a bhí in áiteanna eile sa chontae, dhírigh uachtaráin an Daingin ar an gcóras leighis a threisiú san áit agus crot níos fearr a chur ar an oispidéal áitiúil. Dá réir sin, mhaoigh páipéirí nuachta an lae gur cuireadh an calar faoi chois san athbhliain. Faoi mhí na Bealtaine 1835, scriobh an *Tralee Mercury* go raibh an calar díbeartha, macalla lae a bhí imithe le sruth.[20]

Dá ainneoin sin, chinntigh an feachtas faoisimh seo go mbeadh córas ann chun deileáil leis dá dtiocfadh tubaist eile. Faoi shamhradh na bliana 1834, bhí gantanas prátaí ag brú chomh mór sin ar an leithinis go raibh gá práinneach le coiste faoisimh. Nuair a tháinig an coiste sin le chéile i mí na Bealtaine 1835, mholadar mar leanas:

> Resolved that dire distress at present prevails to a most alarming extent throughout this district, and that unless immediate steps be taken to meet this awful emergency, the poor must ere long be visited by all the horrors of Starvation ... [owing to] the present enormous high price of Potatoes in this market, owing to the failure of the crop of last Season.

Shocraoídar freisin ar airgead a bhailiú agus ar chuid den airgead a chaitheamh ar phrátaí a cheannach ar an gcostas bunaidh agus ar iad a dhíol ar aghaidh gan brabús. Ós rud é ná raibh an coiste sásta prátaí a dháileadh amach saor in aisce, nochtann an seift seo, cé go raibh an anacair dian, nár cheart do chumann deonach teacht trasna ar an margadh. Tharla an rud céanna le linn an Ghorta Mhóir sna 1840í. De bhreis air sin,

Pictiúr 2: Dónall Ó Conaill (© OPW- Derrynane House).

bhí an coiste faoisimh faoi thionchar ginearálta eile: seicteachas na linne. Cé go raibh Protastúnaigh agus Caitlicigh ina mbaill ar an gcoiste faoisimh, bhí sé deacair an seicteachas a sheachaint, go háirithe ós rud é go raibh sé chomh conspóideach in Iarthar Chiarraí.[21]

Ní raibh an tOirmh. Charles Gayer (1800-48) i measc na mball. Mar atá mínithe ag Brian Mac Mathúna ina leabhar an-bhreá, *Faith and Fatherland: The Evangelical Campaign in Dingle and West Kerry, 1825-1845* (Baile Átha Cliath, 2021), cheana féin, bhí conspóid ar leith ar siúl idir Gayer agus sagart cúnta an Daingin (1830-39), an tAth. Seán Ó Súilleabháin, maidir le bunús diagachta a gcuid creidimh. Dá bharr sin, cheap an *Tralee Mercury* gur sheas Gayer siar ón gcoiste de bharr "sectarian jealousy". Mar aon leis sin, bhí claontacht eile dá shórt ar fhreagra an Tiarna Leifteanant ar achainí an Choiste Faoisimh a bhí ag lorg faoisimh: chuir sé luach £100 prátaí chuig an Tiarna Ventry, ce ná raibh Ventry ina bhall den gcoiste. De réir an *Tralee Mercury*, d'úsáid Ventry an deontas chun praghasanna agus carthanacht phoiblí a láimhseáil de réir a thola féin, gan aird ar an gcoiste faoisimh. Ar aon chuma, is beag teangmháil a bhí idir Ventry agus coiste ar a raibh an tAth. Ó Foghlú mar chathaoirleach agus an tAth. Seán Ó Súilleabháin - *bête-noir* Gayer - ina rúnaí.[22]

Bhí na scoilteanna seo le feiscint freisin le linn toghacháin Eanair na bliana 1835. Bhí Mullins agus Séarlas Ó Conaill - a bhí pósta le hníon Uí Chonaill - le bheith faoi bhráid an phobail arís. Bhí an t-iar-fheisire, Ridire Chiarraí, san áireamh leis. Toisc gur thit an Ridire agus Ó Conaill amach lena chéile sa bhliain 1831 agus dá bharr sin, nár éirigh leis an Ridire i bhfo-thoghchán na bliana sin i gCiarraí, bhí sé chun a dhícheall a dhéanamh díoltas a bhaint amach ar Ó Conaill in 1835. Cé go raibh mothúcháin phearsanta i gceist, áfach - agus cé go rabhadar sin doimhin agus nimhneach go leor - bhí macalla thoghcháin Hare sa bhliain 1825 san aer leis. I ré na hIar-Fhuascailte, bhí an brú ar shean-teaghlaigh Chiarraí ag méadú. Tar éis an tsaoil, cé go raibh na teaghlaigh sin ina dtiarnaí talún ar fhormhór Chontae Chiarraí, b'ait leo ná raibh guth dá gcuid féin acu i bParlaimint Westminster. Bhí seans maith acu é seo a bhaint amach sa bhliain 1835, go háirithe ós rud é go bhfuair an Ridire tacaíocht Iarla Lios Tuathail, Tiarnaí Ventry, Lansdowne, agus Chinn Mhara, agus na dteaghlach Crosbie, Godfrey agus Blennerhassett. Maraon leis sin, bhí dea-cháil ar an Ridire; bhí Mullins lag mar iarrthóir, agus bhí Morgan John Ó Conaill (1811- 71), mac dearthár Uí Chonaill, ag seasamh in ionad Shéarlais - a bhí ag éirí as - rud nár chuir le feachtas Uí Chonaill

i gCiarraí. Bhí gach éinne ar bís.[23]

Cé go raibh an choimhlint idir lucht leanúna Uí Chonaill agus iad siúd a bhí ina gcoinne an-ghéar i gCorca Dhuibhne cheana féin, chuidigh olltoghchán na bliana 1835 leis an dteannas a dhéanamh níos géire fós. Arís, ghlac sagairt na háite - agus go háirithe an tAth. Ó Súilleabháin - páirt sa bhfeachtas. De réir an fhiosrúcháin a deineadh i ndiaidh an toghcháin, bhagair an tAth. Ó Súilleabháin ar mhuintir an Daingin ná tabharfadh sé suaimhneas ná Sacraimint dóibh siúd a chuideodh leis an Ridire. Mar a dúirt finné amháin:

> Fr. John O'Sullivan said at the altar, before the election, that any person that would vote for that renegade, the Knight of Kerry, he would not prepare him for death, but he would let him die like a beast; neither would be baptise his children; and that they deserved to be pelted as they went along, any person that voted for the Knight of Kerry.[24]

Cé gur shéan Ó Súilleabháin go ndúirt sé a leithéid, níl aon amhras ach gur chuir an slí inar cuireadh cúrsaí na linne faoi iniúchadh i gCorca Dhuibhne le heasaontais an cheantair nó leis an dtionchar a bhí ag na sagairt orthu.

Bhí a rian san leis ar na díospóireachtaí áitiúla faoi Aisghairm Acht an Aontaithe agus go háirithe, nuair a tionóladh an "monster-meeting" ar Chnoc an Chairn, coimín atá lastuas den nDaingean agus mar a raibh an oispidéal go dtí le déanaí.[25] Tionóladh an t-ollchruinniú ar an 9ú Iúil 1843 chun tacú le Cumann Aisghairme an Daingin a bunaíodh cúpla seachtain roimhe sin. Cé ná raibh Ó Conaill féin i láthair, d'fhreastail a mhac Muiris, a bhí ina fheisire de chuid Thrá Lí ag an am (1832-53), ar an gcruinniú mar "Ardstiúrthóir Maor na hAisghairme". Nuair a thainig sé i dtír ar ché an Daingin ó Chathair Saidhbhín timpeall a sé a chlog tráthnóna roimh an chruinnithe, cuireadh fáilte mhór roimhe:

> At this time the Town presented a most picturesque and soul-stirring appearance, most of the houses being neatly ornamented with branches and flowers, while in various directions the blaze of bonfires - the triumphal arches decked with ever-greens, and bearing the following appropriate mottos - "We acknowledge no Saxon superiority". "Men of Kerry. Be steady. Prudence and Courage are the virtues of the times", could not fail to inspire in the bosom of the most indifferent, a glowing desire to mingle in the busy throng ... the splendid Brassband of the

> Upper-Castle Street [Repeal] rooms [in Tralee] ... contributed in a great measure, to the hilarity of the proceedings, by their masterly performance of several national airs ... [as] crowds of persons commenced pouring in from every direction.

Dar leis an Ath. Michael Devine, sagart paróiste an Daingin (1839-49), cé gur dhein "village tyrants" na háite agus a gcuid "grinding agents" gach iarracht chun an cruinniú a chosc, bhí cumhacht na ndaoine á fógairt arís. Dhein sagart eile tagairt dó sin freisin "the relentless Tories are still attempting to crush the remnant of your liberty".

