A HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF RAPHOE

VERY REV. CANON MAGUIRE, D.D.

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MOST REV. DR. O'DONNELL

Bishop of Raphoe

Donegal County Library Service

A HISTORY

OF THE

DIOCESE OF RAPHOE

BY THE

VERY REV. E. CANON MAGUIRE, D.D.

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"St. Adamnan," "Ballyshannon," "Letterkenny," &c.

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PREFACE

Smashed by the share of every rustic plough ;
So perish monuments of mortal birth ;
So perish all in turn, save well-recorded worth.

EVERYBODY, cleric or laic, belonging to the ancient diocese, and many people owing it no allegiance, would hail, with enthusiastic delight, the publication of a reliable and complete history of Raphoe. Great saints founded and filled its monasteries ; great bishops directed the spiritual, and great chieftains the temporal, destinies of its people ; great scholars owed their learning, and great missionaries their zeal and sanctity to associations of birth and inspiration with the " Land of Conal." In the variegated category of Tirconaill's illustrious sons, *clarum et venerabile nomen* might be truthfully predicated of many another famed saint or hero, churchman or scholar, besides—Columbkille and Adamnan ; Aedh Mac Ainmire and Donal Mac Aedha, High-kings of Ireland ; Godfrey and Red Hugh O'Donnell ; Hugh Ward and Michael O'Clery ; Dr. James O'Gallagher ; Isaac Butt ; Primate Mac Gettigan, Cardinal Logue, and the present patriotic prelate of the see, Dr. O'Donnell.

But it must be admitted on the very threshold of the undertaking, that completeness is unattainable, and undreamt of, by the present author. Glaring gaps in the list of Bishops, and dreary stretches of vacuity in the succession of pastors, are lamentable results of the ingenious devices employed by ruthless tyranny to suppress our religion, and obliterate all vestiges of its

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antiquity and its customs. All our readers can appreciate the risk a priest incurred, in the penal days, by carrying or preserving any documents whatever of a religious character. But few of them can be presumed to have ever even heard of the nauseating statute * passed in 1697, whereby Catholics were prohibited from burying their dead in any cemetery not attached to a Protestant church. The transparent aim of this pagan enactment was to establish a drastic censorship over monuments and inscriptions. Any bigoted Protestant would be discharging an "honourable" duty by burying, defacing, or destroying a gravestone, if he objected to its emblems or epitaph. Again, in the year 1703, ferocious penalties were decreed † against pilgrimages, "saints' fairs," etc. Obviously, there was no executive machinery for enforcing the observance of this last mentioned statute; but local accounts confirm O'Donovan's statement ‡ that the clergy themselves, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, effectively suppressed these celebrations, with the unanticipated result that the patrons' feasts, the exact sites of sanctuaries, and even the names of the minor saints, have been gradually erased alike from memory and tradition.

But, it may well be asked, if so many links are missing, and so many registers and records out of reach, or out of existence, why not wait for happier conditions? There is not the faintest ray of reasonable hope that the conditions will improve; for the grave entombs, from day to day, the aged depositaries of untransmitted lore. An old school-book fable describes a venturous youth as hanging from a parapet in order to rifle a bird's nest beneath the cornice. Wishing, however, to secure *all*

* Act 9, William. † 2 Anne.
‡ Ordnance Letter, Ardara, Oct. 18, 1835.

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the eggs, he withdrew both his hands to get a firmer grip, and—he did not rob the nest that day. The author has made a strenuous attempt to rifle public libraries and private collections of books and manuscripts; and he is thoroughly convinced that if he were to stay his hand and abide visionary opportunities, the desired consummation would remain unrealised in his brief day. Piggott and Co.'s *Almanac* for 1824 contains the names of a very limited number of the clergy, but subsequent issues are more satisfactory. The *Catholic Directory*, first published under the title of the *Catholic Register*, about 1836, is fairly reliable, but shows clear evidence that notification of deaths and clerical changes was furnished only intermittently till Dr. Mac Devitt's time. During the period of Canon Keogh's editorship, no review of the events of the preceding year was published in each number, and this omission is very regrettable. The *Calendar of Papal Registers* is a huge repertory of ecclesiastical information, but, unfortunately, the seventeenth century documents are not yet allowed to be published.

Several years have elapsed since this History was commenced, and hence some very recent events are not recorded. A short supplement may follow after a time, if the present work is accorded a favourable reception.

The original design was to publish Part I. in a single volume, but fresh explorations demanded an expansion beyond the intended limits, and it is confidently hoped that the division into two small volumes will be found more acceptable. Part II., which treats of the various dynasties, wars, families, raths, etc., will be published as soon as circumstances permit.

Cordial acknowledgment of fraternal help, rendered in ungrudging measure, is hereby tendered to the Rev. J. E. Mac Kenna, P.P., M.R.I.A., Dromore, whose splendid

Donegal County Library Service

library and invaluable suggestions smoothed the initial ruggedness of approach to sources of information ; to the Rev. Francis Sheridan, B.A., C.C., who compiled the Index, with infinite patience and drudgery ; and to Mr. John Mac Laughlin, B.Sc., Maynooth College, who tabulated a large amount of statistical and general information. To the Rev. A. O'Kelleher, Fellow in Gaelic of the University of Illinois, very special thanks are hereby offered for the unrestricted permission, conveyed in so graceful terms, to make appropriate extracts from his scholarly edition of the *Beatha Choluimchille* by Manus O'Donnell.

Sunt delicta tamen, quibus ignovisse velimus,
Nam neque chorda sonum reddit, quem vult manus
et mens,
Poscentique gravem persaepe remittit acutum ;
*Nec semper feriet quodcunque minabitur arcus.**

E. M.

---

* Hor., *Ars. Poet.*

Donegal County Library Service

CONTENTS

PART I

ECCLESIASTICAL

(VOLUME I)

		PAGE
	INTRODUCTION	xiii
CHAP.		
I.	RAPHOE	1
II.	THE PRIMATE'S RIGHTS IN RAPHOE .	7
III.	THE CROSS OF RAPHOE CATHEDRAL .	11
IV.	TEMPORALITIES	18
V.	THE BISHOP'S REVENUES . . .	24
VI.	BISHOPS OF RAPHOE	56
VII.	THE DEANS OF RAPHOE . . .	203
VIII.	THE ARCHDEACONS OF RAPHOE . .	210
IX.	THE CHAPTER OF RAPHOE . . .	214
X.	THE OFFICIAL	221
XI.	PARISH OF ALL SAINTS AND TAUGHBOYNE	223
XII.	PARISH OF ARDARA	257
XIII.	PARISH OF AUGHANINSHIN . . .	284
XIV.	PARISH OF AUGHNISH	290

Donegal County Library Service

CHAP. PAGE

XV. Parish of Clondahorkey 301

XVI. Parish of Clondavaddog 316

XVII. Parish of Conwal 332

XVIII. Parish of Donegal 353

XIX. Parish of Drumhome 380

XX. Parish of Gartan 415

XXI. Parish of Glencolumbkille . . . 448

XXII. Parish of Inniskeel 474

XXIII. Parish of Inver 499

Donegal County Library Service

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

(VOLUME I)

Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe	*Frontispiece*	
St. Eunan's College, Letterkenny	*facing page*	202
Raymochy	,,	244
Donegal Abbey	,,	367
Donegal Castle	,,	367
Magherabeg, Drumhome	,,	394
Faugher, Glencolumbkille	,,	459
Kilcar	,,	459
Kilkenny, Inniskeel	,,	474
Inver	,,	499
Turas, Mount Charles	,,	499

Donegal County Library Service

CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

Page 20, line 3, *for* teithes *read* tithes.
,, 230, ,, 5, ,, Andrew ,, Thomas.
,, 344, ,, 5, *add* Rev. J. Mac Shane, C.C., Donegal, to Roll of Honour.
,, 414, ,, 27, *insert* 1907. Hugh O'Gara.
29, ,, 1914. John Crumley.
,, 447, ,, 6, ,, 1915. Joseph Boyle.
7, *read* 1917. James Dunleavy.
,, 467, ,, 12, *for* 1882 *read* 1886.
,, 496, ,, 25, *read* Sir William Gallagher.
,, 497, ,, 15, ,, Father Daniel O'Doherty.

Donegal County Library Service

INTRODUCTION

A CLEAR, cold, concise, and consecutive statement of the penal enactments enforced, and the penalties and disabilities decreed, against Irish Catholics, in the 17th and 18th centuries, is a glaring desideratum in the very best histories of our oppressed country. The following synopsis emanated from the brain and pen of a phlegmatic Scotchman, and presents all the outstanding features of this drastic hostile legislation with impartiality and brevity :—

" By the various articles of the Treaty of Limerick, the Catholics are to enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as they did enjoy in the time of Charles II. : and the King promises, upon the meeting of Parliament, ' to endeavour to procure for them such *further security* in that particular, as may preserve them *from any disturbance* on account of their said religion.' They are to be restored to their estates, privileges and immunities, as they enjoyed them in the time of Charles II. The gentlemen are to be allowed to carry arms ; and no other oath is to be tendered to the Catholics who submit to King William, than the oath of allegiance. These and other articles, *King William ratifies for himself, his heirs and successors, as far as in him lies ; and confirms the same, and every other clause and matter therein contained.*

" These articles were signed by the English general on the 3rd of October, 1691, and diffused comfort, confidence, and tranquillity among the Catholics. On the 22nd of October, the English Parliament excluded Catholics from the Irish Houses of Lords and Commons, by compelling them to take the oath of spiritual supremacy before admission !

Donegal County Library Service

"In 1695, the Catholics were deprived of all means of educating their children, at home or abroad, and of the privilege of being guardians to their own or to other persons' children. Then all the Catholics were disarmed,—and then all the priests banished. *After this* (probably by way of joke), an act was passed to *confirm* the treaty of Limerick,—the great and glorious King William totally forgetting the contract he had entered into, of recommending the religious liberties of the Catholics to the attention of Parliament.

"On the 4th of March, 1704, it was enacted, that any son of a Catholic, who would turn Protestant, should succeed to the family estate, which from that moment could no longer be sold, or charged with debt and legacy. On the same day, Popish fathers were debarred, by a penalty of 500*l.*, from being guardians to their own children. If the child, however young, declared himself a Protestant, he was to be delivered immediately to the custody of some Protestant relation.—No Protestant to marry a Papist.—No Papist to purchase land, or take a lease of land for more than thirty-one years. If the profits of the land so leased by the Catholic amounted to above a certain rate, settled by the Act,—*farm to belong to the first Protestant who made the discovery*.—No Papist to be in a line of entail; but the estate to pass on to the next Protestant heir, as if the Papist were dead. If a Papist dies intestate, and no Protestant heir can be found; property to be equally divided among all the sons; or, if he has none, among all the daughters. By the 16th clause of this Bill, no Papist to hold any office civil or military.—Not to dwell in Limerick or Galway, except on certain conditions.—Not to vote at elections.—Not to hold advowsons.

"In 1709, Papists were prevented from holding an annuity for life. If any son of a Papist chose to turn Protestant,

Donegal County Library Service

and enrol the certificate of his conversion in the Court of Chancery, that Court is empowered to compel his father to state the value of his property upon oath, and to make out of that property a competent allowance to the son, at their own discretion, not only for his present maintenance, but for his future portion after the death of the father. An increase of jointure to be enjoyed by Papist wives, upon their conversion.—Papists keeping schools, to be prosecuted as convicts.—*Popish priests who are converted, to receive* 30*l. per annum.*

"*Rewards are given by the same act for the discovery of Popish clergy*; 50*l. for discovering a Popish bishop*; 20*l. for a common Popish clergyman*; 10*l. for a Popish usher* (*or teacher!*) *Two justices of the peace can compel any Papist above* 18 *years of age to disclose every particular which has come to his knowledge respecting Popish priests, celebration of Mass, or Papist schools.*—Imprisonment for a year, if he refuses to answer.—Nobody can hold property in trust for a Catholic.—Juries, in all trials growing out of these statutes, to be Protestants.—No Papist to take more than two apprentices, except in the linen trade.—*All the Catholic clergy to give in their names and places of abode at the quarter-sessions, and to keep no curates.*—Catholics not to serve on grand juries.—In any trial upon statutes for strengthening the Protestant interest, a Papist juror may be peremptorily challenged.

"In the next reign, Popish horses were attached, and allowed to be seized for the militia.—Papists cannot be either high or petty constables.—No Papist to vote at elections.—Papists in towns to provide Protestant watchmen; and not to vote at vestries.

"In the reign of George II., Papists were prohibited from being barristers. Barristers and solicitors marrying Papists, considered to be Papists, and subjected to all penalties as such. Persons robbed by privateers, during a war with

Donegal County Library Service

a Popish prince, to be indemnified by grand jury presentments, and the money to be levied on the *Catholics* only. No Papist to marry a Protestant ;—*any priest celebrating such a marriage to be hanged.*

"During all this time, there was not the slightest rebellion in Ireland.

"In 1715 and 1745, while Scotland and the North of England were up in arms, not a man stirred in Ireland; yet the spirit of persecution against the Catholics continued till the 18th of his present Majesty ; and then gradually gave way to the increase of knowledge, the humanity of our Sovereign (George III.) the abilities of Mr. Grattan, *the weakness of England struggling in America*, and *the dread inspired by the French revolution.*" *

"The object of the Registration of the clergy," writes Matthew O'Connor,† "was to ascertain their signatures and places of abode, to prevent the possibility of their evading subsequent statutes. Lest a suspicion of the design of the statute should deter any from registering themselves, the ingenuity of unsleeping persecution framed another statute, enacting that all such priests as should be found in the kingdom, other than such as had registered, should be liable to imprisonment until transported, and to death in case of return. The concealment or relief of such priests was also made liable to the penalties and forfeitures imposed by the 9th of King William on the harbourers of bishops and regulars (4th Anne c. 2)." The British Commons had "Resolved that the prosecuting and informing against Papists was an *honourable service.*" ‡

The origin and aims of the Lifford Inquisition, sped on the 12th of September, 1609, demand a word of explanation. James I., in his Proclamation of general amnesty in 1608,

* "Critique on Parnell's 'History of Irish Popery Laws,'" *Edinburgh Review*, Oct., 1808, pp. 79-81.

† *Irish Catholics*, i. 174.

‡ 8 Anne, Chap. 3.

Donegal County Library Service

took the subjects of O'Neill and O'Donnell under his own gracious protection, and pledged his royal honour that they would not suffer by the change of masters. Many of the leading subjects of the exile chiefs were wheedled into active co-operation with Davies, the Attorney-General, in his inquiry into the titles on which the tenure of lands rested, now that claims of O'Neill and O'Donnell had been declared to have been forfeited. This declaration they even fiated on oath, obviously to strengthen their case in law and equity. The main question to be elucidated at Lifford was the dispute between the Protestant Scotch Bishop Montgomery and the Crown, as to the ownership of the herenach lands in Tirconaill. "The quantity of the Bishop's demesne and mensal lands, in the diocese of Raphoe, was 3,728 acres, and that of the herenach lands was 6,378 acres."* It is almost unnecessary to remind the student of Irish history that these latter were the estates with which the saint-founders of monasteries and churches had been presented, as endowments, by the chiefs. The avaricious and uxorious Scotch Bishop claimed not merely all the lands and privileges that had belonged to the Catholic Bishop in virtue of his office, but all the estates out of which rents had been paid to the Catholic Bishop for church purposes.

The majority of the Jurors were themselves herenachs, purposely selected by Davies, because it was their obvious interest to secure a decision that they held their estates independently and irremovably, with certain duties to be discharged towards the Ordinary. Their high education is acknowledged very frankly by the English Attorney, who mentions in particular that they possessed a fluent acquaintance with the Latin language. Unfortunately for themselves, they did not apply in practice the Latin

* *Cal. Carew MSS.*, 6th Series, p. 40.

Donegal County Library Service

scriptural adage, "Nolite confidere in principibus"—"Put not your trust in princes." But Montgomery was the most self-assertive of the Commissioners; Ussher, the Protestant Primate, was another, and similarly interested in some of the Tyrone and all the Armagh herenach lands; and, hence, the resulting verdict was profitable to Montgomery, and flattering to James: "The Bishops should have those lands entirely, as of his Majesty's free donation, whom they are to recognise not only as a patron, but as a *founder* in regard to the endowment." * The duped herenachs got the option of 'verting or trecking, and they chose the honourable alternative.

Baile-biatach.—"The Irish designation, Baile biatach, victuallers' or farmers' town, originally denoted a tract of land, which constituted the thirtieth part of a tricha ceud, or barony, and all the lesser divisions were known by the lesser appellations of quarters, half-quarters, ballyboes, gneeves, tates, etc." † "The divisions in Donegal," says Reeves, "were ballybetaghs, descending to quarters, ballyboes, and sessiaghs, of which the ballyboe, with occasional sessiaghs, was the denomination which eventually merged in the townland. There are 12 townlands called Ballyboe in Donegal, and only one other in Ireland."‡ It is very remarkable that, in the language of the Donegal peasantry, a quarter-land has been at all times used as a convertible term for a small separate estate. For instance, we have frequently heard people speak of the quarter-land of Brenter; but nobody ever heard the term, quarter-land, applied to the extensive property of the Marquis of Conyngham. Bailebetach admits of no English equivalent, and of no uniform standard of measurement, whether by acreage or by the number of townlands. This assertion

* Hill's *Plantation*, 206. † O.M. Derry, 208.
‡ *Proceedings*, R.I.A., Vol. vii., Part xiv., p. 478.

Donegal County Library Service

is very easily proved by comparing two parishes. For instance, Aughaninshin contains a bailebetach and three quarters; its area is 4,012 acres, and it comprises 24 townlands. Kilcar contains a bailebetach and one quarter; its area is 18,883 acres; and it comprises 48 townlands! We may, therefore, refrain from further quotations from antiquarian scholars, dismiss the idea of a scientific definition, and fall back on the rustic refuge of "a whole countryside." Sessiagh means the one-sixth of a quarter; it is altogether different in etymology and extent from the seisear-each, or amount of land that might be ploughed by a six-horse team in twelve months, working *at a certain rate* per day, as Reeves * very naïvely evades the difficulty. The designations ballybo and seisach, cow-land and sixth part of a quarter-land, are both equivalents for townland, in Donegal. *Seiseach O'Neill* is O'Neill's Town, and the Inquisition name, *Slut Art*, is an anglicised corruption of *Sliocht Airt*, Art's Progeny, as distinguished from his brother Henry's descendants, after the analogy of Muintir Tinny, for instance, denoting a territory.

Mether.—Having been present when a mether, filled with butter, was unearthed in a bog in 1918, and having retained it for some days before I sent it to F. J. Biggar, Esq., Belfast, the writer can vouch for the accuracy of the two descriptions he takes the liberty of reproducing in these pages. These accounts were written close on a century ago, when the mether was not yet quite extinct. The capacity of the vessel I examined was half a gallon; and only one handle was attached to it; it never had a second, much less four handles in all, and never was intended to serve as a drinking vessel. Naturally, the methers destined for measuring or preserving butter, meal, or wine were fashioned without any such useless appendages.

* *Antiquities*, 475.

Donegal County Library Service

Two very interesting, but not pressingly relevant, questions here suggest themselves. First, was the indispensable table mether, with its four ornamental handles, ever used for drinking whiskey? Secondly, is whiskey of Irish invention or great antiquity? The answer to the first is a decided affirmative; tradition is clear and uniform on the subject. Old people used to explain the polite usage of barely tasting the liquor, and instantly handing the vessel to a comrade, as a survival of the ancient method of putting the mouth to a corner of the full mether, and then placing the mether before another member of the company, with a different corner to drink from. When small glasses were first introduced into general circulation in this country, about 1820, the old conventional etiquette of giving the tasted glass to a neighbour to moisten his lips, rather than to liquidate his thorax, was universally observed, and to this day, is laudably adhered to by unsophisticated and bashful drinkers. Casually, O'Donovan furnishes an illustration that typifies the ceremony: "Taking off my hat, I saluted him as Mac Suivne of Doe, and handed him a glass of the native. He presented it to his eldest son, who, standing up, tendered it to his father, saying 'Father take this from my hand.'"* The thirsty old ruin was dying to drain the goblet, but the memories of the mether imposed self-denial.

The second question is historical, and is answered in the second extract to be presently cited. Whiskey was introduced into Ireland by the Palesmen about 1550. In seeming contradiction to this unquestionable statement, "Sir James Ware supposes that ardent spirit was distilled in Ireland earlier than in England. He says, 'The English aqua vitae, it is thought, is the invention of more

* Ordnance Letter, Dunfanaghy, 3rd Sept., 1835.

Donegal County Library Service

modern times. Yet we find the virtues of usquebagh, and a receipt for making it, both simple and compound, in the red book of Ossory, compiled *nearly* 200 *years ago !* ' The Irish distilled spirits from malt in 1590, and imitated foreign liqueurs, by adding aromatic seeds and spices." *

The enactment of Queen Mary in 1559, and the "receipt" mentioned by Ware, clearly imply that the aqua vitae of England was improved upon in Ireland, and manufactured in the Pale, but consumed by the " Irishry " in growing measure, about the middle of the 16th century. Ware wrote in 1738, *nearly* 200 years after the receipt was compiled.

1. " The ancient Irish drinking cup, called the Mether, is now entirely disused, or only to be found in the remotest mountain wilds of our country. It is associated in our minds with the simplicity and hospitality of bygone days; and centenarians, who remember it, will be gratified at seeing a specimen preserved in our National Museum. This sample is of the usual form, round at bottom, quadrangular at top, and with a handle on each of its four sides. The material is crabtree ; its height 7½ inches ; its circumference 10½ inches ; and it holds about three pints. It is sometimes found of considerably greater size, and sometimes with only two handles. The use of the four handles appears evidently to have been for the greater convenience of passing the cup round from one to another." †

The Inquisition of Lifford, 1609, clearly suggests a difference in the size of the mether as used in different places, or for different purposes, for it prescribes as payment in kind by the Tory folk to their Bishop " fortie *tertian* meathers of malte." In the English " Measures of Capacity " tertian means the third part of a tun, or

* *Dublin Penny Journal*, Dec. 8th, 1832, p. 180.
† Ib. March 13th, 1833, p. 300.

Donegal County Library Service

84 gallons ; and in vulgar parlance of half a century ago, a well-understood measure was a *horn*, or *three-go*, meaning a glass and a half. Whatever may be the standard unit to which tertian refers, it conveys the idea of good measure, producing in bulk at least 20 gallons per 40 methers.

2. " Your ingenious correspondent ' P.' furnished on a former occasion a drawing of one of the ancient Irish drinking vessels called ' methers.' Having now in my possession one of the same kind, bearing an inscription and exhibiting many curious carvings, I send you sketches of it for insertion in your Journal.

" The size, dimensions, and contents of this mether exceed those described by ' P.' Its height is eight inches and three-quarters ; its circumference round the top eighteen inches, and its contents exceed two quarts. The material of which it is made appears to be solid crabtree, excavated so as to form a circle towards the bottom, while the upper part is perfectly square ; on each side is a handle with hieroglyphic carvings, not intelligible ; and on one side is the inscription, ' Dermot Tully, 1590.'

" The appearance and contents of the vessel are sufficient to satisfy us that it never was intended for that liquid fire (whiskey) which cannot be taken draughtwise, and which even the most seasoned of its admirers can only use in measured proportions. No ; the mether was intended for the rich wines, foaming ales, and other generous drinks, which were used in Ireland long before whiskey had been known to its natives. It was not until 1569 that any tax or duty was imposed upon wines coming into Ireland, and the very reason given then by Parliament for imposing this duty, most fully shows its general use among all classes of the inhabitants : 'because by the superfluous abundance of wines that are yearly discharged within this realm, grievous decay of tillage and husbandry, and idleness,

Donegal County Library Service

the mother of all vices, have been perniciously bred and nourished.' To check this a duty was made payable to Queen Elizabeth upon all wines imported, but this duty was moderate, and left wine still within the reach of the least affluent, until within the last fifty years, when tax being heaped upon tax, the drinking of wine was almost prohibited; and now, except amongst the most affluent, it is become generally disused. Each family had its own brewery, and thus possessed one source of domestic economy and employment within itself. Nor was this confined to the wealthier classes, for even the very poorest description of people brewed their own drink heretofore in Ireland; and, in the list of those who paid to the Crown the old custom called the 'Mary Gallon,' being one gallon of ale for every brewing, I have seen tanners, bakers, fishermen, husbandmen, and even labourers, regularly entered as brewing their own malt drink.

"Aqua vitae, or whiskey, that bad substitute for all that was generous, wholesome, and good, is but of comparatively recent introduction or invention. Whiskey in the middle of the sixteenth century (and the fact is now undeniable) was found to be made amongst the English settlements in Ireland for supplying to the native Irish. Queen Mary was the first who endeavoured to check this evil, and the Parliamentary enactments then made, describe whiskey to be 'a drink,' 'nothing profitable to be used, and drunken, but now universally, throughout this realm of Ireland, made, especially *in the borders* of the Irishry, and *for the furniture of Irishmen*, and thereby much corn, grain, and other things are consumed, spent, and wasted; to the great hindrance, loss, and damage of the poor inhabitants of the realm:' wherefore it was ordered no person but peers, etc., should make it without license from Government. The restrictive or licensing

Donegal County Library Service

power, thus through the best motives vested in the Crown, was afterwards turned to good account by James the First, who rewarded his favourites (most of them noblemen, as will be seen in Mr. Lodge's work), by licenses to make aqua vitae, and to keep public-houses for the sale thereof. But this system of licensing proved so profitable at length that whiskey-selling became one of the regular items of the excise revenue, and so continues to the present day.

"I hope I may live to see it again prohibited, and to witness a foaming or sparkling mether on each man's table.

"I will now only add what may be useful when that day arrives, namely, that to drink out of the mether you must apply one of the four corners, and not the side, to your mouth." *

Officialis.—" The difference between Vicar-General and Official is thus expressed by Lyndwood : 'Officiales dicuntur, quibus causarum cognitio generaliter per habentes jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam committitur ; et in tales transfunditur cognitio, non tamen inquisitio, nec punitio criminum ; nec possunt aliquos amovere a beneficiis, nec beneficia conferre. Sed Vicarii Generales haec omnia possunt facere, virtute officii, excepta collatione beneficii (tit. 43. c. 2).' " † In other words, the official is appointed to preside over the curia or episcopal court, in the Bishop's absence, or to constitute the tribunal with him, if the Bishop is present ; but this dignitary can neither bestow, nor deprive of, benefices, nor can he inflict any penalties, as an executive authority. In case he is nominated to " hear causes " throughout the diocese, he is designated Officialis Principalis ; if only for a district, he is called Officialis Foraneus. " The Officials being usually resident within the diocese and in Holy Orders, they were frequently

* *Dublin Penny Journal*, Feb. 8th, 1834, pp. 249-50.
† Reeves' *Antiquities*, 108, 109.

Donegal County Library Service

employed as Vicars-General, till by degrees the two powers came to be united in the same person."

Proxies.—"From early times till the tenth century, it was the custom for the Bishop personally to visit each parish under his jurisdiction, once a year, unless where the diocese was of too great an extent, in which case the indulgence of a biennial, or, at furthest, a triennial visitation was allowed him. A revival of this custom was contemplated by the 17th Irish Canon, which prescribes that 'the Bishop shall, in his own person, every third year, at least, in the time of his visitation, perform the duty of Confirmation, etc.' On the Scripture principle, 'Nemo cogitur sine stipendiis militare,' was founded the rule that the Bishop should be entertained by the parish priest at each Church; which entertainment was called *procuratio* from *procurare*, to refresh, as in the verses—

> Laeti bene gestis corpora rebus
> *Procurate* viri. (Virgil, *Aen.* IX. 158.)

"In after times, when a considerable portion of the visitatorial duties were delegated to the Archdeacons, the right of procuration was extended to them [not, however, in Raphoe]. This impost became very oppressive, and, to prevent further abuses, it was decreed by the Third Lateran Council, in 1179, that Archbishops, in their Visitations, were not to exceed a retinue of 40 or 50 horses; Bishops 20 or 30; Archdeacons 5 or 7; and rural deans 5 or 7.

"As soon as the Bishops ceased to hold their itinerant visitations, and the clergy were convened to their cathedrals, the word procuration or proxy came to signify a pecuniary composition paid to the Ordinary in lieu of the discontinued entertainment." *

* Ib. 98-100.

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Refections.—"*Refectio* is interpreted a dinner or supper; hence the duty to provide such. This duty was commuted, and fees were payable, on that score, to the Bishops of certain dioceses in Ireland. It is probable that such fees had their origin in the discontinuance of the custom of holding ruri-diaconal chapters, or other conventions." * All the priests on the ministry in the diocese of Raphoe were obliged to pay the taxed proxies; but refections are rarely alluded to. To remove any obscurity that may surround this apparent duplication of ecclesiastical taxes, it is necessary and sufficient to bear in mind that the proxies were intended to represent a proportionate contribution from each clergyman for the upkeep of the Bishop, while he was justified in remaining on duty within the parish; and that, on the other hand, the refection payment represented the expense of a meal occasionally at the table of an individual rector, in whose house the Bishop might, if he chose, hold assemblies of the Canons or general clergy, instead of bringing them to the Cathedral. Proxies were universal, refections particular impositions; and both taxes were insignificantly small. The modern name for proxies is cathedraticum, "in honorem cathedrae impensum."

* Reeves' *Antiquities*, 101.

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A HISTORY
OF THE
DIOCESE OF RAPHOE

PART I
ECCLESIASTICAL

CHAPTER I
RAPHOE

THE Diocese of Raphoe derives its origin and its name from an aggregation of rude cells or huts, constructed and tenanted by a colony of monks planted by St. Columba himself in the east section of the present-day village of Raphoe, still known as "The Close," about the year 550. *Rath-both* signifies *a fortified enclosure of houses*, and *Close* is an English adaptation of *clausura*, or cloister. Derry was undoubtedly Columba's first great monastic foundation, and the date traditionally fixed for that historic event is 545. Before the Saint quitted the shores of Ireland for permanent, self-imposed exile, in the year 563, he had established a multitude of monasteries in various parts of his native island, but the chronological order of their foundations is a matter of great uncertainty. However, both documentary and traditional evidence warrants the conclusion that Raphoe abbey was founded about the middle of the sixth century. The original "booths" were constructed of clay and wattles, and were in course of time replaced by buildings of more

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substantial materials. On the western side, the "Guest House" marks the boundary line.

St. Adamnan (or Eunan), the Ninth Abbot of Iona, in succession to his illustrious kinsman, Columba, was elevated to the dignity of consecrated Bishop in 698, and resided for the remaining seven years of his life mostly in Raphoe, where he established his see. The founder and chief patron of the diocese, therefore, is the renowned Adamnan, author of the *Law of the Innocents*; and Columba, founder of the mother abbey and Patron Saint of the Tirconaill clans, is the secondary Patron of the diocese.

The Donegal Annals occasionally designate the see of Raphoe as the "bishopric of Tirconaill," and the see of Ardstraw as the "bishopric of Tirowen," thus suggesting the underlying fact that the principalities and dioceses were originally coterminous, and therefore expanding or contracting with the changing fortunes of war. In other parts of Ireland the diocesan boundaries were for centuries similarly unstable, until the national Synod of Rathbreasail (in Armagh) defined authoritatively and permanently the limits of the respective bishoprics, in the year 1118. Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, presided as Papal Legate, and the decrees were enforced without avoidable delay. The Council decided that the bishopric of Raphoe should comprise the territory between Assaroe, or the Erne Estuary, and Srubh Broin, or Sroove Point (in Innishowen), in one direction, and between Carnglas (midway between Raphoe and the old Donoughmore church) and Sroove Point in another direction. The name Carnglas is long obsolete, but its location, as gleaned from the Annals, corresponds exactly with the unaltered boundary; the Erne, too, from Ballyshannon to the bar, still separates Raphoe from Clogher; but Sroove Point

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is far remote from the northern limit of Raphoe diocese. The Ordnance Survey Memoir asserts very emphatically that "there is sufficient known to show that the portion of the modern diocese of Derry, situated to the west of the River Foyle, belonged to the bishopric of Raphoe or Tirconnell."* Derry was not raised to the dignity of an episcopal see till 1158, and it is fairly well established that Flaherty O'Brolchain (Bradley), the first Bishop, was not invested with any jurisdiction extending beyond the abbey lands, and that it was only in the time of Florence O'Carolan (1279-93) that Ardstraw, Rathlury, or Cineal-Owen diocese was absorbed in Derry. "The fact appears to be," proceeds the Memoir, "that O'Brolchain had episcopal jurisdiction over the monasteries of the Columban order alone, and that, on his death, Derry reverted to the Bishop of Raphoe or Tirconnell, to which it properly belonged, and remained annexed to it for nearly a century, till the increasing power of the O'Caireallains, chiefs of the Clan Dermot, aided by the other branches of the Kinel-Owen, or Tyronians, enabled Gervase or Gilla-an-Choimhdhe O'Caireallain, the Bishop of Tyrone, to annex it for a while to his own bishopric, and constitute it the see of his diocese. Harris states from the Registry of Clogher, that this Bishop is said to have taken away from the Bishop of Raphoe, Carbry O'Scopa, some parts of the diocese of Raphoe, and to have annexed them to his own diocese. It is worthy of remark that, so late as the close of the eighteenth century, Dr. Coyle, titular Bishop of Raphoe, protested against the titular Bishop of Derry in the barony of Innishowen."†

Carbry O'Scopa journeyed to Rome in 1274 to petition the Holy See for the restitution of Innishowen to himself and his successors in the see of Raphoe, but, dying the

* p. 21. † p. 31.

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following year in the Eternal City, he returned not to tell the fate of his mission, nor have any published archives disclosed the tale. Certain it is that Innishowen never after belonged to Raphoe, nor is there any record of interrupted friendship in consequence between the prelates and clergy of the respective dioceses.

A very curious document, copied from the Law Records of the Rolls Court, appears in the above-mentioned Memoir at the year 1396*: "Geoffrey Mac Loughlin, Bishop of Derry, sued Henry MacCrossan, Bishop of Raphoe, for a messuage and 10 carucats of land and 1,000 acres of pasture in Derry Columbkille, which Geoffrey claimed as the right of his church of St. Columba of Derry, and to which said Henry had no right except by the gift of Donal Og O'Donnell, who had unjustly deprived Germanus O'Cercallain, late Bishop of Derry, and given it to Florence O'Friel, late Bishop of Raphoe."

This uncanonical and unpatriotic appeal to a British tribunal was prompted by the knowledge that the English were, at this particular period, enemies of the Tirconaill rulers; and its claim to justice is further vitiated by the glaring contempt it displays for the church privileges, notably the "privilegium fori," which was respected by the humblest tenant on a herenach estate. The writer is far from believing that the Tirconaill dynast possessed at all times undisputed sway and the right to dispose of all lands in Derry and Innishowen; but in periods of his acknowledged supremacy, he made uncontested grants to the Dominicans, etc., and undoubtedly Donal Og was at the very zenith of his power immediately before his death in 1281, in the battle of Desertcreight, where he was defeated by Hugh Buidhe O'Neill and the English. We may, therefore, dismiss on its merits the charge brought against Hugh

* p. 24.

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Mac Crossan, Bishop of Raphoe; but we are compelled by historic evidence to acknowledge that Innishowen never reverted to Raphoe after the alleged forcible annexation by Gervase O'Carolan in 1273. Donoghmore, Urney, and Clonleigh belonged from the remotest ages to the old diocese of Ardstraw, and Innismacsaint and Pettigo (or Termon Magrath) to that of Clogher. Nor is Killea mentioned in any ancient document as a parish of Raphoe; but the Derry Inquisition of 1609 makes it abundantly clear that even then a triangular projection of Raphoe diocese had its apex in the very centre of the city of Derry. "The Jurors find that the ground whereon the old Castle, called O'Donnell's Castle was built within the lower fort of the city, was formerly bought by O'Donnell from the herenach Mac Laughlin, as being part of his herenach land, for twenty cows. Also, that within the island of Derry there were two herenachs belonging to the late Abbot of Columbkille, the one called Loughlinach, within the diocese of Derry, and the other called O'Deery, within the diocese of Raphoe."*

Twenty-seven parishes are enumerated and discussed in the Inquisition sped at Lifford on the 12th of September, 1609, and there is no ground for supposing that any alteration had taken place in the number or limits of these parishes for many centuries previous to this dismal date. Tory (comprising a very extensive and fairly populous district on the mainland) was denuded of its inhabitants, its abbey, and its churches in 1608, immediately after Sir Cahir O'Doherty's death, and never revived as a distinct parish, or even as a desirable appanage. Raymunterdoney was united to Tullaghobegley; and Tauchboyne to Raymohy (the former included All Saints), a small strip of Killea outside the Liberties having been tacked on;

* Reeves, *Ulster Inq.*, App. iv.

Donegal County Library Service

Aughininshin and Leck were absorbed by Conwal ; Tullyfern and a large wing of Clondavaddog were amalgamated with Tullygarvan ; and Killaghtee in course of time became attached to Killybegs. Thus seven ancient parishes ceased to exist as separate ecclesiastical units ; but, on the other hand, several new parishes were created by division and by readjustment. Townawilly or Donegal, Ardara, Upper Templecrone or Dungloe, Tullogh obegley West or Gweedore, Termon, and Stranorlar, are comparatively modern creations, mostly effected during the episcopacy of the Most Rev. Philip O'Reilly (1759-1781), During the interval between 1600 and 1760, Lettermacaward was united to the western portion of Inniskeel ; and in earlier ages this district was ministered to by the Columban monks of Inniskeel abbey. As all the parishes will be treated of separately, it is sufficient to remark here that the aggregate number was first reduced by seven, and then augmented by six, and the figure for the past century has remained stationary at twenty-six.

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CHAPTER II

The Primate's Rights in Raphoe

The Canon Law invests the Metropolitan with jurisdiction in the Suffragan Sees only on occasions of Visitation and of Appeal. When a provincial diocese loses its Bishop by resignation, transfer, or death, it is the privilege of the Metropolitan, moreover, to preside at the election of a Vicar Capitular, and to see that the prescribed rules are complied with. There his duties as well as his rights entirely end; during the interregnum his interference is as limited as during active occupancy. However, the Coarb of St. Patrick was not an ordinary Metropolitan; for prescription had secured him certain temporal rights everywhere in Ireland, and the Holy See confirmed to him the title of Primate of the four Provinces of *all* Ireland. For our present purpose, it will be sufficient to discuss two broad outstanding features of the historic relations subsisting between the Primatial See and Raphoe, as evidenced, first, by the permanent levy of an insignificant tax, and secondly, by an isolated case of drastic interference by the Primate of the day, by claiming not merely spiritual jurisdiction but the custody of the temporalities during a vacancy in 1442.

On the former issue, the testimony furnished by the famous Inquisition so often cited, is perfectly clear so far as the occasional enforcement of the tax is concerned, but that important oracle is absolutely silent in regard to the periods of recurring Visitations. "The said Jurors," we are informed, "doe uppon their oathes, find that the

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lord Archbusshopp of Armagh for the tyme beinge, hath tyme out of minde, *in cursu Visitationis Metropolitæ*, receaved out of everie chapple or union tenn pence, and out of everie greate parishe twentie pence." The object of this legislation was to check the expenditure by salutary limitations, and to prevent exactions for coshering, etc., by the Primate's retinue. Thus, the contrast is very marked between the Raphoe assessment and the contributions levied on the people of Tir Eghain in 1150: "The successor of Patrick and the Clergy of Patrick made a Visitation of Tir Eoghain, and they obtained their full tribute of cows; that is a cow from every house of a biatach and freeman, a horse from every chieftain, and twenty cows from the king himself."* The Primate's Visitation of Tuam was quinquennial; and it is natural to infer that his own suffragan sees were favoured with his visits not less rarely than this remote province.

Stuart's *Armagh* (p. 122) and Reeve's *Transcript of Prene's Register* (pp. 149-153) furnish a detailed account of the lamentable result of the Primate's insistence on his assumed rights as "custodian" of the see of Raphoe in 1442, during the interregnum following the death of Loghlin O'Gallagher in 1438. Why a Vicar Capitular had not been appointed in regular, canonical, form, we have no means of ascertaining; but it is evident that Donal, the Dean, and the Cathedral Chapter had retained in their own hands the direction of all spiritual and temporal interests of the vacant see. We may well suppose that they were constantly expecting that the Pope would approve of one of the candidates for the episcopacy, and were convinced that the election of a Capitular Vicar might cause avoidable jealousies. John Prene was a Palesman and not of English birth, as his un-Celtic name suggests; but he had

* F.M.

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all the Englishman's greed for money and contempt of the "meere Irishe." His astounding decree was worthy of an Arthur Chichester or a Bishop Montgomery. Still it cannot be alleged against him that he was the first Primate to claim the temporalities of a vacant see. For in 1290 Nicholas, Archbishop of Armagh, forwarded a petition to Edward I of England to confirm by royal sanction, his right, enjoyed by his predecessors, to the temporalities (during vacancy) of some five sees, including Raphoe. Edward, on the incontestable principle that if he could grant, he could appropriate, replied that he would graciously retain them himself.

But the King's writ did not run, nor had he the power to enforce his decrees, in Tirconaill. Reeves thus summarises the story of Prene's censures * :—

"Archbishop Prene pronounced the sentence of suspension, excommunication, and interdict against the Dean and Chapter of Raphoe, and declared Nunerus, *alias* Naghton O'Donnell, chief of his nation, a heretic, because they had usurped, seized, and detained the fruits and profits of the bishopric then vacant, styling himself guardian of the spiritualities and spiritual jurisdiction and of the temporalities of the Raphoe see, and appointing Odo Mac Cathmbaill, Canon of Derry, his commissary and vice-guardian. He also decreed that the figure of the holy cross belonging to the Cathedral of Raphoe should remain in his church of Armagh as long as they persisted in said schism, and that the secular arm should be resorted to in the person of Henry, the eldest son of O'Neill."

The celebrated writer, just quoted, explains that the plenary powers here claimed to deal with vacant sees, included not merely collation to benefices, but the enjoyment

* *Colton's Visitation*, p. xv.

Donegal County Library Service

of the episcopal revenue. This last clause gives a clue to his motives; and an illuminative record by the Four Masters in the chronicles of that year, 1442, sheds abundant light on his selection of a "secular arm" to execute his tyrannical judgment: "Henry, the son of Eoghan O'Neill, having gone to the English, who supplied him with a very large force, marched to Castlefin, and O'Neill, his father, proceeded to the same place, to join Henry and the English with all his followers." It is evident that the magnanimous Prene availed of the critical condition of the O'Donnell's position to thunder his maledictions against him. But in the following year, Prene ceased to give or receive trouble in this world; the Archdeacon Laurence O'Gallagher, who had been manacled with ecclesiastical censures by Prene, was elevated to the episcopal dignity in the chair of Adamnan; and the O'Donnell gradually regained his lost territory and prestige.

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CHAPTER III

The Cross of Raphoe Cathedral

The Four Masters record, at the year 1397, that "Hugh Mac Mahon recovered his eyesight through fasting, which he performed in honour of the holy Cross of Raphoe." And the *Annals of Ulster* describe a much more striking manifestation of the miraculous character of this famous crucifix: "1411. The Holy Cross of Rath-both rained blood from its wounds this year, and distempers and diseases numerous were relieved thereby." It is irrelevant to our purpose here to discuss the question whether this carved-wood emblem was really endowed with any miraculous efficacy at all, or was it the faith of the patients that healed them. Undoubtedly, there is the third alternative of the sceptic: patients recovered in the natural course. But we read in a certain Book, which is not designed to foster superstitions, that "there is a pond called Probatica, and he who went down first into the pond after the motion of the water, was made whole of whatever infirmity he lay under." *

In another chapter we are told that a woman, by touching the hem of Our Lord's cloak, was cured of a dangerous disease. It is to be presumed that the faith of the sufferers was quite as ardent and robust before, as it was during the simple ceremony, and that the visit and contact were conditions indispensable to the cure. However, we are now dealing with historical facts and deductions, and not with theological dogmas. And the most outstanding conclusion that forces itself on our minds, is the respect and awe with which the inhabitants and

* St. John v. 2, 4.

Donegal County Library Service

pilgrims must have looked upon this celebrated cross that was reputed to have "rained blood." As it is bracketed with the statue of Our Lady of Trim in the narrative of Hugh Mac Mahon's (or Matthew's) miraculous recovery of his eyesight, we may justly infer that it was both ancient and widely known.

Till quite recently it was universally believed that this was the cross removed in 1442 by Primate Prene to Armagh, in circumstances to which we have adverted in a previous chapter. That the stone thus abstracted, with doubtful legality and undoubted provocativeness, possessed immense value, whether intrinsic as a work of art, or adventitious as an object of devotion, is unquestionable; but a Roman document brought to light some few years ago, leads us to believe that Primate Prene's prize was valued much more for its size and artistic sculpture than for any reputation it enjoyed for miraculous cures. Stuart's observations on the futility of any effort to identify the plundered stone among the many crosses of Armagh in his day, confirm the view that this stolen treasure had never been viewed with any special religious veneration: "We have already seen that various other crosses had been erected in the city of Armagh; it is therefore doubtful whether that now in question was the one which lately stood in the centre of Market Street, as traditionally asserted and believed." *

Moreover, he remarks that this Raphoe cross was "of uncertain antiquity," a description utterly inapplicable to a sacred object mentioned with reverence by Cathal Maguire and the Four Masters. Nor is it conceivable that the devout Catholics of Raphoe diocese would have allowed so hallowed a relic as the old "Holy Cross" to be permanently retained in Armagh.

* Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 76.

Donegal County Library Service

But, in any case, we possess the most invincible documentary proof that the miraculous crucifix was never removed from the Cathedral, but was there burnt by frenzied, iconoclast heretics about 1600, after Niall Garbh had sold himself and his kinsfolk to the English. For close on sixty years before this event, the Bishop of the diocese had not resided at Raphoe, and the Cathedral had greatly deteriorated in consequence, both in its prestige as a largely frequented ecclesiastical centre, and in its material upkeep and decoration.

Art O'Gallagher, consecrated in 1547, lived at Kinnaveer, where he died in 1561 "greatly lamented in Tirconaill"; Donald Mac Gonagle lived during his episcopacy, and died in Killybegs, 1589; while Niall O'Boyle, still alive at Killtourish, when the Petition was drawn up, had previously resided at the Manor House in Killybegs. At this critical time Niall was superannuated, and the Dean, Chapter, and Clergy confidently hoping that Hugh O'Donnell and Hugh O'Neill would achieve an early and decisive victory, were determined to restore their ancient Cathedral to its pristine pre-eminence among the churches of Ireland. It had been desecrated and disfigured, but it was an easy matter to have it restored and re-consecrated; the famous cross had been burnt to ashes; how was it to be replaced? There was only one way to provide anything like an adequate substitute for the time-honoured emblem of devotion so barbarously destroyed by the Saracens; and this method the clergy adopted with zealous promptitude and exemplary intelligence. All of them who approved, assembled in Raphoe, and forwarded a humble petition to the Holy Father, Clement the Eighth, to send to the Cathedral an indulgenced crucifix, enshrining a portion of the "True Cross." In form and in spirit this letter is a model; it is couched in exquisite

Donegal County Library Service

language and, apart from the spiteful references to the Bishop, it is characterised, in every sentence, by deep humility, truthfulness, and loyal attachment. And its value is enormously enhanced by the fact that it was conceived and composed in an atmosphere thick with internal treachery and racial rancour, while all Tirconaill, but the Raphoe sector especially, languished in the throes of a war of extermination. The following is a translation, in which we omit a few sentences of the original, which are not directly germane to the purpose of the Petition :—

TO HIS HOLINESS, CLEMENT THE EIGHTH, THE CHAPTER AND CLERGY OF RAPHOE PRAYERFULLY WISH LONG LIFE AND WORLD-WIDE OBEDIENCE.

"Most Holy Father.—The episcopal city of Raphoe has always been, and has ever deserved to be, ranked among the most renowned places in Ireland, as well on account of its tutelary Patrons, Saint Columba and Saint Adamnan, conspicuous in merit and sanctity, as on account of its local associations, its population, and its ancient fame for learning. But the tyranny of the English and the ferocious savagery of the heretics, by their ruthless devastation, stripped our cathedral town of its pristine splendour, and precipitated it into almost complete desolation and ruin. For its books were forcibly plundered, and its countless ornaments were every one confiscated by the English looters ; the magnificent buildings attached to the Cathedral were set fire to and demolished by heart-rending conflagration ; and our most sacred Crucifix *was sacrilegiously burnt*, which during successive centuries Almighty God had employed as the instrument for performing miracles without number. Through its miraculous efficacy many a poor victim of an incurable disease or

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hurt was restored to sound health and vigour; and multitudes of pilgrims swarmed to visit it from every corner of Ireland. In virtue of this attraction, the nobles, the middle classes, and the rank and file of the people flocked to the Cathedral of Raphoe with marvellous devotion, giving it a marked preference over all other places of pilgrimage.

"But now this venerable church has been visited with so many appalling calamities, crushed by so harrowing miseries, and shaken by so many storms and tempests, that scarcely a vestige appears of its ancient glory. For, during the past sixty years, the successive Bishops, following their own individual inclinations and whims, have neglected to expend any solicitude, attention, or energy on the upkeep and ornamentation of the Cathedral; nor indeed have they done anything for its protection and preservation. But now, through God's grace and the military prowess of those illustrious heroes, Hugh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell, and owing to their triumphs in the cause of religion, whereby they have bruised and battered the forces of the heretics, we are inspired with buoyant hopes that this church will be restored to its pristine splendour, and by the zealous efforts of pious men, be once more equipped in that graceful dignity which was wrested from her by the excesses of the times, and by the malignity of the heretics. For Prince O'Donnell is a man of conspicuous fervour, and is deeply devoted to the Catholic Church and to all offices of charity; and we ourselves, with God's holy assistance, will expend any little means and energies we possess in the zealous prosecution of this work.

"But, Most Holy Father, nothing could be more effective for a successful issue, nothing could be a more powerful incentive, than if we saw an image of the Holy Cross authoritatively erected in our Cathedral, for by this

Donegal County Library Service

means the light of its ancient venerableness would again shine forth, and the devout minds of the surrounding population would be stimulated with renewed emulation to visit, to honour, and to beautify the Cathedral building, and the throng of worshippers would become as numerous as in the days of its whilom celebrity. For in this city there has always been fostered a very special devotion to the Cross, so that, from time out of mind to the present day, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14th September) has been celebrated without interruption and with particular solemnity, nor will those who are now children ever fail to perpetuate its observance with equal fervour.

"Wherefore, Most Holy Father, we implore your apostolic Holiness, for the love of Jesus Christ, Our Redeemer, by the sorrowful desolation and utter destitution of the church of Raphoe, by the immense solicitude with which you watch over the progress and ornamentation of all churches; we beseech you, and, with all the vehemence of our devotedness to your person, we most earnestly beg of you to transmit to this city, out of your generous bounty, a small fragment of the True Cross enclosed in a Crucifix, and privileged with a plenary indulgence available for ever on the Feast of the Exaltation. Should this favour be granted (and, we trust, it will) this Cathedral Church will revive, the glory of God will be radiated from it, the salvation of souls will be assured, and the memory of your Holiness will be lovingly treasured in this city for all future ages. Indeed, Most Holy Father, we may well proclaim you blessed, for under your rulership as Supreme Pontiff, the tusks of English tyranny and heretical arrogance have been drawn, and, in this Kingdom of Ireland, where the hearts at all events of our people have been sound and persevering in obedience to Catholic teaching since the

Donegal County Library Service

days of St. Patrick, the purity of the true religion is exhibiting a new splendour, the ravages perpetrated by the heretics are being repaired, and the former position of religion restored. May the great and good God preserve your Holiness in sound health to promote the glory of His name, the spread of the Faith, and the uprooting of errors, for many and many a day.

"From the City of Raphoe,
"The Ides (15th) of July, 1600."

It is unfortunate that no record has yet been traced to show whether this most edifying Petition was acceded to or not; but at all events no such Crucifix has been preserved in the diocese, and no tradition exists on the subject.

The passages excised from the Petition as here translated, will be presented and commented upon in a later chapter, where it will be shown that the animosity exhibited towards the old Bishop in those few sentences, was the natural outcome of rancorous political factionism.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER IV

Temporalities

The glaring inadequacy of the maintenance allowance secured to the secular clergy of the Catholic and only existing Church in Ireland down to the Elizabethan era, cannot fail to strike the reader as a scathing satire on the boasted generosity and religious fervour of our illustrious ancestors, princes and people. A gort of land embraced an area of about six Irish acres; and, as the priests' gort was invariably marked off in the vicinity of the parochial church, the soil was often the reverse of fertile. No residence was provided, inasmuch as the parson in remote days belonged to the family of the coarb, who was entitled to certain revenues from monastic lands; or to the family of the herenach who "farmed" the parochial tithes. Thus he enjoyed a patrimony, which secured him an independent and commanding status even in temporal affairs. So important was this coveted hereditary pre-eminence, that it was recognised by the ecclesiastical authorities as a legitimate title for advancement to Holy Orders. And for all practical purposes, the coarb and herenach septs occupied precisely co-ordinate positions, both in dignity and in emoluments, the only outstanding difference being purely ancestral. The coarb was a collateral descendant of the Saint who founded the monastery in question; and the herenach was the chief representative of the sept entrusted, as a rule through successive generations, with the administration of the parish finances and the superintendence of the church property. When a coarb died, succession was

Donegal County Library Service

determined on the ordinary traditional lines; but, when a herenach died, the Bishop might exercise his right of veto, and even in exceptional circumstances, appoint the chief member of a different sept. The O'Friels, O'Breslins, and O'Devennys, for instance, supplied coarbs and parsons in Kilmacrenan, Innishkeel, and Killteevogue; while the O'Boyles, Mac Nelises, and Magroarties, contributed herenachs, and sometimes parsons, to Clondahorkey, Glencolumbkille, and Tory.

Apart from the important and far-reaching advantages arising out of his patrimony, the parson stood on precisely the same level with the Vicar as regards the provisions for maintenance. So rigidly and universally was this regulation enforced that, where the parson was allotted as many as six small gorts—in Clondavaddog, for instance—the vicar also enjoyed an endowment of six gorts, perfectly equal in extent and value. The normal allowance was, of course, one gort for each clergyman; and the principle of equality is clearly evidenced in the traditional apportionment throughout the diocese, but strikingly accentuated in the case of Conwal, where there were granted "to the saide parson and viccar three gortes of glebe equallie to be divided betwixt them."

The staple salary of the secular clergy in all dioceses was contributed by the people in the form of tithes, which, in Raphoe, were paid in kind, not in money. However, crude and primitive as was the system of collection, it would be a grotesque error to infer that the people conveyed individually to the priest's residence, and deposited there, the assessed tribute of butter or meal. It was the herenach's duty to collect the divisible dues, in whatever form they were paid, and retaining one-third the cumulative value of the contributions for himself, he disbursed the estimated price of one-third the total to the parson, and

Donegal County Library Service

an equal sum to the vicar. The oft-repeated definition of the immemorial custom is thus expressed in the Inquisitions: "The tiethes of the sayde parishe are payde in kynde; one third parte to the parson; another third parte to the viccar; and thother third parte to the herenach; and they are to mainteyne and repaire the parish churche at theire chardge equallie." The parson and the herenach were irremovable; and consequently, if the vicar happened to be promoted soon after he had drawn his annual revenues from the parish, it is obvious that his proportion of the necessary expenses for the upkeep of the parish church could not be easily recovered, or perhaps reasonably demanded. This contingency did not often arise, as vicars would appear to have been rarely translated from the parish of their original appointment; and, moreover, such an incident could not materially affect the parochial finances, as the herenach would naturally deduct at the final settlement, the contribution due up to date, from the balance payable to the outgoing vicar.

It must not, however, be inferred that the parson and the vicar were treated with such even-balanced equality in other dioceses, outside Raphoe and Derry; for the general custom is typified in the following illustration from the arrangements prevalent in Clogher:—"In the said parishe of Enismisaugh is both a parson and a viccar; and all the tiethes thereof are paide in kynde; namely, one fourth parte to the busshope of Clogher for the tyme beinge; another fourth parte to the viccar; and thother two fourth partes to the parson." Under such conditions the vicar would naturally look forward to preferment in order to become entitled to the "two fourthe partes" or half of the teithes as parson. But such promotions were limited by the universal custom which prescribed that the members of the coarb or herenach families might claim succession to a

Donegal County Library Service

vacancy in the parsonage even before they had been invested with Holy Orders, provided they were students and had shown themselves eligible candidates for the priesthood. "The parsonages were usually bestowed upon students that intended to take orders, towards their maintenance at school, and were enjoyned, within few yeares after they accepted the parsonage, to enter into orders."*

Catholic readers, unacquainted with the pre-Plantation arrangements in our Irish Church, are apt to conceive the position of a vicar as analogous to that of a curate in our modern system. This conception is utterly erroneous; for the vicar's status was exactly co-ordinate with that of the parson, and his tenure of office was fortified with the same canonical security "during good behaviour." No doubt there were some points of difference, but not all of these were to the advantage of the parson. The vicar was obliged to discharge his spiritual duties personally, and not by proxy or substitute; and hence only fully ordained priests were eligible for appointment, and, once installed, they were bound to permanent residence in the vicinity of the church. They enjoyed a canonical benefice; and, in addition to their third of the tithes, they were entitled to appropriate, as indivisible fees, all monies and gifts presented to them on the occasion of baptisms and weddings, for their own personal use and benefit. Offerings at funerals had not yet been introduced, but the priest, parson, or vicar said Mass in the house of the deceased on the morning of the funeral, and we may legitimately assume that he was remunerated in some way for this exceptional labour. Finally, in the diocese of Derry, the vicar was allotted a gort, or a gort and a sessiah; while we have no evidence that any portion of land was set apart specially for the parson.

* *Derry O.M.*, p. 50.

Donegal County Library Service

It is almost superfluous to remind the reader that the tenants on the herenach lands paid no rents save to the church beneficiaries; other tenants gave a small sum proportionate to their means, collected by an agent with a liberal commission. As a general rule, the chief herenach in the parish managed the parochial finances, whether the revenues accrued from the church lands or from tithes. At first sight, the Catholic reader is puzzled to divine the object of the strict inquiry into these various sources of ecclesiastical funds by a Commission so avowedly hostile to all institutions and practices of the Catholic clergy. The answer is found in the names and characters of the Commissioners. For, the transparent object of the Protestant Primate was to secure for his own coffers as large revenues as could be extracted from the Catholic church-land tenants within his rich and extensive archdiocese. Next came Bishop Montgomery, for whose greedy barathrum the inflated incomes of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe were entirely insufficient. These two worthy prelates were the natural and rightful heirs of the banished monks and martyred or exiled Catholic bishops! Pious hypocrites that they were, they would have little mercy for the starving vagrant who would filch a penny from the poor-box in a church; but they felt no scruple in stealing for themselves the whole church, parish, and diocese. Indeed few of these great apostolic men were content with one diocese each; Montgomery had three.

In the year 1609, in which this Inquisition was held, the income of the Catholic Bishop of Raphoe was about £200; the Dean received about £50 in addition to the revenue of his landed estates; while the other Dignitaries (except the official) and even the Canons, enjoyed no emoluments beyond the ordinary parochial dues. The Vicar-General particularly, and, next to him, the Archdeacon, were

Donegal County Library Service

obliged to incur heavy expenses in travelling, and in supporting the dignity of their respective offices, but no provision existed to compensate them for this additional outlay. Similarly, the Chapter was summoned at stated intervals and on occasions of emergency to meet in the Cathedral at Raphoe ; and yet no endowment furnished any fund for their maintenance. No doubt, the Dean was bound to supply lodging and refreshments for one night ; any other necessary expenditure had to be defrayed out of their private resources.

We shall follow the order of the Inquisition in tracing the financial relations of the various parishes, first, with the Bishop ; secondly, with the Dean ; thirdly, with the Official ; and, lastly, with their respective resident clergy.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER V

The Bishop's Revenues

1. "The Lord Busshop of Raphoe is parson of the Cathedrall and parishe church of Raphoe. Of the tiethes one third parte is paid to the parson.

2. "The busshop of Raphoe is both parson and viccar in the parishe of Aughininshin, and the busshop's proxies there are four shillings irish the peece (each) from the parson and the viccar, and in right thereof he receaveth and taketh upp twoe third partes of the tiethes in kynde, tother third parte being paide toe the Muintircheallaigh (the O'Kellys). The said busshope is toe mainteyne a curate there, unto whom there is belonginge one gorte of glebe.

3. "The busshop of Raphoe is parson of the parishe of Kilbeg (Killybegs), in right of his busshopricke and receaveth one third parte of the tiethes. There is one gorte belonginge to the parson."

4. In the parish of Raphoe, which included the extensive district subsequently detached by the Protestant church authorities to form the modern parish of Convoy, the herenach lands included the most fertile portions of the soil, and, apart from the mountainous district of Cark, embraced nearly half the total area. The entire extent of the parish is defined in the Inquisition as 9½ ballybetachs, = 38 quarters = 57 colonies = 285 ballyboes. Seeing that the smallest modern sub-division is a townland, and that the aggiegate number of townlands in the united parishes is 112, we may roughly estimate the

Donegal County Library Service

extent of a townland at 2½ ballyboes. But it is hardly necessary to remind the reader that townland or ballyboe is a most fallacious unit of superficial measurement, as it would be difficult to find two townlands of precisely the same acreage, and the ballyboe was equally indeterminate.

But the proportion of the lands in the parish, that had been dedicated to church uses during ten centuries, can be grasped without any elaborate calculation. There were 38 quarters or small estates, and 18 of these, or about half of the entire area in point of productiveness or value, belonged to the bishop in fee simple. The specific details are somewhat prolix, but they are neither obscure nor uninteresting.

"The said Jurors doe further say and present uppon their oathes that Raphoe is the busshop's see of Raphoe. and contains in toto, nyne ballibetaghs and a halfe, whereof eighteen quarters are herenaghe lande, namely; Dromheire (Cooladerry), the twoe quarters of Clanmoquin (Glenmacquin), Caroasmnoy (Lismontigley), Carrowkillcoell (Kiltole), Carrownehardewarne (Ardvarnock), Carrowsigart (Priestown, in Convoy parish), the half quarter of Tulloughodeveux (Winnyhaw), four quarters of Carneglasse (unidentified, but midway between Raphoe and Castlefin, on the frontier).

"Coolaughin (Coolaghy), Ffarrienemonitretony (Muintirtinny), half a quarter called Fferonoghanny (the Canon's Quarter, Shannagh). And thother fower quarters are divided into six colonies, everey colonie conteyninge five balliboes. And for the severall rentes due to the busshop of Raphoe, the said Jurors refer themselves to the busshop's register; and that the auncient tennantes of the said sixe colonies were the Cahanes; of the quarter of Drumheny (Drumineny) the sept of Rory Ballagh O'Donill; the two

Donegal County Library Service

quarters of Clanoquin were mensall landes ; and who were the tennantes of Cassoosmonin (Caroasmon above, Lismontigley), but that the tennantes of Corokillwell (Kiltole) were aunciently the Clannonomans (Mac Menamins). And that Carrofiggart (Figart) doth belong to the sept of the Dowgans (Doogans, banished to the Rosses), who were the busshop's carpenters ; and that the half quarter Tollohedeveny (Tullyvinny) was auncientlie in in the sept of the Veneis (the Devennys) ; and that one of the fower quarters of Carneglasse, named Slaverlaughin (Stranorlaghan) doe properlie belonge to the sept of the Cormockes (Mac Cormacks), and that twoe other of the saide fower quarters were ever in the disposicion of the said busshop ; and that halfe the quarter of Coolaghey belongeth to the busshop ; and that the quarter of Muintirtinny belongeth to the sept of the Tomies (the O'Tinnys), uppon a little gorte whereof is a stone house named Gargieshrahie, which belonged to Hugh O'Donill and his ancestors, who bought the said gorte from the sept of the Tomies (O'Tinnys) ; and they do further saie that the half quarter of Fferonohaneny (Fearann na Gcananach) did auncientlie belonge to the Canons of Derrie, under certain covenantes to be performed by them for the celebrating of divine service (*sic !*) and doinge other dueties to the busshop. And that the old tennantes under the busshope were the Muntearlessets (the O'Lynches or Mac Glincheys), but that nowe the said half quarter is come to the possession of the saide busshop of Raphoe, fortie fyve yeres sithence, for not performing those conditions. And the said Jurors doe further say that the said busshope, in right of his busshopricke, holdeth the mensall landes within the parishe.

5. " And further the said Jurors doe uppon their oathes say that, in the parishe of Taboihin (Taughboyne, All

Donegal County Library Service

Saints), conteyninge in the whole twelve ballibetaghes and a half, there are fower quarters of herenach lande, and that auncientlie the herenagh there was O'Ruddy (O'Roddy), but nowe the busshope of Raphoe doth att his owne will dispose thereof, out of which the annuall rent to the said busshop was sixe meathers of butter, and fower meathers of meale; and sixe shillinges and eight pence irish in money; and, also, the said herenach paid pencion to the busshop for the third of his tithes there fortie shillinges irish.

6. "And they further say that in the said Baronie is the parishe of Raghmioighie (Raymohy), conteyninge in the whole fyve ballibetaghes and a half, whereof one quarter is herenach land; and that the herenagh is Montrevegh (Muintir Veagh or the Mac Veighs), payeing thereout yerely to the busshope the rent of thirteene shillinges and fower pence, and out of the busshop's third of the tithes there twentie sixe shillings and eight pence irish, pencion, and paid alsoe eight meathers of butter and twentie twoe meathers of meale per annum." The modern townland Veagh, sufficiently identifies the locality of the herenach land.

7. "And the said Jurors uppon their oathes doe further say that in the said baronie there is alsoe the parishe of Lackovenan (Leck), conteyninge in all fyve ballibetaghes and a half, whereof there is one quarter of herenagh land, and that Megevan (Mac-an-Oidhche. Modernised Nee) is herenach there, paying out of the said herenagh lande to the said busshope of Raphoe the yerely rent of thirteen shillinges and fower pence irish, eight meathers of butter and thirtie towe meathers of meale; and out of the busshop's thirdes of the tithes there twentie sixe shillinges and eight pence irish, pencion." The ancient name of Leck was Leckovenagh, or O'Mulvany's Flagstone; and though the

Donegal County Library Service

tribe name is now forgotten in these parts, we find it still flourishing in the neighbourhood in 1397, for the parish of Donaghmore was presided over by a pastor, named O'Mulvany (*Colton's Visitation*).

8. "And there is alsoe the parishe of Srahenurlaher (Stranorlar) conteyninge in all fower ballibetaghes and a halfe, but there is onlie cimiterriall land, or a churchyard, thereunto belonginge, and there is one herenaghe tenant that holds the foure balliboes, viz:—(Brockagh), Leitterbricks, Balliebonoboaneboy (Lettershanbo), and Ballibotemple, paying thereout yerelie to the said busshope, sixe shillinges and eight pence, beside such other dueties as are contained in the said busshop's register, to which the said Jurors do herein refer themselves, which landes are distant sixe or seven miles from the parishe church (old Catholic), but ly within the said parishe. Twoe third partes of the whole tiethes are paid in kynde to the deane, and the other thirde parte to the busshope of Raphoe.

"And, further, the said Jurors doe uppon their oathes say and present that the graunge of Killfaugher (Ballynamanach) conteyneth one quarter of land whiche belonges to the late dissolved abbay of Asheroe, and now inhabited by the sept of the Brianns (Burns), payeing thereout yerelie to the said late dissolved abbay of Asheroe, the rent of sixe shillinges and eight pence Irishe, for the said landes.

"And, further, they saie that the herenagh land of Rossbrokin, conteyning halfe a quarter, whereof O'Hilly is the herenagh, and paieth thereout yerelie to the busshop of Raphoe sixe shillinges and eight pence Irishe per annum; and that the said land lyeth within the parishe of Leck, but is noe parte of the church land belonginge to that parishe."

It seems a curious fact that Rossbrackin should have been annexed to the Killteevogue parish, from which it is

Donegal County Library Service

geographically so remotely situated. The most probable explanation is that this district was the property of the O'Devennys, the original donors of the church lands in Killteevogue.

The Grainshe or Grange (Granary) of Kilfaugher was never an appurtenance of the see, but as it was a donation made by the O'Dohertys when at the zenith of their power (1194) it was most probably herenach land from a much more remote period, else the local proprietor would have protested. Archdall transforms the place-name into Hilfothuir :—" Hilfothuir :—An abbey was founded here for the Cistercian Order, A.D. 1194, by O'Doherty ; it was a daughter of the abbey Ashroe, and in process of time was united to it," but not before 1580, as it is not mentioned in the Inquisition sped in that year, among the estates of Assaroe monastery.

9. " And further the said Jurors doe uppon their oathes say and present, that in the baronie of Kilmacknenan are the severall parishes ensuinge, viz. :—The parish of Clandowaddoge, conteyninge in all twelve ballibetaghes, whereof there are fower quarters of herenagh land (Tonbane Glebe), and that the herenagh thereof is the sept of the Mointerhernes (the O'Harrons, who were banished from Ballyhernan at the Plantation, and who settled in Glenfin), payenge yerelie thereout to the busshop of Raphoe fortie shillinges Irish, rent, and out of the busshop's thirds of the tiethes there fortie shillinges Irish, pencion per annum. And the herenagh's tenantes have fowre and twentie gortes, or small parcells of lande free to themselves, divided equallie uppon the said fower quarters, whereof everie one of the said tenantes are proporcionablie free as they severallie hold the said gortes ; and that in the said parishe are twelve gortes more lyeing twoe miles (Carrowkeel Glebe) from the church

Donegal County Library Service

named Killdaveed (Kill Davaddog, Rossnakill) which are free to the herenach. And the said Jurors alsoe say, uppon their oathes, that all the said landes were, long before the tyme of any busshop given to the Saint O'Waddog (Davaddog), and that Mac Swyney Fanagh had auncenitlie, out of three of the said quarters, fower meathers of butter everie yeare the lands were inhabited. And, further, they say that in the said parishe is both a parson and a viccar, who paie unto the said busshop of Raphoe eight shillings Irishe a peece.

10. "And there is alsoe the parishe of Kilgarvan, conteyninge in temporall landes twoe ballibets, and in the said parishe is a chappell without any glebe belonging thereunto (Tonakill, north west of New Bridge) save only one small gorte, which hath bene converted to a churchyarde (now tilled). And that the tiethes are all paid in kynde, twoe thirds partes to the deane, and thother third parte to the busshop of Raphoe; and that the said busshop is to beare one third parte of the chardge in repairinge and maintenyinge the parishe church. And that in the said parishe is one quarter and a third parte of a quarter called Ramollan, belonginge to the late dissolved abbay of Ramollan.

11. "In the said baronie is alsoe the parishe of Tullafurny (Tullyfern) conteyninge in the whole eight ballibetaghs of which there are fower quarters of church lande, whereof Mointer Mollegan (the O'Mulligans, now unknown in the district) is the herenaghe, payeing thereout yerelye to the busshop fower markes Irish per annum, and thirtie twoe meathers of butter, and a hundred and eight meathers of meale yerely, according to the inhabitinge of the said lande; and that there are also sixe and thirtie gortes of free lande equallie divided amongst the tennantes; and that there are alsoe twelve other free gortes belonginge to

Donegal County Library Service

the busshop of Raphoe's Officiall, the rent of twelve pence per annum and fortie shillinges yerely pencion to the said busshop for the thirds of his tiethes ; and that here is both a parson and viccar, who paie eight shillinges le peece (each) proxies to the busshop per annum, and that the tiethes are all paid in kynde.

12. "And the said Jurors doe further saie and present that in the said baronie is the parishe of Aghnis (Aughnish, Ramelton) conteyning in all fower ballibetaghes, of which there are two quarters of church lande, whereof Clanmogomell (The Conwells of Killybegs and Ramelton ; also called Mac Congale, etc.) is the herenagh, and paies thereout yerely to the lord busshop of Raphoe, the rent of twentie six shillinges Irish per annum, sixteene meathers of butter and three score and foure meathers of meale, and out of the busshop's thirds of the tiethes there the yerely pencion of twentie sixe shillinges and eight pence Irish ; and also that there is both a parson and a viccar, who pay fower shillinges a peece proxies to the said busshop per annum ; and that the tiethes are all paid in kynde. The said Jurors alsoe saie that there is in the said parishe of Aughnish a monasterie and three quarters of lande thereunto belonginge, named Killodonnell, now in the tenure of Capten Bassill Brookes, and that the tiethes and duties thereof have been auncientlie paid to the said herenagh, parson, and viccar of Aughnish.

13. "And, further, the said Jurors uppon their oathes doe alsoe say that in the said baronie is the parishe of Kilmacknenan, conteyning eight ballibetaghes neere the abbay of Kilmacknenan, unto which parishe there is no herenagh land belonginge, and that in the said parishe is boathe a parson and viccar, who paie unto the busshop of Raphoe eight shillinges Irish, proxies per annum. And that the whole tiethes are paid in kynde, one third parte

Donegal County Library Service

to the parson, an other thirde parte to the viccar, and thother thirde parte to the busshop of Raphoe.

"And the said Jurors do further say uppon their oathes that in the said parishe there are twoe quarters of lande, the one called the busshop's Court (still named Court, near Cranford), uppon which the busshop ought to dwell himself, and thother called Pontelemagh (Portleen), which hath auncientlie bene inhabited by the sept of Owen Sallagh O'Donill, payinge thereout yerely to the busshop of Raphoe the rent of sixe shillinges and eight pence per annum; and that in the same parishe are alsoe fower more quarters of lande belonginge auncientlie to the said abbay, given to the Franciscan Friers there, now in the possession of Nicholas Weston."

At first sight it must strike the reader as anomalous, that here, in the immediate vicinity of one of Columbkille's own principal foundations, the Patron Saint, being a kinsman of the local princes, should not have received liberal concessions of land, which would have been administered by herenachs throughout the intervening centuries, passing into the ownership of the Bishop, as soon as the old Columban order became extinct. And very generous concessions were provided as an endowment in perpetuity for the Columban monks, viz., the sanctuary lands of Termon, but these four quarters are situate in the adjoining parish of Gartan.

Patrick MacCongal, Bishop of Raphoe, who died in 1366, erected a manorial residence for himself and his successors on the mensal lands, near Cranford, at a place designated Court in consequence. In the *Donegal Annals*, at 1561, the first event recorded is the death of an illustrious and beloved Bishop at this residence, for Kinnaveer was a general historic name for the whole wide district around. "Art, Bishop of Raphoe, the son of Felim

Donegal County Library Service

Finn O'Gallagher, died at Kinnaveer on the 13th of August, and was greatly lamented in Tirconaill." It would appear from the vague information contained in casual documentary references that this was the last Bishop, who resided, or at least established a domicile, here in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient royal residence of the High Kings.

This deduction is very strongly confirmed by the sworn testimony presented in the above quoted Inquisition, where it is very pointedly insisted upon that "the busshop *ought* to dwell" here.

14. "And the said Jurors do further saie uppon their oathes that in the said baronie is alsoe the parishe of Agehonchin, conteyninge in toto seaven quarters whereof one quarter is mensall land in the tenure of Mointercally (O'Kelly), who paieth to the busshop thirteen shillinges and fower pence, and thirty twoe meathers of meale per annum, and, out of the busshop's thirds of the tithes there, thirteen shillinges and foure pence per annum." *

This parish is the smallest in area, but by no means the poorest or the least important, as a glance at the ruined church and the gravestone incriptions reveals more eloquently than landmarks. It contains only one ballibetach and three quarters, and had been incorporated with Conwal long before the latter parish was raised to the dignity of an episcopal residential seat. In 1735, Canon Mac Devitt appends to his signature the title of Parish Priest of Conwal and Aughininshin. An elliptical curve drawn from the Port Bridge (Ballyraine), including within its ambit Kiltoy and Knockabrin, but excluding Lisnenan, and deflected inwards towards the Swilly again between Castlewray and

* This paragraph in the Inquisition report is the complement of paragraph 2 in this chapter. Both taken together furnish a complete account of the Bishop's revenue from Aughaninshin.

Donegal County Library Service

Ardrumman, excluding Cashelshanaghan, will suffice to outline its boundaries.

15. "In the said baronie alsoe is the parishe of Conwale, conteyninge in all eleven ballibetaghes, whereof fower quarters are herenaghe land inhabited by fower severall tennantes, payeinge thereout yerelie unto the lord busshop of Raphoe fiftie shillinges per annum; and alsoe payinge to the said busshop, out of three of the said quarters, twentie fower meathers of butter and foure score and sixteen meathers of meale per annum over and besides the rente aforesaid; and that the fourth quarter named O'Bonninee (Bominy, though geographically situate in Leck, was an estate of the old Conwal Abbey, and on this ground was claimed by the Scottish bishop Montgomery as successor in title to the Catholic abbot!) is free from all dueties, payinge to the said busshop sixe shillinges and eight pence rent per annum; and they alsoe say that the sept which holdeth the said quarter free, is the sept of Cormack Buoy O'Gallagher, and that the sept of Mointersees (the Seize family were banished to Cloghaneely) are the herenaghes of one of the fower quarters called Tullaghyear (Tullygay), and pay to the said busshop of Raphoe, for his thirds of the tiethes, fortie shillinges pencion per annum; and that there is alsoe within the said parishe one half quarter of lande more, called Killaughey (Gortlee) which is free lande, the tennantes whereof are the Munterhassidies (O'Cassidys, of Fermanagh origin) payeing the rent of sixe shillinges and eight pence Irish, per annum, to the busshop of Raphoe, without any other impositions.

"And alsoe the said Jurors say uppon their oathes that there is also a chappell called Tolloughooglasse (Templedouglass) within the saide parishe and twelve gorts or acres of free lande to the said chappell belonginge, out of

Donegal County Library Service

which there is paid yerely to the O'Freelies some rent unknowne to the said Jurors, which (the O'Friel) is the coarbe of Kilmacrenan; and they do further saie that, out of the said four quarters of church lande in the said parishe O'Donnell had, tyme out of mynde, eighteen meathers of butter and eighteen meathers of meale, cosheringe.