An lá dar gcionn, léigh an tAth. Devine aifreann an Domhnaigh. Mhol sé dá phobal a bheith síochánta agus gur mar a chéile iad súd a bhris an dlí agus mór-namhaid na hÉireann. Ina dhiaidh sin, agus an tAifreann léite,

> the various bodies who arrived during the morning were now considerably augmented by the constant accession of fresh numbers, who having waited for Mass in their various localities, proceeded to the place of general rendevouz headed by their respective clergymen. From east to west, from north to south, all seemed in one simultaneous movement. In one direction may be seen approaching the spirited men of Castlegregory and Clahane, of whom 264 were well-mounted, most of them carrying a comrade behind, under their respected pastor, the Rev. Mr. Healy P.P.; then the men of Camp, led on by their patriotic Curate, the Rev. George O'Sullivan; in another those from Ballinavoher and Annascaul, with the venerable and reverend John O'Carroll, P.P.; here the men of Ferriter headed by the Rev. P. Foley, there the men of Murreigh, under the Rev. Edward Walsh, P.P.

Mheas tuairisceoir an nuachtáin go raibh timpeall ar 40,000 ag an gcruinniú. Cé gur mhol an tAth. Devine párlaimint a ath-bhunú í mBaile Átha Cliath, ní cúis acadúil a bhí á phlé aige. Do réir mar a thuig sé an scéal, ón am gur chaill Éire a phárlaimint féin, bhí trádail Chorca Dhuibhne scroiste. Bhí tionscail na h-iascaireachta - a bhíodh fé rath roimh 1800 - scrioste fresin. Ní raibh éinne ann a thuilleadh chun é a chothú agus a chosaint. Bhíodar go léir bailithe leo go Westminster. Mar adúirt an tAth. Devine, nuair a reachtáladh Acht an Aontaithe,

> The jealousy of the Saxons ... insisted on depriving you of your Parliament - to rob you of your rights ... view that town [Dingle] below,

> now deserted, compared with its former importance ... Within my own recollection that harbour used to be crowded with vessels, now look at it deserted except for a few boats.

Cheap Muiris Ó Conaill freisin gur cuireadh scriosadh iascaireacht an Daingin toisc gur bhagair sí iascairí na Breataine agus mar chomhartha ar sin, gur cuireadh An Bórd Iascaireachtha ar ceal sa bhlian 1830.[xxvi26] Ina theannta sin, ní raibh aon "socrú cothram" idir tionóntaithe agus a dtiarnai talún, gur gabhadh ba agus earrai tí nuair nár iocadh an cíos, agus nár thug na tiarnaí aon aird ar na leasaithe a dhein na tionóntaithe nuair a bhí na léasanna á n-athnuachan. I measc an sé rún ar glacadh leo ar Chnoc an Chairn, mar shampla, bhi an dá cheann seo:

> That we deem a fixity of tenure as essentially necessary to give anything like adequate protection to the industrious & well disposed tenantry of Ireland, against the tyranny and rapacity of exterminating landlords, and to none is it required more than the tenants of this barony

> That under the fostering care of a domestic Parliament alone, we should be able to convert to national purposes (namely the support of the poor and the education of the people, &c.), not interfering with the vested rights of the present incumbents, the immense wealth of a church, in which the majority of the inhabitants of Ireland do not believe, and consequently is not the church or religion of the Irish people.

Dá réir sin, cháin an *Kerry Evening Post* an "increased bitterness by the several speechifyers towards the Protestant Church".[27]

S h o c r a igh an cruinniú Cíos na hAisghairme a bhailiú i ngach paróiste ar an leithinis agus ainmneacha na sintiúiseoirí a chlárú go poiblí. I bhFeabhra 1843, ainmníodh Liam Ó Mainnín agus Séamus Ó Luing mar bhailitheoirí Chumann na hAisghairme (Repeal Wardens). Bhí sagairt Chorca Dhuibhne gníomhach leis i bhfeachtas na hAisghairme. Go deimhin, nuair a bunaíodh Seomra Léitheoireachta an Chumainn sa Daingean í dtreo deireadh na bliana 1844, duirt an *Pilot* go mbeadh sé faoi "mhaoirseacht" an Ath. Devine. Mar atá luaite, shuigh an Ath. Devine mar chathaoirleach ar ollchruinniú Chnoc an Chairn agus chomh maith le Devine, labhair ceathrar sagart eile ar an ócáid, ina measc an tAth. Pádraig Ó Foghlú, S.C., Baile an Fheirtéaraigh, a thug uaidh as Gaeilge. Orthu siúd a bhailigh an Cíos, bhí an tAth. Ó Cathasaigh ó Bhaile an Bhóthair a chuir £21.10 go Baile Átha Cliath tar éis an ollchruinnithe.

Bhí Ó Conaill sásta gnó na hAisgairme a fhágaint faoin gcléir, rud nár mhaolaigh ar na deighilteanna ar leith a bhi í gCorca Dhuibhne ag an am. Go deimhin, mhol an tAth. Ó Súilleabháin ó Bhaile an Bhóthair dosna daoine teacht le chéil in aghaidh

> the grinding Tory faction of Corkaguigny ... the implacable opponents of all popular rights [and] the pestilential vapours of civil and Religious intolerance ... We, the men of Corkaguigny, have proved we were not.[28]

Ní fhág óráidí an ollchruinnithe aon amhras conas mar a mhothaigh Iarthar Chiarraí - nó ar a laghad, a lán dá mhuintir - faoi Aisghairm an Aontais. Is léir leis an dul chun cinn a bhí déanta ag "people power" in Iarthair Chiarrai ó 1826. Sin ráite, áfach, bhí rud níos tromchúisí ag bagairt: an Gorta Mór.

Tá an aiste seo bunaithe ar léacht a reachtáileadh i nDún Cíobháin, Ionad Choláiste na hOllscoile Chorcaí, Baile an Fheirtéaraigh, ar an 11ú Samhain 2021. Ba mhaith liom mo bhuíochas a ghabháil le hAoife ní Sheaghdha agus leo siúd a chuir ceisteanna orm agus a chuir leis an ábhar. Ba mhaith liom buíochas ar leith a ghabháil leis an nDr. Conor Brosnan, Mícheál O Cinnéide agus go háirithe, leis an nDr. Breandán O Cíobháin.

Faoin tÚdar

Tá Muiris Bric ina Ollamh Emeritus le Stair i gColáiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath. Tá sé ina bhall de Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann. Tá mórán scríte aige cheana féin, go háirithe ar stair an ochtú agus an naoú chéad déag. D'eagair sé Kerry: History and Society i 2011. Stiúrionn sé Scoil Dhomhnaill uí Chonaill i gCathair Saidhbhín/Cathair Dhomhnaill gach Deire Fomhair.

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26. Bunaoídh an Bórd Iascaireachta sa bhlian 1819 chun iascaireacht na nÉireann a fhorbairt. Chun é sin a dhéanamh, dáileadh deontaisi ní h-amháin chun báid a thógail de réir caighdeáin nua-aimseartha ach chun airgead a mhealladh ar mhaithe leis an dtionscail a fhorbairt. Cuireadh an Bórd ar ceal sa bhlian 1830.
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28. *Freeman's Journal*, 21ú Feabh. 1843, *Pilot*. 29ú Ean. 1845, *DWR*., 16ú Meán Fomh. 1843, *KEP*, 12 Iúil 1843.

Early to Late Bronze Age fulachtaí fia at Woodview Place, Tarbert, Co. Kerry

By Graham Hull and Damien McCarthy

Overview

An archaeological site at Woodview Place, Tarbert, Co. Kerry (ITM 506350 647990) was revealed during test trenching (19E0546) in September 2019 by Kerry County Council Archaeologist Michael Connolly and was subsequently excavated by a team from TVAS (Ireland) Ltd in October 2019 under the direction of Graham Hull (also under licence 19E0546). The excavation discovered two fulachtaí fia, characterised by burnt stone spreads and troughs (Figs 1-2). The project was funded by Kerry County Council.

Although burnt stone generating activity on Irish archaeological sites has produced dates ranging from the Mesolithic to the medieval period (Brindley et al. 1990), the majority of these types of sites, particularly fulachtaí fia with troughs and mounds of burnt stone, were in use during the Bronze Age (Hawkes 2011; 2018; Grogan et al. 2007; O'Neill 2009). These sites have traditionally been interpreted as the remains of open-air cooking, although the excavated evidence has failed to conclusively prove or disprove this theory. Other activities have been attributed to these sites, including bathing, dyeing, tanning and brewing. The various possible functions of these sites have been extensively discussed elsewhere and are not repeated here.

No evidence of contemporary settlement was revealed nearby during this project in Tarbert and the habitation associated with these burnt stone sites remains elusive; although it is likely that people were living on higher, drier ground.

Archaeological Assessment

The burnt stone spreads on the site were approximately 8.15m apart and are referred to as the western spread (assigned context number 52 as indicated on Fig. 2) and eastern spread (context number 53), each with associated troughs. The western burnt stone spread, which measured 11.80m by 9.14m and was no more than 0.57m thick, was associated with three troughs (7, 8 and 9). The eastern burnt stone spread (Pl. 1), which

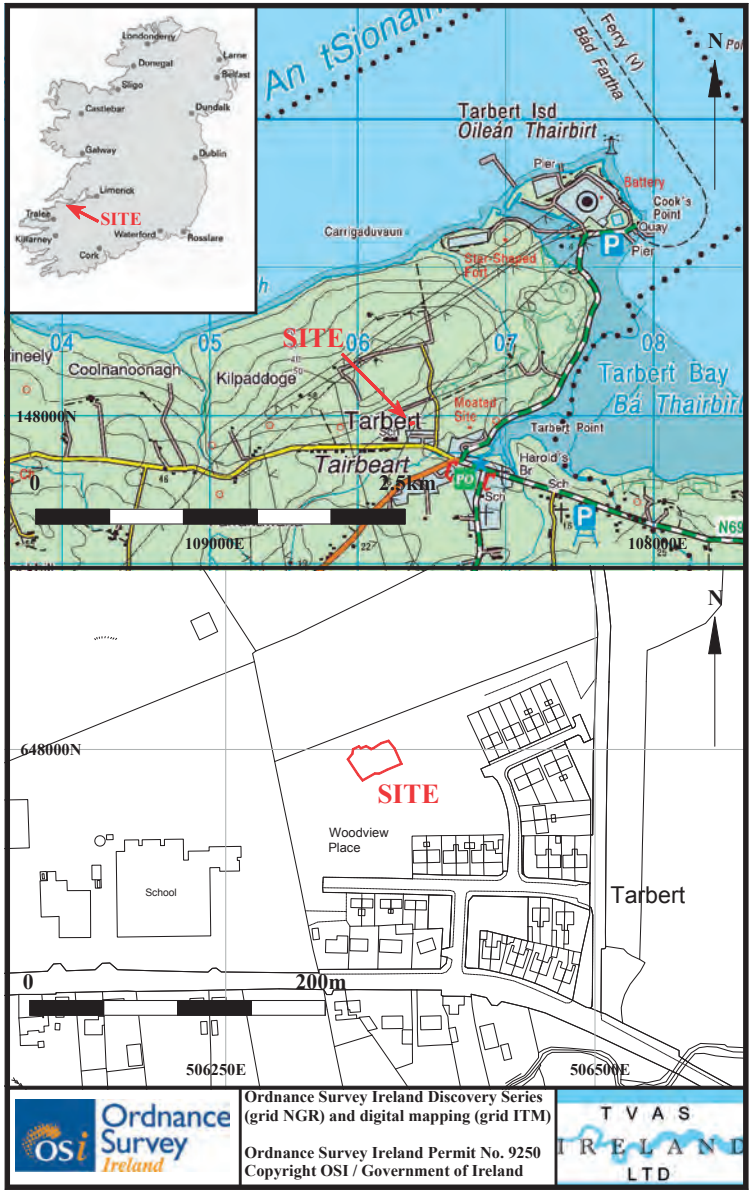

Figure 1: Site location (Source: Authors).

measured 11.80m by 6.20m and was no more than 0.36m thick, sealed three troughs (2, 4 and 6). Trough 1 was located between the two burnt stone spreads, though closer to the eastern example. The troughs were irregular sub-oval or sub-rectangular in shape. Two of the troughs (8 and 9) contained large flat stones that might indicate that they were originally stone lined (Pl. 2), whilst one (2) showed signs of having originally had a timber lining. The troughs were broadly located on the inner edges of crescentic arcs of burnt stone, a classic position for troughs relative to burnt stone mounds.

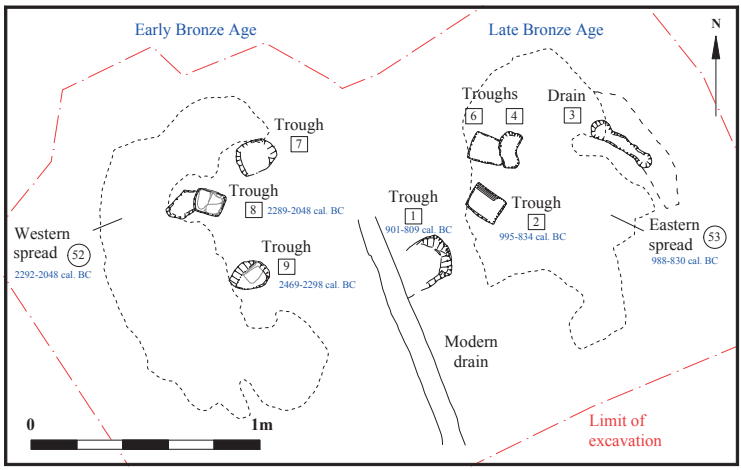

Figure 2: Plan of excavated site with radiocarbon dates. (Source: Authors).

Waterlogged wood and charred plant remains retrieved from soil samples were analysed by Dr Lorna O'Donnell and showed that the dominant species represented were alder, hazel, oak and yew. Noted in lower proportions were willow, *Prunus* spinosa, ash, birch, elm, pomaceous fruitwood and holly. The variety of wood taxa in all the contexts indicate that firewood was gathered randomly to fuel the *fulachtaí fia*. The charred remains also support assumptions that yew was essentially depleted by the Late Bronze Age (O'Donnell 2020).

Six radiocarbon determinations were made (Table 1), and it is evident from the results that there were two principal periods of use for these monuments. Troughs 7-9 and the western burnt stone spread (52) were dated to the period spanning the Late Neolithic through to the Early

Bronze Age, between the later 25th to earlier 22nd centuries BC. The waterlogged pine from trough 9 was potentially old wood and if this were the case then the earlier phase of activity is likely to be centred on the Early Bronze Age. After an interval of approximately a millennium, a second phase of burnt stone activity associated with water heating took place. This was represented by troughs 1, 2, 4 and 6 as well as by the eastern burnt stone spread (53). These features were dated to the Late Bronze Age between the late 10th to early 9th centuries BC.

Lab code	Cut	Deposit	Sample no.	Sample material	Radiometric age	Calendrical calibrations
UBA-43195	-	53	2	Hazel charcoal	2764 ±28	2 sigma (95.4%) Cal BC 988-830 (1.000) 1 sigma (68.3%) Cal BC 965-961 (0.032) Cal BC 930-894 (0.497) Cal BC 878-836 (0.471)
UBA-43196	1	60	5	Alder charcoal	2772 ±24	2 sigma (95.4%) Cal BC 995-889 (0.724) Cal BC 884-834 (0.276) 1 sigma (68.3%) Cal BC 973-955 (0.192) Cal BC 933-897 (0.574) Cal BC 869-845 (0.234)
UBA-43197	2	73	6	Hazel charcoal	2704 ±24	2 sigma (95.4%) Cal BC 901-809 (1.000) 1 sigma (68.3%) Cal BC 896-871 (0.447) Cal BC 840-812 (0.553)
UBA-43198	-	52	7	Birch charcoal	3774 ±30	2 sigma (95.4%) Cal BC 2292-2132 (0.932) Cal BC 2086-2048 (0.068) 1 sigma (68.3%) Cal BC 2280-2252 (0.269) Cal BC 2208-2140 (0.731)
UBA-43199	8	65	11	Hazel charcoal	3769 ±29	2 sigma (95.4%) Cal BC 2289-2132 (0.915) Cal BC 2086-2048 (0.085) 1 sigma (68.3%) Cal BC 2277-2254 (0.217) Cal BC 2207-2139 (0.783)
UBA-43200	9	64	12	Waterlogged pine	3910 ±27	2 sigma (95.4%) Cal BC 2469-2335 (0.904) Cal BC 2328-2298 (0.096) 1 sigma (68.3%) Cal BC 2464-2403 (0.642) Cal BC 2380-2348 (0.358)

Table 1: Radiocarbon determinations

The radiocarbon dating is not sufficiently focussed to state with confidence if the use of troughs within each phase was consecutive or contemporary. The burnt stone spreads that remain today would originally have presented as mounds of stone and are likely to have been visible in the landscape for a considerable period before they slowly slumped to level spreads, suggesting that the site could easily have been revisited

across several generations. The large hiatus of use at Woodview Place is not by any means unusual in the archaeological record.

Plate 1: Eastern burnt stone spread, dating to the Late Bronze Age. Looking south-east. Scales 1m. (Source: Authors).

Plate 2: Early Bronze Age trough 9, partly excavated, showing stone lining in base. Looking north. Scales 1m & 0.5m. (Source: Authors).

About The Authors

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Poems on the Fitzmaurices of Lixnaw

*By Dr Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh**

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Abstract
The Fitzmaurices of Lixnaw, like many aristocratic families of Anglo-Norman descent, commissioned bardic poems to legitimise their claims to leadership. Although many of these poems have been lost, a small number have survived, some of which have not yet been fully edited or the subject of any investigation. The present article offers a description and a thematic analysis of these poems. Although probably no more than a fragment of the original corpus, they link the Fitzmaurices to several prominent Munster poetic families and bear witness both to their acculturation and to a pride in their distinct Anglo-Norman and, more specifically, Geraldine identity.

Introduction
The history of the Fitzmaurices of Lixnaw in the late medieval and early modern period has not, until recently, been the subject of much focused scholarly investigation.[1] The fragmentary nature of the family's records – which is representative of the broader destruction of Kerry's historical archive – is epitomised by a mere reference to a now lost family poem-book or *duanaire* (de Brún 1982–3). Although it seems that most of the poems once contained in the book have been lost, a handful of other poems on the Fitzmaurices have survived. These are important documents that cast light on the family's role in the patronage of bardic poetry and afford a valuable insight into the cultural milieu in which they operated.[2] The poems present us with a picture of a family deeply involved in the vibrant world of the Gaelic intellectual elite, but with an acute awareness of the distinctiveness of their own identity, and with a sustained ability to straddle two distinctive cultural realms.