16. "And that in the said barony is also the parishe of Gartan, conteyning in all twoe ballibetaghes, of which there are fower quarters of termon land, whereof O'Nahan is both herenagh and coarbe, who paid unto the busshop of Raphoe yerely, out of the said land, seven shillinges rent per annum, and out of the busshop's thirde part of the tiethes there, seaven shillinges rent per annum, and that here is both a parson and a viccar, whoe pay fowre shillings Irish apeece proxies per annum.

"And that there are sixe gortes of glebe, whereof two gortes belong to the parson, twoe other gortes to the viccar, and twoe other gortes to the said O'Nahan, who carrieth Columbkille's reed stone; and that the said busshop did, after the death of the O'Nahan, institute another in that place.

17. "And the said Jurors do further say uppon their oathes that, in the said baronie is the parishe of Clondaholka (Clondahorky), conteyninge in all nyne ballibetaghes whereof there is one quarter of herenagh land enjoyed by the herenagh O'Mulgeegh (Magee) who paies thereout unto the busshop of Raphoe thirteen shillinges and fowre pence Irish per annum, and, out of the busshop's thirdes of the tiethes there, thirtie three shillinges and foure pence Irish, pencion.

"And the said Jurors further say there is in the said parishe one thirde parte of a quarter, called Marfaugh (Marfagh), belonginge to the said busshop of Raphoe, out of which is paid to the said busshop foure shillings rent

Donegal County Library Service

per annum, and auncientlie inhabited by the sept of O'Boiles. And the said Jurors do alsoe say that the Mac Swynes had auncientlie paid unto them out of the said quarter of Marfugh foure madders of butter, and eight meathers of meale, cosheringe, whereof in the tyme of the nowe lord busshop of Raphoe, nothing hath bene paid.

" And that within the said parish, three myles from the church there is a chappel ruinated, with seaven gortes of land thereunto belonginge, called Clonbeg (Glebe); and that the tennantes thereof paid to the parson of Clondahalka twoe shillinges and foure pence per annum. And they alsoe say that in the said parishe is both a parson and a viccar, who pay eight shillinges Irish, proxies, to the busshop.

" And further the said Jurors say that there are alsoe twoe quarters of land belonginge to the late Abbay of Bally Mac Swyne O'doe (beside Doe Castle), the tiethes and spiritualities whereof are divided between the said parishe of Clondahalka, and the parishe of Kilmacrenan.

18. " And that in the said baronie is also the parish of Mevaugh, conteyning fyve ballibetaghes, whereof there is one quarter of church land enjoyed by the sept of the O'Nolans, as auncient herenaghes of that place, payinge to the said busshop of Raphoe thirteen shillinges and foure pence Irish, per annum, And that in the said parishe is both a parson and a viccar, whoe paie three shillinges, Irish, apeece, proxies to the said busshop.

" And they alsoe say that in the said parishe are sixe gorts of free land called Kinnelargie; and there is also one chappell, with half a quarter of land thereunto belonginge, called Drum (Dutton and Lackagh), which properlie belonged to the Franciscan Friars of Kilmacrenan, and paid auncientlie to the said ffriars thirteen shillings per annum, out of which half quarter of lande the Mac Swynes

Donegal County Library Service

challenged foure meathers of butter and eight meathers of meale cosheringe.

19. "And the said Jurors further say, uppon their oathes, that in the baronie is alsoe the parishe of Raimontredony, conteyninge in all twoe ballibetaghes, whereof one quarter is church land enjoyed by Clanmackilbridey (Clan mac Giolla Brighide, the Mac Brides) as auncient herenaghs of that place, out of which they paid to the busshop of Raphoe thirteen shillinges and foure pence per annum; and that out of the busshop's thirds of the tiethes there, he the said herenagh alsoe paid to the said busshop sixe shillinges and eight pence per annum; and that in the said parishe is both a parson and a viccar, who paie to the said busshop of Raphoe foure shillinges le peece, proxies.

20. "And the said Jurors do further saie that in the said barony is alsoe the parishe of Tulloghbegley, conteyninge in all three ballibetaghes, whereof one quarter is church lande enjoyed by Clann Mac Kilready (Mac Cready), as auncient herenaghs of that place, payeing thereout yerely to the said busshop of Raphoe thirteen shillings and fower pence Irish, rent per annum; and out of the busshop's thirds of the tiethes there thirteen shillings and four pence Irish, pencion per annum, and there is alsoe both a parson and a viccar, who paid foure shillinges proxies le peece per annum, unto the said busshop of Raphoe.

21. "And the said Jurors further say that in the said baronie is the island of Torra, conteyning twoe quarters of termon land, whereof O'Rohertye (Mac Groarty) is both coarbe and herenagh, payinge thereout to the said busshop of Raphoe seaven shillinges Irish, per annum, and alsoe for every balliboe inhabited fortie tertian madders of mault and thirty yards of bracken cloath of their own making so thin as beinge laid uppon the grounde the grasse might appear through the soime (same ?), and

Donegal County Library Service

that, the said O'Rohertie being deade, the busshop is to institute one of his sept in that place.

"And they alsoe say that in the parishe of Torra is both a parson and a viccar, and that the proxies paid to the busshop by the said viccar are two shillinges, but for the proxies paid by the parson they refer themselves to the busshop's register. Of the tiethes the busshop's third parte is paid to the herenagh, out of which third parte the said herenagh paieth to the said busshop sixe shillinges and eight pence pencion. Further, they say that there are lyinge in the baronie of Kilmacrenan twelve gorts; Ffaughnemoughinmore (Fawnymore), Faughnemoughinbeg (same place), Killwarrin (Killdarragh), Ffarke (Faugher or Figart), Criretilelough (Killmackillooe), Clonmore, Clonbeg, Dromanahan (?), Carne, Calloghie, and twoe Balliards (Ards),* all of which were litigious between the busshop and the late earle Tirconnell.

"It hath been delivered by tradition unto the said Jurors that in auncient tyme the said busshop of Raphoe (Lorcan O'Gallagher, 1443) did mortgage said lands to Mac Swyne Ffanagh (Doe was not yet detached) for ten markes or twenty cows, to be held until he would have contented or satisfied him; and that Mac Swyne, being possessed thereof accordinglie, did mortgage the same to the O'Donnells for three score cows, and, that by virtue of the said mortgage, the late earle of Tirconnell and his auncestors tyme out of mynde have been seized of all and everie, the said quarters, but to whom the said landes doe rightfullie belonge, the said Jurors know not.

"And further, the said Jurors doe say that the quarter of lande, called Killultagh, and the half quarter called Glassagh (in Gweedore), beinge Columbkille's lande lyinge within the parishe of Tulloghbegley, in the said baronie,

* Ardsbeg and Ardsmore.

Donegal County Library Service

are now in the tenure of O'Rohertie (Magroarty), out of which there is noe rent issuinge to the busshop.

"And further, the said Jurors do say that Nicolas Weston of the citie of Dublin, Alderman, is possessed, by conveyance from the late earle of Tirconnell, of thirtie quarters of abbay land called Kilmacrenan, and eight other quarters called Portlough (near Newtowncunningham), and of one and twentie tennantes more, called Tyrelessell (Tirbrassil, near St. Johnston, O'Donegan and Mac Gavlin or Mac Kelvey were chiefs), whereot the Lady O'Donnell (living in Moygevlin) hath fifteen quarters reserved unto her duringe her life. And that all the said landes were in the said conveyance mortgaged by the said late earle, for and in consideration of one thousand sixe hundred poundes sterling, for the certeintie of all which matters the said Jurors refer themselves to the saide conveyaunce."

The preceding depositions of this enlightened Jury, consisting of the most prominent scholars and herenachs as yet unevicted from their estates in Tirconaill, establish beyond doubt the elucidating fact, that the parish of Tory included very extensive tracts of country on the mainland. About half a score townlands in Clondahorkey, and a considerable belt of the seaboard between and including Magheraroarty and Glassagh,* constituted the chief portion of the parochial, as well as the political division known as Tory in history and tradition.

In regard to the scandalous contract entered into between Mac Swyne and Lochran or Lorcan O'Gallagher, only too ample confirmation is afforded in the Annals of the tradition recited by the Jury. For example, at the year 1440, an illuminative passage occurs :—"Manus O'Donnell, the son of Donal, was killed at Bunleacaigh (near Dunkineely) by the Mac Swynes of Connacht ; and

* Glassagh was annexed by the herenach.

Donegal County Library Service

Conor, the son of John Easbac, that is Mac an Easpaic, the Conallian, was slain on the same day." Again in 1497, at the battle of Ballyderry (near Ramelton), "Conor, the son of Murrogh Mac Swayne of the men of Fanad, and William Mac an easpaic O'Gallagher were slain."

22. Though Innismacsaint parish altogether belongs to Clogher diocese, the facts elicited at the Inquisition are too interesting to Raphoe readers to be glossed over or excluded; and, as the evidence is inserted at this point, immediately before Kilbarron is dealth with, we may be excused for adhering to the order followed in the Inquisition, more especially as portions of the testimony are conversant with Tirconaill interests and events. The ancient name was Inis-maigh-Saimh, which has been corrupted into Innismacsaint.

"And further the said Jurors doe upon their oathes say and present that the lord busshop of Clogher hath, in right of his bishopricke, within the barony of Tirehewe in the parishe of Enismisaugh, divers tithes and duties belonginge to his said bishopricke out of twelve quarters of lande there, now in the occupation of Sir Henry Foilliott, knight, viz.: out of Bilemuintirhiggin, conteyninge foure quarters; out of Donoughwoone and Knocketura, conteyninge two quarters, and out of Raghmore, contayning one quarter, of which said seaven quarters are parte of the thousande acres of lande belonginge to Ballishannon, and also out of five other quarters auncientlie in O'Donnell's possession, but now in mortgage by him to the said Sir Henry Foilliott, knight, but for what consideration the the said Jurors know not.

"The said Jurors alsoe say that the parish church of Enismisaugh is within the countie of Fermanagh, but that the landes above mentioned are in the countie of Donegall; and that, in the said baronie of Tirehewe is alsoe one half

Donegal County Library Service

quarter of lande called Ballymagockquin, whereof Mac Gockquin (Mac Cogan) is the herenach, payinge thereout yerely to the said busshop of Clogher for the tyme beinge three shillinges and foure pence rent per annum ; and that uppon the said quarter the said herenagh had one fishing weare for seales ; and that in tymes past the said herenagh had one water mill, and the moytie of a salmon leape, called O Skullion's (at Cliff) ; and that the said Sir Henrie Ffolliott hath thother moytie of the said fishinge, as parte or parcel of the said Abboy of Asheroe. And that in the said parish of Enismisaugh is both a parson and a viccar, and that all the tiethes thereof, except the tiethes of the three quarters of Ballinemanagh, and except the tiethes of the salmon fishinge of Ballshannon, are paid in kynde, soefar as the salmon fisherie lyeth on the saide abbay landes of Asheroe. All the rest of the salmon fisherie tiethes belonge to the busshop. And the said Jurors further say that the said abbay of Asheroe conteyning ten quarters lyeing on this (the north) side of the River Earne, and the said three other quarters more, called Ballinemanagh on the other (the south) side of the said river, and that in the said thirteen quarters are fishinge weares for eeles, and the fishinge for salmon in the leape of Ashroe allowed for twoe men one fishinge boate free uppon the said river, all which are now in the possession of the said Sir Henrie Ffolliott, knight.

23. "And the said Jurors do, uppon their oathes, say and present that there is in the said baronie of Tirehewe the parishe of Killbarron, conteyning five quarters in all, whereof one quarter is herenagh lande possessed by the sept of the Cleries as herenaghs, payeinge thereout yerelie to the lord busshop of Raphoe thirteen shillinges and foure pence Irish, per annum, sixe meathers of butter and thirtie foure meathers of meale ; and that there is one quarter

Donegal County Library Service

named Killdonaed (Kildoney) in the tenure of the said sept of the Cleries free from any tiethes to the busshop. And that the late abbot of the late dissolved abbay of Ashroe was, at the time of the dissolucion of monasteries, both parson and viccar of the said parishe in right of his house; and that thother thirde parte of the tiethes were paid to the said busshop of Raphoe: and that the said abbott was to beare twos thirds parte of the chardge in repaireinge and mainteyinge the parish church, and the said busshop to beare thother third parte.

24. "And further the said Jurors doe say that in the said baronie of Tirehewe is also the parishe of Dromehoomagh, conteyninge in all seaven ballibetaghes, of which foure quarters are church land, whereof the O'Dorrianuns (the O'Dorrians) were the ancient herenaghes and paid to the said busshop of Raphoe for the tyme beinge thirteen shillinges and foure pence Irish per annum, out of everie quarter; and they alsoe say that in the said parishe there is a viccar endowed, who paies eight shillinges yerely proxies to the said busshop of Raphoe, and and that the parsonage is impropriate to the said abbay of Asheroe. And they say that out of the said abbay the busshop of Raphoe is to have for the said parsonage and viccarage of Killbarron, and for the parsonage of Dromehoomagh aforesaid, thirtie three shillings and fourpence proxies per annum. And they alsoe say that the tiethes are paid in kynde one third to the parson, one other third to the viccar, and thother third parte to the busshop, and they to repaire and maintayne the parishe church equallie as before; and that to the said parsonage doth belong one gorte or glebe, and to the said viccarage twoe gortes.

"And they alsoe saie uppon their oathes that there are in the said parishe three quarters of Columbkillie's lande everie quarter conteyninge six balliboes, in the tenure of

Donegal County Library Service

Lewe O'Cleerie, to whom the said landes were sithen mortgaged for fortie poundes by the said late earle of Tireconnell unto the said Lewe, who hath paid thereout yerely unto his matie (majesty) sithence the late earle's departure foure poundes, twoe muttons, and a pair of gloves, but noe thing to the said busshop.

"And they further saie that in the said parishe of Dromhoomagh is half a quarter of lande called Ballenegannenagh (Town of the Canons) the tennantes whereof pay yearly to the canons of Loghdirge seaven shillinges; and alsoe one other quarter of abbay lande called Magherebeg, nowe in the possession of Captain Goane (Gore), which the O'Donnells auncientlie gave to the tertian ffriars of St. Francis.

25. "And the said Jurors do further present that in the said baronie is alsoe the parish of Killiomarde (Killymard), conteyninge in all twoe ballibetaghes, and that the parsonage and viccarage are united, out of both which the busshop for the tyme beinge receaveth yerelie eight shillings proxies, and to the said parsonage and viccarage belongeth one gorte of glebe, and that the tiethes are paid in kynde, one third parte to the parson, an other to the viccar and thother third parte to the busshop of Raphoe; and they to repaire and maintayne the parishe church at their own chardge equallie."

The two preceding paragraphs very lucidly demonstrate, first, that the parish of Dromhome formerly extended to the town boundary of Donegal village; and, secondly, that Killymard, even while it gloried in the privilege of a prebendary stall in the Cathedral, was never so extensive or so populous as to demand the services of more than one resident priest.

It is unnecessary to remind the reader that Townawilly was not constituted into a distinct parish for more than a

Donegal County Library Service

century after the period under review. The Observant monks of the dismantled abbey of Donegal ministered to the people of the town and neighbourhood for several generations after their suppression; while the evicted friars of Magherabeg Non-Observant monastery settled down at "The Friary" near Lough Eske, and attended to the spiritual needs of both that parish and of the district known as Townawilly. Neither history nor reliable tradition throws any light on the fate and labours of the Magherabeg community after their dispersion, but it is more than probable that they continued to live and toil in Dromhome parish as well as at "The Friary."

26. "And further the said Jurors say and present that in the said baronie is alsoe the parish of Enivernale (Inver of St. Naul or Natalis), conteyninge in all three ballibetaghes, whereof half a quarter is church land, and is now in the possession of the busshop of Raphoe, and that the usual rent thereof is fiftie meathers of butter, and thirteen shillinges and four pence Irish, in money, and out of the busshop's thirds of the tiethes there, fowere markes per annum; and that the tiethes are paid in kynde one third parte to the parson, an other third parte to the viccar, and thother third parte to the busshop, who are to repair and mainteyne the parishe churche as before.

"And that the one moytie (half) of the royalties for fishinge belonged to the busshopricke of Raphoe, and thother moytie belonged to the O'Donnells."

Inver presents a typical illustration of a parish, in which the parent abbey was founded by a saint utterly unconnected by descent, fosterage, or adoption, with any Tirconaill sept. St. Naul was a princely scion of the royal house of Cashel, and being an absolute stranger, he received only a small, but very valuable, allotment of land, from the Clan Ainmire. In such circumstances, no colla-

Donegal County Library Service

teral blood-relation succeeded him as coarb, and no powerful sept of his kindred existed in the district to establish a herenachy. Of course, the herenachs were not all of the same tribe as the original founder; but they were in all cases the representatives of prominent local families, who profited by the revenues and privileges attaching to their official position, so as to be enabled to educate youths for the sanctuary, and to wield exceptional influence in temporal as well as church concerns. Here, the estate was insufficient to attract or stimulate enterprise, however ambitious of church honours local families might be, and the rents remained unfarmed, and payable directly to the Bishop.

However, both tradition and circumstantial evidence afford convincing proof that the Franciscans, on their introduction, in the 15th century, into the identical ruined premises once occupied by St. Naul, undertook the duty of paying a head-rent to the Bishop. They received an additional grant in Desart, which was incorporated subsequently to the Plantation as glebe-land with Inver, Ardaghy, and Lugnaul.

27. "And they further say that in the said baronie (of Banagh) is alsoe the parishe of Killaughdie (Killaghtee), conteyning twoe ballibetaghes and half a quarter, of which three balliboes are herenaghe land, whereof the sept of Kernose (Kearns) are the herenaghs payinge thereout to the said busshope of Raphoe for the tyme beinge fiftie meathers of butter, each meather conteyninge seaven quartes, and alsoe thirteene shillinges and fower pence pencion per annum out of the busshop's third parte of the tiethes there; and there is both a parson and a viccar, who paid unto the said busshop of Raphoe, for the tyme beinge, eight shillinges proxies per annum.

"And the said Jurors alsoe say that in the said parishe

Donegal County Library Service

is an abbey or monasterie called Fannogher or Ballinasaggart (Ballysagart), late dissolved, with three balliboes of lande thereunto belonginge, and nowe in the possession of Crowaraltagh ; and there is alsoe a graunge called Darrenagh (Darney), out of which land yssuing and belonginge to the late dissolved abbay of Asheroe, the yerely rente of thirteene shillinges and four pence in silver, and seaven meathers of butter."

The "Crowaraltagh" was obviously Donal Mac Swyne ; the compound is somewhat corrupted but easily recognised as "crochaire allta" or fierce traitor. He deserted Red Hugh at the Curlieus in 1599 ; but in 1607 we find Rory O'Donnell and Cuconnacht Maguire entertained at his house and supplied with horses, while he was High Sheriff under the English. Next he joined the rebellion under Cahir O'Doherty's standard in 1608. His son and heir accompanied the Earls in their flight and exile.

28. "And the said Jurors alsoe say, that in the said baronie is the parishe of Killibeg * (Killybegs), conteyning in toto three ballibetaghes whereof there is a quarter and a halfe of herenaghe land enjoyed by the sept of Clanmagonegill (Conwell and Mac Gonigle are variants) as aunciente herenaghes of the same, reservinge to the said busshop one balliboe called Fughe (Fiafannon), parcell of the said quarter of Killibeg, to find him horse-meate (hay and oats), when he should come to the said parish. And for that cause the said herenagh paid to the said busshope of Raphoe, out of the said balliboe three shillinges and foure pence onely, and out of the residue of the said herenagh land fiftie and twoe meathers of butter per annum ; and out of the busshop's thirds of the tiethes

* This paragraph in the Inquisition report is the complement of paragraph 3 in this chapter. Both taken together furnish a complete account of the Bishop's revenue from Killybegs.

Donegal County Library Service

there, thirteen shillinges and foure pence per annum, pencion. And that there is a viccar endowed who paieth yerely to the busshop of Raphoe foure shillinges Irish, proxies, per annum ; and that the one moytie (moiety) of the royaltie of the fishinge there, with other duties mencioned in the register, whereunto the said Jurors doe referr themselves, belonges to the bishopricke of Raphoe, and thother moytie of the royalties to the Mac Swaynes.

"And they alsoe say that in the said parishe is one other quarter of land, called Killrean (Killraine, near Glenties in lower Killybegs), whereof Mac Gillaspeck (Gillespy) is the herenagh, and paies thereout yerely to the busshop of Raphoe thirteen shillinges and foure pence per annum, and some refections, when the busshop cometh thither."

Nine small townlands, including Kilraine Upper and Lower, were detached from Killybegs parish and annexed to Inniskeel at the readjustment of boundaries necessitated by the creation of the parish of Ardara ; and, in the Government arrangement for fiscal and civil administration, these townlands are included in the barony of Boylagh.

29. "And the said Jurors do further say that in the said baronie (of Banagh) is the parishe of Kilcarragh (Kilcar), conteyninge in all five quarters, of which one half quarter is herenach land, of which Mac Gillaspeck (Gillespy) is the right herenaghe, and paieth thereout to the said busshop of Raphoe yerely twentie fower meathers of butter, and thirteen shillinges and foure pence Irish, in money, and four meathers of butter to the sergeant* ; and alsoe payinge to the said busshop of Raphoe for the tyme being, out of his third part of the tiethes there, eight shillings Irish, pension, per annum. And the said Jurors say alsoe that in the said parishe is both a parson and a viccar, whoe pay unto the said busshop fower shillings a peece proxies.

* This is a mistranslation for "Official."

Donegal County Library Service

And the said Jurors do further say that the Mac Swyne Banagh had, tyme out of mynde, out of the said half quarter of herenagh land, sixe shillinges and eight pence, or a mantle for cosheringe, per annum.

30. "And they alsoe say that in the said baronie is the parishe of Clancolumbkille (Glencolumbkille), conteyninge fyve quarters, being all termon lande, and that William Oge Mac Eneillis is coarbe and herenagh of thone moytie (half) thereof, and Neale Mac Eneilis is coarbe of thother moytie. And they further say that in former times there was only one coarbe of all the landes; but that, uppon discontent conceived by one of the sept for that he was not named coarbe, he adhered to O'Donnell, and by his power was made coarbe to the moytie thereof, and so continued in possession of his moytie until O'Donnell's late defection. And they further saie that in the said parishe one half of the royaltie of the fishinge of Tullin (Teelin) belonges to Neale Mac Eneilus and thother moitie to the Mac Swaynes."

This last statement is very singular in view of the depositions regarding the apportionment of the royalties on fishing at Inver and Killybegs, in each of which places the Bishop was entitled to half and the O'Donnell and the Mac Swyne respectively to the other half. Perhaps, the presence and not impartial testimoy of Neale McGnellus, as his signature appears, may account for the anomaly, or he may have appropriated the royalty during the long continued disorders. In any case, it is almost inconceivable that the Bishop should receive these royalties in parishes where the herenagh land was comparatively small in extent, and possess no recognised claim in a parish that was altogether a herenach estate. The matter has merely an academic interest at the present day, but the suspicion that Niall's evidence was directed mainly

Donegal County Library Service

towards the attainment of privileges and emoluments to which he had a very dubious title, is strengthened by his ill-concealed effort to oust his kinsman, William, from his prerogative as herenach. O'Donovan derides the oft-repeated phrase "uppon their oathes," on the ground that they made attestations about things unknown to them, and signed indictments the injustice and falsehood of which were incontestably transparent. The "fides Graia" of the hypocritical usurper had poisoned the wells of judicial administration, and undermined the religious basis of a solemn oath.

31. "And the said Jurors do further say that in the said baronie (of Boylagh) is alsoe the parishe of Eniskeele, conteyninge in all sixe ballibetaghes, of which there are foure quarters of herenaghe land, whereof there are three herenaghes, viz.:—O'Breslin, O'Keran, and O'Moyney (O'Mooney), who paid yerely to the busshop of Raphoe twentie shillinges Irish, foure score and sixteen meathers of butter; and, out of the busshop's thirds of the tiethes there, six and twentie shillinges and eight pence Irish, pencion, with some refections at the tyme of the lord busshop's visitacion, and other small duties as appeareth in the busshop's register.

"And further the said Jurors say that there are in the said parishe five quarters of land called Loughross, which have auncientlie been in controversie between the church and the sept of the O'Boyles, in manner and forme followinge:—That the busshop of Raphoe gave it in mortgage to one of Shewgrie O'Boyle's familie (by a clandestine and scandalous contract) for twentie cows or ten markes in monie, and that ever since that tyme, which is beyond the memorie of man, the saide lande hath successivelie bine and yet is in the possession of the O'Boyles, but that sithence the departure of the late earle of Tireconnell, the

Donegal County Library Service

lord busshop of Raphoe hath receaved the rentes thereof." Niall O'Boyle, the Bishop was then living in the neighbourhood.

32. "And the Jurors doe further say that in the said baronie is alsoe the parishe of Templecronan (Dungloe and Lower Rossess) containinge fower ballibetaghes, whereof there is half a quarter of herenagh lande enjoyed by O'Doughie (O'Duffy) as herenagh there, who paies thereout yerelie to the busshop of Raphoe the rent of eight shillinges Irish, per annum ; and there is in the said parishe both a parson and a viccar, who paid to the busshop of Raphoe eight shillinges Irish, proxies ; and that the tiethes are paide in kynde. One third parte of all the tiethes are paide to the parson, another thirde to the viccar, and thother third parte of all tiethes (except of the fishe) are paid to the herenagh. And that the said busshop of Raphoe himself receaveth the said third parte of the fishe except as aforesaid).

33. "And the said Jurors do alsoe find that the busshop for the tyme beinge could not raise or increase the rentes or dueties uppon the termon or herenagh land, either uppon the alteracion of the herenagh or otherwise, and that what rente or dueties the said busshops have raised or received over and above thauncient rentes and dueties above particularlie set downe in everie parishe, did first begin and were exacted by Rees Coytemore, in the time of his custodye (1537) and not before. And they say that the herenaghes did yealde unto the said Cotyemore's exaction and increase of rente, fearinge that otherwise they should have bine displaced."

Rees is an attempted phonetic spelling of *righ-ghas*, royal scion ; and Manus O'Donnell was designated "royal scion of the great mantle," most probably from his father's time, because he wore on solemn occasions the celebrated

Donegal County Library Service

cloak of which a minute and interesting description has been transmitted to us. It is a well-established fact that both Hugh Dubh and Manus were obsequious liegemen of Henry the Eighth, and that Manus protected and supported Cornelius O'Cahan after the latter had been superseded from the see of Raphoe by the Pope, in consequence of his schismatical practices. Edmund O'Gallagher, who died in 1543, "had received great opposition (from Manus) respecting the bishopricke"*; and Cornelius, who had repented, again relapsed, and was pardoned by Henry (about 1539). The latter survived Edmund, was recognised by Manus as royal but not papal bishop, and was maintained by the unjust and tyrannical exactions recalled in the above Inquisition.

The Cota Mor, from which Manus was nicknamed as above, is thus described in the State Papers (H. VIII, vol. iii. p. 320): "He was in a cote of crymoisin velvet, with agglettes of gold 20 or 30 payer; over that a great doble cloke of right crymoisin saten, garded with black velvet."

34. "And the said Jurors further saie uppon their oathes that Caffer Oge McCaffer O'Donnell† was about two yeres sithence seized of and in the castle of Scannofallowe and three quarters of lande thereunto belonginge, and that the said Caffer beinge so seized, was atteinted of high treason, by reason of which attainder, the said castle and landes are nowe in the reall and actuall possession of the crowne. And they further saie that the said castle was formerlie built uppon an acre of herenagh church lande, for whiche they have herd that the said Caffer gave another quantity of lande to the church."

Bishop Montgomery claimed from Coach, the patentee

* F.M.

† Executed in Dublin by the English, July 1609.—F.M.

Donegal County Library Service

of Lismonaghan Proportion, an equivalent for this alleged encroachment, and succeeded in having the dispute referred to the decision of a tribunal, of which himself, the said George, and the unscrupulous Chichester were the most active judges; and at the same time both of them vied with each other in grabbing the spoils of flagrant but legalised robbery.

35. "And likewise the said Jurors say that Mac Swyne Bannagh did, about three yeres before the said late earle of Tireconnell's departure, graunt and convey unto the said late earle his whole title, estate, right, and interest of and in the countrie of Bannagh; and that, at the same tyme, O'Boyle made the like graunt and conveyaunce of his countrie called the Boylagh; and that alsoe, at the same tyme, Mac Swiny Ffaunaght made the like graunt and conveyaunce of his countrie, called Ffaunaght, unto the said late Earle of Tireconnell. But they say that Walter Mac Laughlin and others of the sept of Ffaunaght, opposed themselves against that graunt." The estates of the Franciscan Friary in Ballysaggart appropriated by Mac Swine and all other lands similarly circumstanced, could thus be claimed by Montgomery as being forfeited by the Earl's alleged treason.

36. "And the said Jurors likewise find and present uppon their oathes that no temporall lord had the advowsion (advowson) or right of patronage to any of the aforesaid parsonages or viccarages within the comite of Donnagall, but they were all and alwaies collative by the busshop of the dioces, except that anyman went speciallie to Rome and procured the Pope's bull, and that thereupon the busshop did institute and indict him (induct him).

37. "Moreover, the said Jurors doe present that the busshop had in and uppon the church land within the diocese severall refections in his visitacion, for the busines

Donegal County Library Service

of the church and not likewise (otherwise) accordinge to the proporcion of the lande and the abilitie of the clergie, and that if the said busshop staid three nights in one parishe, he laie first uppon the herenagh ; the second night uppon the viccar, and the third night uppon the parson. And if he staid but one night in the parishe, the parson, viccar, and herenagh, did contribute equallie towards that chardge.

" And the said Jurors doe alsoe finde that all the church landes within the dioces were auncientlie free from cuttings, exactions, and impositions whatsoever (the rentes and duties above mencioned to be aunswerable out of the same excepted) untill Manus O'Donnell's time, who first began to impose bonnaghts and the like uppon them against the church men's willes.

38. " And further the said Jurors doe uppon their oathes present and saie that the whole countrie called Tircoennell, otherwise called O'Donnell's countrie, and all the lands, tenements, fishinge, royalties, and hereditaments within the said comite of Donegall (except the said countrie and landes of Inishowen, and except all castels, landes, tenements, and hereditaments above mencioned to belonge to anie busshopricke, deanrie, abbie, monasterie, or religious house) are nowe in the reall and actuall possession of the crowne, by reason of the attainder of treason of Rorie, late earle of Tireconnell. Nevertheless, the said Jurors doe further say that Sir Mulmorie Mac Swyne claimeth the whole countrie of McSwine O'Doe, by virtue of lettres patentes, unto which lettres patentes the said Jurors doe herein refer themselves, whether the said lettres patentes be good in lawe or not. And further the said Jurors doe saie that Walter Mac Laughlin and his ancestors are and have bine possessed of Bradsaunagh, conteyninge seaven quarters, by what

Donegal County Library Service

right they knowe not; and that Neale garvie M'Rowrie O'Donnell and his auncesters were formerlie possessed of theight quarters of land of Portlagh, untill the late earle of Tireconnell did dispose his lands in mortgage to Nicholas Weston of Dublin, Alderman.

"In witness whereof as well the said commissioners, as alsoe the said Jurors have to this parte of the said inquisicion, remaininge with the said commissioners; set theire seales the daie and yeare first above written—Arthure Chichester—H. Armachan—Geo. Derrien—Tho. Ridgewaie—H. Winch—Cl. St. John—Garitt Moore—Jo. Davys—W. Parsons."

The "good and lawful men of the said countie of Donegall, whose names ensue" forming the jury of eighteen, were predominantly but not exclusively herenachs. Rowland Congall (or Conwell), the Foreman, was herenagh, and, at the same time seneschal or chancellor, under the O'Donnell dynasty. The two O'Dohertys, the two Devitts, and Donogh O'Morrison, represented Innishowen; Maurice O'Carolan was herenach of Clonleigh; Maurice O'Ardens cannot be so readily identified, nor indeed is he elsewhere named in the State Papers; but he is most probably Maurice O'Harron of Fanad.

Hugh Oge O'Donnell McGinnell was the representative of the Ramelton O'Donnells and a claimant to the chieftaincy of Tirconnaill. His father had taken the Franciscan habit in Killodonnell, and his mother was daughter of the seneschal Mac Congal; hence the cognomen McGinnell. James O'Sherin was a member of an old herenach family in Clondahorky, where we find another James O'Sherin parish priest in 1600. Lewys O'Clery was herenach in Kilbarron, and resided in Ballymagroarty on a rich and extensive estate consisting of "three quarters of Columbkille's lande in Drumhome, every quarter conteyninge

Donegal County Library Service

sixe balliboes." Walter Mac Laughlin Mac Swine was an accommodating tool of the English, and received as his reward a large tract of rich land about Rye, formerly the property of the O'Mulligans. Cahill Dubh Mac Garrihy was the representative of an ancient sept of Mevagh, whose descendants are known under several variants, Mac Carry, Harvey, Harraghy, and in the Inquisitions, M'Cree. Pierce O'Donan, or Peter Dunnion, was the chief of a herenach family resident in Killymard and Inver. Niall Mac Nielis was herenach of Teelin, and represented the most powerful branch of the Clan. Shane Og Mac Gillekerry, Gilgar, or Kerr, was the head of a widespread and wealthy sept, which had possessions and ramifications everywhere in the parishes of Kilcar and Upper Killybegs. Turlagh Carragh Mac Garvill represented the Mac Garveys, who were the chiefs of Tir Breasail, a district of the Laggan absolutely undefinable at the present day. The spelling of the surname is an error of the scribe due probably to the fact that he mistook it for Carroll, which word was usually spelt Carvill. It is very regrettable that the names of the Jurors were not written individually by themselves, in which case there could be no ambiguity. Like so many other wealthy possessors of the fertile lands of the Laggan, the Mac Garveys were banished to the mountains and bogs along the north-western seaboard, settling down near Glen in Rossgull. The other leading sept of Tir Breasail, the Donnegans, anglicised their name to Brown, and some of them found a poor apology for a home in the Rosses.

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CHAPTER VI

The Bishops of Raphoe

The Author has already published in his Life of St. Adamnan a list of the Raphoe Bishops, with such meagre particulars of their lives, as he could extract from the Annals, Ware, Brady, and other standard authorities. Here he will reproduce the list with the addition of brief sketches, where it is possible, of their labours, their virtues, and their troubles.

Ware prefixes to his account of our Bishops of Raphoe the following note, which may interest a very limited section of our readers: "This episcopal see bears Ermine on a chief, parted per pale, saphire and ruby; on the first a Sun in splendour; on the second, a Cross Pattee Topaz. It is valued in the King's books at £200 per annum, by an extent returned of record, 15th of James I" (1617). After a short historical notice of St. Eunan, whom he erroneously fails to identify with the great St. Adamnan, he adds: "As to the successors of St. Eunan in the see of Raphoe, it must be confessed there are very few traces remaining of them until the arrival of the English," who burnt all registers and records they could lay their hands upon.

Harris's Ware was published in 1739, with all the advantages of free access to all State Papers, and other public documents, many of which have since perished. And, on the other side, the Papal records in the Vatican and Cardinals' Libraries at Rome have been most exhaustively explored, and no information, obtained from any quarter,

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friendly or hostile, is suppressed or altered in the minutest detail. But, in spite of all efforts, numerous *lacunae* remain to be regretted.

I

St. Adamnan, Patron and First Bishop of Raphoe, consecrated about 697, Ninth Abbot of Iona, son of Ronan, son of Tinne, son of Aodh, son of Colman, son of Sedna, son of Feargus, son of Conal Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. His genealogy is pursued back, without a break to, "Milesius who was surnamed Golam," in O'Cleary's Genealogies* ; and the salient events, with which his name was associated, religious, social, and political, as well as the important literary works he executed, are discussed pretty exhaustively in the Life of St. Adamnan by the present writer.

O'Donovan, Lanigan, Reeves, and nearly all modern authorities are very emphatic in their rejection of the "fictitious Eunan," whom they regard as no other than the great Adamnan himself, *Eunan* being the phonetic spelling of the Irish Adamnan, in which *d* and *m* are aspirated. Reeves, however, declines to admit that Adamnan, though the founder and recognised Patron of the diocese, was a consecrated bishop, grounding his objection on the explicit assertion of Bede that he was a priest, as he undoubtedly had been at the time Bede writes of him, but the Catholic authors fail to see any insuperable difficulty in reconciling all recorded facts and statements with Adamnan's advancement to episcopal orders within the last seven years of his life. Though the identity of Adamnan and Eunan, the First Bishop, has been fully established, and all conceivable objections solved in the booklet already

* *Archivium*, v. p. 37.

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mentioned, it may not be amiss to reproduce here the exact words of the learned Bishop Reeves, from whose judgment we dissent only on the one important point regarding Adamnan's episcopal consecration: "He is the Patron but not the founder of this church (Columba founded the abbatial church). It was originally monastic, and, in the bestowal of conventual honours among the ancient Irish, the distinctions of orders were not regarded. Hence, when Raphoe became an episcopal see, but under its old patronage, after-ages, supposing that a bishop's see must originate with a bishop, took advantage of Adamnan's phonetic name, Eunan, and created a Bishop Eunan, patron of the diocese, moving his festival a fortnight back in the month (September), and leaving Adamnan to enjoy his old abbatial honours on the 23rd. Pope Clement XII approved of a Mass for Bishop Eunan's festival on the 7th of September, which was printed in Paris in 1734. Alban Butler, following this authority, allows the same fictitious patron, in his Irish Calendar, to intrude on another saint's day." Dr. Kelly, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Maynooth, and other influential authorities succeeded, in the early sixties of the last century, through Cardinal Cullen, in having this second feast eliminated from the Calendar; and St. Adamnan is all but universally acknowledged as First Bishop of Raphoe.

II

Maolbrighid Mac Duirnin—Translated 885

The historical notice of this celebrated churchman, which appears in Colgan's *Acta*, is highly laudatory and very remarkable:—"Maelbrighid, or Brigidianus, son of Dornan, sprung from the royal blood of Ireland, and

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the 13th in descent from Niall the Great, first Abbot of Derry, and from thence promoted to this bishopric, is called in our Annals Comharb of Adamnanus, who was Abbot of Raphoe. But the Abbey of Raphoe was, long before this time erected into a Cathedral by St. Eunan (Adamnanus); so the Comharb of Adamnanus is understood to mean the Bishop of Raphoe.

"He administered the interests of his high station as Archbishop of Armagh with great sufficiency and authority, which afforded him the opportunity of obliging the great men within his jurisdiction to live on a good understanding amongst themselves; and he became umpire of their quarrels on all occasions." We are told in the *Annals of the Four Masters* that, "in the year 889, on Whit Sunday, there occurred a great riot and sedition in Armagh between the clans of Cineal, Eoghain and Ulidia; that is, between Adaid Mac Laigne, King of Ulidia, and Flahertach Mac Murchad, Prince of Oileach, of the family of the O'Neills; until Maolbrighid, Comharb of St. Patrick, intervened, and repressed or separated them from one another. But Maolbrighid, because they had so offended against the reverence due to the Church of God and to St. Patrick, received hostages, and 210 oxen from the Ulidians, who also executed on the gallows four of the ringleaders of the Uilidians. The Cineal Eoghain also on their part submitted to a like penalty."

There is a particular instance given in the same *Annals* of the extensive charity and good nature of this prelate:—"In the year 908 he undertook a journey into the remote parts of the province of Munster, to redeem from slavery a British stranger, who was there detained in captivity."

He died on the 22nd of January, 927, or as some say 926, under which year the *Annals of Ulster* make this comment:—"He went to rest in a happy old age. He

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was a man eminent for learning and virtue, thereby meriting the name of 'The ornament of Europe.' While he sat in this see, Armagh was thrice plundered by the Danes, in 890, 893, and 919; and once set on fire in 914.

"In the year 907, the privileges of the Cathedral of Armagh were violated by Kernach Mac Dulgen, by dragging out of the church a captive, who had taken refuge there as in a sanctuary, and drowning him in Lough Kirr, to the west of the city. But this violation was retaliated on Kernach by Niall Glundubh, then King of Ulster and afterwards (916) of Ireland, who drowned him in the same Lough."

"Godfrid," says Stuart, "a Danish prince, sacked Armagh in 921, but he spared the churches, the Culdees, the sick, and the infirm."

The once famous sept, to which this Archbishop belonged, gave their name to Inis-mic-an Duirnin, now called Rutland Island.

Maolbrighide Mac Duirnin was Abbot of Iona from 891 till 927, and is commemorated in the Calendar of Donegal at February 22nd. Thus we see that he continued to hold the abbacy even after his elevation successfully in the sees of Raphoe and Armagh—"an additional evidence," comments Reeves, "of the declension of Hy."

III

Maolduin Mac Kinnfaela (930)

Ware has rescued the name of this Bishop from the impenetrable oblivion that has been the lot of so many of his rank before and after him. All the ancient registers of Raphoe were burned or carried off by the barbarous iconoclasts, who were pledged to "tear up Catholicity by the roots."

Donegal County Library Service

Surnames were coming into vogue, but had not yet been universally adopted or enforced, in the first half of the tenth century. But we are justified in asserting that this prelate was a descendant of Ceannfaela, son of Suibhne Meann, High-King of Ireland from 622 to 635. "Ceannfaela, son of Suibhne, chief of Keenaght," afterwards the territory of the O'Kanes, " was burned to death, 679," the *Annals* inform us, and it is from this scion of the O'Neill dynasty, and not from the mythical Kinnfaela of Cloghaneely, that the Mac Ginleys and Mac Neelys derive their name and descent. Few personal names are of more frequent occurrence in early Irish history, both political and ecclesiastical; hence, it may appear presumptuous to affirm that the numerous Tirconaill families, who rejoice in these surnames, are really of the blood of Eoghan, and cannot claim as their progenitor Kinnfaela, eighth in lineal descent from Conal Gulban, and third from Lughaidh. So far as the writer is aware, history does not decide the question; neither does O'Donovan; and we have to fall back on tradition, which informs us that these families migrated into Tirconaill with the Mac Swines in the 13th century.

It is a curious fact that one of the signatures to the Lifford Inquisition of 1609 is written " Hugh Og O'Donnell Mac Ginnell," but the identity of this Juror cannot be questioned. He was Hugh O'Donnell of Ramelton, son of a more famous Hugh, and he appended " Mac Ginnell " because his mother was Mac Congal, or Conwell, daughter of the seneschal. A Raphoe parish priest, first of Killymard, and later of Raphoe parish, named Father James Mac Ginley, came directly from Derry diocese with the celebrated Bishop Mac Laughlin. Some of this clergyman's relatives still reside at Dunaloup, near Strabane. On the other hand, Christinus and Roger Mac Ginley were " perpetual vicars" of Mevagh consecutively, in the 15th century.

Donegal County Library Service

IV

Aengus O'Lapain (957).

"957. Aengus Ua Lapain, Bishop of Raphoe, died."—(*Four Masters*.) That this prelate belonged to a princely family is clearly evidenced by an entry occurring in the same invaluable repertory at the year 1011, half a century later: "Aengus O'Lapan, lord of the Cineal Enda, was slain by the Cineal Eoghain of the Island," that is of Innishowen.

The arm of the Swilly estuary projecting towards Castleforward was known as Cuan Ua Lapain or O'Lapan's Bay; and from this topographical fact we may infer that the O'Lapan family were the rulers and resident chiefs in this region of Tir Enda before the O'Donnells had acquired supremacy east of the Swilly. Cuil-mic-an-Treoin was the ancient name of the fortress, that occupied the site now covered by Castleforward mansion, and the ancient Castle figures largely in the exciting history of the Niall Garbh and Ineen Dubh controversy. Dowcra's *Narrative*, also, furnishes an interesting and graphic description of a rencontre between that general's troops and Hugh Roe's ill-equipped kerns at this point in 1600.*

The name O'Lapan appears to be altogether extinct in these parts: Dunlop is Scottish, and Delap, Norman.

V

Muireadhach O'Coffey (1173)

The Four Masters, in recording the death of this saintly prelate at 1173, describe him as Bishop of Derry and Raphoe; but Harris furnishes invincible proof, that he was never Bishop of Raphoe. His main argument is

* See O'Donovan's Note to *Annals*, 1440.

Donegal County Library Service

based on the facts, that Gilbert O'Caran was Bishop of Raphoe in 1160, when he signed the Newry Charter, that he is mentioned in Hoveden's *Annals* as Bishop in 1172, and that he was elevated to the Primacy in 1175. There is consequently no reason to imagine that he needed a Coadjutor. Murray O'Coffey was, also, a witness to the famous Newry Charter, and, of course, at that time, was not Bishop of Raphoe, but describes himself as Bishop of Tir-Eoghain, or Ardstraw. Flaherty O'Brolchain had been elected Bishop of Derry two years before, but the Editors of the Ordnance Memoir contend, with great plausibility, that O'Brolchain was consecrated as Bishop with jurisdiction over the Columban monasteries only, and that Derry was not constituted a Diocese for a century later.

It is very remarkable that the *Annals of Ulster* do not state specifically that O'Coffey was Bishop of Raphoe, but "Bishop of Cineal Eoghain and of all the North of Ireland." No doubt, the learned Editor suggests that "the North of Ireland may mean Raphoe," but he overlooked the important word "all"; and, though Innishowen certainly belonged to Raphoe at this time, "all the North of Ireland" did not, however great latitude the Annalists are allowed in their panegyrics.

After a careful review of the ecclesiastical history of the period, the present writer has arrived at the conclusion that the Primate, Gelasius Mac Liag, was so constantly occupied in visitations through Ulster and Connacht, in holding Synods, etc., that his suffragan, Gilbert O'Caran, acted as his assistant-bishop in Armagh, and that Murray O'Coffey, Bishop of Ardstraw, was assigned the administration of Raphoe, and discharged episcopal functions in Clogher and elsewhere, when invited to do so. The record of his labours establishes the fact

Donegal County Library Service

that his energies were by no means confined to any single diocese* :—"1173. Murray O'Coffey, Bishop of Derry and Raphoe, a son of chastity, a precious stone, a transparent gem, a brilliant star, a treasury of wisdom, and a fruitful branch of the canon, after having bestowed food and raiment on the poor and destitute, and having ordained priests and deacons, and men of every ecclesiastical rank, rebuilt many churches, consecrated many more as well as graveyards, founded many abbeys and monastic churches, and fulfilled every ecclesiastical duty, and, after having gained the palm for piety, pilgrimages, and penance, resigned his spirit to heaven in the Dubh Regles of Columbkille in Derry, on the 10th day of February. A great miracle was manifested on the night of his death ; the dark night was illuminated from midnight till daybreak ; and the people thought that the neighbouring parts of the world, which were visible, were in one blaze of light. The likeness of a large globe of fire rose over the city and moved in a south-easterly direction ; and all the people arose from their beds imagining it was daylight. The same was witnessed on the east side of the sea" (in Scotland).

VI

Gilbert, or Giollacomded O'Caran—(Translated 1175)

The date of this prelate's appointment to Raphoe is uncertain, but it was obviously anterior to 1160, for in that year he affixed his signature, with the title of Bishop of Tirconaill, as witness to "a charter of confirmation of the possession of the Cistercian Abbey of Newry (de Virido

* F.M.

Donegal County Library Service

Ligno), made by Maurice Mac Laughlin, King of Ireland." The closing days of his life were saddened by the sacrilegious burning of the Cathedral, the Abbey, two Nunneries, and a great part of the city of Armagh. At the year of his death, 1179, the *Four Masters* record the disaster to the churches thus: "Armagh was burned, churches and regleses, except Regles Bhrighide and Teampul na bh-Fearta." *Regles*, of course, bears the same meaning here as it does when applied to the ancient Derry church of the Canons, that is, *regularis ecclesia* (church of the Regulars), of which two Latin words *regles* is a corrupt fusion not found in earlier Irish.

"I have not been able to discover," adds Ware, "who was his immediate successor, on his preferment to the primacy in 1175; yet it is manifest that a certain Bishop of Raphoe, whose name is not mentioned, resigned in the year 1198, and that another was elected in his room. Concerning this, there is extant, in the Decretal Epistles of Pope Innocent the Third, an Epistle addressed to the Archbishop of Armagh, dated the 18th of May, in which that resignation was disapproved." This comment is based on a hurried perusal and altogether erroneous interpretation of the Papal document.

The present writer has been able to trace the Pontifical Letter referred to, addressed to Thomas O'Connor, coarb of St. Patrick, Primate of all Ireland, and here translates the only passages that possess an interest for the reader, who will not fail to note the anxious solicitude of His Holiness regarding the absolute spontaneity of the alleged resignation. Obviously, the retiring prelate possessed the favour and esteem of the Holy See.

"Innocent III to the Archbishop of Armagh, greeting. Our Venerable Brother the Bishop of Raphoe has informed Us, that he has not only become infirm and decrepit

Donegal County Library Service

from extreme old age, but has further lost his eyesight, so that he is rendered absolutely incapable of discharging the duties of the episcopal office. And, though he has in consequence thought it right to prefer to Us an humble petition to accept his resignation, We, relying on your vigilance and prudence hereby, in virtue of these letters, commission you, in Our name, to receive from him the abdication of his charge, and to fix, or cause to be fixed, a suitable pension to be paid him in proportion to the revenues of the church of Raphoe. Moreover, you shall enjoin on the Chapter of that Cathedral the obligation of providing within the time prescribed by the General Council, by canonical election, an eligible successor as Pastor of the diocese, suited to bear the responsibility and dignity. Given at Perugio, 15th March, 9th year of Our Pontificate."*

Theiner has included in his collection another Pontifical letter addressed to this prelate, from which two facts are readily deduced; first, that he had been advanced to the see of Raphoe a considerable time before 1160; and, secondly, that the laws of the Church regarding matrimony had been sadly and publicly infringed by some of the nobility during the troublous period immediately before his accession. At that time Tirconaill was weltering in fratricidal slaughter. The O'Muldoreys and the O'Canannains were perpetually at war, and it is not surprising that the voice of the Church was drowned in the din of domestic strife. We are not obliged, however, to accept the denunciations of the ecclesiastical authorities in their literal sense, more especially where such general expressions as the worship "of idols," the "ambassadors and ministers of Antichrist," etc., clearly remind us that the language is figurative, and designed to inspire terror into the hearts of the culprits.

* Theiner.

Donegal County Library Service

"Lateran Palace, Rome, 1160. Alexander III to his Venerable Brother, the Bishop of Raphoe, Greeting—Standing in Our presence, you reported that some laymen of your diocese, instigated by Satan, have so far yielded to the maddening passion of sensuality, that they have not only debased themselves by worshipping idols, in marrying those connected with them by blood or affinity, but that, when rebuked by you or other Catholics for their excesses, or when you pronounce against them the sentence of excommunication, they, like children of perdition, have the presumption to protest against the Catholic teaching, and against the authority that has been divinely bestowed upon the Holy See, and, with temerity and wickedness, plot the destruction of those who admonish them. Therefore, relying on your prudence, We, in virtue of power deputed to you by this letter, concede to you authority to employ the weapon of ecclesiastical censure, having first fixed a time limit for their admission to forgiveness, and to have recourse to the secular arm, if it be needful and advisable to do so."*

O'Caran has long since been transmuted into Mac Carran, and, in that form, is not an infrequent family name in East Donegal.

VII

Maelisa O'Deery (1203)

This Bishop's name has been transmitted to us in connection with a threatened desecration of Iona in 1203; and, had this unfortunate incident not have occurred, or not have been recorded, another regrettable hiatus would have presented itself in the very imperfect list of our Bishops. The *Annals of Ulster* thus chronicle the startling

* Theiner.

Donegal County Library Service

event, which precipitated the downfall of the Hy of Columbkille:—"A monastery was built by Ceallach, Abbot of Iona, in the centre of the enclosure, without any right, in dishonour of the community, so that he wrecked the place greatly. A hosting, however, was made by the clergy of Ireland, namely, by Florence O'Carolan, Bishop of Tir-Eoghan, by Maelisa O'Deery, Bishop of Tir-Conaill, by the Abbot of the monastery of Paul and Peter, in Armagh, by Amhalghaidh O'Friel, Abbot of the monastery of Derry, by Ainmire O'Coffey, and by a large number of the Community of Derry and of the clergy of the North, so that they razed the monastery according to the law of the church. The aforesaid Amhalghaidh was elected Abbot of Iona by the choice of Gaels and Gauls," that is, Irish and Pictish monks.

The Ordnance Memoir of Derry (p. 30) makes the extraordinary suggestion that this prelate was identical with the herenach of the same name, whose obituary record is found at the year 1218:—"Maelisa O'Deery, herenach of Derry, died on the 8th of December, after having been herenach for nearly 40 years, and after having done all the good in his power both for church and state." Besides the identity of name, the only reason advanced is that "the offices were not incompatible in those days of pluralities." It is much less incompatible with the well-known reverence of these chroniclers for the episcopal dignity, to imagine that they ignored the exalted office of bishop and extolled this celebrated benefactor of the people under the inferior rank of a common herenach. Maelisa is a very familiar name in the history of the period, and the only justifiable inference is that both personages belonged to the same distinguished family. The O'Deerys were the herenachs of Derry for many centuries, and Derry at this time undoubtedly belonged to Raphoe.

Donegal County Library Service

Flaherty O'Brolchain died in 1175, and "the fact appears to be," comment the Editors of the Memoir (p. 31), "that O'Brolchain had episcopal jurisdiction over the Columban monasteries alone, and that, on his death, Derry reverted to the bishopric of Raphoe, or Tirconaill, to which it properly belo ged."

Two saintly priests of this levitical family suffered martyrdom for the faith during the reign of James I. "Patrick O'Deery, O.S.F., was a priest of great age and venerable appearance. He was hanged at Lifford in the territory of the most illustrious Earl of Tireconaill. He was cut down while still breathing, disembowelled, and quartered by the heretics hardened in their cruelty, and in this way triumphed as a martyr, in 1609." *

Another Patrick O'Deery was a secular priest, who "gained a victory at Derry of St. Columbkille, as he would not obey the iniquitous laws of Elizabeth and James. He overcame very cruel tortures, and preferred the ignominious death of the scaffold and the cutting of his body into four parts, to abandoning the way of truth. He died venerable by reason of his age and virtues, January 6th, 1618, and, as we may well hope, enjoys a crown of glory with the saints."†

Papal Mandates were issued to the Primate in 1251 and 1253 to accept the resignation of the blind Bishop of Raphoe, name unknown.‡

VIII

Patrick O'Scanlan (1253-1261)

The *Annals of Ulster* record the elevation of this illustrious ecclesiastic to the see of Raphoe, in the year 1253 :—

*Molanus, p. 72. †Bruodin, p. 505. ‡ *Cal. Pap. Reg.* i. 275, 286.

Donegal County Library Service

"Maol-Padraig Ua Sganail of the Preaching Order was chosen by the Archbishop of Armagh (Albert of Cologne) by the advice of Pope Innocent IV to the bishopric of Raphoe. And the same Archbishop constituted him his vicar in the province of Armagh, after he was consecrated in the monastery of the Friars Minor in Dundalk, on the First Sunday of Advent, 30th of November." That this appointment as Vice-Primate was no merely honorary title, but involved onerous duties and great responsibility, is easily deducible from the fact that Albert was mostly engaged on continental Legations, especially in Russia; and is further attested by the following chronicle in the same *Annals*:—"1255. Donatus, who was the eighth abbot in the Monastery of Paul and Peter in Armagh, rested in Christ, and Patrick O'Murry, Prior of the same house, was chosen to the Abbacy, and he was blessed by the hands of Maol-Padraig, Bishop of Rath-both, 1261. Patrick, that is Maol-Padraig Ua Sganail, Bishop of Rath-both, was elected unanimously as Archbishop of Armagh, and he defended at the Apostolic See the election of himself." The learned Editor appends the following much-needed note, explanatory of the phrase "Defended his election": "That is, attended at the Curia to secure confirmation of his election. He was at the Papal Court at the time." Both the abdicating Primate, who went to reside in Russia at the Pope's request, and his successor, Patrick O'Scanlan, were members of the Order of Preachers, that is, Dominicans, and this brotherhood in religion strengthened the bond of friendship between the two illustrious coarbs of St. Patrick. We shall see, however, that the new Primate, so far from evidencing jealousy or prejudice against rival Orders, on his own initiative introduced the Franciscans from Tirconaill into Armagh

Donegal County Library Service

city, and specially consecrated a cemetery within the precincts of their monastery.

"1262. Maol-Padraig Ua Sganail said Mass with the Pallium (or Archbishop's ermine hood) on the morrow of John the Baptist's Feast, that is, Sunday, June the 25th, in Ard-Macha."

"1264. Friars Minor were brought to Ard-Macha by the Archbishop O'Scanlon, and the same prelate, Maol-Padraig, made a ditch round Ard-Macha this year."

"1265. Friar Patrick O'Scanlon, Archbishop of Armagh, held a general Chapter in Drogheda this year."

"1266. The larger church of St. Patrick in the City of Armagh was commenced by Archbishop O'Scanlon. The Cemetery of the Friars Minor was consecrated by the same Archbishop, and the Lord Bishops of Raphoe, Down and Connor." Carbry O'Schoba, Bishop-Elect of Raphoe, was consecrated at Armagh on that occasion."

"1268. Mael-Padraig went to the house of the King of the Saxons, and returned again the same year with great power."

"1270. Mael-Padraig Ua Sgannail rested in Christ."

The O'Scanlon tribe were descendants of Feradach, King of Ossory; and the Kilkenny branch, who subsequently acquired the surname of Fitzpatrick, were decended from Scanlan Mor, who died in 640; while the Tirconaill O'Scanlans had for their progenitor the famous Scanlan, Chief of Ossory, whose release from captivity in the hands of Aedh, son of Ainmire, Ardrigh of Ireland, St. Columba insisted upon at the Mordhail of Drumceat, 590. At the year 913 we encounter the following record in the *Four Masters*:—"Scanlan, herenach of Conwal in Glenswilly, died," and the family still enjoyed a pre-eminent position, when the name Carrickoscanlan was assigned to a townland in that locality. At a much later period they became a leading sept in Glenfin, and, up to this

Donegal County Library Service

day, they cherish the proud tradition of their descent from the Kings of Ossory.

No Franciscan Monastery yet existed in Tirconaill, from which Primate O'Scanlon could have drawn a colony for Armagh; but the names of Abbots mentioned in the *Annals* very emphatically suggest their Donegal extraction—O'Boyle, Mac Swine, etc. In 1565, Father Mac Congal and Father Connor Mac Ward were stripped of their habits and flogged to death on the streets of Armagh by Queen Elizabeth's murderous soldiers; and in 1575, Fergal Ward, an eloquent preacher and holy monk, was hanged by his own cincture. We are, therefore, amply justified in asserting that, even from the first establishment of this flourishing community in Armagh, their ranks were largely recruited from the leading clans of Tirconaill.

IX

John de Alineto (1261-1265)

"The next successor (after Patrick O'Scanlan), John de Alineto, a Franciscan Friar, was advanced by the provision of Pope Urban IV, but resigned on the 18th of April, 1265, being, through an ill state of health, rendered unequal to the charge."—(Ware.)

In Theiner's collection of the Papal Bulls and Decretals affecting the Irish Church, the following Mandate addressed to John de Alineto is very fortunately preserved. It is much to be regretted that the names of the two candidates, for whom the two sections of the Chapter had given their votes, are not recorded in full.

"Urban, servant of the servants of God, to Our beloved Brother, John de Alineto of the Order of Friars Minor, Greeting.—As We have been placed on the lofty watch-tower of the Universal Church, through no adequate merits

Donegal County Library Service

of Our own, We are resolved, with the Divine assistance, so to discharge Our ministry in connection with the churches that are near to us, as not to be wanting in seasonable attention to those situated at a distance. The church of Raphoe having been for some time deprived of the paternal vigilance of a chief pastor, certain members of the Chapter, comprising only the minority, elected a certain Henry, who is Archdeacon of that diocese; and the other members voted for the Abbot of Dubh Regles (Derry), as Bishop of the said see. That election, however, of the aforementioned Archdeacon was very properly annulled by Our venerable Brother of Armagh (Patrick O'Scanlan), Metropolitan of the place, and the Archdeacon himself, having appealed to the Apostolic See in accordance with just and legal principles, paid the debt of nature while he was still present in Rome. Again, the postulation in favour of the Abbot was also rejected by Us on legitimate grounds.

"Unwilling, therefore, to permit the aforesaid diocese to suffer the grave inconvenience inseparable from too protracted a vacancy, and anxious to choose a competent individual, We have appointed you Bishop and pastor of that see of Raphoe, seeing that We entertain the fullest confidence in your vigilance, and that We are confirmed in this opinion by the testimony of Our episcopal Brothers. Hence We trust and hope that, by God's bounty, that church will enjoy increasing prosperity, spiritual and temporal, under your direction and guidance. Wherefore We command you, in virtue of the obedience you owe, to proceed to the Cathedral mentioned, on receipt of this apostolic message, taking upon your shoulders the burden hereby imposed, in atonement for your sins, and with trustful reliance on Our favour. May your teaching and example rescue the erring members of your flock from

Donegal County Library Service

eternal ruin, and bring them into the haven of unending bliss. It is not your personal advancement, but the welfare of the diocese, We are consulting for; therefore, in God's name, enter on your administration boldly and smoothly, having God's glory alone in view, the constitution of your Order notwithstanding.—L. Given at the Ancient City, 11th December, 1261. To be published in the Raphoe Cathedral, as addressed to the Chapter thereof, to the clergy and laity of the diocese and city of Raphoe, and to the Archbishop of Armagh." *

X

Cairbre O'Scoba (1266-1275)

" Cairbre O'Scoba, a Dominican Friar, was consecrated at Armagh in 1266, and died in 1275 at Rome, to which place he had taken a journey to solicit the interests of his church. While he governed this see, some part of the diocese of Raphoe was taken away and annexed to the see of Derry by the overbearing power of German O'Carolan, Bishop of Derry, and his clan of Cineal Eoghain, as may be seen in the *Register of Clogher*; and this was the cause of his journey to Rome, as above-mentioned." † This cold-blooded amputation of the large and important limb of the Raphoe diocese, known as Innishowen, is dealt with in the chapter treating of the boundaries. The *Annals of Lough Kee* state explicitly that O'Scoba died at Rome; the *Annals of Ulster* use the phrase *in curia*, which in all ecclesiastical documents means the same thing, but the *Hibernia Dominicana* says he died either at Rome or at Lyons.

The *Register of Clogher* is lost; and the reason why it is

* Theiner. See also Mandate of Urban IV, *Cal. Pap. Reg.* 198.
† Harris's Ware, p. 271.

Donegal County Library Service

appealed to is, that Clogher also lost a valuable portion of its territory from the insatiable greed and "overbearing power of German O'Carolan, Bishop of Derry, and his tribe of Cineal Eoghain, who took many things away from David O'Brogan, Bishop of Clogher, particularly the church of Ardstraw and many other churches of O'Feachra (near the Derg river)."—(Ware.)

O'Scoba is a family name now absolutely extinct in Tirconaill, nor does any recognisable variant of it survive.

Lynch * gives the following account of O'Scoba: "Ware understands that he is among the ten Dominican bishops assisting under Gregory at the Council of Lyons. With the approval of clergy and laity he was consecrated Bishop in 1267. Died 1274. I have no doubt that Leander means Scoba by *unus Hibernus*. Such was their indolence that they did not record his name—*vir devotus et corde levis*. He was always accusing himself and undergoing self-inflicted punishment. At Lyons, he supplicated the General Master of the Order, John Vercellensis, to permit him to continue these rigorous practices, but John peremptorily forbade him. He died during the Council, on the Vigil of the Ascension, 1274. The author of the Anthology says he was Bishop of Cork." From this statement it may be legitimately inferred that O'Scoba was promoted from the Dominican house in Cork.

XI

Florence O'Friel (1275-1299)

Florentius is the latinised equivalent of Fergal here; but elsewhere it represents Fogartagh, as, for instance, Florence O'Carolan, Bishop of Derry, who died 1230, while Fergal Ward, brother of the famous Vardaeus,

* "De Presulibus," MS. in Library T.C.D.

Donegal County Library Service

translated his Christian name into Ferdinandus in Salamanca,* probably because that name was honoured in Spain.

Apart from the dates of accession and death—the latter of which the *Annals of Lough Kee* fix at 1298—there is nothing recorded of the life and labours of this prelate, except the obituary panegyric, which we here quote from the *Annals of Ulster*:—"Fergal Ua Firghil, Bishop of Rath-both, the one Gaidhelic bishop who was the best for hospitality and charity and humanity and piety that was in Ireland, rested in Christ."

"The O'Firghils or O'Freels," says Reeves (V.C. 281), "who were the herenachs of Kilmacrenan church, were descended from Firghil, great-grandson of Aedh, who was son of Eoghan, St. Columbkille's brother." Thus the race of the O'Friels can claim a closer blood-relationship with St. Columba than any other of the Tirconaill clans; and their chief representative was herenach of the Doire Eithne or Kilmacrenan church lands. However, in the course of time, O'Nathan became herenach of Termon, but the O'Friel retained the herenachy of Templedouglas, and was coarb of St. Columbkille in Kilmacrenan.

The O'Friel sept at all times contributed members to the ranks of the Raphoe clergy, and in 1261 we find Conor O'Friel presiding over a meeting of the priests of that diocese, in Derry. Conor was probably Dean, and Derry was still within the limits of the Raphoe diocese. "Sixteen of the most distinguished of the clergy of Cineal Conaill were killed at Derry by Conor O'Neill and the Cineal Eoghain, together with Conor O'Friel. Conor O'Neill was slain immediately afterwards by Donn O'Breslin, Chief of Fanad, through the miracles of God and St. Columbkille." The *Annals of Ulster* say, "The

* *Archivium*, ii. p. 31.

Donegal County Library Service

best of the clergy of Tirconaill were killed around Conor O'Friel." Distinguished ecclesiastics of this name will be mentioned in subsequent chapters.

XII

Thomas O'Nathain (1299-1306)

"Thomas O'Nathain, or as some call him, O'Naan, Archdeacon of Raphoe, succeeded, and died in 1306." —(Ware.) "Professor Thomas O'Naan, Archdeacon of Raphoe and Bishop-Elect of the same church, died."—(F.M.) The O'Nathans were the herenachs of Termon in Gartan parish down to the time of Bishop O'Boyle, when their herenachy lapsed by race extinction, and the Bishop took the management of the church estate into his own hands. The family was a branch of the O'Friels, and appears to have been very unprolific in its offshoots. Only one other bearer of the name is mentioned in the *Annals*:— "1336. Trionoit O'Naan, Chief Professor of many Sciences and of the Civil and Canon Laws, died."

XIII

Henry Mac Crossan (1306-1319)

At the latter date, the *Annals of Donegal* chronicle the death of this prelate and the accession of his successor:— "Henry Mac An Chrosain, Bishop of Raphoe, died; and Thomas, son of Cormac O'Donnell, Abbot of Assaroe, was then elected to the bishopric."

The family name, Mac Crossan, is largely represented in Donegal; and another Bishop of the same stock occupied the see at a later period.

Donegal County Library Service

XIV

Thomas O'Donnell (1319-1337)

"Thomas, son of Cormac O'Donnell, and Abbot of Assaroe, succeeded and was consecrated in 1319. He governed this diocese for eighteen years, and was much celebrated for wisdom, liberality, and other virtues."—(Ware.) "1337. Thomas, Bishop of Raphoe, son of Cormac O'Donnell, a man eminent for wisdom and piety, died."—(F.M.)

Here another hiatus occurs, as one Bishop at least must have intervened between Thomas O'Donnell and

XV

Patrick Mac Maengal (1366)

"Patrick Mac Maengal (Monigal) was Bishop of Raphoe in 1360, but I cannot fix the time of his consecration. He built Episcopal Palaces in three Manors belonging to his see, and died in 1366."—(Ware.) The family name of this prelate is very prevalent down to the present day, in the County Donegal, under three variants, Mac Monagle, Mac Gonagle, and Mac Conagly; but it is very clearly established by tradition, that the powerful sept, to which both the Bishop here treated of and his remote successor, Donatus Mac Gonagle belonged, is now represented by the Conwells, who have clung close throughout the centuries to the cradle of their race, at Killybegs. They were the herenachs down to 1609; their chief was seneschal; the vicar of Killybegs parish was one of the clan, and filled the post of officialis; and the Mac Monagles are unknown to ancient church history. Further light will be thrown

Donegal County Library Service

on the question in the chapters on Killybegs and on Aughnish parishes.

A holy Franciscan belonging to this family was martyred in 1586. Like many other pious youths of Tirconaill, Roger Conwell had consecrated his life to religious austerity in the Abbey of St. Francis, founded in Armagh by Primate O'Scanlon, who had been translated from the see of Raphoe. The narrative of his massacre may be read in Stuart's *Armagh* (p. 464). Father Murphy, in *Our Martyrs* (p. 90), publishes the following translated extract from Hueber :—" On the 16th of December, 1565, in the primatial city of Armagh, Roger Congaill (Conwell) and Cornelius Mac Ward were seized by a certain heretic named Donald, through hatred of the Catholic faith. They were stripped of their religious habits, cruelly scourged, and taken through the public streets of the city. In fine, worn out by the scourging, they died, victims to God."

Harris subjoins the following note to Ware's brief account of Patrick Mac Conigal :—" On the 9th of November, 1363, Pope Urban V, in the first year of his Pontificate, issued a Bull to translate this prelate from hence to the Archiepiscopal See of Armagh, then (as the Bull says) destitute of a pastor, and absolved him from the ties by which he was bound to the diocese of Raphoe, concluding with a prayer to the King to render to him the temporalities of the see of Armagh. Which proceedings were grounded (as he read in the Bull) on the unanimous election and request of the Dean and Chapter of Armagh. It is certain from all authorities that Milo Sweetman governed the see of Armagh from 1361 to 1380. The *Annals of Mary's Abbey* confirm this ; and the *Annals of the Four Masters* are express that Patrick Magonail died Bishop of Raphoe in 1366, three years after the date of

Donegal County Library Service

the Pope's Bull, nor doth any writer, that I know of, place Patrick Magonail in the see of Armagh. The difficulties, then, arising between the Pope's Bull and the authority of our writers, can no otherwise be reconciled than by supposing that Milo was somewhere absent, and a report spread of his death, which caused the Dean and Chapter to proceed to a hasty election, and upon their Certificate, the Pope issued this Bull. But, upon Milo's re-appearing, things continued as they were."

Lynch, with characteristic optimism, hoped he would be able to unearth documents in the Roman collections, that would fill in the glaring lacuna of 30 years following Patrick Mac Monagle's episcopate. He had, obviously, discovered that as many as four prelates existed successively during the interval; and he has left in his Manuscript the first word of an intended sketch of each of these bishops. He exhibits his wonted fondness for variety of expression even in these initial words, which are *successit*, *successor*, *proximus*, *Patritius*.

It is very regrettable that the learned author failed to transmit to posterity the fragments of information he possessed; for it is pretty certain that he knew the surname of Patritius, seeing that he writes *Ricardus*, *Joannes*, *Cornelius*, *Antonius*, etc., immediately after, and that there is no mystery about the identity of any one of these consecutive prelates.

XVI

Richard Mac Crossain (1366, 1367)

Neither accession nor obit of this prelate is noticed in the *Annals*, and Ware says: "I know not how long he sat in this see."

Donegal County Library Service

XVII

Conor Mac Cormaic O'Donnell (1367-1398)

This refined and humane Bishop was a descendant of the princely family of the O'Donnells, chiefs of Corca Vaskin in Clare. He assisted at Primate Colton's Visitation of Derry diocese in the last year of his episcopate, and was treated by the Primate with signal honour; nor can the reader of that remarkable work, *Colton's Visitation*, fail to admire the zeal with which this good Bishop extended his protection to the clergy of Derry, at that time deprived of a chief pastor of their own. At page 33, for instance: "Through the mediation of the venerated Cornelius, Bishop of Raphoe, the Archdeacon and other members of the Chapter were allowed to appear." Again, "Yielding to the prayer of the said Bishop, the Primate orally commissioned him to absolve them from all censures."

Ware, usually so accurate, is altogether wrong both in the date and in the order of Conor O'Donnell's succession. John, whom Ware introduces as Conor's immediate predecessor, was in reality his immediate successor; and Conor, instead of occupying the see for two years, was actually thirty years or more episcopal ruler of the diocese. It is still more unaccountable that Brady failed to detect or to elucidate, this egregious blunder. The only explanation that suggests itself is the difficulty of access to Roman documents in Brady's time. Much more recently the *Calendar of Papal Registers* has been published, and, in that invaluable collection, I have discovered (vol. iv. 74) a Papal Mandate, issued in 1368, which shows that Conor was already Bishop of Raphoe in that year. Another entry of less importance, and conversant with the same

Donegal County Library Service

subject, very clearly implies that he was Bishop for a considerable time before that date.

It is necessary to premise that Bishops could dispense in the canonical impediment arising *ex Defectu Natalium*, so as to enable the applicant to receive tonsure and Minor Orders. A young student named John O'Farrell, attending the Raphoe seminary, laboured under this impediment, and had already got the episcopal dispensation. The Papal Mandate authorising his promotion to Holy Orders was issued in 1368: "Granted to John O'Farrell, Bachelor of Canon Law, belonging to the diocese of Ardagh, and a member of the fraternity of *Cornelius*, Bishop of Raphoe, a further dispensation to accept any orders of dignity inferior to that of Bishop."*

Conor, or Cornelius O'Donnell, had been, therefore, some considerable time spiritual ruler of Raphoe in 1368, and consequently, we are not surprised that age and infirmity began to incapacitate him for active work thirty years afterwards, when he resigned, and forwarded his letter of abdication, as is explained in extract at close of next sketch. His death is recorded by the *Four Masters* at the following year, 1399.

XVIII

John Mac Menamin (1398-1409)

"One John, a Cistercian monk, was advanced to the see of Raphoe by the provision of Pope Boniface XI, on the 20th of February, 1398 (reckoning the year to commence on the 1st of January). He must have sat but a very short period, for Cornelius, who followeth, was in possession of it on the 13th October, 1397."—(Harris's Ware.)

The argument here assigned to prove that John Mac

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* iv. 74.

Donegal County Library Service

Menamin's episcopate was very short, rests on the altogether erroneous assumption that he preceded Cornelius. In the brief notice of the next Bishop, Archdeacon Lynch's authority is cited for the statement that that prelate was in occupation of the see in 1411, and it is abundantly clear from the excommunication fulminated by Primate Fleming against "the heretics of Raphoe" before 1410, that there was an interregnum in 1409. Hence we are justified in inferring that John Mac Menamin died in that year.

That he was a zealous administrator and in constant communication with the Holy See, is evidenced by the number of Papal Mandates addressed to him, some of them affecting other dioceses:—(1) To assign to David Gibbons the Deanery of Clogher, 1399; (2) To promote Donatus O'Carolan, Derry, to the benefice recently held by William Campbell, 1401; (3) To promote to a benefice Patrick Campbell of Clogher, 1403; (4) To promote to a Canonry of Raphoe (with reservation of Prebend) Philip Magroarty.* It is further evident that John had ceased to rule the diocese before the following Brief was expedited, 2nd March, 1412:—"Mandate to the Bishop of Lucera (Derry), the Coarb of Cainneach (Abbot of Dungiven), and the Official of Derry, to assign to Niall O'Kane of Raphoe, rector of Raymoghy, collated by Bishop John and vacant by the death of Mallon O'Doherty, and held by Clement O'Friel for a few months after he became Archdeacon." † Another interesting entry of the same date, 1412, would appear to imply that even his successor, Anthony, was no longer effective administrator of the diocese:—"Mandate to the Prior of Lough Derg to assign to Diarmot O'Doherty, perpetual beneficiary, called Prebendary of Ballybofey, in the diocese of Raphoe, the

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* v. 249, 421, 519, 617. † Ib. vi. 265.

Donegal County Library Service

perpetual vicarage vacated by the death of Comidinus O'Kerrigan." * The Dean was *ex officio* Parish Priest of Stranorlar ; the Vicar was resident in Ballybofey, but his gort was on the north-east side of Stranorlar.

John's appointment by the Holy See, on the abdication of his predecessor, Cornelius O'Donnell, is thus recorded in the *Calendar of Papal Registers* (vol. vi.) : " 1398. Feb. 22. Provision to John Mac Menamin, Cistercian Monk of Assaroe Abbey, in priest's orders, of the see of Raphoe, void by the abdication of Bishop Cornelius, tendered at the Apostolic See through John, his proctor, to Francis, Cardinal Priest of St. Susanna's, thereby reserved to the Pope."

XIX

Anthony (1399-1413)

" One Anthony, Bishop of Raphoe, died, as it seems, 1413."—(Ware.)

Nicholas Fleming, who became Primate in 1404, records in his Register at 1410, that he had excommunicated the heretics of the diocese of Raphoe. A previous entry of a most amazing fact may perhaps explain his application of the word " heretics " He chronicles at the year 1407, presumably as a proof of their orthodoxy, that the clergy of Armagh contributed at the Parliament in Kilkenny, ten pounds towards the prosecution of the war against the Irish ! No wonder that poor un-anglicised Anthony was ignored, and his spirited flock excommunicated for refusing to butcher their own race.†

Lynch reminds his readers that it was during Anthony's episcopate that " the cross of Raphoe exuded blood in 1411."

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vi. 292. † See *Book of Armagh*, note, p. 132.

Donegal County Library Service

XX

Robert Mubire (1413, 1414)

"I find in the fifth tome of Luke Wadding's *Annals* (p. 88) that Robert Mubire, a Franciscan Friar, succeeded by a Papal provision to the bishopric of Raphoe, after the death of Anthony on the 29th of May, 1414; but I much question whether he ever saw his see."—(Ware.)

XXI

John Mac Carmaic (1415-1419)

"John Mac Carmaic made his profession of obedience to Nicholas Fleming, the Primate, in the Chapel of the Manor of Drumiskin, 2nd March, 1415, according to the Register of Milo Sweetman, Archbishop of Armagh. He died in 1419, as the *Annals of the Four Masters* say." At that date Milo Sweetman was long dead, but it appears his Register was continued under his name for some time after his demise.

XXII

Laurence O'Gallagher I (1419-1438)

"Laurence, or Laughlin O'Gallagher, Dean of Raphoe, was advanced to this see by a provision of Martin V, on the 27th of February, 1420, and died in 1438." Harris supplements this brief account of Ware's by a lengthened history of Archbishop Prene's seizure of the temporalities, and of his excommunication of the Dean and Chapter of Raphoe in 1442, during the interregnum of four years after the demise of Laurence O'Gallagher. This incident has

Donegal County Library Service

already been described with sufficient fulness in the chapter on the Rights of the Primate in Raphoe. This Laurence attended Colton's Visitation as Dean, 1397.

XXIII

John Mac Gilbride (1438-1440)

" John Mac Gilbride seems to be the next successor to Laughlin O'Gallagher, but I am at a loss to discover how long he sat."—(Ware.)

" Laughlin O'Gallagher, Bishop of Raphoe, died 1438," is the undisputed record of the *Four Masters*, and Dr. Laurence O'Gallagher, Bishop-Elect of Raphoe, had his appointment to the see ratified at Rome in August, 1443, according to the still more incontestable Consistorial Acts. Why, then, does Ware, in his brief notice of the former prelate, assert without any qualification that " the see after his death was vacant above four years " ? In specifying this interval he evidences clearly enough that he was cognisant of the exact date of the appointment of Laurence II. Then having sandwiched John Gilbride between the two namesakes, he avoids an explicit self-contradiction by giving no date at all for the accession of the second Laurence ; and says " he is at a loss to discover " the period of John Gilbride's episcopacy.

Seeing that he was not elevated to the see before 1438, that Cornelius was Bishop, as is proved by quotation given below, in 1440, and that a vacancy had existed for a considerable time before Primate Prene intervened so drastically in 1442, John Gilbride could not have been Bishop until after Laurence II was superseded.

It is hardly necessary to recall to the memory of the reader that Mac Giolla Brighid was the ancient form of

Donegal County Library Service

this family name, and that the two chief variants are Mac Bride and Gilbride in Tirconaill; elsewhere Kilbride is not an uncommon form. The Mac Brides were the herenachs of Raymunterdony, and their descendants are still among the most influential and prosperous families along the north-western seaboard.

John Mac Bride's name ought to precede immediately that of Memna Mac Cormack.

XXIV

Cornelius Mac Bride (1440-1442)

"October 5, 1440. John White, Rector of the parish of Carrickfergus in the diocese of Connor, paid 33⅓ florins in gold on behalf of Cornelius, Bishop-Elect of Raphoe." Obligazioni.

A Roman document already quoted set forth the fact that a vacancy had existed for four years in 1443. Hence we are compelled to infer that Cornelius never discharged episcopal functions in the diocese. William Mac Bride was at this time rector of Clondahorkey, and later on a mandatory Canon (1450).

Ware failed to discover any trace of Cornelius, but Maziere Brady unearthed the Roman document here quoted, in which neither his own surname nor the name of his predecessor appears. But, in the Consistorial Acts both these omissions are supplied, and John Mac Bride is completely crushed out from the position in the list assigned him conjecturally by Ware, and relegated to his proper place, between Donatus O'Gallagher and Memna Mac Cormack, that is, from 1450 to 1484. The record of Conor's, or Cornelius's, appointment proves how unreliable Ware's information was in all cases where

Donegal County Library Service

a conflict existed between the Pope and the English King. That such misunderstanding prevailed at this period, the Brief of Laurence O'Gallagher's appointment in 1442 affords explicit evidence, and goes far to explain Primate Prene's insolent treatment of the Dean and Chapter of Raphoe in that year.

"1st June, 1440. Provision of the See of Raphoe, vacated by the death of Laurence O'Gallagher outside the Roman Curia, during whose life it was specially reserved by the present Pope, in the Decree *Apostolatus*, to Cornelius Mac Bride, a priest of the Diocese of Raphoe. Concurrent Letters to the Chapter, Clergy, and Vassals."* It may be observed that the usual courteous notification to the King regarding the temporalities is significantly omitted. In reference to the statement that the see had been vacant for four years before the appointment of Laurence II in 1443, it may be explained that Cornelius had been Dean for twenty years, and may very well have been too feeble to exercise effective administration as Bishop:—"1420. Mandate to the Dean of Armagh, etc., to assign to Cornelius Mac Bride, Canon, the Deanery of Raphoe, vacant by the death of Florence Garvey." †

XXV

Laurence O'Gallagher II (1443-1477)

This unworthy prelate's career has evoked very caustic strictures from Catholic writers, while anti-Catholic critics have based on his unsavoury reputation a plausible arraignment against the uniform continency of the clergy. It must be at once admitted that the evidence furnished

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* ix. 127. † Ib. vii. 149.

Donegal County Library Service

in the *Donegal Annals* is overwhelmingly strong, and that there is no sufficient reason to impeach the records of the Armagh Registers, etc. But the very worst conclusion we are justified in drawing from this unfortunate stain on the fame of the Raphoe episcopate is, that secular influence thrust into the chair of St. Adamnan, in one or two cases within twelve long centuries, a man of carnal inclinations and scandalous behaviour. Both history and tradition demonstrate that the delinquent was brought to trial and duly punished; and, consequently, the law of clerical chastity, though outraged by this individual, is proved to have been uniformly enforced with unsparing rigour.

O'Donovan remarks in a note to the *Annals* at the year 1470:—"He was Laurence O'Gallagher, Bishop of Raphoe, of whom several traditional stories are still told in this country. It is stated in the Ulster Inquisitions that he bestowed certain lands belonging to the see of Raphoe on the daughter of O'Boyle. Tradition adds that O'Donnell levelled his castle and put him on his trial for incontinency before the Primate of all Ireland; and this tradition seems borne out by what Harris has collected of his history in his *Ware's Bishops*."

The following is the passage referred to:—"He was proceeded against for incontinency in 1469, before John Bole, Archbishop of Armagh; and upon submitting to penance, was absolved, as may be seen in the Armagh Register."

O'Donovan's comment was obviously penned much later than his Ordnance Letter, in which he ascribes the atrocious bartering away of the mensal lands, not to Laurence O'Gallagher, but to Niall O'Boyle, who was alive when the Inquisition in question was held at Lifford. Such a blunder appears unpardonable in light of the sworn

Donegal County Library Service

testimony set forth in the Inquisition. The letter is dated October 18th, 1835, and was written in Ardara :—" On an island in Lough Kilturis are yet to be seen the ruins of a strong house, which tradition remembers to have been built by a Bishop O'Boyle, as a place of refuge from the the fury of O'Donnell, when the Bishop had committed a breach of the rules of the Church. What this breach was we can guess from the following passage in an Inquisition taken at Lifford in the 7th year of James I (1609) :— 'And further the said Jurors saie uppon their oathes that there are in the saide parishe, five quarters of land called Loughrosse, which have auncientlie bine in controversie betwixt the church and the sept of the O'Boyles, and, as by tradicion it hath been delivered, the lande originally came to the O'Boyles in manner and form following viz., that the Bishop of Raphoe gave it in mortgage to the daughter of one Sheugrie O'Boyle for twentie cowes or ten markes moinie, which he promised her ; and that she being thereof seized, ever since that time which is beyond the memory of men, the lande hath successively been and is yet, in the possession of the O'Boyles.' "

Now, there is unimpeachable evidence to prove that Bishop O'Boyle continued to occupy the episcopal manor house at Killybegs till 1596, for in that year he addressed a letter to the King of Spain " from the manor of Killybegs," thanking him for the aid he was about to send, especially on behalf of the church, which was spoiled by the English heretics (*Life of Hugh Roe*, p. 70). We know, moreover, that Bishop O'Boyle journeyed to Dublin with Sir Hugh O'Donnell,* and seemingly enjoyed his confidence to the end. Besides, Sir Hugh had resigned the chieftaincy long before this prelate had incurred the hostility of his priests and the disfavour of the reigning Pope. The conclusion

* MS. in British Museum.

Donegal County Library Service

is inevitable from all the circumstances that O'Donovan was entirely mistaken in regard to the identity of the inculpated Bishop, and that he detected his error before he annotated the *Annals*. If Niall O'Boyle were the culprit, seeing that he was still living and intimately known to all the Jurors, how could they affirm on oath that the time of the transaction was "beyond the memory of men"? Besides, O'Donovan suppressed the very material concluding sentence: "But that since the departure of the late earl of Tirconaill, the lord Bishop of Raphoe hath received the rentes thereof." But this charge, monstrous and revolting as it is, does not stand alone; the *Annals* and Inquisitions record another equally indisputable and exactly similar crime committed by the unpriestly Laurence. At the year 1513, the *Four Masters* mention the "sons of Brian, son of Bishop O'Gallagher," explicitly; elsewhere, at 1497, "William, son of Bishop O'Gallagher," is also associated with the Mac Swines, inasmuch as their mother belonged to that sept. It is unnecessary to accentuate the fact that chronology of itself determines the identity of the Bishop in question. Reeves argues from these and parallel passages that some ecclesiastics were married; but his arguments have been long since demolished and his conclusions overthrown by Lingard, Moran, the Editor of the *Annals of Ulster*, etc. As long as human nature retains its frailties, a concubinarian is possible among clerics; but a married clergyman in the Western Church has been at all times a pure figment of bigoted fancy. The Lifford Inquisition elicited the following discreditable account of Laurence's disposition of mensal or herenach lands in Tory parish, affecting of course the mainland strip of seaboard: "And, further, the saide Jurors doe uppon their oathes saie and present that there are, lyinge in the saide baronie of Kill

Donegal County Library Service

McKreenan, twelve gortes of lande, Clanmore, etc. (12 townlands), all which were litigious betwixt the busshope of Raphoe and the late Earl of Tirconaill ; and that it hath been delivered by tradicion unto the saide Jurors, that in ancient tyme the said busshop of Raphoe gave the said landes in mortgage to a daughter of the Mac Swine Fanagh, until he had contented her—either ten markes or twentie cowes—and her father being thereof possessed, did mortgage the same to the O'Donnells for three score cowes, and that, by virtue of the said mortgage, the late Earle of Tirconaill and his auncestors have, time out of mind, been seised of all and everie the said quarters, but to whom the saide landes doe rightfully belonge, the said Jurors know not."

Bishop Montgomery eventually succeeded in securing this estate as a glebe for the Protestant Church.

In dismissing this unattractive topic, we shall merely remind the reader that, though the unfortunate prelate was pardoned, having incurred the gravest censures and a canonical irregularity, it by no means follows that he was permitted thenceforth to exercise episcopal or sacerdotal orders.

Historical truth demands that incidents of this kind should not be glossed over, as if they were everyday occurrences ; and the interests of religion are more usefully and lastingly served by repelling, than by ignoring, public calumnies against the discipline of the Church.

The date of Laurence's accession, as given above, and that of his successor's death, show pretty clearly that his active episcopate covered no long period of years. At 1450 we encounter in the *Annals of Donegal* two distinct records bearing on the question ; and it is almost certain that one is a mere duplicate of the other. First, it is stated that " Bishop O'Gallagher died " in that year ;

Donegal County Library Service

and the last entry of the same year repeats the chronicle in different verbiage, "Donnchadh O'Gallagher, coarb of Adamnan, died." O'Donovan appends to this second record a note suggested by the first, but in direct contradiction of his mature judgment expressed in his Ordnance Letter dated from Raphoe, October 1, 1835, in which he impeaches Ware for distinguishing between Adamnan and Eunan; and adds that Colgan, "the Iberno-learned native of Glentogher, who often heard Adamnan pronounced by the old woman, who taught him his prayers, as Eunan, never fell into such an error, for he always understood that Coarb of Adamnan meant Bishop of Raphoe." And such undoubtedly is its meaning here; so that we must conclude that Donnchadh, Donough, or Donatus O'Gallagher was Bishop of Raphoe and died in 1450. It is not often the *Four Masters* perpetrated this error of double entry, but the inquisitive reader will find Nial O'Boyle represented as being twice killed by Conor O'Boyle, at 1539 and at 1540.

However, it is absolutely certain that Bishop Donatus O'Gallagher occupied the see of Adamnan as successor to Laurence, and was himself succeeded by John Gilbride, or Mac Bride, as the surname is now used in Donegal; but no further record of the career of either of these two prelates is discoverable at present.

Meanwhile, in his decaying years, Laurence repented, made public reparation, and was publicly absolved from all censures and irregularities by his immediate superior, the Primate of All Ireland, in 1469, and died eight years later.

The following record of his appointment is published by Maziere Brady in his *Episcopal Succession* (Ireland):— "9th August, 1443. Maolmuire O'Breslin, Rector of Inniskeel Parish in Raphoe, and Clement O'Friel, Vicar of

Donegal County Library Service

Donoghmore in Derry diocese, representing Most Rev. Dr. Laurence O'Gallagher, Bishop-Elect of Raphoe, paid 33¼ Florins."

It is a considerable relief and, to some extent, an agreeable compensation for the tedious labour involved in the search, to discover that Laurence was certainly *not* in Holy Orders when raised to the episcopal rank, on the 17th of June, 1442 :—" Provision of the see of Raphoe, vacant by the death of Cornelius outside the Roman Court, during whose life it was specially reserved by the present Pope, to Laurence O'Gallagher, in Minor Orders only, and of lawful age, on whose behalf the Chapter of the said Church have petitioned. Concurrent Letters to the Chapter of the Cathedral, to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese. *Without the usual Letters to the Archbishop of Armagh and King Henry VI.*" *

A Papal Mandate, bearing the same date, grants a dispensation in the canonical irregularity *ex defectu natalium* to Laurence, "to whom the Pope intends to make provision of the see to-day." And, lastly, in 1443, Laurence, Bishop-Elect of Raphoe, was granted a Brief authorising his consecration by three Bishops, the oath of fealty to be immediately forwarded, *as usual*, to His Holiness. There is no reference, in any available document, to his actual reception of Holy Orders of any grade, but we have distinct proof that he exercised jurisdiction, in the following Papal Brief dated 2nd January, 1450 : " Mandate to three Raphoe Canons to deprive Malachy O'Gallagher of the benefice of Clondavaddog, and to confer it upon Patrick Mac Cormack, if it be proved that the former persisted in non-residence after he *had been admonished by Laurence.*" This admonition had evidently been administered before Donatus

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* ix. 127.

Donegal County Library Service

O'Gallagher, who died this year, had been elected after the supersession of Laurence.

XXVI

Menelaus Mac Carmacain (1484-1515)

" Menelaus or Menma, Mac Carmacain, Dean of Raphoe, was promoted to this bishopric, and made his profession of obedience to Octavian de Palatio, Archbishop of Armagh, on the 16th of July, 1484, as appeareth in Octavian's Registry. He was educated in Oxford where, Anthony Wood tells us, he was called Carmacain Hibernicus, and that there is no Registry to show whether he took any degree there. He died in the habit of a Franciscan Friar on the 9th of May, 1515 ; and, according to his direction, was buried at Donegal, in a convent of the same Order." —(Harris's Ware.)

An earlier Bishop was named Mac Cormaic, or son of Cormac, O'Donnell being the family name, and it is specifically noted by several authorities, that his branch of the O'Donnell stock had its habitat in Clare. Mac Carmaic is the older form of Mac Cormaic, and is a name very plentifully represented in Tirconaill.

The fact that Menelaus had been Dean of Raphoe, precludes the supposition that he was imported from any other diocese or outside religious Order. Moreover, the singularly lengthened span of his episcopacy shows that his talents and uprightness of life had secured for him an early advancement to the see.

A close examination of the records, and the manifest uncertainty of Ware's conjecture, would strongly suggest that John Mac Bride was successor to Donatus O'Gallagher (1450), and continued to guide the spiritual interests of

Donegal County Library Service

the diocese till 1484. It is almost inconceivable that Laurence O'Gallagher should have been restored to jurisdiction; and obviously it was entirely outside the competency of the Primate to perform such an act of grace; while, on the other hand, had any such concession emanated from the Pope, it is pretty certain some trace of it would survive. We have already shown that John's episcopate can fill no other period.

XXVII

Cornelius O'Kane (1515-1534)

Very many years ago, in searching through the State Papers, the present writer stumbled across an undated edict of Henry the Eighth, ordering the enlargement of Cornelius O'Kane, Bishop of Raphoe. Proud of the fact that the prelate had incurred the resentment of this persecuting tyrant, I at once proceeded to trace the antecedent career and after fate of the supposed martyr, but the results of a long and anxious investigation were disappointing and unpleasant. The facts elicited are meagre, and the conclusions unfavourable to the Bishop's reputation as an orthodox churchman. His immediate predecessor was the illustrious and saintly Menelaus Mac Cormac, who retired to the Donegal monastery in 1514, "died in the habit of a Franciscan Friar on the 9th of May in the following year, and by his own instructions was buried in the cemetery of that convent." *

Brady, in his *Episcopal Succession*, publishes the Vatican record of Edmund O'Gallagher's appointment to the see of Raphoe, while O'Kane was still living and comparatively young, on the 11th of May, 1534. Moreover, this

* F.M.

Donegal County Library Service

official document describes the diocese as vacant for more than 17 years, ever since Menelaus Mac Cormac's death. Thus, not merely was O'Kane superseded by the Roman Pontiff, but his previous tenure of the episcopacy is pointedly ignored. Yet we are informed by Ware that "he sat until 1550." In other words, Henry VIII and Edward VI recognised him as Bishop till his death in that year; and we have ample justification, moreover, for the assertion that Manus O'Donnell extended to him the mantle of his protection and secured for him liberal means of subsistence. But his arrest and incarceration by order of Henry cannot be accounted for, unless we assume that he repented of his error in subscribing to that monarch's pretension to spiritual supremacy, and was received back into the bosom of the Church.

It is undeniable that his orthodoxy was not open to question for a considerable period after his accession to the see, in 1514; it is equally beyond dispute that he became a schismatical supporter of Henry's novel assumption of church headship before 1534. Soon after this date he publicly renounced Henry's spiritual supremacy, and made some sort of atonement, whereupon, with the co-operation of Manus O'Donnell, he was committed to prison. The rigours of confinement and the tempting offers of restoration to dignity and comfort gradually undermined his weak resolution. He relapsed, and was again received into favour by Henry and by Henry's servile protégé, Manus O'Donnell, about 1536; and thus he continued to wear his dignity as king's bishop to the end of his life.

A thick veil of mystery shrouds this prelate's wobbling inconstancy from beginning to end; and his shifting attitude becomes all the more puzzling when it is studied under the light of Henry's own gyrations in his contest

Donegal County Library Service

with Rome, and his usurpation of control over the Church in Ireland. It was not till 1538 that Browne, Henry's accommodating Archbishop of Dublin, and other informers were commissioned by Cromwell, Vicar-General of England, to confer with the clergy and nobility of Ireland on the policy of proclaiming the King's spiritual supremacy. On the 15th of June, 1541, a Dublin Parliament slavishly enacted that thereafter Henry (and his heirs) should assume the title of King, instead of the former designation of Lord, of Ireland. And in the same year the following oath was proposed for acceptance and subscription by the Irish Bishops:—"Youe shall swere that you shall beare faith, truthe, and obedience alle only to Gode, to the Kinges Majestie, your Souverainge Lorde, Supreme Hede in Earthe under Gode of the Churche of England and Ireland during his life; and that you utterlie renounce the bishope of Rome, and his onjustlie pretended jurisdiction, etc."

The Irish chiefs exhibited no reluctance in submitting to the spiritual supremacy of Henry; but, of course, the Primate and the great majority of the Bishops rejected the proposal with vehement indignation. Cornelius O'Gahan had already thrown himself on the mercy of the polygamous monarch of England, and had secured his liberty by renouncing the Papal authority. Hence, he could have experienced no additional torture of conscience by subscribing to the schismatical oath. Fortunately, he had long ceased to exercise either episcopal orders or jurisdiction; hence, he was a pastor without a flock. But it is to be feared that he had some high influential adherents among the nobility of Tirconaill; for it is almost incredible that Manus O'Donnell, if unsupported by other chiefs, could have offered such formidable opposition to the installation of Edmund O'Gallagher, or effectively imposed

Donegal County Library Service

rents and tithes on the herenachs and people for O'Kane's maintenance.

That Manus was himself a schismatic he has left very emphatic and unequivocal proof in the memorable Indenture, which he subscribed in the presence of the Lord Deputy, St. Leger, in 1641 :—" He will renounce, abandon, and annihilate, as far as he can, the usurped primacy and authority of the Roman Pontiff, and he will give no reception to his adherents ; neither will he protect nor defend them. In his own territory he will not tolerate them or any one of them, and he will expel all and each of them with every form of watchfulness and diligence. He will eject and eradicate them all, or coerce and constrain them into submission to the aforesaid lord, the King, and his successors." There is no reason to imagine that he ever intended or attempted to execute any of these threatened penalties against the Papal Bishop and clergy of Raphoe. But no excuse can be alleged for his grovelling apostasy, save the desire he inherited from his father, Hugh Dubh, to cultivate the friendship of the English rulers for the obvious purpose of securing their assistance in his periodical wars against the O'Neill.

In a letter addressed to Henry from Donegal on the 4th March, 1551, elsewhere * reproduced in a modern dress, Manus displays a great deal more of diplomatic astuteness than of experience in English composition, of which he shows himself as ignorant as a Chinaman. It opens thus :—" After al dywe Recommendacion pleassyd yor lorschip to knowe that y reseyvyd yor Jentyll leter the last yt come from yow wherin yow wrot my abowt a blynde skottet bychip yt is com to Erlonde. it ys so my lord yt he was in owther plasys and contres afor he came to my countrey and yf yow by not content yt he schulde not by

* See Introduction.

Donegal County Library Service

in this londe of erlonde he schall not be manteynyd in this contrey but at yor wylles fro this tyme forwardes." The blind Scottish Bishop was the Primate Wauchop, whom Henry had outlawed, and Manus never showed any inclination "to expel and annihilate" in accordance with his solemn, but hypocritical undertaking. "Fro this tyme forwardes" he pretended that he was about to become very energetic in crushing Popery!

Hugh Dubh, father of Manus, was so devoted in his attachment to the Holy See, that in 1510, five years after his accession to the chieftaincy, "he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and, while he was abroad, his people and friends were in grief, sorrow, and sadness after him, and he left his son, Manus, after him to defend the country while he should be absent." Manus at once set about strengthening his personal alliances and securing the permanency of his power, even after his father's return; and, for this purpose, "Art, the son of Con O'Neill, whom the O'Donnell had imprisoned before his departure for Rome, was liberated without the O'Donnell's (Hugh Dubh's) permission." In 1512, "Hugh, the son of Hugh Roe, returned from Rome after having performed the pilgrimage. He remained sixteen weeks in London on his outward journey, and sixteen more on his way back, and received great honour and respect from Henry, King of England." This was the third year of Henry's reign, and that monarch was then, and long after, a trusted champion of the orthodox Catholic faith and of the Papal authority throughout Christendom. But the political engagements contracted during these prolonged sojourns at Henry's court resulted in religious entanglements, that for a time threatened disaster to the Church in Raphoe. It was not till 1530 that Henry declared open war against the Pope, and against all bishops, communities, and priests who advo-

Donegal County Library Service

cated or recognised the Papal authority. Nor is there any hint conveyed in either the State Papers or in the *Donegal Annals* that O'Kane manifested disobedience to the Church earlier than 1534, when he was instantly superseded, and when the Dean and Chapter were commanded by the Holy See to nominate a successor. No doubt the personal relations subsisting between Henry and Hugh Dubh (the latter of whom died in 1537), and the assistance sought and obtained so frequently by Manus from the English, would at once suggest to the inquisitive reader that the crafty Henry was getting or expecting some return, which he prized beyond ordinary political or social alliance. The bald entry in the State Papers, already referred to, throws very little light on the question; but it implies to the mind of the student of ecclesiastical history, that Henry had deprived this unfortunate prelate of his liberty, and that subsequently on his submission, he restored him to freedom and to the enjoyment of the temporalities. Nor can we entertain any shadow of doubt that both Hugh Dubh and Manus would have ostensibly acquiesced in any such curtailment of ecclesiastical liberty, provided it was unattended with political trouble or internal turmoil. Though the record bears no date, its location fixes it about 1536, and, later on, we shall see that a MS. note accompanying Harris's copy of Sir James Ware's *Irish Bishops* in the Royal Irish Academy, may probably furnish the truthful meaning of this edict of Henry. The facts are incontestable; and the natural interpretation, already explained, is immensely less injurious to the questionable reputation of the pliant prelate, than that which Harris's lucubration would compel us to accept.

In 1534 the crisis was precipitated; the election of a Bishop could be neither deferred nor concealed from the public; Edmund O'Gallagher, Dean of Raphoe, was chosen

Donegal County Library Service

by the Raphoe Chapter, and approved and promoted to the bishopric of Raphoe by the Holy See. The opposition of Manus and the remonstrances of O'Kane and his adherents were so violent and obstinate that the Four Masters could not forbear recording the fact, though they usually slurred over all incidents redounding to the discredit of the O'Donnell dynasty. Even here they refrain from apportioning the blame:—"Edmund, the son of Brian O'Gallagher, died on the 26th of February, after having experienced great opposition regarding the bishopric."* No reference is made to the fact that O'Kane was still alive and enjoying the same revenues as he had been legitimately entitled to before his defection. How were these provided? They were raised by the ingenuity and tyranny of Manus from an oppressed and deluded tenantry, both herenach and non-herenach lands having been assessed for the purpose.

In order to comprehend the situation with any approach to exactness, it is necessary to remember that Hugh Dubh was still in undisputed possession of the chieftaincy, but that Manus was the virtual governor. Now, Hugh's life-long intimacy and sustained friendship with Henry of polygamous memory, must awaken doubts regarding the unswerving stability of his devotion to the Church, but we find his orthodoxy very emphatically proclaimed and sealed by his investiture in the habit of St. Francis before his death in 1537:—"Hugh O'Donnell, son of Hugh Roe, died on the 5th of July, being Thursday, in the monastery of Donegal, having previously received the habit of St. Francis, repenting his transgressions and delinquencies, and doing penance for his sins and frailties during life; and was buried with great honour and solemnity in the same monastery, as was due to him. Manus O'Donnell

* F.M. 1543.

Donegal County Library Service

was inaugurated his successor by the coarbs of Columbkille, with the permission and consent of the nobles of Tirconaill, both lay and ecclesiastical."

We can hardly conceive the Papal Bishop of the diocese, Dr. Edmund O'Gallagher, as exhibiting any enthusiastic joy at the accession of Manus, or even personally assisting at the inaugural ceremony, but as he was powerless to prevent his succession to the chieftaincy, it would have been futile and impolitic on his part to offer any active opposition. No positive evidence of Hugh Dubh's support of O'Kane's recalcitrant attitude towards the Church can be gleaned from the fragmentary history of the time; and it is very obvious that Manus endeavoured to reconcile his own patronage of O'Kane with his adhesion to the Catholic faith. The sworn testimony of the Jurors in the Inquisition so often referred to, leaves no room for doubt that he arbitrarily and unjustly imposed on his father's subjects rents and tithes in favour of O'Kane, equivalent to those payable to the lawful Bishop of Raphoe. That bitter resentment was felt by the doubly taxed tenants, is very emphatically declared by the aforesaid Jurors, and is further accentuated by the contemptuous soubriquet of "Rees Cotamore" here given him in consequence of this tyrannical invasion of their rights. "Rees Cotamore" is the phonetic rendering of ꝑıꝫ-ꝫeaꞅ cotamoıꝑ, "royal stripling of the great coat," and the following passage from the Inquisition explains the resentful application of the nickname:—"And the said Jurors doe alsoe find uppon their oathes that the busshop for the time beinge could not raise nor increase the rentes and dueties uppon the termon or herenach land, either uppon the alteracion of herenach or otherwise, and that, what rente and dueties the said busshops have raised or received, over and above the rentes and dueties particularlie set down in everie

Donegal County Library Service

parishe, these did first begin and were exacted by Rees Coytemore, in the time of his custodie and not before; and that the herenachs did yeald to Coytemore's exaccion and increase of rente, fearinge that otherwise they should have been displaced."

The use of the technical word "custody" at once connotes the cause of Manus's interference in purely Church concerns, and incidentally suggests the date of this interference as some time in 1533. It was only during a vacancy in the see that a "custody" of the temporalities was necessitated, and the Primate exercised this right of "custody" through a "sub-custos" or vice-guardian appointed by himself for that purpose. This question is more fully elucidated in the chapter headed "The Cross of Raphoe," and is introduced here only to show that Manus had no shadow of justification, and that his only conceivable excuse was the provision of a decent maintenance for the deposed Bishop O'Kane. But, it may be asked, is it demonstrable that this monstrous innovation was the work of Manus at all, and not of a section of the clergy in sympathy with O'Kane? A later passage of the Inquisition findings clearly saddles Manus with the sole responsibility:—"And the said Jurors doe say and finde that all the church landes within the dioces of Raphoe were auncientlie free from cuttings, exaccions, and imposicions whatsoever (the rentes and dueties above mencioned to be aunswerable out of the same excepted) until Manus O'Donnell's time, who first began to impose bonnaghtes and the like uppon them against the church men's willes."

We now come to the debated question of O'Kane's reconciliation with the Church, his incarceration by order of Henry the Eighth, his relapse into submission to Henry's assumption of spiritual supremacy, and his restoration to

Donegal County Library Service

the enjoyment of the temporalities and to royal favour. The writer was for a very long time convinced that the plain and only interpretation of Henry's writ for O'Kane's restitution to freedom implied his previous condemnation as a supporter of the Papal supremacy ; but recently he discovered by accident that Harris, who was in a better position to form an accurate judgment, furnishes a widely divergent explanation of the meaning of this edict.

The text of *Ware's Bishops*, to which Harris affixes the significant note, is the following :—" Cornelius O'Cahan succeeded (Menelaus Mac Cormack), and sat until the year 1550, but I cannot find how long after." On the left margin of the page, Harris writes " Bishop 1527," and on the right " King Henry VIII in the 27th year of his reign (1535-6) restored him, being of Irish birth, to the freedom of an English native, and the benefit of the English laws." It is obvious that the effect intended by this royal grant of freedom was to place the anglicised prelate outside the pale of Irish law, and to render him eligible for a British bishopric. What O'Kane's after fate was, we know not ; but, if we accept Harris's commentary as historically accurate, we must abandon the theory of O'Kane's reconciliation and consequent punishment. His successor had been already consecrated, and he had then dropped altogether out of the diocesan records.

Maziere Brady's extract from the Barberini Papers respecting Edmund O'Gallagher's appointment by the Holy See, throws an interesting light on the deliberate completeness of O'Kane's schismatical defection :—" On the 11th of May, 1534, on the representation of the Most Rev. Dr. de Valle, provision was made in the person of Edmund Dominic O'Gallagher, dean of the diocese, for the episcopal succession in the see of Raphoe, in Ireland, where a vacancy had existed upwards of 17 years, owing

Donegal County Library Service

to the non-acceptance of the English King's nomination after the death of Menelaus Mac Cormack (9th May, 1515), who died outside the Roman Curia." This chronicle would convey, at first sight, that Cornelius O'Cahan, or O'Kane, had never been recognised or approved by the Roman authorities ; but such an inference is completely negatived by a Papal document (dated 9th February, 1514, see *Archivium*, i. p. 253 n.) in which he receives the title of Bishop-Elect of Raphoe. The explanation, however, is found in the immemorial usage of the Roman Curia ; for, in the early church, if a bishop lapsed into heresy or schism, his name was immediately erased from the "Dyptics," and at all times the existence and memory of erring ecclesiastics are buried in oblivion, unless discipline extorts a reference to their crimes. It is highly probable that O'Kane was a creature of Henry's from the beginning, and that this interloping monarch sponsored him at his appointment, or postulated for Papal favours subsequently on his behalf. But the "non-acceptance" of Henry's nominee may very well mean that O'Kane was put aside by the Church as soon as he became an obdurate schismatic, and that Henry's patronage only aggravated his public reprobation.

Parenthetically, it may be interesting to explain that the common official phrase "died outside the Roman Curia," means simply that the Bishop in question has died outside the precincts of the city and See of Rome, and that consequently the Pope and Roman Court possess only communicated knowledge of the event. Dr. Mac Carthy, Editor of the *Ulster Annals*, shows himself an inexperienced tyro in such official literature, by his ludicrous note on the death of Cairbre O'Scopa at Rome in 1274. "Cairbre, Bishop of Tirconaill, died in the curia." "That is," he explains, "in the Papal Court. Ware states that

Donegal County Library Service

he died at Rome, but there is no mention of Rome." In other words he died while actually pleading his cause—a very singular occurrence! This explanation, grotesque in itself, would lead to the most absurd conclusions; for the phrase "died outside the Roman Curia" is used of all the deceased prelates practically, in accounting for vacancies, and is it to be inferred that it is imputed to them as a dishonour to their memory, that they did not all die like O'Scoba, confronting the Papal tribunal? Originally, the phrase was inserted to explain the reason why a considerable interval elapsed between the death of a bishop and the appointment of a successor; in time, it became stereotyped. Besides, when a see became vacant by death or abdication "in curia," the appointment was strictly reserved to the Pope.*

Though Cornelius O'Kane was henceforth banished from the councils of the Catholic clergy and deprived of all jurisdiction, the wily Henry had not bestowed his favours upon him without reckoning on the exaction of his protégé's public and active display of spiritual allegiance in return. Hence, when this lustful monarch had determined on the nomination of a Primate of All Ireland, whom he expected to further his detestable campaign against the Church, his choice fell on George Dowdall, Prior of Ardee; and, in issuing a mandate (1543) for his consecration, he addressed it to the infamous Staples of Meath in the first place, with the obvious intention of making him consecrating prelate; and we blush to find the name of Cornelius, Bishop of Raphoe, in immediate juxtaposition to that of the renegade Staples, and second on the list! It is superfluous to remind the student of ecclesiastical history that Dowdall baffled the malignant expectations of Henry, and that he turned out to be an

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* v. 6.

Donegal County Library Service

indomitable champion of the supremacy of Christ's Vicar, and of the infallibility of the ancient Church. But his selection was an outrage on Church discipline, and his consecration constituted an irregularity against the Canon Law, acknowledged and obeyed from the time of the Apostles. However, having followed the example of Peter in yielding to the temptations of vainglory and human respect, he followed also the example of Peter in lifelong penance for his frailty and in atonement for his crime, by strenuous devotedness to his Divine Master. Not so poor Cornelius!

Though O'Kane's name thus receives so unenviable prominence, this mark of Henry's predilection would by no means brand him as a wilful and confirmed schismatic, when it is viewed in the full light of contemporary history. Even in England the rupture was recent and obscured by wholesale and corrupt misrepresentation of the facts by Henry's partisans, clerical as well as lay; and in Ireland many of the Bishops looked upon it as a passing cloud that would soon vanish. Henry had denounced Luther's heretical innovations; he had received from the Church the title of Defender of the Faith; in the Papal Briefs appointing Bishops, he was frequently appealed to graciously to confirm them in the peaceful enjoyment of the diocesan temporalities, etc. Besides, nearly all the Bishops of the northern province were invited or commanded to assist at Primate Dowdall's consecration. Indeed, it is significant that the third name on the list is that of Ruaidhri O'Donnell, Bishop of Derry. Like Edmund O'Gallagher he had been Dean of Raphoe; but it was his family associations that suggested to Henry his probable compliance. He was a first cousin of Manus, his father Donnchadh being brother of Hugh Dubh. But, though we may suspect the warmth of his orthodoxy,

Donegal County Library Service

neither Rome nor the Four Masters considered it right to stain his memory by any note of censure. His death is thus chronicled in the *Annals*:—"1550. Ruaidhri, son of Donnchadh, son of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Bishop of Derry, and a friar of the unrestricted Order (of St. Francis), died on 8th of October, and was interred at Donegal in the Franciscan habit." There have also been unearthed some Roman documents which, unfortunately for the reputation of this Bishop of Derry, very clearly demonstrate that he was actually superseded about the same time at which O'Kane was getting into trouble. The Rev. Thomas Gogarty's deductions are very lucidly and logically stated in the *Archivium* (i. 254 n.):—"At the same time O'Donnell's name cannot be regarded as without reproach. Its inclusion in Henry's document must reflect suspiciously upon his perseverance in his allegiance to the Holy See. Brady quotes three authorities for the provision to the see of Derry of a new bishop in 1529. He is called Joannes de Sancto Gelasio, and the see is described as vacant by the resignation of Jacobus de Sancto Gelasio. This James can scarcely have been James Mac Mahon, the predecessor of O'Donnell. But the appointment of John, taken in conjunction with the inclusion of O'Donnell's name in the present mandate, reflects seriously upon the conduct and orthodoxy of O'Donnell." Evidently, there is some mystifying confusion in the dates, for Brady gives the 11th January, 1520, as the day on which Rory's appointment was fiated in Rome; whereas, a brief of Leo X, 8th August, 1520, promotes to the see of Derry, William Hogeson, Bachelor of Divinity, Order of Preachers. If the three authorities relied upon by Brady are accurate in regard to the date, then John de Sancto Gelasio must have died soon after the brief was expedited, for Primate Cromer in his register designates Rory O'Donnell Bishop

Donegal County Library Service

of Derry on the 19th of September, 1529. We venture to think that he had not long occupied the see at that time, as he had been already Dean, and survived till 1550. Before we should be convinced that he was ever set aside by the Holy See, we would demand much clearer evidence. With Cornelius O'Kane the case is altogether different; a real live bishop was appointed by Rome to bear the crozier he had sullied; and, despite his supersession, he is invited by Henry to exercise his episcopal orders under the King of England's spiritual supremacy. However, we are far from thinking that O'Kane ever completely abandoned the faith of his ancestors; like Manus, he was a hypocrite, but not a heretic. A MS. Register of the Bishops of Raphoe in the British Museum (Addit. MSS. 4797) contains the following comment: "Edmund died before the controversie was ended, soe that Connor O'Kane was bishop both before and after him."

O'Donovan's translation of the obituary of Rory O'Donnell in the *Four Masters*, instead of "Unrestricted" * Order, represents him as becoming "a Friar of his own free will," "which," writes the cynical and bigoted Harris, "according to the humours of these times, was thought to be of great consequence." Again, the State Papers (iii. p. 178) very plainly demonstrate Rory's warm attachment to the old faith, which induced him, at great personal risk, to co-operate with the heroic Leverous, in withdrawing the young Geraldine heir from English influences and the imminent peril of kidnapping for proselytising ends. In addition to these proofs of his orthodoxy, Cromwell's letter to Henry VIII, dated 11th of March, 1539, may be adduced as an unanswerable argument to show that, up to that time at all events, Rory had shown no signs of "humour" to join the anti-papal reformers.

* Connellan's F.M.

Donegal County Library Service

The *Archivium* (i. p. 253, note 2) contains the following statement: "Cornelius O'Cahan is described as Bishop-Elect of Raphoe in a Papal document dated 9th February, 1514." This is most probably the same document, that is published by Brady, and accepted as the record of accession, whereas it merely registers the fact that payment was duly made of small official or secretarial charges. Hence the writer very correctly adds: "His appointment to the diocese of St. Eunan must have been made some time previously to this date." His predecessor, Menelaus Mac Cormac, was now spending the sunset of his life under the shadow of the abbey in Donegal, preparing his soul for the great final scrutiny.

Bishop O'Kane was not a son of Tirconaill; his powerful family held sway on the other side of the Foyle; and the last dynast of the race, like his kinsman Conor, owed his downfall to his trust in princes of the Saxon blood and Saxon deceitfulness. Several members of the tribe, however, were distinguished clergymen in Raphoe diocese, both before and after the time of Cornelius. Catholicus or Charles O'Kane was canon and official in 1440*; Donal O'Kane was canon in 1429,† and Niall O'Kane was Rector of Rye, 1412.‡

XXVIII

Quintinus O'Higgins, O.P., Bishop-Elect (1533)

Archdeacan Lynch, in his invaluable MS., "De Presulibus Hiberniae," preserved in the Library of Trinity College, gives a most interesting account of this dignitary's short-lived association with Raphoe diocese. He belonged

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vii. 35. † Ib. viii. 76. ‡ Ib. vi. 265.

Donegal County Library Service

to the Dominican community of the Sligo Priory, and crossed over to Killybegs, on one occasion, on an official tour of inspection to the religious of the Franciscan monastery there. The account of the visit is pleasantly reminiscent of the deep faith the Donegal fishermen have traditionally cherished in the prayers of their priests, and in their ritual blessing of the boats and the waters. "In lustrandis Conventibus ad conventum Kilbeggae finitimum delatus, sinum illum, qui antea halecibus * et haleculis * abundabat, tum piscium penitus expertem offendebat. Sed accolis instanter eum solicitantibus ut ille malo medelam precibus a Deo impetraret, quorum solicitatione persuasus precando Deo prius insistere non destitit, quam ei sinui, ubi benedictionem ei suam impertiit, prior piscium fecunditas suppetierit."—"In his general visitation of the Monasteries, Quintinus, crossing over in a boat to the Friary near Killybegs, was disappointed to find that bay, which formerly teemed with herrings and sprat, then completely deserted by fish. But, as the coast inhabitants imploringly besought him to obtain from God by his prayers a remedy for the misfortune, yielding to their solicitation, he persisted in his supplications to God, until the former abundance of fish re-appeared in the bay at the point where he had imparted his blessing."

Whereupon Quintinus, or Con, O'Higgins fixed his abode in Killybegs, and became a wonderful favourite with the clergy and laity, and succeeded in gaining the admiration and warm friendship of Hugh Dubh O'Donnell, the ruling dynast, to whose coffers the harvest of the sea contributed a bulky royalty. Hence, when Bishop O'Kane was deposed by the Pope, Quintinus was duly elected in his place, to the enthusiastic satisfaction of Hugh Dubh. But the new dignitary, though he was not yet, nor des-

* See Ainworth's Dictionary.

Donegal County Library Service

tined to be, consecrated as Bishop, considered himself conscientiously bound to denounce in public certain matrimonial entanglements (*stupra*) contemplated by his would-be benefactor, Hugh Dubh. The enraged chieftain immediately threatened him with forcible expulsion from his territory, and the saintly Quintinus was heartily delighted to find a plausible excuse for returning to the solitude of his convent in Sligo.

Lynch further informs us that Quintinus obtained in favour of Hugh Dubh a dispensation from heresy. Most probably the meaning is that Hugh Dubh had been excommunicated for supporting O'Cahan in his schismatical action, and Quintinus was empowered to absolve him.

XXIX

Edmund O'Gallagher (1534-1543)

"Edmund, the son of Brian O'Gallagher, Bishop of Raphoe, died on the 26th February, 1543, after having received opposition respecting the bishopric."—(F.M.) The average reader is sure to understand this suggestive record as indicating that there existed a factious domestic contest about the election of a bishop, and that Edmund's party were at length victorious. Such an erroneous interpretation is at once dissipated by a glance at the memoir of Bishop O'Kane's unfortunate career. The Four Masters here and elsewhere adopt the policy of the ostrich, concealing what they consider a vulnerable point. And O'Donovan, in a note on the passage, remarks that "Harris makes no mention of this Bishop in his list of the Bishops of Raphoe." How could he, consistently with

Donegal County Library Service

his bigoted usage ? Henry's bishop was Harris's bishop, and he lived on for 17 years after Edmund's appointment and his own supersession by the Pope.

The Consistorial Acts, as we have already stated, contain the following record :—" 11 May, 1534. On the representation of Most Rev. Dr. de Valle, provision was made in the person of Edmund Dominick O'Gallagher, Dean of the Diocese, for the episcopal succession in the diocese of Raphoe, in Ireland, where a vacancy existed for about 17 years owing to the non-acceptance of the nomination of the English King after the death of Menelaus Mac Carmacain (1515)." O'Kane's existence as Bishop is ignored beyond the mere statement that he was from the inception the nominee (or afterwards became the schismatical protégé) of the English King, Henry VIII.

It has been also clearly demonstrated that Manus O'Donnell was the protector of the superseded prelate ; and we are justified in assuming that he exercised all his energies in opposition to Edmund's appointment. But as the Chapter chose their own Dean for the office, we have no grounds for thinking that there was any notable cleavage among the clergy. On the other hand, the herenach Jurors of the Inquisition very energetically express the traditional hatred entertained against " Rees Cota Moir " on account of the inflated taxation. Manus is painted as a hero, an intellectual prodigy, and a saint, by the authors of the *Annals*, and they shrink from penning any suggestion that might taint his memory. Such a principle may do honour to their loyalty, but it fatally saps their historical impartiality.

Donegal County Library Service

XXX

Art O'Gallagher (1547-1561)

This estimable prelate, Brady informs us, was consecrated in virtue of a Brief dated St. Peter's, Rome, 5th November, 1547, and was permitted to retain by dispensation the dignity and emoluments he had hitherto enjoyed as Dean of Derry.

A MS. Register of the Bishops of Raphoe in the British Museum (Addit. MSS. 4797) describes this prelate as a "spirited gentleman, who went always with a troop of horsemen under his coloures." The Bishop of Raphoe did not attend the Parliament of 1559.

"Art, son of Phelim Finn O'Gallagher, Bishop of Raphoe, died at Kinaweer (Court, near Cranford) on the 16th of August, 1561, and was greatly lamented in Tirconaill."—(F.M.) The whole period of his episcopacy is included in the reckoning of 60 years, during which the Raphoe Chapter allege, in 1600, that the diocesan Cathedral had been neglected by the successive Bishops, who never resided, during that space, in or near the Cathedral town. Hence, it is probable that he lived almost all the time at Cranford, where there was ample field for his hunting proclivities; for it is altogether inconsistent with the peaceful character of the period, in Tirconaill, to accept the suggestion conveyed in a note to Dr. O'Kelly's *Dissertations* (p. 442), explanatory of the "troop of horsemen": "not, perhaps, an unnecessary escort in lawless times." No doubt, the O'Donnells and O'Neills were periodically engaged in sanguinary campaigns; but these times were not lawless, and the Church was altogether immune from assault by native or foreigner. Had his Lordship forfeited the deanship of Derry, it is unlikely we should ever have heard anything about his costly retinue.

Donegal County Library Service

XXXI

Donald Mac Congail (1562-1589)

The Consistorial Acts published by Brady, Moran, etc., comprise the following record of Donald Mac Congail's (Conwell's) appointment to the see of Raphoe:—"Thursday, 28th January, 1562. On the representation of Cardinal Morone, His Holiness has made provision for the vacancy created in the bishopric of Raphoe by the death, outside the Roman Curia, of Arthur of happy memory, in the person of Donald Magongoill, an Irishman, present in the curia, and likewise recommended in a letter of the Reverend Father David (Wolfe), with permission to retain the Pastorship of Cilactae (Killaghtee), absolution from censures, etc."—(*Archivium*, v. p. 169.)

The late Right Rev. Monsignor Stephens, V.G., P.P., Killybegs, has given a very long and interesting account of this illustrious Bishop in his well-known booklet, *South-Western Donegal*. He opens his eulogium on Dr. Mac Gonagle's gifts and labours by stating:—"When P.P. of Killybegs and Killaghtee, he had acquired great fame for prudence and theological skill, and had visited Rome on matters connected with his diocese in 1560." First of all, he was not P.P. of Killybegs until he became Bishop, as Killybegs was a mensal parish; but Killaghtee was distinct, and there he had been Rector or Parson, the title of P.P. being of later date. Secondly, he had no diocese in 1560, nor is there any reason to think that he represented any diocese in particular; all the circumstances suggest that, in 1560, he proceeded as a messenger from Father David Wolfe, Apostolic Delegate to Ireland. The remainder of his biographical sketch is both interesting and accurate, being mostly extracted from an article by Cardinal Moran in the *I. E. Record* (Second Series).

Donegal County Library Service

"Dr. Mac Gonagle was one of those whom the Delegate chose as his companions in the perilous task of performing a visitation of some of the most disturbed parts of Ireland. In the Autumn of 1561, Father Wolfe commissioned Dr. Mac Gonagle to proceed to Rome, bearing with him important letters, and to place before the Holy Father the true conditions and the wants of the Irish Church, at this trying period of its history. Among these letters are to be found the following two addressed to the Cardinal Prefect: 'A few days ago I addressed a letter to your Eminence, through Sir William Neon, on the state of the Church in this province of Munster; but I now deem it better to send, in person, the bearer of this letter, Donald Mac Gonghaill, to give full details to you, as he was the companion of my journey in Ireland, and as he is a man of judgment, well acquainted with the circumstances of this country, having also, as I shall presently mention, other business there. This Donald was my companion in Connacht, and there we saw, though we did not visit them, the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Clonfert, who, in the ways of the world, are good and honest men. There is no man in Ireland better able to give you information about everything, than the bearer of this this letter, who accompanied me through Connacht.

"'Wherefore, I send him to Rome for a twofold purpose —first, to give you intelligence about myself; and, secondly, that as the Bishop of Raphoe has been lately taken from us, Donald Mac Gongail may become his successor, as I know of no more suitable man. He is very learned in the literature in vogue in this country, and he is beloved by everyone. Last year he was in Rome before.

"'About fourteen candidates have started from Ireland, all of them, without any letter from me, to procure that

Donegal County Library Service

bishopric. Among them is the Dean of Raphoe (probably, Owen O'Gallagher), a man, who, as I have been informed by trustworthy persons, is far better inured to the sword than to the cross. Should he plead ignorance of my presence in Ireland, give no credence to him, I pray; for there is not one individual in the whole country, heretic or Catholic, who has not heard of my mission here, on account of a notice I had placarded in every part of the island. Praying God to preserve your Eminence, etc., Dated, Limerick, 12 October, 1561. Your Eminence's Unworthy Servant, David Wolfe.'

"It was intended that this missive should be mailed by the public courier, as soon as the bearer had crossed the boundary of English power, and that it would reach its destination long before the travellers, who were instructed to present personally the following letter of introduction:

"'The bearers of this note are the same about whom I wrote in my letter of yesterday, and, in order that they may be able to despatch that letter by the courier (from France), I am giving them also the present lines, praying your Eminence to receive them as persons recommended by me.

"'The name of the secular priest is Donald Mac Gonghaill. He is a man well versed in the affairs of this nation, and I wish your Eminence would command him, in virtue of holy obedience, to make known to you how Donatus (Donagh O'Tighe), Archbishop of Armagh, and other prelates deport themselves. His companions are Andrew O'Crean and Eugene O'Hart, whom I have already commended to you and now commend anew. I will add no more, as I leave everything in the hands of Donald.'"

"Dr. Mac Gonagle," proceeds Cardinal Moran, "was consecrated Bishop of Raphoe in the Eternal City, and

Donegal County Library Service

soon after, in the month of May (1562), set out for Trent to assist at the sessions of the great Council, which was convened there. In the metrical catalogue of the Council, Donald receives the epithet of the Just, while at the same time, he is described as in the flower of his age, and adorned with every episcopal virtue. His notes are more than once referred to in the Acts of the Council * and he seems to have always ranged himself on the side of strict discipline. At the close of the Synod, in 1563, Dr. Mac Gonagle hastened back to his flock, to share their perils in defence of the faith, and to break to them the bread of eternal life.

"Two provincial synods were held in Ulster during the subsequent years (before 1590) for the purpose of promulgating the Tridentine decrees. At the first, held in 1568, he was unable to assist, being prevented by the continued wars in his diocese, as Dr. Mac Creagh, the martyred prelate of Armagh, informs us (Rapotensis et Derriensis non iverunt propter bella); but, at the second, in 1587, Donaldus Episcopus Rapotensis is the second name registered among those that shared in the proceedings.

"The Roman archives preserve only two additional entries regarding this distinguished Bishop. In 1569, he is described as recommending a worthy successor for the see of St. Macartan." †

Here the illustrious author, Dr. Moran as he then was, falls into an error of no serious significance, and very liable to escape even his keen perception. There were two vacant bishoprics at the moment in Clogher and in Derry, and the succession in both was very bitterly contested. Now, the prelate of Raphoe did not intervene in Clogher, as he was an outsider and unacquainted with the rival nominees; but he did join with the Bishop of

* O'Sullivan, p. 108. † *I. E. Record.*

Donegal County Library Service

Kilmore in supporting the Derry Chapter in their advocacy of the claims of a certain "Manus, the Abbot" to the see of Derry.* David Wolfe and the Rector of Louvain recommended the Rev. Cornelius, but eventually the Holy Father selected the celebrated Redmond O'Gallagher, then Bishop of Killala. "The second entry commemorates that the special faculties, granted missionary bishops, were renewed for him, 4th May, 1575." A much better description would be the concession of faculties in the province during Primate Creagh's imprisonment.

According to the frequently repeated statement of Dr. Murray, late Professor of Theology in Maynooth, the diriment impediment of "Spiritual Affinity," arising from sponsorship at Baptism or Confirmation, would have been completely abrogated in the Council of Trent, were it not that Donald so vigorously and convincingly pleaded for its retention. He demonstrated to the assembled Bishops that in Ireland the bonds of "gossipred" and "fosterage" were esteemed quite as sacred as the ties of consanguinity, and that to allow liberty of connubial union to those connected by this honoured title of gossipred, was to strike a blow at the religious and moral side of the social fabric in this country.

In the Parliamentary List of 1585, the "busshop of Raphoe" appears, and Donald Mac Gonagle was at that time in undisputed occupation of the see, no Elizabethan prelate having been obtruded into this diocese. Sir John Davies admits that no English control was, or could be, exercised during Elizabeth's reign, in the appointment of Bishops to Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe. Yet Leland (Bk. iv. chap. 11) makes the assertion that both Clogher and Raphoe were represented by their Bishops at the

* *Spic. Oss.* i, p. 39.

Donegal County Library Service

aforesaid Parliament, and Palmer in his Ecclesiastical History repeats Leland's fabrication, with the silly explanation that Davies, who was so long, as Attorney-General, the guiding light of English rule, "seems to have erred. At all events, the Bishops of these dioceses must have been in communion with the (Protestant) Church of Ireland in 1585." The Parliamentary List is a discredited document, most probably manufactured, and carries no weight. How could Donald of Tridentine fame have got an invitation from a Government that abhorred and ignored him? But, even if he were present in the House of Lords, have we not documentary evidence of unadulterated character * that Perrott was expressly commanded not to tender the Oath to persons of "nobilitie and qualitie"? "Had Dr. Mac Gonagle renounced the faith," says Dr. Kelly (p. 317), "his name assuredly would have descended to us in company with Myler Mac Grath and Poer of Ferns, the only Bishops of those appointed after 1560 who became apostates. The celebrity which his presence at the Council of Trent must have given him with his countrymen, makes silence on his fall, had he fallen, impossible. His reputation is, however, with all writers, unsullied." Fancy the Bishop who is alleged to have apostatised in 1585, ordering the Decrees of Trent to be published in 1587!

The other two Irish Bishops, who assisted with Donald Mac Gonagle at the Council of Trent, were Thomas O'Herlihy, the renowned martyr-Bishop of Ross, 1579, and Eugene O'Hart, Bishop of Achonry, who lived till 1603.

It is further alleged, as a proof of heterodoxy, against this distinguished prelate, that he appended his signature, in 1581, to an indented agreement entered into between

* *Deedes and Death of Perrott*, p. 213.

Donegal County Library Service

the O'Connor Sligo and the Viceroy, guaranteeing to the latter the right of nominating Bishops for certain dioceses in Connacht. This charge is readily disposed of and needs no elaboration of statement or argument. First, it made not the slightest difference whom the Viceroy nominated; the appointment rested with the Holy See. Secondly, there is no question of doctrine involved, and discipline varies in different countries and political conditions.

Donald was a member of the old herenach family of the Conwells, so frequently mentioned as Mac Congaills in the Annals. His kinsman and full namesake is there stated to have died in 1551. The Inquisition of 1609 and other historical documents prove that this family usually supplied the Vicar of Killybegs, who was also Official for the district. In our account of Art O'Gallagher, we quoted from a British Museum MS. of great interest and reliability. The notice of Donald therein contained gives the following details:—"He was an active and well-qualified man; he could write well, and spoke the Latin, English, and Irish tongues. Commonly he accompanied O'Donnell, when he came to Dublin before the State; he dealt much for the business of the Church. At length he obtained letters, under Sir Henry Sydney's and the Council's hands, for the immunity of his church, that neither English nor Irish should have cess or press upon the church lands. Should any person or persons offend contrary to the Lord Deputy and Council's order, established in that behalf, it was ordered that such delinquent shall pay into the church tenfold as much as should be thus wrongfully exacted."

"On the summit of a hill," says Dr. Moran, "which rises above the beautiful bay of Killybegs, and beside a moss-grown cemetery, there stands a ruin which tradition points to as the church to which the Bishop retired

Donegal County Library Service

in times of peril, to offer up the sacrifice for his flock; and the same tradition attests that his venerable remains repose in the neighbouring cemetery." "Many an hour," adds Monsignor Stephens, "have I spent in this ancient resting-place of the dead, but have failed to discover any memorial to point out the grave of the illustrious Bishop."

In a State Paper, preserved among the Rawlinson Collection at Oxford, and dated 1592, Dr. Mac Gonagle is thus noticed: "There was one Rapotences busshop, dyed three years, who used the like auctorite since he came from the Council of Trent, beinge with diverse governors, and never reformed nor brought to acknowledge his dury to her magestie." *

The record of this good prelate's death is given by the *Four Masters* at 1589:—"Donald Mac Congaill, Bishop of Raphoe, died on the 29th of September." There is good reason to believe that Killaghtee only once regained its rectory as a distinct parish, after Dr. Mac Gonagle's day. He was permitted, as we saw above, to retain its revenues, and tradition informs us that he discharged in person all the duties of local pastor. The story is still told of his encountering a Protestant minister near Bruckless at the moment when his horse had got suddenly sick. "You ought to anoint that animal," said the minister. "Impossible," retorted the Bishop, "he is a heretic; I bought him from a Protestant friend of yours."

In 1737, the parish priest of Killybegs and Killaghtee (united) was the Rev. Patrick Mac Groarty, Prebendary of Inver. The learned and impartial Archdeacon Lynch, a contemporary, gives the following sketch of Dr. Mac Gonagle: "Vir probus, hospitalis, plurium scientiarum peritus."

*Brady, p. 308.

Donegal County Library Service

The inscription on the mural tablet inserted in St. Mary's Church, in memory of this prelate, will be found in the chapter on Killybegs.

XXXII

Niall O'Boyle (1591-1611)

The Brief appointing Niall O'Boyle to the see of Raphoe contains a very significant and most unusual clause, dispensing in his non-acquisition of the Doctorate of Divinity. This concession at once implies that the great majority of candidates proposed for the episcopacy were already in possession of that degree, and that Niall was devoid either of the opportunity or of the acquirements needed for gaining that academic distinction. Indeed, if we can rely on the information supplied by their spies to the English Government, this Bishop was only indifferently equipped as regards a polished education. In 1580, he was described as dangerous, in spite of his defective English :— "Cornelius Builleus, native of Ulster, in Lisbon ; 35 years of age ; better skilled in Irish than in English ; ready to embark for Ireland at a moment's notice." * Forewarned though the British authorities were, they failed to intercept the rebel Catholic priest, who was evidently negotiating a Spanish invasion, on behalf of the Geraldines, and in defence of the faith. There is no reason to believe that Sir Hugh O'Donnell had anything to do with Niall O'Boyle's trip to Spain, as that chief was, at all times during his period of rule, willing to placate the exacting English authorities at any sacrifice. It was due to the

* State Papers, 1580.

Donegal County Library Service

fact that he had studied for the priesthood in Spain, and was a leading man, both on account of his family connections and his standing among the clergy, that he was chosen for this embassy.

The reader will remember that it was later in this year that seven hundred Irishmen were butchered in cold blood, "after Lord Grey had guaranteed their lives and liberties." *

This was the infamous massacre of Dunanoir (in Kerry), in which the "Pope's Army" under San Josepho and a Spanish regiment under the Duke of Biscay were entrapped by guile and murdered with barbarity. And it is more than probable that the prominence Niall O'Boyle acquired by his selection for this important mission to the King of Spain, was largely instrumental in securing for him the crozier of St. Adamnan. At all events, the British Government never relaxed their vigilance in noting his movements, and O'Sullivan Beare informs us (*Hist. Cath.*) that he was arrested by the English soldiers in 1597, and thrust into prison. Moreover, Dr. Eugene Matthews, Bishop of Clogher, 1609, obviously refers to English espionage, when he eulogises his brother-prelate for "having faithfully discharged his functions though beset by dangers and persecutions (Proemium)." And his critics, before pronouncing an unqualified condemnation on his character and his regime, ought to remember that, nine years after many of his leading priests had ostracised and disowned him, the saintly Pope, Paul the Fifth, addressed to him, as the chief Pastor of the Diocese enjoying unimpaired jurisdiction, a very important letter on the Jus Patronatus of Hugh O'Neill.†

During the past eighty years or so, the memory of this

* *Annals*, p. 42, note.

† See *Colton's Visitation*, by Reeves, etc.

Donegal County Library Service

prelate has suffered irreparable disparagement, quite out of proportion with any proved faults, owing to an error of identity perpetrated by O'Donovan and already noticed under Laurence II.

The registry of his appointment by the Holy See is given thus in the Consistorial Acts :—"Anno 1591, die 5 Augusti, referente Cardinali Senonensi, provisum fuit Ecclesiae Rapotensi, vacanti per obitum Donaldi Mac Connegill, de persona Nigellani Obeoill, cum dispensatione super eo quod non sit Doctor." This abridged account is extracted by Brady from the Barberini Collection ; the excerpt published in the *Archivium* * is preceded immediately by a clause (in connection with another episcopal appointment), which accentuates the importance of a doctorate in Theology as a qualification for the exalted office : "sacrae theologiae doctoris." Both selections were ratified at the same Consistory. It would be ludicrous to suggest that the absence of a degree implies a defective education.

Niall's appointment was preconised in the Consistory held on the 9th of August ; and, in the Barberini transcript, the diocese of Raphoe is represented as then vacant "owing to the death of Donatus *of good memory*," or, as the English phrase runs, "of happy memory." It may be anticipating, but it is eminently useful here to direct the reader's attention to the all-important fact, that, when Dr. O'Cullenan was appointed Bishop, the Roman authorities declared Niall also to be "of happy memory"—*bonae memoriae.*

The documentary innuendoes, rather than charges, are suggested, first, by Peter Lombard † : "habent quod de eo querantur tam laici proceres quam praecipui e clero" ; secondly, by seventeen of his own clergy,

* Vol. v. p. 178.

† *Archivium*, ii. p. 309.

Donegal County Library Service

"vir omni nequitia plenissimus, divis hominibusque abominatus."

We shall not attempt to minimise or to extenuate the grave charges so deliberately and solemnly preferred against this prelate by his own priests and by Peter Lombard. But we are thoroughly justified in asserting that the aged Bishop repented and atoned for these errors, which are nowhere specified and only vaguely hinted at, in obviously exaggerated language: first, because Paul the Fifth makes no distinction between the virtuous Primate and Niall O'Boyle; secondly, because his neighbour, Eugene Matthews, who must have been fully cognisant of all these accusations, considered him worthy of a glowing panegyric, some years after his death; and thirdly, because tradition tells us he abandoned his lordly castle in Killtoorish, and made his preparation for death in the hallowed refuge of the Franciscans at Desart, in Gleneany.

The denunciatory phrases employed by the Chapter and clergy of Raphoe in their Petition to Clement the Eighth are extremely vehement, but violent language was quite in acordance with the custom of the times. Niall had neglected his cathedral and allowed it to be shorn of its former magnificence and its attractions for pilgrims. He had taken up his residence permanently in Killybegs, and involved himself in political and international intrigues, no doubt with the laudable object of defending the faith, but to the mainfest disadvantage of his own diocese. He was a fast friend and strenuous supporter of Hugh Roe, and had thus antagonised the Mac Swine of Banagh, who was the mainstay of Donal's resistance, and the O'Gallaghers, who were always attached to the Calvagh faction, then represented by Niall Garbh. Keeping in mind that only seventeen clergymen out of a total of

Donegal County Library Service

over fifty signed the incriminating document, and that the names strongly suggest that most of these were partisans of Niall Garbh, or of Hugh of Ramelton, the reader will readily discount the violence and virulence of the attack, as envenomed by political bias.

We shall examine cursorily the names attached to the Petition. Hugh O'Donnell, the Dean, and parish priest of Stranorlar, was probably one of the Ramelton O'Donnells, who would naturally support the claims to the chieftaincy of old Hugh O'Donnell, son of Hugh Dubh, and of his son, Hugh Og; Manus Conwell, Official of the Deanery, and Vicar of Killybegs, Lewy Mac Swine, Rector of Killaghtee, and Terence Keeney, Vicar of Killaghtee, would naturally follow the political leadership of the Mac Swine of Banagh. Redmond O'Gallagher, Vicar of Drumhome; Redmond O'Gallagher, Vicar of Tullyfern; Terence O'Gallagher, Vicar of Kilcar; and Bernard O'Gallagher, Vicar of Raymuintirdoney, were members of a family that had publically declined to attend Hugh Roe's inauguration. Of the other signatories and their clan inveiglements we know nothing for certain; but it would be strange if the Vicar-General, Hugh Donnelly, who was also Official of Raphoe diocese, and Parish Priest of Inver, should not be attached to the interests of the Turlough Luineach and Calvagh O'Donnell party; while James Sheerin, Rector of Clondahorky; Manus Mac Fadden, Rector of Meevagh; Terence Early, Rector of Kilmacrenan; and Philip Nee, Vicar of Clondavaddog, may well be suspected of yielding to the sinister influence of Maolmuire Mac Swine. There remain only Bernard Devenny, Vicar of Aughnish; Hugh Brogan, Rector of Tullyfern; Charles Kenny, Vicar of Conwal; and Fermy Glacken, Vicar of Raymohy—and regarding their political sympathies, we cannot form any rational conjecture. Lest we might be understood as

Donegal County Library Service

attempting to belittle the main purpose of this Petition, it may be well to repeat what we have already stated—that it is a most edifying document in its object and in its language, apart from the denunciatory vehemence so common at that period. "Niall O'Boyle," say his accusers, "who was the last Bishop of this place, and who has been adjudged to possess no jurisdiction any longer, for reasons explained to your Holiness, a man full of every wickedness, abominated by men and gods, has reduced this Cathedral to a contemptible mediocrity and a hideous appearance." When these phrases are compared with other condemnatory expressions of the time, they lose a good deal of their fanciful significance; thus, a man who married a remote relative, even with a dispensation as we may well suppose, is called a worshipper of idols, a slave of Antichrist, etc. Peter Lombard never visited Ireland even once during his prolonged tenure of the Primacy, and the very worst thing he could say about Niall O'Boyle was that he had been appointed without a sufficient investigation of his antecedents, and that he had given public offence to the *élite* of the laity and clergy.* He adds that Niall continued to administer the diocese in 1600, and he was a better authority than the Bishop's few recalcitrant clergy.

Colton's comment on Niall O'Boyle's appointment to the bishopric is transparently and consciously untruthful: "It is probable that Niall O'Boyle was thrust in by the Pope, the Queen having neglected to appoint a prelate for some years." The Queen never was recognised as having the slenderest shred of authority or right in religious matters appertaining to the diocese of Raphoe. Was it she who nominated Donald Mac Gonagle, authorised his consecration in Rome, and commissioned him to

* *Archivium*, ii. p. 201.

Donegal County Library Service

represent her interests in the Council of Trent? Was it by her instructions he attended the Ulster Provincial Council to promulgate the Tridentine Decrees? No other Bishop was yet appointed during Elizabeth's reign; and no trace of any royal patronage is discoverable even before her time, save in the unfortunate case of Conor O'Kane, who was canonically constituted Bishop by Papal Brief, but subsequently superseded by the same authority, and supported in his schismatical attitude by Henry the Eighth. The Queen and her regal predecessors must, therefore, "have neglected to appoint a prelate" from the very beginning of their ill-starred connection with Tirconaill.

The same industrious but insincere author proceeds to inform us that, in 1603, "Denis Campbell, Dean of Limerick, was nominated by James I to the three vacant sees of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe." Derry had been rendered vacant by the martyrdom of Redmond O'Gallagher, murdered in cold blood by Elizabeth's soldiery two years previously, but Niall O'Boyle still survived as Bishop of Raphoe. However, the most misleading feature of the statement consists in the description of Denis Campbell, which suggests that a Catholic Dean accepted James's nomination, and became a pervert. Denis Campbell was a Scotch Calvinist, and was neither Catholic nor Irish. Campbell died in London in the following July, and Montgomery, another Scotchman, was the first Protestant Bishop.

A very curious and illuminative entry is inserted in the State Papers at 1591; and, though Niall had not yet been consecrated Bishop, it throws a flood of light on the personal attidude of one of his accusers towards this much-maligned prelate. The individual concerned signs himself, nine years afterwards, "Terentius Cineus, Vicarius

Donegal County Library Service

Killeachten," in affixing his name to the Petition presented to Clement VIII by the very limited section of the Raphoe clergy, who were opposed to their Bishop. Terence O'Keeney manifested bitterly hostile feelings towards Niall, and accused him of conspiring with the Spaniards to overthrow the English power in Ireland, even while this prelate was only Bishop-Elect. "Ab uno disce omnes"; if Terence was a political and personal adversary of O'Boyle, so were the other sixteen signatories.

"1591. Jan. 3. Examination of Terence O'Keeney, priest, who was taken prisoner by Captain Pontanus, and sent by the Governor of Rochelle to her Majesty. His travel to Rome was for a Bull to make him vicar of Killaghtee. When he was taken, he cast the Bull into the sea. When at Rome, he had heard that the King of Spain had requested of the Pope that no Bishops should be placed in Ireland until force were ready to plant them. At several of the Spanish ports he saw new vessels being equipped for the invasion of Ireland."

"Jan. 5. Addition to evidence.—The Spaniards were very much set against O'Donnell (Sir Hugh) and O'Doherty, because many of their countrymen (from the Armada ships) were slain by them. Dominus Niallus O'Boyle, priest, and Bishop-Elect of Raphoe, *is one of the Irishmen intriguing with the King of Spain.*"

It is not at all surprising that this obviously biassed deponent should be prepared to endorse wildly exaggerated charges against the poor prelate he had accused of treason, on his oath. Niall was guilty of treason, in the viewpoint of the English Government, in holding communication with the King of Spain; but nobody could assert that the English exercised effective government in Tirconaill. Hence, in reality, he was a patriotic citizen and a strenuous upholder of the independence of his country.

Donegal County Library Service

O'Sullivan informs us he was arrested and imprisoned in 1597, and subjected to great hardship and tortures.

The conclusion an unprejudiced survey of all the documents enforces on our minds is, first, that Niall O'Boyle may be legitimately condemned for his inordinate devotion to politics and his consequent neglect of his cathedral, etc.; and, secondly, that he was a brave and upright man, who had unbounded belief in the justice of the cause for which he struggled, and in the chivalrous heroism of Red Hugh O'Donnell.

XXXIII

John O'Cullenain (1626-1661)

The Rev. John Mac Erlean, S.J., a profound and indefatigable scholar, has published, with a polished translation, seven lengthy poems, composed in 1649 by five celebrated bards of Tirconaill, on the virtues and sufferings of John O'Cuileannain, Bishop of Raphoe (*Archivium*, i. p. 77). All these poets, with the one doubtful exception of Niall Mac Muireadhaigh, belonged to the Mac An Bhaird family of Wardtown, and two of them have bequeathed to Irish literature valuable and imperishable treasures. From these poems we learn that John's (Eoin's) father, Donnchadh Ballach, occupied, as head of the clan, a leading position among the native nobility, and that some of his children were fostered by the ruling chiefs of the O'Donnell family.

In 1649 the persecuted prelate was pining in exile and starvation on Innisbofin, and it was widely believed that his sufferings had terminated in death. And the devoted bards of Tirconaill may well be excused for accepting the story, seeing that the great Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Clarendon, asserts, in his *Historical View* (p. 209),

Donegal County Library Service

that "the Bishop of Raffoe was taken and hanged by the Lord Broghill." [Having called Father Mac Erlean's attention to this passage, I am convinced of the accuracy of his suggestion that the Bishop of Limerick was meant.] As a specimen of the elegies, the following stanza of two couplets is fairly typical (p. 102):—

"Gone is bounty since his death: vanished all responsive lore.
Void of glory all things now: such the sermon of the Church.
One and all accordant grieve: birds and beasts of Conal's fold;
Creatures, men, and flowers of earth, weeping for him in dismay."

Father Mac Erlean thus summarises the family history: "The Ui Cuilennain of Tir Conaill were of the same stock as the Ui Cuilennain of Munster. They were followers and supporters of O'Domhnaill, and possessed considerable influence in the counties of Donegal, Derry, and Tir Eoghain. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, the head of the family was Donnchadh Ballach, who resided in Mullanashee, and lived on terms of the greatest intimacy with the chiefs of the Ui Domhnaill. Donnchadh had a large family, seven sons and at least one daughter. Six of the family became ecclesiastics, five of them abbots and one a bishop. The names of the sons in the order of seniority were Glaisne, Eoghan, Sheamus, Cormac, Brian, Niall, and Eoin; or, in the then usual latinised forms, Gelasius, Eugenius, Jacobus, Cormacus, Bernardus, Nicholaus, and Joannes. Gelasius was educated at Louvain, became a Doctor of the Sorbonne, visited Rome, entered the Cistercian Order, was created Abbot of Boyle, was arrested, and martyred near Dublin, along with

Donegal County Library Service

Eoghan O'Maolchiarain, in 1584, at the early age of 26 years, 'Decus Ordinis Sancti Bernardi et Gloria Hiberniae.' Eugenius, his brother, then at Rome, was elected his successor, but died before he could return. Seamus or Jacobus has been the subject of a chapter in my booklet on Ballyshannon. Cormac fought under Red Hugh :—

'Cormac, the courageous knight, when his lord was waging war,
Hero of the fold of Conn—was the fourth of seven sons.'

"Bernardus, entering the Cistercian cloister, succeeded his martyred brother in Boyle ; lived some time in Brussels, and died in London, 1639. Niall became abbot in some monastery that cannot be identified ; he is not to be confounded with the Niall O'Culenan, probably his uncle, included in the pardon granted to Rory O'Donnell on his submission in 1603. Eoin, the seventh son, was educated at Salamanca and Rheims, became Doctor of Divinity, was tutor for several years to the young Earl of Tirconaill in Belgium, was appointed Vicar-Apostolic in 1621, and Bishop of Raphoe in 1625. Their sister was the mother of Philip O'Clery, so often mentioned in the Bishop's letters ; but Thaddaeus O'Clery was a cousin of Philip's ; he is nowhere represented as a nephew of the Bishop's, and was obviously a near neighbour and connected only by affinity. Thaddaeus continued to exercise the dual functions of Vicar-General of Raphoe and Prior of Lough Derg for many years before the Bishop's death. In 1670, Rev. Philip Flanagan of Clogher was Prior of Lough Derg. Just as the O'Canannains became Cannons, the O'Cuileannains became Cullens ; having lost their family prestige, they were not reluctant to part with the appendix to their once illustrious name."

Donegal County Library Service

Some years ago the gifted and patriotic Rector of Salamanca, Dr. M. J. O'Doherty, published in the *Archivium* the Matriculation Registers of that famous College, commencing at 1595. On that list we find John O'Cuileanain's admission, dated 1st of August, 1605, and thus recorded (ii. p. 17): "Johannes Culenanus Rapotensis diocesis ex villa Senui (Ballyshannon) parentes habuit Donatum Culenanum et Ni Dubh Ni Diufir; operam dedit litteris humanioribus in Hibernia. Aetatis suae 20. Tesse: Johannes Vadingus, Sacerdos. Thomas Barckleus." The learned Rector appends the following note: "Ni Dubh Ni Diuffir is probably to be read Inghean Dubh Ni Duibhir (O'Dwyer or O'Diver). Inghean Dubh was the mother of Red Hugh O'Donnell, and was used at the time as a praenomen."—But analogy clearly points to the conclusion that the adjunct Dubh was often a family, and not a personal, appellative. And Edmond Dubh O'Diver, Abbot of Assaroe, mentioned in the Donegal Annals as having died in 1519, evidently belonged to the same family as John O'Cullenan's mother. Their habitat was in Glenfinn, where the old stock is still strongly and respectably represented.

"Eoin, the intrepid Bishop of Raphoe, was the youngest of Donnchadh Ballach's sons; born in 1585 in the north-west part of Ballyshannon, named Mullinashee; matriculated in Salamanca, 1605; took his degree in Theology at Louvain, having also studied at Rheims, about 1615; was tutor to the young Earl of Tirconaill; made Vicar-Apostolic of Raphoe 21st September, 1621; preconised Bishop 6th June, 1625; and consecrated 1626. On his return to Ireland he was falsely accused, arrested 31st January, 1628, examined twice before the Viceroy and Council, and imprisoned for three months in Dublin. Taken prisoner in 1642, he lay for four years in a dungeon

Donegal County Library Service

in Derry, until released in the exchange of captives after Benburb (5th June, 1646). Once liberated, he followed the fortunes of the Nuncio's party. After the surrender of Innis Bofin, he was exiled to Belgium in 1653. He arrived in Brussels, 9th April, 1653, died there 24th March, 1661, and was buried in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, in the Cathedral of SS. Michael and Gudule, in that city." —(Mac Erlean).*

After the lamented death of Niall O'Boyle in 1611, the diocese was governed by a Vicar-Capitular, chosen in the canonical form by the Dean and Chapter; and no record of the appointment of a Vicar-Apostolic to any of the numerous sees vacant at this period, bears date earlier than 1614. Very probably hopes were still entertained that religion might secure toleration in Ireland, through the intervention of foreign powers. On the 1st of September, 1621, the Brief was expedited appointing John Cullenan to that office in Raphoe, but English spies were on the scent in Belgium, and a long interval elapsed before he was enabled to take personal charge of the flock committed to him. In 1625 a Petition, signed by the young Earls of Tyrone and Tirconaill, and by Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, pressed for immediate appointment of native (*originarios*) Bishops to the widowed dioceses. In the early part of the same year, Peter Lombard, the Primate, died at Rome; and soon after, in June, John O'Cullenan was promoted to the see.

The Barberini record is published by Brady: "Die 9 Junii, 1625, referente me, Francisco Barberino, Vicet Cancellario et Hiberniae Protectore, Sanctitas sua providet ecclesiae Rapotensi vacanti per obitum bonae memoriae Cornelii Boil de persona Rev. Joannis Cullenani, presbyteri dictae diocesis, omnia requisita habentis."

* *Archivium*, i. 77.