Five bardic poems, ranging in date from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, have survived on the Fitzmaurices of Lixnaw. Three of these have been edited and translated: *Ní dual cairde ar chreich ngeimhil* ('It is unfitting to postpone a raid for captives') was edited by Osborn Bergin

over a century ago (1921), while *Ná tréig, a Thomáis, mheisi* ('Do not abandon me, Thomas') and *Neart Banbha 'ga barúnaibh* ('Ireland is ruled by her barons') have been edited more recently by Margo Griffin-Wilson (2019) and by the author of this paper (Nic Chárthaigh 2020) respectively. Two further poems, *Ní bean aonothruis Éire* ('Ireland is a woman with more than one wasting illness') and *Soraidh leat, a Leac Shnámha* ('Farewell, Lixnaw') have not yet been fully edited, translated, or discussed.[3] The poems have never been considered collectively. The primary aim of this paper is to describe and analyse the contents of this relatively unexplored archive.

Poem 1 : Neart Banbha 'ga a barúnaibh

The earliest surviving poem on the Fitzmaurices of Lixnaw, *Neart Banbha 'ga barúnaibh* ('Ireland is ruled by her barons'), was composed for a Pádraigín Mac Muiris (Patrick Fitzmaurice); probably the seventh Baron of Lixnaw, who flourished *c.* 1422.[4] We are told in the poem that the patron's mother's name was *Mór* (quatrain 9),[5] and that he was married to a *Doireann* (quatrain 10), but it contains no further biographical information. The poem was composed by an unnamed member of the Ó Maothagáin family of hereditary poets who were operating in Munster in the fifteenth century and who also composed poems for members of the Roach and Ó Eidirsceóil (O'Driscoll) families.[6] Only one copy of the poem has survived, and it is preserved in an eighteenth-century manuscript held in Stonyhurst College in Lancashire, England.[7] A single half-quatrain from the poem is cited in the earlier Irish Grammatical Tracts (which is often an indication of excellence of composition).[8]

The poem is a panegyric and an elaborate example of one of the most enduring themes in Irish literature, that of nature acting in harmony with the rightful ruler (*fír flaithemon*).[9] Images of abundance and plenty are associated with Fitzmaurice's principality in West Munster. The rivers Cashin, Feale and Brick are overflowing with fish and, because the sun shines so brightly, their waters are evaporating, making the fish readily accessible to natural predators and fishermen:

Easair fa na hiolaraibh
do bhreacaibh na Broice-sin;
corr gheal fan mBroic mbinnealaigh
ag goid breac tre bhoigshibhin.

‘Eagles sit on a nest lined with trout from the River Brick; a white heron [goes] about the Brick abounding in sweet-sounding swans, stealing [exposed] trout throughout the rushes.’ (quatrain 5)[10]

Ceasacht ar a gcnuastorthaibh
ní cleachthar i gCiarraighibh,
iasg an Chasáin chaolshrothaigh
grian dá admháil d’iasgairibh,

‘They are not wont to complain of their nut harvest in Kerry; the sun reveals the fish of the narrow-flowing Cashin to fishermen.’ (quaitr. 7)

It is understood that this natural abundance is a direct result of Fitzmaurice’s rule. Other images of bounty and prosperity include cows that cannot move on account of the swelling of their udders, bees swarming, honey oozing from flowers, and trees being weighed down by their fruits:

Bric ina bhfál fíorthobar (?),
mil tre bhláth ’ga braondortadh,
gach cleath faoi dá faoinfhilleadh
gur sgaoil meas tre mhaothmhogal.

Teasbach na ngart ngormuaine
do bhac eallach d’ionnráithne;
bó dá húth ní hionghluaisde
gan crúdh ar fód fionnGháille.

‘Trout are [going into] their enclosure of fresh springs (?),
honey is oozing from a flower, every branch is weighted down
beneath its mast until it has burst forth from ripe clusters.

The heat of the green countryside has made it unnecessary to watch over cattle; a cow on account of [the swelling of] her udders cannot be moved without [first] being milked in the land of fair Gáille.’ (quatrains 8–9)

In accordance with traditional bardic conceit, the poet casts his patron as a severe and uncompromising leader who deals ruthlessly with his

enemies. It is understood that it is this toughness that has brought about the peace and prosperity depicted above. In the following quatrain the cries of crows – harbingers of war – resound throughout Guth Ard (Guhard) as the patron demonstrates his military prowess:

Guil ó chách san chamháraigh,
cuirp ar lár ar leathlámhaibh,
badhbh ag dul le droichsgéalaibh,
ó Ghuth Ard go heassádhail.

'Cries from everyone at the break of day, one-armed corpses on the ground; a scald crow restlessly bringing bad news from Guth Ard.' (quatrain 11)

Fitzmaurice is also responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and there is no place for criminals in his jurisdiction:

'S é i gcroich 'gar mac Muiris-ne
gur thoit gad le gadaighe,
bean chumhthach an chrochaire
'na bun-san ag basgaire.

'While he is on Fitzmaurice's gallows the gallows-bird's mournful wife is below him, beating her palms [in lament], until the noose has fallen with its thief.' (quatrain 3)

Although this poem is based on a traditional Gaelic trope and is steeped in conventional bardic motifs, it also clearly emphasises the patron's Anglo-Norman identity. It opens with a general statement on the Anglo-Normans' claim to Ireland: *Neart Banbha 'ga barúnaibh / neart is calma coiséantair*, 'Ireland is ruled by her barons; a rule which will bravely be protected' (quatrain 1). While no all-Ireland leadership role is claimed for Fitzmaurice in the poem, his status as a member of that ruling elite is highlighted; he is *rí don tionól-sain* (a 'king of that band'). This identity is again emphasised in the final quatrain in the poem, in which the title *barún* is repeated: *fíon gan drud an dosháile / bhíos i mbrugh ár mbarúinne*, 'wine flowing unceasingly is the rotgut that is [served] in our Baron's house' (quatrain 18).[11] The repetition of the word *barún* fulfils the metrical requirement of closure or *dúnadh*, but also reasserts the opening statement

of the poem: that Ireland is ruled by her barons, and that this patron ranks among them.[12] Pádraigín is also identified as a *Gearaltach* or 'Geraldine' (quatrain 4) in the poem, suggesting a particular pride in that ancestry.[13]

Neart Banbha 'ga a Barúnaibh is the only poem on the Fitzmaurices that can be dated earlier than the second half of the sixteenth century and is therefore important evidence of their cultural integration at this period. The rest of the extant poems can be dated to the late-sixteenth or early-seventeenth century and belong to a better-documented period in the family's history.

Poem 2: Ní dual cairde ar creich ngeimhil

The next extant poem on the Fitzmaurices, *Ní dual cairde ar creich ngeimhil* ('It is unfitting to postpone a raid for captives') is a panegyric on Pádraigín (mac Tomáis) Mac Muiris (Patrick Fitzmaurice), the seventeenth Baron of Lixnaw.[14] This Pádraigín's life is well documented: he was the son of Tomás mac Éamainn and of Mairghréag, daughter of James Fitzgerald, the Fourteenth Earl of Desmond; he was reared at the English court (where he had been sent as a pledge for his father's loyalty); he returned to Ireland and, following a period of shifting loyalties, eventually sided with James 'an tSúgáin' Mac Gearailt in rebellion in 1598. He was among the confederation of Geraldines who took part in the siege in which the 'Súgán' earl escaped from Castlelishen.[15] He died shortly after Sir George Carew captured the family's primary castle at Lixnaw in 1600.[16]

The poem was composed by Domhnall (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha, of the Mac Bruaideadha family of hereditary historian-poets, who are usually associated with the O'Briens of Thomond.[17] It was certainly composed before the death of Pádraigín's father in 1590, as he has not yet been given the title *Mac Muiris* ('the' Fitzmaurice) in the poem; rather he is addressed as *Pádraigín mac Meic Muiris*, 'Pádraigín, son of MacMaurice' (quatrain 16), *mac Tomás*, 'the son of Thomas' (quatrain 18) and *mac meic Émainn* 'Edmund's grandson' (quatrain 39).[18] We are also told that he is *mac inghini an íarla* 'the son of the earl's daughter'(quatrain 4), and that his mother is *Mairghrég* (quatrain 33). The only copy of this poem known to me is that used by Bergin for his edition, which is in a large seventeenth-century miscellany of bardic poetry in manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy (RIA) A iv 3 (743).

Ní dual cairde ar creich ngeimhil is a eulogy in which Pádraigín's generosity as a patron is emphasised and the hospitality shown to poets

at the Fitzmaurices' castle at Listowel celebrated. In an extended and playful metaphor, the poet imagines taking his patron (Pádraigín) captive in vengeance for his own 'imprisonment' (i.e. the hospitality previously shown to him). Mac Bruaideadha gathers around him the poets of Ireland in a campaign to take vengeance on Pádraigín:

Do-ghénsa, acht go bfaghar faill,
sul deachad raibhthi romhainn,
chreich ngeimhle lém dháimh ndoiligh
ar eighre an chláir Chíarroighigh.