Donegal County Library Service

A fair idea of the sickly and clouded attractions of the epispcoal dignity for a zealous ecclesiastic, who had already an ample field for spiritual labour, may be formed by a careful perusal of the two following unexaggerated accounts by Dr. Cullenan himself, of the sufferings he endured, on account of his official position and his earnest love of his religion and his country. Both documents are reproduced, the first without alteration, the second, rendered into English, from Cardinal Moran's *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, with the comments of that illustrious and scholarly compiler.

" Besides the important Latin record, which we now publish, there is among the St. Isidore MSS. a very quaint and curious paper entitled ' A brief and methodical narration of the cruel and tyrannical persecution, which the most reverend and zealous prelate, the Lord Bishop of Raphoe, John O'Cullenan, suffered in Ireland of late, not making mention of his former intolerable persecutions by the furious heretics who bear sway in that nation,' seems to have been written by some of the religious of Louvain and forwarded to Father Luke Wadding. As it adds some interesting details not mentioned in the Latin document, I here insert it in full :—

" ' When the venerable prelate came into the hands of these ministers of iniquity, he was in such cruel manner abused by them that he was left by them as a man dead, without life or spirit. After the expiration of two days, they lead him unto the bank of a great river (Foyle), expostulating with him, whether he had rather die by water, or be executed by the sword. He replied that is was his desire rather to be put to the sword than to be drowned. Upon this Christian resolution, they stripped him wholly naked and placed him on his knees. Extending his arms and raising his eyes to heaven, he recommended his soul

Donegal County Library Service

to his Creator, and, after he had prayed a considerable time, the soldiers came to him, full of fury and hellishly enraged, intending out of hand to shoot him with their muskets. For half an hour or more, they applied enkindled matches to their powder, but could not in any wise, using all the arts of human invention, produce fire. Those infernal heretics, armed with all cruelty, cried out with a loud voice that he was a devil and that neither bullet nor powder could end him, being guarded by some charms, enchantments, and diabolical superstition. When they could not prevail with their shot, they called on their pikemen to exercise their malicious cruelty on him. When all was ready for the execution, there arrived on the scene unexpectedly, one Sir James Askin, colonel of the army, commanding them to spare his life, and abusing them in very harsh language, styling them villains and traitors, and saying that they did nothing but murder a gentleman to whom they had already given quarter. Their fury being appeased by the persuasion of the colonel, the Bishop was led thence to a most horrid dungeon, excluded from all human society, wherein he was subjected to all miseries which can be inflicted on nature, for the space of four years, during which time he never was suffered to leave the prison but once, when commanded to appear as a malefactor before their council, who thundered out menaces and opprobrious words, pointing to his execution, in case he would not abjure the Catholic faith and adhere to their religion, which if he would do, they offered him a most ample patrimony, and a position that would surpass in honour and riches any that the Pope or Antichrist could ever confer on him. The Bishop answered, that for any human rewards and worldly promotions, though they gave him command of the whole world, he would never forsake God or holy Church, outside which

Donegal County Library Service

there is no salvation, and against which all the powers of hell can never prevail. At this resolution they were wholly inclined to execute his lordship, and said to him that death should be his reward; to whom he replied that he could not be more honoured than to be compelled to suffer for his Lord and Master, Christ Jesus, and His Church. Moved by his answer, they commanded the jailer to bring him back to prison, wherein he was in hourly expectation of death. God, of His infinite goodness, deigned to deliver His servant from this worse than inhuman captivity, and was pleased to bless General Owen O'Neill with a most miraculous victory over the aforesaid heretics, in which battle he effected the slaughter of 6,000 soldiers, and got this venerable prelate in exchange for certain other noblemen, that had been taken in battle. In coming out of prison, he proved himself such a faithful prelate both to God and holy Church, that he adhered wholly without any respect to blood or flesh, to his Excellency, John Baptist, Archbishop of Fermo, Nuncio-Apostolic, for the interest of the Church and the common good of the Catholics of that nation, during his residence in Ireland. At length, exiled to these foreign nations with other Catholics, he resides here now in the Low Countries.' "

The Latin document, giving an account of the imprisonment and attempted murder, was found among the Rinuccini papers, at Florence.

" ' In the course of this year (1646) the most illustrious and most reverend Dr. John O'Cullenan, Bishop of Raphoe, was liberated from prison, where he had been confined in squalor for four years. This most worthy dignitary had six brothers in the priesthood, senior to him in age, all of them prelates, and all of them zealous and successful in gaining souls and propagating the Gospel in Christ's

Donegal County Library Service

vineyard in Ireland. The eldest of all was a Doctor of the Sorbonne and Abbot of the celebrated Cistercian monastery of Boyle, who was arrested and dragged off to Dublin, where the Lord Deputy and other ministers of Queen Elizabeth proffered him the dignity of the Dublin archbishopric and of the chancellorship of the kingdom, on condition of his joining their Church and acknowledging Elizabeth's spiritual supremacy. When he declared he would never falter in his allegiance to the faith nor recognise as head of the Church a woman inebriated with the blood of martyrs, he himself was subjected in Dublin to a martyr's torments. But the Bishop's own letter, written at the request of Father Richard O'Farrell, an Irish Capuchin, and dated Brussels, the 30th of January, 1654, is the most authentic exposition of his trials. It is written in English, and is here presented in Latin, with the excision of a few irrelevant lines at the close. [Had the autograph English version been preserved, the necessity of re-translation would have been obviated] :—

" ' Rev. Father,—I here present an abbreviated sketch of the miseries I endured during my incarceration, at the hands of the heretics. They had surrounded and captured me, in company with seventy noblemen of high character and friends of our people, and though they had covenanted to spare our lives, they butchered every man of the seventy, and handed me over half-dead to a Calvinist major. This official, next morning, at five o'clock, dragged me out to the bank of a large river, and, with a resolute threat that I was to be put to death there and then, gave me my choice of being shot or drowned. I reminded him that he had joined with the others in guaranteeing my personal safety, and that the violation of that solemn pledge involved an outrage against human as well as divine law. I told him, too, that I was already half-

Donegal County Library Service

dead. 'In any case, you shall die,' said he. 'Well, if I am to die, I prefer to be put to the sword rather than to be drowned,' I replied. Stripped to the pelt like an infant, so completely that they tore my inner shirt from my excoriated back, I saw that it was soaked in blood, and that dismal spectacle made me throw myself on my knees, and, stretching out my arms, I commended my soul to God. And, when I had been a long time thus praying, three soldiers approached to lodge leaden bullets in my kneeling body, but, though the triggers were pulled time after time, and the powder was repeatedly changed, no shots went off. All this time I knelt there in my nakedness, until at length they summoned men with bayonets to transfix and despatch me; but, before they had reached, a non-Catholic colonel at the head of the troops had rushed forward, and, addressing the captain aforesaid, he exclaims, 'Are you going to kill this man on your own authority before he is conveyed to Londonderry, where he is to be executed according to law? Hands off, you villain and traitor! Do you want to murder this gentleman on your own personal order contrary to the government undertaking?' Thus Almighty God in the first place, and next to Him this military commander, liberated me from that jailer, so manifestly that from the days of the ancient martyrs to the present hour either God never saved any man or He certainly saved me. Once only was I allowed outside the prison in Derry, to be confronted with their council, who held out dazzling promises of preferments and dignities in their Church, and assured me that my example and my preaching of the new doctrines would be a shining light to the benighted natives. As they continued to press me for an answer, I said at last that I had a good mother, whom I wished to consult. 'Does your mother still survive?' they rejoined in

Donegal County Library Service

surprise. 'Yes,' said I, 'my mother is the holy Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, and the powers of hell cannot kill her.' Four years I languished, in daily expectation of death, until the God of mercy granted the victory of Benburb to Owen Roe O'Neill.'

"Thus far the narrative is given in the words of the Bishop. On being released by the Scottish settlers, at whose hands he had suffered such unspeakable indignities, he at once set out for Kilkenny, arriving there towards the end of April. The Nuncio very lovingly embraced him, kissing his wounds, and, from that moment until he quitted Ireland, the Bishop of Raphoe was a constant and honoured guest at his table." *

Dr. O'Cullenan was a strenuous upholder of Rinuccini's straight policy, against the vacillating and ruinous tactics of the Pale, and an enthusiastic signatory to the Petition of the Irish Bishops to have the Nuncio raised to the princely dignity of Cardinal. Subsequently, as temporary Vice-Primate, he was the recipient of very ample faculties from the Pope for dealing with censures incurred during the stress of the Convention storm. Banished from his diocese and country, he sought refuge in Brussels, where he lived from 1653 until his pure soul was summoned to its eternal reward on the 24th of March, 1661, in the seventy-eighth year of his heroic life.

In the three volumes of the *Spicilegium* several letters of this holy Bishop are published, which show intense piety and zeal :—

1. Letter to the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation regarding Derry, 5th September, 1636 (p. 212).

2. Letter of five Bishops of Ulster to the Sacred Congregation, urging amalgamation of Derry and Raphoe, 17th May, 1637. Joannes Culenan is the third signature (p. 220).

* *S.O.* i. 304.

Donegal County Library Service

3. Letter to the Secretary of the Propaganda, presented by his nephew, Rev. Philip Clery, petitioning for Beatification of his brother, James Culenan, late Abbot of Assaroe, 1638 (p. 232).

4. Letter to the Cardinal-Protector, asking for Derry see *in commendam*, 25th June, 1639 (p. 238).

5. Letter of five Irish Bishops to His Holiness, asking that Dr. Thaddaeus O'Clery, Prior of Lough Derg, should be appointed Bishop of Derry, 9th May, 1648 (p. 307). (This Thaddaeus was subsequently Vicar-General, and is treated of later on.)

6. Letter of four Irish Bishops to His Holiness, supporting Rinuccini (the first name attached is John of Raphoe), 9th November, 1648 (p. 313).

7. Letter to His Holiness, soliciting bishopric of Derry for Dr. Thaddaeus O'Clery, 15th November, 1648 (p. 316).

8. Synod of Clonmacnoise, 13th December, 1649 (vol. iii. p. 202).

9. Letters of Bishops of Raphoe and Clonfert to His Holiness from Brussels, a month after their arrival there, 3rd May, 1653 (vol. i. p. 398).

10. Letter to the Pope, from Camp at Cavan, 18th May, 1649 (vol. ii. p. 33).

11. Declaration of Bishops at Jamestown, 12th August, 1650. Dr. Cullenan's name is third, Hugh of Armagh being first, and John of Tuam second (vol. iii. p. 86).

12. As Vice-Primate, the Bishop of Raphoe and other Prelates send covering Letter with Brief of Alexander VII, granting power to absolve from censures, etc., 5th January, 1656 (vol. ii. p. 150).

"The Bishop of Raphoe and Colonel Aulday Mervyn were, on the 23rd August, 1649, despatched from Drogheda by Ormonde to confer with Owen O'Neill on matters of importance to his Majesty's service."—(Gilbert, vol. ii.

Donegal County Library Service

p. xv.) This embassy clearly proves that the Bishop's exalted dignity, talents, and influence were as fully recognised by the Ormondists as by the Ulster Irish.

In the Jesuits' Annual Letter, reproduced by Dr. Moran (i. 436), towards the close of that document, the following unpleasant story is related: "In the year in which our Missioner retreated before the persecution into the diocese of Raphoe, which adjoins Connacht, within the confines of Ulster, an insuppressible feud arose among the clergy of that diocese on the question of the Bishop elected or to be elected. The Missioner laboured earnestly and journeyed wearily among them, until at last they acquiesced in his proposal, and ever since the more prudent among them avow that his counsels were most advantageous." It is regrettable that we are not informed of the definite result; but it is well ascertained that Dr. Thady O'Clery ceased to administer the diocese after the Bishop's death. Then, in 1662, the disputed election took place, with the consequences here described, and, after a time, Dr. Eugenius Mac Sweeney, Bishop of Kilmore, and the Jesuit Missionary established a temporary arrangement, pending action by the Holy See. At the Synod of Armagh, 8th October, 1660, Dr. Thaddaeus O'Clery represented Raphoe as Vicar-General (*Spic. Ossor.*, ii. p. 196); later on, 13th December of that year, he, with John Dorrian, Dean, signed a Letter to the Holy See in defence of the Primate, Edmund O'Reilly (ibid. 203); but the Vicar-General "dies with the Bishop from whom he receives jurisdiction." Hence, from 4th March, 1661, Dr. O'Clery ceased to administer the diocese, and for sixty-four years afterwards it was governed by Vicars or Administrators, whom we may here classify under the general name of Vicars-Apostolic.

Lucius Gratianus gives the following curious description

Donegal County Library Service

of Dr. O'Cullenan's coat-of-arms :—"Pro insignibus habebat cervum in campo viridi cursu incitato properantem, cujus posteriorem pedem humana manus arripiebat."

The following two extracts relate to Dr. O'Cullenan's first imprisonment, and show the sanguinary zeal displayed by "his Lordship" Bishop Knox and Primate Ussher in tracking down the unoffending Catholic prelate. There is nothing in the context or index, which would furnish a clue to the identity of "that town" referred to in the second extract ; but, as the informations were forwarded by Basil Brooke of Donegal, it is clear that the "conventual houses" meant were the old abbey and Magherabeg. There was no religious house now surviving in the town of Raphoe, nor had there been for two centuries prior to this date, 1629.

Extract from letter written by Jo. Philpot, Dublin, April 27th, 1629, to Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh :—

"His Lordship insisteth much upon the part of Mr. Singes information where he saith that the titulary Bishop of Raphoe did make a priest at a public Mass in an orchard. He saith that the said Bishop is as dangerous a fellow here in Ireland as Smith is in England ; and that he hath good bonds upon him, and would be glad of this occasion to call him in ; and therefore I pray your Grace, to wish Mr. Sing to be ready to make good his accusation, for the said Bishop is bound not to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

The Lord Deputy, etc., to the Archbishop of Armagh [Ussher] :—

"After our right hearty commendations to your Lordship.

"By your Graces letter of the 6th inst. which we the Lord Deputy thought fit to communicate to the Council, we perceive, and do well approve the care and pains you

Donegal County Library Service

have taken, as well as in searching out the truth of the matter, concerning the titulary Bishop of Raphoe, as endeavouring to inform yourself of the proprietors and possessors of the popish conventual houses in that town.

"Touching the titulary Bishop, we rest satisfied by your lordship's said letters, that at the time he did no public act, nor gave orders to any; but as yet remain unsatisfied whether there were any great assembly of people at the meeting; and what persons of note were among them, wherein we desire to receive further satisfaction from your lordship.

"As to their conventual houses, we have given his Majesty's Attorney General the paper enclosed in your letters to us, and gave him direction to put up information in his Majesty's Court of Exchequer, against the proprietors and possessors of those houses, that thereby way may be made to such further course of proceedings as the several cases shall require. And this being all for the present, we bid your lordship very heartily farewell.

"From his Majesty's Castle of Dublin. May 15th, 1629.

"H. FALKLAND.
"A. LOFTUS, Canc.
"ANTH. MEDENSIS.
"W. PARSONS.
"HEN. DOCWRA.
"TYRINGHAM."

Donegal County Library Service

VICARS-APOSTOLIC

1.

John Dorrian, Vicar-Capitular, canonically appointed in 1661, after the death of Dr. O'Cullenan at Brussels had been made known in the diocese, encountered the ordeal of the disputed election, and eventually continued in office while he lived. Early in 1662 the election was held, and two rival candidates contended for the bishopric. The Jesuit Missioner quelled the contention with the aid of the celebrated Eugenius MacSwiney, Bishop of Kilmore. This good prelate had been Vicar of Killaghtee, as he himself insinuates in a Letter to Rome, dated 2nd March, 1634 (*Spic. Ossor*, i. 192), and as the Primate, Hugh O'Reilly, conveys in his statement that he belonged to a powerful family in Raphoe (Letter, ibid. 209). He had been, also, Procurator of Raphoe, but he must have held that office before Dr. O'Cullenan was made Vicar-Apostolic in 1621, for, in signing the Decrees of the Synod of Kells, 1642, he describes himself, "Eugenius Kilmorensis qui et fuit Procurator Rapotensis" (ii. 8). Though this remarkable prelate lived till 1669, there is very clear evidence that, when the controversy about the bishopric arose in 1662, as appears from the Jesuits' Letter already quoted, he was physically incapable of rendering any important service beyond advice and direction, which would naturally carry great weight.

2.

Eugene Connall appended his signature as "V.G. Deren. et Rapoten." to a letter emanating from Armagh Synod, 8th October, 1670, and was the second Administrator of whom any record exists. There was a vacancy in Kilmore

Donegal County Library Service

also at this time, and still we find the Vicar-Capitular describing himself as Vicar-General. In fact, the dignitary wielding the episcopal jurisdiction in each of the many vacant sees was most commonly designated Vicar-General.

3.

Luke Plunkett was appointed Vicar-General of Raphoe in 1671 by his illustrious kinsman, the martyr Primate, Oliver Plunkett; and in an interesting letter written by him in that year (*S.O.*, ii. 213), he draws a dismal picture of the economical condition of the people, and represents the clergy as few, "and these few indifferently trained in that art of arts, the direction of the spiritual life. There are in all about fourteen priests, and of these only one, Louis Gallagher, who studied at Louvain, has ever left the country to pursue his education. The others have learned grammar and poetry, and can solve some cases of conscience in the manner approved in the country. The diocese itself is for the most part barren, yielding only oats and barley, and the stock consists of horses and swine; its episcopal revenue is £15. It is the spiritual advancement of the people that has been my only motive in suffering the arduous travels through rough paths in this forbidding region. I admit, too, that I am greatly strengthened and stimulated by the example and encouragement of his Grace the Primate, who frequently administers Confirmation to the children in these mountains and woods, living on oaten bread, salt butter, and no drink but milk. We all admire this man, of frail and delicate constitution, as I knew him when he was a student in Rome, yet able to endure fatigue and trying labours. Sustained by his example, I will abide in these mountains and try and gain the favour of the Saviour and of the Apostolic See."

Donegal County Library Service

In 1673, the Rev. James Marshall was Dean, and resided in the diocese, though he was most probably not a native. A most valuable work, quoted from again at the end of this sketch, contains the following letter (p. 55) :— " 20th Dec., 1673. Sir,—Your letter concerning the apprehending James Marshall, titular Deane of Raphoe, and Marney Mac Golerick frier, was communicated to his excellency and this Board. We well approve your diligence in that affair, and they command me to acquaint you that the frier be continued in gaole till further order ; and, for the titular deane, if he be a secular, and hath not exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction, then you enlarge him. Otherwise let him be continued in gaole. To Brazill Brooke at Donegal."

Luke Plunkett had attended the Jamestown Conference in 1650, and in signing the Declaration he sets forth all his titles, except that of Canon of St. Thomas's, Dublin : " Lucas Plunkett, S.T.D., Pronotarius Apostolicus, Rector Collegii de Killeen, Exercitus Lageniae Capellanus major."

Three years after his appointment as Vicar-General of Raphoe, he was transferred, in a similar capacity, to Derry, owing to disruptional tendencies manifested by Terence Kelly, who had been for many years Vicar-Apostolic of that see, and who obstructed the Primate's nominee, Eugene Conall, in the management of the diocese (*S.O.*, ii. 211). But Luke Plunkett continued for some years to administer the diocese of Raphoe as Procurator ; hence he signs the decrees of the Synod of Ardpatrick in 1678, as " Vic. Gen. Derensis et Procurator Raphoten."

Luke Plunkett was arrested pursuant to an order of Council forwarded to the Protestant Bishop of Raphoe in January, 1679 :—" Send enclosed with all the speed you can *together with Luke Plunkett*, mentioned in it, to the sheriffs of Derry. Signed Sir John Davis " (see *Irish*

Donegal County Library Service

Priests in Penal Times, by Rev. W. P. Burke, p. 74). Luke Plunkett was transported in 1680.

4.

Bernard Magurk, Dean of Armagh, was deputed by the Primate, in 1674, to take charge of the see of Raphoe as Vicar-General, but he withdrew after the great Primate's martyrdom, having been automatically divested of his jurisdiction by the death of his principal.

In Cardinal Moran's *Life of Oliver Plunket*, a letter addressed to the Holy See, and dated 6th March, 1675, contains the following interesting reference to Raphoe: "The diocese of Raphoe is about forty miles long and sixteen wide. It has eighteen parish priests, and there is in it one convent of Franciscans. The Vicar-General is Bernard Magurk, a learned and exemplary man."

The following illuminating page (46, Moran's *Catholics under the Penal Laws*) describes the heroic sufferings of Dean Magurk for the faith, and the avaricious savagery of the high-placed hirelings of the English Government, in language untainted by bias, as the passage is extracted from the State Papers: "Walter Dawson, a cousin of the Secretary at the Castle, received intelligence that a Popish Dean of Armagh was concealed in the neighbourhood of the primatial city. He had him accordingly arrested without delay and thrown into prison. The official correspondence in the Irish Record Office gives us full details concerning this most singular case. The captive Dean was the Rev. Brian MacQuirk, who proved to be a bedridden old man, in his ninetieth year, weak of mind, being now in a second childhood, and so poor that he depended entirely for his support on the charity of his neighbours. The brother of the captive wrote to the government, deprecating the inhumanity of this arrest,

Donegal County Library Service

and urging that it could not fail to bring disgrace upon the law. A few months later, in 1712, Walter Dawson again addressed the authorities of the Castle, setting forth that in pursuance of the Proclamation he had arrested the Popish Titular Dean of Armagh, but that, on the 13th of February, before the assizes had begun, his prisoner had died in Armagh Jail. He adds a prayer that, notwithstanding this mischance, he may not be deprived of the reward of £50, which he would have been entitled to, on the Dean's conviction!" Such examples of barbarity and mercenary murder of inoffensive ecclesiastics could be multiplied beyond the belief of readers not conversant with the State Papers.

5.

Dr. Louis O'Gallagher, already mentioned by Luke Plunkett, and recognised as Vicar-General in a Roman document dated 16th December, 1683, was elected Vicar-Capitular by his brother pastors of Raphoe in 1681. Plunkett was perfectly satisfied with his professional acquirements, but at first adjudged him an ecclesiastic of ill-balanced mind (*cerebrum laesum*); obviously, he discovered on closer acquaintance that Louis O'Gallagher's mentality was as stable as his theology was solid.

6.

The Rev. James O'Hegarty was invested with plenary jurisdiction and with the title of Vicar-General of Raphoe in 1687, according to the computation of Hugh Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, in his "Account of the Dioceses of Ulster presented to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda in 1714." From Luke Plunkett's report of the condition of the diocese, we are compelled to admit

Donegal County Library Service

that the number of the clergy was scanty, and their collegiate credentials below the standard looked for by the Holy See in the case of appointments to the administration of a diocese. Hence, we are not surprised that an outsider was chosen to fill the vacancy created by Dr. Louis O'Gallagher's death.

This dearth of distinguished clergymen, due directly to financial disabilities on the part of candidates for the priesthood, whereby they were excluded from the privileges of a first-class college or university education, is also an adequate reason to account for the interruption of the office of Dean for some time after the death of John Dorrian, about 1690. Down to the last-mentioned date, the Dean was the pastor of the small parish of Killygarvan, where he maintained in residence a permament curate at his own expense. But Father O'Hegarty, living in Buncrana as the most convenient centre for watching the interests of both dioceses at the same time, during the existing scarcity of priests, was thus able personally to say the Sunday Mass and to administer the Sacraments, both in the parish of Fahan and in the parish of Killygarvan.

Now, it may be asked how it happened that Derry was more fortunate than Raphoe in the mental accomplishments of its clergy? The Raphoe priests were recruiting their ranks at this time from the most famous of the continental colleges, and it would be very astonishing if ecclesiastics like Manus O'Donnell, parish priest of Inver, should be deemed incapable or unworthy to undertake this responsible office. The obvious answer is that Derry Catholics were more wealthy than their co-religionists in Raphoe, and that James Hegarty was appointed while Raphoe had just sunk to the nadir of clerical decadence.

Donegal County Library Service

Moreover, some weighty authorities maintain that Father O'Hegarty was not a secular priest at all, but a Dominican Friar. Having never seen nor heard the question discussed, the writer cannot pretend to throw any new light on the difficulty. He has encountered the following all too brief note by Father Coleman, O.P., in his Appendix to O'Heyne's *Irish Dominicans* (p. 7): "In 1696, Father James O'Hegarty, O.P., and four other priests, having been imprisoned in Derry, addressed a petition from the prison to the Protestant Bishop of Derry. The petition is preserved in Marsh's Library, Dublin." The Derry Priory had been dismantled long before, and James O'Hegarty would not have been the only member of the scattered community who had dedicated his much-needed services to parochial work. There is nothing inconsistent with the identity of the prisoner and the Vicar-General, either in the meagre records, or in the circumstances, of the times. The gaolers knew little about ecclesiastical titles, and merely took note of the charge preferred, which, in this case, included the aggravating circumstance that the prisoner was a friar.

A question of identity, that involves more momentous issues, is this: Is the Very Rev. James O'Hegarty, V.G., the same individual as the Rev. James O'Hegarty, the martyr, whose name is perpetuated in "O'Hegarty's Rock"? The writer has assumed all along, in company with the best-informed authorities, that the Vicar-General of Raphoe was the martyr of Buncrana, but he must admit at once that his confidence on this point was staggered by a query put by Father MacKeefrey. This esteemed and industrious investigator asks why there is no reference to the heroic death he is reputed to have suffered, in the inscription on his tombstone, if the Vicar-General was the martyr. The inscription is given by

Donegal County Library Service

W. J. Doherty, in his *Inis-Owen and Tirconnell*: "The Rev. James O Heagarty, D.D., for some time rector of the Roman Clergy of Raphoe, who died on June 30th, 1715," and it is further stated by that accurate writer that Dr. O'Hegarty "was interred in the old graveyard of Fahan Mura, together with other ecclesiastics of that name." Very probably the drastic censorship of the dominant bigots was expected to be exercised in the form of complete destruction of the gravestone, if it exhibited any allusion to his barbarous murder. In any case, the reader is now aware that the identity is not certain, and the following facts he can apportion to one or two real historical personages, remembering that it is the identity alone that is disputable. There is nothing uncertain in the brief sketch of the Vicar-General, except the manner of his death ; and the traditional story of Father Hegarty's martyrdom is equally well authenticated.

"The family of the O'Hegartys," writes Dr. Reeves, "was of the race of Eoghan, but never attained to any distinction in the annals of the Country. Their habitat in the fourteenth century seems to have been in the north-west of the modern barony of Loughlinsholin. In 1458 Nicholas O'Hegarty was Rector of Balliscrine (Reg. Prene). In 1461 Donal and Cormac, sons of Felim O'Neill, carried away fifty cows from Patrick O'Hegarty of Ballinscrine. A member of the family has been ennobled in the Austrian Empire, and the name is often met with in the counties of Tyrone, Derry, and Donegal, in the form of Hagarty."

Edmund Og O'Hagarty, probably a herenach, was a member of the jury that sat in Derry on the 1st September, 1609, to arrange for the plantation of Cahir O'Doherty's and Donal O'Cahan's lands. And the diocese of Derry has at all times comprised worthy representatives of the Clan O'Hegarty in the ranks of its priesthood.

Donegal County Library Service

Father James O'Hegarty's name occurs in the official list of "Popish Priests" registered at Raphoe in 1704. He is represented as being then fifty-five years of age; as having received the order of priesthood at Dundalk, May, 1672, at the hands of the Venerable Oliver Plunket, Lord Primate; and as residing at Gorterrigan, in the parish of Fahan. On the same occasion, the Rev. Roger O'Hegarty, P.P., of Templemore (or Derry) presented himself for registration. This latter ecclesiastic would appear to be identical with the Rev. Roger O'Hegarty, whose appointment to the parish of Moville was effected by Luke Plunkett in a very interesting letter published by Cardinal Moran in his *Spicilegium* (vol. ii. p. 215). Luke Plunkett had been appointed Vicar-General of Raphoe in 1671, in succession to Eugene Conall, who had exercised the joint administration of Derry and Raphoe till the end of 1670. Shortly after, Plunkett became Vicar-General of Derry and Procurator of Raphoe, for he appends both these titles to his signature in 1678 (ibid. p. 252).

Hugh Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, presented to the Holy See in 1714 a *Relatio Status*, which embraced all the vacant sees of Ulster in addition to his own diocese; and in this lengthy and informative document, he asserts that the Rev. James O'Hegarty, still living, was at that time already twenty-seven years in charge of Raphoe as Vicar-Capitular, the see having been vacant for sixty years from Dr. John O'Cullinan's death. If this account be accurate, Father O'Hegarty was promoted to the exalted office of Vicar-Capitular of Raphoe in 1687, in succession to Dr. Louis O'Gallagher. But the Bishop of Clogher perpetrates an obvious error in stating that Dr. O'Cullinan had been deceased for sixty years in 1714, seeing that he died in 1661. Probably he calculated the period of the

Donegal County Library Service

vacancy from the beginning of Dr. O'Cullinan's exile in 1653.

The Bishop of Clogher's references to Raphoe, in which he betrays a total absence of local information, open with the following paragraph: "Adjacet Derensi Ecclesia Rapoten destituta pastore a morte D. Hugonis Cullinan ultimi antistitis a 60 annis, et commissa successive solicitudini Vicariorum Capitularium, quorum ultimus D. Jacobus Hegherty etiamnum superstes clavum tenuit a vigintiseptem annis, et propterea meretur consideratione." Now, however grievously the writer may have erred in regard to the relative numbers of Catholics and "Scottish Calvinists" in Tirconaill, he could hardly be accused of informing the Holy See that Father O'Hegarty was still discharging the functions of Vicar-Capitular of Raphoe at the moment when he wrote in 1714, unless he was tolerably certain of the fact. Consequently, the date of the cruel and treacherous murder of this holy priest cannot be placed earlier than 1715, for, had this tragic death of a neighbouring dignitary occurred before he compiled his elaborate official statement, the Bishop of Clogher would almost immediately have heard of it, even in Flanders. No doubt, he had left Ireland two years before, and had spent the interval at Caslet, in the Diocese of Ypres; but messengers and letters were constantly passing between Ireland and Flanders.

It may be asked on what charge Father O'Hegarty could have been arrested or arraigned, seeing that he was legally registered. The specific charge is unknown, but it is well ascertained that at this period no priest's life was safe in Innishowen. Besides, we have documentary evidence to show that in 1709, a law was enacted requiring all registered priests to take the "Oath of Abjuration" before the 1st November in that year. Another clause,

Donegal County Library Service

moreover, declared that any registered priest, who employed a vicar or assistant, was likewise "to be treated as a convicted religious" (*Spicilegium*, vol. ii. pp. 439-441). Military officers and magistrates would appear to have enjoyed almost unlimited powers to punish obnoxious clergymen of the Catholic faith.

Tradition is firm, universal, uninterrupted, and unanimous, in the districts on both sides of the Swilly, as regards the fact, the place, and the manner of Father O'Hegarty's assassination; and his well-cared grave was venerated and visited with as profound reverence by the inhabitants of Killygarvan as by the Catholics in its neighbourhood. Naturally, discrepancies in minute details have gradually crept into the story of his death, and of the circumstances that led up to the tragedy, as narrated on either side of the estuary. The Killygarvan version is as follows: This venerable priest was in the habit of signalling across to Rathmullan for a boat whenever he wanted to visit his flock in that parish, of which he was for a long period the immediate pastor as well as spiritual ruler, in his capacity of Vicar-Capitular of the Raphoe diocese. Being at length in daily dread of being surprised and arrested, he stipulated with the crew that, should a sudden descent on his hiding-place be designed, they were to hurry across with their boat to his relief, on observing the pre-arranged signal on the opposite shore. Betrayed by his own brother-in-law, he was apprised that the military were approaching, and he instantly hoisted the signal. The Rathmullan men boarded their little craft and rowed with all their might, but, alas! they were too late. Father O'Hegarty, seeing the English myrmidons rushing to seize him, sprang into the waters of the Swilly, knowing that the Killygarvan boat would soon pick him up and convey him to safety. But

Donegal County Library Service

the wily officer in charge shouted to him that his life would be spared and that no injury would be inflicted upon him, if he swam back to the shore. He obeyed, and was instantly apprehended, dragged to the top of the overhanging precipice, and there barbarously beheaded! O'Hegarty's Rock has ever since been the theme of song and story, and Father O'Hegarty has been always popularly regarded as a martyr for his faith.

7.

The Rev. Manus O'Donnell enjoyed a pre-eminence among the Raphoe clergy, both on account of his distinguished birth and on account of his superior education at the University of Salamanca. Left again to their own resources by the unexpected tragedy of Father O'Hegarty's murder by the English Huns, they selected as Vicar-Capitular a member of their own body, with unhesitating unanimity. It is unfortunate that we possess no record and no reliable tradition of this dignitary's career.

In 1711 a petition was presented to the Pretender by the influential Catholics of Derry, asking him to intercede with the Roman Pontiff to put a period to the century-old vacancy by the appointment of Dr. Brian O'Kane as Bishop of that diocese. But, in spite of all their laudable efforts and prayers, no Bishop was appointed till 1720, when the choice of the Holy See fell upon Terence O'Donnelly, a Franciscan. And, though there is no documentary proof, it is highly probable that this prelate received a mandate to superintend the spiritual interests of Raphoe until a Bishop would be appointed, and that he faithfully discharged this commission for five or six years, until Dr. O'Gallagher was chosen. No doubt Dr. Lea was appointed in 1695 to administer the affairs of the diocese, but this Brief had no effective sequel.

Donegal County Library Service

XXXIV

Fergus Laurence Lea (1695)

"Fergus Laurence Lea, Bishop of Derry, obtained a grant of Raphoe in administration, Feb. 18" (Brady). It is absolutely certain that this prelate never enjoyed the privilege of visiting either Derry or Raphoe after his appointment and consecration in Rome. The most clear and reliable record the writer can discover touching the episcopacy of Dr. Lea, is presented in the elaborate and lengthy *Relatio Status*, compiled by the Bishop of Clogher in 1714, and already quoted regarding James O'Hegarty. "The see of Derry," writes Dr. Mac Mahon, "so far as I have been able to ascertain, has had no Bishop ever since the beginning of the last century, except Dr. Laurence Lea, who was consecrated at Rome years ago, and died there shortly afterwards without having been able to bring any comfort to that disconsolate diocese."

Father Burke appears to have taken his account from the same source: "Fergus Lea, consecrated at Rome, 1694; died a few months after." He publishes an extract (p. 40), which illustrates the fierceness of the persecution and the prevalence of espionage at this period: "Nov. 4, 1712. Depositions taken before us. James Friele of Sligoe, Apotechary, being sworn upon the Evangelists, saith he did hear Mass celebrated at Ballyshanny in the County of Donnyggall by one Turlough Mac Swine, a reputed frier of the Order of St. Francis and of the Abbey of Donnyggall. Signed, Percy Gethin, William Ormsby, Robert Lynsdey, Esquires, three of her Majestie's Justices of the Peace" (p. 40).

Donegal County Library Service

XXXV

James O'Gallagher (1725-1737)

This learned and illustrious prelate was consecrated Bishop on the 14th of November, 1725, at Drogheda, by the Lord Primate, the Most Rev. Hugh Mac Mahon. "There are reasons for stating," writes Canon Ulick Bourke, in his *Gallagher's Irish Sermons* (p. xxxi.), that "the uncle or cousin of the youthful O'Gallagher had been a priest." This was probably the Franciscan specially mentioned in the *Report on the State of Popery in* 1731: "Owen O'Gallagher, an old Fryer, instructs a great many Popish students." Whether this family of the O'Gallaghers belonged to the Ballybeit and Ballyshannon branch, and were thus descendants of Tuathal, or to the Drumhome branch, who were descendants of Brian, there is neither record nor clear tradition to determine. Certain it is that both these O'Gallagher families were compulsorily swept off their rich ancestral estates, and took up their residences in mountainous tracts about Pettigo and on the banks of Lough Erne.

Dr. James O'Gallagher was a distinguished Roman student, and must have been personally known to Primate Mac Mahon, while both frequented the halls of theology in the Eternal City. And it is somewhat remarkable that the Primate's nephew, the Dean of Clogher, assisted at Dr. O'Gallagher's consecration. The natural explanation is that the Bishop-Elect was a Clogher priest, secular or Franciscan, but most probably the former. Both the meagre facts of his life, transmitted to us in written records, and unquestionable tradition, associate this illustrious prelate with the vicinity of Lough Erne, up to the date of his translation to Kildare. And it is worthy

Donegal County Library Service

of note that a Protestant family residing near Mountcharles (rejoicing in the soubriquet of the Winders), and possessing a tradition that a Catholic Bishop was a member of their sept many generations ago, had their original habitat in the neighbourhood of Pettigo.

While he remained in charge of Raphoe diocese, his mode of life would appear to have been as nomadic as it is described to have been subsequently in Kildare: "He sometimes left us with a staff in his hand, and, being absent for months, we feared he would never return."* Instead of his staff, he found his horse a necessary sharer of his travels in Donegal; and his place of retirement, when his visitations were completed, was probably never known to the paid spies, till the publication of his Irish Sermons in 1737, when he had abandoned for ever his beloved refuge with the Friars of Innismacsaint. In the biographical sketch of the Rev. Peter O'Hegarty (under Killygarvan), the reader will find this zealous prelate disguised as a friar, whose movements cannot be traced by the local Protestant incumbent. This latter kindly apostle of charity is so anxious about the poor friar's personal safety, that he "hath applied to ye magistrates to have him taken," hanged, and quartered! (*Archivium*, i., Raphoe). Rectors, magistrates, spies, and informers were everywhere on the scent of Dr. O'Gallagher's movements through his devoted flock, and day and night, for twelve years, he carried his life in his hands.

In Dr. Comerford's *Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*, we find the following allusions by Dr. Doyle to his illustrious predecessor, the Most Rev. James O'Gallagher: "Those wretched mud walls (in Allen) are the ruins of his episcopal palace, where in penal days he ate the bread of tribulation and drank the waters of adversity.

* Dr. Comerford.—Allen.

Donegal County Library Service

Although an active labourer in the diocese, he was never without some pious youths in his house, whom he instructed in Greek and Latin and Theology, before sending them to Paris for ordination. Thus did this good man, almost in sight of the gibbet, continue to keep up the scanty supply of pastors for the poor people of Kildare and Leighlin. His bones lie beneath yonder uninscribed grave. Oh! if you saw him: he was like St. Patrick."

Yet this holy and zealous Bishop did not escape calumny; "false brethren" existing wherever clerical discipline had to be enforced. It was charged against the Bishops of Kildare, Kilmore, and Meath, that they resided during the winter in the City of Dublin, and deserted their flocks. The authoritative reply to these accusations is published by Dr. Moran in the *Spicilegium* (iii. 152) from the Propaganda Archives, 1740: "These three Bishops spend their winter in Dublin, but it is absolutely untrue to say that they abandon their sheep. For, each year, without fail, they visit their dioceses, going from house to house and from parish to parish throughout the entire summer; and, seeing that they have no towns nor fixed domiciles, where they could abide in safety, nor parishes from which to derive a subsistence as pastors, they return to Dublin after their tours, and on three days of the week they there possess postal facilities for communicating with their priests and people."

But the energetic and scholarly Bishop of Kildare had a very special reason for his periodic sojourns in the capital. It was at this time he was editing his Sermons, and printers could make little progress with the intricacies and peculiarities of Irish spelling, without pretty constant assistance. The editor was thus obliged to undertake the exacting duty of reader as well, and could not

Donegal County Library Service

withdraw to any remote distance while the printing was being executed.

The tragic incident of Father O'Hegarty's murder was immediately followed by the Bishop's withdrawal from the public discharge of his episcopal functions in this diocese. He then devoted himself, in the island of Innismacsaint, to arranging and preparing for the printer the splendid collection of Sermons, so well known to our ancestors a few generations back, and so widely committed to memory even by those who were unable to read. So deeply appreciated was this rare work that, within four years, a second edition was demanded, and, in a short time, completely exhausted. At the present day, it is next to impossible to find a copy of any edition older than Canon Bourke's, which latter is large and not easily portable. That this learned prelate was regarded by his contemporaries as an eminent Irish scholar is clearly demonstrated by the fact that Dr. Donlevy sought and obtained his approbation for his Irish Catechism, published in 1741. The signatures of recognised *littérateurs*, notably that of Cucogry O'Clery, appear in juxtaposition to his Lordship's, emphasising the value attached to the Bishop's approbation, primarily as a literary critic.

In estimating this gifted and progressive prelate's work in the diocese, it is necessary and sufficient to compare the condition in which he left it with that in which he found it. Luke Plunkett informs us that, in 1671, the total number of the diocesan clergy was fourteen; four years after, the great Oliver Plunket fixes the figure at eighteen, including the translated Dean of Armagh, constituted by him Vicar-General of Raphoe. The presence of a Chapter in the picture presented by either of these illustrious personages, would be an inconceivable anomaly. Doubtless, some trivial improvement is noticeable in studying

Donegal County Library Service

the List of Registered "Popish Priests" compiled in 1704; for there we observe the names of fourteen parish priests (independently of the Vicar-General), who were able and willing to present themselves before a distrusted and hated Commission. Nor can we resist the conviction that a few were physically unfit for, and a few were immovably averse to, complying with this compulsory enrolment order. But, after we have made the most liberal allowance for abstentions, we are compelled to admit that the supply of clergy was lamentably inadequate, and that only one member of the whole body had enjoyed the privilege of a college education. Contrast with all this the flourishing state of the Church in Raphoe diocese, when Dr. O'Gallagher was translated to Kildare in 1737, and endeavour to form a fair judgment as to the chief author of the transformation, under the impulse and guidance of the Holy Ghost. We find a Dean and full Chapter, as of old, nineteen parish priests, and all of them united in their clamorous demand for a holy and accomplished ruler, no member of their own body, but a gifted religious who resided in Rome, far removed from the sometimes tainted atmosphere of clans and partisans.

The period immediately preceding his advent into the diocese was undoubtedly the darkest in the whole history of the Church in Raphoe; and the life of this intrepid reformer was, every moment during his stay, in the most imminent peril. The Rev. Thomas Caulfield, unfrocked for incontinency, was the most dangerous ally of the bigoted magistrates and English military; yet the good Bishop spent years in the Killygarvan parish, mostly in disguise, struggling to counteract his evil influence. It is further evident from the Bishop's sermon on Confession that Dominick O'Donnell and a few other "false brethren" were poisoning, not feeding, the flock.

Donegal County Library Service

The reader will be able to gather from the passages in the *Report on the State of Popery*, 1731, relating to Killygarvan, and to Taughboyne, some sort of clue to the cause of Dr. O'Gallagher's transfer from Raphoe to Kildare. In reference to Killygarvan, it is very significantly stated that "One *James Gallagher*, a *reputed* Fryer, has of late endeavoured to pervert some of the Protestant Parishioners to the Popish religion. The minister of ye Parish hath applied to ye magistrates to have him taken." The Taughboyne notice points unmistakably to the same obnoxious visitor: "Sometimes a *reputed* itinerant Fryer comes among the Papists of this parish, and preaches once or twice a year, and of late more openly than formerly." It cannot escape the attentive reader that the Protestant Bishop was just as keen as the Rathmullen "minister" in the organised campaign "to have him taken," that is, to effect the arrest and execution of the *reputed* friar but real Bishop. If he has any doubt on the subject, it will vanish at once on observing the same humane prelate's discrimination between ordinary "vagrant Fryers" and "one James Gallagher a reputed Fryar." This would-be cut-throat was no other than Nicholas Foster, whose memory is extolled for learning, refinement, and charity! His summary of the Catholic equipment in the diocese, is well worthy of being closely examined, side by side with the extracts relating to individual parishes:—

"The Lord Bishop of Raphoe returns Twenty-six Popish priests and some vagrant Fryars. His Lordship has remarked that one James Gallagher, a reputed Fryer, has lately endeavoured to pervert some of the Protestant inhabitants of Killygarvan."

The following extract, published by the author of *Irish Priests in Penal Times*, describes the arrest of the Rev.

Donegal County Library Service

Peter O'Hegarty, P.P., Killygarvan, on the night following Dr. O'Gallagher's providential escape from that good priest's lowly cottage near Aughterlinn. For obvious reasons, both Josiah and Nicholas refrain from mentioning Father Hegarty's brutal murder by Buchanan, just as the prisoner was about to be rescued. It is unnecessary to say that it was Dr. O'Gallagher these sleuth-hounds were scenting: "On the 4th of March, 1734, Josiah Harte, Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, wrote to George Doddington, Secretary :—'The Bishop of Raphoe acquainted the Duke of Dorset (Lord Lieutenant) this morning in the Great Room that the Popish Bishop having removed a quiet, inoffensive priest (Thomas Caulfield) and put a turbulent fellow (Peter O'Hegarty) in his place, Dr. Rogers had issued a warrant for apprehending him. As they were carrying him to the county jail, guarded by severall Protestants, some of them gentlemen, a great body of Papists attacked them, wounded severall, and arrested (rescued) the priest.'" Not a word about the savage butchery of the poor victim!

XXXVI

Daniel O'Gallagher (1737-1749)

Daniel, in religion Bonaventure, O'Gallagher, was promoted to the bishopric by Brief dated 10th December, 1737, as successor to Dr. James O'Gallagher, who had been translated to Kildare on the 18th of May, in that year. The singular unanimity of the Raphoe priests and the enthusiastic recommendation of eight Bishops (*enixe commendamus*) in his favour are an incontestable proof of his celebrity and popularity. Three special qualities are

Donegal County Library Service

emphasized in the Petition presented by the clergy to the Holy See, as distinguishing and commending him to their warm approval—his charming personality, his vast erudition, and his nobility of birth : " virum non solum suavitate morum, ac doctrina singulari, verum etiam claritate natalium conspicuum." The last-mentioned distinction marks him out as belonging to the Ballybeit or Ballynaglack branch of the O'Gallagher sept, and as a lineal descendant of the celebrated Sir Eoin O'Gallagher.

He was a Friar Minor of the Strict Observance, a Lector Jubilatus and Guardian of St. Isidore's at Rome, and one of the greatest theologians of the day. His consecration he received at the hands of Cardinal Gentili, in the private oratory of the latter, on the 29th of December, about three weeks after the issue of his Brief, and he hastened at once to his post of duty and of danger among his kinsfolk in Tirconaill. The Petition for Dr. Daniel O'Gallagher's appointment to the see of Raphoe is published in the *Archivium* (vi. 57). It may be translated as follows : " Just as a sailing-vessel without a rudder becomes the the sport of the winds, and cannot direct its course to port, but, soon as the tempest impels it on the quicksands or rocks, it is wrecked and submerged in the billows ; so a diocese, bereft of its chief pastor, is easily plunged in a vortex ' by every wind of doctrine ' ; when its custodian is withdrawn, its open gates invite the enemy's assaults, its morals are degraded, and its discipline is trampled upon. Now, since the Cathedral Church of Raphoe has become vacant by the translation of the most Illustrious Dr. James Gallagher to the see of Kildare, it is endangered by the intermixture of heretics, who resort to every artful device in order to estrange the faithful from the religion of their forbears.

" Wherefore, we, the undersigned ecclesiastics of the

Donegal County Library Service

said see of Raphoe, the Vicar-General, Archdeacon, Dean, Canons, Pastors, and Clergy assembled together, and actuated by the sole motive of religion, suppliantly beseech and vehemently implore the prudent Protectors (*Patronos*), whose province it is to provide a chief pastor, to be good enough to place as our head, as Bishop, the Very Rev. Bonaventure O'Gallagher, Jubilate Lector of the Order of St. Francis, a man conspicuous, not merely by his courtly manners and peerless learning, but also by ancestral greatness. Hence, by granting to us this Pastor, adequate provision would be secured for our Diocese, so gravely imperilled amid the troublous vicissitudes of the times, and the wishes of the clergy and people, to whom he is most acceptable, would be gratified. In testimony whereof, we subscribe ourselves, this, the 15th day of June, 1737:

"James Gallagher, V.G. of Cathedral Church of Raphoe, and P.P. Kilmacrenan.

"Andrew Dunlevy, LL.D., Dean. (Signed by Philip Netirvill, proxy.)

"Dominick O'Donnell, Protonotary, Vicar of Leck and Raphoe.

"James Gettins, Prebendary and P.P. of Drumhome.

"Connell Mac Laughlin, Prebendary and P.P. of Inniskeel.

"Patrick Mac Groarty, Prebendary of Inver and P.P. of Killaghtee and Killybegs.

"Francis Mac Devitt, B.D., Prebendary Canon of Conwal and Aughininshin.

"Eugene O'Boyle, Prebendary of Clondachorky and P.P., of Clondavaddog.

"Thady Coll, P.P., Clondachorky.

"Peter Conwell, P.P., Kilcar and Glencolumbkille.

Donegal County Library Service

"ANTHONY O'DONNELL, Junior, P.P., Raymochy and Teachboyne.
"ANTHONY MAC NELIS, P.P., Gartan and Aughnish.
"PETER GALLAGHER, P.P., Killygarvan and Tullyfern.
"JOHN O'DONNELL, P.P., Stranorlar.
"DANIEL CUNINNGHAM, P.P., Mevagh.
"DOMINICK BERN, P.P., Raphoe.
"BERNARD CANNON, P.P., Templecrone.
"FRIAR ANTHONY O'DONNELL, of the Order of Friars Minor of Strict Observance, Lector Emeritus of Sacred Theology, Provincial, Missionary-Apostolic, P.P., Kilbarron.
"TERENCE O'BOYLE, P.P., Inniskeel.
"MICHAEL GRIFFITH, P.P., Inver.
"FRIAR ANTHONY O'DOHERTY, of the Order of Preachers of St. Dominick, and Prior of Derry Convent."

Canon Carrigan appends the following note to the list of signatories and titles, touching the third name:— "Dominicus O'Donnell, Privicarius (?): This reading of the word is little better than a guess, as, owing to a slight injury to the page, the word is somewhat illegible in the copy from which this transcript is made." * From the position of the signature before those of the Canons, and from the specific mention of an Archdeacon being included in the body of assentors, it is absolutely manifest that Dominick O'Donnell was Archdeacon, but it is almost equally certain that Canon Carrigan would not have deciphered "pronotarius," an obvious conjecture, as "privicarius," a word unknown to the present writer. As long as the Dean of the diocese continued to be *ex-officio* Parish Priest and Vicar of Raphoe parish, the priest re-

* *Archivium*, vi. 58.

Donegal County Library Service

siding there was a permanent curate; and the adjoining parish of Leck was then a Bishop's mensal parish, in charge of a vicar. As this latter parish was small, it is quite possible that, owing to the scarcity of priests, the Vicar of Leck may have been assigned, in addition, the vicarage of Raphoe, and thus he could describe himself as Pro-Vicar of both benefices. This solution of the difficulty is not above criticism, but Privicarius is unintelligible.

That a Catholic priest of Leck, named O'Donnell, "read his recantation" as the phrase ran, in the old Protestant church of Leck, about this period, has been a constant tradition in the neighbourhood of Letterkenny ever since, and the story adds that four apostate priests, no doubt at various dates, made public profession of heresy in that unhallowed mosque. It was a time of severe trial and of tempting inducements, and the wonder is that only four apostatised. The notorious Dominick O'Donnell of Mevagh was quite a different personage, but a contemporary; for a son of this renegade, Rev. William O'Donnell, was born in 1737, as appears from the inscription on his tombstone in Carrigart Protestant graveyard. His namesake of Leck would appear to have belonged to the Scariff-hollis or Glenswilly stock, as a tradition existed to that effect in the O'Donnell family, of which the late Canon Mac Fadden's (Glenties) mother was a member, and of which this degraded wastrel was the only weedy excrescence. Dominick of the Downings is reputed to have claimed Killaghtee as his birthplace.

With apologies for this lengthy digression, we return to the subject of Bonaventure O'Gallagher's adoption, as the most acceptable candidate for the bishopric, by the Raphoe clergy. Few Bishops were resident in the country at the moment, and many sees were still vacant; eight prelates endorsed the priests' Petition in warm and forcible lan-

Donegal County Library Service

guage. We miss the signature of the Bishop of Derry, Niall Conway, who, we might expect, ought to be among the most enthusiastic of Dr. O'Gallagher's supporters, as both of them were Franciscans. But, as this holy prelate died on the 6th of January following, we may conclude that he was physically unfit for participation in the councils of the Hierarchy. Their covering letter merely repeats the arguments advanced by the clergy :—

" We, the undersigned, animated by the same solicitude and zeal as the Chapter and Clergy of Raphoe, that efficient Pastors may be placed over the vacant bishoprics in this afflicted and sadly down-trodden kingdom, for the advancement of religion and the salvation of souls, with all due respect and submissiveness, recommend to the most venerable Protectors the aforementioned Very Rev. Bonaventure Gallagher, Jubilate Lector in the College of St. Isidore, Rome, convinced that the choice is a happy one, both on account of the nominee's transcendant merits, and on account of the eager desire of the subjects that he should be promoted to the see of Raphoe. We trust in God that his appointment may relieve the necessities of the aforesaid Diocese in unstinted measure.

" ✠ Hugh (MacMahon), Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of All Ireland, and Metropolitan.
" ✠ James (O'Gallagher), Kildare.
" ✠ Peter, Ardagh.
" ✠ John, Achonry.
" ✠ Patrick, Elphin.
" ✠ Bernard (Mac Mahon), Clogher.
" ✠ Michael, Kilmore.
" ✠ Ambrose, Ferns."

We have already seen that the Petition was acceded

Donegal County Library Service

to, and that the Consecration rapidly followed the Papal sanction, with the result that the interregnum was unusually short. He was one of the Assistant Bishops at the Consecration of Dr. Michael O'Reilly, in Dublin, September, 1739, for the see of Derry; no other record of his career is published.

Bonaventure O'Gallagher's death in 1749 was attended with all the circumstances that indicate a happy and saintly end to a career of intellectual brilliancy, attractive personal charm, penury, and suffering. In that hallowed retreat, surrounded by the holy monks of St. Dominick, in the Priory of Sligo, he refreshed his soul in an atmosphere of sanctity and religious fervour, removed from the din and dust of the world. It would be impossible to conceive a safer or more effective means of preparing for the great ordeal. Canon Carrigan states that his remains were taken back to Donegal Abbey for interment among the bones of his brother Franciscans, and we may rest assured on all the grounds of probability, confirmed by his testimony, that they repose there in some unknown but suitable spot. The site is unmarked by any inscribed or recognised mound, nor is there any likelihood that it may ever be identified; but there is nothing to marvel at, though there is everything to regret, in this forgetfulness of the dead while the living were being scourged with the scorpions of famine and religious hate.

Yet it would be well worth the trouble to excavate a grave-site, that is at all times an interesting puzzle to inquisitive visitors to the old abbey. Immediately beneath the lancet window in the detached gable at the south-west corner of the enclosure is a sculptured slab of great antiquity and bearing no inscription. The figures are entirely unintelligible to the present writer,

Donegal County Library Service

but he has noted a shield surmounted by what may possibly have been intended to represent a mitre, but the execution is not artistic. This slab, however, appears to be much more ancient than the beautifully sculptured gravestone alongside, bearing the O'Gallagher arms, crest, and motto, *Mea Gloria Fides*, on which the inscription is boldly incised :—

Here lyeth ye body of Capt
Chals Gallagher who depar
ted this life in ye 70th year of his
Age. A.D. 1739. Reqst in pace.

It is most probable that the unidentified slab belongs to an earlier period, and was placed over the Bishop's grave as a mark of reverence, but it is most unlikely that it is Fingola's grave-stone removed here from the chapel. At all events this plot is evidently the burying-ground of the Tuathal O'Gallagher branch, and exploration would be sure to reveal some episcopal ornament or identifying relic.

XXXVII

Anthony O'Donnell (1750-1755)

The family to which this saintly Bishop belonged had carved their way to fortune and celebrity without the adventitious aid of English patent as servitors, or Irish pride of princely birth. Quitting their century-old home in the Rosses about 1700, three brothers and two sisters settled down in Ballyshannon, with their father, who was an expert in the milling industry. After a time, Anthony, the oldest and the father of the Bishop, acquired the ownership of extensive mills near the town ;

Donegal County Library Service

Con, the second brother, erected a mill at Coolmore; and Francis, the youngest, purchased land property in Behy, where his descendants still flourish. Anthony grew very wealthy and became landlord of all the property in the Back Street. Two of his sons, Anthony and Nathanael, or Nactan, were educated in Louvain and Rome, and both were elevated in succession to the see of Raphoe.

This prelate's name first presents itself on record in the Petition signed by the clergy of Raphoe, begging the Holy See to elevate his predecessor to the episcopacy, in 1737. In that document he describes himself as "Ordinis Minorum Strictae Observantiae, sacrae Theologiae Lector Emeritus, Primus Provinciae Pater, Missionarius Apostolicus, et Rector de Kilbarron." It thus appears that he was parish priest of Kilbarron for a long span of years before he was raised to the rank of Bishop. The Abbey of Donegal was the only religious foundation in the diocese belonging to the Strict Observants, and, as only a few scattered members of that community now survived, this distinguished professor of theology was invested by the Roman See with the general faculties of Missionary-Apostolic. Though his field of labour lay entirely outside the cloister, so highly were his profound learning and all-embracing zeal valued and esteemed by the Friars of his Order, that he was appointed to the dignity of Provincial for all Ireland, and continued to fill that honoured rank, first as pastor of Kilbarron, and then as Bishop of Raphoe, to the end of his exemplary and laborious life.

A full namesake of his was at the time parish priest of Raymochy and Teachboyne, distinguished by the adjunct "Junior," and it is possible that the latter clergyman was a nephew of the Bishop. If that conjecture were true, both were scions of the Rosses stock, but tradi-

Donegal County Library Service

tion represents the parish priest of Teachboyne as a brother of the apostate Dominick of Mevagh. No certainty is attainable on the point, but it has been consistently said and sung that Dominick had a brother, who was an accomplished and sterling priest, and their place of origin is fairly well ascertained. In the south-east corner of the Assaroe graveyard are laid the remains of this hard-working and versatile Bishop, underneath a rudely-chiselled, coarse, and ponderous flag, on which the inscription is blurred and very indistinct :—

✠

Hic jacet Ill^mus^ et Reverend^mus^
Dominus Frater Antonius O'Donnell,
Epus. Rapot^is^, Ordinis Minorum Strictae
Observantiae S.P. Franci Sacrae
Theologiae Professor Eximius, Totius
Hiberniae Primus Pater : Vir vere
Egregius atque pius. Obiit 20^mo^ Aprilis,
Aetatis suae anno 74, 1755.

XXXVIII

Nathanael O'Donnell (1755-1758)

The singularly short interregnum, between the death of Anthony O'Donnell, in April, and the formal appointment of his successor in July of the same year, suggests that Nathanael O'Donnell, too, was resident in Rome, personally known to the Papal Court, and most probably a Franciscan, at St. Isidore's. He was a brother of his predecessor in the bishopric of Raphoe. He survived his consecration only a few months over three years, and, probably owing to physical disability, he left behind him

Donegal County Library Service

no memorial of his episcopacy, and even his grave is unknown to the present generation.

As the Rev. A. Dunlevy was pastor in Kilbarron during his episcopacy, he cannot be believed to have resided in Ballyshannon. Tradition says he lived with the Friars of Donegal, and his remains rest in the old abbey there.

XXXIX

Philip O'Reilly (1759-1782)

This much-esteemed and energetic prelate had been parish priest of Drogheda, and it was there, in the Dominican Convent of St. Catherine of Sienna, that he received episcopal consecration at the hands of the Primate, Dr. Anthony Blake, on the 22nd of April, 1759, the Assistant Bishops being Anthony Lavery, Dromore, and Edmund O'Doran, Down and Connor.

From the *Life of Dr. Doyle*, we learn that his predecessors had strenuously complied, as far as circumstances permitted, with the directions of the Council of Trent regarding the establishment of diocesan seminaries. Such institutions were rigidly banned by English law, down to the middle of Dr. O'Reilly's episcopacy ; hence, Dr. James O'Gallagher and other earnest Bishops of his day and after, trained a few select students privately in their own not very commodious apartments, and sent them afterwards to Paris or Rome to complete their theological course. No doubt, the "Act to enable persons professing the Popish religion to teach schools" was not passed till 1780, but the prosecutions for opening small academies had been dropped for over a decade of years before, and the breaking out of the American War had impressed the

Donegal County Library Service

English Government with the danger of allowing Irish boys to imbibe insurrectionary ideas in Continental colleges.

Dr. O'Reilly was the first Raphoe Bishop to open a diocesan college, and the facilities it offered for higher education may be estimated by the important rank, in the Church and in the few secular professions open to Catholics, attained by some of the students of that celebrated institution. Nor is it any exaggeration to say that this old college laid the foundation of Catholic progress and enlightenment in the old garrisoned borough of Ballyshannon. Clergymen, physicians, and lawyers were there equipped with a literary and classical education that enabled them to achieve success in the Universities, and to embark on promising careers.

The rebuilding of ruined churches, and the readjustment of parochial boundaries, called for and received strenuous attention from this enlightened churchman, who further relieved the glaring inconvenience of conveying the remains of the dead unreasonable distances, by consecrating new cemeteries in remote districts, such as Gweedore. In a word there is no department in the whole sphere of his episcopal duties, where the activities of this prudent and practical Bishop may not be discerned in their results even at the present day, and there is scarcely a single parish that does not bear some trace of his beneficent energy.

In 1776, Dr. O'Reilly, burdened with years and labour, applied to the Holy See to sanction the appointment of a Coadjutor, with the result that the Rev. Anthony Coyle, Professor in the Irish College, Paris, and already Vicar-General of the diocese, was chosen for that dignity. This election was confirmed, with the right of succession, by Papal Brief, dated 27th April, 1777. Dr. O'Reilly's house

Donegal County Library Service

stood on the convent site, and the " Bishop's Well " was largely patronised for table water, till about twenty years ago.

XL

Anthony Coyle (1782-1801)

The first Bishop who took up residence in the parish of Conwal, was Dr. Coyle, who was elected Coadjutor, with the right of succession, to Dr. O'Reilly in 1777. Though Mevagh was the cradle of the O'Coyles, some of the new Bishop's immediate relatives resided at this time in the neighbourhood of Letterkenny, and it was here the consecration ceremony took place, shorn of its imposing splendour of ceremonial, inasmuch as the consecrating prelate was unattended by two Assistant Bishops, two parish priests taking their place, and there was no concourse of clergy or laity. Of course, the contingency of the scarcity of Bishops was specially provided for in the Papal Brief of appointment, and indeed the superfluous clause, authorising the Bishop-Elect to substitute two priests, was still retained in similar documents, as long as Ireland remained under the direct jurisdiction of the Propaganda ; that is, till quite recently. But the point is of interest, seeing that it was put forward as rendering the consecration irregular, though, of course, not invalid, on the occasion of the notorious dispute between the Bishop and Father Harkin about the benefice of Conwal, to which the latter clergyman had been canonically appointed by Dr. O'Reilly. The Primate, Dr. Blake, was an absentee, and the Bishop of Ossory, Dr. Troy, was exercising the jurisdiction and occupying the position of Apostolic Delegate. This dignitary appointed a commission of inquiry, and the result was the complete vindication of the Coadjutor's action in regard to his consecration, and the

Donegal County Library Service

confirmation of Father Harkin's indefeasible right to his parish. In a subsequent case, however, the Bishop failed to appear before a Synodal Court in Armagh, and the parish priest, who had appealed against his disturbance from the benefice of Stranorlar, was reinstated, for the moment only, Dr. Troy recommending that arbitrators should decide the question of allocating the income accumulated during the enforced vacancy. During all this time, notwithstanding these distracting anxieties, the cultured prelate laboured assiduously in enforcing discipline, and his conference charges to his clergy, which are still extant, are convincing testimony of his great learning and zeal. He occupied a handsome villa on a site opposite the east gate of the Ballymacool demesne, where he died in January, 1801. A classical academy was established in Letterkenny, for the first time, by this distinguished prelate, who dedicated his leisure moments to teaching there; and many young men, who afterwards occupied with honour and dignity the most exalted positions, received their early training and inspiration under the modest roof of Dr. Coyle's school.

In the end of his days, for four years, a Coadjutor Bishop, Dr. James Dillon, previously Dean of Armagh, had been discharging the more exacting duties of the episcopal office in Raphoe, and had resided in Ballyshannon. But on the occurrence of a vacancy in the See of Kilmore, this prelate was translated to Cavan, in 1801, and, at the instance of the famous Earl of Bristol, on behalf of the English Government, the Rev. John M'Elroy was appointed to Raphoe by Papal Brief, dated 18th January, 1801, just three days before Dr. Coyle's death. However, the Bishop-Elect was never consecrated, as he contracted a malignant disease, to which he succumbed in the beginning of the following year.

Donegal County Library Service

Dr. Coyle was an ardent advocate of the Union, and the English Government would appear to have made special efforts to secure a pliable successor. The Earl of Bristol, then in Rome, appealed to Cardinal Serdil, Prefect of the Propaganda, on the 1st of May, 1801, in favour of Dr. M'Elroy, stating that he represented the wishes of the Crown in soliciting his appointment.

The prolonged dispute between Dr. Coyle and Father Mac Devitt, regarding the benefice of Glenfinn, will be fully dealt with in the chapter on that parish. The remains of this scholarly but autocratic Bishop repose beneath a massive and inartistic monument in the Temple-douglas graveyard.

The Will of the Most Rev. Dr. Coyle is a most edifying document; and possesses great interest, not merely for local readers, but for Catholics generally, seeing that it reveals the illustrious prelate as a man who practised apostolic poverty during life, and made the poor heirs of the trifling fortune he owned at death. This Will was signed on the 1st of January, 1801, and he died three weeks after, on the 21st of the same month. His executors herein named were the Rev. Hugh Kerrigan, P.P., Stranorlar, and the Rev. John Mac Elwee, P.P., Clondavaddog.

"*In the Name of God. Amen.*

"I, Anthony Coyle, R. Catholic Bishop of Raphoe, sick in body, though sound in understanding and recollection, after recommending my soul to God, through the infinite merits of Jesus Christ and the intercession of the ever blessed Queen of Heaven, do make this my last Will and Testament.

"All my household property, together with two cows now in my actual possession, to be disposed of by public

Donegal County Library Service

auction for ready money; one cream ewer, one table spoon with the tea-spoons that are in being, and one silver-mounted cocoa-nut excepted, which I bequeath to Margaret Callaghan, my cousin. My books to be sold by two priests, and to be given for Masses for my intention according to their value. My gold watch I leave to the Rev. Anthony Coyle together with my chalice, vestments, etc. I allow that my cousin, Margaret Callaghan's cow and calf may be fothered out of this place, the hay, if any remains, to be sold. I desire that there shall not be a nail drawn from any fixture in the body of the house. Margaret Callaghan's bed is her own property, and let her carry off her clothes-press, chest, and boxes, with the small new table, two chairs and one of the mahogany little tables, a copper pan, her tea things, plates and dishes, one small pot, and let no man molest her. And all the money to be made out of those goods and chattels, shall be received immediately by Owen Collins (Ballymacool), gentleman farmer, and Andrew Fullerton of Letterkenny, and given to the poor at the will and option of my executors, Rev. John Mac Elwee and Rev. Hugh Kerrigan, without distinction of people or persons, except their necessity. In witness whereof, given under my hand.

"A. COYLE."

It will be remembered that Castlereagh, in his unprincipled and treacherous intrigues to accomplish the passing of the Act of Union in 1800, held out to the Catholic Hierarchy and clergy of Ireland the bribe of assured and inflated incomes from the British Treasury. Therefore, with a view to ascertaining the figures and sources of their present revenues, he opened up a confidential correspondence with some of the prelates, who were favourable to his nefarious project. Primate O'Reilly then circularised

Donegal County Library Service

the Bishops of the Ulster province, and elicited the following interesting reply from Dr. Coyle, Bishop of Raphoe. In this letter, it will be noted that no trace is discernible of an effort to exaggerate the annual incomes or fees, though we find it often asserted that the Bishops studiously set forth fictitious figures with the hope of securing fat salaries from the Government for themselves and their priests.

"Return of the State of the Roman Catholic Church in the Diocese of Raphoe, as given in a Letter from the Rev. Dr. A. Coyle, Roman Catholic Ordinary, to the Rev. Dr. Richard O'Reilly, of Drogheda :—

The R.C. Bishop receives from 22 Parish Priests, at £1 10*s.*		£33
From Letterkenny Parish held *in commendam*	about	£90
From Marriage Licenses . .	about	£77
		£200

"There are in the Diocese 22 Parish Priests. The average annual income of each does not exceed £55. There are 12 Curates ; they live with the Parish Priests, and receive some contributions from the people. Five or six more are wanted.

"There are two Regular Priests in the Diocese, one a Dominican and the other a Franciscan. They occasionally assist the Parochial Clergy in the exercise of their functions, and are supported by the voluntary oblations of the people."*

* *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh,* vol. iv. p. 112.

Donegal County Library Service

XLI

Peter Mac Laughlin (1802-1819)

The clergy of Raphoe found themselves unable to arrive at anything like a unanimous choice of a successor from among their own ranks. Besides, Dr. M'Elroy's selection, as Coadjutor, had been ratified by His Holiness three days before Dr. Coyle's death, and it would naturally be expected that the Coadjutor-Elect should be promoted to the see. These difficulties delayed an appointment; but at length, on the recommendation of Primate Richard O'Reilly, the Dean of Derry, the Very Rev. Peter Mac Laughlin, P.P., Omagh, was chosen by the Propaganda on the 12th of April, and formally appointed by the Holy Father, on the 25th of the same month, 1802. His consecration took place some eight months after, on the 6th of December; and he immediately settled down in Ballyshannon, vigorously combining the conscientious discharge of his episcopal duties with the parochial work of a zealous missionary priest. The existing pastor was the Rev. John Kelly, who remained undisturbed in his benefice till his death in 1805. However, the Bishop at once proceeded, in virtue of his superior authority, to renovate, extend, and embellish the old parish church of Ballyshannon. Born in 1760, he was then only forty-two years, and was a man of grand physique and exhaustless energy. He personally instructed in philosophy and theology relays of candidates for the ministry; he preached every Sunday very forceful discourses; he visited frequently the remotest parishes of his scattered diocese; and, at the same time, he pushed forward the building and repairing of churches with characteristic vigour.

Difficulties, of course, presented themselves; and very possibly his zeal outran his prudence, and prevented him

Donegal County Library Service

from forming beforehand a matured calculation of the reception his proposals for raising the necessary funds would be accorded by the various classes and individuals among his hearers. Whatever may have been the cause, whether it was the unwisdom of introducing an objectionable and sudden innovation, or the riotous disposition of a man inured to "secret society" campaigning, the good prelate soon found himself in disedifying and critical strife with a conscienceless faction, under the leadership of a man named Philip Boyle. Phil was originally a shoemaker, but had recently acquired house property, and was thus enabled to regale his supporters with stimulants. The war was first publicly proclaimed in St. Patrick's Church in 1803, when his Lordship was only a year in the diocese, and the last battle was fought in the Assize Court at Lifford five years subsequently.

The Bishop excommunicated and interdicted the recalcitrant standard-bearer of the disturbers at last; and, in justification of this extreme measure, it is gratifying to the Catholic reader to know that the gentle and amiable Dr. Murphy, Bishop of Clogher, unhesitatingly co-operated with his brother of Raphoe. He most emphatically inhibited his clergy from administering the Sacraments, and his people from giving any countenance, to the outlaw. Randal Kieran, a barrister engaged in the case against Dr. Mac Laughlin, published, in pamphlet form, the facts leading up to the lawsuit, and the details of the trial, including the judge's envenomed onslaught on the Bishop, both in his personal and in his official capacity.

At that period, there was a large body of the military, cavalry and artillery, stationed in the town; and, as the Bishop very frequently appealed to the Catholic girls to avoid their company, both officers and men resented these repeated admonitions, and were determined to have

Donegal County Library Service

revenge. Hence, when the redoubtable Phil arose in the church, and protested against the Bishop's action and address, he reckoned on the support of the aggrieved military, who were present at Mass. But on this particular occasion, it was a Limerick company of Catholic soldiers who attended, under Colonel Ashe, himself a warm and devout Catholic, who afterwards volunteered strong evidence on the Bishop's behalf. We now proceed to summarise the facts of the case detailed by Randal Kieran in his most interesting pamphlet, a copy of which is in the Halliday Collection, Royal Irish Academy.

In 1803 Dr. Mac Laughlin erected a gallery in the nave of the church, and in 1804 he erected two others in the transepts. In order to raise funds to defray the cost involved in these substantial additions, he proceeded to rent the pews on the new galleries to the parishioners who could afford to pay the higher fees, and who would thus be entitled to warn off the poorer section of the community. This "auctioning of the seats," by the way, is not unheard of in our own day: it was practised in Gweedore till very recently, and no complaints of any abuse in the matter were ever heard. There was ample room for all hearers in the church, and it was not so unnatural or unjust that those who wished to secure the most comfortable seats, should pay an additional fee into the common fund.

Philip Boyle objected publicly, and in a very offensive manner, and after a time became so aggressive that the Bishop felt himself obliged to have recourse to excommunication. Boyle then sought the ministrations of the Clogher priests, but their Bishop forbade them to admit him to the Sacraments. This unpleasant state of things continued for more than five years, until some designing enemies of the Church induced the unfortunate culprit to bring the Bishop into court on the charge of slander.

Donegal County Library Service

Boyle claimed £1,000, and had on his side the tremendous advantage of an Orange judge and Orange jury. The few Catholics whose names appeared on the panel, were peremptorily ordered by the Crown to stand aside; and Baron MacClelland, the judge, was infinitely more scathing in his condemnation of Dr. Mac Laughlin's "audacity in daring to usurp the exclusive function of a *bishop*, in pronouncing sentence of excommunication," than even the Orange counsel for the complainant. The special jury brought in a verdict for Boyle, and assessed the damages at £125. Catholic Emancipation was badly needed!

The holy and uncompromising prelate emerged from this anxious ordeal not only with a moral victory, but with enhanced popularity. Clergy and laity hastened to pour their sympathy into his ears and their guineas into his depleted coffers. In 1819, Dr. Charles O'Donnell, Bishop of Derry, became incapacitated by age and infirmity, and the Propaganda assigned the administration of that diocese to the saintly Dr. Mac Laughlin. The priests and people of Raphoe accompanied him, in tearful regret, as far as the frontier of the diocese; and from that point the Derry clergy and representative laymen conducted him in triumph back to his native see.

A few salient facts and statements in connection with this celebrated trial, will enable the reader to form a just estimate of the respective characters of the Bishop, Phil Boyle, and Baron MacClelland.

1. The immediate cause of the scandalous riot in St. Patrick's Church, Ballyshannon, on Sunday, the 10th of March, 1804, was Boyle's public contradiction of a statement made by the Rev. Joseph Hannigan, C.C., which Boyle designated a lie. The Bishop reproved Boyle in gentle tones, and merely remarked that he would pardon all personal insults offered to himself, but that he could not

Donegal County Library Service

permit an affront to his clergy in the public church. Mrs. Phil Boyle had asked Father Hannigan to convey to his Lordship that Phil would give £2 for a front pew ; Phil exclaimed that this statement was a lie. "Come on, boys," he proceeded, "now parishioners of Kilbarron, speak for yourselves. I will stand up for Kilbarron as long as I have a button on my coat." Then he rushed out of the church, and, meeting William Daly and thinking he belonged to his faction, he shouted to him "I have left them a hot house in there."

2. Even when the riot was at its height, the Bishop went no farther than to threaten that Boyle would be admonished on the three Sundays following, and that, if he failed to tender a public apology, he would be excommunicated on the fourth Sunday. His own solicitor wrote out a form of apology for him, which the Bishop enlarged by the addition of a promise to withdraw from the "combination." Boyle refused to accept the addition without the sanction of Mr. Fausset, a Protestant attorney, who was not then at home. On a later date, the Bishop, Boyle, and Michael Cassidy met at a Mr. Hanly's, when the Bishop declared he would accept any apology Mr. Fausset would dictate. Mr. Fausset then remarked to Boyle : "If I were to speak to a Bishop of my Church, as you spoke to Dr. Mac Laughlin, he would order his footman to kick me out." Boyle withdrew his case from Mr. Fausset and gave it to George Kernan. Michael Daly, one of Boyle's witnesses, in his sworn evidence, declared : "Dr. Mac Laughlin is a very quiet man. We have never had a better clergyman. A better could not be had for a flock."

3. It was a committee consisting of Dr. Shiel, Michael Cassidy, etc., that transacted the financial business, and arranged for the sale of the pews.

Donegal County Library Service

4. Baron MacClelland in his charge says: "The laws which empowered Catholic Bishops to excommunicate, have long since been repealed. None but Bishops of the Established Church have a legal right of exercising that authority. The sentence of excommunication pronounced by the defendant was not only an assumption of power contrary to law, but an usurpation of the rights of the Bishops of the Established Church, and an infringement of the jurisdiction of our ecclesiastical courts. What was the power and effect of excommunication in those dark times of bigotry and superstition, when Popes and prelates had absolute dominion? We have not heard that they have undergone any change. The Catholic Bishop assumes a power inconsistent with the liberty of the subject! This Bishop arrogated to himself the power and authority of a Protestant Bishop! To my mind the moment service was over, the Bishop should have retired to an ale-house or a market-house, and not have contaminated the house of God," etc.

Mr. Johnston, B.L., was so enraged by the bigoted interruptions of the judge, that his peroration was a defiant challenge rather than an appeal: "If the doctrine laid down by the learned judge is the law of this country, and the Catholic Hierarchy have no legal right to enforce discipline, it were better for the Roman Catholics of Ireland that the penal laws had never been repealed."

XLII

Patrick Mac Gettigan (1820-1861)

"James Gettins, Prebendary and Parish Priest of Drumhome," * was one of the signatories to the Petition

* *Archivium*, vi. 57.

Donegal County Library Service

addressed to the Holy See, in 1737, for the appointment of Dr. Bonaventure O'Gallagher, as Bishop of Raphoe. Patrick Mac Gettigan was a scion of the same old Catholic stock, and entered his name as Patrick Gettins, when he matriculated in Maynooth College, 13th December, 1804. He was born in Kilmacrenan parish about 1785, and received his primary education in a Protestant school in the village. His higher studies in preparation for Maynooth were pursued, first under a celebrated classical teacher, who presided over a sparsely-attended academy in Goal, and afterwards in Dr. Coyle's seminary at Letterkenny. In Maynooth he was distinguished both as a hardy athlete in the field, and, in the halls, as a gifted and ready exponent of theological and scriptural orthodoxy. O'Donovan tacitly admits his high authority as an archæologist, though he rejects his conclusions on two points regarding which he had consulted him.

His rival in capturing the suffrages of the parish priests for the vacant bishopric, which Dr. Mac Laughlin had resigned, was the Rev. Anthony Coyle, nephew of the worthy prelate of that name. The votes were so evenly divided that the Rev. John Gallagher, P.P., Kilcar, who arrived just as the scrutineers were about to present the figures to the Lord Primate, who presided, was enabled ever after to boast that it was he who gave the decisive vote, and thus "put the mitre on Dr. Mac Gettigan's head."

His administration of the diocese during the forty-one years of his episcopate was characterised by a spirit of prudent progressiveness and blameless impartiality. No doubt, in his latter days he was accused of a strong bias in favour of ecclesiastics who were natives of a certain privileged locality; but his severest critic never suggested that such predilection resulted in any unjust discrimina-

Donegal County Library Service

tion. The late Monsignor Mac Menamin always maintained that he was the best judge of character and the most impartial rewarder of merit, among the five Bishops under whom the Monsignor had served.

His devotion to the Holy See was as intense as it was sincere ; and on two occasions he received coveted honours from consecutive Pontiffs. At the Canonisation of the Japanese Martyrs in 1835, he was decorated by Gregory XVI with the insignia of Count of the Holy Roman Empire ; and, at the *Te Deum* celebrations following the solemn Definition of the Immaculate Conception, he was chosen by Pius IX as one of his Assistant Bishops, being one of the oldest prelates in attendance.

The most conspicuous and most eloquent memorial of his worth is the Loretto Convent in Letterkenny. In the cause of education he deprived himself of a happy, comfortable residence, and spent the sunset of his life in a rented house, far from the scenes and faces he loved. For five years before his lamented death, in 1861, which occurred in the modest seaside cottage he had occupied for twelve years at Rathmullan, he had a Coadjutor, whose assistance he rarely called upon, though the latter was a dear friend and the man of his own choice.

" The Venerable Patriarch of the Catholic Church in Ireland is no more. During his last moments he was assisted in his preparation for death by the Very Rev. Dean Feely and the Venerable Archdeacon Mac Cafferty. With resignation and peaceful confidence, he departed this life on Wednesday, May the 8th, 1861. Throughout the energetic campaign of Daniel O'Connell for freedom and the rights of conscience, Dr. Mac Gettigan took a most noted part, and was deemed the light of the North, and the father of his people. In the struggle for Emancipation, he was the soul of the Catholic movement in

Donegal County Library Service

Ulster, and received repeated votes of thanks for his eminent services from the Catholic Association. O'Connell often panegyrised his piety, patriotism, and talents; and Shiel, in his lofty tones, drew a glowing picture of his labours, and associated him with the immortal J. K. L. in the purity of his patriotism, the disinterestedness of his zeal, the soundness of his judgment, and the integrity of his character."—(*Catholic Directory*, 1862, p. 291.)

XLIII

Daniel Mac Gettigan (1861-1870)

Daniel Mac Gettigan was born in the townland of Drumdutton, parish of Mevagh, in 1815. His father was Magnus or Manus Mac Gettigan, and his mother was a respected scion of the O'Boyle sept, the herenachs of Clondahorkey, always associated with Fawker. He was educated in early years by a local teacher of great fame, and had already acquired a sound elementary training before he proceeded, at the age of fifteen years, to study classics, first in a private school near Mountcharles, and later in a Derry academy, presided over by an esteemed Presbyterian clergyman. As Clonard in Meath was the Mecca of aspirants to the sanctuary in Columba's days, so Navan was the famous finishing school, in Dr. Mac Gettigan's time and during many generations after, for Northern students designed for Maynooth. Dr. Power, the President, was an educationist, who commanded universal esteem, both for the uniform and brilliant success of his seminary in learning, and for his kindly supervision and the physical comforts that softened the rigour of discipline. After one year's strenuous study of Logic in Navan, he matriculated in Maynooth in 1833; and from his first entry into the

Donegal County Library Service

examination pulpit, his grand physique and towering intellect marked him out as a leading light in his class, combining an easy, confident manner with childlike simplicity and humility. At the close of his first year on the Dunboyne Establishment, he was ordained priest in 1839, but remained in college for another year to perfect his exhaustive studies of the Scriptures, Canon Law, and Theology.

His first missionary experience was acquired in Inver, where he resided, during his brief stay, in the same humble cottage with the old revered pastor, the Rev. Michael Mac Goldrick, in Gurteens. After nine or ten months, he was brought into immediate association with the Bishop, first as curate and later as Administrator in Letterkenny. Here he displayed a wonderful aptitude for the apostolic work of saving souls, mainly by practising St. Paul's simple maxim of becoming "all things to all men." A profound moral theologian, he presided at the clerical conferences, not merely with that inimitable dignity which was a part of his being, but with tact and resourcefulness, knowing when to be agreeable and when to be severe. His discourses were models of polished diction, and his letters rather grandiose and stilted, even when addressed to familiar friends. This habit was engendered by his innate humility, which stimulated him to do his very best on all occasions. It was a favourite custom with him to give children apples, and he invariably selected the most ruddy and luscious.

The most moving and outstanding incident of his life as curate in Letterkenny, was his sensational arrest for declining to divulge the name of a parishioner, who had made him the medium of conveying restitution for a horse to the rightful owner. Of course, the transaction was strictly confidential, but it does not transpire that

Donegal County Library Service

it was the immediate or even the remote result of sacramental confession. As the story is frequently related with erroneous details, it may be more satisfactory to transcribe here the account given in a contemporary newspaper, with one correction which the late Primate himself always accentuated when the event was referred to in his hearing:—"August 12th, 1845. Glenswilly, a mountain district adjoining Letterkenny, was then and long had been famous for the extensive manufacture of illicit whiskey carried on within its bounds. It sometimes happened that purchasers of the contraband article dishonestly failed to pay for what they had procured, knowing that a prosecution at law could not be obtained against them. In this predicament the distiller issued what was popularly termed a 'Glenswilly decree,' and seized by night a horse belonging to the man who refused to discharge his liabilities. As soon as the debt was paid, the horse was returned to the owner. It appears that the reverend Administrator of Letterkenny having been consulted confidentially in a case of this kind, restitution was made to the defrauded party on the recommendation of the priest. The affair having been brought under the notice of the magistrates of the district, Father Mac Gettigan was summoned to give evidence in the matter; and, on his refusal to name the guilty party, a warrant was issued against him on the ground that he had compromised a felony. The worthy priest—although his entire conduct in the matter had been outside the confessional—refused to betray the confidence reposed in him. He was arrested and confined in the county jail of Lifford, after spending a night in the Bridewell of Letterkenny, and finally conveyed to the Newgate Prison in Dublin. However, before the case came for trial, an informality was detected in the warrant by the priest's counsel, the

Donegal County Library Service

late Chief Baron Pigot, and his client was in consequence released." The error deprecated by the justice-loving Primate, consists in attributing to Chief Baron Pigot what was actually the work of Daniel O'Connell, who proffered further his professional services gratis, if Dr. Mac Gettigan would consent to the institution of legal proceedings against the magistrates, including J. R. Boyd, of Ballymacool, Chairman, for false imprisonment. To this proposal the forgiving clergyman returned a stern refusal, on the ground that such an action would savour of revengeful feelings, which were foreign to his kindly heart. Soon after this memorable episode in his life, he was appointed to Kilbarron in 1854, and constituted Vicar-General of the diocese. During his ten years of incessant labour in that parish, he enclosed and embellished the hitherto neglected graveyard of Assaroe Abbey, introduced the Mercy Nuns to Ballyshannon, and established suitable schools.

The question of electing a Coadjutor, with the right of succession to the old Bishop, had been long agitated among the senior clergy before a reluctant assent was extorted from him in 1855. On a few occasions the Lord Primate, Dr. Dixon, suggested to his Lordship that he needed, and had long since earned, a release from the more exacting and fatiguing duties of the episcopal office. But Dr. Mac Gettigan always replied that, mentally and physically, he was quite able to discharge all his official functions, and that he neither needed nor desired any assistance. In 1846, on the invitation of the Rev. Patrick Gallagher Adm.. Inver, Primate Crolly journeyed to Donegal to consecrate Frosses graveyard on the following Sunday. Dr. Mac Gettigan was forthcoming to welcome and to entertain his Grace in Donegal on Saturday, and on Sunday morning he had proceeded to Frosses, and con-

Donegal County Library Service

secrated the graveyard long before the Primate arrived on the scene. The congregation was immense; and, after High Mass, the eloquent Dr. Crolly invited the people to follow him from the overcrowded church to the hill north of the parochial house, where he delivered a most masterly discourse, still remembered in fragments by a few survivors of the memorable gathering.

A preponderating majority of the parish priests voted for the Rev. Daniel Mac Gettigan, P.P., Kilbarron; but the Rev. John Doherty, Dean Feely, Father Ramsay, Dr. Mulreany, and the Rev. Hugh Mac Fadden, senior, very strongly favoured the appointment of Dr. Kirby, the saintly Rector of the Irish College, Rome. Father Hugh O'Donnell, of Kilcar, was third on the list of competitors. The Bishops of the province recommended Dr. Daniel Mac Gettigan, whose formal appointment by the Holy See immediately followed. He was consecrated on the 18th of May, 1856, with the title of Bishop of Gera, *in partibus*. No more popular prelate ever wielded the crozier; clergy and laity idolised his magnificent and attractive personality. In 1870, during the Vatican Council, he was most reluctantly snatched from them, yielding only to the Holy Father's personal appeal, and elevated to the Primatial see of Armagh, which he adorned for the remaining seventeen years of his truly apostolic life. His energies were enfeebled by paralysis in 1887, but his great intellect was unclouded till the end. The expiring days of his patriarchal life were sweetened by the grateful attentions of his clergy and, above all, of his life-long friend, and Coadjutor after his own heart.

Donegal County Library Service

XLIV

James Mac Devitt (1871-1879)

The regret occasioned by Primate Mac Gettigan's translation to Armagh, was as universal as it was poignant; and it was a singular and surprising anomaly, much commented upon at the time, that the few important priests who had opposed his election, were the most profoundly grieved at his departure.

At the statutory meeting of the Parish Priests convened for the appointment of a Vicar Capitular, and presided over by the new Primate, Dean Feely was selected with absolute unanimity. But at the subsequent episcopal election, held in the October of that memorable year, 1870, no such unanimity of choice marked the proceedings. As a result, the scrutiny exhibited the Rev. Charles O'Donnell, P.P., Ardara, as *dignissimus*, Rev. James Mac Devitt, All Hallows College, as *dignior*, and the Rev. John Mac Menamin, P.P., Stranorlar, and Rev. James Mac Fadden, P.P., Cloghaneely, bracketed as *digni*. Early in the next year, the gentle and paternal Dr. Mac Devitt was called from his professor's chair in All Hallows to preside over his native diocese in the chair of St. Adamnan. Elected by the Propaganda on February the 10th, and approved by Pius the Ninth two days later, he was preconised on February the 13th. His consecration took place in the old pro-Cathedral of Letterkenny, on the 30th of April; and, without hesitation or delay, he applied himself vigorously to the introduction of most salutary reforms in the diocese. The institution of the Raphoe Diocesan Society and the building of parochial houses are two signal memorials of his progressive episcopate. No doubt, hasty decisions and inexperience of

Donegal County Library Service

missionary difficulties, somewhat impaired his popularity in some quarters. But these sporadic ebullitions of complaint were for ever stilled by the heavy wave of bitter grief that swept over the diocese, when he succumbed to an insidious attack of pneumonia on the 5th of January, 1879. His exemplary preparation for death crowned a useful and a brilliant episcopate.

XLV

Michael Logue (1879-1888)

The fruitful and exemplary life of Dr. Mac Devitt was cut short by an insidious attack of pneumonia in the January of 1879, to the heartfelt regret of all who knew him. And speculation as to his probable successor almost at once crystallized into the confident assumption that Dr. Logue's appointment was assured, without opposition or delay. In fact, at the election, so complete was the unanimity of voting in his favour that the unique spectacle was presented of a *dignissimus* and a *dignus*, with the comparative degree wanting. Never since the days of St. Ambrose was an episcopal election more unanimous, more popular, or more auspicious.

Born in Kilmacrenan, on the 1st of October, 1840, of esteemed and gifted parents, he was privileged as a child to tread the soil and visit the scenes hallowed by the great Columba's visits and supernatural illuminations, when he, too, was a child predestined to shed a lustre on the Church and the nation. And though the family permanently transferred their residence to Carrigart, while he was still very young, it was in Kilmacrennan, Letterkenny, and Buncrana, he amassed and matured that store of knowledge that enabled him to matriculate in

Donegal County Library Service

Maynooth in 1857, and that served as the solid foundation of his collegiate success. After his first year in Maynooth, he invariably stood highest on the prize-list, and so signally did he outdistance his classmates that, in Logic and on the Dunboyne, he was awarded the most exceptional distinction of a *Solus*.

In 1875 the Hierarchy unanimously appointed him to the Chair of Dogmatic Theology in the Irish College, Paris, where his luminous lectures were both appreciated and attentively followed during the eight years of his professorship in that illustrious seat of learning. During his holidays in Ireland, he had embraced with avidity every opportunity of performing missionary work. Hence, when he came to Glenswilly in 1874, it was not as an inexperienced tyro, but as a seasoned missioner, that he entered on the discharge of his arduous task. But the Bishops clamoured for his enlightening and refining services on the College staff in Maynooth ; and the impressions there produced on the students of the day by his lucid expositions, his humility of demeanour, and his nobility of character, will remain indelibly imprinted on their memory, as long as they are able to admire what is best in man.

In the year 1879, on the 20th of July, the present illustrious Primate, Cardinal Logue, was consecrated Bishop of Raphoe in the pro-Cathedral of Letterkenny, with the full-hearted acclamation of clergy and laity, whose high estimate of his worth has been amply vindicated by his saintly life, his prudent administration, and the verdict of all Christendom. Scarcely had he settled down in the chair of St. Adamnan, when the spectre of famine drove his people in multitudes to seek his powerful aid in combating its threatened ravages. The Hebrews in similar plight were not more unerringly directed by the heavenly

Donegal County Library Service

voice that commanded them to "go to Joseph." Within fifteen months £30,000 had been well and wisely dispensed through his hands, and the most carping critic failed to find a flaw in the machinery of selection and distribution. Then came the crucial task of suggesting equitable boundaries for the four Parliamentary constituencies to be created in the county in 1884, when his Eminence's arrangement was bodily accepted by Thomas Sexton, and approved in the main by Unionist and Nationalist alike.

Side by side with the material and political interests of his people, higher education in the diocese clamoured for immediate and radical overhauling. The Intermediate Act had been launched on its exacting career less than twelve months before his accession to the see, and absolutely no preparation had been made to bring the advantages of the Act within the reach of the brilliant boys of Tirconaill. No doubt, a thoroughly efficient and capable headmaster, in the person of Francis Gallagher, a distinguished student of Maynooth and the Catholic University, had been conducting the High School with great success until he was attacked by a fatal illness just before Dr. Mac Devitt's death. The new Bishop decided to appoint an ecclesiastic in succession to Mr. Gallagher, and to constitute the existing premises a temporary seminary for the diocese; but the prospect of a respectable muster of students was as gloomy as the old building itself. However, the first year's Intermediate results proved an effective advertisement and the best talent in Donegal sought growth and culture within the walls of this primitive and uninviting academy.

His Eminence had been long and anxiously casting about for a desirable site to build a new seminary upon, but his premier desire and ruling ambition was the erection of a worthy cathedral. The late Primate had already made

Donegal County Library Service

an abortive start, while he was Bishop of Raphoe; but Dr. Logue was determined that posterity should never say of him, "This man began to build and was not able to finish." However, he secured the nucleus of a building fund for the purpose, perhaps not more than £5,000, before his sudden translation to Armagh; but, of course, he had only made a beginning, and had not yet tapped the ordinary sources of benefaction, domestic or foreign.

"As the Primate was in a very feeble state of health, he applied to the Holy See for a Coadjutor, and, on the request being granted, the parish priests of the archdiocese met in the Cathedral of Armagh on January the 19th, 1887, and nominated as *dignissimus* the Bishop of Raphoe, Dr. Logue, who was appointed by Propaganda election on the 13th of April, the same year." * However, just as in Primate Mac Gettigan's case, it was only the link of residence that was broken; his Eminence still retains a place in the hearts and prayers of the clergy and people of Raphoe; his triumph is ever their pride.

XLVI

Patrick O'Donnell (1888)

The present worthy occupant of the episcopal chair of St. Adamnan, was born in Kilraine, near Glenties, in 1856; and received his early education from Mr. Fisher, Drimnacross N.S., and Mr. Francis Gallagher, High School, Letterkenny. His father, Dan O'Donnell, who died on the 13th of October, 1919, belonged to the Nactan branch of the O'Donnells, and his mother, Mary Breslin, was a member of the old herenach family of that name, the oldest in Inniskeel. Having secured first place at the

* Stuart's *Armagh*, 317.

Donegal County Library Service

time-honoured concursus for ecclesiastical candidates for the ministry, held in Letterkenny, in July, 1873, he was at first nominated to a place in the Propaganda College, Rome, but was sent by the Bishop, Dr. Mac Devitt, a few months later, to the Catholic University in Dublin. Having there studied under Dr. Casey and other distinguished professors for two years with very remarkable success, he passed for the Physics Class in Maynooth in 1875. It is superfluous to state that he won the highest honours in all his classes, and that his merits entitled him to the unique distinction of being the very first student nominated in 1879 to the revived Dunboyne Establishment, that had been closed since 1870. Ordained to the priesthood in 1880, he was at once promoted to a Chair of Theology, after an exceptionally brilliant thesis, and four years after succeeded Dr. Healy as Prefect of the Dunboyne. Soon as his native diocese was rendered vacant by Dr. Logue's preferment to the Primacy, all eyes looked to the Prefect of the Dunboyne as his assured successor. The sweeping plurality of votes he received and the unhesitating support of the Ulster Bishops, were results that had been universally reckoned on, and surprised nobody. Monsignor Mac Menamin, the very capable Vicar-Capitular, was an enthusiastic admirer, and even the *dignior*, the late Dean Mac Fadden, and the *dignus*, Monsignor Mac Glynn, cast their votes for Dr. O'Donnell.

As a sympathetic and capable member of the Congested Districts Board since its inception, he has been the originator of countless projects for promoting the prosperity and elevating the status of the hitherto uneconomic farmer and cottier in every county along the whole western seaboard. As Rector of the Catholic University, Member of the Governing Body of the National University, Representative of the Bishops on the Killanin Commission, and

Donegal County Library Service

in other many-sided capacities, he has made the whole nation his debtor in the cause of education.

In Nationalist political effort, his name had become a household word long before the unanimous voice of the Irish race in every land called upon him to preside at the memorable Convention in 1896. Mostly successful and always hopeful, he may again be summoned by the same voice to preside over a re-union of the now disjointed sections, and receive from a united and free nation the congratulations his lifelong labours and sacrifices must claim as the meed of common gratitude.

Dr. O'Donnell has signalised every year of his long episcopacy by striking and enduring monuments of his tireless energy and indomitable courage. No parish in the diocese has failed to profit from his vigilant attention to the material as well as the spiritual needs and comforts of his clergy and people. The magnificent Cathedral, St. Eunan's College, the Monastery Schools, the Loretto Schools, and St. Columba's Industrial School, are works of gigantic magnitude and usefulness; while, simultaneously with these engrossing undertakings, churches and schools have sprung up everywhere, as if by magic, "for the glory of God and the honour of Erin."

Consecrated in the old pro-Cathedral on the 3rd of April, 1888, he has already ruled the diocese for more than thirty years in unruffled harmony with clergy and laity. "Praise not a man in his own lifetime" is a scriptural maxim, as useful in the practical relations of social existence as it is in its spiritual application. But, as the writer's candle and inkstand may be removed before the time arrives for penning his epitaph, he has ventured to indicate merely a few chapter-headings for a biography worthy of this illustrious pillar of the Irish Church and nationhood.

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Photo by] [*Valentine*

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CHAPTER VII

The Deans of Raphoe

A very striking and beautiful engraving of the Seal of the Dean and Chapter of Raphoe is presented in Harris's Ware. It bears an open book and is inscribed "Sig. com. dec. et cap. St. Eun. Rap.," but, as the episcopal Seal beside it is dated 1716, it is of no historical value. To attempt to compile a complete list of the Deans of Raphoe, in the absence of any official register, would be to undertake a foolish and a futile task. Casually, in the *Four Masters* and in Roman documents, the name of a Dean is mentioned now and again in connection with an appointment to the episcopacy, or with some outstanding incident of public interest. Nor do we even possess any precise information as to the date at which the Raphoe Chapter was first instituted. The first distinct evidence of its existence known to the writer is contained in a Papal Brief dated the 18th of May, 1198, and addressed to the Primate of the day. In this document Pope Innocent III insists that the Bishop of Raphoe, whose resignation the Roman Pontiff had received, but declined for the moment to accept, should personally tender his abdication to the Primate, who was enjoined to see that it was entirely spontaneous; and that then, and then only, the *Chapter* of the Cathedral should proceed to choose a successor by canonical election: "Praeterea injungas Capitulo ipsius ecclesiae," etc. This letter has been reproduced at full length in the chapter on the Bishops. From *Colton's Visitation* (xv. and xxx.)

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we learn that (1) Florence was Dean of Raphoe in 1397, identical with Laurence (Loghlin) O'Gallagher afterwards Bishop, 1419. (2) In 1428 Cornelius Mac Bride ;* (3) 1442, Donal O'Donnell ; † 1484 (4) Cornelius Mac Carmacain ; ‡ (5) 1520, Rory O'Donnell, afterwards Bishop of Derry ; (6) 1534, Edmund O'Gallagher (Brady) ; (7) 1580, Owen O'Gallagher (*Four Masters*) ; (8) 1600, Hugh Donnelly (*Archivium*, ii. 285) ; (9) 1660, John Dorrian (*Spic. Oss.*, ii. 203) ; (10) Andrew O'Dunlevy, 1737 (*Archivium*, vi. 38) ; (11) 1760, John Garvey (Inscription) ; (12) 1805, Hugh Kerrigan ; (13) 1825, George Quigley ; (14) 1838, John Feely ; (15) 1901, Hugh Mac Fadden ; (16) 1909, Charles Mac Glynn ; and (17) 1919, Bernard Kelly.

Some few additional names are mentioned in Papal documents, but, apart from rare cases of recorded appointments, the title, Dean of Raphoe, alone occurs, neither Christian name nor surname being expressed. The following two Papal Mandates call for some words of elucidation, seeing that they involve an apparent contradiction :—" 1420. Mandate to the Dean of Armagh, etc., to collate upon Cornelius Mac Bride, Canon, the Deanery of Raphoe, void by the death of Florence Garvey " § ; " 1425. Mandate etc., to assign to Nicholas Magee, Rector of Conwal, the Deanery of Raphoe, a major elective dignity with cure, vacant by the death of Renelinus O'Deery, removing Cornelius Mac Bride, who was appointed to succeed Fergal Magee." ||

First of all, it is to be borne in mind that the Papal mandatory was enjoined to set up a court of inquiry, and that sentence was to be pronounced in accordance with ascertained facts. Cornelius Mac Bride was not

* Swaine's *Register*.
† *Colton's Visitation*.
‡ Ware, 274.
§ *Cal. Pap. Reg.* v. 149.
|| Ib. vii. 404.

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deposed, but continued to enjoy the dignity and fruits of his office for fifteen years further, and was then promoted to the episcopacy. The second precaution, suggested by a close investigation of these appeals to Rome, is that, as the appellant invariably claims the benefice or dignity of which he seeks to deprive the existing holder, his allegations need close sifting, and frequently vanish before the light. Thus we discover that Rendal O'Deery, Fergal Magee, Florence Garvey, and Cornelius Mac Bride were Deans, and that Nicholas Magee failed to reveal any canonical flaw in the appointment, or tenure, of Cornelius Mac Bride.

Another postulant for the Deanery presented himself at Rome in 1432, basing his arraignment of Cornelius on a charge of simony, and alleging that Cornelius had bought off the opposition of Nicholas Magee by sharing with him the annual revenues. The claimant, in this instance, was Donal Mac Menamin O'Donnell, rector of Clondahorky, who declared that he had no hope of obtaining justice in the city or diocese of Raphoe, owing to the formidable influence of Cornelius.* Very prudently, indeed, the Holy See changed the venue, and the Papal Mandate was addressed to the Archdeacon of Derry. These few instances will suffice to give the reader an idea of the liberal spirit that pervaded the ecclesiastical rulers, and of the wisdom and justice of their decisions. James Marshal was introduced into the diocese as Dean by Luke Plunkett in 1673, but Basil Brooke soon had him arrested and transported.†

The Roman Briefs, on parchment, sanctioning the nominations of Dean Feely and of the dignitaries, whose names follow his, are still extant; and the preceding appointments are thoroughly well authenticated. But some other

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* viii. 454. † Burke's *Irish Priests*, p. 35.

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distinguished pastors, for instance, the Rev. Peter Gallagher, P.P., Clondavaddog (died 1837), have had the title of Dean bestowed upon them by the popular voice, while it is pretty certain they were never canonically promoted to that dignity. The militant and ambitious Dean, whose efforts to grasp the crozier in 1560 were thwarted by David Wolfe's exposure of his designing intrigues, was probably the unworthy Owen O'Gallagher mentioned in the *Annals*.

The findings of the 1609 Inquisition on the subject of the Dean's annual revenues may be epitomised as follows :—

1. In his dual capacity, as both Parson and Vicar, the Dean was entitled to receive two-thirds of the rents on the herenach lands, and two-thirds of the tithes collected from the non-herenach tenants, in the Stranorlar or Killteevoge parish, which was then undivided, and comprised the two modern parishes bearing these names. Moreover, "there belongeth to the Deane as viccar of the said parishe one gorte of gleabe," the more substantial revenues aforementioned being portion of his receipts "in right of this deanrie."

2. In Leck, or Lackovenan, as this parish is designated in the Inquisition, the ecclesiastical conditions were precisely similar in regard to the automatic accession of the Dean to the two-fold office of Parson and Vicar ; but there were two rather important points of difference. Here there was no gort allocated to the pastor under any title, and secondly, the Dean was obliged to maintain a curate in residence at his own unsubsidised expense.

3. "The Deane of Raphoe is parson and viccar of the parishe of Killygarvan, in right of his deanrie. Twoe third partes of the tiethes are paid to the sayde deane as parson and viccar here, and thother third parte to

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the busshop of Raphoe. In the saide parishe is a chappell without any gleabe belonginge thereunto save onely one small gorte which hath bene converted to a churchyard." The parish was exceedingly small "conteyninge in temporall landes twoe ballibets," and no termon or herenach land whatever. St. Garvan, being nowise related to the princes of Tirconaill, was allotted a very insignificant plot of land, such as was usually bestowed upon an anchoret, entirely devoted to a contemplative life, and discharging neither missionary nor educational functions. At the date of the Inquisition, the "one quarter and a third parte of a quarter belonginge to the dissolved abbaye of Ramollan" had been confiscated and bestowed upon Sir Richard Bingley as a reward for sacrilege and plunder.

It must not be forgotten, however, that, from the proceeds of his parochial appurtenances, the Dean was obliged to maintain a curate in perpetual residence, and to contribute two-thirds of the costs involved in keeping the "chappell" in repair.

4. "The Carohardeverne—that is, the quarter called Ardvarnock Glebe in Raphoe parish—properely belonges to the deane of Raphoe, who in that respect is att his owne chardge to entertayne the whole clergie the first day and night att any tyme when a convocation shall be called."

5. "Half the quarter of Cooleaughin (Coolaghy) belongeth to the deane of Raphoe."

6. "There is also a parcell of glebe land called Fodrialtor (Finnadork Glebe) belonging to the saide (deane as viccar)."

It cannot be denied that the definition of *dean*, which the older generation were obliged to commit to memory from the Spelling-Book that was none too soon *superseded* by Sullivan's, some sixty years ago, was as accurate as it was pithy, as regards both dignity and emoluments,

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in this country—"D-a-n-e=from Denmark; D-e-a-n= next to a Bishop." Nor can it be wondered at, that the exalted position was keenly ambitioned, and usually occupied by an O'Donnell or an O'Gallagher, down to the era of spoliation.

The Dean, in virtue of his office, was President of the Chapter; but, if we may regard the recorded arrangements prevailing in 1600 as typifying the custom, he was not usually Vicar-General of the diocese; for, in the document already referred to, bearing date the 15th July in that year, we find the dual title and jurisdiction of Vicar-General and *Officialis* attributed to an entirely distinct personage, the Dean being Hugh O'Donnell, and the Vicar-General Odo Donnelly.

This Hugh O'Donnell resisted the advances of the Government and of Bishop Montgomery, and, in 1603, a more accommodating import from Scotland, bearing the celestial name of John Allbright, was nominated by the new King to the dignity of Dean of Raphoe (*Lib. Mun.*); but the atmosphere was uncongenial for this Calvinistic star, and Rory O'Donnell's submission extinguished his "brightness." But in 1609 Rory had gone, Dean O'Donnell was dead, and the emoluments were alluring; still it was useless to import an incumbent until a congregation could be imported with him. Hence, the King's choice fell on the Rev. Phelim O'Dogherty (*Lib. Mun.*), who was assumed to be an enemy of the O'Donnell dynasty and a pliable instrument in the hands of the Government. Cotton's remarks are worth quoting, seeing that they set forth clearly the motive that prompted the appointment: "His patent bears date July 22. By an Inquisition holden in 1609, it was found that the Dean of Raphoe was seized of the lands of Carohordoverne (Ardvarnock) in Raphoe parish, and that for this he was bound

Donegal County Library Service

to entertain, at his own charge, the first day and night at any time when a convocation should be called." The lands were all-important in the eyes of the grabbers ; but what we would like to ascertain, and what he fails to make clear, is whether the Rev. Phelim Doherty at any time accepted the preferment. And it is not difficult to detect a *suppressio veri* in his attempted explanation of the anomalous issue of two distinct patents in two consecutive years to Phelim Doherty's successor in title. "1622. Archibald Adair, M.A., was made Dean by patent dated November 4. It appears that a second patent was issued for him in the following March on account of the death of his predecessor, who perhaps had absented himself without licence." The predecessor was, of course, Phelim, and it is more than probable that he was never present at any religious rite under the new religion, and never forsook the old. There being no congregation of the planters till about 1620, he would not have been called upon even to read the Book of Common Prayer ; but there is absolutely no proof that he ever gave any countenance to "the made-in-Germany" doctrines. Archibald would be an infinitely more popular name for a minister, with the Scottish settlers, than the Celtic-sounding Phelimy.

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CHAPTER VIII

The Archdeacons of Raphoe

Formerly, the Archdeaconship was not invariably associated with any particular parish, but still we find it mostly restricted to the more substantial benefices. For example, in the year 1600, the Very Rev. Hugh Donnelly was Archdeacon, Vicar-General, and Parish Priest of Inver. Yet, in 1735, the Very Rev. James Gallagher, Vicar-General and Archdeacon, was parish priest of Kilmacrenan, but it is very doubtful whether a similar honour was ever conferred on Kilmacrenan before or after that date. The O'Gallagher family were very powerful in the Termon district at that period, and for a century afterwards they contributed many eminent members to the Raphoe priesthood.

It has been very persistently maintained by the Protestant ecclesiastical authorities in the Raphoe diocese, that up to the time when their religion was transplanted into the uncongenial soil of Tirconaill, there had been only four prebendaries, with the Dean and Archdeacon, in the old Catholic Chapter. Harris, Cotton, and other great writers, pretty unanimously, but not very decidedly, support that contention, though no positive arguments can be advanced in its support. In the few meagre references to the Chapter discoverable in extant documents, only four canonries are expressly mentioned; and from this fact it was concluded that only four existed. But it is abundantly demonstrable from a cursory examination of

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the signatures to a Petition published last year in the *Archivium* (vol. vi. p. 58) that there were at all times five prebends at least in this diocese. No doubt, the document is dated the 15th of June, 1737, more than a century after the Catholic cathedral had been forcibly seized upon and converted to uses which the votaries of St. Eunan could only look upon with impotent horror. But it is inconceivable that the Catholic Church, so conservative in all her institutions and practices, should enlarge the number of dignitaries at a period of galling persecution, when coercion and poverty clamoured for curtailment. Besides, the extent of herenach land in Inniskeel would naturally suggest its eligibility as a prebend from the very beginning.

The reader will not fail to remark with what care and explicitness the title of the canonry is appended to his name by each of the signatories:—

James Gettins, Prebendary and Parish Priest of Drumhome.

Conal MacLaughlin, Prebendary and Parish Priest of Inniskeel.

Patrick Mac Groarty, Prebendary of Inver and Parish Priest of Killybegs and Killaghtee.

Francis Mac Devitt, Bachelor of Theology, Prebendary Canon and Parish Priest of Conwal and Aughaninshin.

Eugene O'Boyle, Prebendary of Clondahorkey and Parish Priest of Clondavaddog.

Cotton discovers no names of Archdeacons before the Plantation except that of Thomas O'Nahan, who became Bishop, and died in 1306. The Register of Prene records that Laurence O'Gallagher had been Archdeacon, in 1442, when he was promoted to the Deanship. Odo Donnelly,

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V.G. in 1600, must have been Archdeacon as he is not styled Prebendary, and, on similar grounds, James Gallagher, V.G., must be accounted Archdeacon in 1737. For an entire century after that date there is no trace of an Archdeacon in history or tradition, but in the Register of 1836 we encounter the entry, "Rev. John Feely, P.P., Raphoe, Archdeacon." The Rev. George Quigley, P.P., Inniskeel, had recently died, and the vacancy in the Deanship remained unfilled until the Rev. J. Feely's preferment was sanctioned, as above stated.

The Rev. Eugene Mac Cafferty, P.P., Donegal, was nominated for the dignity in succession to the Rev. John Feely, and was commonly known as Archdeacon Mac Cafferty, but it is very questionable whether the title was ever canonically conferred on that esteemed pastor. In fact, it is much more probable that the canonical title remained in abeyance till the completion of the new cathedral in 1901, when the Chapter was "erected or restored," as the Consistorial Decree expresses it, and the Very Rev. James Mac Fadden, P.P., Tullaghobegley, was installed in the office of Archdeacon. On his death, in 1908, Monsignor Mac Glynn, V.G., Stranorlar, was duly invested with the dignity, which he enjoyed until Monsignor Mac Fadden's death in 1910 had once more created a vacancy in the deanship. The Very Rev. Monsignor Walker, P.P., Donegal, succeeded to the title and worthily discharges the duties and upholds the amenities of the exalted position.

"The Archdeacon of Raphoe," writes Cotton, "has no corps, nor prebend, nor other ecclesiastical income. The dignity is ambulatory, and may be given by the Bishop to any one of the incumbents of his diocese. The Regal Visitors in 1622 report that he 'has no emolument, but his title and seat in the Chapter.' It appears that the

Donegal County Library Service

rectory of Teachboyne was annexed to the dignity in 1622, probably in consequence of this remark."

The well-known and well-annotated work, entitled *Colton's Visitation*, by Reeves, informs us that Laurence O'Gallagher, afterwards Bishop, and distinguished from his namesake as Laurence I, had been Archdeacon in 1397.

In Roman documents, the name of the Archdeacon is very rarely mentioned, but when benefices are acquired or vacated by such dignitaries, it becomes necessary to specify the individuals by their personal names. For instance :—" 1423. Mandate to the Bishop of Connor to assign to Cornelius Mac Menamin O'Donnell, Canon of Raphoe, the rectory of Raymoghy, vacant by the death of Clement O'Friel." * Now, an earlier Brief † styles Clement Archdeacon, but his successor was not raised to the same dignity, this distinction being reserved for Aengus Mac Bride :—" 1429. To the Abbot of Assoroe, Mandate to collate on Donal Mac Menamin O'Donnell the rectory of Clondahorky, held for six years by Aengus Mac Bride after he had been constituted Archdeacon, contrary to the Bull *Execrabilis*, though Donal had been made Canon by the Ordinary." This Donal is the same enterprising appellant, whom we again encounter at Rome in 1432, urging a preposterous claim to the Deanship, and succeeding to the extent of having the case remitted to an inferior court for inquiry. As we might expect, he not only failed in his suit eventually, but was visited with condign chastisement by the forfeiture of his rectory to William Mac Bride.

It is a high tribute paid by successive Pontiffs to the dignity of the position and to the personal reliability of the individuals raised to this exalted rank, to have chosen as Papal mandatories so strikingly large a number of Archdeacons, as the Roman documents disclose.

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vii. 263 † Ib. vi. 265.

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CHAPTER IX

The Chapter of Raphoe

It has been already shown that Pope Innocent III, in a Rescript of 1198, ordered that an episcopal election should be held in due form by the Chapter of Raphoe. Its continuous existence down to 1600 is unquestionable, but Luke Plunkett's Letter of 1671 represents a state of decadence inconsistent with any such diocesan equipment as a Cathedral Chapter. Dr. James Gallagher restored this time-honoured corporation in all its strength and honours, but his successors permitted all the links of continuity to be broken, one by one, as the Canons died off, and contented themselves, until quite recently, with an application to Rome from time to time to have the dignity of Dean conferred on some eminent ecclesiastic, as occasion suggested, not with a view to providing a worthy head for a non-existent Chapter, but as a special mark of favour. That the Chapter had become absolutely extinct before the episcopacy of Dr. James Gallagher, and that frequently, since his time, not even a Dean existed in the diocese, cannot be gainsaid. Even though the unbroken continuity of the Deanship were established with as unassailable certainty as attests its repeated interruptions, such evidence would not prove that the old Chapter was perpetuated, unless it were also shown that each successive Dean had previously held a dignity, office, or prebend in the Chapter, and such an assumption is contradicted by patent facts. On the other hand, it would be erroneous to suppose that the complete extinction of

Donegal County Library Service

the old Chapter is an event of a very remote date, seeing that more than one of its Canons survived in Dr. Coyle's day. For a prolonged period that learned prelate, as Coadjutor first and as Bishop later, had no parish church under his immediate control, where a Chapter could discharge its functions.

In Cotton's *Fasti* a few names of pre-Reformation Canons are preserved, which he collected from various entries in the Primatial Registers of Fleming, Swayne, Prene, and Cromer: Aongus Mac Bride, 1406; Maurice (O'Kenny), called coarb of St. Canice of Derry, and Magonius O'Drowlach (Doorley), 1428; Brian and Owen O'Friel, 1442; John Gallagher, Jun., Diarmad O'Leonard (Mac Giollalennain), Cornelius O'Devany, John Mac Congalaith (Conwell), 1528; Arthur O'Friel, 1535. It must be acknowledged that Cromer's Register, 1528, seems to support the contention that the statutory number of prebendary Canons was four.

Canons

A cursory glance at the Calendar of Roman Briefs reveals many features of historic interest in connection with the Raphoe Chapter, that had not been either widely known or easily demonstrated by documentary evidence, until these Briefs or Mandates were published within the last decade of years. First, there existed several Canons who had no prebends or endowed stalls in the Chapter:—"1404. Provision of a canonry of Raphoe, with reservation of a prebend, to Philip Magroarty" (v. 617). "1421. Mandate to the Abbot of Assaroe to promote Laurence Mac Swine, of noble birth, Vicar of Clondavaddog, to a canonry of Raphoe, in the gift of the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter" (vii. 163). Laurence O'Boyle, Cistercian

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monk, Canon in 1428; John Gibbons, B.C.L., Canon of Raphoe, Bishop-Elect of Derry, 1433 (i. 611); Donal O'Kane, and many others never were prebendaries, as is manifest both from the words of the Briefs and from the circumstances of each case. Hence, it cannot surprise us to find, secondly, that there were at least ten Canons in the Chapter of Raphoe in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and there is no apparent reason why we should not regard that condition of things as perfectly no mal. Maurice Mac Menamin O'Donnell, who died at Rome in 1430, Archdeacon of Connor (viii. 146), had been Canon of Raphoe, while his two brothers, Donal and Cornelius, were also members of the Chapter. Eugenius O'Donnell, Bishop of Connor; John Gibbons, Bishop of Derry; Manus O'Donnell, David Gibbons, Matthew Daly, Donal O'Kane, David O'Boyce, Laurence O'Boyle, Catholicus (Cathal) O'Kane, Eugene Mac Menamin, Laurence Mac Swine, Cornelius O'Friel, and Cornelius Mac Bride were all Canons of Raphoe about the same time, 1420 to 1425. The third remarkable point revealed by a survey of these Roman documents is that the rectors of Conwal, Inniskeel, and Taughboyne were almost always, and those of Raymoghy and Kilmacrenan were less frequently, Canons of Raphoe Chapter. With the exception of Killymard, the prebendary parishes supplied their respective representatives to the Chapter; Inver and Clondahorkey their rectors, and Drumhome its vicar. That the prebends were very valuable is made clear by the fact that, where immemorial custom had not intervened, a Papal dispensation was needed in order to hold any benefice conjointly with a prebendary canonry. Hugh O'Sheridan, rector of Taughboyne, on his promotion to the see of Kilmore in 1560, received a Brief containing such dispensation, *Cum retentione dicti canonicatus.*

Donegal County Library Service

But, in Raphoe, a mere benefice, not "an elective major dignity," could be obtained or retained without dispensation, and this usage was not merely tolerated or tacitly sanctioned, but it was sometimes expressly mentioned in Briefs:—"1404. 30th Nov. Mandate to Archbishop of Armagh, and to the Bishops of Tuy and Clogher, to assign to Donal Mac Bride, Canon of Raphoe, the Deanery of Derry, void and reserved because the late Dean William Campbell procured and held for a month or more the rectory of Urney with cure, contrary to the Bull *Execrabilis* of John XXII. Notwithstanding the fact that Donal holds the canonry and prebend of Raphoe, to which prebend the rectory of Taughboyne is annexed; which canonry and prebend and rectory are, *by the custom of Raphoe*, compatible with any other (minor) benefice with cure, dignity, or *personatus*."* In the light of this explicit declaration that "the rectory of Taughboyne" was annexed to a prebend, how can anyone deny that this was a prebendary parish?

A copy of a modern Rescript authorising the erection of a Chapter, cannot fail to interest clerical readers:—

DECREE AUTHORISING THE ERECTION OF A CATHEDRAL CHAPTER.

SACRA CONGREGATIO CONSISTORIALIS.

ERECTIONIS SEU RESTITUTIONIS CAPITULI CATHEDRALIS DECRETUM.

"Postulante Episcopo, ut, ad divini cultus splendorem in sua cathedrali ecclesia magis augendum itemque ad senatum digniorum sacerdotum sibi constituendum, apostolica auctoritate cathedrale Capitulum ibidem erigeretur seu restitueretur; SSmus D. N. Benedictus Papa XV,

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vi. 45, 46.

Donegal County Library Service

peropportunum hoc fore censens, oblatis precibus benigne annuendum censuit.

" Quapropter eadem Sanctitas Sua de Apostolicae potestatis plenitudine, suppletoque, quatenus opus sit, quorum intersit vel sua interesse praesumant, consensu, hoc Consistoriali decreto petitum Capitulum in cathedrali ecclesia erigit et instituit seu restituit, constans duabus dignitatibus Decani et Archidiaconi et duobus officiis Theologi et Poenitentiarii et septem canonicis simplicibus, eique omnia iura, privilegia et indulta attribuit, quae ceteris Capitulis cathedralibus, praesertim Hiberniae, ex jure vel legitima consuetudine competunt.

" SSmus Dominus, quousque erecti canonicatus congrua praebenda aucti non fuerint, eosdem capitulares a residentia in urbe episcopali et ab oneribus choralibus interea eximit et dispensat, exceptis diebus aliquot solemnioribus ab Episcopo determinandis, facta tamen Episcopo facultate eosdem canonicos convocandi quoties ipse opportunum judicaverit ad dioecesis vel Capituli negotia agenda circa quae, ex sacrorum canonum praescripto, Capituli sententia est exquirenda.

" Praeterea Sanctitas Sua mandat ut canonicatuum collatio fiat ad tramitem iuris, cum reservationibus in Codice statutis (cap. III, tit. XXV), postquam praebendae constitutae fuerint ; interim vero, perdurante scilicet praebendarum defectu, Episcopus eosdem canonicatus libere conferat prout in Domino expedire iudicaverit, duabus tamen dignitatibus Decanatus et Archidiaconatus exceptis, quarum collatio quovis alio tempore erit S. Sedi reservata, non autem hac prima vice. Semper insuper servetur ut ecclesiastici viri antequam sui beneficii possessionem recipiant, solemnem fidei professionem ac iusiurandum contra modernistarum errores, iuxta statutas formulas, emittant.

" Cum denique opportunum sit ut qui in Episcopi con-

Donegal County Library Service

silium ac senatum adsciscantur, habitu quoque aliqua ratione a ceteris distinguantur ; eidem SSmo D. N. placuit ut dignitates et canonici insignia ac vestes canonicales in choro deferre queant, quibus utuntur canonici ac dignitates aliarum cathedralium ecclesiasticae provinciae Armacanae.

" In ceteris vero omnibus Sanctitas Sua voluit ut iuris communis praescripta et in primis Tridentini Concilii adamussim serventur.

" Ad haec autem omnia exsecutioni mandanda SSmus D. N. deputare dignatus est ipsum hodiernum Episcopum, eidem tribuens facultates omnes ad id necessarias et opportunas, etiam subdelegandi, ad effectum de quo agitur, quemlibet ecclesiastica dignitate ornatum, facto tamen eidem onere intra sex menses ad hanc Sacram Congregationem Consistorialem mittendi authenticum exemplar peractae exsecutionis.

" Quibus super rebus eadem Sanctitas Sua praesens edi iussit Consistoriale decretum, perinde valiturum ac si Apostolicae sub plumbo litterae expedirentur, contrariis quibusvis non obstantibus, etiam speciali mentione dignis.

" Datum Romae, ex Secretaria eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis.

The privileges here conceded, and the obligations imposed, may be summarised as follows :—

1. Two dignitaries, a Dean and an Archdeacon, are to be appointed by the Bishop himself, at the institution of the Chapter, but, when vacancies subsequently occur, the Bishop's nominations must receive the sanction of the Sacred Congregation of the Consistory, and then a Brief is communicated to the nominee through the Bishop, the usual forms prescribed by Canon Law being observed.

2. The Theologian and Poenitentiary are not dignitaries, nor entitled to precedence in virtue of their special

Donegal County Library Service

appointments ; but they are office bearers who cannot be dispensed with, even in the smallest diocesan Chapter.

3. The Precentor is not indispensable where there exists no "vocal choir," nor the Treasurer where no prebend revenues are to be distributed, but in all fully constituted Chapters, these titles are assigned.

4. The Chancellor belongs to the Curia or Bishop's Court, and is also an indispensable office-bearer.

5. The Vicar-General is *ipso jure* a Pronotary or Monsignor during his period of office, and in the Chapter takes precedence of everyone except a consecrated prelate.

6. Seeing that the Canons as such possess no endowment, and are obliged to do missionary work in their parishes, the condition of residence in the Cathedral city is dispensed with ; and they are merely required to assemble in the Cathedral for the recitation of the Office on a few of the more solemn feasts to be defined by the Bishop.

7. The Bishop may convene a Chapter meeting whenever the Canon Law requires a consultation with that body on Chapter or diocesan business.

8. As long as the Prebends remain unendowed, the Canons, with the exception of the two dignitaries, the Dean and the Archdeacon, may be appointed by the Bishop, but cannot enter on their duties until they have first taken the Oath against Modernism, etc., in the prescribed form.

9. The dress and distinctive insignia, which the Dignitaries and Canons are privileged to wear in the Cathedral, may be lawfully worn by them anywhere else within the diocese.

It is worthy of remark that the question of the continuity of the Chapter is eschewed in this document, the caption being studiously worded : "For the Erection or Restoration of a Chapter."

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER X

The Official

The title "official" in Canon Law is applied to the ecclesiastical dignitary permanently appointed to direct proceedings in the diocesan court, and to preside therein should the Bishop be unable or unwilling to preside in person. Two synodal judges are associated with him as assessors, but their tenure of office is determinable at any moment by the Bishop's decision to replace them by others, nor do they form the same tribunal with the Ordinary, but merely fill the rôle of judicial advisers. The Official is irremovable, and retains his jurisdiction even after the Bishop, who nominated him, has died; whereas the Vicar-General may be set aside by, and in all cases "dies with, the Bishop," not physically, of course, but officially. In small dioceses, the Vicar-General may be invested with the judicial power and title of Official, and, in that case, he survives the deceased or translated prelate as Official, but his jurisdiction as Vicar-General is annulled. And so indispensable is this dignitary to the canonical administration of a diocese, that no Bishop is permitted to neglect or unduly delay the appointment. Obviously, in view of guaranteeing to the clergy and laity unfettered independence of decision, it is desirable that the Official be a distinct person from the Vicar-General. But so rarely are these ecclesiastical courts obliged to burnish up their neglected machinery for active operation, that the present writer is unaware of any case where the diocesan Official has been called

Donegal County Library Service

upon to exercise his judicial power, in a canonically constituted court, since the time of the late esteemed Father John Doherty, of Donegal, who died in 1881.

This brief exposition of the status and functions of the Official is a pardonable digression, as it explains the nature and necessity of the appointment, before we examine the sources of his emoluments. In modern conditions, the Official enjoys the revenues accruing to him from his benefice, and the duty of re-imbursing him for extra expenses incurred in the discharge of his professional work, devolves directly on the Bishop and indirectly on the Chancellor, the latter being obliged to deposit in the archives an exact record of all such payments. The immemorial provision for the recoupment of the Official's necessary expenditure was derivable from :

(1) Tullyfern—" There are also twelve other free gortes belonging to the Bishop of Raphoe's Official, for which the said herenach paieth to the saide Official the rent of twelve pence per annum."

(2) Meevagh—" In the said parishe are six gorts of free land, called Kinnelargie, the proprietors whereof payde yerely to the Officiall ot Raphoe twoe shillings per annum."

(3) Killaghtee—" There are sixe gortes of glebe whereof foure belonge to the Busshop's Official."

In estimating the value of these farms, we must remember that each gort contained six Irish acres at least, and that the seemingly ridiculous rents mentioned above are to be multiplied by 20.

Down to 1600, the Vicar of Killybegs was Official for the whole diocese, but, from the accession of Dr. James O'Gallagher in 1725, a separate official was assigned to each of the two deaneries, Donegal and Letterkenny.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XI

The United Parishes

All Saints

The parish named All Saints is of Protestant creation, and is nowhere mentioned in the ancient documents, such as the Petitions forwarded to the Holy See, respectively, in 1600 and in 1737, nor in the exhaustive Inquisition of 1609. Lewis's sketch comprises the following notable particulars:—"A parish in the Union of Londonderry, barony of Raphoe, 6 miles from Londonderry, on Lough Swilly, and containing 4280 inhabitants. It consists of several townlands (forty-four), formerly in the parish of Taughboyne, from which they were separated and formed into a distinct parish. Castle Forward is the property of the Earl of Wicklow. The living is a perpetual curacy in the diocese of Raphoe, and in the patronage of the Incumbent of Taughboyne. The church (Protestant), a neat, small edifice, built prior to 1734, was formerly a chapel of ease to the church of Taughboyne. In the Roman Catholic divisions, this parish is the head of a district, called the union of Lagan, and comprising also the parishes of Taughboyne, Killea, and Raymochy. There are three chapels, situated respectively, at Newtowncunningham in All Saints, at St. Johnston in Taughboyne, and at Drumoghill in Raymochy." But, small as the parish is in area and population, it contains three glebes, Bogay, Roughan, and Tullyanan. These lands formerly belonged to the old monastery of St. Baithen, sometimes called Teach Baithin, and sometimes the Lagan Abbey.

Donegal County Library Service

In pre-Reformation days, the Vicar lived at Bogay, and the Catholic church designed for the accommodation of this end of the parish of Taughboyne was, at all times, situated in the neighbourhood of Coolmacantrean, or Castleforward. The present church is situated, by a remarkable, if accidental, continuity, in a townland commonly designated Cool, an obvious contraction of the ancient name. As will be explained in Part II of this work, the old castle was built on the verge of the sea, but, owing to the drainage and ramparts, the modern Castleforward mansion, which occupies the same site, stands at a very considerable distance from the margin of Lough Swilly. The Forwards acquired a title by intermarriage with the family of the Earl of Wicklow, but the castle has reverted to the possession of a Celt, named Magee, who manifests no ambition for empty titles. However, the Catholics of the locality owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Protestant founder of the church, who was not afraid to have his name incised on a chiselled slab inserted in the front wall : " The first stone of this chapel was laid by the Right Hon. William Forward, October 8th, 1810." The architect of St. Baithen's new church at St. Johnston was employed to design certain necessary renovations and additional accommodation by the erection of galleries, in 1858. Father James Stephens, P.P., at once effected the suggested improvements, and few churches in the country are so devotional and well-furnished.

Taughboyne

This ancient parish, locally called Toboyne, as the industrious Reeves is careful to point out, is absorbed in the extensive modern parish, or union, which comprises Taughboyne, Raymochy, All Saints, and the portion of

Donegal County Library Service

Killea which is situated outside the Liberties of Derry. Teach-Baithene is Baithen's House; and as there were two great saints bearing the name Baithen, we find there is another parish of Taughboyne, within which stands the village of Frenchpark, in Roscommon. The founder of the monastic establishment, from which the latter parish takes its name, was distinguished from our Saint by the appellation of Baithen Mor, and was a native of the district about Raphoe—"Son of Cuana, son of Aengus, son of Enna, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages." * This identity of name makes it difficult to determine which of the two equally important parishes is meant by the annalists, whenever Taughboyne is mentioned without any defining epithet, such as "of Airtegh." †

The O'Roddys had been herenachs, but just before 1609, on the death of the last acceptable representative of that family, the Bishop had taken over into his own hands, for the time being, the appointment of an agent to manage the church estate until the heir to the herenach title would attain his majority. If any proof were needed to show that the extent of a bailebetach was determined more by the quality of the soil and the number of householders, than by the superficial measurement or acreage, it is found in the fact that Taughboyne is represented to comprise twelve and a half bailebetachs, while the parish of Inver is computed at three bailebetachs. The four quarters of herenach land, that is one bailebetach, were bestowed as an endowment on St. Baithen, when he founded the Laggan monastery, about 560, but by whom the grant was made we cannot now determine with any degree of certainty. The descendants of Breasail, the son of Enna, were the chieftains of the district, and very probably they were the donors of both site and estates. Through-

* F.M. 1199. † Ibid.

Donegal County Library Service

out the centuries, the O'Roddys flourished as the leading sept of the Breasail branch of the Muintir Enna, and their name is indelibly perpetuated in the local topography by the well-known designation of the townland of Tir-Roddy.

In the very incomplete list of the Raphoe clergy appended to the Petition of 1600, no name appears of either parish priest or vicar of Taughboyne; and this omission is all the more remarkable in view of the short distance of that parish from Raphoe. Of course, it is possible that Hugh Donnelly, Vicar-General and Official, was pastor of Taughboyne, but it is much more probable that this dignitary was parish priest either of Conwal or of Inver. Sickness or absence might account for this void in the roll; for, inexhaustive though it is, yet we see that parishes, so remote as Clondavaddog, were represented. It often happens that the priests of a particular parish are prevented by some local or personal cause from participating in a diocesan conference. But the omission is, no doubt, due to the fact that these priests were supporters of Niall O'Boyle and of Red Hugh. It requires no effort of ingenuity to explain why there is a similar hiatus in the Register of 1704, for, at that date, the Catholic population in the parish was miserably sparse, and had to depend on the priests of the neighbouring parishes for Mass and the Sacraments. In 1609, the Inquisition most distinctly proves that both a parson and a vicar were in residence; and we can have no doubt that, as Protestantism was yet unborn in Tirconaill, both clergymen had vast congregations in their respective churches.

However, in 1737, we find Taughboyne amalgamated with Raymochy, but the united parishes still retained each its ancient name; and the pastor describes himself as "Anthony O'Donnell, Junior, Parish Priest of Ray and Taughboyne." Anthony O'Donnell, Senior, Provincial

Donegal County Library Service

of the Franciscan Order, was at that time pastor of Kilbarron, and thirteen years after became Bishop of Raphoe, retaining his parish till his lamented death in 1755. The *Report on the State of Popery*, issued on the 4th November, 1731, states that no Popish Priest then resided in the parish, but that "the Popish inhabitants resort to Mass in the neighbouring parish of Raphoe. Sometimes a reputed Itinerant Fryer comes among the Papists of this parish, and preaches once or twice a year, and of late more openly than formerly." The "reputed Itinerant Fryer" was the Most Rev. James O'Gallagher, Bishop of the diocese.

The facts elicited by the Inquisition of 1609 are thus detailed :—"The said Jurors doe uppon their oathes say that in the said baronie of Raphoe is alsoe the parishe of Taboihin, conteyneing in the whole twelve bailebetaghs and a half, whereof fower quarters are herenagh landes, and that O'Roddy was auncientlie herenagh there, but now the busshope of Raphoe doth of his owne will dispose thereof, out of which the annuall rente to the saide busshop was sixe meathers of butter and fower meathers of meale, and six shillinges and eightpence Irish in money for everie quarter inhabited. And also the said herenaghe paid pencion to the busshop for the thirdes of his tiethes there, fortie shillinges Irish ; and in the said parishe is both a parson and a viccar. They alsoe find that the tiethes are paid in kynde, one third parte to the parson, an other third parte to the viccar, and thother third parte to the herenaghe, and they to mainteyne and repaire the parishe churche equallie as before ; and that here are six gorts of glebe, whereof three gorts belong to the parson, and thother three belonge to the viccar."

A comparison of this description with that given in regard to the financial arrangements in other parishes, at

Donegal County Library Service

once reveals the meaning. The tithes were divided equally between the Parish Priest, Vicar, and Bishop; but, as there was originally a herenach in this and in nearly all other parishes, this agent of the Bishop farmed the episcopal *tertia pars*, and paid his Lordship, not in kind, but in cash, forty shillings Irish, or about £20, in addition to the sum of twenty-six shillings and eightpence in money, also, which he was required to refund from the rents of the herenach lands. Moreover, the herenach assessed at current prices, or sold in open market, twenty-four meathers of butter, and twenty-four meathers of meal, six meathers for each quarter of church land, and handed or transmitted the cumulative amount likewise to the Bishop of the diocese. The parochial farms or "gorts" have perpetuated their memory in such topographical names as Gortree, Killgort, etc.; but it must be remembered that in some parishes, Tullyfern and Clondavaddog, for instance, some free gorts were allotted to lay tenants for the purpose of increasing the population, and thus securing a sufficiency of men for agriculture and for military service.

In the absence of a herenach, the Bishop appointed a trustworthy agent as substitute, and thus escaped the payment of that hereditary official's exactions.

The *Calendar of Papal Registers* * contains an exceedingly interesting reference to Taughboyne, dated April 25th, 1429. From this entry we glean that the succession to the parsonage in the Roddy family was already in a decadent stage, and that Donal Mac Bride had secured the rectory, but had failed to qualify for the order of priesthood within the prescribed time. It has been already explained that a parsonage was recognised as a title, even for Major Orders, but the benefice could not be enjoyed

* Vol. viii. 139.

Donegal County Library Service

more than a year by a cleric who, from defective talents or other cause, was not promoted to the priesthood in the interval. The system of collating benefices was, in most respects, admirable, but one indelible blot forces itself on our attention, in a very repulsive form, as we turn over the pages of the *Calendar*, and find that it is very often, if not always, an ambitious candidate for the office that supplies the information of the invalidity or informality of a previous collation. If this aspirant proved that the parson or vicar held a benefice contrary to the provisions of the Canon Law, and that he himself was eligible, then he was immediately appointed himself to the vacancy created through his apparently dishonourable agency. It is to be hoped there was some effective machinery for unmasking fraud ; but it cannot be denied that a designing cleric had ample scope and temptation to exercise his ingenuity.

The record of the appeal heard twice in the Roman Court, is a fair specimen of the documents preserved in such cases :—" Mandate to Andrew O'Roddy, Rector of Taughboyne, in the diocese of Raphoe, Grant. The Pope lately ordered the Bishop of Lucera (Derry), and two others to assign to Andrew this rectory because Donal Mac Bride held it more than a year without being ordained priest. Nicholas Antonius, Bishop of Derry, collated it, but the value was assessed at 6 marks, whereas it is more, but less than 16 marks."

Therefore Andrew O'Roddy became parish priest, but is not the first individual, whose name is preserved, entitled to that distinction, seeing that another Donal Mac Bride was parson in 1404, and became Dean of Derry, as is detailed below.

" 1441. 16th Jan. Mandate to the Abbot of Assaroe, to Laurence O'Gallagher and Cornelius O'Friel, Canons of

Donegal County Library Service

Raphoe, to assign to Thomas O'Roddy, priest of Raphoe, the rectory of Fahan, vacant by the death of Roger O'Doherty, and held by the Augustinian Abbot Maurice. Thomas has no hope of obtaining justice in Derry." *

This is obviously the same Andrew O'Roddy who felt so keen a desire to return to his native diocese and to his ancestral herenachy that, nine years after his induction into the rectory of Fahan, he preferred a charge of embezzlement and non-residence against the incumbent of Taughboyne, and claimed the benefice for himself.

"13 Nov., 1450. To the Bishop of Derry, and to Charles O'Kane and Cornelius O'Friel, Canons of Raphoe, Nicholas V, Pope, having been informed by Thomas O'Roddy, priest of the diocese of Raphoe, that Andrew O'Boyce, rector of Taughboyne, in that diocese, does not reside, etc., directs that Andrew be cited, and, if found guilty, the rectory be ceded to Thomas O'Roddy."†

The names of two vicars are preserved in a Papal Mandate addressed to the Bishops of Tuy and Kilfenora, and to the Archdeacon of Raphoe, dated 5th February, 1405: "To assign to Philip Magroarty, Deacon of Raphoe diocese, the perpetual vicarage of Taughboyne, void because Hugh O'Boyce had not received orders within a year."‡

At the close of Chapter IX, the most explicit and direct Papal testimony is adduced for the statement that a cathedral prebend was immemorially attached to the rectory of Taughboyne. Numerous other documents might be produced to show that this ancient parish was regarded as an important connecting link between Derry and Raphoe. In the Brief there quoted, David Mac Bride is advanced from the rectory of Taughboyne to the Deanery of Derry; but David failed to take a lesson from the well-merited chastisement of his predecessor in office,

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* ix. 150. † Ib. vii. 139. ‡ Ib. vi. 46.

Donegal County Library Service

William Campbell. Oblivious of William's fate, David held on to the rectory for five years after he had entered on the enjoyment of the dignity and lordly emoluments of Dean. David had good reason to repent ; for he was ignominiously deprived of the Deanery, and it was only the transparent sincerity of his repentance, fortified by his high reputation, that saved him from total shipwreck. "Pisa, 19 July, 1409. Mandate of Alexander VI. To the Archbishop of Pisa, to the Bishop of Raphoe, and to Diarmuid O'Connolly, Canon of Killala. To collate on Eugene Mac Menamin O'Donnell, Canon of Raphoe, the Deanery of Derry, a major elective dignity with cure ; because Donal Mac Bride held it for more than a month together with the rectory of Taughboyne. The fact that Eugenius was lately made a Canon by his Ordinary notwithstanding." *

In the same chapter, we observe that Philip Magroarty was constituted a Canon of Raphoe by Papal Mandate,† but without prebend, in 1404. It is pretty evident that Philip had influential family connections, in addition to his ecclesiastical qualifications, for he had only been invested in Deacon's orders :—" 5 Feb. 1405. Mandate to Bishops of Tuy and Kilfenora, and to Archdeacon of Raphoe, to assign to Philip Magroarty, Deacon of Raphoe diocese, the perpetual vicarage of Taughboyne, void because Hugh O'Boyce had not received Orders within a year after his nomination." ‡ One further quotation will suffice ; it is designed as an additional evidence of the association of Taughboyne with Derry diocese :— " To the Bishop of Volterra, to Maurice O'Donnell, Canon of Raphoe, and to the Official of Derry. To assign to John O'Lynch, priest of Raphoe, the perpetual vicarage of Fahan, void by the death of Metrarh O'Morrison." §

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vi. 165. † Ib. v. 617. ‡ Ib. vi. 255. § Ib. vi. 201.

Donegal County Library Service

Between the Rev. Anthony O'Donnell, Junior, who was pastor of Teachboyne and Raymochy in 1737, and the Rev. Anthony Coyle, nephew of the Bishop, who held the same position at the death of his uncle in 1801, there is a long hiatus that we have no prospect of abridging. The Rev. Owen O'Callaghan succeeded Father Coyle, and was later transferred to Donegal. In those days, owing mainly to the paucity of the supply, curates were promoted to the higher and more stable rank of parish priests within half a dozen years after they had emerged from college. When the foundation-stone of the devotional little church in Newtowncunningham was laid in 1810, the Rev. Hugh Quinn was already in charge of the parish, although he had not entered the College of Maynooth till August, 1802. Evidently, he had already studied philosophy, and had made considerable progress in theology before his matriculation in Maynooth. He belonged to this parish of Taughboyne by birth, where his grand-nephews are still respected citizens; prosecuted his higher studies in Dr. Coyle's academy, and was universally esteemed as a cultured and zealous pastor. His remains repose alongside the church, and a mural tablet of marble outside the sanctuary bears the rare inscription :—

"Sacred to the Memory of the Rev. Hugh Quinn, who departed this life April 29th, 1819. Aged 44 years.

More worth and virtue ne'er adorn'd a breast,
Than dwelt in his who now lies here at rest."

The next pastor was the Rev. James Carolan, who lodged in the house of a Presbyterian farmer named Moses Eakin (?), near Taughboyne. An anecdote of no very enthralling interest is the only trace of his memory the writer could discover in the district. Father Carolan was promoted to the parish of Townawilly, and, some time

Donegal County Library Service

after, on hearing that his kindly old landlord was very ill, he felt obliged to pay him a friendly visit, out of gratitude for his hospitality and attention. The sick man said it would require as great a miracle to rescue him from the fangs of death he recognised to be clutching at his heart, as it took to deliver Jonas from the whale's belly. "And now," he added, "I always thought it a miracle that the whale swallowed Jonas at all." "Yes, to be sure," said the soothing visitor, "but wouldn't you consider it a greater miracle still if Jonas swallowed the whale?" The old gentleman ever after maintained it was this scintillation of mirth that revived and cured him. This genial pastor had for his successor the Rev. John Mooney, 1825-30, the last clerical scion of the old herenach family of that name, belonging to Inniskeel parish, but resident in Shanaghan. He entered Maynooth in the year 1801, was curate in Killaghtee till 1810, and died in 1830, but the writer has so far failed to discover any vestige of his place of burial.

After an interval of a year, the Rev. Peter Mac Menamin entered on his fruitful pastorate of close on ten years in this parish, during which time he built the Drumoghill church, and left behind him other monuments of his zeal in the erection of stone-wall enclosures of graveyards, two schools, etc. Born in Glenfin, he matriculated in Maynooth, 1820; was curate here from 1827 till 1831, when he became parish priest. Monsignor Stephens spent the summer of his life in the strenuous discharge of pastoral work in this scattered and, till then, ill-equipped parish, where his memory will be cherished long as St. Baithen's ornate little Gothic church at St. Johnston stands as witness of his apostolic zeal. During the twenty years of his ministry here, 1843 till 1863, he never for a moment relaxed his efforts to raise the religious status of his down-trodden

Donegal County Library Service

flock by building new, or renovating the existing, houses of worship, introducing National schools, and providing for instruction in the tenets of their faith, more especially in the case of domestic and farm servants and cottiers. "I have been to Alabama," he says, and he might well claim that he had been among the first—Dean Feely was absolutely the first—and most successful of the many Raphoe priests who have voyaged to America to collect funds from the generous exiles of Tirconaill for church-building purposes. He had the ineffable satisfaction of seeing his enlightened and arduous efforts crowned with conspicuous success, and, on being promoted to Killybegs, he might well sing *Nunc Dimittis*. For, in 1863, he had not only completed St. Baithen's, and bequeathed that elegant gem of architecture to his loving flock, but he had renovated and beautified the Newtowncunningham church as well; and the schools he established were admirably suited to the requirements and opportunities of his people.

"1857. April 4. Dr. MacGettigan laid the foundation-stone of the new church of St. Baithen, at St. Johnston." —(*Catholic Directory.*)

"1858. July 1. Rev. James Stephens, P.P., St. Johnston, received a beautiful set of candelabra, richly plated with silver, for Drumoghill church, from Mrs. Cassidy, of Baltimore, U.S.A."—(Ibid.)

A sketch of the life of the Rev. Michael Friel, P.P., 1863-69, is presented in the chapter on Glenfin.

The Rev. Michael Martin followed; for six years he laboured earnestly to improve the schools and social status, till his transfer to Killybegs; and, though a reactionary Unionist in politics, he was an exemplary and hard-working pastor, who devoted himself unreservedly to the material and educational advancement of his hearers. In Maynooth he exhibited great brilliancy and

Donegal County Library Service

won high distinctions ; and both in the pulpit and in his intercourse with the people, displayed singular refinement and keen intelligence. He belonged to a strongly levitical and enterprising family in Glenfin ; pursued his higher studies in Navan, and at his matriculation was admitted to Logic. Monsignor Mac Menamin and a host of ecclesiastics were connected with this well-known and respected old sept, for many long years strongly represented in the Raphoe priesthood.

When Father Martin was transferred to Killybegs in 1886, the Rev. John Sweeney, C.C., Ballintra, was placed in charge of the united parishes. He is a native of the parish of Kilbarron, belonging to a well-known and highly-esteemed family. He received his early training in Ballyshannon, and read his Philosophy and Theology courses in the Eternal City, where his earnestness, keen reasoning powers, and industry were duly appreciated.

The Rev. John Doherty was parish priest from 1897 till 1905, during which time his unostentatious efforts to uproot habits and practices leading to intemperance, produced far-reaching and enduring results. Labourers and servants almost universally took and kept the pledge ; the tone of public morality was visibly heightened, and wives and mothers bless his efforts and revere his name.

Canon Slevin was promoted from Ramelton in 1907 to fill the vacancy created by Canon Doherty's transfer to Ardara. His grand physique, paternal countenance, and amiable personality, will be long remembered in the various parishes where he ministered so faithfully from his ordination in 1870 till his lamented death in 1917. A native of Raphoe parish, born in the Convoy district, he matriculated in the Irish College, Paris, in 1863, and had only completed his Philosophy when he was transferred to Maynooth. " 1868. Pentecost. James Mac Fadden and

Donegal County Library Service

Thomas Slevin ordained Subdeacons."—(*Cath. Dir.*) His first mission was Mevagh, which was both onerous and responsible, as Father Doherty was absent on a collecting tour to liquidate the heavy liabilities contracted in the erection of Carrigart church. Coming to Killaghtee in 1872, he gave twenty years' service in the prime of his life to that important and ancient parish, where his memory is held in grateful benediction. But the great work of his life was the building of Ramelton church, to which he was so fondly attached that, after he had accepted and held for several months the very desirable benefice of Mevagh, in 1901 he petitioned the Bishop to restore him to his former devoted flock in Aughnish. Died 30th Sept., 1917.

Within the past score of years, three curates have died in these united parishes, all of whom had been once gifted with robust constitutions. The Rev. Daniel Mac Gettigan was accidentally killed by falling downstairs in the dark, in his own house in Newtowncunningham, on the 26th of November, 1902. He was a nephew of the late Primate Mac Gettigan, and a brother of Norbert, Superior of St. Mungo's, Glasgow. A student of the Propaganda, he was ordained in Rome early in 1874, and was located in Fintown for the first three years of his missionary career ; thence he was removed to Rathmullan, in 1877 ; in 1883 he was transferred to Fanad, and in the following year to Kincaslagh. His next mission was Convoy, from 1886 till 1890, when he was once more removed to the Downstrands section of Ardara parish. Having spent three years there and one in Gweedore, he devoted the remainder of his life to the Newtowncunningham congregation, by whom he was much esteemed. All his influential relatives had predeceased him, and, but for the thoughtfulness of some charitable young ladies of the village, his untimely grave would by this time be wholly unknown and unrecog-

Donegal County Library Service

nisable. They succeeded in having a suitable headstone erected, and the inscription tells us that he was born in 1840, and was only 62 years at his death.

The Rev. James Toner died at Drumoghill on the 19th of June, 1907, and was only 48 years of age. Born at Kirkstown, Letterkenny, he received his classical education under Mr. Gallagher, at the old Seminary, qualifying for the Irish College, Paris, in 1879. He spent a few years of his curriculum in Rome, and was ordained in 1885. His first mission was Killymard ; he was transferred to Meevagh in 1888, and thence to Fanad in 1896. From 1904 till his regretted death, he laboured assiduously for the welfare of the Drumoghill flock.

We have further to record, with unfeigned regret, the demise of one of the best known and most accomplished of the Raphoe clergy, the Rev. Patrick A. Dunlevy, which took place at Newtowncunningham on the 27th of May, 1908. The writer visited him on the eve of his happy death, and was deeply touched and edified by his singular detachment from earthly ties and his beaming resignation to God's Will. Both his parents, who resided in Bridge Street, Donegal, were immensely popular, charitable, and enlightened. Clergy were particularly welcome, and constantly present at their hospitable board. The young priest, Patrick, who was ordained in Maynooth, on the 21st of June, 1885, inherited a type of refinement, that marked him out as a man of attractive personality both in college and on the mission. His sweet, musical voice and his cheerful manner will be long remembered ; while his marked devotedness to his duties was his special commendation. His first appointment, in Churchill, was very exacting in point of work, and comfortless in point of lodging, there being no parochial residence in the place, and the Presbyterian house, in which he lived, being far

Donegal County Library Service

removed from the church. In 1889, he was transferred to Killybegs, where he was much beloved, and in 1896 he moved out to the Bruckless presbytery. In Ballyshannon, from 1904 till 1906, he was a very special favourite, but the constant pressure of work accelerated the advance of the treacherous malady, to which he succumbed at his post of duty two years later.—*R.I.P.*

Taughboyne Church

This district was so drastically denuded of all Catholics by the Scottish relatives of James the First, before 1619, that Captain Pynnar was able to report :—" I saw the land well inhabited and full of people," that is, of Scotch camp-followers. In these circumstances, it was not difficult to appropriate the Catholic church ; but Lewis states that the existing Protestant building was erected in 1626. The foundation walls appear to be very much older, but it is probable that the structure was partially rebuilt in that year. Not the faintest vestige of the old monastery, nor indeed of anything Catholic, has been left in church or graveyard.

The Monreigh Presbyterian church, in the neighbourhood, exhibits as the date of its foundation, 1644, and appears to have been at all times more frequented than its rival temple.

Small as was the remnant of Catholics permitted to remain as herds or ploughmen, they never failed to provide for themselves some house of worship, however inelegant and unpretentious. Near the summit of Rateen hill are reverently preserved and frequently visited the ruins of the old scalan, that gave shade to the Holy Sacrifice and happiness to Catholic worshippers for more than a century and a half. Then, as the penal laws were

Donegal County Library Service

relaxing their grip, owing to the American War of Independence, the Catholics erected a fairly suitable and substantial chapel at Warp Mill, outside the borough of St. Johnston, in 1763. It is only just to credit the Hamilton family with a uniformly benevolent attitude towards the persecuted Catholics. They befriended Bishop O'Cullenan in circumstances involving the risk of forfeiture of their lands, and on many occasions they protected and bailed out Catholic clergymen. The Viscount of Strabane was a conspicuous figure in the 1641 Revolution, and more than one Hamilton joined the standard of James II. Hence it is not to be wondered at that a site for a Catholic church was obtainable here, at a time when other landlords would prefer to give a site to Satan rather than to any "surpliced ruffian."

St. Baithen

Baithen was son of Brenan, son of Fergus Ceannfada, son of Conal Gulban,* and was, therefore, a first cousin of Columba, their respective fathers, Brenan and Fedhlim, being brothers.

The *Martyrology of Donegal* gives the following sketch of his life, at June the 9th, his feast day :—"Baithen, abbot of I. Coluim-Cille, next after Columbkille himself ; and Teach Baithin in Cineal Conaill was his chief church, for he was of the race of Conal Gulban. It was to this Baithen it was permitted to see the three grand chairs in heaven empty, awaiting some of the saints of Erin, namely, a chair of gold, and a chair of silver, and a chair of glass. And he told Columbkille at Hy the vision which was shown to him ; for he used to be always along with Columbkille, for they were close in consanguinity

* *Archivium*, vi. Gen. p. 38.

Donegal County Library Service

and friendship; that is, they were the sons of two brothers.

"It was then Columbkille gave the interpretation to him of the thing that he had seen, for he was a famous prophet; so that he said then: 'The chair of gold which thou hast seen, is the chair of Ciaran, son of the carpenter, the reward of his sanctity, hospitality, and charity. The chair of silver which thou hast seen, is thine own chair, for the brightness and effulgence of thy piety. The chair of glass is my own chair, for, though I am pure and bright, I am brittle and fragile, in consequence of the battles which were fought on my account.' So that it was after this he (Columbkille) resolved upon the celebrated abstinence, that is, to take nettle pottage as food for the future, without dripping or fat whatsoever, so that the impression of his ribs through his woollen tunic was seen in the sandy beach, which is at the side of Iona, when he used to lie on it at night.

"Now, Baithin was four years in the abbacy at Hy after the death of Columbkille, for it was from among the men of Erin the abbot of Hy was chosen; and he was most frequently chosen from the men of Cineal Conaill. When he was taking food, he used to say 'Deus in adjutorium meum intende' between the morsels. When he used to be gathering corn along with the monks, he held one hand up beseeching God, and another hand gathering corn. Baithen resigned his soul to heaven after the four years aforesaid on the same day of the (same) month that Columbkille went to heaven, A.D. 600."