'I will make, if an unguarded spot be found, ere warnings go before me, a raid for captives with my stern band of poets, against the heir of the Kerry plain.' (quatrain 3)

Cuirfiom luighi ar Lios Túathail
an fhóid bhráontais bhionnchúachaigh
's loighi ar ghoirm-Leic shúairc Shnámha –
badh cuairt oirdhreic édāla. [19]

'We shall lay siege to Listowel of the well-watered soil, resort of sweet cuckoos, and to dark Lixnaw the gay; it will be a famous plundering expedition.' (quatrain 9)

'San troidsi dā tteagmham ris,
Pádraigín mac M*eic* Muiris,
– ní hédāil é arab áil roinn –
sé i laimh ní hédáigh againn.

'If in this fight I chance upon Pádraigín, son of MacMaurice, – he is not a prize that one would wish to share – it is likely that he will be my prisoner.' (quatrain 16)

Following a brief interjectory didactic apologue on the importance and ultimate benefits of parting with one's wealth and possessions (quatrains 22–33),[20] Mac Bruaideadha ponders where to keep his prisoner captive, given that Pádraigín has so many allies throughout the country (quatrains 36–9). The poet ultimately decides to hold him in the Fitzmaurices' own castle in Listowel:

Anta leis i Lios Túathail
an m[h]úir fhairsing órchuachaigh,
brugh seang na bfoighég bfíthi –
ga fearr coimhéd coigcríc[h]e?

'I must remain with him in Listowel of the spacious hall with golden goblets, graceful mansion of woven branches – what outland fastness is better?' (quatrain 40)

The remaining quatrains (40–7) describe Listowel as a place of merriment and revelry and give us an insight into the pastimes of the nobility. There are allusions to feasting (quatrain 40), courting (quatrain 41), the recitation of poetry (quatrain 43), hunting (quatrain 44), swimming (quatrain 45) and exercising steeds (quatrain 45). Allowing for a certain amount of exaggeration, these quatrains offer a glimpse of Irish courtly life and cast the Fitzmaurices as generous patrons who partook in the customary rituals of hospitality that were so central to elite Gaelic society.[21]

If this poem bears witness to the Fitzmaurices' cultural integration, it also emphasises a distinct identity and highlights a continued pride in their Geraldine roots. Various branches of the Geraldines are commonly referred to as Greeks in Irish bardic poetry, alluding to their supposed connection with the Florentine Geraldines 'claimed to be of Trojan origin' (Bergin 1921, 173). Here too, the Fitzmaurices are *Grégaigh* 'Grecians' (13d), *ógbhadh Gréag* 'the Grecian warriors' (10a), and Pádraigín is described as being *d'ógbhaidh fhinn-Ghrég* 'from the warriors of fair Greece' (13b). He is also *an ghég do phór Pharthaláin* 'the branch of the stock of Parthalán' (34d).[22] The contrast drawn between the Fitzmaurices ('the Grecian hosts') and the Gaelic Irish in the following quatrain is particularly noteworthy:

Do-ghébhsa i láimh é, 's giod[h] eadh
ni lémhdáois gasradh Ghaoidheal
ucht ar shlógh Grég dá ghabháil,
an ghég do phór Pharthaláin.

'I will take him [Patrick] captive, and yet the hosts of the Gael [the poets] would not dare to face the Grecian hosts [the Fitzmaurices] in order to take him, that branch of the stock of Parthalán.' (quatrain 34)

In an earlier quatrain the Fitzmaurices are, once again, set apart from the *Gaoidhil*, this time being described as *Goill* ('foreigners'):

Ní fras cháoilshleagh chailgios neach,
ní fras ghríobhdha ghlac neimhnioch,
fras dhúan le ndingébhthar Goill
's a lúagh imért[h]ar edroinn.

'It is not a shower of slender stinging spears, not a fierce shower from vigorous hands, but a shower of poems whereby the Foreigners [the Fitzmaurices] shall be beaten off, and their price, that shall be plied amongst us.' (quatrain 12)

Pádraigín is again set apart from the *Gaoidhil* when described as *dalta na láoch ó Lonnainn*, 'the fosterling of the warriors from London' (quatrain 37). This is probably a reference to Pádraigín's upbringing at the English court, and serves as a reminder that the Fitzmaurices were, during this period, constantly navigating two cultural realms.

Although no other poem survives on Pádraigín mac Tomáis, his death is lamented in *Maith an compánach an dán* ('Poetry is a good companion'), a poem on the demise of patronage in Munster generally in the wake of the Desmond rebellions. This poem was composed by a certain Ó Cuill sometime between 1617 and 1631 (Breatnach 1999, 80) and, again, it emphasises the Fitzmaurices importance as patrons of bardic poetry. Pádraigín, along with his father, Tomás,[23] are among those catalogued in a list of prominent patrons of both Gaelic and Anglo-Norman descent, which includes the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, the Mheic Carthaigh Mhóir, and the Uí Shúilleabháin Bhéire:

Ceól agus imirt is ól,
Mac Muiris do budh mór clú,
cosmhail ris an dán a g'cor,
do chuadar d'éag dá dhol súd.

Ceannach fíona, ceannach each
leath ar leath maille ris an dán,
ón taoibhsi adeirim dá ló
ní mór nach bhfuaradar bás.

Pádraigín a mhac dá éis
ag seanLoch Léin gé fuair bás,
atáthar dá aithris air
a chion do dhul leis an dán.

'Mac Muiris of high renown – owing to his death music and play and carousing too have departed; their plight is like that of poetry.

The purchase of both wine and horses, like poetry, has all but died here, I declare, since his death.

Although Pádraigín his son after him died at old Lough Leane, it is said of him that poetry's share of honour has departed with him'. [24] (quatrains 9–11)

Poem 3: Ná tréig, a Thomáis, mheisi

Another Fitzmaurice poem that can probably be dated to the end of the sixteenth century is an example of what we might call a poem of reconciliation. *Ná tréig, a Thomáis, mheisi* ('Do not abandon me, Tomás') is attributed to Fear Feasa Ó'n Cháinte, who was a pupil of the poet Tadhg (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha and who composed poems for a number of patrons, including members of the Mac Carthaigh and Ó Caoimh families. He is also the author of two well-known poems on the decline of the poetic profession.[25] The earliest of two extant copies of this poem is in RIA 23 D 4 (5), which was written in the seventeenth century.[26]

Griffin-Wilson has tentatively (but convincingly) identified the patron of this poem as Tomás (mac Pádraigín) Mac Muiris (Thomas Fitzmaurice), the eighteenth Baron of Lixnaw (†1630). He is addressed in the poem as *Tomás* (1a), *ua Tomáis* 'grandson of Thomas' (26a) and *mac Siobhán* 'son of Siobhán' (12a). The life of the eighteenth Baron of Lixnaw is well documented. He was the eldest son of Pádraigín and Siobhán, daughter of Dáibhí de Róiste, lord of Fermoy. Like his father, he rebelled in 1598 and, following the capture of Lixnaw castle in 1600, fought alongside Ó Domhnaill in the nine years war. He was specifically excluded from the Queen's pardon in 1600, but was eventually pardoned in 1604, on condition that his son, another Pádraigín, would be raised as a Protestant by the Earl of Thomond. Although he was regranted his estate, he continued to be viewed with suspicion by the crown until his

death in 1630. Tomás was married to the sister of the Earl of Thomond, Onóra. The date of the present composition is uncertain but, as Thomas is not yet given the title 'Mac Muiris', it is likely that it was composed during his father's lifetime (i.e. before 1600).[27]

In this poem Ó'n Cháinte defends himself against accusations that he has fraternised with unnamed enemies of Thomas's father, Pádraigín. The poem opens with the poet directly addressing his patron, asking to be restored to favour following what he perceives to be unjust treatment. As the poem's editor has noted, it is not an apology, but a defence and a petition for recognition, in which the poet continuously denies any wrongdoing:

> Nā tréig, a Thomáis, mheisi;
> fionnam tú i dtaobh tairisi;
> nā bí fuar umam, madh áil,
> dual mo chumann do chonnmháil.
>
> Ní dhearnas riamh, a rosg glan,
> sí[o]th re lucht iomtha th'athur,
> d'fhuath orrtha i gcāil mo chabhra,
> báidh comtha nā comhlabhra.
>
> 'Do not abandon me, Tomás; let me know you as a friend; do not treat me coldly, if it should be your desire; it is right to keep my friendship.
>
> Because I despise them, I never made, o bright-eyed [companion], peace, friendly partnership or conversation with the enemies of your father in order to secure [their] help for me [in my distress].' (quatrains 1–2)

In his desire to be restored to favour, Ó'n Cháinte emphasises the close bond between himself and his patron, requesting that they *druid rer-oile ar n-ionmhuine* 'bind our love for each other' (quatrain 17). He casts Fitzmaurice as his choice of patron and acknowledges the protection he himself receives in return for his service.

Go mbiadh agam at'aghaidh
mairg do bhean do bharamhuil
báidh re haonduine oile,
a aodhuire cláir Ciarruighe.[28]

Tusa fós, is fesach leann,
ar gcéadghrádh d'f*h*earuibh Ēireann;
tú ar sgiath [i]s ar gcnú chroidhe,
tú ar dtriath [i]s ar dtoghui-ne.

'Woe to whom[ever] assumed that I would have affection for any other person in preference to you, o shepherd of the plain of Kerry.