Manus O'Donnell, in his *Life of Columba*, gives to Baithen a prominence second only to that of his hero-saint, and among the many virtues and gifts he invests him with, charity is the most conspicuous. He tells us that his companions used to compare him to St. John,

Donegal County Library Service

the beloved Apostle. Adamnan also represents Baithen as "ever kind and affable to strangers";* and the reader will recall the touching incident immediately preceding Columba's death, when he was copying the 33rd Psalm, and had written the verse, "They who seek the Lord, shall not be wanting in any good thing." Here he put away the pen, and pathetically sighed, "Let Baithen write what follows." Appropriate, indeed, were the last inspired words written by Columba, as he saw the angels prepared to conduct his soul to heaven; and equally applicable to himself was the first verse Baithen was directed by his beloved master to transcribe: "Come my children, hear me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord." This dying injunction of Columba was intended, and was interpreted, as an indirect command to the monks to appoint Baithen as his successor in the abbacy of Iona.

When Columba left Derry, in 563, to found the most illustrious monastery the world has ever known, St. Baithen was the dominating figure among his twelve disciples; and this priority he retained ever after. Indeed, if we can trust Manus O'Donnell's *Life*, which is largely a compilation of scattered traditions, the meek St. Baithen frequently rebuked Columba's irrepressible tendency to choleric outbursts and maledictions. Here, however, we are directly concerned with Teach-Baoithin, or Baithen's House, and only indirectly with the biography of its founder. Nowhere is it classed among the houses erected immediately by the great Patron of Tirconaill himself, and hence we must regard it as founded by Baithen under the direction and sanction of his all-powerful superior. That it was already solidly established and equipped before Baithen was called away to

* Lib. i. cap. 2.

Donegal County Library Service

accompany the Apostle of the Picts to the bleak little island of Hy, and was in such a position of matured discipline and guaranteed prosperity, that it could without injury survive the withdrawal of its founder, is a patent corollary to the accepted truism that Columba loved and nurtured his disciples' foundations as fondly as though they were his own. On this point, the second chapter of the first book in Adamnan's *Life* affords the most convincing evidence ; no glory was to be gained by Fintan's success, but still Columba was overjoyed by the vision vouchsafed him of this saint's future fame for building and directing monasteries, altogether independent of Iona and of Columban influence. Reeves' short sketch of Baithen's life (Ad., cxlvii.) is as follows :—

"Born in 536, according to Tigernach ; brought up by Columbkille, whom he accompanied to Scotland ; presided over the monastery of Magh Lunge in Tiree during Columba's lifetime ; occasionally visited Hy and even superintended the agricultural operations there. Sometimes he was engaged in transcribing books. He was nominated by Columba as his successor, and, having enjoyed the abbacy three years, died on the same day as his predecessor. He was founder and patron-saint of Teach Baoithin in the territory of Tir Enna in Tirconaill, now known as the parish church of Toboyne, as the name is locally pronounced."

A very interesting and exhaustive account of St. Baithen may be found in Cardinal Moran's *Irish Saints of Great Britain.*

Rathene Abbey in Taughboyne

Rathene is now transformed into Rateen, "a church," writes Archdall, "in the diocese of Raphoe, and com-

Donegal County Library Service

monly called Rathnan-epscop. St. Aid Glass fixed his residence here, where his festival is observed on the 16th of February; and the feast of St. Fiodmunius of Raithen, brother to St. Fiodharleus, who flourished A.D. 750, is observed on the 16th of May." The names and foot-prints of these once celebrated saints have been completely obliterated from local tradition, and the aboriginal families, who revered their memories and treasured the lessons of faith they had taught, have been relegated to abysmal oblivion. But the name Aid Glas is perpetuated in Feddyglass, the initial *F* being not an uncommon prefix to words beginning with a vowel; thus, Fahan for Athain. Father Hugh Ward * distinctly designates Aidus Glas a Tirconaill saint.

In O'Clery's Genealogies of Saints (*Archivium*, v. p. 44), this patron of Rateen is described as "Aengus, son of Oilleal, son of Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, Bishop of Drumrath (in Westmeath), 18th of February; Bishop of Rath-na-nEasbac, 16th Feb." The *Martyrology of Donegal* gives the first place at February 16th to "Aid Glas, Bishop of Rath-na-nEpscop," whose name and title were familiar to the author; next he gives Aenghus, and a marginal gloss adds, "But, according to the *Martyrology of Tallaght*, this was the Bishop of Rathnanepscop." Whatever may have been the original name of the saint, it is evident that he was popularly known as Aid Glass, to distinguish him from Aid Geal. Being a grandson of Eoghan, he must have flourished in the early part of the sixth century.

Fiodhmuine is thus described in the *Donegal Martyrology*: "Fiodhmuine, anchorite of Raithen and of Ennisboyne in the east of Leinster (Wicklow), son of Cudulech, of the race of Dathi; and his mother, Ferbla, was of the

* Rumoldus, p. 148.

Donegal County Library Service

same race, 756." O'Clery's Genealogies (v. p. 62) assign Fiodhbadhaigh as father and Cudulech as grandfather of the two brothers Fiodhmuine and Fiodhairle. Thus we observe that the successors of Aid Glas in the abbacy were not Bishops, and the same remark applies in the great majority of cases, where the founders had received episcopal orders, before dioceses had been canonically delimitated. Some abbey churches, on the other hand, were permanently raised to the dignity of diocesan cathedrals—Raphoe, Ferns, Clonmacnoise, etc.

On the southern declivity of Ratteen are still visible the ruins of a scalan, or "Mass-house"; but tradition is utterly extinct in the locality, and hence it is impossible to determine whether the old abbey stood on the same conspicuous site, which must have possessed the attraction of hallowed memories, for it was singularly insecure from raiding by bigoted military.

Sceptics will say that by Raithin Easbuic or the Bishop's Fort is meant Rathaspeck, in Queen's County, between Athy and Castlecomer; but there are several places of this name, and none to which it is more applicable than the sanctified spot in question. The authority of Colgan, a most accurate antiquarian, born and reared in the neighbourhood, and the explicit assertion of Archdall, are immensely strengthened by the unbroken association of divine worship with this rath, and the remarkable vicinity of Feddyglass.

Raymoghy

O'Donovan * analyses the etymology of this name as Rath-maighe-Eanaigh, "Fort of the Plain of Assembly"; but the pronunciation and the natural configuration of

* F.M. 779, note x.

Donegal County Library Service

RAYMOCHY.

Donegal County Library Service

Donegal County Library Service

the district strongly confirm the accuracy of the commonly accepted derivation, Fort of Magh-Itha. A very conspicuous rath crowns the summit of the hill above Manorcunningham, and this rath commands an extensive view of the plain where Ith, the uncle of Milesius, lost his life in the contest with the Firbolgs, when the Spanish colony was first attempting to effect a settlement in Ireland. But that learned antiquarian's summary of the ecclesiastical associations of the place in the early age of the Irish Church, is at once more interesting and better authenticated, except the feast days, which are entirely wrong:—

"In the O'Clery Calendar,* at 1st November, is set down the festival of St. Ciaran, Abbot of Rathmoighe and Teach-Mofhinna, and it is added that he resigned his spirit in the year 783. In the same Calendar, at 1st of September, is set down the festival of Brudhach, Bishop of Rath Moighe h-Aenaigh, who is noticed in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick as 'Episcopus Brugacius, qui est in Rath Mugeaonaich, a Sancto Patritio ordinatus episcopus.' † The Four Masters, as quoted by Colgan in *Acta Sanctorum* (347. n. 6), and as in the Stowe copy, record the death of St. Adamnan, Bishop of Rath Maighe h-Aenaich at the year 725, which corresponds with the year 730 of the *Annals of Ulster*. Colgan is of opinion that the Rath Maighe Aenaich mentioned in this passage is Airther Maighe, now Armoy, in the county of Antrim, but he loses sight of the clue afforded by O'Donnell, where he states that the church of Brugacius is in Tirenna. It is probably the church of Rath (Rye) in the district of Tirenna, near Manorcunningham, in the barony of Raphoe and county of Donegal."

* F.M. 799, note x.
† Part II. c. 136, *Trias. Thaum.* 147.

Donegal County Library Service

The identity of the Raymoghy monastery with Brugach's abode visited by Cruitnechan and his foster-child Columba, has been at all times accepted with unquestioning faith throughout Tirconaill, where hardly any other incident of the Saint's early life is so uniformly and so universally known. For, though Manus O'Donnell's *Life of Columbkille* has been only recently published in book form, fragments of that work were always in circulation, ever since it was written in 1532; and these have been transmitted traditionally and through various printed volumes, from the Tripartite Life to the smallest handbooks of folklore or travel. But the identity of this Bishop Brugach rests on a much more shaky foundation; for, though it is quite possible that a prelate consecrated before St. Patrick's death in 493, would be still hale in 530, this Bishop could not conceivably be a lineal descendant of Colla Dacrich, who died about 500. The Genealogies published by the Rev. Paul Walsh in the *Archivium* (v. and vi.) contain but one Brugadh, assigned by him to November 3rd :— "Brughach, son of Enda, son of Corbmac, son of Fergus, son of Cremtain, son of Feicc, son of Deadhadh, son of Rochadha, son of Colla Dacrich." The *Donegal Martyrology* states that this Brughadh may be "Brughach, son of Sedna, who is of the race of Colla Dacrich"; and this latter authority ascribes as Patron to Raymoghy, at November 1st, a totally different Brughach, adding, nevertheless, "He is of the race of Colla Dacrich." In all cases Brughach is set down as a Bishop, and as a scion of the race of Dacrich; and Colgan, in the *Acta Sanctorum*,* asserts that Brugach of Ratheanich, in Innishowen, was the son of Degad, flourishing about the beginning of the sixth century. Lastly, in the *Cain Adamnain*, Ronnat is represented as resorting for advice to Brugach, son of

*iv. 61.

Donegal County Library Service

Duda, who would thus have resided in this neighbourhood about 630.

From a close comparison of dates and collation of the various passages in the Donegal Calendar, etc., two incontestable conclusions are deducible: first, Brughach, the founder of this monastery, was an outstanding figure in the ecclesiastical regeneration of Tirconaill at the dawn of Columba's luminous mission; and, secondly, he was son of Degad, who was himself son or brother of Colla Dacrich. That there were subsequently other saints of the same illustrious race, named Brughadh, there can be no doubt, but Cretnechan's contemporary and the founder of Raymoghy, is the same holy personage as is described by Colgan. Both the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of Donegal* designate St. Ciaran, who died in 783, Abbot, and not Bishop, of Raymoghy; but they also agree in asserting that St. Adamnan, whose obit occurs at 725, was a Bishop. It is quite unnecessary to observe that this Adamnan was a distinct personage from the Patron of the diocese, whose death occurred in Iona on the 23rd of September, 705. Nor is it needful to point out O'Donovan's error in stating that St. Ciaran's feast is assigned to November the 1st, in the *Martyrology of Donegal*. St. Brughadh's festival was in his mind; St. Ciaran's occurs on October the 8th.

John Colgan places Rathenigh in Inishowen; and, as he was a native of the peninsula himself, thoroughly conversant with all its ecclesiastical antiquities, and unsurpassed for accuracy, it is almost inconceivable that he was mistaken in connecting Brughach with Innishowen. The fact appears to be that Brughach, Adamnan (of Raymochy), etc., exercised episcopal jurisdiction in Innishowen and Tirenna, before the canonical delimitation of dioceses by the Synod of Rathbrassail in 1118. Thus,

Donegal County Library Service

though the Bishop lived in Raymoghy, Ratteen, or Feddyglass, the hagiologist would be justified in associating him with Innishowen, which embraced the main territory of his jurisdiction. Similarly, in Kilbarron there existed in those early ages a succession of distinguished Bishops, who guided the spiritual destinies of the O'Muldorys and their subject clans. The clearest and most convincing evidence of Rathenigh's close association with Raymoghy, is presented in Manus O'Donnell's story of Columba's visit to Brughach* :—

"Nor was it long after that (the miraculous light appearing over Columba's head as he slept, at Templedouglas) when Columbkille and his tutor, Cruithnechan, son of Cellechan, went at Christmas to the holy Bishop Brugach, son of Degadh, of Rath Enaigh in Tir-Enna. The Bishop requested Columbkille's tutor to do priestly duty for him on that solemnity. And such were the awkwardness and shyness of Cruithnechan, while reciting alternate verses with the Bishop, that he broke down in a certain psalm, *Misericordias Domini*, the longest and most difficult psalm in the psaltery. Wonderful! The child attacked the psalm, possessing the favour of God and the power of the grace of the Holy Ghost, in the place of his tutor, and it is certain that he never read before that time anything except the mere alphabet."

Even the casual reader of the Psalms is fully aware that the 118th Psalm is by far the longest, but Manus was better trained in warfare than in Scripture. The psalm *Beati Immaculati* runs all through the "Small Hours" of the Dominical Office; while the *Misericordias Domini*, the 88th Psalm, occupies to-day, as it occupied a thousand years ago, the first place in the Third Nocturn of the Christmas Matins.

* Pages 501 and 597.

Donegal County Library Service

O'Donovan assigns three distinct derivations for the word Raymoghy. First, in his notes at 725 and 779 in the *Annals*, he analysed the name as Rath-maigh-eanaigh, Fort of the Plain of Assembly; secondly, in his letter written at Letterkenny, September 24th, 1835, he makes it the Rath of Mo-Eeochy; and, thirdly, writing from Raphoe on the 30th of September in the same year, he reverses this judgment:—"I think that the parish of Raymoahy is Rath-maighe-Itha, as there is no evidence that Mo-Eochy-beo was the patron of it." This etymological evolution is clearly traceable in O'Donovan's valuable lucubrations throughout; and his final verdict here corresponds exactly with the derivation always accepted in the district. But why is the termination, eanaigh, found in the spelling of the name in both obits, that is, of Bishop Brugach in 725 and of Abbot Ciaran in 779? Manus O'Donnell, already quoted, solves the difficulty by the single phrase "Rath-enaigh in Tir Enna," identifying Bishop Brugach's seat as Ratheny, Rateen, or Rathaneaspuick, as it was designated at various times. Obviously, Raymochy and Rateen were sister abbeys, both pre-Columban, and entirely distinct from Taughboyne; and eventually Raymochy gave its name to a parish, while Rateen became eclipsed by the Columban foundation at Taughboyne, but never, to this day, ceased to be revered as the hallowed site of an abbey and a scalan. Tradition uniformly associates Brugach with Raymoghy; the *Annals* and Manus locate his seat at Rateen or Rathaneaspuick; both tradition and these historical authorities are reconcilable, and both are correct. The reader must, therefore, substitute Rath-maighe-Itha for the first word in the following descriptive passage culled from O'Donovan's Letter from Letterkenny, above referred to:—"Rath Enaigh, or the Fort of the Morass,

Donegal County Library Service

is the present old church of Rye, which is the mother church of Ryemoghy. It lies about quarter of a mile to the south of Manor Cunningham, and is nearly perfect, with the exception of the roof. It is a small church ; and its burial-ground being barren of inscriptions and everything ancient, except rude tombstones uninscribed, encouraged me to hasten away from it immediately."

Since O'Donovan's visit in 1835 many fine gravestones, with glowing inscriptions, have been erected in this churchyard ; but the Catholic side of the enclosure is not enriched by any noteworthy monument of any kind.

This old Catholic parish church was appropriated by the Episcopalians and occupied by that element among the planters, and by their descendants down till 1792, when the Protestant church at Manorcunningham was erected. The Presbyterians predominated from the beginning ; they seized on the monastic church at Belleighan, and retained it as a meeting-house, until the shifting of the population suggested the building of a second church for their denomination near Manorcunningham, about 1780. It is clear from the Inquisitions that the Presbyterians far outnumbered the Episcopalians from the Plantation, but Bishop Knox made no scruple of imposing hands upon Presbyterian, in the same way as upon Episcopalian, ministers.

In 1600 the Rev. Fermeus (Ferdomnach) Glacken * was Vicar of Raymochy. The name of the rector is not appended to the Petition for the reason elsewhere explained, that he declined to join the Niall Garbh cabal in opposition to the Bishop. In 1737 we find the signature, Rev. "Antonius O'Donnell, Junior, Parochus de Ray et Teachboyne," † attached to another Petition similarly addressed to the reigning Pope. These are the only well-

* *Archivium*, ii. 295. † Ib. vi. 58.

Donegal County Library Service

authenticated names of clergy we can discover antecedently to the first official publication of lists in the Catholic Register, 1836. No clergyman representing himself as Parish Priest of Raymoghy registered his name at the Raphoe Sessions of 1704; but, of course, this blank does not justify the inference that the parish was vacant. The *Report on the State of Popery in* 1731 contains the single sentence, "One Popish Priest, who officiates in the fields."

It would appear that the herenach family of the Mac Veighs had already ceased to supply parsons, at all events in unbroken succession, to this parish as far back as the beginning of the fifteenth century. Clement O'Friel, who died in 1423, was the second parish priest whose name has been transmitted to us. In that year, the reigning Pope issued a "mandate to the Bishop of Connor to collate the rectory of Raymoghy, vacant by the death of Clement O'Friel, to Cornelius Mac Menamin O'Donnell, Canon of Raphoe." * Maurice, brother of Cornelius, was a Canon of Raphoe and also a Canon of Connor diocese, and was, later on, promoted to the dignity of Archdeacon of Connor,† "being by both parents of noble race." And Donal, a third brother, was prebendary rector of Clondahorky, until he was compelled to resign that incumbency four years after he had been constituted Dean of Raphoe.‡

The Bishop of Connor at that time was Eugenius O'Donnell, regarding whom Ware was unable to discover anything except his Christian name. As the Papal mandate is addressed to him, it is a legitimate, and indeed a patent, inference that this prelate communicated intelligence of the vacancy to the Holy See, and postulated for the appointment of his relative. In our brief sketch of John Mac Menamin's episcopate, it is shown from a Papal

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vii. 263. † Ib. viii. 157. ‡ Ib. viii. 430, 452.

Donegal County Library Service

Mandate, 2nd March, 1412, that this prelate had conferred the rectory of Raymoghy on Niall O'Kane; that Clement O'Friel, the Archdeacon, had held that position a few months after his preferment to the archdeaconry, contrary to the Canon Law in restraint of pluralities; and that Mallan O'Doherty had been Clement's predecessor. The Mandate of 1423, quoted above, clearly demonstrates that Clement O'Friel elected to resign Mevagh, and continued rector of Raymoghy till his death.

Balleighan Abbey

"Baile-aighidh-chaoin," says O'Donovan,* "that is, *villa-faciei-amoenae*, is now anglicised Balleeghan, and lies on the margin of Lough Swilly, about 1¼ mile north-east of Manorcunningham. Its Irish name would be pronounced Bal-eye-cheen (*eye* in Irish is face, and *caoin* is delightful or pleasant). At present, it contains the ruins of a very large and beautiful church, in the Gothic style; no tradition exists as to when or by whom it was built. It is the finest and largest church in the county, except Kilmacrenan old church, which vies with it in size, but not in beauty or elegance of architecture. It must have been used as a Protestant church, and roofed till a late period, as it is in such fine preservation. I could not discover any Well called Cobharthach † in the neighbourhood of it. There is a flax-mill stream passing very close to it to the west; but the natives say that it has not its source in any remarkable well. The only curious wells in the parish are Tobar Slan (*fons sanans*), in the townland of Ryelands; and Lagan Well in the townland of Drumoghill. I think that Tobar Slan may be the same

* Letter from Letterkenny, September 24th, 1835.
† F.M. 1557.

Donegal County Library Service

as the well of Cobharthach, as the names are nearly synonymous, that signifying the healing, and this the assisting or relieving Well."

There is no local evidence to support Dr. O'Donovan's suggestion that the Protestants seized upon, and continued to worship in, "till recently," say 1780, the monastic church of Balleighan. But there is overwhelming evidence to show that the Presbyterians annexed this beautiful Catholic church, and, evidently with the consent of their accommodating friend, Bishop Knox, acquired prescriptive ownership of the building and premises. Hill remarks,* in regard to the religion of the Scottish planters in the "Proportion of Moyagh, *alias* Ballaghan":—"Pynnar says nothing about the oath of supremacy in connection with this formidable body of armed men, but the Inquisition above quoted (Donegal, 5 Charles I) informs us that they had *not* taken that oath." They were, therefore, Presbyterians or Covenanters; and it was they, and not the Episcopalians (who did not exist in the district), that converted the Catholic church into a meeting-house. Of course they did not require so spacious a building; but, finding it ready for occupation, they considered they had as good (or as bad) a right to the church as to the land. Hill further points out that numbers of Catholics still clung to their native soil, settling down chiefly in Trian-Carrickmore, and Gracky, though Pynnar reports, "I saw not one Irish family on all the land."

The writers of handbooks, who assert that there never existed an abbey here, because nothing remains but a Gothic church, display a total want of acquaintance with both the literature on the subject and the evidence furnished by the soil formation. Allemande, Archdall, and

* 507 n. (166).

Donegal County Library Service

other reliable authors (Holt, for instance) support the local tradition that a friary existed here in the sixteenth century, closely associated with the monastery of Killodonnell, on the opposite side of the Swilly. Then the existence of a thick stratum of *débris* from the levelled houses, can alone account for the remarkable elevation of the graveyard immediately west of the church. While no other theory but the destruction of an extensive block of buildings could account for the endless multitude of stones in the vicinity. The beautiful Gothic church, which stood severely alone for centuries at Ballysaggart, down to the destructive storm of 1907, is an all-sufficient answer to the specious objection that a monastic church could not survive the general ruin of an important friary. It is just questionable whether the architecture of the Ballysaggart church was not superior to that which is so admired at Balleighan, seeing that the edifice at Ballysaggart has been a ruin for over 300 years, while Balleighan was well cared till about 1780. Besides, its protected position favoured the preservation of the latter edifice, while the former was exposed to all the winds of Aeolus, and to all the herds of Pan.

The general belief is that the Balleighan Abbey was founded by Hugh Dubh in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and that, like Killodonnell, it was a daughter of Kilmacrenan Franciscan Friary.

Killea

"The church of Killea, was one of the five rural churches which depended upon, and were attached to, the great church in Derry. It stood on a gentle slope above a bog, three miles from the city, and its ruins still occupied the spot until a few years ago (1902), when they were

Donegal County Library Service

taken down, and the materials used in biulding a new wall around the graveyard. The latter is still used for interments. The church gives its name to the adjoining parish of Killea, which in the Protestant division is still a distinct parish, but in the Catholic division is amalgamated with a number of other small parishes to form what is called the parish of Taughboyne and All Saints.

"The parish of Killea is in the diocese of Raphoe, but the townland and church of Killea are in the diocese of Derry. The north-west Liberties, which extend three miles in a semicircle from the city on the western side of the Foyle, were cut off from Donegal by Dowcra, and added to the county of Derry. This explains the reason of the parish being at present in a different county from the church that gave it its name (Derriana)."

It is most probable that the church owed its origin to a saint named Fiach, though he is no longer remembered in the district. It appears from Mac Firbis's List of the Saints descended from Eoghan, the prince of this territory, that there were two Bishops of that name, one a son and the other a grandson of that prince.

The portion of Killea comprised within the County Donegal contains thirteen townlands, and among them Carrigans and Toberslane. Dr. John Keys O'Doherty, late Bishop of Derry, was born at Killea and, in his *Derriana*, vindicates to that locality the honour of being the scene of Bishop Redmund O'Gallagher's martyrdom.

Donegal County Library Service

Parish Priests

Taughboyne.

Donal Mac Bride, 1428.
Andrew O'Roddy, 1429.
Andrew Boyce, 1438.
Thomas O'Roddy, 1450.
Hugh O'Sheridan, 1550.
Terence O'Quinn, 1600.
Tully Boyce, 1620.
Peter Boyce, 1628
Felix Magee, 1680.

Raymochy.

Mallan O'Doherty, 1400.
Clement O'Friel, 1411.
Niall O'Kane, 1412.
Clement O'Friel, 1416
Cornelius Mac Menamin O'Donnell, 1423.
Fermeus Glacken, Vicar, 1600.

United Parishes: Anthony O'Donnell, 1737; Anthony Coyle, 1800; Hugh Quinn, 1806; James O'Carolan, 1819; John Mooney, 1822; Peter Mac Menamin, 1828; James Stephens, 1843; Michael Friel, 1863; Michael Martin, 1870; John Sweeney, 1886; John Doherty, 1896; Thomas Slevin, 1907; Daniel Mac Ginley, 1917.

Curates

Drumoghill

Michael Mac Dermott, 1830.
John O'Donnell, 1835.
Michael Mac Nally, 1840.
Charles O'Donnell, 1843
Thomas Diver, 1845.
John Flanagan, 1850.
Michael Martin, 1858.
John Sweeney, 1868.
Peter Mac Devitt, 1872.
Andrew Houston, 1875.
Patrick Mac Devitt, 1876.
Patrick Mac Kay, 1880.
John Byrne, 1900.
James Toner, 1904.
Hugh Maguire, 1907.
John Crumley, 1909.
James MacMenamin, 1912.
Denis Murrin, 1915.

Newtowncunningham

Daniel Mac Ginley, 1891.
Daniel Mac Gettigan, 1895.
Alphonsus Ward, 1903.
Bernard Kelly, 1904.
Hugh O'Gara, 1906.
Patrick Dunlevy, 1907.
John Doherty, 1908.
Daniel Mac Ginley, 1908.
Francis Sheridan, 1915.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XII

Parish of Ardara

"This parochial district," writes Lewis, "was formed by Act of Council in 1829 by disuniting 38 townlands from the parish of Killybegs and 49 from that of Inniskeel." This delimitation, effected by the Protestant Church authorities, was soon after adopted by the Catholic Bishop, with some important modifications, and approved by the Holy See. Eight townlands near and including Kilraine, which had always belonged to Killybegs, were permanently annexed to Inniskeel, and the seaboard strip from Letterilly westward was exclusively incorporated with Ardara. But it would be a grave error to assume that the original vast parish of Inniskeel had retained its unwieldy integrity down to 1832. For we possess abundant documentary, as well as traditional, evidence to show that from 1600, approximately, till this latter date, the ancient parish was partitioned into two distinct benefices, East and West Inniskeel, the latter including Lettermacaward. In 1704, the Rev. Daniel Tighe, residing in Glenleighan, was parish priest of Inniskeel East; and the Rev. William O'Boyle, residing in Loughross, was parish priest of Lettermacaward and West Inniskeel. The list of signatures of Raphoe clergy appended to a famous Petition presented to Pope Clement XII, in 1737, comprises Rev. Conal Mac Laughlin, Canon and parish priest of Inniskeel, and Rev. Terence O'Boyle, parish priest of Inniskeel. For two whole centuries the parish priest of West Inniskeel was an O'Boyle, education in a continental college being a monopoly among wealthy families.

Donegal County Library Service

Seeing that the celebrated island and sanctuary of Conal Caol are included in Ardara parish, it may be asked why this district has not also appropriated the name of Inniskeel. The main reason would appear to be that the parish church was situated in Kilkenny, which belongs to the eastern and much larger section of the disunited parish.

That church, as well as the edifice in the island, was at once grabbed by the Planters in 1610. It is described by Pococke, in 1752, as a "chapel of ease," the island church possessing an historic priority, or, more probably, a Protestant church occupying a site near that on which the present building was erected in 1825. He implies pretty clearly that the island church was disused at the period of his visit: "Opposite the Minister's house is a small island called Keel or Inniskeel (Island Red!), in which are two churches. About one the Protestants bury, and at the other the Papists." *

The Patron of Ardara is Seanachan, one of seven brothers, who were all well-known Irish saints, two others of them being abbots, also, in the county Donegal. Garvan was the founder of a monastery near Rathmullan, and Boedan settled at Culdaff. Our saint is distinguished from others of the same name by the cognomen Dubaith, and his descent from Cathaoir Mor is thus delineated in O'Clery's Genealogies, by the Rev. Paul Walsh:—"Sheanaghan Dubaith, son of Luighdeach, son of Nathi, son of Dolbhaigh, son of Sedna, son of Connla, son of Aonghasa, son of Oilealla cedaigh, son of Cathaoir Mor." † His feast day is the 7th of August, but has long ceased to be celebrated. O'Donovan remarks in his notes to *Loughross*, at A.D. 1540:—"The ruins of three old churches are still (1856) to be seen in the neighbourhood of Loughross Bay,

* *Pococke's Tour*, p. 67. † *Archivium*, v. p. 91.

Donegal County Library Service

namely, Kilturis, Kilkenny, and Kilcashel, but the memory of St. Senchan is not now celebrated at any of them." It never was, for the principal church was St. Sheanaghan's, which stood on the verge of the lake, at a spot still universally known in the locality, down to the days of the Plantation, but when it was demolished we know not.

The Inquisition demonstrates that very extensive estates were attached to this monastery, and that, on its extinction, they had reverted as herenach lands to the Bishop of Raphoe. These were not *termon* lands, however ; hence Niall O'Boyle was obliged to seek sanctuary within the church itself, on the occasion of his incursion against his kinsman, Conor, in 1540, as recounted in the Annals. The Mooneys were the herenachs of the Shanaghan church lands, and they were also the most ancient herenachs of a portion of the Inniskeel estates. In fact, everything points to the truth of the tradition that Conal Caol brought St. Shanaghan as Abbot to Loughross.

"There are four quarters of herenach land," say the Jurors, "whereof there are three herenachs, O'Breslan, O'Keran, and O'Mooney." * In conformity with the universal custom, the parsons or rectors were supplied by the herenach families, but it rarely happened that the continuity was unbroken in any parish. Thus we find that Laurence O'Gallagher, who was promoted to the bishopric in 1442, was succeeded, as he had been preceded, by an O'Breslin. Brady publishes a Roman document, which conveys that Maolmuire O'Breslin, pastor of Inniskeel, and Clement O'Friel, pastor of Donaghmore, visited Rome in 1443, as proctors of the Bishop-Elect. Again, a Papal Mandate, dated 5th December, 1427, represents Murrogh O'Breslin as rector at that time, and

* See page 49.

Donegal County Library Service

thus enables us to see that the interruption in the O'Breslin succession was of exceedingly brief duration.

One very illuminative record, occurring at A.D. 985 in the *Four Masters*, at once exposes the error of the English scribe in rendering Maolcaorain as O'Keran, and establishes the claim of the O'Mooneys to be regarded as the collateral descendants or kinsmen of the celebrated Conal Caol:—"Maolcaorain, grandson of Mooney and coarb of Columbkille, was cruelly martyred by the Danes in Dublin." The Mulherns were therefore a branch of the O'Mooneys and both families were entitled to be called coarbs, while the O'Breslins were only herenachs and could not justly claim blood-relationship with the founder of the original monastery. Moreover, the Mulherns are quite a distinct sept from the O'Kearns family, who were herenachs of Killaghtee.

Niall O'Boyle, Bishop of Raphoe, who died in Desart Monastery in 1611, spent the last twelve years of his troublous life in the old family castle of Kilturis, and his remains repose within the hallowed precincts of Inniskeel graveyard. The long line of pastors bearing his honoured surname was interrupted about 1775, by the appointment of the saintly Patrick Mac Nealis, a native of Stracastle, whose brother John, was parish priest of Killymard. The name of Father Patrick has been associated down to the present day with a well-authenticated miracle. A child was brought to him to be baptised; and, to their horror and amazement, the sponsors made the ghastly discovery on their arrival at the priest's house, that it was a corpse and not a living child they were about to present for the solemn ceremony. Father Mac Nealis insisted on proceeding with the baptism; and instantly, on his making the sign of the cross on the child's forehead, his faith was vindicated, for the infant mani-

Donegal County Library Service

fested unmistakable symptoms of energetic life. Old Mr. Moloney, of the neighbourhood of Brackey, who died less than thirty years ago, was the individual thus resuscitated, and his astounding narrative was corroborated by the unanimous voice of his compeers in age. Though Moloney attained a patriarchal span, the incident of the miracle and his subsequent association with Father Mac Nealis, would point to the continuance of the latter's pastorate till about 1812, when the well-known Father Cornelius O'Boyle succeeded him.

Very Rev. Charles O'Donnell, P.P.

Those of our readers who remember the handsome countenance and attractive manner of this cultured ecclesiastic, will not fail to attribute his high standing among the clergy to his personal endowments of intellect, and to his charming benevolence, rather than to his nobility of birth. A lineal descendant of Calvagh O'Donnell, he shared, with the other gifted members of his family, all the high qualities, physical and mental, with which the old O'Donnell chieftains are traditionally invested, leavened with an all-penetrating humanness of disposition. Born in Letterilly in the memorable year of the Emancipation Act, 1829, he was trained from an early age in the Letterkenny Seminary, where his distinguished brother, Father Hugh O'Donnell, was President. He matriculated in Maynooth College in 1845, and won high academic distinctions in the more advanced stages of his college studies. At no period of his life, however, did he display the same insatiable voracity for knowledge, or the same longing to communicate it, as did his elder brother, who was a prodigy in his day. Almost every summer, both brothers paid a welcome visit to Ballinamore and to

Donegal County Library Service

Glassagh, the cradle of their family. After his ordination, in 1852, Father Charles was appointed curate to the Very Rev. James Gallagher, P.P., V.G., Mevagh, where he spent three laborious, but very happy years. His subsequent missionary career was almost equally divided between Letterkenny and Ardara, in both of which places his impressive sermons and his graceful figure are still pleasantly remembered.

In the full glow of vigorous manhood, he took up the administration of the parish of Ardara, in 1867, with enthusiastic earnestness, and proposed a bulky programme of reforms, many of which remained in embryo at his death. An ardent lover and a pleasing exponent of music, he at once introduced a choir into the church, and his niece won unstinted praise both as an organist and as an instructress. His next desire was to build and equip a central school, that would serve as a model in the district. In a word, his refining influence soon began to be felt everywhere, elevating the tastes and ennobling the ideals of old and young. But, like many other intellectual ecclesiastics, he was a dismal failure as a financier, and the dream of his life, which was to build a grand parochial church in Ardara, remained a dream, when his life was abruptly closed.

His death was pathetically tragic. Standing at the foot of the altar-steps, and raising his eyes to heaven while reciting the opening words of the "Introibo" at the public Mass on Sunday, the 2nd of April, 1885, he fell suddenly forward, prostrated by a stroke of apoplexy, which left him unconscious and immobile in an instant. Several messengers on horseback galloped at top speed to summon the curate from the Downstrands chapel to administer the last rites to the dying pastor. Father Peter Mac Devitt was always a daring rider, and, long

Donegal County Library Service

before he was expected, rushed into the sacristy, where the patient lay, relieving the tension and brightening the hopes of the expectant congregation. Death was at hand, but its sting had been extracted by the consolations of the Church and of his flock. The late Dean Mac Fadden delivered the panegyric at the Month's Mind, and his realistic description of the death scene evoked loud sobs and copious tears from the bereaved parishioners.

Rev. Peter Kelly, P.P.

This sterling pastor was a gifted scion of an old levitical stock, whose original habitat was Murvagh, in Drumhome, but of which ramifications spread out to the Roose and to Ballyshannon, many generations ago. Rossnowlagh was a later plantation. Dr. Edward Kelly was physician to the Union, and a flourishing practitioner, living in Castle Street, Ballyshannon, father of the above-named clergyman, of two medical doctors, John, of Glenties, and Dan, who practised in London; and of two accomplished Mercy nuns, Sister Teresa, of Loughrea Convent, and Sister Vincent, a well-known figure in the Mater Hospital, only recently deceased. All five were celibates, and, hence, Dr. Edward Kelly's progeny is entirely extinct.

Father Peter was educated from his early years in Castleknock, from which institution he proceeded to the Irish College in Rome, in the autumn of 1852. Monsignor Kirby was then President, and, practising rigorous mortification himself, he was immovably averse to allowing the students anything that could be classed as a luxury, in their routine dietary. Father Peter's upright and frank demeanour commended him to the President, and his sincerity and honourable dealings soon endeared him to his mates. Hence, he was deputed to request that a

Donegal County Library Service

small allowance of butter should be served at breakfast ; but the President met his modest petition with the stereotyped answer, " Castigo corpus meum, ut in servitutem redigam." However, in the following summer, he approached Cardinal Cullen with more success, and ever since the breakfast menu contained the item named " Kelly's butter." In the class halls of the Propaganda he attained a leading distinction, but declined to present himself for the D.D. examination, though pressed to do so by his professors.

He was nominated to Killaghtee curacy in 1863, immediately after he had returned from Rome, where he had received the order of Priesthood in St. John of Lateran's, at the hands of the Cardinal-Vicar. Nine years after, in 1871, he was transferred to Donegal ; in January, 1876, he was made Administrator of Inver ; and, on Father Mac Groarty's death, in 1879, he succeeded that lamented pastor in Glencolumbkille. In October, 1880, he was promoted to the parish of Raphoe, and in 1885 he was again advanced to the more desirable pastorate of Doe. Here he demonstrated his characteristic unselfishness by erecting a comfortable parochial house for his curate, quite near the church, while he himself remained in rented rooms at Dunfanaghy. An unflinching and able exponent of the tenants' grievances, he achieved an enviable fame for his platform speeches and his elegant letters in the press, during the eviction campaign of the late eighties, and the turmoil that followed the imprisonment of Father Mac Fadden and Father Stephens. During that crisis, he exhibited an admirable *esprit-de-corps*, for, while wholeheartedly upholding their claims on public sympathy, he made no secret of his disapproval of some hyperbolic words and impolitic acts of Father Mac Fadden. Though the circumstances of his parish were less favourable for the

Donegal County Library Service

assault on the citadel of landlordism, both in regard to rack-rents and evictions, he nobly fought shoulder to shoulder with the priests of Gweedore and Cloghaneely; and his fine figure and ready eloquence made a deep impression on the American and English journalists.

Transferred to Ardara in 1892, he at once organised a movement to raise funds for the building of a new church, the old structure having become both unsightly and unsafe. Concurrently, too, with the furtherance of this enormous undertaking, he erected several splendid schools in various parts of the parish. His earnestness and his business capacity enabled him to carry all his laudable projects to a successful realisation.

The circumstances of his death were not altogether so dramatic as those attending the death of Father Charles, but the element of suddenness was almost as startling, and the crosses he blamed for his heart affection were deeply and genuinely deplored. He had lived to see his new church, a perfect gem of architecture, finished and dedicated to public worship. The Cardinal's sermon on the day of solemn opening was of itself quite enough to make the occasion historic. "Ut quid perditio haec?" —"Why this waste?"—was the text, and its treatment was superb. To all appearance, the good pastor was bright and robust on that proud day, Sunday, the 15th of November, and in a little over a month later, on the 18th of December, a sudden attack of peritonitis put a period to his laborious and exemplary life.

NB

Rev. Daniel Vincent Stephens, P.P.

Early in 1904, this universally esteemed young priest was called from the busy post of Administrator in Letterkenny to the monotonous work-a-day life of pastor in

Donegal County Library Service

Ardara. Full of enthusiastic love for the "beauty of God's house," he immediately embarked on the ambitious undertaking of perfecting his predecessor's work, by the ornamentation of the church and church-grounds, the erection of a commodious double residence for himself and his assistant, and the complete liquidation of all liabilities thus to be contracted. Ignoring all suggestions of possible failure, he pushed forward the work with astounding rapidity, profiting by the unique experience he had acquired in superintending the completion of the cathedral in Letterkenny for three weary years after the contractor had failed. Then, his whole programme of immediate improvements having been triumphantly executed, he organised a magnificent bazaar which will be long remembered in the locality. It would be risky to assert that this enterprising venture proved a pronounced success, but it is a mild statement of fact to say that his own popularity brought in enormous contributions. This heavy undertaking once completed, his tireless energies sought employment in assisting to equip St. Eunan's College with furniture and with the piping apparatus for the introduction of water and gas. Meanwhile, anæsthenia and hepatitis were working havoc on his naturally fragile constitution ; and, after a very brief illness, consoled by the affectionate attentions of his worthy relatives, the Bishop, and the clergy, he died a holy death on the 28th of May, 1907. Very aptly, indeed, was the touching couplet applied to him, on the occasion of his Month's Mind :

"The builder lies dead on the building, but not till the building was done ;
The climber lies dead on the hillside, but not till the summit was won."

Donegal County Library Service

Born in Ballyshannon in the year 1854, the youngest of the seven sons of John Stephens and Mary Brady, he was nephew of Monsignor Stephens and of the celebrated Attorney Brady. At the age of fourteen years, he was placed under the direction of the Blackrock Fathers. In 1872 he was transferred to Letterkenny High School, in preparation for Maynooth College, which he entered the following year. At the end of his Humanity course, he was awarded the blue ribbon, the *Solus*, and later in his curriculum he won many coveted distinctions. But personal sanctity and nobility of character were his accredited passports to the esteem of superiors and colleagues through life. Ordained priest by Dr. Mac Evilly, Coadjutor of Tuam, on the 24th of June, 1880, in the old College Chapel, he spent five strenuous years in the Liverpool diocese, and, on returning, brought with him valued parting presents from old Bishop O'Reilly, the priests, and the people of St. Nicholas's parish.

Stationed in Falcarragh, in 1885, he soon found himself in the hottest sector of the war zone, the generals being Father Mac Fadden, of Gweedore, and Daniel Mac Sweeney on the tenants' side, and Wybrants Olphert, supported by the Government forces, military and police, on the landlord's side. On the merits of the issues at stake and of the weapons of warfare respectively employed, it is still premature to attempt to pronounce an impartial verdict. Landlordism in Donegal was intolerable. Mr. Olphert was not the worst type of his class, and the sacrifices of life and property were immensely incommensurate with the questionable gains. Of course, the struggle was directed towards a national liberation from a most tyrannous yoke, and sacrifices were not only justifiable, but inevitable. We leave our readers to decide; but it is undeniable that Father Stephens was actuated by the noblest

Donegal County Library Service

motives of patriotism and of sympathy with his barbarously treated people, and that his spotless character shone like gold in the furnace of his torments and trials. Twice incarcerated in Derry Jail, he was compelled to lay his frail body on the rough plank bed, and to endure for six whole months the deprivation of social contact with priest or layman. His constitution was undermined, and the seeds of his fatal disease were there ineradicably implanted in vital organs.

After his second enlargement, in 1889, the Bishop showed his growing appreciation of Father Stephens's sterling worth, by bringing him to the cathedral parish of Letterkenny. With Monsignor Walker he constituted the first deputation to the Donegal exiles in the States, in 1894, to solicit financial aid to build the new cathedral. His magnetic personality and his gaining earnestness secured him a welcome and a subscription everywhere. On his return after a three years' tour of exceptionally hard labour, he was entrusted with the still more exacting task of superintending the building of the cathedral, and distributing the work and wages. "Consummatus in brevi, explevit tempora multa."

The Rev. Bernard Mac Monagle was born in Killycreen, educated in Paris, ordained in 1856, and, after eighteen months of fervent work in Doe, appointed curate to his life-long friend, Dr. Mac Gettigan, in Ballyshannon, in 1858. Here he remained till 1864, when he succeeded the Rev. Thomas Daly, completing the church of SS. Peter and Paul, Downstrands, which was solemnly opened on the 29th June, the following year. Tubercular from birth, he developed unmistakable symptoms of rapid dissolution, at the close of 1871, and, nursed by his mother in his old Ballyshannon lodging on The Mall, he died as he had lived, "Deo hominibusque dilectus," on the

Donegal County Library Service

16th June, 1872. A vast cortège accompanied his remains to their final resting-place at the Kilclooney church.

The Rev. Hugh Gildea was born near Ardara town in 1862, and was nephew of the once well-known and prosperous commercial travellers, Anthony and Hugh O'Donnell of Derry. Distinguished at the Intermediate Examinations in the Senior Grade, at the old Seminary, in 1880, he entered Maynooth that year, getting Honours in the Royal University and high distinctions in St. Patrick's College. His first missionary experience was acquired in Omagh, immediately after the general Ordinations to Priesthood celebrated by Archbishop Walsh in 1887. For many years, his appointments were brief, as he was supplying the places of senior priests who were abroad on a collecting tour; but he laboured assiduously and continuously in Dungloe from 1891 till 1898. Then he was transferred to Gweedore, and thence to Carrick, where his health began to fail. He died at Ardara on the 28th July, 1903.

The Rev. Arthur Hughes was a native of Dunfanaghy, and matriculated in Maynooth in January, 1879. He was ordained by the Cardinal at Letterkenny in 1886, and spent the first six years of his missionary life in the Clogher diocese, at Castleblayney. From his return to Raphoe, in 1891, till his death, June the 25th, 1905, he resided permanently and accomplished solid work in the Downstrands section of Ardara parish. The parochial house and ornamental surroundings are a memorial of his taste and zeal.

Father Michael Mac Hugh, though still very much alive, has abandoned Ardara and Raphoe diocese for the higher apostolic "Maynooth Mission to China." Born in historic Kinnaveer, he was invested with the order of priesthood at Maynooth on the 21st of June, 1903, Dr. Walsh being the ordaining Bishop. Glasgow, at Partick, 1903

Donegal County Library Service

till 1904; Churchill till 1906; Drimarone till 1912; Kilclooney till 1918.

Conal Caol and Dallan Forgaill

The immense and comparative fertility of the estates bestowed as an endowment on Conal are, of themselves, sufficient proof that he was a lineal descendant of Conal Gulban. O'Clery's Genealogies * edited by the Rev. Paul Walsh, of Maynooth College, set forth his lineage as follows:—"Conal, son of Maine Caol, son of Cathaoir, son of Boghaine, son of Conal Gulban." Though he spent most of his fruitful life on the celebrated island to which he bequeathed his agnomen, Caol, and with it hallowed and romantic memories, he also visited many and distant parts elsewhere in the territory of his great progenitor, Boghaine, or Bannagh. St. Conal's Well in Killaghtee to this day attracts numerous pilgrims, and has often furnished striking proof of the efficacy of its healing waters.

A very able and graphic description of the island of Inniskeel, its historic associations, its churches, cemetery and wells, appeared in the September number of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in 1887, written by the present Bishop of Raphoe, then Prefect of the Dunboyne, and Librarian in Maynooth. We here transcribe only the portion that is intimately germane to the subject in hand.

"The year of St. Connell's birth is not known with exactness. He died about 596, and had therefore been contemporary with a host of Irish saints. Sprung from the Cinel Conall, being the fourth in descent from Conall Gulban, he was a near relative of St. Columba. His name is mentioned in several of our ancient records. It is linked

* *Archivium*, v. p. 35.

Donegal County Library Service

for ever with the famous Cain Domnaigh, a law forbidding servile works on Sunday. The prohibition ran from Vespers on Saturday evening to Monday morning, and should delight the heart of a Sabbatarian by its exacting observance, did it not in other respects show unmistakable savour of Catholic practice. In the *Yellow Book of Lecan* the Cain is prefaced by a statement of its being brought from Rome by St. Connell, on an occasion of a pilgrimage made by him to the Eternal City. The metrical version contained in a manuscript copy of the ancient laws (in 'Cod. Clarend.') says it was the 'Comarb of Peter and Paul' who first found and promulgated the document. St. Connell is not credited in either account with its authorship. Nay, O'Curry thinks he was a hundred years in his grave before a knowledge of it became general in Ireland. Be this as it may, our chroniclers make two notable statements in regard to it. They say it was written by the hand of God in heaven and placed on the altar of St. Peter; and, secondly, that it was brought from Rome by St. Connell. Now, however we may be inclined to explain away either or both these statements, there is no mistaking the avowal of respect they imply for Roman authority, nor any serious reason for calling the pilgrimage itself into question. And see the faith of our fathers shining through the old Irish ordinance. Though the law in its severity forbids journeying on a Sunday, yet

> 'A priest may journey on a Sunday,
> To attend a person about to die,
> To give him the body of Christ, the chaste,
> If he be expected to expire before morning.'

The Cain Domnaigh was never enacted by the states or councils of Erin. That it was believed to have been brought from Rome sufficed to spread its sway.

Donegal County Library Service

"It is now time to say something of St. Connell's famous friend, Dallan Forgail. 'Euchodius' is the Latin form given by Colgan for his original name. The better known appellation of Dallan is obviously derived from *dall*, blind; for, at an early stage in his career he lost the use of his eyes. Notwithstanding this dismal fate, he became the most eminent man of letters in Ireland, at a time when the paths of scholarship were eagerly pursued by a host of able men. He was antiquary, philosopher, rhetorician, and poet, all in one. He was the literary chief, the *file laureate* of Erin in his day. A saint's life and a martyr's death crown the glory of his fame.

"He was born, as Colgan tells us, in Teallach Eathach, which we take to be Tullyhaw, in Cavan. Removed by only a few degrees of descent from Colla, King of Ireland, St. Maidoc, of the same lineage, was his cousin. From his mother, Forghella, he received the second name, Forgail, which we sometimes find added in the old writers. Nothing that parental care could accomplish, was left undone to perfect his education in sacred and secular subjects. From an early date he took to the antiquarian lore of his country, as a special study. It was in this department, so indispensable for an Irish scholar of the sixth century, that he first attained an eminent place. Nor unlikely, his research into ancient records had something to do with the difficulty of the style in which he wrote. It appeared archaic even to experts who lived centuries before Colgan wrote; and we are told by this author how, in the schools of Irish antiquities, it was usual to expound Dallan's compositions by adding long commentaries on these rare specimens of the old Celtic tongue.

"The 'Amhra Coluim Cille,' or written panegyric on Columbkille, was his best known work. When the famous assembly at Drumceat was breaking up, just after Columba

Donegal County Library Service

had succeeded in directing its proceedings to such a happy issue, Dallan came forward and presented the Saint with a poem written in eulogy of his merits. A part of the composition was thereupon recited; but only a part. For, as the event is told by Colgan, a slight feeling of vain-glory brought the demons in whirling crowds above Columba's head, before the astonished gaze of St. Baithen, his disciple and attendant. No sooner did the person principally concerned in this wonderful occurrence, perceive the terrible sign, than he was struck with deep compunction, and immediately stopped the recital. No entreaty ever after could induce him to allow the publication of the panegyric during his life. But by unceasing effort, Dallan obtained the Saint's permission to write a eulogy of him in case of survivorship. An angel, we are told, brought the news of Columba's death to St. Dallan, who forthwith composed his famous 'Amhra Coluim Cille,' embodying, in all probability, much of his former panegyric.

"As soon as the learned work was completed, Dallan recovered his sight, and received a promise that anyone who would piously recite the composition from memory, should obtain a happy death. This promise was liable to abuse in two opposite ways. The wicked might be tempted to look upon the recital of the eulogy as an easy substitute for a good life. The good, from seeing this interpretation carried into practice, might naturally be inclined to turn away in disgust from all use of the privilege. In point of fact, both these errors began to show themselves, and were sure to grow, did not a miraculous event occur to put the promise on a proper basis. A cleric of abandoned life took to committing the rule, as a more comfortable way to heaven than the path of penance. But, after learning one half, no effort would avail for further progress;

Donegal County Library Service

he adopted a virtuous life to soften, or rather get rid of the day of reckoning. He made a vow, and in fulfilment of it went to Columba's tomb, whereat he spent a whole night in fast and vigil. When morning dawned, his prayer had been heard. He could recite the second part of the poem, word for word. But to his utter confusion, not a trace of the lines he had known so well before remained on his memory. What happened him in the end we are not told. Let us hope he applied the obvious lesson his story preaches. As Colgan says, it emphatically showed that a true conversion of heart must accompany the pious repetition from memory of Columba's praises, if eternal life is to be the reward. In this particular instance, the value of the promise was clearly conveyed. The person's perverse intention was visibly punished by his being afflicted with inability to fulfil an indispensable condition of the privilege. He could not even commit the words.

" St. Dallan composed another funeral oration in praise of St. Senan, Bishop of Iniscattery. It was prized both for its richness of ancient diction, and for the valuable preserving from blindness those who recited it with devotion. He composed a third panegyric on St. Connell Coel, for whom he entertained a most enthusiastic esteem. Colgan, who says he possessed copies of the two former compositions, states that he knew not whether that on the Abbot of Inniskeel was then extant.

" Dallan had often besought in prayer that he and St. Connell might share the same grave. The favour came to be enjoyed in a manner at once saintly and tragic. He had been a frequent visitor at the island monastery, and the last time he came, a band of pirates landing from the neighbouring port, burst into the sacred building, as he was betaking himself, after the spiritual exercises, to the

Donegal County Library Service

repose of the guest-room. These fierce sea-rovers, who in all probability were pagans, from more northern coasts, plundered ruthlessly on all sides, and brought their deeds of sacrilege to a close by cutting off the old man's head and casting it into the ocean. The abbot, who contrived to escape, on hearing that his dear friend had fallen a victim to the murderers, rushed to the spot where he had been slain, but only to find the headless trunk of what had been St. Dallan's body.

"With tears and prayers he at once appealed to God, beseeching Him to reveal where the head of his martyred friend had been cast. The petition of one so favoured of Heaven was granted. He saw it rise and fall on the waves, at a distance, and then move to the shore. He took it up with reverent care and placed it in its proper place on the body, when, lo! to his grateful delight, he found the parts adhere as firmly as if the pirate's cutlass had never severed them. St. Dallan's remains were then buried under the church walls, with all the honour such earnest and mutual esteem was sure to prompt. This occurred about the year 594. Before the century closed, St. Connell's body was laid in the same grave. Thus was St. Dallan's life-long wish gratified at last. No wonder the spot should be, in Colgan's words, the scene of daily miracles.

"St. Dallan's feast occurs on the 29th January. His memory survived in the veneration of several other churches throughout Ulster.

"The 'station' may be performed at any time. But the solemn season lasts from the 20th of May, St. Connell's day, to the 12th of September. Besides the founder's well, there is another sacred to the Blessed Virgin. Fixed prayers are devoutly said at each, as also in going round the penitential piles, of which there are several, formed as a rule of small sea-stones, which are kept together by

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the self-mortifying attention of the pilgrims. A number of decades repeated in walking round the old ruins and before the altar of St. Connell's church, bring the *turas* to a close."

St. Sheanachan's Church

The site of St. Shanaghan's Church, or Abbey Chapel, is still discernible on the edge of the lake, which, like the townland, bears the Saint's name and thus perpetuates his memory. In close contiguity is a beautiful well, which is believed to have been formerly venerated for ages as St. Shanaghan's Well, and, though well-cared, it shows every sign of antiquity. This fact and the configuration of the place lend strong support to the popular belief that a monastery was founded here by St. Conal Caol, and that St. Shanaghan was the first abbot. Only a short distance farther on, we encounter the well-known *Tobair Conaill*, or Conal's Well; and on Killcaisil Hill stands St. Conal's cross, a very antique, unsculptured stone, less than three feet in height. In front of this rude cross the Catholics of the locality come singly or in groups on Sundays, or whenever leisure permits, and pray long and devoutly under the patronage of St. Conal. There are no regular pilgrimages; but pious Catholics never find themselves in the vicinity of Conal's cross without visiting it, and there fervently imploring the Saint's intercession. On the opposite side of Loughcross Beag Bay is Leac-Chonaill, so named from a celebrated flag on which St. Conaill always knelt to pray, on his frequent journeyings to and from St. Shanaghan's Abbey. We are also informed by unbroken tradition, confirmed by ineffaceable landmarks, that the Inniskeel Turas formerly embraced a long pilgrimage over "Bothair," through a moor waste

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from Narin to Oitir Chonaill, on the Cairn side of Loughcross Mor, thence to Conal's Well, and thence to Conal's Cross, and lastly across the Loughross Beag inlet to Conal's Flag.

There is no suggestion in the history of the troublous period that intervened, some seventy years, between the above recorded event * and the Plantation in 1619, that St. Shanaghan's Church was demolished or disused until Sir John Murray's foreign retainers were imported from Scotland and dumped in its vicinity. These few segregated lambs needed no spiritual shepherd, as the English law bestowed upon them the privilege of immunity from common justice, in holding out to their grasping greed the prospect of settling down on honest men's property. Where palpable injustice awakens no remorse, Divine worship is only a pharasaical mockery. The universal debt of death, however, they recognised like common folk, and made provision accordingly by encroachment at first, and then by gradual annexation of the Kilcashel graveyard, on the Loughross Mor seaboard. Neither ruin nor tradition points to the existence of any church within or close to the enclosure. This was obviously the most ancient Christian burial-place in the district, and was attached to St. S anaghan's Abbey.

Conjecture and doubt find no field for play in tracing the continuity of religious worship in this truly Celtic and sacred land of the O'Boyles. Almost quite opposite St. Shanaghan's Abbey, on the southern shore of Loughross Beag, towards Maghery, is the well-known and conspicuous Carrigahan-Tsaggairt, where Mass was celebrated for a long period after the ruthless eviction of the Catholics from the venerated Church of St. Shanaghan. The altar-slab had got embedded in clay and gravel overgrown with

* See page 259

Donegal County Library Service

moss, when it was uncovered about half a century ago; and while Father M'Garvey and some men were raising it from its place, to set it up on a more commanding position, as an object of interest and veneration, it was accidentally broken, and remains in that condition at present. Unimpressionable, indeed, and unimaginative must be the visitor to this lonely, wild, romantic spot, who does not feel a thrill of religious emotion as he figures to his mind the devout throng of men with heads uncovered and women bowing in lowly reverence, their voices hushed, and their hearts bathed in ecstatic piety, with the vested priest offering the Adorable Sacrifice in this nature-designed temple formed by God's own hand. Even now, many a pious Catholic comes here to pray, and the late Fr. M'Nelis erected a little cross surmounting the altar-slab.

The first settlers were good neighbours, in the charitable estimation of the Catholic natives, who were permitted to practise their religious duties without molestation or espionage. After a time, however, Loughill came into the possession of a new proprietor, who protested that it was inconsistent with his warm loyalty to his king to look across the inlet in silence, Sunday after Sunday, at this immense gathering of Papists attending Mass, contrary to his Majesty's proclamation. The conscientious objector sent a polite message to the Catholic pastor to "move on," or else the bloodthirsty myrmidons of the Law would be put on his track. This peace-loving priest was more concerned for his devoted flock than for himself, and he succeeded in persuading them to erect a temporary chapel, or "scallan," in an adjacent, obscure hollow, named subsequently Killiskewer, where a disused graveyard marks the spot. No monuments or ruins of historic interest are here traceable. The priest who effected this transfer was one of two very eminent and zealous

Donegal County Library Service

clergymen, whose memory is still warmly cherished by the good people of the district. They were both O'Boyles, and belonged to the family of that name then resident in Maghery. An old saying, that attained the dignity of a proverb in the locality, ascribes great superiority and refinement to this worthy offshoot of the powerful clan. Whenever importance or respectability was claimed for a meeting, a hurling contest, or a horse race, the last word to enforce conviction invariably was, "the O'Boyles of Maghery were there."

Killiskewer Chapel and graveyard had their origin in a desire that was probably genuine on the part of the planters, as it certainly was on Father O'Boyle's part, to prevent military interference and bloodshed. Peace remained in these remote parts for a long span of years, but at last the informations were lodged, and directly the sleuth-hounds were let loose, and the priests had to seek a hiding-place. The wild, untraversed recess of bleak mountain, thence called Aighe (Refuge), was chosen, and a substantial, rude dwelling was there constructed, very appropriately designated Cnoc-na-Cleire, a name still preserved in the local topography. On the top of Mullmassaig Peak is a very conspicuous rock, called Garran Bawn, or White Horse, which serves as an indelible reminder to the inhabitants of the barbarities perpetrated in the penal days on the peaceful pastors of their Church. Relentlessly pursued by savage British soldiers, the "Massing" priest had his horse shot under him at the Garran Bawn, and was himself wounded. He struggled to his feet, and dragged his enfeebled limbs down the hillside and across the intervening valley, and up the less precipitous face of Cnoc-na-Cleire, where he was overpowered and savagely battered to death. His place of martyrdom is imperishably stamped on the hill-top by the popular designation of Saggart

Donegal County Library Service

Bawn affixed to a prominent " white " rock, which stands there, " more enduring than brass," to perpetuate his saintly memory. The native guide will not fail to direct the visitor's attention to a most striking and peculiar feature of the cliff that surmounts Cnoc-na-Cleire. It is a huge natural formation in the shape of a cross, consisting of glaringly white stone, and standing out boldly on the cliff-top as if extending the ægis of its protection over the hut of the clergy.

With the suppression of the O'Boyle chieftaincy, the dispersion of that long, dominant sept, and the continued usurpations of their lands, shrines, and even graveyards, Loughross, with all its grand memorials of sanctity and prowess, had to be abandoned. Then a plain, unpretentious church was constructed a short distance to the south side of Ardara village under the title of Cill-Tighearna, or Church of Our Lord. The Killtierny graveyard, which surrounded the old church, is now rarely resorted to for interments, but, little over a half century ago, it was the chief burial-ground for this whole extensive and populous district. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, a new church was erected on a site near the village and on the verge of the Woodhill demesne. It would appear that this edifice, too, laid no claim to architectural beauty or permanency, for it was replaced by the recently demolished old building that stood immediately within the enclosure of the new church grounds, on the town side of the modern cemetery. The exact date cannot be definitely ascertained, but it is certain that the graveyard and old church were in existence in 1832, and Rev. Con O'Boyle's name is associated with both the old churches. This is the parish priest whose oil-painted portrait hung, until lately, in the parlour of Woodhill House, where it had been placed by the Nesbitt family, with whom he lived on terms of cordial

Donegal County Library Service

friendship. He was born within a few miles of Glenties; he preceded Father M'Garvey, and his memory is affectionately treasured in the hearts of the Ardara parishioners, who have heard his praises often reiterated by their parents and grandparents. The house he occupied is still known as Father O'Boyle's, and was tenanted by several successive curates since his day. Died in 1833.

No remarkable chapel, or even "scallan," existed in the Downstrands section of the present parish down to Father M'Garvey's day, and even he, for a long period, celebrated the public Mass on Sundays under the blue canopy of heaven, or beneath an improvised shelter, at various convenient centres. It was on the initiative of the Rev. Thomas Daly, C.C., and under his supervision, that the existing handsome and well-equipped building was erected in the sixties of the last century, but the first public Mass was said there by the Rev. B. Mac Monagle. This auxiliary church is thoroughly well suited to the spiritual requirements of the district in its site and in its dimensions, while the erection of two additional altars, the gift of an outgoing curate, Canon Sweeney, still happily alive and energetic, and the tasteful ornamentation of the interior, by the late lamented Rev. Peter Kelly, P.P., give the sacred edifice a finished, devotional, and up-to-date appearance. It was this same superior and zealous pastor who constructed the much-needed and superb new church at Ardara, a paragon of excellence in modern church architecture. The Kilclooney Church of SS. Peter and Paul was opened June the 29th, 1864.

Killmachonna, or Killmacanny

This long vanished monastery and the disused cemetery that surrounded and survived it, have impressed the

Donegal County Library Service

founder's name on the local topography. Standing on the northern slope of Ardlogher, and looking out on the Atlantic, the Gweebara, and Crowy cliff, this old abbey occupied an ideal site. "We find it recorded in the Life of St. Mura of Fahan," says O'Donovan,* "that his brother, Mochonna was Abbot of Drumboe," near Stranorlar. He was the son of Feradhaigh and a descendant of Eoghan, and his feast was celebrated on the 30th of October. Seeing that the Inniskeel monastery was very closely allied to Derry, it has been suggested that this Mochonna was the famous abbot of Derry, who assisted St. Adamnan and Primate Flann in promulgating the Law of the Innocents at the National Synod of 695. But the authors of the *Derry Survey Memoir* (p. 27) advance very plausible arguments to show that Mochonna was abbot, not of Derry Calgach, but of Derry Disert. Apart altogether from this objection, it is much more natural to suppose that the founder of Drumboe should establish a branch house on the verge of the sea, than that the abbot of Inniskeel should plant a second foundation near enough to diminish the celebrity of, and the concourse of pilgrims to, the original abbey, station, and well.

Not far from the frontier of Meenagoland, on the west, is another old and unimportant cemetery to which tradition assigns a very prosaic origin. It happened that in tempestuous weather, the bearers of a corpse deposited here their burden from fear of encountering a wreckage in crossing to the island. Another cortège imitated this weak-hearted example, and so on until a large aggregation of graves was formed. Neither here nor in Kilmacanny have any interments taken place since time immemorial.

* O.S. Letter, Dungle, Oct. 12, 1835.

Donegal County Library Service

Parish Priests

Murrogh O'Breslin, 1427.
Laurence O'Gallagher, 1440.
Maolmuire O'Breslin, 1443.
William O'Boyle, 1704.
Terence O'Boyle, 1737.
Daniel O'Boyle, 1760.
Patrick Mac Nealis (Stracastle), 1785.
Cornelius O'Boyle, 1802.
John D. Mac Garvey, 1833.
Charles O'Donnell, 1867.
Bernard Kelly, 1885.
Peter Kelly, 1892.
Daniel Stephens, 1903.
John Doherty, 1907.

Curates

John D. Mac Garvey, 1828.
James Harkin, 1831.
Daniel O'Donnell, 1840.
Charles Mac Neely, 1843.
Edward Glacken 1845.
John O'Doherty, 1845.
Michael O'Friel, 1848.
Charles Mac Neely, 1850.
Edward Glacken, 1854.
Thomas Daly, 1857.
Bernard Mac Monagle, 1864.
John Sweeney, 1872.
Peter Mac Devitt, 1883.
John Dorrian, 1885.
John Mac Nulty, 1885.
Patrick Hegarty, 1885.
Hugh Gildea, 1891.
Daniel Mac Gettigan, 1891.
J. J. O'Donnell, 1893.
Arthur Hughes, 1891.
John Mac Ateer, 1895.
M. J. Gallagher, 1905.
Hugh Mac Dwyer, 1900.
John Byrne, 1909.
Michael Mac Hugh, 1912.
Dominick Canning, 1918.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XIII

Parish of Aughaninshin

This parish contained only one baile-betagh and three-quarters, twenty-four small townlands, and had been incorporated with Conwal for a century and a half before this latter parish was elevated to the dignity of an episcopal residential seat. In 1735 a memorial was addressed to the Holy See by the clergy of Raphoe, recommending Father Bonaventure O'Gallagher as an eligible successor as Bishop to the Most Rev. James O'Gallagher, who had been translated to Kildare, and among the signatures to that illuminating document occurs that of the Very Rev. Francis Mac Devitt, Bachelor of Theology, Prebendary Canon, and P.P. of Conwal and Aughaninshin. The *Abstract of the State of Popery in* 1731 contains the following entry in the column headed "Popish Priests":—"None; but the priest of the parish of Conwal officiates in this parish once in a month." According to the same report there were, at this date, two priests in Conwal "who officiate in the open fields," and one in Leck "who officiates in the open field or in some poor cabin." It is also of interest to remark that in 1735 and, we may presume, in 1731, Leck was not served from Letterkenny, but from Raphoe, the clergyman attending being described as pro-vicar. Aughnish, on the other side, was at this period united with Gartan, of which the parish priest, the Abstract informs us, had "died nine months ago" (before November, 1731). Four years after, the Rev. Anthony Mac Neilis was pastor of the united parishes. However, the few Catholics permitted to remain undisturbed, after the Plantation,

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in this parish, were not subjected to so sweeping and calamitous a privation by the upheaval, as were their fellow-religionists in many other parts. For Aughaninshin never possessed a resident parson or vicar, being a mensal parish. It enjoyed the distinction of having the Bishop as both parish priest and vicar, the resident clergyman being a permanent curate.

The statement sounds almost incredible to modern ears, that, while religion flourished as "one, Catholic, and Apostolic" in Tirconaill, there existed only five curates throughout the whole extent of the Raphoe diocese. These five were distributed as follows: One resided in Raphoe parish, one in Killygarvan, one in Killraine (then a part of Killybegs parish), one in Lettermacaward, and one in Aughaninshin. No doubt, the curacy was permanent, but the curate was always eligible and eager for a transfer to a grade that would entitle him to fixity of tenure and statutory independence.

No further evidence than the immemorial existence of herenach land is required to establish the fact that a monastery existed here in the sixth or seventh century. The founder did not belong to the Conal Gulban race, nor was the institution called into being by Columba or any of his disciples. Hence, the Tirconaill historians and hagiographers pass over in silence the patron of Aughaninshin and his ancient abbey in Kiltoy. Joyce, usually so well informed on local associations and so accurate in his deductions, was obviously unaware of the herenach character of the place and of its ecclesiastical traditions. Had he even personally visited the locality, he would have modified his description of it as possessing a northern aspect. "There is a place," he writes, "called Killtoy, one mile from Letterkenny, whose name is a corruption of Cul-Tuaidh, northern cool, or back of a hill." No

Donegal County Library Service

doubt, Killtoy is outside the area designated "The Glebe," but in 1836, for instance, Killtoy House was occupied by the Rev. William Boyd, and, half a century later, it was tenanted by two ladies bearing the same surname, and exhibiting strenuous evangelistic activities. Had this ancient foundation been Columban, its estate would have been much more extensive than the mere quarter of a bailebetagh, to which it was limited—about four townlands of varying dimensions, or six balliboes. At the Plantation, John Vaughan was the first patentee, but John Wray, having purchased his interest, was the first foreigner who settled down on this property, acquired by legalised robbery and sold to an associate plunderer. The first sequel to the criminal transaction was the immediate eviction of the tenants to effect a clearance for a demesne of three hundred acres; and, as only a small patch of the worst land was reserved for the rightful owners, the O'Kellys were banished to the mountainous bogs of Glenswilly and Glenfin. As the surname is ubiquitous, any attempt to trace the direct descendants of the Aughaninshin herenachs would involve endless labour and most probably result in failure. The fact that there never existed a Catholic parson in this parish goes very far to explain the rare appearance of the name O'Kelly on the available lists of the Raphoe priests, down to a little over a century ago. The sept of the O'Kellys belonging to Tirconaill traced their origin to Ceallach, Ardrigh of Ireland, son of Aedh, son of Ainmire.

It is fairly certain that the site of the old monastery was within the walls of the existing graveyard, which may have been embraced in the parcel of land originally named Killtoy, or Church of Tuaa. This saint's feast, unmentioned in the *Martyrology of Donegal*, occurs on the 27th of December; and, though the date of his death is

Donegal County Library Service

nowhere found, his position in the genealogical line fixes his career as somewhat subsequent to that of Columba. Tuaa was son of Aodh, son of Colgan, son of Tuathail Crinveil, son of Felimy, son of Fiachra, son of Colla Da Crioch.*

The roofless building within the graveyard enclosure is quite a modern structure, erected just a few years more than a century ago by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and entirely different from the Catholic Church, sequestrated at the Plantation. Of course, there was a Protestant parson in this parish, and the last is not unfavourably remembered by some of the older inhabitants.

The paragraph of the 1609 Inquisition report dealing with Aughaninshin is so brief that it is more satisfactory to reproduce it at full length :—

"And also the said jurors doe further saie uppon their oathes that in the said baronie is also the parishe of Aughininshin, conteyneing in toto seaven quarters, whereof one quarter is mensall lande in the tenure of Mointercally, who paieth to the busshop thirteen shillings and fower pence, and thirtie twoe meathers of meale per annum ; and out of the busshop's thirdes of the teithes there, thirteen shillings and foure pence per annum. And they doe saie that the Busshop of Raphoe is both parson and vicar in the parishe, and that the Busshop's proxies there are four shillinges Irishe the peece from the parson and the vicar ; and that in the right thereof he receaveth and taketh upp twoe thirdes partes of the teithes in kynde, thother third parte beinge paid to Mointercally aforesaid ; and that the busshop is twoe beare twoe third partes of chardge in repaireing and maynteininge the parishe church and Mointercally thother thirde parte ; and that the said busshop is to mainteyne a curate there, unto whom there is belonginge one gorte of glebe."

* *Archivium*, v. Gen. 72.

Donegal County Library Service

The system of collection here indicated, and the sources of emolument named, are fairly typical of the general custom prevailing in the diocese ; but, in all other instances, butter was the main article of food contributed " in kind," and meal was exacted only as a subsidiary tribute, for the obvious reason that butter was more convenient for transit and more readily marketable. Inver, on the other hand, contributed to the Bishop's table fifty meathers of butter, and spared his Lordship the expense of having several wagons of oatmeal conveyed to Raphoe or Cranford. In Tory parish, which includes a large strip of the mainland in Gortahork and Gweedore, there would appear to have existed a great scarcity of mills and creameries ; hence, whether from sympathy or predilection, the Bishop levied his assessment on the still, in lieu of the mill, and on the loom, in lieu of the churn. " Forty madders of malt and thirty yards of brackan cloth " to cover the kegs, were the welcome tribute conveyed by Magroarty to the episcopal palace every Christmas Eve, and few of the herenachs could reckon on so royal a reception.

Aughaninshin was notoriously exposed to cattle raids, and so dairies or " bolies " could not be expected to flourish in so precarious surroundings. This patent fact accounts sufficiently for the absence of butter from the list of articles assessed here ; and, besides, there was no parson to apply the butter in the proper manner and quarter.

From all these explanatory observations, however, it must not be inferred that the Bishop's granary was perpetually crammed with meal-sacks from floor to roof, or his pantry stuffed with odoriferous butter, from one year's end to the other. The herenach not merely collected the rents from the church tenants, he also farmed the tithes, and, in the present instance, where the Bishop was both parson and vicar, paid him in cash a sum equivalent to

Donegal County Library Service

the two-thirds of the cumulative value of the total contributions. In regard to the non-mensal parishes, the rents of the herenach lands and the proxies paid by the clergy were the only sources of episcopal revenues; but, the same herenach, or Bishop's agent, collected the tithes for the parochial clergy, as a rule, and paid them in cash, reserving his own rather liberal commission of 33⅓ per cent. for his labour. But it often happened that more than one herenach existed in the same parish, as, for instance, in Inniskeel, where there were three; and, in such cases, the principal herenach collected and apportioned the tithes. It seems strange that "the Bishops' proxies there from the parson and the vicar" should be introduced into the inquiry at all, seeing that the Bishop was both parson and vicar, and that, if he were called upon to pay the assessment of eight shillings, he would be at once giver and receiver. Evidently, the insertion of this statement is not a mere legal superfluity, having no distinct meaning, for, in that case, there would have been no specific valuation of the income. It is clear that the ecclesiastical revenues were estimated and recorded with the most minute accuracy, and that such small details are registered for book-keeping purposes, to secure uniformity of system and facility of inspection.

An elliptical curve drawn from the Port Bridge, including within its ambit Killtoy and Knockabrin, but excluding Lisnenan, and deflected back towards Lough Swilly between Ardrummon and Castle Wray, leaving Cashelshanaghan outside the area, will suffice to outline the boundaries.

The only Papal document I can discover relating to this parish, is dated 4th November, 1428:—"Mandate to the Bishop of Raphoe, to dispense Patrick O'Kelly and Catharine Conwell to remain in wedlock, *per verba legitima de præsente*, though connected in second and third degrees of affinity."

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XIV

Parish of Aughnish

"The Island of Each-inish (Horse Island)," writes O'Donovan, "whereon the mother-church of the parish of Aughnish stood, is situated in Lough Swilly, a little to the north of Aughnish townland, but the graveyard only remains." A monastery had existed here from the earliest period, and, though the pre-Columban order it belonged to had long disappeared, the abbey church was retained for parochial use, even after the splendid Franciscan Friary of Killodonnell had been founded and richly endowed in the neighbourhood. Though no ancient inscriptions on gravestones attest the antiquity of the old cemetery, everything in and around it gives support to the tradition that it is the oldest Christian burial-ground east of Templedouglas. During the long years, too, of religious persecution, friars and secular priests found refuge in this island retreat, and celebrated Mass here in the presence of their flock, which had been lamentably thinned by the thoroughly effective plantation of the Ramelton district.

Archdall gives the following brief account of Killodonnell :—"About the beginning of the sixteenth century, O'Donnell built a small monastery here for friars of the Third Order of St. Francis. Oughteran, the last warden (Guardian) surrendered the friary. The Inquisition of 6th November, 1603, finds that the warden was seized of land, called Kilcrean, Kilmacowle, and Killodonnell." If we accept as accurate this statement of the *Monasticon*,

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the monastery must have been founded very early in the sixteenth century, as appears from a passage in the *Four Masters*, at 1538: "Hugh Buidhe O'Donnell, son of Hugh Dubh, son of Hugh Roe, heir to the lordship of Tirconaill, a man skilled and learned in all the arts, the most distinguished man for benevolence, hospitality, feats of arms, and in the gap of danger, and who was expected most to benefit the lordship of his own country, according to promise and appearances, died at Killodomhair, after Holy Communion and the Sacraments, on the 22nd of March."

This great warrior never relinquished the claim of himself and his heirs to the wand of chieftaincy, and his lineal descendants, in assertion of their right, ever after retained the prænomen Dubh, to accentuate their descent from Hugh Dubh, The O'Donnell. Up till eight months before his death, he had been engaged in sanguinary strife with his brother Manus, who, however, succeeded in being "inaugurated by the coarb of Columbkille with the permission and consent of the nobles of Tirconaill, both lay and ecclesiastical. Hugh, who was in possession of the Castle of Donegal, was aided by the sons of O'Boyle; a great commotion spread through Tirconaill, and large numbers of the tribe of Bishop O'Gallagher were slain by the sons of O'Boyle."

It is most probable that the Franciscans had been introduced to Killodonnell by Hugh Dubh, the O'Donnell, who died in 1536, and that Belleighan Monastery was established about the same time. There is a strongly supported tradition that the friars were drafted from the mother-house of Kilmacrenan, which was the most liberally endowed of all the Tirconaill monasteries, owing to St. Columba's early connection with that place. Moreover, the privileges enjoyed by the Columban Abbey that

Donegal County Library Service

was superseded were perpetuated and amplified in favour of the new Franciscan institution.

Another significant reference to Killodonnell, which abundantly proves that the buildings were numerous and spacious, is found at the year 1559 :—" Calvach O'Donnell was taken prisoner by Shane O'Neill on the 14th of May, which happened after the following manner. Caffar, the son of Manus, having been in contention with Calvach and his son Con, kept his residence at the Cranogue in Lough Beatha, and Con, collecting the forces of the country, laid siege to the Cranogue. Calvagh remained during this time at Killodomhrair, with a few troops, besides some women and poets. A party of the Tirconaillians informed O'Neill that Calvach was at that place without guard or protection. The opportunity was not neglected by O'Neill, and he proceeded with all the forces he could possibly collect, unawares and unnoticed, until he surrounded the house in which Calvagh was in the monastery. They took himself and his wife prisoner, and carried them off into Tyrone."

O'Donovan, commenting on the place-name Killotowrair, suggests that the church or old abbey was originally endowed by a Scandinavian family named O'Tower or O'Toner, and the recurrence of the word in unchanged form is undoubtedly a strong evidence that this was the well-known designation of the place until it was superseded by Killodonnell after the foundation of the monastery and the interment of the illustrious Hugh Buidhe under its shadow. It is manifest, therefore, that the site of a decayed abbey was here chosen for the Franciscan friary, as was done in Kilmacrenan, Inver, and elsewhere, and it is almost equally manifest that the two townlands incorporated with Killotowrair to form the monastery estate, had also been blessed with ancient churches named

Donegal County Library Service

Kill-O'Criothan and Kill-Mac-Caothmhail, respectively. The fertility of the soil and the abundance of fish procurable in the lough and in the Leannan would account for a thick population and a plentiful supply of churches.

The same painstaking scholar very candidly confesses that, in his first note on Killotowrair, he erroneously identified that place with Killymard, and, though he does not specify the reason that led him to alter his opinion, it was evidently the geographical information he acquired on his Ordnance Survey tour. It would, obviously, be inconceivable that Calvagh should take up his quarters at Killymard Monastery with a view to give counsel and assistance to his son at Lough Veagh. Here at Killodonnell he was commodiously lodged and lavishly entertained, while he possessed, at the same time, the obvious advantage of being in a position to get early tidings of any threatened inroad across the Swilly. Dr. Mac Devitt's description of the monastic remains leaves nothing to be supplied :—

" The ruin is there to be seen, and is regarded by competent judges as the purest specimen of early ecclesiastical architecture to be found among the numerous old abbeys of Ireland. A large portion of the side-walls of the chapel still remains, and a turret or gable pierced with a splendid and well-preserved Gothic window. The general impression among the best authorities on such matters is, that it was built in the sixteenth century by an O'Donnell, as a chapel of ease to the ecclesiastical establishment of Kilmacrenan. There is a very pretty legend among the people here about the bell of the abbey. The story goes that a party of marauders from Tyrone attacked the abbey and carrying off, among other things, the bell, put it on board a vessel wnich they had in waiting off the shore below, and departed with their booty across

Donegal County Library Service

the lough. But God's justice overtook them, for a storm arose, and the sacrilegious robbers were all drowned, and thus the sacred bell never entered Tyrone. It is kept somewhere at the bottom of the lough, whence its muffled tones proceed once every seven years, at the still hour of midnight."

Davies, in his *Abstract of Titles*, states that "the possessions of the religious house called Kiladonnell, containing three quarters were passed in fee-farm to Captain Basil Brookes, whose title is good in law for aught appearing to us." This is the same Brooke who erected the Donegal Castle, and who was patentee for another "proportion" at Edernacarn, near Letterkenny. He became County Constable, and resided in the princely castle at Donegal, the ruins of which still exhibit striking evidence of its former grandeur. Seeing that William Stewart had already completed a Protestant church in Ramelton when Pynnar visited in 1620, it seems improbable in the highest degree that the monastic chapel was ever used for non-Catholic worship. There is no clear tradition, however, that Mass continued to be celebrated there after the Plantation, and Aughnish is always pointed to as the hiding-place of the Catholic clergy during the fiercest period of the persecution. A story is still related by the older inhabitants that several priests were precipitated to a violent death from a jutting rock near Arddrummon.

It was only about the middle of the eighteenth century that public worship began to be celebrated in Killycrean, where the present church replaced the temporary shelter, after thirty years. No priest then resided within the limits of the parish, which had to depend on the clergy of Letterkenny for Sunday Mass and the Sacraments. Old inhabitants, not long deceased, vividly recalled the days when Dr. Patrick Mac Gettigan, the Bishop, used to

Donegal County Library Service

celebrate, in his turn, in Killycrean and preach eloquent sermons there. Aughnish was then a mensal parish, and continued to be treated as an outpost of Letterkenny, until the Rev. Neil O'Kane was appointed to its spiritual charge in 1836. Like Father Mac Goldrick, of Inver, and about four others, he had followed Bishop Mac Laughlin from the Derry diocese, and had been long a curate in Letterkenny. His zealous life in Aughnish was lamentably short, as he died on the 17th of February, 1838, at the early age of forty-five years. No successor filled the vacancy thus created for close on three years, and then the Rev. Charles O'Donnell was nominated to it. Amiable and hard-working, he is still spoken of in terms of affectionate veneration, but the trend of his aspirations was in the direction of the cloister, where he spent the remainder of his patriarchal span of life from his retirement in 1856.

From that date till 1871 the Rev. John Flanagan was parish priest, a man of great energy and untiring zeal, who laboured assiduously for the advancement of education and religion among his flock, and notably improved the parochial church, which was at no time a handsome or well-designed fabric. Feeling that his end was fast approaching, he proceeded to the home of his birth, in Ballyshannon, where the skilful medical treatment of the famous Dr. Sheil and the tender nursing of his dearest relatives failed to stay the onset of death, to which he succumbed June the 10th, 1871. To him succeeded the Very Rev. Bernard Canon Kelly, still happily amongst us, hale and bright in his green old age, and very affectionately remembered by the people of Ramelton, where he spent four years of the prime of his life in energetic work for his flock. His worthy successor was Father Collins, who endeared himself to his people by his simple life, affable manner, and strong patriotism, and whose transfer to

Donegal County Library Service

Killygarvan was marked by demonstrations of poignant grief. Canon Slevin came to Ramelton in 1889, and for him was reserved the high privilege of being placed in possession of a most desirable site and the substantial nucleus of a fund for the erection of the first Catholic church in Ramelton.

A wealthy old gentleman, Edward Kelly, whose grand-nephews still control a flourishing trade, was at all times an ardent and generous supporter of Catholic progress, and in his declining years invariably passed the Lenten season at the Passionists' Retreat in Mount Argus. Having no family and no relatives dependent upon him, he bequeathed the bulk of his property to be divided between the parish and the Passionist Order. His splendid mansion and beautiful gardens he left at the disposal of the present Cardinal Primate, who had been long his intimate friend, and who was still Bishop of Raphoe at the time of the old gentleman's death. His last will further provided a very handsome sum for the building of a new church, specially to accommodate the townspeople, who had hitherto been obliged to travel to Killycrean on Sundays, while during the week they were unable to attend daily Mass. The project of converting Mr. Kelly's house into a Diocesan Seminary had well nigh matured, when an influential deputation of the inhabitants of Letterkenny prevailed on the Bishop not to remove the Seminary from the cathedral town. Incidentally it may be remarked that cathedral and seminary, at the time, stood badly in need of renovation, if not of removal. Father Collins had an insuperable aversion to town life, but his successor, on his arrival, lost no time in taking possession of the house and adjoining grounds, and set at once about the execution of the formidable task of erecting a suitable church. His success was as complete as it was rapid : well-placed,

Donegal County Library Service

well-finished, and well-equipped, the Ramelton Church will stand for generations as an admired monument to Mr. Kelly's munificent charity and to Canon Slevin's zeal and taste.

When this esteemed pastor was transferred, in 1904, to his charge at St. Johnston, the Rev. Patrick Mac Devitt was promoted to fill the vacancy in Aughnish, where he laboured and enjoyed the confidence of his flock till his removal to Raphoe, seven years after. The late Very Rev. Dr. O'Doherty was the next parish priest, and though the period of his pastorate did not extend beyond three years, his saintly presence will be long remembered and his efforts for the renovation of both churches will live in the grateful recollection of the devout parishioners. He was transferred to Glencolumbkille parish in 1914, and was succeeded by the well-known Rev. James Cannon, who died the following year. Father Dan Mac Ginley succeeded on Father Cannon's lamented death ; and when Father Mac Ginley was promoted to Taughboyne, in 1917, the present worthy pastor, Rev. James Brennan, took his place.

Nial O'Kane was a native of the Derry diocese and was introduced into Raphoe by Dr. Mac Laughlin, who was himself transferred to Derry in 1819. He cannot, therefore, be identical with Nial O'Kane, who matriculated in Maynooth in August, 1820. This latter was subsequently the distinguished pastor of Donaghmore. The parish priest of Aughnish was educated in the ecclesiastical seminary of Ballyshannon, with his comrades from Derry, Fathers Mac Cullagh and Mac Ginley. His first recorded curacy was that of Conwal, to which he could not have been appointed by Dr. Mac Laughlin, as he was only forty-five years of age when he died in 1838. If the *Catholic Register* is accurate in its detailed description, he

Donegal County Library Service

was the first parish priest. His remains were interred in the cemetery of his native parish.

John Flanagan, born in Kilbaron, matriculated in Maynooth, 1841, having received his secondary education in Monaghan Seminary, and was appointed to his first permanent curacy in Raymoghy, 1848. His memory is there very deeply revered as that of a clergyman of great dash, a warm heart, and a hospitable board. He was promoted to the pastorate of Aughnish as successor to Charles O'Donnell, in 1856. A chaste monument in Cashelard cemetery marks his last resting-place, and records the date of his death, June the 10th, 1871.

All the intervening pastors having sought fresh and fairer fields for their zeal, the Rev. James C. Cannon was the next who succumbed at his post of duty in Aughnish. Just in the prime of life, and standing on the threshold of what promised to be an energetic and fruitful career in Ramelton, he fell a victim to hepatic cancer. Born of most estimable parents in Mountcharles about 1860, an only son, who with an only sister constituted the family, a nephew of the Rev. Charles Mac Neely, and a cousin of Canon Ulick Burke, he received an excellent early education.

Ordained by Archbishop Walsh in Maynooth College, on the 22nd of June, 1887, he received his first missionary appointment in Aghagallon, Co. Antrim, that summer, and was not called home from Down and Connor diocese for three years. Located at Churchill while the agrarian war was fiercest, and the United Irish League at the apex of its power and fame, he was not reluctantly drawn into the vortex of political turmoil at the very beginning of his professional life. In 1891, he was a noted pioneer of the new united movement after the "Split," and during his whole subsequent life he was a chief

Donegal County Library Service

lieutenant of the Nationalist Leader, and chief chaplain to the Ancient Order. Changed to Glenswilly in 1893, he was fifteen years in Letterkenny as curate and two as Administrator. In January, 1908, he was raised to this latter position, and in October, 1909, he was promoted to the parish of Glencolumbkille. During the building of the cathedral, he spent two trying years on a collecting tour in the States, and on his return, in 1899, he performed gigantic labours in preparation for the great bazaar.—*R.I.P.*

Kinahan, a well-known antiquarian, contributes the following short notice* of Ramelton, of which the reader will be able to form a clear estimate, when he has visited the supposed ruin :—" Ramelton. Ruined church, Church St. ' Here O'Donnell built a small monastery for Franciscan Friars ; the walls still visible ' (M'Parlan). To the north-east of the church near the new quay is the site of one of the O'Donnell castles. But this church is said by the natives to have been built after the Reformation, the window in the east gable having been taken from the church in the island of Aughnish." First of all, M'Parlan never penned one syllable about Ramelton ruins or antiquities ; Kinahan's quotation is inexcusably erroneous, for M'Parlan explicitly deals with " Rathmellan,"† or Rathmullan ; and, secondly, " the walls still visible " is a striking phrase that should open the eyes even of an antiquarian. M'Parlan's confusion of Franciscans with Carmelites is intelligible, as all Orders were the same to him.

Of course, he adduces no authority for his blundering conjecture. The church, which gave a name to the street, belongs entirely to the Plantation, and is mentioned in Pynnar's Survey :—" He (Sir William Stewart)

* R.A.S., xvii. 424. † *Statistical Survey*, p. 114.

Donegal County Library Service

hath also begun a church of lime and stone, which is built to the setting on of the Roofe, 1619." *

In Archdall's account of the suppression of Killodonnell monastery, the reader cannot have failed to notice another amazing and grotesque blunder, "Oughteran, the last warden, surrendered the friary." † Now, the most jejunely-equipped night scholar at a Gaelic League class is aware that Uachtaran means a superior, or president, whereas the distinguished author parades it as a proper name!

Adverting to the well-established tradition that associates Balleighan with Killodonnell in date of erection and identity of founder, the present writer attaches much importance to the statement, apparently based on expert information, that "the mullions of the windows at Balleighan are of cambstone, the same as at Killodonnell" (R.S.A., xvii. 427).

Priests in Aughnish: 1600, Brian Devenny (*Archivium*, ii. 297); 1737 (united with Gartan), Anthony MacNelis; 1834, Nial O'Kane; 1840, Charles O'Donnell; 1856, John Flanagan; 1871, Bernard Kelly; 1874, John Collins; 1888, Thomas Slevin; 1901, John Gavigan; 1902, Thomas Slevin; 1907, Patrick MacDevitt; 1909, Patrick Doherty; 1914, James Cannon; 1915, Daniel MacGinley; 1918, James Brennan. The Rev. Patrick Blake was C.C. 1880-1881; and the Rev. Edward Gibbons was Adm. 1870-1871.

* Hill's *Plantation*, p. 525. † *Mon. Hib.*, p. 206.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XV

Parish of Clondahorkey

"Does the name Da Chorcagh, the Saint who gives its title to this parish, appear in Colgan or in the Calendar ?" asks O'Donovan, and he adds that "it may be Corc, Mo Chorc,or Corcach." The Calendar he refers to is known as the *Martyrology of Donegal*, and comprises two Curcachs, one commemorated on the 8th of March, and the other on the 8th of August. As it is the patron saint of Clonlothair (near Manorhamilton), who most probably was the foundress of the almost completely obliterated abbey of Clondahorkey, in the neighbourhood of Dunfanaghy, her feast day is the 8th of August, and her genealogy is thus traced by the accurate pen of the Rev. Paul Walsh, professor of Maynooth College : "daughter of Enda, son of Corbmac, son of Feargus Ceannfada, son of Crimthoin, etc." * This very ancient foundation was also known as Muckish from its situation at the base of that giant mountain. But it would be a grave error to imagine that Christianity had not percolated into these populous glens before the whole parish had been equipped with the full paraphernalia of religion, churches, monasteries, nunneries, and so forth.

A most delightful and enthralling legend enshrines the truthful morsels of early Christian history here, as in Tory ; and the first of the many links of affinity between the two places, is the traditional fact that Rudian, the fierce pagan prince of the Na Tuatha or Doe, was brother

* *Archivium*, v., Gen. 70.

Donegal County Library Service

of Oilill, lord of Tory. St. MacGready of Barnes Beg had gained a few converts in Doe, and was waging a strenuous campaign against the Druidical worship practised in Clonhaneely and Derryreel. Near Massinass, also, there stood a famous altar of the Druids ; Mac Gready demolished the altar, and consecrated the precincts as a Christian graveyard. This bold aggression aroused the wrath of the wild Fomorian chief, and he gave orders to the folk who lived near the newly-consecrated cemetery, to give him timely warning, under pain of wholesale extermination, should the Christians have the temerity again to present themselves there for any religious ceremony. The sequel was sudden as it was tragic ; for, in a day or two afterwards, a small cortège of mourners were discerned slowly descending the slope from Creeslough. Four stalwart, stout-hearted descendants of Lughaidh headed the procession, carrying a corpse enveloped in a shroud which was strapped around their shoulders, after the custom of the times, coffins being a later institution. Rudian had assembled his savage warriors, and, calling on the mourners to halt, he told them that if they retraced their steps, promising never to trespass on his territory again, they might depart with impunity for this occasion ; but, that if they ventured to proceed a pace farther, himself and his army would hack in pieces their miserable handful of men, and the corpse they carried as well. Their only answer was, " Na bain le na marbh " —" Touch not the dead " ; and they moved on towards the graveyard. Rendered furious by their daring obstinacy, he placed himself in front of the pall-bearers, and raising his huge sword he cleft the corpse in twain !

Day and night the worm of remorse gnawed his conscience ; his followers deserted him ; his Druids became Christians ; his lands and flocks were wrested from him ;

Donegal County Library Service

and his children were baptised without his knowledge and despite his threats. Worn down by mental worry and misfortune, he sought the counsel of St. Fionan of Rye, professing his willingness to make any atonement in his power. St. Fionan imposed on him, as a salutary penance, the building of three churches, one at Kildarragh, one at Derryhariff, and the third and most important at Clonbeg, this last named spot being the scene of his impious outrage. Even then he was not to regard his guilt as completely expiated, or his offerings as accepted by the Almighty, until some manifestation from heaven assured him that he was acquitted. Having erected the three churches, he stretched himself to repose in the Clonbeg building; and, as he slept his first refreshing sleep for many weary years, behold! a lovely robin red-breast came and rested happily in the palm of his right hand. Fionan was satisfied, and Rudian was happy.

That Clondahorkey Abbey was pre-Columban is absolutely unquestionable; in fact, the remarkable absence of any Columban associations in this parish is of itself sufficient to prove that the saint and his disciples found this corner of Tirconaill already planted with the seeds of the Gospel, and demanding no further monastic foundations. The Magees were the herenachs of all the scattered church lands, except Marfagh, but that sept did not invariably contribute rectors to the benefice, for we find the Mac Brides of Raymunterdoney and the O'Donnells of Kilmacrenan frequently represented in the parsonage. Marfagh was a small estate, but the inhabiting sept, the O'Boyles, were the most powerful herenach family in Tirconaill; owing to their dominating influence, they had succeeded, long before the Plantation, in changing the site of the parish church from the ancient location at Clonbeg to the vicinity of the O'Boyle chief's mansion.

Donegal County Library Service

"The seaven gortes of Clonbeg," however, "three myles from the church," remained the inalienable property of the parish priest; and, on that account, the hallowed walls of this old sanctuary survive and, we trust, will be cemented and enclosed at no distant date. It is very singular that this "ruinated chapel" of Clonbeg is the only ecclesiastical antiquity the Jurors took any notice of, in their exhaustive inquiry.

The lands assigned as an endowment to the Ballymacswiney, or Doe, Franciscan friary in the fifteenth century, never passed into the effective possession of the Church, even temporarily. Sir Maolmuire was an ally of the English against Cahir O'Doherty in 1608, and trusted to an English patent he had earned by services of questionable probity five years before, to secure him restitution of all the estates enjoyed by his father, Murrogh Mall. "Sir Mulmorie Mac Swyne claimeth the whole countery of the Mac Swyne O'Doe, by virtue of lettres patentes, unto which the said Jurors refer themselves, whether the said lettres be good in lawe or not." * The English transplanted Maolmuire to Dunfanaghy and confiscated his lands and castle, transferring to the servitors the temporalities of the abbey, including fishing rights.

In 1421 Niall O'Melly was nominated by the reigning Pope to the perpetual vicarage of Clondahorkey, but it was discovered that no vacancy had been created, in accordance with the canons. Thereupon His Holiness ordered that Niall should be at once installed in a non-prebendary benefice in the diocese.† "8th June, 1432. The Pope has been informed by Donal Mac Menamin O'Donnell, rector of Clondahorkey, that Cornelius Mac Bride and Nicholas Magee, both claiming a right to the deanery of Raphoe, simoniacally agreed that Cornelius

* See page 53.

† *Cal. Pap. Reg.* viii. 168.

Donegal County Library Service

should hold it, and that Nicholas should share in the fruits or annual revenues. Donal would have no chance of obtaining justice in the city or diocese of Raphoe against Cornelius. The Pope orders an inquiry, but, if Donal succeeds, he must resign Clondahorkey." The inquiry was duly held, and Donal's story refuted in every detail. Cornelius Mac Bride became Bishop eight years after, and Donal, so far from acquiring the deanery, was deprived of the rectory of Clondahorkey, as a pluralist :— " 27 Nov., 1432. Mandate to summon Donal Mac Menamin O'Donnell, and remove him from the rectory of Clondahorkey, which he has held for more than four years without authority." * William Mac Bride was installed in his place, by the same shady procedure as Donal himself had employed to supersede Aengus Mac Bride :—" 11th March, 1429, Papal Mandate to the Abbot of Assaroe to assign to Donal Mac M. O'Donnell, Canon of Raphoe, the rectory of Clondahorkey, though appointed canon by his Bishop, Aengus Mac Bride, Archdeacon having held this rectory with the archdeaconry for six years, contrary to the Bull *Execrabilis*." † Donald emerged from the cloud, and, in 1442, attained to the dignity and emoluments of Dean, the object of his life-long ambition.

James Sheerin was rector, and Terence Gallagher, vicar, of Clondahorkey in 1600, and both signed the memorable Petition ‡ forwarded to Rome in that year. Again, the *Abstract of the State of Popery in* 1731 § comprises the following description of the provision existing at that period for the celebration of Mass and the administration of the Sacraments, in the episcopate of Dr. James O'Gallagher, author of the Irish Sermons :—" One Popish priest who officiates sometimes in the fields and sometimes

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* viii. 430.
† Ib. viii. 104.
‡ *Archivium*, ii. 295.
§ Ib. i. 20.

Donegal County Library Service

in private houses. Several itinerant Popish Priests and Fryers do at some times officiate in this parish and marry clandestinely." It follows that there was permanently stationed here one clergyman, at least ; nevertheless, Clondahorkey is conspicuously absent from the list of parishes whose pastors presented themselves for registration at Raphoe on the 11th of July, 1704. Six years after the *Abstract* was compiled, that is in 1737, we find Taegue Coll * presiding as pastor, but, as only the names of the parish priests were signed to the Petition in question, we have no means of deciding whether a curate assisted him or not. That friars still resided on the confines of Mevagh we possess very abundant evidence, both documentary and traditional. Derriscligh, in the parish of Termon, continued to serve as their central habitat, and as a refuge for all Franciscans during the lengthened period of 150 years. But the parochial church stood on the site of St. Curcagh's convent at Clondahorkey till the Plantation, when it was wantonly destroyed, but not completely obliterated. Here, about half a mile from Dunfanaghy, the Catholics continued to attend Mass, celebrated under the shelter of a thatched shieling over the altar, the eastern end of the structure being completely open to the assembled crowds of prayerful worshippers, and to the elements.

A century and a half had passed away, and still the Catholic priest was compelled to celebrate Holy Mass in this doorless and almost roofless shieling. Dr. Pococke's portraiture of the scene is at once simple and impressive :— "Going from church in the morning," he says, "I observed a circumstance which added to the romantic view of the mountains to the south. In the side of one of them a sort of amphitheatre is formed in the rock. Here I saw

* *Archivium*, vi. 58.

Donegal County Library Service

several hundred people spread all over that plain spot, and the priest celebrating Mass under the rock on an altar made of loose stones ; and, though it was half a mile distant, I observed his pontifical vestment with a black cross on it. For, in all this country for sixty miles west, as far as Connaught, they celebrate in the open air, in the fields, or on the mountains." And the learned Dr. Stokes, in his preface, very innocently comments : " How hard it is for a modern Irishman to realise the state of our country, when Dr. Pococke saw, as he mentions in his Donegal tour, a priest celebrating Mass in the open air, upon a large rock on a lofty mountain side." His Scottish co-religionists, however, thought they were pushing toleration to an extreme limit when they permitted the Papist priest to say Mass for his people in any surroundings, and only a rare, humane landlord could be prevailed upon by money or influence to give a site for a Catholic church.

Within a few hundred yards of Doe Castle, overlooking a placid inlet of Sheephaven, and concealed from view by the rich foliage of tall ornamental trees of variegated hues, the little cemetery presents to the visitor at one glance a saddening epitome of Tirconaill's fitful fortunes, its splendour and its downfall. The most conspicuous and interesting of its monuments is a coffin-shaped tombstone, artistically carved, with an elaborately sculptured figure of the gallowglass Mac Swine, probably Murroch Mall, in full war dress, and the family armorial bearings underneath. Not far removed from this great chieftain's resting-place is the tomb of Anne Sandforde, the wife of one of the earliest, though not the first English occupant of the confiscated castle, the following inscription appearing on the gravestone :—" Here lieth the body of Anne Sandforde, lately wife of Captain John Sandeforde, who

Donegal County Library Service

deceased the 13th of July, Anno Domini 1621, for whose sake this chapell was erected." The chapel was an ornamental tomb-chamber, which was built in conformity with the usages of the time among the wealthier aristocracy, and had no relation to divine worship. More strictly germane to the scope of our investigation is the inscription on a tombstone that rests over the remains of a distinguished Franciscan, and bears a much more recent date :—" Here lieth the body of the Rev. Father Dominick Curden, who departed this life ye 17th August, 1809. J.M.C." This holy friar lived and moved among the people, exercising general jurisdiction in Clondahorkey and in the neighbouring parishes, saying Mass and officiating at other public functions, wherever he was summoned to discharge such duties, without occupying any official position under diocesan arrangements.

Even a quarter of a century later we still find devoted members of the same distinguished Order following this nomadic and self-sacrificing mode of life in places so widely separated as Glencolumbkille and Mevagh. In Father Dominick Curden's earlier years of his priesthood, and at the time of Pococke's memorable visit, a fellow-friar was pastor of Clondahorkey, and his brother was Vicar-General of the diocese and parish priest of Fanad. This much venerated priest, Anthony Garvey, lived in Killoughcran, at a short distance from Creeslough, and just across the frontier of Mevagh. When he died, 2nd May, 1784, a controversy arose as to the proper place of interment ; for the deceased priest had himself expressed a strong wish that his bones should be laid among those of his clerical relatives and of his fellow-friars at Kilmacrenan ; the diocesan custom, which had the force of a canonical ordinance, prescribed that his remains should be interred in the parish where he resided ; and his loving

Donegal County Library Service

flock desired that the burial should take place in their own parochial cemetery at Fauker, where they could visit and pray at his grave. But discovering that the remote graveyard of Mevagh was the destination pointed out by ecclesiastical usage, as the residence of the deceased had been located within the limits of that parish, his devoted people cheerfully conformed to his dying request. That he belonged to a gifted and strongly levitical family is manifest from the fact that the graves of eight priests, brothers and cousins of this beloved clergyman, are to be seen in close proximity to each other at Kilmacrenan, while the body of the distinguished Vicar-General rests in the old Clondavaddog graveyard.

Towards the close of his laborious life, Father Dominick had succeeded in acquiring the fee-simple of a half-acre plot of land near the Scallan, in Derryart, where public worship was then held, with a view to the erection of a permanent building more worthy of the divine rites. William Wray, of Ards, was the landlord at the time, and he is said to have been stimulated to make this concession, so irritating to his comrade bigots, by the stings of remorse for his own and his family's cruel treatment of the Catholics. Pococke extols his public-spirited and progressive policy of road-making, utterly ignoring the glaring iniquity of compelling tenants to construct, without one penny either of wages or compensation, miles and miles of county roads, through swampy marshes and rocky defiles, practically from Letterkenny to Dunfanaghy, by Ballyarr and Lough Salt. He was lavishly hospitable to his own class, and reckless in his habits of life, and, having squandered immense wealth, he was obliged to sell the Ards estate in 1781, but only after he had executed the deed for Derryart chapel site. Poor himself, and unwilling to place too heavy a burden on the shoulders

Donegal County Library Service

of his poor congregation, Father Dominick deferred the realisation of his life's ambition for happier and more opportune conditions. Seeing that his dissolution was at hand, the holy man bequeathed to his cousin, then parish priest of Killybegs, the fulfilment of his cherished design, begging him to seek a transfer of charge among his loving kinsfolk of Doe. The happy result, rapidly achieved, is inscribed on a mural flag in the side wall of the parochial church: "This chapel was erected in 1784 by Rev. Bernard Roden." It may be recalled to mind that, in these years, immense shoals of valuable fish afforded lucrative employment to the boatmen and carters along the Donegal coasts, and brought bounteous but short-lived prosperity to Rutland and other favoured curing stations.

Killybegs had the good fortune to receive a liberal share of the plentiful spoils of the deep, and its open-handed fishermen made munificent presents to their popular pastor. These donations, given for his personal use, the generous and self-sacrificing recipient devoted to the erection of the projected church, and hence we can have no hesitation in giving full credence to the popular story that "he built it out of his own pocket," with the usual assistance of gratuitous work. With the exception of the front extension, facing the altar, the spacious building was the same in its shell and dimensions, as it exists to-day; but its thatched roof robbed it of any claim to architectural beauty or finish.

Lewis informs us that the present church was erected in 1830 at a cost of £600, but the inscription appearing on a mural slab sets forth the facts with the clearest precision: "This chapel was rebuilt by the Rev. Peter Gallagher, A.D. 1830." The walls of the original house were considerably raised; a large transept, called popularly the cross-house, was added; and, besides structural

Donegal County Library Service

alterations, the substitution of a slated for the old thatched roof, was a very costly and much-needed improvement. The zealous and cultured ecclesiastic who inaugurated his fruitful ministry in this parish by establishing this enduring monument of the generosity of his flock and of his own capable energies, was uncle of the late esteemed John Gallagher, of the Store, Letterkenny, and came of an old respectable Termon stock.

The Rev. Joseph Magee succeeded in 1834, when Father Peter was promoted to Fanad, and continued to guide the spiritual interests of his flock till 1862. On his lamented death in that year, Father Diver was appointed by the Bishop to succeed him, but the people clamoured for Father Magroarty's retention and promotion. The new pastor found the church barred against his entrance, but the opposition was soon tactfully suppressed.

To illustrate the enormous difficulties and prohibitive expenses to be met in those days by aspirants to the priesthood, it is interesting to learn that Father Roden, after he had already acquired a sound general education in Ireland, was obliged to spend several years in the College for Irish Nobles at Salamanca, and then to sojourn for some years more in St. Omer's, for the completion of his professional studies.

Side-galleries were a later addition to the Derryart church, called for by the growing dimensions of the splendid congregation, who now possess a very devotional and comfotable house of prayer.

A chapel of ease, or auxiliary church, was long clamoured for by the numerous and devout population of the Dunfanagly district, who live at a very inconvenient distance from Derryart. Long as Sunday Mass continued to be celebrated at or near the old monastic ruins, they cheerfully submitted to the harassing exigencies of the times;

Donegal County Library Service

and later on the aged and infirm were admitted for Sunday worship to the commodious Union chapel in Dunfanaghy. At long last their fervent prayers were heard, and their aspirations happily realised, when, on the 12th of June, 1898, the gorgeous Church of the Holy Cross, perfect in every detail, and thoroughly equipped, was solemnly blessed by the Bishop and opened for public devotions. Very beautifully situated, on a gentle elevation, commanding a superb view of the vast ocean and lofty mountains, it is a proud witness to the warm attachment of the people to the old faith, to their spirit of generosity and progress, and to the cultivated taste and unsparing zeal of the holy pastor, who watched the adjustment of every stone and board in its proper place during construction. This was the late lamented Rev. Joseph Boyle, P.P., to whom the parish is further indebted for its excellent school-houses at Massinass and elsewhere. His memory will be long and warmly cherished by the good people of Doe, who were privileged to enjoy the benefits of his paternal guidance, and by their posterity, for whose advantage he built church and schools.

The extensive space devoted to the early ecclesiatical history of this parish, obliges us to curtail the usual sketches of the lives of those good ministers of reigion who have passed away in the active service of the Clondahorkey flock.

The Rev. Joseph Magee was a very energetic pastor and a flowery orator, who is said to have been in the habit of concluding his Sunday sermons with a triumphant flourish and a familiar quotation from St. Benard, "Divinissimum divinorum est cooperari Deo in salutem animarum." While his brother clergy invariably rode on horseback, he was accustomed to drive, seated on a ponderous tax-cart. His predecessor will be noticed in the next chapter.

Donegal County Library Service

Father Diver was a native of Letterkenny, and a very accomplished and humorous clergyman. In his latter years, for health reasons, he wore a flowing beard, which imparted to his graceful figure a striking and patriarchal appearance, The splendid wall that encloses the graveyard and chapel precincts is a memorial of his ecclesiastical taste. Having had no worldly goods to dispose of at his death, he treated the making of a will as a work of supererogation. Charity and zeal were his dominant characteristics; and his devoted flock erected a suitable monument to his memory, bearing the inscription:—"Rev. Thomas Diver, P.P., died on the 25th of June, 1880, aged 58 years; for 17 years the faithful Pastor and trusted friend of the people of Clondahorkey parish." In this respect, his hearers translated their feelings of gratitude into a lasting memorial more effectively than did their fathers a generation before, who left this duty to be discharged by a poor but practical curate:—"This Stone is erected by the Rev. John Magroarty to perpetuate the memory of the Rev. Joseph Magee, P.P. Died 8th Jan., 1862. Aged 72; ordained Priest 42 years, and 28 years Pastor of Doe."

The Rev. Hugh Devine was a native of New Mills; ordained in Maynooth, 1867; curate in Raphoe till 1875, and in Donegal till 1882, when he became parish priest of Kilmacrenan, until he was transferred to the charge of Clondahorkey in 1892. He built a plain, substantial parochial house in Kilmacrenan, and another, on a more pretentious scale, in Dunfanaghy. His regretted death took place suddenly, but with ample time for the reception of the Last Sacraments with unimpaired consciousness and the full, active use of all his faculties, on March the 29th, 1912.

Father Blake was born at Coxtown, in Drumhome;

Donegal County Library Service

educated in Monaghan; entered Maynooth, passing for Second Theology, 1865; ordained and sent as temporary curate to Donegal, 1871; appointed to Raphoe curacy, 1873; changed to Ramelton, 1881, and to Doe, 1882. Promoted to Killymard parish in 1897, to Raphoe in 1909, and to Clondahorkey in 1912, he died on the 31st December, 1914. His amiability endeared him to all, and his arduous labours in Killymard and Raphoe produced enduring results and grateful memories.

The acquisition of the convenient and valuable plot of ground, on which the Dunfanaghy Church and Parochial House now stand, was tactfully effected by the Rev. John Magroarty in 1860. Both clergy and people may bless his name, for never since could such a transaction have had a ghost of a chance of success.

Parish Priests

Niall O'Melly, Vicar, 1421.
Aengus Mac Bride, 1425.
* Maurice Mac Menamin O'Donnell, 1429.
Donal Mac Menamin O'Donnell, 1430.
William Mac Bride, 1432.
James Sheerin, 1600.
Teague Coll, 1735.
Friar Anthony Garvey, 1760.
Bernard Roden, 1780.
Friar Dominick Curden, 1790.
Cornelius Boyle, 1819.
Peter Gallagher, 1828.
Joseph Magee, 1835.
Thomas Diver, 1862.
Bernard Kelly, 1880.
Peter Kelly, 1885.
Hugh Devine, 1892.
Patrick Canon Blake, 1912.
Hugh Mac Loone, 1915.

* "July. Raised by Papal Brief to the Archdeaconry of Connor, a major elective dignity with cure. Had lately been made Canon by Bishop of Raphoe. By both parents of noble race."

Donegal County Library Service

CURATES

Terence O'Gallagher, 1735.
Edmund O'Gallagher, 1740.
Friar Anthony Garvey, jun., 1770.
Philip Carr, 1775.
John Harkin, 1802.
John Hegarty, 1827.
Joseph Magee, 1829.
Michael Mac Dermott, 1834.
John Campbell, 1836.
Thomas Mac Gettigan, 1840.
Bernard Lawn, 1856.
Bernard Mac Monagle, 1857.
John Magroarty, 1858.
George O'Flaherty, 1862.
James O'Gallagher, 1863.
Francis W. Gallagher, 1869.
Patrick Mac Kay, 1872.
James Walker, 1879.
Patrick Blake, 1882.
Daniel Mac Ginley, 1896.
John Cunningham, 1907.
Dominick Canning, 1908.
James Burns, 1916.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XVI

Parish of Clondavaddog or Fanad

The ancient name of this peninsular district, and the name by which it is popularly and best known, is Fanad, which signifies, in Old Irish, a flat-topped ridge of mountains. Its ecclesiastical designation as a parish is derived from the Irish word, *Cluan*, a retreat or place of retirement, and Dabhaddog, the saint, who founded and presided over a monastery at Rossnakill, about the middle of the sixth century. The year of his death is unknown, but it is certain that he died on the 22nd of July, as this is the day assigned to his feast in both the Martyrologies of Donegal and of Tallaght. That he was neither Bishop nor mitred abbot is also clearly established by the fact that a carved head, now inserted in one of the gate pillars leading to the Protestant church, bore no evidence of a mitre, even before disfigurement. No doubt was ever entertained that it represented the founder of the monastery. It is regrettable that most other monuments of the antiquity of this old abbey have disappeared, though some old people can still describe the appearance of sculptured stones that were strewn carelessly about the old churchyard and in the vicinity of St. Davaddog's Well. Both the Irish Martyrologies, in their meagre and almost verbally identical notices, confirm the well-established belief that our saint was not a Bishop.

The Protestant church in Rossnakill stands on the site of the ancient monastery. While the shell is the same as it was when it was wrested from the Catholic natives

Donegal County Library Service

in 1610, it was re-roofed and renovated in 1808. Though the Scotch settlers grabbed the church, they did not, however, interfere, for nearly two centuries, with the acknowledged right of the original owners to bury their dead in the graveyard that encompasses it.

In 1797 a memorable incident occurred, which effectively and abruptly terminated the burial of any Catholic, lay or clerical, in this ancient churchyard, in spite of unquestioned and uninterrupted prescription for twelve hundred years. The Protestant rector of the day was the infamous, fanatical tyrant, the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, who was at the same time, as Lecky informs us, Divisional Magistrate of the North-west, as far as Armagh, military commandant, with unrestricted powers, and local yeomanry officer. It happened that he observed a Catholic funeral procession slowly advancing towards Rossnakill graveyard. The wrath of the bigot was at once set on fire, and, like Cerberus, his ghoulish look and his infernal bark turned the peaceful and stupefied mourners away. Mr. Patton, of Croaghan, a liberal-minded landowner, having heard of the *impasse* created by Hamilton's unchristian obstruction, soon appeared on the scene, and conducted the priest and the sad cortège to a plot of ground on his own property at Massmount, which he there and then donated to the Catholics of the parish, to be consecrated and thereafter used as a graveyard. Such is the origin of Massmount burial-ground.

The place-name, as well as tradition, points to the accepted fact that Mass was celebrated somewhere in the vicinity during the penal times, but the identification of the spot where the altar stood is only a matter of conjecture. Most probably, the purpose was served by a shelving rock under the precipice to the west of the present church. But it is absolutely beyond doubt that a

Donegal County Library Service

"scallan" existed at Gortnamona, "between the waters," at the time when the Massmount graveyard was opened, and for some years before. The interesting site of this old "scallan" will richly repay a visit. It was a small shed, resting on a jutting rock, a projection in the side of which served as an altar, with two steps of appropriate height, two wooden pillars helping to support the roof at the open front, and a beautiful green sward accommodating the devout congregation under the canopy of heaven. Here Mass was celebrated every second Sunday, and the same arrangement for alternate Sundays applied to the "scallan" near the Swilly, at Drumany. Both these temporary refuges for Sunday worship continued to be resorted to, until the church at Massmount was constructed in 1834. A very old resident, since deceased, told the writer he was frequently present at Mass in Drumany, when, on a stormy Sunday, not more than forty people formed the whole congregation. In the summer, however, close on 1,000 worshippers could be seen scattered around, in prayerful silence, and straining their eyes to get a glimpse of the half-concealed altar and the officiating priest. Glenvar then formed a part of Clondavaddog parish, and, when only one clergyman was available for the whole peninsula, he was obliged to say two Masses in two widely removed churches, or "scallans," every Sunday and holiday in the year. These celebrations took place in Kindrum and Drumany one Sunday, and in Gortnamona and Glenvar the following Sunday, the priest carrying his vestments and sacred vessels in saddle-bags, while he rode on horse-back the long and difficult way that lay between the wretched sheds that served as places of divine worship, in those days of apostolic fervour and privation.

John Gibbons, previously rector of Taughboyne, became

Donegal County Library Service

parson of his native parish of Clondavaddog about 1427; and, in that year, a Papal Mandate * was issued to him, authorising his elevation to the Chapters of Raphoe and Derry. Having studied in Rome, he had received the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law. It is mentioned in one of the Briefs that he was also a honorary Canon of the Limerick Chapter, and that he acted as Proctor at Rome for the Bishop of that see. In 1433 he was nominated Bishop-Elect for Derry, and, consecrated the following year, he presided over that diocese till his death in 1456. That he resided in Fanad until he was promoted to the Deanery of Derry is manifest from the form of a Papal Mandate † expedited on the 25th October, 1429:—"To the Dean and to John Gibbons and Donal O'Kane, Canons of Raphoe, to assign to Godfrey O'Daly, etc."

John was compelled to sever his connection with Fanad, as rector, on his preferment to the dignity of Dean "with cure," and the Abbot of Assaroe, a member of the O'Donnell family of Ballymagahey castle, was nominated his successor. But, in direct contravention of the canon prohibiting pluralities, he continued to administer the temporal interests of the Cistercian abbey conjointly with the superintendence of his parish, and very soon he was relieved of both parochial jurisdiction and parochial revenues. "1429. 20th March. Papal Mandate to Donal Mac Menamin O'Donnell, Canon of Raphoe, to assign to Malachy O'Gallagher the rectory of Cluann Dabuadog, vacated because Maurice Mac Cormac O'Donnell, sometime Abbot of Assaroe, while holding the rectory, administered fruits of the said abbey." ‡ By a strange coincidence it was this same Abbot who had discharged the duty of Papal Mandatory in installing Donal in the rectory of Clondahorkey, some short time before; and

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* viii. 60, 61. † Ib. viii. 76. ‡ Ib. viii. 102.

Donegal County Library Service

now Donal is obliged to evict his benefactor from a similar appointment.

The rector in pre-Plantation days resided in Carrowkeel Glebe, on the hillside north of the Protestant rectory, and had charge of the parochial church of Rossnakill, while the vicar resided in Tonbane, and officiated in the old church at Ballyhiernan, all traces of which have been obliterated. Among the old inhabitants there exists a traditional belief that is singularly uniform, regarding the etymology of the place-name, Ballyhiernan. All of them assert that its origin is traceable to the fact that a famous priest named O'Tiernan, in far-off times, dwelt and officiated there, and that his contemporaries and their posterity perpetuated his illustrious name by designating the whole wide area the "Town of O'Tiernan." Like most other traditions, this one contains a kernel of solid fact; for it is unquestionably true that it was the local herenach that imparted his name to the extensive townland of Ballyhiernan. At the celebrated Inquisition of 1609, the herenach of the day was among the Jurors, though the English scribe has made his surname difficult to recognise under its alien dress—Maurice O'Ardens! But the findings of the Jury in regard to church lands in Fanad are presented in very definite and unmistakable language:—"There are fower quarters of herenach land, and the herenaghes thereof are the sept of the Mointerhernes." * The estates of this once prosperous tribe were distributed among Scotch Planters, and the O'Harrons or Herrons banished to the mountains along the waters of the distant Finn.

We search in vain through the published Papal documents for any representative of the name; the Gibbons and the O'Donnell families among the resident septs, as

* See page 29 *supra*.

Donegal County Library Service

a rule, supplied the parsons, and the Mac Swines and Carrs the vicars. Thus a Papal Mandate was addressed to the Abbot of Assaroe, on the 18th of December, 1420:—"To assign to Laurence Mac Swine, priest of Raphoe, of noble birth, the perpetual vicarage of Clondavaddog, void by the death of Peter Carr, and doubtfully conferred by Bishop John Mac Menamin." * Two months later, Laurence was created a Canon by the Holy See, and the rapidity of his preferment can be explained only on the hypothesis that he was himself present in the Papal Court, an event of ordinary occurrence in those days:—"1421. 23 Feb. Mandate to the Abbot of Assaroe, to make provision for Laurence Mac Swine of noble birth, vicar of Clondavaddog, of a canonry of Raphoe, in the gift of the Bishop, Dean, and Chapter." It may be useful to remind the reader that, when the Pope intervened in the internal administration of a diocese, he usually chose an independent dignitary, and not the Bishop, as mandatory to execute his decrees. Similarly, in regard to the administration of the Cistercian Abbey at Ballyshannon, an independent outsider was chosen as mandatory to carry out the provisions of a Papal Brief. For instance, a Mandate was directed in the same year to "Magonius or Manus Carr, Canon of Raphoe, to see that Edmund O'Gallagher, in minor orders, was received as a monk of Assaroe Abbey in the Diocese of Raphoe."† These quotations from Papal documents might, of course, be multiplied; but we prefer the task of tracing the continuity of administration, and detailing the names and labours of the pastors of later times, so far as scraps of written and traditional evidence will enable us to present a genuinely historical outline.

Among the signatures of Raphoe clergy affixed to the

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vii. 186. † Ib. vii. 573.

Donegal County Library Service

Petition presented to Clement VIII in 1600, we find "Philip Nee, Vicar of Clondavaddog," * and, as the rector's name does not appear, we conclude that he disapproved of the few sentences it contained, reflecting on the character of the old Bishop. As has been asserted already more than once, and as is evident on the face of the document, the object of the Petition was eminently praiseworthy, and the language in general characterised by singular refinement and unction. The Nee family were herenachs of Leck, and many respected representatives still survive near the cradle of their race.

The *Report on the State of Popery in* 1731 contains the following entry in reference to this parish :—"One Popish Priest, who officiates in different parts of the Parish, in the open air." † In 1737 the existing pastor describes himself as "Owen O'Boyle, Prebendary of Clondachorkey and Parish Priest of Clondavaddog." ‡ Here we possess a most convincing proof that Clondavaddog never had a prebend annexed to it, seeing that its pastor took his title from Clondahorkey, while the memory of the ancient capitular constitution was still comparatively fresh. Of course, the Chapter had become extinct about 1670, but had been revived by Dr. James Gallagher, whose transfer to Kildare was the occasion of this Memorial of 1737. However, we have already seen that parson and vicar were sometimes canons.

The patriarchal span of years granted by heaven to the venerable dean, whose remains await the Resurrection in the now exclusively Protestant churchyard of Rossnakill, was so extended that it is highly probable he was the immediate successor of Owen O'Boyle. "Here lyeth the body of the Rev. Patrick Garvey, Dean of Raphoe, who died Nov. 11, 1772, aged 83 years."

* *Archivium*, ii. 295. † Ib. i. 22. ‡ Ib. vi. 58.

Donegal County Library Service

A very distinguished ecclesiastic, the Rev. George Griffith, a native of Drumboarty in the parish of Inver, and a formidable rival of Dr. Coyle for the bishopric, was the next pastor. His grave in Rossnakill was pointed out to the writer, but only the old and intelligent neighbours could identify it. The surviving relatives of Father Griffith have no mementoes, but have always been aware of the tradition that "he was near being a Bishop." His death occurred in 1797; and Dr. Coyle at once appointed the Rev. John Mac Elwee to succeed him. This clergyman had just completed Aughterlinn church, and was evidently a favourite of the Bishop's, seeing that the latter made him one of the executors of his Will. His tomb is pretty close to the north-east corner of the Massmount church, and bears the inscription: "Here lyeth the body of the Rev. John Mac Elwee, who departed this life October the 6th, A.D. 1801, aged 49 years." He was a native of the parish, and his successor was an uncle of the Mr. Gallagher, whom O'Donovan eulogises as "a celebrated Irish scholar, who has given us the names, and very faithfully indeed, of all the townlands in Clondavaddog." *

It was at his house O'Donovan lodged, and he mentions incidentally in his letter from Dunfanaghy, dated September the 9th, that this O'Gallagher of Rosnakill, postmaster, innkeeper, and tanner, had gone to France on one of his usual voyages. He exported leather and other commodities, bringing back a cargo of wines, fancy goods, etc. Among the crew of such trading vessels a student was often permitted, in earlier days, to pass the British cruisers unchallenged and unsuspected, wearing the simple guise of a fisherman's outfit. The same or another friendly barque conveyed him home again in the orders, but not in the professional habit, of a priest. It

* O.S. Letter, Rosnakill, Sept. 3, 1835.

Donegal County Library Service

was in this way the O'Donnells, Mac Menamins, O'Clerys, etc., were enabled to reach the colleges of Salamanca, Lisbon, and Valladolid, and the Mac Brides, O'Gallaghers, and Mac Nealises secured an ecclesiastical training in Paris, Rome, and Louvain. In the western side-wall of the parochial church is inserted a white marble slab, inscribed :—" Hic reliquiae Rev. Domini Francisci Gallagher, repositae sunt, qui obdormivit in Domino pridie Kal. Junias A.D. 1819, Aetatis suae 63." His nearest collateral relative now resides in Ballykinard.

The building of Massmount church is traditionally associated with the name of the Rev. Aengus (or Nees) O'Friel, but I can find no further information about this clergyman than the very unreliable and contradictory statements of some old people in the district. It is certain that his kinsfolk brought his remains to the old Mevagh graveyard, when he died in 1833, and Mr. Foster informs me that he gave the ground now occupied by the new graveyard to the revenue police, then living at Massmount, to serve them as a vegetable garden. There is no doubt that he built the present church in some crude form ; but it was extended, re-roofed, and ornamented with a bell-tower in 1843, ten years after his death.

The Very Rev. Peter Gallagher, P.P., V.F., uncle of the late John Gallagher, of the Store, Letterkenny, was transferred from Doe to Fanad in 1833, and was propularly known as Dean Gallagher. He resided in Springfield, and was widely esteemed for his hospitality, charity, and saintly life. He had been long and energetically associated with Cloghaneely and Gweedore, and had rebuilt the Doe parish church. Having reached the scriptural age of seventy-two, he was frequently visited by the Bishop during his last illness ; and, when he died, on the 8th of May, 1837, his remains were conveyed to the Kilmacrenan

Donegal County Library Service

graveyard to mingle with the dust of his ancestors. The dates are inscribed on a mural slab in that interesting cemetery.

The Rev. Daniel O'Donnell, who had been practically, though not in name, Administrator of the parish from 1835, and resided in Kindrum, was invested with plenary pastoral rights and title in August, 1837. An ideal priest in every respect, he was the first to introduce here a Register of Births, Marriages, and Funerals. This beautifully written and carefully filled up manuscript was accidentally discovered by Dr. Maguire amid a heap of *débris*, and was the means of enforcing old age pension claims in many a deserving and hard-contested case. He was the idol of his flock, and to this day his name is breathed in reverence. His brother, the Rev. Brian O'Donnell, who was ordained in Maynooth College, in 1822, was his curate in 1838-1847, and always delighted in playing a practical joke on his superior. The old man was an ardent admirer and uncompromising disciple of Father Mathew, who had just made a tour of Donegal, and, in announcing the Stations, strictly inhibited his flock from producing any intoxicants on the day of the priests' visit to their houses. But his toothless gums could not masticate any hard food, and "white" bread was his favourite article of diet for breakfast. Hence, Father Brian seized the opportunity of impressing on the same hearers, the following Sunday, that white bread was forbidden on the days of Stations. Father Daniel died on the 2nd of January, 1854, and his remains rest under a chaste monument in Templedouglas graveyard. Such is the penalty the flock have to pay, if their pastor has ancestors ; his body is torn from them after death.

The next pastor was an outstanding figure in the clerical ranks of his day. Born in Mevagh, and nephew of Dr.

Donegal County Library Service

Patrick Mac Gettigan, the Bishop, Dr. Dan Mac Gettigan matriculated in Rhetoric at Maynooth in 1831, read a singularly brilliant course, and, after two years on the Dunboyne, was appointed Professor in the Irish College, Paris, in 1840. Here he attained wonderful celebrity for impressive eloquence and ready exposition, and was invited to stand the concursus for Dogmatic Theology, with Dr. Furlong as his competitor, in 1845. A letter he received from Dr. Murray congratulating him on his magnificent display, and deploring his defeat, is still extant, and has been repeatedly perused by the present writer, with great interest. Again, in 1854, he crossed dialectical swords with Dr. Mac Carthy for the Scripture Chair, after he had left Paris and had been discharging, for two years, the duties of curate in Drumhome. Though unsuccessful, he had given a good account of himself, and was at once appointed parish priest of Killymard. After Father O'Donnell's death, the Rev. James Gallagher was appointed Administrator of Fanad parish ; and, it was only immediately before the election of a Coadjutor, in August, 1855, that Dr. Dan was transferred as parish priest to succeed the deceased Father O'Donnell. He took up his quarters at first in Ballymagowan, but later on shifted to the now dismantled Revenue Barrack at Massmount. No Mission had previously been held in this, or in any of the adjoining parishes, and in 1866 Dr. Dan brought the Redemptorist Fathers to Massmount, where an impression was made on the flock that manifested its abundant fruits for a generation.

Soon after the Mission, he quitted the parish for a professorship in an Irish College, and this position he also relinquished, to the intense regret of superiors and students alike, after he had held it for twelve months. The remainder of his life was spent on the Continent, mostly

Donegal County Library Service

in Bruges, where he was solaced in his last moments by the presence of his nephew, Father Coyle, and other kindly priests, on the 16th of June, 1896. Though his brains were his chief asset in life, he made a most edifying disposition of the paltry fortune he possessed before death.

In preparation for the first Mission in 1866, Dr. Mac Gettigan had arranged to remove a few graves along the wall directly opposite the high altar on the north side, so that the officiating priest might have some sort of vestry, even though he should be obliged to pass through the congregation to and fro. The project was for some reason frustrated; and members of the flock still alive rejoice to relate how punctually and conscientiously Dr. Mac Gettigan, on leaving the parish, returned to them individually the few subscriptions he had received to cover the contemplated outlay.

"1856. May 18. Consecration of Dr. Daniel Mac Gettigan in pro-Cathedral, Letterkenny. Sermon by Very Rev. Dr. Mac Gettigan, Fanad."—(*Catholic Directory*.)

The Rev. John O'Boyle was then entrusted with the administration of the spiritual affairs of the parish, but was not raised to the canonical status of parish priest till May, 1870. His struggles against the wholesale extinction of the tenantry by that arch-tyrant and man-hater, Lord Leitrim, and his efforts to secure education for the youth, are treated of pretty exhaustively in the Second Part of this History. But, in order to explain the glaring unsightliness, at his death, of all the school-houses in the parish, with the solitary exception of Cashel, we shall here anticipate by stating a few typical facts.

During the Czar-like rule of the notorious Earl of Leitrim, which ended so tragically in 1878, all schools were banned on his Fanad estates, and incessant warfare was the inevitable result, for the inhabitants of this district are an

Donegal County Library Service

education-loving and independent race. They had, moreover, in the person of Canon O'Boyle, a worthy pastor, of lofty ideals and indomitable courage, who fought their battle with determination and tact. A few examples will illustrate the almost inconceivable difficulties he had to combat. The Fannavolty school was forcibly closed and unroofed; a school was immediately established in the neighbourhood; and very soon confiscated. A spirited and united effort of the parishioners resulted in the rapid construction of a splendid and substantial building for educational purposes, on the little estate of Ballywhoriskey, then belonging to a Mr. Williamson. Leitrim bought the estate for the specific and diabolical purpose of closing the school, and executed his nefarious design so effectively that the building, now known as "Ladysmith," is still in his successor's possession, and let to quarrymen. In Tullyconnell the skeleton of a roofless schoolhouse still attracts the attention of passers-by, owing to its excellent masonry. This fine building was also sequestered, and when, after a few months, a new school had been constructed on a neighbouring estate at Coshia, it was found that the vigilant and ingenious plotter had actually bought out the middleman's interest in this worthless parcel of bog; and at once he demolished the school. It is a noteworthy fact that the old tyrant had pocketed the key of the now disused Ballymichael School, on the very day before the memorable morning of his final exit from this visible stage of strife.

Born in Dooey, Lettermacaward, John O'Boyle entered the Irish College, Paris, in 1850, and, on transfer to Maynooth, was allotted First Year's Theology in 1853, and was there ordained four years after. The first year of his missionary life was given to Killymard, and the remaining fifty-two to Fanad. Father O'Boyle was one of the first priests of the

Donegal County Library Service

diocese selected by the present Bishop as members of the revived Chapter in 1901, and previously had other ecclesiastical honours very deservedly conferred upon him (for instance, the privileges of Vicar Forane) in generous abundance. His last notable act was to furnish the Fannavolty church with handsome pews, Stations of the Cross, and a chaste, devotional high altar ; and, concurrently with this grand work of complete renovation, he provided still more costly seats for floor and galleries in St. Columba's, leaving behind him a perfectly clean balance sheet, with neither debit nor credit outstanding. His happy death, on the 8th of August, 1910, was very genuinely deplored by his flock, many of whom owed him a deep debt of gratitude for moral and financial support in their difficulties, and all of whom had enjoyed the privilege of his protection and good example.

Dr. Maguire was immediately placed in charge of the historic parish, and lost no time in endeavouring to supply any defects which the advanced years and enfeebled energies of his lamented predecessor had made inevitable. To his everlasting regret, he purchased the lordly mansion and rich lands of Canon O'Boyle, and expended a considerable sum on renovating and ornamenting this substantial building. His other works were more directly pastoral, and most urgently demanded by the palpable necessities of the situation and the clamours of the flock. The sea had demolished the cemetery walls and flooded the adjacent graves, and the rickety bell-tower momentarily threatened to precipitate itself bodily on church and congregation. Again, a new graveyard was a glaring desideratum, and a suitable sacristy an almost indispensable accessory of any parish church. All these things having been accomplished to the intense satisfaction of the people, his Eminence the Lord Primate very graciously preached

Donegal County Library Service

a charity sermon that will be long remembered; and gave a handsome donation. The Lord Bishop of the diocese also very kindly attended on the occasion, and consecrated the new cemetery. Five thoroughly up-to-date schools were also erected with the ungrudging co-operation of the two energetic curates, the Rev. Cornelius Mac Menamin and the Rev. John Magroarty.

It is a mere duty of gratitude to state that the side altars in St. Columba's were the generous gift of the late esteemed Mrs. Quinn of Rossnakill; and that the superb Stations of the Cross were purchased by a bequest of her late brother, James Ardbuckle Diamond, of Milford. The high altar was purchased by Dr. Maguire, who, being still alive, falls within the category of those to whom the Scripture counsels the historian to refrain from offering compliments. The maxim is excellent, but, in the present case, entirely superfluous; Virgil's familiar pentameter epigrams would be more appropriate:—

"Sic vos, non vobis, nidificatis, aves;
Sic vos, non vobis, vellera fertis, oves:
Sic vos, non vobis, mellificatis, apes:
Sic vos, non vobis, vomere aratis, boves."

Parish Priests

1400. Peter Carr.
1420. Laurence Canon Mac Swine.
1427. John Canon Gibbons.
1428. Maurice Canon Mac Cormac O'Donnell.
1429. Malachy Canon O'Gallagher.
1600. Philip Nee.
1737. Owen Canon O'Boyle.
1772. Patrick Garvey, Dean.
1780. George Griffith.
1797. John Mac Ilwee.
1801. Francis Gallagher.
1819. Aengus O'Friel.
1833. Peter Gallagher, sen.
1837. Daniel O'Donnell.
1856. Daniel Mac Gettigan, D.D.
1870. John Canon O'Boyle.
1910. Edward Maguire, D.D.

Donegal County Library Service

CURATES

1830. Peter Gallagher, jun.
1836. Thomas MacGettigan.
1839. John Boyce.
1839. Brian O'Donnell.
1841. Michael Mac Dermott.
1842. Bernard O'Donnell.
1847. Daniel O'Donnell.
1847. John Doherty.
1849. Edward Lawn.
1850. James Gallagher.
1859. John O'Boyle.
1866. Francis Gallagher.
1869. George O'Flaherty
1878. Patrick Kelly.
1880. Daniel Mac Gettigan.
1885. John Gavigan.
1886. Patrick Mac Cafferty.
1891. Patrick Mac Devitt.
1896. James Toner.
1896. Joseph Boyle.
1905. Cornelius Mac Menamin.
1905. John Magroarty.
1912. Michael Gallagher.
1916. John Deeney.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XVII

Parish of Conwal

St. Fiacre is the founder and patron of Conwal, and his feast is noticed in the Irish calendars at the 8th of February. Archdall informs us that he is the same as St. Fiacre of Clonard, and that he died between the years 587 and 652 ; but the *Martyrology of Donegal* fixes the feast of "Fiachra of Irard (Clonard) in Ui Drona" at May the 2nd, while the *Martyrology of Tallaght* assigns the 8th of February as feast day to Fiachra of Irard, but does not include Conwal in designating his habitation. The *Leabhar Breac*, however, denominates this Irard, or Western Height, an island, and O'Hanlon conjectures that the Saint had established a second monastery in an island, named Irard, in the Swilly Basin. No doubt, a few centuries ago, the tidal waters of the Swilly covered the whole rich alluvial valley from Farsad Mor to Scariff Hollis, and it is significant that parts of this wide expanse of meadow lands, reclaimed from the sea, are still called the "isles." Moreover, two of the townlands disposed of to Planters in 1610, were called Oileanmor and Oileanbeag, lying to the south-east of Letterkenny ; but nobody, resident or antiquarian, has succeeded in tracing any vestige of an island or abbey of Irard in these parts. The weight of authority inclines to the more generally received opinion that our St. Fiachra became, later, Abbot of the world-famed Cluain Iraird, in Meath.

"The ruins of Congbhail" writes O'Donovan, "lie in a townland which borrows its name from the church,

Donegal County Library Service

and which is bounded on the north by the River Swilly, and on the west by Tullygay. The ruins stand to the right of the road from Letterkenny to Dungloe, and consist of the south wall, about 15 feet high, and a part of the north wall, which is nearly level with the ground. In the churchyard, close to the south wall, is a gravestone, which, by its resemblance to the lid of a coffin, and its exhibition of a cross, ornamented and shaped after the antique manner, speaks the antiquity of the place and shows that there were better stone-cutters in the days of its formation than in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when the letters are turned reversed on the gravestones in the churchyard of Congbhail.

"There is a tradition that a village anciently stood around the old church, and that it was set on fire by a cat and totally destroyed. The destruction of the village, it is said, gave rise to Letterkenny, or the retreat of the O'Canannain, the ancient and powerful chief of Tir Conaill, whose descendants, sinking under the O'Donnells, have dwindled into peasants and shortened their name to Cannon." *

The existence of a herenach administering the Conwal monastic lands before the close of the tenth century, proves that the estate had already reverted to the Bishop, and that the monastery was extinct at a long anterior date. "914. Scanlan, herenach of Congbhail in Glenswilly, died in Christ" is the first chronicle we find in the *Annals* relating to this ancient abbey. The next entry germane to the subject proves that the herenach family of the O'Scanlans had already migrated to Glenfin, before the thirteenth century:—"1204. Sitric Ua Sruithen, herenach of the Congbhal, head of Ui Muirthele and chief of clan Sneidhili, for ability, after a most excellent penance,

* O.S. Letter, Sept. 1835.

Donegal County Library Service

ended his life happily and was buried in the church that was built by himself." * There is no substantial ground for doubt that Sitric's edifice is identical with that whose ruined walls form so venerable and attractive a feature of the old awe-inspiring burial ground. Neither is there any recorded or traditional incident of the Plantation that would suggest the desecration of the hallowed precincts to Protestant worship. Leck church afforded ample accommodation, in the beginning, for the usurpers, and the Catholics were excluded from Conwal for the sole reason that it was situated in the centre of the enemy's camp.

The church lands consisted of four quarters or one complete bailebetach, administered by four distinct herenachs, and the two richest and most extensive of the quarters, Tullygay and Bominy, were endowments conferred by the O'Canannain dynast on the ancient abbey of Conwal. Gortlee was an appurtenance of the secular pastor of the Catholic church there situated in far-off times, and the Templedouglas estates belonged originally to the monks of that pre-Columban foundation. "The sept of Cormack Buidhe O'Gallagher holdeth the said quarter" † of Bominy; and this sept was never completely eradicated from the rich ancestral soil of the Lurgybrack district. It is superfluous to remind such of our readers as are acquainted with the geographical boundaries, that Bominy lies in the parish of Leck. However, that estate is only separated from the immediate precincts of the abbey by the River Swilly, and it formed the more valuable portion of that abbey's original endowment.‡ Tullygay belonged to the herenach family named Seize, afterwards driven to seek a home amid the inhospitable mountains of Cloghaneely. The O'Cassidy's came originally from the banks of Lough Erne, and, in the time of

* A.U. and F.M. † See page 34 *supra*. ‡ Ibidem.

Donegal County Library Service

Donal Mor, settled in Gortlee, and became herenachs of the few gorts allotted to the chapel of ease located there. Not being numerous they were completely swept away by the inrush of Scottish adventurers, who followed in the retinue of Patrick Crawford, patentee of Letterkenny and Ballyraine. "There is also a chappell called Tulloughdouglasse (Templedouglas) within the said parishe, and twelve gortes of lande to the said chappell belonginge, out of which there is paid yerely some rent to the O'Friel, coarbe of Kilmacrenan."

Quite close to the Conwal cemetery, on the eastern side, is a holy well, which was formerly visited by crowds of pilgrims during the summer months, but more especially on Sundays, to the intense mortification of the local landlord, Mr. Boyd, a notorious bigot and tyrant. This enlightened guardian of law and order, who had outraged the most cherished principles of conscience, honour, and law, by imprisoning the late Primate for refusing to betray the confidence of a parishioner, had the unblushing audacity, some twenty years later, to ask his former prisoner to prevent the people from trespassing on his rich pasture in their visits to the holy well, which he assured his Lordship contained only common spring water. "I am delighted, indeed, Mr. Boyd," replied Dr. Mac Gettigan "that you have given me this opportunity of calling your attention to the overcrowded condition of the graveyard, and I undertake to build a substantial high wall enclosing the plot around the holy well, if you only consent to its being annexed as a very necessary addition." That evening, the old hypocrite sent his men to fill up the well, and next morning an immense and constantly expanding rush of water brought Boyd and them back in awe to re-open it.

For a century and a half the Sunday worship was conducted on the brink of the brook, about a furlong north

Donegal County Library Service

of Sallaghagrena, and, during the blackest of the penal days, a look-out was posted on Sentry Hill to give warning to the priest and the assembled worshippers if the yeomen or military were discerned in the distance. The first Catholic church in the district since the Plantation, was erected about 1760, at the north-east corner of St. Eunan's grounds. Old Robert Mac Laughlin, the postman, told the writer he remembered being brought there as a youngster, and he described the building as resembling an immense and lofty barn, without any furniture whatever, except a plain altar. The progressive developments in church-building, down to the solemn dedication of the cathedral in 1901, have been so exhaustively described by the present author in his booklet, entitled *Letterkenny: Past and Present*, that the subject calls for no further observations.

In the short sketch of Dr. Coyle's life, presented in a previous chapter, it has been stated that he was the first Bishop of Raphoe who had established his permanent residence in Conwal, and assumed to himself the position of parish priest conjointly with that of diocesan prelate. His successor Dr. Mac Laughlin, on the other hand, elected to reside in Ballyshannon, and to discharge the duties of immediate pastor of Kilbarron parish in addition to his official work as Bishop. There existed, therefore, a very long line of pastors in Conwal down to 1785, when the Rev. James Harkin's death permitted Dr. Coyle to appropriate the revenues and management of the parish. After this good Bishop's demise, one very distinguished priest was appointed to the pastoral charge of Conwal by Dr. Mac Laughlin ; and since his death, in 1827, the successive Bishops have maintained their residential seat in Conwal, and have reserved to themselves the rights of parochial pastor. A weary search through such Roman documents as have been already published, reveals the

Donegal County Library Service

names of some of the ancient pastors of Conwal many centuries gone and forgotten ; but we shall first transfer to these pages a few passages from the Papal Briefs to illustrate the circumstances that caused such documents to be issued by the Holy See.

"25th Oct. 1429. Mandate to the Dean, and to John Gibbons and Donal O'Kane, Canons of Raphoe, to collate and assign to Godfrey O'Daly, alias Deeny, the rectory of Conwal, so long void by the death of John Mac Bride, that the Bishop's power of collation lapsed. Roger Magonagle, who claims induction by the Ordinary, is to be cited and removed, because he has held the benefice two years after said lapse. Whether the vacancy has been created in this way or by the resignation of Nicholas Magee, this mandate is to be enforced, notwithstanding the fact that said Godfrey is litigating in the Apostolic Curia about Tullyfern, which he is hereby dispensed to hold, together with Conwal for ten years." *

"1425. Mandate to the Bishop of Raphoe to assign to Nicholas Magee, Rector of Conwal, the deanery, a major elective dignity with cure, vacant by the death of Renelinus O'Deery, removing Cornelius Mac Bride. This Brief to hold good, even if the vacancy be due to the resignation of Fergal Magee." †

"1438. 2nd Oct. Mandate to the Dean of Raphoe to assign to Turlogh O'Daly, alias Deeny, the perpetual vicarage of Conwal, vacant because the late Laurence Nee held it for more than a year, summoning and removing Owen Quinn, in possession for more than five years. Whether it be void for these causes, or by death of said Laurence or of Philip O'Daly, or in any other way, this Brief is to hold good." ‡

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* viii. 76. † Ib. vii. 404. ‡ Ib. ix. 17.

Donegal County Library Service

These three typical decrees are eminently instructive, for they show, first, that if the Ordinary fails to fill a vacant benefice within the time limit prescribed by the Canon Law, and the Metropolitan does not intervene on the expiration of that time, then not only is the Bishop's first belated nomination irregular, but all the subsequent appointments are vitiated by this original defect. The Holy See alone can remove the radical impediment to the exercise of the Ordinary's jurisdiction, in regard to such a benefice. Secondly, they exemplify the rigour with which the canon prohibiting the retention of a benefice "with cure," for more than one year by a cleric not invested with the order of Priesthood, was uniformly enforced and its infraction instantly visited with dismissal. Thirdly, they demonstrate that the Papal mandatory was empowered and enjoined to hold a court of inquiry, and to see that justice was measured out with conscientious impartiality, and in strict conformity with the canons.

The Petition addressed by a minority of the Raphoe clergy to Clement VIII, in 1600, does not exhibit the signature of the rector of Conwal annexed to it, for the already explained reason that he and the larger section of the priests of the diocese, could not be persuaded to endorse the disparaging and contemptuous reflections on the old Bishop, embodied in that otherwise most edifying document. The Vicar was Charles Keeny, probably a relative of Terence Keeney, whose "evidence," tendered to the Government against Niall O'Boyle, then Bishop-Elect (1590) has been already quoted * from the State Papers. "Two Popish Priests who officiate in the fields," and "One Popish School in the mountains," that is, in Glenswilly, are the only items presented in the *Report on the State of Popery* 1731.† It is further evidenced in the

* See page 131.

† *Archivium*, i. 20.

Donegal County Library Service

same report that a Catholic clergyman officiated in Leck. Thus three priests attended to the spiritual interests of the two parishes in 1731, while only one was registered in 1704. At the last-mentioned date, George Doherty, resident at Pollens, in the Glenswilly district, was the only priest who appeared at the registering sessions, held in Raphoe for the enrolment of all the Catholic clergy who wished to escape deportation or the gallows. Evidently many energetic members of that body rejected both these attractive alternatives, and relied for their personal safety on the faithful attachment of their flock, and their own vigilance and courage. In passing, it may be interesting to suggest that the solitary " Popish School in the mountains " may have been, in a large measure, accountable for the strikingly large number of Mac Menamins and O'Donnells, who figure in the lists of the diocesan clergy ever since the time when that insidious Report of 1731 was compiled.

The Rev. James Harkin was parish priest of Conwal, when Dr. Coyle took up residence outside the town of Letterkenny, as Coadjutor-Bishop and Vicar-General of the diocese in 1777. Notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of the new Bishop to remove the existing pastor of Conwal, in order to take over the immediate administration of the parish into his own hands, the old man sat tightly, and was confirmed in his resistance by the Papal Legate, Dr. Troy. A precisely analogous conflict of right and authority seemed imminent on the accession of Dr. Patrick Mac Gettigan to the see, in 1820, but the parallel was fortunately not pushed to any sensational *denouement*. Dr. Mac Gettigan uncomplainingly, though yielding to a disagreeable necessity, settled down in Ballyshannon, and assumed the pastoral care and custody of the vacant parish of Kilbarron, which he held for the first seven

Donegal County Library Service

years of his prolonged episcopate. Frequently, however, during his life, he used to refer good-humouredly to the threatening attitude and undisguised suspicions of Father Gallagher, whenever his Lordship appeared in Letterkenny.

The Rev. James Gallagher belonged to the old herenach family of Leck, and received his early education in Dr. Coyle's Seminary. He was the only Raphoe student who matriculated in Maynooth College in the year 1800, and the first Raphoe candidate who had not received priesthood before admission to that College. At the end of four years he was ordained, and, in 1808, was promoted by Dr. Mac Laughlin to the united parishes of Conwal, Leck, and Aughininshin. About 1820, he erected the nucleus of the church, that formerly occupied the site now covered by the new cathedral, but it remained for Dr. Patrick Mac Gettigan to extend its accommodation by the addition of two transepts and galleries.

That Father Gallagher laboured to infuse into his flock a spirit of independence and self-respect, is abundantly proved by the many stories told of his conflicts with landlords and the Orangemen. Everybody has heard of the battle of Sprackburn, and of the able generalship exhibited by Father Gallagher on that trying occasion. When religious rancour is excited, and when two large masses of undisciplined men meet in disorganised conflict, it is a difficult task for the leader of either body to score a triumph for his party, and at the same time to prevent any fatal or regrettable consequences. Yet, such was this priest's powerful influence over the Catholic crowd, and such his physical activity, that on this memorable 12th of July, 1822, he succeeded in administering a knock-out blow to the Orange aggressionists, and saved both parties from unnecessary bloodshed. The majority of the invaders, who threatened to sweep the streets of Letterkenny with

Donegal County Library Service

the bodies of the "Papishes," came from the Milford district, but they received re-inforcements from Raphoe and elsewhere. Gortlee was the trysting ground; the battle was short and decisive. Of course, the sequel was a trial of the wrong men, on the Catholic side, before a packed jury, at the next Lifford Assizes. Mr. Macklin, barrister, made a very able defence and the sentences were accepted with proud composure.

This strenuous clergyman died at the age of fifty-four years, in 1827, and his memory is held in benediction by the great grandchildren of the generation he so faithfully served. Since his day the successive Bishops have invariably retained Conwal parish, *in custodiam*, and this arrangement is now permanently sealed by the erection of the superb cathedral in Letterkenny.

Among the many notable incidents in Dr. Patrick Mac Gettigan's life, the Directory of 1858 records one which deserves to be chronicled in letters of gold: "1857. January 20. Dr. Mac Gettigan gave up his mansion in Letterkenny to the Loretto Nuns and went to reside in Rathmullan."

Four years earlier, another entry in the same interesting annals recalls an important era in the history of Church music in the diocese: "1853. Sept. 15. Grand Service in the Catholic Church, Letterkenny. High Mass sung by Rev. James Stephens, P.P., assisted by Rev. Thomas Diver, C.C., Deacon; and Rev. Charles O'Donnell, Subdeacon, the Rev. Joseph Durning being Master of Ceremonies. Mr. Bevington, of the firm of Bevington and Sons, presided at the organ, the choir being aided by Mrs. Alban Croft and her little daughter, Miss Kate Croft."

"1856. Died at Listack, Letterkenny, Robert Gallagher, student of Maynooth for six years."

"1860. Nov. 18. Dr. Mac Gettigan, Coadjutor, preached

Donegal County Library Service

in Letterkenny in aid of the new Convent Schools there. The old Bishop presided." The Reverend Mother at this time was a niece of the old Bishop, Sister Mary Josephine Gallagher, and, probably on her account, he visited the convent a few times after, but the above recorded ceremony was the last at which he assisted anywhere in the diocese. His death occurred the following year.

The following chronicle is reminiscent of the evil days, when Bishop, clergy, and people were obliged to put forth all their united energies in their struggles with the concurrent forces of periodic famine, capricious evictions, and appalling misgovernment :—

"1863. May 8. Dr. Mac Gettigan acknowledges various subscriptions for the poor of Donegal. Up till the 24th of May the Central Relief Committee, Dublin, had sent £350 for the poor of Raphoe. Their total to the province of Armagh was £565."

"1866. Oct. 15. Appointment of Dr. Logue, Dunboyne, Maynooth, to the Chair of Dogmatic Theology, Paris."

"1870. Sept. 28. Primate Mac Gettigan visited Letterkenny. Addresses were presented and a great banquet given."

"1871. April 30. Consecration of Dr. Mac Devitt by Primate Mac Gettigan, whom he succeeded. There were also present the Bishop of Clogher, Dr. Donnelly; of Ardagh, Dr. Conry; of Meath, Dr. Nulty; of Kilmore, Dr. Conaty; of Derry, Dr. Kelly; and of Down and Connor, Dr. Dorrian."

"1879. Jan. 5. Dr. Mac Devitt died at Glenties, aged 47 years. His remains were conveyed to Letterkenny, followed by an immense multitude, on the 7th, and after Solemn Office and Requiem Mass were interred next day outside the Pro-Cathedral. 5th Feb. Month's Memory, Dr. O'Brien, of All Hallows, preached."

Donegal County Library Service

"1879. July 20. Consecration of Dr. Logue, in Letterkenny Cathedral, by Primate Mac Gettigan, Dr. Donnelly and Dr. Kelly being the Assistant Bishops. The other Bishops present were: Drs. Croke, Nulty, Dorrian, Conaty, and Woodlock. Dr. Dorrian, of Belfast, preached."

"1879. Nov. 1. Revs. John Sayers, James Kerr, and Edward Maguire, ordained priests in the Pro-Cathedral, Letterkenny, by the Most Rev. Dr. Logue."

"1887. January 19. Dr. Logue elected Coadjutor to Primate. April 13. Election confirmed by the Pope."

"1887. July 12. Dr. O'Donnell elected Bishop of Raphoe by overwhelming majority."

"1888. April 3. Consecration of Dr. O'Donnell in the old Pro-Cathedral by the Cardinal Primate, assisted by Dr. Kelly of Derry and Dr. Donnelly of Clogher. Eight Bishops present."

"1893. Dec. 12. Death of the Rev. James Gallagher, Letterkenny." He was son of Joe Gallagher of that town; was educated in Clongowes for the Maynooth examinations; took Logic in 1854; joined the Redemptorists on his ordination in 1860, and became a famous preacher. However, he returned to the diocese, and served as Curate in Doe 1863-5. But his health became permanently undermined, and the rest of his life was spent in Letterkenny.

The New Cathedral

The artistic Guide is so thoroughly perfect in its historical and descriptive account of this grand edifice that it would be "painting the lily" to attempt any patchwork addition. However it may be pardonable to register here, as a "Roll of Honour," the names of those priests who crossed the seas to solicit funds for its erection. Most of

Donegal County Library Service

them have already, within a score of years, crossed the eternal "bar": Monsignor Walker, Archdeacon; Rev. D. V. Stephens, Canon Mac Fadden (then of Gweedore), Rev. Hugh Mac Dwyer, Rev. Daniel Sweeney, Rev. Edward Cassidy, and Rev. John Dorrian.