You are still – it is known to us – my first love among the men of Ireland; you are my protector and my beloved treasure, you are my chieftain and my chosen one.' (quatrains 19–20)

Although this kind of language would be expected of a poet describing his relationship with his primary patron, Ó'n Cháinte does not explicitly state that he served as *ollamh* to the Fitzmaurices.[29] There is, however, in the following quatrain, a possible reference to an hereditary obligation that would suggest that his status in the Fitzmaurices' home was more than that of a visiting poet.

Nós ar n-aithreach rer-oile
bheith gan cheilg gan chorruighe,
a bharr cúlchas, a chiabh t*h*ro'm,
diall ris an dúthchas déanam.

'The practice of our fathers toward each other was to be guileless and at ease; o chieftain with curling neck-locks, o thick, wavy-haired one, let us take after the inherited ways.' (quatrain 21)[30]

Although the exact context of this poem is obscure, it sheds further light on the Fitzmaurices' cultural milieu and links them to the prolific Ó'n Cháinte, a connection that is otherwise unattested.

Poem 4: Soraidh leat, a Leac Shnámha

The next extant poem on the Fitzmaurices, *Soraidh leat, a Leac Shnámha*

('Farewell, Lixnaw'), is a lament on the fall of Lixnaw and is one of a series of bardic 'house poems' that focus on patrons' castles and Irish courtly life.[31] The only copy of which I am aware is in a composite manuscript held in the National Library of Ireland (NLI G140). The section of the manuscript that contains our poem was written by *Matha Ó Troidhthe* (Matthew Troy) during the period 1724–40.[32] The text of the poem is incomplete in the manuscript, cutting off after 22 quatrains with a catchword *Tug* and without the metrically required *dúnadh*. The copy also contains many metrical faults.

The poem is attributed to a certain *Ó Dálaigh Fionn* in the manuscript. This may be the prolific Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh (often simply referred to as 'Ó Dálaigh Fionn' in manuscripts) who is known primarily for his religious poems but who also composed poems for Domhnall Mac Carthaigh Mór and for Domhnall Ó Caoimh of Duhallow.[33] McKenna, however, has identified at least one other 'Ó Dálaigh Fionn' who flourished in Munster around the same time as, or perhaps a little later than, the well-known religious poet (1920, 107).[34] If I am correct in dating the poem *c.* 1600 (see below), it is likely that our author was another Ó Dálaigh Fionn.

Soraidh leat, a Leac Shnámha, which contrasts Lixnaw's current state of ruin with its former splendour, was likely composed following George Carew's successful siege of the castle in 1600. The following account of that incident, in which the inhabitants were forced to abandon the castle, is given in the annals of the Four Masters:

> An tan din ro fhidir an President, 7 an t-iarla (.i. Tuadhmumhan) go ro theichsiot an tír uile d'urmhor ar gach taebh d'Féil, 7 do Chasán do chuirsiot saighdiuiri go Leic Snamha i n-garusún. Longport Mheic Muiris eisidhe, ionnas go mbaoí garasún uátha i Licc Shnámha, i cCarraicc an Phuill hi cCloich Glenda, i nEass Geibhtine, i fFianaind, i tTráigh Lí, i nArdferta, i lLios Cathain, 7 i mbailtibh Cloinne Muiris ar chena cenmotá Lios Tuathail. Ro fhill an Presidens, 7 iarla Tuadhmumhan go Luimneach iar mbreith buadha for an turus sin, 7 tainicc dia saighidh urmhor Chonallach Conntae Luimnigh 7 Caonraighe ar n-eirghe doibh i n-aghaidh iarla Desmumhan go mbátar d'aoinleith la a bprionnsa.
>
> 'When the President and the Earl (i.e. of Thomond) learned that the greater number of the inhabitants of the country, on each side of the

> Fial and the Casan, had fled from their habitations, they placed garrisons in the castle of Lixnaw, the residence of Mac Maurice, as also in Carraic-an-phuill, the Rock of Glin, Askeaton, Fianaind, Tralee, Ardfert, and Lis-Cathain, and throughout all the castles of Clanmaurice, excepting Lis-Tuathail. The President and the Earl of Thomond returned to Limerick, having gained the victory on that expedition; and the greater part of the inhabitants of Connello, in the county of Limerick, and of Kerry, came to them, having turned against the Earl of Desmond, and joined their Sovereign.' (*AFM* vi, 2176–77)

An account of the capture of Lixnaw and of Fitzmaurice's subsequent death was recorded by Carew himself:

> I sent Sir Charles Wilmot with the forces aforesaid into Clanmorris, who recovered the Lord FitsMorris['s] chiefest house called Lixnaw (being set upon props of wood ready to fall before they had time to fire them), and also a castle belonging to the Bishop of Kerry, called Rathonyne, not far from Tralee, which likewise stood upon props, and the enemy put from the firing of them; into which places he presently did put sufficient guards for their defence (either of them being fit for service)…The Lord of FitzMorris, when he saw his chief house possessed by our forces, took such an inward grief at the same, as the 12th of this month he died, leaving behind him his son and heir, as malicious a traitor as himself. The county of Kerry is (in my opinion) the best inhabited place in Ireland; but now (I thank God) their harvest is ours, which will be a good relief to the garrison. (*CSPI*, 366–7; 25 Aug. 1600)

Our poem opens with the poet directly addressing and bidding farewell to a personified Lixnaw castle: [35]

> Soraidh leat, a Leac Shnámha,
> mairg a-tá d'éis t'fhágbhála.
>
> 'Farewell, Lixnaw, woe is he who has left you' (quatrain 1ab)

There is an emphasis throughout the poem on transformation and deterioration. Once a place of wealth and prosperity, the castle is now in a state of dereliction, and to behold it is a cause of grief:

An teimheal-sa as [read ar?] do ghnúis g[h]il,
a Leac Shnámha an fhuinn uaigni[gh]
mur taoi, a adhbha na slat sróill
dar leat [read lat] as damhna dobróin.

'This darkness on your bright countenance, o Lixnaw of the forlorn land, [and] the state you are in – o abode of the reels of satin – is, it seems, a cause of great sorrow.' (quatrain 7)

By comparing its current state of dereliction to its former splendour, the poet emphasises the hospitality he used to enjoy at Lixnaw:

D'éis a bhfuaruis [read n-uras] d'aoibhneas riamh
ionnat, a ráth na ríoghiall,
bheith dod chóir is dubhach dhúinn [leg. dhúnn],
a thulach b[h]róin na mbarún.

Ge bé do-chífeadh do chor
a chúirt chaoimhgheal na gcuradh,
diombáidh gan caoineadh fad cheann,
a lionnáin aoidheadh [n]Éireann.

'After all of the pleasure I received within you, o fort of the royal hostages, it is sorrowful to be near you [now], o sad mound of the barons.

Whoever would witness your plight, o kind, bright court of the warriors, is sad not to [have an opportunity] mourn for you, o darling of the visiting poets of Ireland.' (quatrains 9–10)

In the following quatrains, the poet recalls past visits to Lixnaw, where he was always held in esteem and treated to wine and entertainment. Here, again, the Fitzmaurices are being cast as upholders of Gaelic tradition and hospitality. The descriptions of Lixnaw's former splendour in the following quatrains are reminiscent of those festivities at Listowel seen earlier in *Ní dual cairde ar chreich ngeimhil*:

An chúirt-sin do chleacht m[e]ise
minic uarus inntei-si

rinn meanman, muirnn [read moirn] is macnuis [read macnas],
oiruinn [read oirn] go ndearnadh díoghaltas.

Minic fuarus fíon fuar
ad chúirt, [a] m[h]uirn ar marcshluagh,
an fíon do ibhinn a hór
dlighim a dhíol re dobhrón. [36]

'That court that I used to frequent, often did I receive there the greatest pleasure, esteem, and merriment, until we were revenged upon.

I have often received cold wine in your court, o darling of our calvary, the wine that I used to drink from gold [goblets] I must [now] recompense with sorrow'. (quatrains 11–12)

In the final surviving part of the poem (quatrains 17–22) the poet introduces a didactic apologue concerning King David and God's wrath. The apologue breaks off abruptly at quatrain 22.

Although incomplete and fragmentary, this poem bears witness to the Fitzmaurices' main homestead at Lixnaw as being a centre of artistic cultivation and hospitality. It also, however, records the devastation of conquest and plantation on the family's fortunes: the fall of Lixnaw was followed by Pádraigín's death and it left his son and heir, Tomás, in a state of bankruptcy. This is not, however, the last poem on the Fitzmaurices, and a later seventeenth-century elegy is evidence that the Fitzmaurices continued to employ poets, despite their reversal of fortune and increasing reliance on the goodwill of the crown.[37]

Poem 5: Ní bean aonothruis Éire

The latest extant poem on the Fitzmaurices, *Ní bean aonothruis Éire* ('Ireland is a woman with more than one wasting illness'), is an elegy on the death of Thomas Fitzmaurice, the 18th Baron, who died in 1630.[38] The poem survives in three manuscript witnesses, the earliest of which was transcribed in 1723.[39] It is attributed in all three manuscript copies to Diarmuid Riabhach Ó Dálaigh. Little is known of this poet, who may also have composed *A bháis, ar mharbhuis Muiris*? 'O death, did you kill Muiris?,' an elegy on Muiris, the son of Sir William FitzGerald, the knight of Kerry, who died in 1640.[40]

The poem is an elaborate elegy in which Ireland, cast as a sovereignty figure, is depicted as a wounded patient following Thomas's death. The first section of the poem (quatrains 1–10) depicts Ireland as a sick woman who has suffered many wounds: the death of Thomas is a final, fatal blow. The poet, conflating various common depictions of Ireland, casts the country not only as an ailing woman, but also as a widow and a victim of plunder.

Ní bean aonothruis Éire,
críoch lán as lia fearchéile, [read feirchéile]
ráth aitreabhchlach Dá Thí, an teach,
baintreabhthach í agus airgtheach.

'Ireland is a woman with more than one wasting illness, [she is] the full-bodied land whose husbands are most numerous, [she is] the house, the stone dwelling of Tara, she is both a widow and a victim of plunder.' (quatrain 1)

She has been left without counsel and protection:

Ó thár na n-othrus n-ainmheach
bean gan chogar gcomhairleach

'Since the shame of the maiming illnesses, [she is a] woman without a whisper of advice.' (quatrain 2ab)

The reason for Ireland's plight is revealed in quatrain 11 as *bás Tomáis, táirseach throda* 'The death of Thomas, the battle front'. The poet then proceeds to compare his patron's death to that of Thomas Fitzgerald, the eighth Earl of Desmond, who was executed by the crown in 1468 (quatrains 12–20). Both men, we are told, fell in Drogheda:

A nDroichead Átha as mín magh
iar n-éag Iarla fhóid Mhumhan,
ar feadh mhoighe an mhúir leargglain [read learggloin],
a oile [i] n-úir aithdeargaidh.

Bás an chéadTomáis – teidhm te –
bás an Tomáis óig eile;

dá ghríbh chabhra ar séanmhúir slim
ar éanúr [read éanmhúir?] tarla a ttuitim.[41]

'In Drogheda whose plain is smooth, after the death of the Earl of Munster, it reopens the wound of his grave-monument throughout the plain of the smooth rampart.

The death of the first Thomas – an intense grief – [and] the death of the other young Thomas: two guarding griffons…, it happened that they fell on the same walls (?).' (quatrains 14–15)

Fitzgerald's death, which had a major impact on the political landscape in Ireland, had, by the seventeenth century, achieved almost legendary status.[42] This poem places both deaths on a par: the death of the Earl was the beginning of Ireland's 'illness' and the death of Thomas Fitzmaurice has reopened the wound. The comparison serves to elevate the status of Fitzmaurice's death, exaggerating its political and national significance. The comparison is also used to highlight both men's shared Geraldine roots, which seem to have been a continuous source of pride for the Fitzmaurices:

Dá ghéig a haoinphréimh ordhruic,
tús is deireadh docharluit;
tréad[d]aimh chosgarbhuan na gcath,
Gréagaigh osgarshluagh [n-]éachtach.

'Two branches from the same famous tree, they are the beginning and the end of [our] suffering; the ever-victorious stags of battles, Greeks of valorous hosts.' (quatrain 16)

The next section of the poem describes the elements' reaction to Thomas's death. If, in *Neart Banbha 'ga barúnaibh* (discussed above) the reign of Pádraig Mac Muiris caused abundance and fecundity, here Thomas' death is reflected in nature's state of disarray:

Beag an t-iongnadh d'fhéin Bhanbha,
uille orchra a hionnshamhla;
tug duille úire gan fhás,
na dúile uime a n-uathbhás.

Measdar a ndíoghruis ad dheóidh,
sé pláinéid uachtair aidheóir,
neóil dhorcha um chaomhfhoirmlios Chuirc
aondoilgheas ortha ag adhaint.

'The extent of her affliction is no surprise to Ireland's warriors; it has caused the leaves of the earth not to grow; the elements are in horror as a result.

One can surmise the love of the six planets of heaven [for you] in your wake; a communal sorrow is raging upon the dark clouds around the beautiful, shapely, garden of Corc (i.e. Ireland).' (quatrains 25–26)

The poet then focuses on his patron's erudition and learning (quatrains 33–40), casting him as a pupil of an extravagant catalogue of classical philosophers and military leaders, including Solon and Chilo of Sparta (quatrain 34), Plato, Periander and Cleobulus (quatrain 35); and Caesar and Pompey (quatrain 37).[43] Following further quatrains of conventional panegyric, the poem takes a religious turn: grief over Thomas's death is softened somewhat by the conviction that he will be granted life after death: *giorra a ré giodh cás cumhadh* / *sé iar mbás dá bheathughadh*, 'although the shortness of his life is a cause of sorrow, he is given life after death' (quatrain 49). At the end of the poem the poet gives the date of the patron's death as 1630: *An tráth do éag Mac Muiris* / *aois Dé ní ham amhairis;* […] / *fiche 's a deich ní diamhair* / *míle is sé chéad ceartbhliadhain*, 'the year of Christ when Fitzmaurice died is not uncertain; […] ten and twenty – it is no mystery – a thousand and six hundred years exactly' (quatrains 64ab–65ab).

This is the last surviving poem on the Fitzmaurices and may have marked the end of their long tradition of bardic patronage. There is no evidence that Thomas's son, Patrick (†1660), patronised poetry. He was raised by the fourth Earl of Thomond and fought on the side of the government in 1641. He decamped and escaped to England in 1642, where he died in 1660 (Smith 1756, 300–1).

Conclusion

This article has set out to describe and analyse the contents of the five surviving poems on the Fitzmaurices of Lixnaw, and to present them

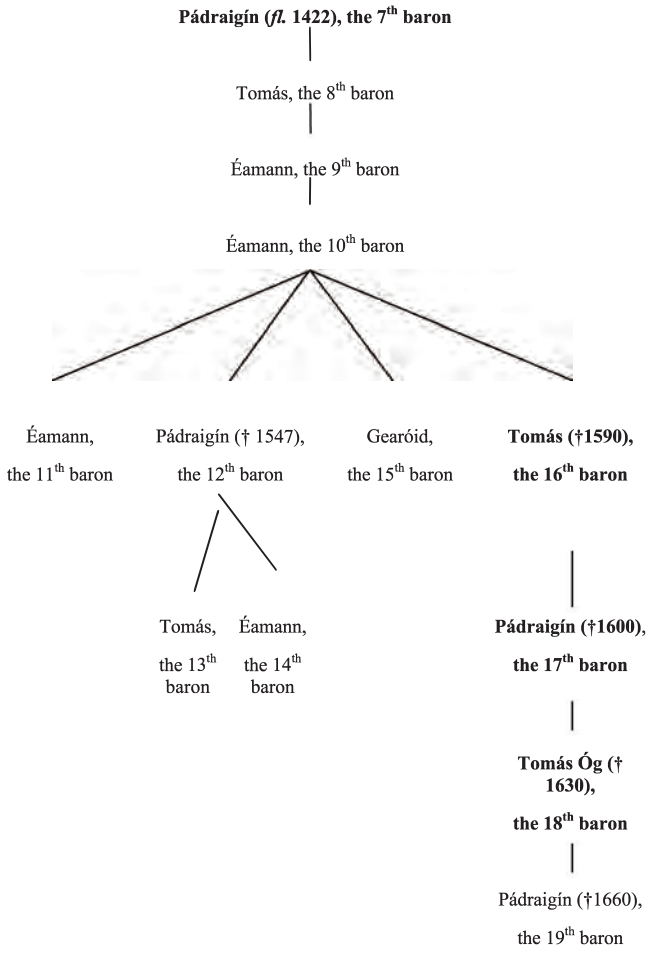
collectively as evidence of the family's acculturation and of their importance as patrons of bardic poetry. The poems link the Fitzmaurices to some of Munster's most influential poetic families such as the Mac Bruaideadha and Ó Dálaigh Fionn families, showing them to be patrons who engaged fully in the social and economic customs of the bardic system, while still bearing witness to their enduring pride in their Geraldine roots. The Fitzmaurices are distinguished from the Gaelic Irish and their Anglo-Norman identity is celebrated in both *Neart Banbha 'ga barúnaibh* and *Ní dual cairde gan creich ngeimhil*. *Ná tréig, a Thomáis, mheisi* is a poem with a more immediate and practical purpose that gives us an insight into the poet-patron relationship, and that connects the Fitzmaurices with the prolific Fear Feasa Ó'n Cháinte. The final two poems discussed here trace and bear witness to a decline in the family's fortune. *Soraidh leat, a Leac Shnámha* records the end of Lixnaw as a haven for poets, and *Ná tréig, a Thomáis, mheisi*, an elegy on the last of the Gaelicised Fitzmaurices, marks the end of their patronage of bardic poetry.

About the Author

Dr Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh researches Early Modern Irish poetry and prose. She has recently been appointed Assistant professor of Irish at Trinity College Dublin.

Appendix

The following is a genealogy of the barons of Lixnaw mentioned in the article. The names of those barons to whom poems survive are given in bold. The genealogy is based on that given in *Peerage* and in *Leabhar mór na nGeinealach*.



Abbreviations

ABM D. McManus and E. Ó Raghallaigh (eds), *A Bardic Miscellany* (Dublin, 2010).

AFM J. O'Donovan (ed.), *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, 7 vols (Dublin, 1848–51).

CSPI *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office* (7 vols; London 1867–1912).

IGT O. Bergin (ed.), *Irish Grammatical Tracts*, supplements to *Ériu* 8-10, 14, 17 (1916–55).

Peerage J. Lodge, *The peerage of Ireland: or, a genealogical history of the present nobility of that kingdom.* Volume 2. (Dublin, 1789).

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[1] A recent publication, *Deeds not Words, The Survival of the Fitzmurices, Lords of Kerry*, examines the family's history from 1550 to 1603 (Moore 2020). See also Nicholls' investigation of the Fitzmaurice genealogy prior to the sixteenth century (1970).

[2] For a useful summary of the debate on the value of bardic poetry as a historical source see Caball (1998). See also Simms (1987, 71).

[3] Diplomatic editions of these poems have been printed (without translation or

notes) in *A Bardic Miscellany* (henceforth *ABM*) (McManus and Ó Raghallaigh 2010, poems 358 and 438 respectively).

[4] For a discussion of the identification of the patron and the dating of the poem see Nic Chárthaigh (2020). A genealogy of the barons of Lixnaw referred to in this paper is provided in the Appendix.

[5] Other historical records say that Pádraigín, the seventh baron, was the son of Siobhán, the daughter of Gerard Fitzgerald, fourth Earl of Desmond (*Peerage* ii, 182–207).

[6] The *Ó Maothagáin* poets seemed to have specialised in *Brúilingeacht*, a rare class of poem what may have been the reserve of certain poets or families. No record survives of them in Munster after the fifteenth century (Nic Chárthaigh 2020, 42). On *Brúilingeacht* see Hoyne (forthcoming).

[7] This is part IIb of the composite manuscript with the shelf-mark A II 20. See Mac Cárthaigh (2021).

[8] *IGT ii*, citation 485.

[9] For a detailed discussion of expressions of this idea in bardic poetry see McManus (2006).

[10] Translations of this poem are my own. See Nic Chárthaigh (2020).

[11] If my interpretation of this line is correct, what is being implied is that the worst drink in Fitzmaurice's house is wine – which is not very bad at all!

[12] On the metrical requirements of *dúnadh*, see Ní Dhomhnaill (1975, 13).

[13] On the Fitzmaurices' Geraldine roots, see Nicholls (1970).

[14] This poem was included in the anthology *Irish Bardic Poetry* (1970) and is, as a result, the most well-known of the poems to the Fitzmaurices today. I am indebted to Bergin's edition and notes (1921; 1970) for information used in the following discussion, and the translations provided are his.

[15] For a more detailed biography, see Bergin (1921, 160–2) and Griffin-Wilson (2019, 238–9). On the siege at Castlelishen, see *AFM* v, 2171–6.

[16] This event is discussed in more detail below.

[17] Domhnall was the brother of the better-known Tadhg (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha, *ollamh* to the fourth Earl of Thomond. Among his other patrons were Conchobhar Ó Briain, the third Earl of Thomond (†1581) and James fitz Maurice Fitzgerald (†1579).

[18] Bergin argued that the poem was probably composed in the period from 1560 to 1580 as 'even bardic extravagance could hardly have pictured such a scene of sport and revelry during the devastations of the Desmond wars' (1921, 161–2).

[19] This first line of this quatrain appears to be corrupt for linguistic reasons. (We would expect *Cuirfimid* instead of *cuirfiom*. We could, perhaps, read *cuiream* 'let us', instead. This would not significantly alter the sense of the quatrain.)

[20] In this apologue an infant Conchobhar mac Neasa is given three stones by his mother. Conchobhar takes a stone in each hand, but then finds that he cannot pick up the third without losing one of those already in this grasp. His mother advises him to let go of one stone, so that he will be able to pick up the third.

The message is that it is beneficial to part with one's wealth and possessions. The ultimate source of his apologue is unknown. See Ó Caithnia (1984, 66).
[21] See Simms (1978).
[22] The idea that Parthalán, the mythical leader of the third invasion of Ireland, was of Greek origin is found in the Book of Fenagh and in Keating. See Morris (1937).
[23] Although no poems survive on Tomás Mac Muiris, the sixteenth Baron of Lixnaw (d. 1590), he is described in his annalistic obituary as *cendaighe fiona, each, 7 ealadhan rob ferr dfior a inmhe 7 a athardha féin baoí i lleith Mogha durmhór an tan sin*; 'the best purchaser of wine, horses, and literary works, of any of his wealth and patrimony, in the greater part of Leath-Mogha at that time' (AFM vi, 1892–3). His brief marriage to Fionnghuala inghean Uí Bhriain, who composed an elegy *A n-ainm an Spioraid Naoimh h'imríghe, 'Uaithne*, on the death of her second husband, Uaithne Mór Ó Lochlainn (Ó Murchú 2008), provides further insight into the Fitzmaurices' cultural networks.
[24] This poem has been fully edited by Breatnach (1994). Translations are his.
[25] These are *A fhir shealbhas duit an dán* (McKenna 1951) and *Mór do-níd daoine dhíobh féin* (O'Grady 1926, 556–7).
[26] The following discussion relies on Griffin-Wilson's edition of the poem (2019). Translations are hers.
[27] For a more detailed account of Thomas Fitzmaurice's life see, Griffin-Wilson (2019, 239–40).
[28] As the editor of this poem has noted, the final line of this quatrain may be corrupt for metrical reasons (it is hypermetrical).
[29] It is not clear whether or not Ó'n Cháinte had a primary patron.
[30] *Nós ar n-aithreach rer-oile* might, however, be meant in the more general sense of the relationship of previous poets with the nobility in general.
[31] See Simms (2001, 256–60) and Palmer (forthcoming).
[32] Ní Shéaghdha (1977, 88–96).
[33] See McKenna (1918; 1919).
[34] McKenna places the religious Ó Dálaigh Fionn's death *c.* 1582.
[35] The text is given from *ABM*, poem 438. I have normalised the spelling and, where the text is faulty, suggested other readings in square brackets. Translations are my own.
[36] This first line in this quatrain is one syllable short. It could be emended to [*Is*] *minic fuarus…*
[37] On the Fitzmaurices in the post-Kinsale period see Moore (2020, 255–76).
[38] See *Ná tréig, a Thomáis, mheisi* above. The cause of Tomás's death is not known.
[39] The manuscript copies are Royal Irish Academy RIA 23 O 78 (1387), 23 L 17 (3) and National Library of Ireland G140. Both Royal Irish Academy copies have 66 quatrains. The copy of the poem in the NLI contains an additional 10 quatrains of a religious nature. They may be a later addition to the poem.

[40] This poem has not been edited.
[41] Lines cd do not meet metrical requirements and are probably faulty. The translation is, therefore, tentative.
[42] On the importance of the death of Fitzgerald see McCormack, (2005, 58–61) and Simms (2020, 190–1). Fitzmaurice's death is also alluded to in *Cia sin, a chinn mo chroidhe*, an elegy of Sir John of Desmond (†1582): *Iarla ordhruic dot fhuil féin / san Droichead, a dhreach mhínréidh, / – giodh gar duit an té torchuir – / do thuit sé le Saxanchaibh*, 'A famous Earl from your own bloodline, o soft and smooth countenance – although you were a close kinsman of the one who fell – he [too] was killed at the hands of the English in Drogheda' (quatrain 16) (Nic Chárthaigh 2021).
[43] See Darwin (2021, especially 242–3).

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PROCEEDINGS 2022

25th January	Annual General Meeting via Zoom
8th February	'The Vikings in Kerry: Revisiting the Cloghermore Cave Evidence', Francesca Callaghan, Archaeologist & Heritage Educator *This event was cancelled.*
1st March	'Shrove Tuesday and the Skellig's List' Shane Lehane, CSN Cultural & Heritage Course Director & Folklorist
31st March	'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Kerry, 1909-1930' Francis Devine, ILHS Honorary President
7th April	'Pilgrimages in Kerry - The Archaeological Evidence' Frank Coyne, Archaeologist & IPMAG committee member
21st April	'Landscape Design in Eighteenth-Century Kerry' Dr Finola O'Kane Crimmins, Professor in Architecture, UCD
5th May	Bealtaine Event 'A Virtual Tour of Kerry County Museum' *This was changed to an in-person event.*
8th May	A walking tour of Listowel Meet at Listowel Castle Jimmy Deenihan, KAHS President
10th May	'Faith & Fury: The Evangelical Campaign in Corca Dhuibhne, 1825-1845' Bryan MacMahon, Historian, Author and KAHS Council member
31st May	'The Fitzmaurices in Tudor Times' Martin Moore, Historian & Author
30th June	'Roger Casement. Nationalist, Humanitarian, Enigma' Tommy Martin, Defence Force Commandant & Historian

12th July	‘Through her Eyes. Irish Women in History’ Clodagh Finn, Journalist and Author
20th August	‘The Congested Districts Board, 1891-1923’ Dr Ciara Breathnach, Associate Professor in History, University of Limerick
23rd August	Culture Night Webinar ‘The Forgotten Desmond Castles in the Castleisland Area’ Robert McGuire, Local Historian & KAHS Council member
29th November	‘The Kingdom of Corcu Duibne’ Dr Paul McCotter, Historian and Author
6th December	‘From Buck House to the House of Healing. Gobnait Ní Bhrudair (Albina Broderick), 1861-1953’ Pádraig Ó Concubhair, Historian and KAHS Council member
13th December,	‘Killarney’s Victorian Gardens’ Dr Patricia O ’Hare, Archivist, Author and KAHS Council member

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