TEMPLEDOUGLAS

Templedouglas Abbey was obviously in existence when Columbkille first saw the light in this neighbourhood, at Gartan, and, as he was there baptised and later on fostered by one of its monks, it is not unlikely that its founder and Cruitnechan himself were of the same stock as Tirconaill's patron. Archdall's brief notice of this ancient monastery is a veritable labyrinth of intricate inaccuracies:—"Tully on the map, and Tullyaughnish in the Visitation Book, in the barony of Kilnacrenan. St. Columb founded an abbey at Tullachdubhglaisse. This is now a parish church in the diocese of Raphoe." It is perfectly true that Colgan designates this place as Tulach Dubhghlaise, or Height of the Dark Stream, the name it bore before any ecclesiastical building, or Teampul, was erected there, but he also distinctly conveys, in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, that the monastery was anterior to Columba's time and continued to flourish in his early days. That a Columban foundation existed at Tully is a different matter, fairly well established by tradition, and Primate Downham, finding the parishes of Tullyfern and Aughnish amalgamated, combined their names also into Tullyaughnish. Manus O'Donnell quotes a stanza from the versified Life of Columba by St. Mura of Fahan, which informs us that

> "This son of beauty was baptised
> At the godly Tulach-dubhghlaise."

Donegal County Library Service

Near the north-west angle of the graveyard enclosure, about 20 feet of wall belonging to the old abbey is still preserved, and can be readily distinguished from the modern masonry. This substantial boundary wall was constructed by the Rev. John Campbell, who was the resident curate in Glenswilly for the decade of years between 1840 and 1850, and it was the same cultured ecclesiastic who adorned the graveyard with shrubs and gravelled walks, and erected a sort of mausoleum over the remains of Bishop Coyle. But the chief monument of his zealous life is the Glenswilly chapel, which he commenced soon after his advent to the parish, and completed in 1841.

Reeves * perpetuates a tradition, now faintly remembered in the locality :—" There are the remains of an old church ; and the cemetery is in two portions, in one of which was an ancient enclosure of stones, like a roofless chapel, which was commonly called Ced-Mitheachd Columbkille, that is ' Primum Columbae Deambulacrium,' from the tradition that it was the first ground which Columba paced after he had learned to walk." Though this abbey was pre-Columban, the monks adopted the rule of Tirconaill's patron ; the same remark applies to the original foundation of St. Cruitnechan in Innishowen.

Old Seminary

The Rev. John Feely, afterwards Dean of the diocese, was appointed by Dr. Patrick Mac Gettigan, in 1825, to conduct advanced classes, mainly in Greek, Latin, and Mathematics, in Letterkenny. Obviously, Dr. Coyle's Academy had ceased to exist long before, and the reopening of a classical school here, while numerous lay teachers were attracting the young ecclesiastical aspirants

* *Life of Col.*, 192.

Donegal County Library Service

by the offer of cheap tuition in all parts of the country, was justly regarded as a risky experiment. The temporary premises engaged and equipped for the purpose were situated in Castle Street, but have disappeared in the clearances effected when Soutwell Terrace was planned. An unexpectedly large influx of talented boys, however, enabled Dean Feely to launch the education venture on its welcomed career with forebodings of assured success. At the end of the second year, in 1827, a brilliant young priest, just ordained in Maynooth, the Rev. Edward Mac Garrigle, was allotted to afford much-needed assistance to Father Feely. Some time after, the latter refined clergyman was promoted to the pastoral charge of Raphoe parish, and Father Mac Garrigle was obliged to employ the services of a senior student to take charge of some junior boys. The individual selected was the afterwards famous J. D. Mac Garvey, who was being at the same time instructed gratuitously in theology. At the end of the year, the astute young student initiated an agitation for the redress of the financial grievances of over-worked Intermediate assistants, and extorted a substantial salary and bonus from the old Bishop.

The illustrious Dr. Drummond, as he was popularly called, a very brilliant Dunboyne student, succeeded Father Mac Garrigle on the promotion of the latter to the parish of Killybegs, in 1830. Father Drummond had spent a short time as curate in Inver before he was invested with the charge of the Seminary, and Father Eugene Mac Cafferty was his assistant in the Seminary. In 1833 Father Mac Garrigle died, and Dr. Drummond was transferred to fill the vacant pastorship of Killybegs. At this period the dearth of priests in Raphoe was so exceptionally acute that two young clergymen, Fathers Leonard and Mac Nally, were borrowed from Clogher diocese, and

Donegal County Library Service

the old Seminary was for the time abandoned and the rented premises permanently surrendered.

A lay-teacher, of a romantic career, was the next purveyor of classical education at Letterkenny. His name was Mac Goldrick, and he hailed from the neighbourhood of Castlecaldwell, where many families connected with him by blood-relationship and surname still flourish. When he had spent a considerable number of years in an ecclesiastical college, his wavering vocation was secularised by the unsettling attentions of Sir John Caulfield's daughter. She became an ardent Catholic, and, in after days, was able to indulge in the proud but truthful boast, that she "gave God three for the one she took from him," thus completely eclipsing Mrs. Ramsay's prosaic achievement. However, her penniless husband was constrained to seek a precarious subsistence for himself and his tenderly reared spouse, by planting an academy in some populous centre, offering fair prospects of success. With the cordial sanction of the Bishop, he secured a very unpretentious house (Mac Crea's), near the present college of St. Eunan, for the twofold purpose of rearing a family and conducting an Intermediate school on his own account. For five or six years he continued to prepare boys for ecclesiastical colleges, and among the students he there trained were the late Father Brady, Father Mac Bride, etc. Three of his own sons became distinguished priests one of them ascending to the highest order of the Hierarchy. This was the celebrated Bishop of Duluth, who was engaged to preach a charity sermon on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the new cathedral, but who was unable to fulfil his promise. His father had obtained an appointment as professor in Ennis, after his departure from Letterkenny, and the Bishop revisited both scenes of his earlier years in 1894. The domestic history of this

Donegal County Library Service

remarkable family has been communicated by an old returned Yankee lady, who was housekeeper to the late Bishop Mac Goldrick. Patrick Mac Goldrick, who was the preceptor of Dr. Mac Devitt, Dean Kelly, Father Magroarty, and other eminent ecclesiastics, was a kinsman of the old Letterkenny headmaster, and a native of Fermanagh also, but was not an immediate relative. The contemporary pastor of Inver belonged to the same intellectual sept.

But Dr. Mac Gettigan was determined to invest the Letterkenny school with all the characteristics of an ecclesiastical seminary; and, in 1841, withdrew the Rev. Hugh O'Donnell from his unfinished course of studies on the Dunboyne, to build up an efficient and enduring Intermediate school. New and respectable premises were provided, at the Port Road, a thoroughly competent assistant was procured, and students flocked to the well-advertised academy from all parishes of Raphoe, and not a few from the diocese of Derry. So magnificent was the success in the opening months of the school-year that, in the Directory of 1842, we find the following glowing report, which bears strong intrinsic evidence of inspiration by the Bishop himself :—"The new College at Letterkenny is in a flourishing condition. Although 20 years ago, there were only 23 priests in the diocese, there are now 50 on active duty, and work for 10 more." Rev. Hugh Mac Fadden, senior, Cloghaneely, was a student of this institution, and was awarded Logic at his entrance to Maynooth in 1843. After six years strenuous and brilliant scholastic work, however, Father O'Donnell was transferred, in 1846, to the missionary charge of Kilcar parish, and on his withdrawal the "new College" instantly and hopelessly collapsed.

Dr. Crerand opened a classical school in the familiar premises adjoining the Literary Institute in 1849, under episcopal sanction. He was a native of Illistrin, was an M.D. of the Paris University, and practised as a physician

Donegal County Library Service

for twenty years in the French capital. In his Will, he bequeathed the "old Seminary," erected by himself, and the grounds attached, to the Bishop, to be used for educational purposes, under the direction of the Christian Brothers, and his valuable parks he also devised to the Bishop for the advantage of the diocese and the school. During his prolonged illness, and for two years after his death, the school was conducted with limited success by Francis Martin, of Bominy, who had spent two years in Maynooth.

Hugh Harron abandoned his collegiate career in Maynooth at the end of his Physics year, 1855, and, having opened a school in Stranorlar, he numbered among his pupils there the late Monsignor Mac Glynn, the Rev. Bernard Walker, etc., and achieved so notable successes at public examinations that he was brought to Letterkenny, under very promising auspices, in a year or so. There his capacity, his experience, and his refining and controlling influence produced admirable and widely appreciated results. But his career was cut short by a return of his former malady, and his early death, in 1866, was universally regretted. He was a native of Glenfinn, and a brother of the late Mrs. Gallagher, of the Store, who tenderly nursed him during his last illness, which he contracted in Ennis College, where he had secured a professorship through his friend, Dr. Egan, late Bishop of Waterford.

The meteor-like flash of Dr. Mac Fadden's loudly proclaimed advent to Letterkenny in 1867, destined to usher in a new era of high-class education, was entirely too dazzling to sustain its brilliancy for any considerable period. He was born about a mile from Kilmacrenan, in the Letterkenny direction, and had almost completed his ecclesiastical studies in Rome, when he discovered that his allotted destination in life lay outside the sanctuary.

Donegal County Library Service

His degree in Philosophy might enhance an advertisement, or ornament a visiting card, but it failed to stimulate his languid energies, when applied to the patient plodding and grinding associated with the efficient education of ill-prepared youths. He took unto himself a wife and departed on his honeymoon.

A more level-headed and well-equipped headmaster was discovered by Dr. Mac Devitt, in the person of the late esteemed Francis Gallagher, in 1871. Mr. Gallagher was a native of Glencolumbkille; entered Maynooth in 1863, read a distinguished course in advanced mathematics for four years in the Catholic University, and had acquired all the qualifications that specially commended him for the post. Hard-working, sympathetic, and unostentatious, he was an excellent teacher, whose reputation rests on solid and conspicuous results. His constitution was frail, and he died at an early age, in 1879, very genuinely regretted by all who knew him.

In that year, the illustrious Cardinal Primate once more, and permanently, restored the ecclesiastical management in the old fortune-tossed institution, placing Dr. Maguire in charge under the educational ægis of the newly-established Intermediate Board. The subsequent phases of its history, until it was superseded by the new St. Eunan's College, have been fully delineated in the author's booklet, *Letterkenny: Past and Present.* But short as has been the interval since the publication of that little memoir, death has created a lamentable void in the list of superiors and professors therein detailed. It is no exaggeration to say that, in the lamented death of its gifted and accomplished President, the Very Rev. Michael P. Ward, on the 19th of July, 1919, the College received a stunning blow, the effects of which can be best appreciated by those who were intimately acquainted with his inimitable administrative ability, his powerful grasp of all the intricate

Donegal County Library Service

details of the Intermediate system, and his whole-hearted devotedness to the interests of the students. Ordained at the close of a highly creditable course in Maynooth College, he had given only a short period of his life, less than two years, to missionary duty in the parish of Raphoe, to which he received his first appointment in 1901, when he was transferred to scholastic work in the old Seminary. How successfully that work was accomplished ever since, till the short fatal illness of last spring put a period to his brilliant activities, was amply attested by the annual Intermediate Results, but still more conspicuously by the unexampled manifestations of genuine grief at his death, Bishop, clergy, and laity, throughout the diocese, uniting in their unconstrained and unfeigned efforts to pay a just tribute to his memory. May he rest in peace.

The College has now been placed under the management of the Rev. P. D. Mac Caul, who lacks neither energy nor experience; and his colleagues are: Rev. John Mac Glynn, B.A., B.D.; Rev. T. R. Griffith, B.A.; Rev. Daniel Fury, D.Ph.; Rev. Barry Duggan, D.Ph.; Mr. J. P. Craig, and Mr. Cooney, B.A.

Parish Priests

1400. Fergal Canon Magee.
1410. Renelinus Canon O'Deery.
1420. Nicholas Canon Magee.
1425. John Canon Mac Bride.
1428. Roger Magonagle.
1429. Godfrey O'Daly.
1432. Cornelius Canon Mac Menamin O'Donnell.
1435. Eugenius Canon Mac Menamin O'Donnell.
1438. Philip O'Daly.
— Owen Quinn.
1439. Laurence Nee.
1440. Turlogh O'Daly.
1450. John Canon Mac Bride.
1600. Charles Keeney, Vicar.
1704. George Doherty.
1737. Francis Canon Mac Devitt.
1777. John Harkin.
1806. James O'Gallagher.

Donegal County Library Service

Administrators

1825. George Quigley.
1827. Daniel Early.
1830. John Devenny.
1836. Daniel Spence.
1841. Daniel Mac Gettigan.
1853. John Mac Menamin.
1859. Charles O'Donnell.
1867. Bernard Kelly.
1871. Patrick Daly.
1874. F. W. Gallagher.
1880. William Drummond.
1891. William Sheridan.
1901. Daniel V. Stephens.
1904. Daniel Sweeney.
1908. James C. Cannon.
1909. John Mac Cafferty.
1918. John O'Doherty.

Curates

1796. Anthony Coyle.
1801. John Kelly.
James Gallagher
1801. Joseph Hannigan.
1810. James Carolan.
1818. John Devenny.
1829. Niall O'Kane.
Michael O'Doherty.
1835. Matthew Mac Menamin.
1836. Daniel Spence.
1838. Thomas Mac Gettigan.
1839. Daniel Kelly.
1840. John Campbell.
1850. Michael O'Friel.
1854. John Mac Menamin.
1855. Charles O'Donnell.
1862. Bernard Kelly.
1863. John Magroarty.
1864. Patrick Daly.
1870. Francis Gallagher.
1872. Francis W. Gallagher.
1876. William Drummond.
1876. Dr. Logue.
1878. Bernard Walker.
William Sheridan.
1880. James Walker.
1889. Daniel Stephens.
1891. John Kennedy.
1894. James Cannon.
1896. Daniel Mac Ginley.
1899. Dr. Maguire.
1901. Daniel Sweeney.
1903. John Kennedy.
1906. John Mac Cafferty.
1909. John O'Doherty.
1910. Hugh O'Gara.
1918. Patrick Mac Caul.
1919. Dr. Mac Neely.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XVIII

Parish of Donegal or Townawilly

The northern district of the ancient and extensive benefice of Drumhome was formed into a separate parish in May, 1722, by the Government, in the interests of the Protestant Church, and also for the purposes of civil administration. But the *Report on the State of Popery in* 1731, and the *Petition of the Raphoe Clergy*, 1737, plainly demonstrate that this territory still remained under the jurisdiction of the Drumhome clergy. The Report states that "two Popish Priests of the neighbouring parish of Drimholm celebrate Mass in the open fields or in private houses"; and the Petition contains no signature of a Donegal or Townawilly pastor, though all existing parish priests affixed their names to that document. It is impossible to discover at what precise date the modern parish of Townawilly was founded, but it is practically certain that the Most Rev. Philip O'Reilly, Bishop of Raphoe, 1759-82, erected this portion of Drumhome into a separate benefice about 1760. The new parish has been at all times designated Donegal by common usage, its official title of Townawilly being ignored, owing to the halo of proud pre-eminence that surrounds and illumines the "Town of the Masters."

When the Catholic natives were driven to the untilled and uninviting wastes in the neighbourhood of Barnas, and their former fertile farms planted with Scotchmen, the parish came gradually to be named

Donegal County Library Service

after the district whither they were obliged to treck. The pretty village of Donegal was not designed for them ; the historic outposts of the Abbey and the Castle had been plundered from their co-religionists and chiefs ; the temporary church had to be transferred with the whole Catholic community to the wilds of Townawilly, where the ministrations of religion were long supplied by the evicted friars of Magherabeg, as they had been before the upheaval. But, as the Penal Laws began to be less stringently enforced in view of the American War of Independence, the Catholics were enabled to construct, about 1770, a substantial and spacious edifice near the site of the present superb building at Clar. It was at first covered with thatch, and is described as " T-shaped and flat-roofed." The chapel-of-ease in the village dates from the beginning of the last century ; and has been allowed to continue its threatened existence, without extension or adornment, merely because ampler space and a more desirable site for a neat, modern church have been long sought in vain, and have repeatedly appeared to be within the grasp of the expectant authorities in charge.

Both history and tradition attest that, for a century and a quarter after the suppression of Magherabeg and the forcible occupation of its buildings by Sir Paul Gore in 1608, it was the evicted community that continued, in their new temporary home, recruiting their diminishing numbers from more favoured foundations, to minister to the spiritual wants of north Drumhome and east Killymard. They lived in the Friary at Lough Eske, and celebrated public Mass at first " in the open fields or in private houses," but eventually in the old scalan, that preceded the first church at Clar. This latter building is not represented as the

Donegal County Library Service

parochial church, nor accorded any precedency by Lewis, writing in 1847: "The Roman Catholic parish is co-extensive with that of the Established Church, and has a chapel at Donegal and one at Townawilly." Thus, gradually, the parish came to be commonly designated Donegal, as the ascendancy lost its dominating power. The present spacious and magnificent parish church at Clar was completed and dedicated to religious worship May 21, 1871, by the brilliant scholar and zealous pastor, Dr. Richard Mulreany, with remarkable solemnity. Perhaps the most memorable feature of the opening ceremony was the eloquent sermon preached by the famous Father Tom Burke, that beloved patriot and gifted ornament of the Dominican Order. But the illustrious Primate, Dr. Daniel Mac Gettigan, and the new paternal Bishop, Dr. Mac Devitt, were conspicuous figures, and shared with Father Burke the affectionate admiration of the vast warm-hearted assemblage. The new church was deservedly regarded as a triumph of architecture, and as a symbol of religious revival. Since then, complaints have been frequently heard that the parish church was erected at such an unreasonable distance from the town; but it must be remembered that in those days, the people were in general favourably disposed towards a journey of a mile or two to Mass on a Sunday forenoon, and looked forward to this short weekly excursion on car or on foot with the most pleasurable anticipations. Motor cars had not yet begotten a contempt for slow locomotion.

Few spots in Ireland possessed such attractions for the hungry Scotch adventurers as did the village of Donegal and its vicinity. Sir Paul Gore and Sir Basil Brooke received prompt responses to their appeals for

Donegal County Library Service

British retainers. From Donegal Bay to Lough Eske, both sides of the river soon swarmed with greedy adventurers, and, outside the village itself, their descendants have retained a firm grip on the soil. The anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne was the day they always chose for a display of their colours, and for a public challenge to the Catholics of the district to do honour to the glorious King William, or to accept the alternative, "Croppies lie down." On one memorable anniversary the Catholics resolved to put their boasted prowess to the test, and pre-arranged the hour and trysting-place with their bullying adversaries.

Not far from the Esk embouchure is the famous Thrushbank, the rendezvous of the Catholics on the well-remembered Monday, the 13th July, 1829. Mr. Hamilton, the chief actor in this episode of the Emancipation days, thus describes the gathering:—"Towards eight o'clock I rode out to the place where the other party (the Catholics) had assembled, and going pretty close I counted as nearly as I could 300 armed men with guns drawn up in a line, with men in front acting as officers, and fully 2,000 with pikes, scythes, hooks on poles, and other extemporised arms." This popular and level-headed magistrate succeeded, by his tact and determination, in averting a sanguinary and terrific conflict. The Orangemen were not obliged to submit to the humiliation of acknowledging defeat, but they undertook never to parade through Donegal town on the 12th July, and not to molest any Catholic on that particular day, if their procession was allowed to march on the southern side of the river. The Thrushbank road was blocked, and of course no attempt was made to force a passage in that direction. Both parties were fairly amenable to advice, but, in spite of Colonel Hamilton's strong appeal, the Orangemen grew excited over the toasts,

Donegal County Library Service

and several of the less prominent members were arrested. Captain Gibbons was the self-constituted leader and spokesman on the Catholic side, and, notwithstanding Colonel Hamilton's word of honour guaranteeing him immunity from all legal consequences, he was summoned in the evening by and before a hastily packed bench of Orange magistrates. "After I went home," proceeds the Colonel, "the magistrates in Donegal committed Gibbons, not to be bailed for less than £200. I found out this next day, and bailed him at once. Everyone thought my money lost, but, at the Assizes, several Orangemen, who had again broken the law, were put on their trial, and, when Gibbons was called, up came his red head. They were all tried, and found guilty. I was deputed by the Grand Jury to address the Judge (Jebb), and to crave a nominal punishment and a solemn warning. They were each fined a shilling and dismissed. Gibbons, the one Romanist among several Orangemen, remarked pretty loudly: 'Well, it's a good thing to be in good company once in a body's life.' I have no doubt he would have been condemned to a pretty severe punishment, had he not been in the same boat with the Orangemen." Who can question the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, while the honest foreman of the Grand Jury makes this compromising admission!

In 1798 the Rev. Neil O'Callaghan was the parish priest of Townawilly; but we have no record of his predecessors from 1760. He erected the old church near the site of the present beautiful edifice at Clar, and, in the opening years of the nineteenth century, constructed a chapel in the town, which, with the exception of some insignificant ornamentation, survives in its primordial condition of insufficient space, undevotional gloom, and inartistic furniture. Though the history of Lord Arran's

Donegal County Library Service

relations with his tenants exhibits few outstanding incidents of rack-renting or glaringly unjust eviction, it has at all times proved impossible to obtain a site for a National school under Catholic management. The question was tested in the Courts about the year 1903, and the Act of Parliament, under which compulsory powers were sought, was discovered to afford a loophole of escape, as other landowners possessed property within the prescribed radius. Of course, the agent is in many cases the contriver of obstruction; but the descendants of the plunder-sated and bloodthirsty Sir Paul Gore have pretty uniformly secured agents who understand the best means of holding on to their lucrative job. Father O'Callaghan was a native of Kirkstown, and read his theological course under the tuition of Dr. Coyle in Letterkenny.

Father Eugene Mac Cafferty was first appointed Administrator to the Rev. Neil O'Callaghan in 1832, when the latter had become enfeebled by age, and eventually, on his death in 1841, succeeded to the pastoral charge. He was a native of Drumhome, a man of splendid physique, highly gifted intellect, and endearing social qualities. Whether he received the title of Archdeacon by courtesy or *de jure,* he wielded great influence in ecclesiastical circles, and was a special friend and adviser of old Dr. P. Mac Gettigan, the Bishop of his day. He matriculated in Maynooth, 1822, and was raised to the priesthood in 1829.

The Rev. Richard Mulreany, D.D., was a worthy and zealous successor to this hospitable pastor, and, with eclat, had pursued his higher studies in the Eternal City. His family were the most wealthy and widely known in his native district; he was looked upon as a leading pulpit orator; but his works establish his most enduring claim on the gratitude and admiration of his flock and their

Donegal County Library Service

descendants. Some of the Mulreany stock still flourish in Mountcharles, the nursery of the clan; many distinguished relatives adorn the learned professions; the Rev. Hugh Mac Loone and his brother James Mac Loone, Q.C., are nephews; and collateral connections are both numerous and highly respected. Still, his revered memory will at all times rest its irresistible claims to the gratitude and affection of the good people of the parish on the superb Gothic church he provided, without imposing any excessive burden on his flock. Schools and a parochial house he also bequeathed to the parish; but these latter provisions were equally well organised and perfected elsewhere. The church is unique in its symmetry and grandeur.

Dr. Richard, as he was familiarly spoken of, displayed a progressive and strenuous purpose during his whole missionary career; while, in clerical circles, his unassuming simplicity of manner, his enlightening conversation, and his well-known hospitality made him at all times a welcome guest and a delightful host. His first appointment in the diocese was that of assistant to his life-long friend, Father Ramsay, in Glenfin, early in the year 1845; thence he was transferred within two years to Killybegs; and, after a still shorter interval, he was again removed to Inver. In 1850 he became curate to Archdeacon Mac Cafferty, in Donegal, where he endeared himself to his flock by his affable manner, his cultured instructions, and his prompt discharge of parochial duties. Killymard became vacant in 1854, by the transfer of Dr. Dan Mac Gettigan to the parish of Clondavaddog, and Dr. Richard was appointed to fill the vacancy thus created. He continued to discharge, with his wonted earnestness, the pastoral duties of Killymard till the death of his old friend, the Rev. Eugene Mac Cafferty,

Donegal County Library Service

7th May, 1868. After this regretted event he was transferred to the pastorship of Townawilly, which he held, with the increasing attachment and cordial admiration of his flock, during the remainder of his arduous, but all too brief career. His grave adjoins the Clar church, but no monument yet bespeaks the undoubted attachment of his flock, or the gratitude of posterity. The Author, in his schooldays, was invited by Dean Feely to accompany him to inspect his own grave, with an uninscribed tombstone lying beside it; and, as years roll by, he is every day more firmly convinced that this old saint adopted the prudent and only safe means of perpetuating his memory, and of ensuring the grateful prayers of successive generations of parishioners. His deeply lamented death, 17th December, 1873, was believed to have been accelerated by his overtaxing his energies and recklessly exposing himself to an inclement atmosphere, during the erection of St. Agatha's church and of the parochial house at Donegal.

"1871. May 21. New church of Donegal (Clar) opened for Divine Service. Dedication ceremony performed by Dr. Mac Devitt. Father Tom Burke, O.P., preached." —(*Catholic Directory.*)

Long before his well-merited promotion to Donegal, in 1873, the Rev. John Doherty had attained a world-wide reputation as an uncompromising patriot and a trenchant writer. Born in the Glen of Glenties about 1815, he migrated with the family into the vicinity of Donegal, in Killymard, while yet a youth, and received an excellent education, partly in Donegal, but mostly in Derry, where his brother Michael was proprietor of a famous pipe manufactory. He graduated in the Irish College, Paris, and, after he had been promoted to the priesthood in 1845, he acquired his first missionary experience during his two years' stay in Ardara. Next he

Donegal County Library Service

proceeded to Clondavaddog, where he remained about the same period of time, before he was promoted to the pastoral charge of Gweedore in the end of 1849. Here, on the very threshold of his arduous pastorate, the grinding tyranny of landlordism and the thraldom and penury of his flock confronted him in all their appalling horrors, and at once he tackled the herculean task of elevating the spirit and making more tolerable the life of his people.

Again, Mrs. Russell had erected a Protestant church, and established a Protestant colony in Dunlewey, with the undisguised object of proselytising a starving peasantry. If she failed to gain a single adherent from this unsophisticated, but thoroughly incorruptible Catholic community, her failure was not due to lack of bribes and promises, but, under God's providence, to the ability and apostolic zeal of Father Doherty. "The barque is still there, but the waters are gone." The church still enhances the picturesque landscape, but the last survivor of the colony became a Catholic thirty years ago. The heart-rending story of the Scotch shepherd's villainies, of the crushing taxation, and the repeated displays of Government forces, and of the eventual disclosure of the trumpery character of the charges brought against the innocent people by the Crown, is very fully narrated in the chapter on Glenveigh in Part II of this History. Even after he had got promotion to the less pauperised parish of Mevagh, in 1856, he still continued to manifest his full-hearted sympathy with his former flock. For, when the Government at long last and with ill-disguised reluctance, granted a Royal Commission to inquire into the iniquitous and clearly disproved allegations against the honesty of the Gweedore and other tenants, it was his well-marshalled array of incontrovertible facts that extorted a verdict in their favour. It was, moreover, his potent pen that

Donegal County Library Service

replenished their empty pockets and enabled them to tide over the terrible crisis. Public tributes like the following were neither infrequent nor undeserved:—"April 9, 1858. Splendid letter of Rev. John Doherty, P.P., acknowledging subscription for fair trial."—(*Catholic Directory*, 1859.) The Abbé Peraud, afterwards Cardinal-Bishop of Autun, paid a visit to Gweedore, and then sojourned with the Rev. J. Doherty at Mevagh (ibid. 1863). His unsupported efforts realised close on £6,000 in the States for the building of the noble church of Carrigart, a lasting monument of his enlightened zeal. A trusted broker had £1,500 of his hard-earned gatherings when he became bankrupt, but this deficit materialised just after Father Doherty's death. In Nationalist politics he was a pillar of strength, and it was his political friends who erected the granite monument in the abbey. Died 18th November, 1881, of fever contracted from a patient.

The late Venerable Dean Mac Fadden was born near Creeslough, in 1827, and was the younger brother of James, archdeacon, and parish priest of Raymunterdoney; and nephew of Hugh, predecessor of the latter in Cloghaneely. Having prepared under the Rev. Hugh O'Donnell in Letterkenny, he was admitted to Rhetoric in Maynooth, 1846, and, after his ordination, in 1853, passed the first five years of his laborious life in the Laggan. From 1858 till 1866 he was the only curate in Inniskeel, and for a year or so, he performed all the spiritual duties of that parish single-handed. His first preferment was to Gweedore, whence he was promoted to Drumhome, in 1872. He succeeded Father Doherty in Donegal, in 1882, and in 1887 was *dignior* for the vacant mitre. Soon after Dr. O'Donnell's consecration in 1888, his Lordship graciously invested both his rivals with the dignity of Vicars-General, and obtained from

Donegal County Library Service

Rome the elevation of both dignitaries to the rank of Monsignori of the first order. A prudent churchman, a sterling patriot, and a worthy priest, he lived beloved, and he died regretted, by every priest in the diocese and by all the laity who knew him. His death took place on the 23rd of March, 1908.

His successor is the Venerable Archdeacon Walker, who also exercises the jurisdiction of Vicar-General, and has worthily borne the dignity of Monsignor for the past quarter of a century. Recently he has erected a thoroughly up-to-date residence for his curate at Clar, and in all matters of administration has shown at all times a progressive spirit and a cultured taste. The admirable church and commodious parochial residence in Burtonport, are noble monuments of his practical zeal and exhaustless energy ; and, be it recorded to his credit, that these costly buildings and several splendid schools were erected within an incredibly short time after the completion of his collecting tour in America, where he amassed an astounding pile for the building fund of the new cathedral. We trust that it may be long before the ominous letters, *R.I.P.*, may be appended to a recital of his virtues and labours.

Before we proceed to an enumeration of the clergymen that have ministered in this distinctively modern parish, it is important to review the scattered fragments of history that may shed any light on its ecclesiastical position between 1608 and 1760. For it is unequivocably established by the Lifford Inquisition that, down to the former date, Townawilly was an integral part of Drumhome parish, the rectorship of which was itself an advowson of the Cistercian Abbey of Assaroe, the vicarage being in the gift of the Bishop. From the early years of the fifteenth century, however, the monks of Magherabeg

Donegal County Library Service

were entrusted with the spiritual superintendence of the entire Townawilly district, and possessed a rich and extensive estate for their maintenance:—"And the said Jurors further saie that in the said parish of Dromhoomagh there is one other quarter of abbay land called Magherebeg, now in the possession of Captaine Gore, which the O'Donnells aunciently gave to the tertian ffriars of St. Francis."

When Luke Plunkett brought John Marshall into the diocese, and procured for him, from the Holy See, the dignity of Dean, it is fairly certain that he located him in Donegal, for Basil Brooke immediately ordered the arrest of the Dean and of Marney Mac Golerick, friar in the Abbey. Brooke's letter is not available, but the reply, already quoted * in full, furnishes abundant evidence for our purpose. From this year, 1673, we may safely date the creation of Townawilly as a distinct parish.

Next, the list of signatures to the Petition in 1737 discloses the conspicuous omission of the ancient prebendary parish of Killymard. No doubt, there was a parish priest there in 1704, Cornelius Mulhern; but it is not an unwarrantable inference to suggest that Dr. James O'Gallagher, during a vacancy in Killymard, assumed its pastoral charge himself, together with that of Townawilly. We find every other parish, even Raphoe, exhaustively accounted for; and it would be unreasonable to imagine that he appropriated no parochial emoluments. His successor, Dr. Daniel O'Gallagher, is buried in Donegal Abbey †; and, though this fact alone would not prove that he lived in Donegal, it is an unanswerable argument, when it is remembered that Dr. Anthony O'Donnell was at that time resident pastor of Kilbarron, the only

*Burke's *Irish Priests*, 35. † *Archivium*, vi. 57.

Donegal County Library Service

alternative mensal parish. Similarly cogent reasons incline us to believe that Dr. Nathaniel, or Nactan, O'Donnell lived and died in Donegal, 1755-1759, as Anthony Dunlevy was then parish priest at Ballyshannon. But, there is no doubt that Dr. O'Reilly treated Townawilly as a distinct and important parish, though it was occasionally left dependent on the services of one effective clergyman, during periods of a dearth of priests in the diocese.

The Rev. Nial Callaghan was a native of Kirkstown, Letterkenny, and had reached an immense age when he died in 1841. He had never graduated in any high-class college; neither had his immediate predecessor, brother of William Carolan of Killygarvan, who was himself a very accomplished student of Maynooth. John Kelly was the very first Raphoe student who entered Maynooth in 1795. He had been ordained priest before he matriculated, and belonged to the Ballyshannon family of that name. Eugene, or Owen, Mac Cafferty belonged to a well-known family in Drumhome, and received a very superior education. He passed for Rhetoric in Maynooth, 1829; devoted the two first years to teaching in the Seminary, and the following three years to missionary work in Inver. The residue of his fruitful life was spent in the service of the Townawilly devoted flock. His happy death is dated the 7th of May, 1868.

Father Anthony Dillon was brother of John Dillon, proprietor of the Arran Arms Hotel, and owner of land and house property. He was a student of the Irish College, Rome, ordained in 1842. Though at all times delicate, he was remarkably humorous and cheerful, but his piety eclipsed all his other gifts, and to this day he is spoken of as a brilliant saint. He died of consumption on the 1st November, 1853, aged thirty-eight.

The Rev. Henry Mac Shane was son of James Mac

Donegal County Library Service

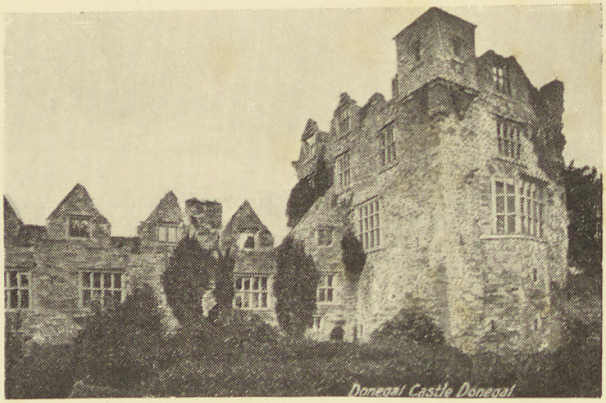
Shane of Dunkineely, still surviving, and brother of Father James, who succeeded him, and still fills that coveted position. Having obtained a certificate in the Senior Grade Intermediate in Letterkenny, 1881, he was nominated to the diocesan studentship in Salamanca. His ordination as priest in May, 1888, was the very first that took place in the episcopate of Dr. O'Donnell, who invariably regarded him with marked esteem. His missionary life was practically limited to the service of two parishes, Inniskeel and Donegal. Seeing that he spoke Spanish with remarkable easy and fluency, and that his manner was singularly courteous and attractive, he was the happy choice that naturally suggested itself when a decision was to be made as to who should be the head of a delegation to South America to raise funds for the building of St. Eunan's College. Having faithfully discharged his mission, and gained the affectionate admiration of all the priests and laity he met, he was promoted, on his return, to the enviable curacy of Donegal. His genial companionship was deeply appreciated by the late Dean Mac Fadden, whose last years he brightened by his unostentatious attentions, and whom he frequently declared he would soon follow to an early grave. Conscious of the approach of death, he was thoroughly prepared to meet the final summons, which came, unheralded by external symptoms, on the 26th of August, 1909. Rarely has such a demonstration of deep and universal grief been witnessed as marked the occasion of his funeral. A chaste headstone surmounts his grave in the churchyard at Clar, and the inscription is as simple and unvarnished as was his own innocent life.

The Author has laboured to discover all authentic details of the life of the Rev. Hugh Mac Garvey. He distinctly recalls his youthful but delicate appearance, red

Donegal County Library Service

Donegal County Library Service

DONEGAL ABBEY.



DONEGAL CASTLE.

Donegal County Library Service

hair, handsome countenance, and foreign dress. He returned to his native diocese in 1868, was for some time chaplain, and was, in 1870, adopted as curate by Dr. Richard Mulreany. His father was a brother of the wealthy Father Mac Garvey. This young priest was ordained in America, where he also exercised his early ministry. The obituary record is very brief: "Died 18th February, 1871. Aged 39 years." Born in Glen, Mevagh; nephew of Rev. John MacGarvey and Rev. D. Kerr; entered Philadelphia Seminary in 1858; ordained 1864; Assistant in St. Patrick's.

Donegal Abbey

"In penal times," says Father Coleman (Heyne, App. 5), "while the ancient building was known as the Abbey, the house where the Fathers lived was generally called the Friary." And these designations were attached as commonly to the Franciscan, as they were to the Dominican houses, of which latter the learned writer is proceeding to trace the history. In fact, the generic appellation of Abbey is indifferently applied to the existing ruins of all ancient religious houses, Cistercian, as in Assaroe, Franciscan, as in Donegal, Carmelite, as in Rathmullan, or Dominican, as in Sligo. But the historic associations and the intellectual output of the Donegal Abbey, which was the nursery of illustrious prelates and the chosen resting-place of valiant chieftains, would have secured it a foremost place in the Annals of the Irish Church and nation, even if the Four Masters had not elected to invest it with an unfading halo of literary fame, by seeking shelter in the hallowed environment of its ruins, during the four years of their monumental labours "for the glory of God and the honour of Erin."

Father Donatus Mooney is the historian of the ancient

Donegal County Library Service

Franciscan institutions in Ireland, and a graceful translation of his manuscript is published by the scholarly and accurate Father Meehan, in his popular little work, entitled *The Rise and Fall of the Franciscan Monasteries.* Father Mooney had resided in the Abbey till the catastrophe of 1601; he returned from Belgium to collect chronicles and traditions in 1608; and, in 1617, when engaged in the final revision of the manuscript, "no sooner did Mooney's grey eye light on the word Donegal, than the tears streamed hot and fast down the channelled cheeks; and then, after a moment's pause, he turned to his companion and said: 'Dear Brother, read for me the history of that monastery I loved so well—aye, and that I love still, though it is now a lonely, rifted ruin.'" And his companion proceeded to read (p. 4): "'It was in the year 1474, when the Franciscans were holding a provincial chapter in the monastery of Rossrial, that Nuala, daughter of O'Connor Faily and wife of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, came, accompanied by a brilliant escort of noble ladies, to present a humble memorial to the assembled fathers. They deputed the provincial to inform her that they could not comply with her request; but so earnest and energetic was the lady's pleading that she was accompanied on her journey homeward by a good number of Franciscans, who immediately commenced building the far-famed monastery at the head of the lovely bay of Donegal. The lady Nuala, however, died before the building was finished, and her widowed lord had her buried in a vault, specially constructed, almost under the high altar. In the course of that year, Hugh Roe took to his second wife Finguala, daughter of Conor O'Brien of Thomond; and she, emulating the virtues of her predecessor, spared no pains in forwarding the work, until she saw entirely completed in that year the church,

Donegal County Library Service

cloisters, chapter-house, refectory, library, and all the other appurtenances. This same year the church was dedicated with pomp and splendour; a more imposing spectacle was never before witnessed in Tirconaill, even in the days of the blessed Columba, that greatest of church-builders. The munificence of O'Donnell and his wife Finguala was unbounded, for, not satisfied with presenting rich altar furniture to the church, they also bestowed upon the friars some quarters of fertile land and a perpetual right to fish salmon. I have often seen the friars taking, right under the windows of the infirmary, prodigious quantities of this delicious fish at one haul of the net. In 1505 Hugh Roe died in the castle which he had erected within a bow-shot of the monastery, and Finguala got a small residence constructed still nearer, where she spent the remainder of her days in prayer and almsgiving, until at length she was laid in the same tomb with her husband.

"'Hugh Og crowned his career of conquest in the field by the still grander triumph over himself in taking the habit of St. Francis, in our monastery, before his death in 1537. Bishop Mac Carmagan of Raphoe, in 1515, and Rory O'Donnell, Bishop of Derry, in 1550, were similarly clothed in the rough serge of our Order, in preparation for death, and gave instructions that their remains should be laid in our cloister.

"'In 1601 our community consisted of forty friars; I was sacristan; Niall Garbh, with the revolted Irish and his English auxiliaries, were marching on Donegal; we put all our sacred furniture in a ship; I was the last to go on board; the rest of the brotherhood fled to the wooded country. I had in my custody forty suits of vestments, many of them being cloth of gold and silver, some interwoven and brocaded with gold, and the

Donegal County Library Service

remainder silk. We had also sixteen silver chalices, all of which, two excepted, were washed with gold ; nor should I forget two splendid ciboriums inlaid with precious stones, and every other requisite for the altars. This rich equipment was the gift of the princes of Tirconaill.

"'In the year 1602, Oliver Lambert, the English governor of Connacht, seized the entire of our sacred furniture, which he desecrated by turning the chalices into drinking cups, and ripping up the brocaded vestments for the vilest uses. The English, who now (1617) possess the whole country, suffer the old friars to pass the residue of their years among the mountains and glens, but they will not allow them to receive any young members. Such is the actual condition of our community in the neighbourhood of that once fair monastery I loved so well, and over whose ruins mine aged eyes have wept.'"

Bishop Montgomery, in his Statement (Ord. Survey, Derry), laid the following among other proposals before James I :—"If the charge of building a College be thought great and be a hindrance to this erection, the King hath now in his hands the Abbey of Donegal, lately re-edified in part by Tyrconnell before his flight, which, with less charge, may be made fit for that purpose." However, no college was ever established there, but the lands belonging to the Abbey and known as Townawilly estate, were assigned as part endowment, by charter of Charles I, of a School to be erected in Donegal or Raphoe, and eventually, by a similar Charter of Charles II, to the Royal School of Raphoe. Later, the same Protestant Bishop modestly requested that the Abbey should be given to himself to be transformed into a palace ; and the concession of this favour, even, would have been less repugnant to

Donegal County Library Service

the feelings of its rightful owners than its transformation into a house of worship for the imported Protestant usurpers.

Father Meehan supplements Mooney's history in an Appendix (p. 413):—"Lord Deputy Sydney saw it in 1566, and mentions it thus: 'We left behind us a monastery of Observant Friars, unspoiled or hurt, and with small cost fortifiable, much accommodated with the nearness of the water, and with fine groves, orchards, and gardens, which are about the same.'" The powder explosion, which inaugurated the demolition of the splendid edifice, is elsewhere noted. Dr. Pococke gives (p. 69) a very interesting and minute description of the ruins of the Donegal monastery, which he erroneously designates Minorite or non-Observant:—

"A quarter of a mile out of the town are the remains of an old Convent of Minorites, said to be founded by Odo, sirnamed Rufus O'Donnell, in 1473, and that there was a good library in it. The cloister consists of small arches, supported by couplets of pillars on a basement. In one part are two narrow passages one over another, about four feet wide, ten long, and seven high, which seem to be places for depositing valuable effects in time of danger. The upper one is covered with stones laid along on the beams of stone that cross it, and the lower one with stones laid across on the walls, both exactly after the Egyptian manner. And in a building over it are plain marks of a regular Roman pediment as though there had been some other building raised against it, which made me conclude that this was the remains of some very ancient building, either converted into a Convent, or it may be new founded by O'Donnell."

There is one other outstanding incident in the history of the monastery which it is not permissible to pass over

Donegal County Library Service

in silence, though it is elsewhere reviewed from a different standpoint. It is very graphically described by Mooney; but we introduce the subject at this point, because his account concludes with an illuminating reference to the monks' habits and their means of subsistence. Willis and Convill had surprised the monastery during Red Hugh's imprisonment, "first swooping down on Donegal in the dead of night, and killing thirty of its inhabitants. But the day of deliverance was nigh, for Hugh Roe had hardly been inaugurated (1592), when he laid siege to the monastery, into which they had driven 300 head of cattle. Willis threatened to set fire to the buildings; but the young prince, anxious to save the sacred edifice, suffered him to depart unharmed but without spoil. The friars immediately returned; and O'Donnell offered to support the community and repair the building out of his own revenues, if we would forego our usage of questing from door to door. The proposal, however, was declined, and the people, their scant means notwithstanding, shared their last morsel with us."

The fate of Turlough Mac Swine, against whom an information * was sworn in 1712, and of Marney Mac Goldrick * who was imprisoned by Basil Brooke in 1672, is not known from any published documents, but we can hardly entertain a doubt that they were massacred. Both were monks of Donegal Abbey; Turlough was guilty of the felonious crime of celebrating Mass in Ballyshannon; Marney was an inoffensive priest, whose only crime consisted in his being a member of a religious Order. But Tadhg O'Boyle and Owen O'Timony were despatched without imprisonment or trial. O'Boyle's martyrdom on the 13th of April, 1588, is described in Ward's *Catalogus*; O'Timony was butchered by English soldiers in

* Burke's *Irish Priests*, 40 and 55.

Donegal County Library Service

1649, and an account of his murder is preserved in Bruodin's *Propugnaculum.* Both these works I have seen, but the translated versions are here copied from Father Murphy's *Our Martyrs.*

Tadhg O'Boyle, O.S.F.

He was guardian of the convent of Donegal, and a celebrated preacher. When the English soldiers came there, he sent away the rest of the brethren to a place of security, intending to follow them later, but he was prevented by the soldiers. He strove to gain them over by kindness, but he could not escape. As he was going out of the gate of the monastery, the first soldier who met him ran him through with a sword, and pierced his head to the brain with three mortal wounds. When he was slain in this way and the soldiers had gone away with the plunder, the brethren returned and found Father Tadhg lying dead on the ground, his eyes piously raised to heaven, and his hands crossed on his breast.

Owen O'Timony, O.S.F.

He was of respectable parents in the Co. Donegal, and wishing to follow in the footsteps of Christ, he enrolled himself among the poor disciples of the seraphic St. Francis, who were then (1649) inhabiting the convent of Donegal. He was to them for many years a noble help, both in word and deed. When the power of the Regicides was at its height, Eugene was seized by the garrison of Ballyshannon. He was mocked, stript of his religious habit, beaten with rods, and so hewn by the swords of these wicked men, that eighteen wounds were inflicted on his body before he died. Left on the highway dead, as

Donegal County Library Service

the executioners supposed, he was found still alive by his brethren, and taken to the monastery, where, amid their tears, he died four days later. When these sacrilegious soldiers returned to the convent after their butchery, one of them, in wanton buffoonery, put on Father Eugene's religious habit, and strutted about in it, as if he was a Franciscan, while his companions jeered at him. But he was not long unpunished, for a flash of lightning struck him, killing him on the spot.

Conor O'Devenny

This illustrious martyr Bishop was, before his promotion to the see of Down and Connor, an humble friar in Donegal Abbey. His sept inhabited Glenfinn, and supplied scores of ecclesiastics to the cloister and to the mission. To do justice to this heroic prelate's virtues and gifts, it would be necessary to compile a separate volume. The Four Masters,* in their touching and realistic description of his murder by the English government, say:—"1611. He was first beheaded; then his members were cut in quarters and his flesh mangled, on the 1st of February. There was not a Christian in the land whose heart did not shudder. The Christians in Dublin contended for his limbs, and they had fine linen to preserve his blood, for they were convinced that he was one of the holy martyrs of the Lord."

Magherabeg Monastery

In the Inquisition sped at Lifford in 1609, we read:—"The said Jurors upon their oaths say that there is also

* Page 2371.

Donegal County Library Service

one other quarter of abbey land, called Magherabeg, now in the possession of Captain Gore, which the O'Donnells anciently gave to the Tertian Friars of St. Francis." The Jurors included the illustrious historian and poet, Lughaidh O'Clery, resident at the time in Ballymagroarty, and throughly conversant with the ecclesiastical history of Drumhome parish, in which he had lived for many years. It is needless to remind the reader that Drumhome parish extended at this time, and for a century and a half after, as far as the estuary of the Eske, and consequently included Magherabeg within its boundaries. Thus the herenach of Kilbarron, who had spent his life on the confines, and a considerable period within the limits, of Drumhome, could not by any chance remain ignorant of the origin and possessions of this important monastery.

All authorities are agreed that this foundation dates from the early years of the fifteenth century, and was, therefore, anterior to the establishment of the Observantine house, commonly known as the Abbey. And it is equally certain that the community was large, flourishing, and devoted to the discharge of parochial duty in the district lying between St. Ernan's and Barnas. As the reader is aware, there existed no separate parish of Townawilly, or Donegal, till 1730; Killymard and Drumhome were coterminous. The church lands attached to the monastery lay to the south of the town, and formed a narrow, long strip, parallel to the Eske river, but half a mile distant from it, and terminating east of Driminin. Though the nomenclature is considerably changed, most of the townlands can be easily recognised under the ancient names, which are: "Rarowy, Tawnlary, Muckellash (Muckross), Mamcree (Glebe), Arlannagh, Dromhowly (Drumnahoul), Kedy, Gortoconry (Ardeskin), Enlannagh

Donegal County Library Service

(Drumlonagher), and Ardkerkins (Ardchicken), with the appurtenances " (Inq., 3 April, 1638).

Seeing, therefore, that the Franciscans already possessed a grand monastery in the immediate neighbourhood, why, we might ask, was a second institution of the same order deemed either necessary or advisable ? Two answers suggest themselves and either of them adequately solves the problem. First, Hugh Roe's wife was Nuala O'Connor of Offaly, and she was intent on the ambitious project of becoming distinguished as a foundress. Secondly, a college for higher education was, perhaps, the one desideratum that appealed to Hugh Roe and his cultured spouse as the most essential condition to be fulfilled, if Tyrconnell was to hold its legitimate place in the intellectual world. While the Columban monasteries flourished, young aspirants to the sanctuary, sons of noblemen and military cadets, had ample facilities accorded them for equipping themselves with a solid classical and general education of a high order. But at this period, the decadence of the old monasteries was past the reasonable hope of recovery, and the " Tertians " were not primarily a teaching institution.

Paul Gore was obliged, in 1611, to relinquish the new castle he had constructed for himself on the site and out of the materials of O'Boyle's fortress in Ballyweel, but was assigned instead the monastery of Magherabeg. What became of the evicted monks ? The uniform tradition of the inland population of Killymard maintains that they established themselves in the place known ever since as " The Friary," near Lough Eske, in that parish. But the reader may naturally ask why they abandoned Drumhome, even after their expulsion from their monastery. But the southern and larger portion of Drumhome had always belonged to the Cistercian community at Assaroe, to whom

Donegal County Library Service

the parsonage was impropriate. In other words, the Abbot of Assaroe had the right of appointing the parish priest of Drumhome, and thus his spiritual authority was predominant there.

On the other hand, it is contended, with a great show of reason, that a Franciscan house stood within the graveyard boundary walls at the seashore in Killymard, and that the Friary was the refuge of its banished inmates. The problem is briefly but not convincingly solved by saying that the only evidence we possess to prove the existence of a Franciscan house at Edruim, is O'Donovan's error, which he corrected himself. But the glebe lands in the vicinity and the alleged ruins about the old Catholic church furnish a more formidable argument. We must leave the question undecided; but it is beyond dispute that the Magherabeg community was large, and did not soon become extinct. Dr. O'Donovan, in one of his Letters to the Ordnance Office during the Survey of 1835, not merely asserts that this religious house had been a female convent, but expresses a strong wish that the spot should be marked "Magherabeg Nunnery" on the Ordnance map. Twenty-one years after, when publishing the *Annals*, he still persisted in affirming this opinion:—"Machaire-beag, the little plain, a townland verging on the bay, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the town of Donegal. Some of the ruins of this *nunnery* are still to be seen" (p. 2252).

His letter dealing with the subject, is dated from Pettigo, October 28th, 1835:—

"DEAR SIR,—Please to let me know if the site of the nunnery near Donegal is marked on the map. What name have the surveyors got for it? It is mentioned by the Annalists, by O'Sullivan Beare, and by the writer

Donegal County Library Service

of the Journal of the Rebellion of 1641, and called by them machaire-beag, which O'Sullivan translates *planities parva*. The same name is yet remembered by the old natives, and the ruin of the old nunnery pointed out at the very spot where O'Sullivan places it : *a monasterio duo circiter centum passuum*. See his 'Battle between Red Hugh and Niall Garbh,' during which the monastery was burned.

"I am anxious that this ruin should be called 'ruins of Magherabeg Nunnery' on the map.

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN O'DONOVAN."

It is superfluous to say, in conclusion, that the haze of mystery created by ingenious conjecture is completely dispelled by the clear evidence of those who lived and moved among the monks, and saw them still distributing the blessings of their sacred ministry to crowded congregations around their hallowed abbey in 1609.

PARISH PRIESTS

1673. John Marshall, Dean.
1725. ✠James Gallagher.
1737. ✠Daniel Gallagher.
1750. Anthony Dunlevy, V.G.
1755. ✠Nathl. O'Donnell.
1760. Cormac Brogan.
1786. John Glacken.
1805. John Kelly.
1812. James Carolan.
1814. Niall Callaghan.
1841. Eugene Mac Cafferty.
1868. Richard Mulreany, D.D.
1873. John Doherty.
1882. Mgr. Hugh Mac Fadden, V.G.
1908. Mgr. James Walker, Archdeacon.

Donegal County Library Service

CURATES

1808. Niall Callaghan.
1834. Eugene Mac Cafferty.
1848. John O'Donnell.
1849. Anthony Dillon.
1851. Richard Mulreany.
1866. Thomas Sheridan.
1869. Hugh Mac Garvey.
1871. Patrick Blake.
1872. Peter Kelly.
1874. James Walker.
1876. Hugh Devine.
1884. John Sayers.
1886. Edward Cassidy.
1895. Joseph Boyle.
1896. Chris. Cunningham.
1900. Patrick Brennan.
1902. Bernard Kelly.
1905. Henry Mac Shane.
1906. Michael Ward.
1907. Bernard Cunningham.
1909. James Mac Shane.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XIX

Parish of Drumhome

"Then did Columbkille," writes Manus O'Donnell (279), "give exceeding great praise to his chief monasteries in Erin, and in especial to Derry and Kells, and his other leading churches in like manner; and he felt great home-sickness away from them:

> "Beloved are Durrow and Derry
> Beloved is Raphoe the stainless;
> Beloved *Drumhome* with sweet acorns;
> Beloved are Swords and Kells."

Adamnan, in his *Life of Columba*,* renders Drumhome, or in the Irish Drom-Thuama, into its Latin equivalent, Dorsum-Tommae, Ridge of Tuama, Tuama being the name of some pagan celebrity associated with the locality. In the context he narrates the story of Columba's death being miraculously manifested to St. Ernan by the whole vault of heaven becoming suddenly illuminated on that night:—"This vision was related to me Adamnan then a young man, by one of those who had seen it, who was a very old man, and whose name may be called Ferreolus, but in the Irish tongue Ernan (Iarranann). Being himself a holy monk, he is buried in Drumhome amidst the remains of other monks of St. Columba." This narrative very clearly states that Ernan, the first abbot and patron of Drumhome, was towards the end of his life a contemporary of St. Adamnan, "a youth at that time," and it very emphatically conveys that the monastery of

* Lib. iii. cap. 24.

Donegal County Library Service

Drumhome had long flourished, even before the bones of St. Ernan were laid to rest "among the remains of other monks of St. Columba." Hence Fleming's assertion that Adamnan himself was the founder, before he emigrated to Iona, is a baseless contradiction of an historical fact, and is here introduced for no other reason than that it is quoted in Reeves' Introduction to Adamnan's *Life of Columba*,* as follows :—

"Drumhome. A parish in the diocese of Raphoe, county of Donegal, barony of Tirhugh. It is the Dorsum Tommae mentioned by our author in such interesting connection, and was probably in the neighbourhood of Adamnan's birthplace. The seat of a powerful branch of the Cineal Conaill was in this parish (at Glasbolie, Fotha), and in it (at Ballymagroarty) was also preserved the reliquary called the Cathach. Fleming, in reference to Adamnan says: 'Animadvertendum ipsum Adamnanum, antequam Hienensis monasterii administrationem suscepisset, plura in Hibernia monasteria sub editae a se regulae praescriptis *erexisse*, quorum praecipua fuere Rapotense Pontis-Adamnani (Ballindrait) *Drumtuamense* et Scrinense.'"

The quatrain cited by Manus O'Donnell in above extract, and the antiquity ascribed to the foundation by Adamnan, would strongly suggest that this celebrated monastery was erected by Columba himself. But Colgan † most explicitly states that St. Ernan was the founder, long years after he had accompanied Columba on his voyage of exile to Iona :—"St. Ernan, also called Ferreolus, belonged to a distinguished family, but he was still more distinguished by his holiness of life. Together with his brother Cabtachus he was professed as a monk in Ireland, under the direction of his kinsman, St. Columba, and both became celebrated among the disciples of the

* Cl. xvi. † *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 7.

Donegal County Library Service

Saint. Hence, when Columba decided on undertaking a mission for the conversion of the Picts and Scots, he brought twelve disciples with him, and among them Ernan and Cabtachus. But after the holy man had laboured many years in propagating the faith and had garnered a plentiful harvest, he again returned to Ireland with St. Columba's permission and blessing, and settled down at a place called Drom-Thuoma, in his own country of Tirhugh, where he underwent many labours, until his energies were spent by fasting and old age. He was buried in the church of Drom-Thuoma."

"It was, therefore, a famous monastery in those days," says the editor of the *Monasticon*, "which is also evident from the mention of it under the following dates: 'A.D. 919. Cuiaedh, son of Domhnal, abbot of Doire-Chalgaigh, and of Drom-Thuama, head of the Council of Cineal Conaill, died A.D. 1197. Flaherty O'Muldorey, lord of Cineal Conaill, Cineal Enda, Cineal Eoghain and Oriel, defender of Tara, heir presumptive to the sovereignty of all Ireland, died on Inis Saimer in the 2nd of February, and was interred in Drumhome with due honour.'"

The Irish word Tuama signifies a sepulchre, a cemetery, and furnishes the etymology of numerous place-names; Toome, Toomavara, etc., and as the initial consonant of the second element of a compound is aspirated, Drom-thuama would be pronounced Drumhoma or Drumhome. Joyce gives this derivation; and it appears preferable to that assigned by Colgan, who was not so intimately associated or acquainted with Tirhugh as with Inishowen. That the broad-topped hill at the base of which Columba or Ernan founded the celebrated Drumhome monastery, had been previously used as a graveyard by the Tuatha de Danaans and early Milesians, is a conclusion that can scarcely be questioned; first, because its soil reveals

Donegal County Library Service

convincing evidence of the fact; and, secondly, because the huge gravestones at the very summit point very clearly to a pagan origin. This famous eminence has been known for long centuries as Mullagh-an-Croish, or Height of the Cross, from the fact that a conspicuous emblem of the Redemption was here erected to mark the transmutation of the place from pagan to Christian uses.

On the southern side, at the base, of the hill, lie the ivy-clad ruins of the old monastic chapel, transformed at the Plantation into a Protestant church, and used as such till 1795, when the Ballintra church was erected. The Catholics retained the eastern section of the graveyard; but have long ceased to bury there. Hence the neglected appearance of this hallowed spot may be explained, but not excused. If the present-day representatives of the clergy and Catholic inhabitants of the past, entertain no feeling of respect for the dead, they should at least permit the public authorities to take charge of the cemetery and to invest it with the ordinary aspect of a tidy, decent burial-ground.

The rectangular mound on the hill-top, commonly called O'Flaherty's Grave, is incontestably the identical spot where Flaherty O'Muldorey was interred, the corrupted form of his name being an easy transition from Flaherty, a Christian praenomen, to O'Flaherty, a well-known surname. Besides the juxtaposition of the Columban monastery, O'Muldory was probably swayed in the choice of a burial-place by the proud recollection that his renowned ancestor Hugh, from whom Tirhugh derived its origin, elected to be interred in a sepulchral mound on Fotha or Glasbolie hill, only a short distance from Drumhome cemetery.

In a little pamphlet of deep local interest, published in 1903 by a very worthy National teacher, Thomas

Donegal County Library Service

Kearney, and entitled *Drumholm*, the following observations occur (page 6) in reference to Mullinacross :—

"The present (grav: yard) enclosure, however, does not mark the extent formerly used for burial purposes. The hillside above the graveyard, up to the top, was at one time used as a place of sepulchre. Bones, teeth, skulls, etc., have been disinterred in cultivating there. Again, there is a notable grave right on the highest summit, it is always pointed out as O'Flaherty's grave, though few could tell who O'Flaherty was. There appear to be two or three graves in the tumulus marking the site. The graveyard must have been enclosed by a wall as early as 1725; I find a sum of 30*s.* voted by the vestry in that year for a gate. In 1796 a sum of £37 4*s.* 9*d.* was voted for building (it must have been for rebuilding) walls round the two old graveyards, and £8 4*s.* 8*d.* for building a cabin for the caretaker.

"There seems (page 3) to have been another old burial-ground, probably the oldest in the parish, on the eastern end of Drumhome hill. The late W. Dinsmore told me he frequently unearthed human bones when digging there. If stones ever marked the sites, they were removed as obstacles to tillage."

On an old map of 1835 (Ordnance) there is marked a "Monastery in ruins" on the western end of Trummon. This, also, has been removed, and the place brought under cultivation. There was a graveyard surrounding the ruins, and the horses would sometimes sink into the earth, as a grave caved in. The place is Mr. Roberts' property. In Mullinacross graveyard the oldest inscribed stone decipherable is a free-stone slab, 5 feet by 1 foot 10 inches very much defaced, but still legible :—"Here underneath this stone lieth the body of Francis Bressie of Drummore, Esq., deceased the seventh day of Oct., A.D. 1681." It

Donegal County Library Service

is situated at what was the eastern end of the old church. Nearly all the land now known as Rossnowlagh parish (in the Protestant re-arrangement) belonged to this Bressie —Rossnowlagh, Dorinis, Ballinakilly, Doonan, etc. His Will is dated 13th January, 1678, and contains mention of his foster-sister, Margaret Oig Ni Clery, and of *servants*, Connor, Dan, Alen, Miles O'Clery." What a sad upheaval! The most cultured of all the proprietary septs are become menials to a Scotch usurper on the confines of their own estates!

ERNAN

The old church at Mullinacross, on the site of the Columban monastery of Drumhome, was dedicated to St. Adamnan, and the title of the patron was retained after the edifice had been forcibly annexed by the Protestant settlers, though they professed to abominate the veneration as undisguised idolatry. But St. Ernan, the founder of the ancient institution, has been at all times recognised as the secondary patron. He was the nephew of St. Columba, and his feast day occurs in the Irish Calendar on the 1st of January. His father, Eoghan, was the only brother of Columba, and his brother Cobthachus was, like himself, a holy monk of the Columban Order. This latter is, it may be useful to note, quite a distinct person from his namesake, Cobthachus, brother of Baithen, and one of the twelve disciples who accompanied Columba on his voyage of exile from Derry to Iona. Adamnan mentions him as the oral author of the beautiful story he relates in the 24th Chapter, Book III, of his *Life of Columba*:—

"Another vision, also manifested at the same hour under a different form, was related to me, Adamnan, who

Donegal County Library Service

was very young at the time, by one of those who had seen it, and who solemnly assured me of its truth. He was a very old man, a servant of Christ, whose name may be rendered Ferreolus, but in the Irish Iarannan (Ernene), of the race of Mocufirroide, who, as being himself a holy monk, is buried in Drumhome, amid the remains of other monks of St. Columba, and awaits the resurrection with the saints. He said: 'On that night when Columba, by a happy and saintly death, passed from earth to heaven, while I and others with me were engaged in fishing in the valley of the River Finn, we saw the whole vault of heaven suddenly illuminated. Struck by the suddenness of the miracle, we raised our eyes and looked towards the east, when, lo! there appeared something like an immense pillar of fire, which seemed to us, as it mounted up at that midnight hour, to illuminate the whole earth like the summer's sun at noon; and after that Columba had penetrated the heavens, darkness followed as if the sun had just set. And not only did we, who were close to each other at the same spot, observe with intense surprise the brightness of this remarkable luminous pillar, but many other fishermen engaged at different deep pools along the same river."

Reeves takes the phrase "gente Mocufirroide," or "Mocufirrioue" in another codex, to mean that Ernan was a descendant of Raidhe or Rudhraidhe, the progenitor of the Ultonians—mac-ua-fir-Raidhe—but, if Adamnan meant blood-relationship he would have employed "genere." The question is most obscure, but the writer ventures to make the following observations, with extreme diffidence. Sinech, one of Columba's three sisters, is designated grandmother of Tochan of the *Mocufirchetea*,* the tribe into which she married, occupying

* Reeves, lxxii.

Donegal County Library Service

the district about Cuiluisge in Fermanagh. If her nephew, Ernan, were fostered among this people, he would acquire a claim to be regarded as one of the sept. Secondly, O'Donovan, in a note to the Battle of Magh Rath (42), writes :—

"The ancient Ultonians, of whom a long line of kings had dwelt at Emania, were in the sixth century scattered over various parts of Ireland, as in Kerry, Corcomroe, Leix, etc., and that part of them who remained in their original province, were shut up within the present counties of Down and Antrim. Lough Neagh and the river Bann separated them from the Cineal Owen."

It is not, therefore, the Ultonian royal stock that Adamnan refers to in the text quoted ; but it may be the Cineal-Fearadhaigh, a tribe of the Cineal-Eoghan, seated in the present barony of Clogher ; and mentioned in the *Donegal Annals* at 626 and 631, Ernan being the name of their chief in both instances. Columba's brother, Eoghan, may have married a lady from that tribe, and have bestowed the name Ernan upon the first male offspring in compliment to his spouse. "626. The battle of Leathairbhe between Macfichrigh, chief of Cineal-Mic-Earca, and Ernaine, son of Fiachra, chief of Cineal Fearadhaigh. 631. Ernaine, son of Fiachra, chief of the Cineal-Fearadhaigh was slain."

Whether Ernan was fostered with his aunt's connections by marriage at Cuilisky, near Pettigo, or with the Mocuforaidhigh, of east Tyrone, it is absolutely beyond question that he was nephew of Columba. Colgan assures us that this Ernan laboured in the vineyard of the Pictish region of Scotland for the greater part of his life ; but it is more likely that he was left behind in charge of Drumhome, and that Colgan confounds Cabtacus, son of Eoghan, with Cabtacus, son of Rodan. The quatrain quoted from

Donegal County Library Service

Manus O'Donnell's *Life of Columba* demonstrates the conspicuous importance of Drumhome, which is included under the same vinculum with Durrow, etc., in Columba's own day. Ernan's kinsmen, the O'Tinnys, were the chiefs and proprietors of this fertile district; Adamnan was the most distinguished scion of that stock. Hence, it was natural that this illustrious native, who had learned the first lessons of sanctity and monastic discipline at the feet of the aged Ernan, should be constituted Patron, conjointly with the saintly founder, when the fame of the former had spread throughout the churches and colleges of Europe

"Ernan of Tory was son of Colman, son of Moain, son of Muireadhaigh, son of Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages" *; his feast day is August 17. Many writers assume, without investigation, the identity of this saint with Drumhome's Patron; and the interesting story of the vision presented to Ernan on the night of Columba's death, would appear to harmonise admirably with this theory, seeing that the abbot, in journeying from Tory to Drumhome, would naturally cross the Finn. But it is much more probable that the monks and other anglers were trying their luck along the banks of the Eske. All authorities are agreed as to the pedigree of St. Ernan of Tory, who flourished about 650.

Ernan, Columba's uncle, and one of the twelve disciples who accompanied him into exile, was sent as "an aged priest to preside over the monastery of Hinba. Columba embraced him affectionately, blessed him, and foretold that he would never see the new abbot's face again. After a few days, becoming sick, Ernan desired to be brought back; hastily and boldly he tried to walk from the quay in Iona; but, within twenty-four paces of Columba's cell,

* *Archivium*, Gen. 46.

Donegal County Library Service

he breathed his last, suddenly falling to the ground." * Thus, by a process of elimination, we have excluded all the Ernans, who might have been selected to preside over this great monastery, except Columba's nephew of that name; and it is inconceivable that so important a personage should find no mention in the Calendar, Acts, or Genealogies. The mere *obiter dictum* of Reeves on this subject, in which he manifests no interest, is not sufficient to outweigh the arguments advanced. On the other hand, O'Donovan supports the only tenable view here advocated. In his Letter, written from Pettigo, October 28th, 1835, he states:—"St. Ernan or Ferreolus, as he is latinised by Adamnan, is remembered as the Patron of Drumhome. He was the *near relative* and disciple of the great Thaumaturgus. The name of this saint, like most others, has undergone all the disguises of the prefixes and postfixes of the Irish language—iarnan, iarnin, iarnoc, mo-iarnan, do-iarnan, etc. It is a pagan name and signifies the *irony* or *iron hardy* man, as Adamnan, who scorns to write his name in Irish, gives us to understand." The late Major Hamilton, of Brownhall, invested this honoured name "with a local habitation," and rescued the Saint's traditional association, as Patron, with Drumhome from hastening decay in the memories of the people, by designating his beautifully situated and well-designed summer villa on the seaside near Donegal, by the almost forgotten title of St. Ernan's.

Herenachs of Drumhome

The parsonage of Drumhome was "impropriate to the Abbot of Assaroe": in other words, it was an advowson attached to the abbacy of Ballyshannon. When the

* Adamnan, i. 35.

Donegal County Library Service

monastery acquired this right of nominating the parish priest, we know not ; but there is ample evidence that the decadence of the old Columban monastery in Drumhome synchronised with the foundation of the Cistercian abbey at Assaroe, in the last quarter of the twelfth century. Flaherty O'Muldorey assigned to the Assaroe monks very extensive estates in Drumhome, as well as in Kilbarron—Lahy, Brownekilly (Ballinakilly), etc. Hence, it is probable that they possessed jurisdiction there from the very beginning ; eventually they enjoyed the right of nominating the parson and vicar of Kilbarron, and the parson of Drumhome. In this latter parish, the Bishop at all times appointed the vicar, but the Cistercians never nominated any clergyman for the parsonage, save a member of their own Order. A very interesting document recently unearthed at Rome by the indefatigable Rector of the Irish College, reveals the fact that Gelasius O Cuilenan was promoted to the pastorship of Drumhome immediately after his ordination as priest. He enjoyed the distinction ; the monks reaped the fruits, as they also discharged the duties of this important benefice.

The descendants of the O'Muldoreys are the Dorrians, the ancient herenachs of Drumhome. How the name was metamorphosed may be best demonstrated by a parallel case in the vicinity. The O'Mulrooneys became, first, Rooneys, by dropping the affix 'mul' or 'maol' ; next they appended the diminutive termination, 'ian' ; and, at the present day, there are several most respectable families named Roonian, about Castleyard, on the confines of Drumhome. Another less easily recognisable variant of the ancient family name, Muldorey or Mac Adorey, is Dawson, whose habitat is near Mullinasole, on the seaboard. Had O'Donovan prolonged his sojourn in the neighbourhood, he would have not merely modified but

Donegal County Library Service

completely reversed the hasty judgment he pronounced in his Letter from Enniskillen, November 4th, 1835:—"The O'Muldories and the O'Cannananns are extinct. I could not find one of either name in the country. They were even extinct in 1380, as we know from O'Dugan's topographical poem:

"Who will meet us at the Cataract of Hugh?
O'Muldorey, if he lived would meet us there
With quickness and rejoicing, as would O'Cannanann,
But they are gone. The Clan Daly now rule, etc."

O'Dugan evidently meant and lucidly conveyed that the sceptre had passed from the hands of the O'Muldoreys and of the O'Canannans, and was now wielded by *an Dalach*, as the O'Donnell chieftain was designated. He did not, and could not, assert that all the O'Muldoreys and O'Canannans, who had so many ramifications of their families everywhere in Tirconaill, had been obliterated root and branch. The O'Muldoreys had their royal residence in Tirhugh, and their descendants, the O'Dorrians, have never been rooted out from the soil of their forbears. On the other hand, the O'Canannans were cradled in Conwal, and, at the Plantation, were banished to the Rosses and elsewhere. For instance, in Hill's *Plantation*, among the names of Irish tenants on the estate of Laird Bombie in the Rosses, we encounter the somewhat puzzling surname Mulcannon—James Mulcanan,* and a moment's reflection will reveal to us the fact that this persecuted descendant of the great O'Canannans of Leitir-Canannain (Letterkenny) had changed the prefix and dropped the postfix of his honoured family name. There are few parts of the civilised world where the prolific septs of the O'Muldoreys and O'Canannans are not represented by

* Page 501, n. 145.

Donegal County Library Service

descendants of the once powerful chieftains of Tirconaill, bearing the modernised names of O'Dorrians and O'Cannons.

The O'Muldoreys, we can affirm without fear of contradiction, are still represented in Drumhome and Kilbarron by families of three distinct surnames. First, the most important descendants are the Dorrians of Trummon and Dawsons of Mullinasole; secondly, the Rooneys and Runnians of Cashelard, etc., descended from Maolruanaidh O'Muldorey, lord of Cineal Conaill in 1010; and, thirdly, the O'Maolchartachs of Kildoney, descended from Muircheartach O'Muldorey, 1029, now adopting numerous variants of the old family name, Mulchartach, MacCartney, Carty, Mac Carthy, etc. These singular patronymics are restricted, strange to say, within the limits of the old Muldorey family estates, and tradition places outside the region of doubt the descent of the three kindred septs from the dynasts of Tirconaill during the long period from the seventh to the twelfth century.

In the chapter treating of Deans, we have seen that John Dorrian of the ancient herenach clan of Drumhome, represented, in that capacity, his native diocese of Raphoe at a Synod in Armagh during the penal days, when the see was bereft of a Bishop. A full namesake is also accorded honourable mention in connection with Kilbarron parish, and with the collection of funds for building St. Eunan's Cathedral, the Rev. John Dorrian, C.C., Kilbarron, who died in 1904.

Reeves asserts very positively * that "the family of O'Tornan (now called Dornan) were the herenachs of Drumhome in the county of Donegal." And the Ordnance Memoir of Templemore † emphasises this view by the statement that they "were herenachs till the Plantation,"

* Adamnan, Cl. xxvii. † Page 28.

Donegal County Library Service

thus expressly identifying them with the O'Dorrians. But, strange to say, the Memoir gives the further enlightening information that "the family of O'Tornan or Dornans still exists." Of course the Dornans exist, but they have no connexion past or present, genealogically or territorially, with the herenachs of Drumhome, who were O'Dorrians, descended from the O'Muldoreys. Maelbrighide, Bishop of Raphoe, 927, was son of Tornan, and thirteenth in descent from Conal Gulban; and Tornan's descendants were called O'Durnins, from whom Inis-mac-Duirnin received its name. Besides the Bishop, who afterwards became Primate, many other distinguished MacDurnins adorned the pages of local and national history. The last warlike chief of the tribe, mentioned in the *Annals*, was Hugh O'Duirnin, who bravely repelled the attempted incursion of Murtogh O'Connor, in 1398: "Hugh O'Duirnin came up with him at Assaroe, and routed his forces. Hugh's horse was wounded and he himself thrown off and afterwards killed."—(F.M.)

Secular Priests

It will be remembered that the Cistercians of Assaroe enjoyed the advowson or right of nomination to the parsonage of Drumhome, down to the year of the memorable Inquisition at Lifford, 1609, and that the parson was invariably a member of that illustrious Order, and usually a native of Tirhugh. The earliest record of a vicar's name is found in the Petition of the Raphoe Clergy, 1600—"Redmund O'Gallagher, Vicar of Drumhome." No representative of either the secular or regular clergy ministering in Drumhome, presented himself for registration as Catholic pastor at the Raphoe Sessions of 1704. The *Report on the State of Popery in Ireland*, 1731, contains

Donegal County Library Service

the solitary brief statement: "Two Popish Priests, who officiate in ye open Fields." * It is a well-established fact, confirmed by the said Report, that the Assaroe community was at this period entirely extinct, and that the ranks of the secular clergy had been vastly strengthened in numbers under the enlightened administration of Dr James O'Gallagher, the zealous Bishop then in charge of the diocese. Hence, the two resident priests were seculars, and exercised their spiritual functions northward as far as the River Eske, the ancient parochial boundary. No doubt, Donegal had been already delimitated by Act of Parliament as a separate parish, May the 16th, 1722, the northern section, formerly administered by Magherabeg monks, being detached from Drumhome; but Parliament did not recognise Catholics, and *vice versa*. Accordingly, the Report relates that no "Mass House or Chappell" existed at Donegal, but that "Two Popish Priests of the neighbouring parish of Drumholm celebrate Mass in this Parish, either in the fields or in private houses." It is unquestionable, therefore, that Townawilly parish had not yet been canonically disunited from Drumhome by the Catholic authorities.

An altogether exhaustive list of the parish priests of Raphoe in 1737, is preserved in a Roman document published in the *Archivium*,† 1917. There is no mention made of Townawilly or Donegal, but the pastor of Drumhome subscribes himself "James Gettins, Prebendary and Parish Priest of Drumhome." Thus we see the canonry was retained, or rather resuscitated, in connection with this ancient parish, and the title of vicar had already become obsolete. Further, it is worthy of note, that the illustrious Patrick Mac Gettigan, Bishop of Raphoe, 1820-61, signed his name as Patrick Gettins in the *Album*

* *Archivium*, i. 22. † vi. 58.

Donegal County Library Service

MAGHERABEG, DRUMHOME.

Donegal County Library Service

Donegal County Library Service

Academicum of Maynooth College. The pastor of Drumhome, who flourished a century before was a scion of the same respected stock, born in Creevy.

The Rev. Owen Kelly is the next parish priest, whose name has been rescued from oblivion, 1803-10. He was a member of the Rossnowlagh family of that name, and a relative of the late Rev. Patrick Canon Kelly, P.P., Raphoe. His immediate successor was the Rev. Patrick Kelly, and a third more illustrious pastor than either, a kinsman of the last-named, followed without a break, the Rev. Daniel Kelly, still well remembered. But for his intelligent thoughtfulness, his two immediate predecessors would have shared the fate of those who went before them; for, a short time after his promotion to the parish, he placed over the grave of his kinsmen, a plain tombstone, with the following inscriptions:—"Underneath are deposited the remains of the Rev. Patrick Kelly, for 29 years Catholic Rector of Drumholme. He died on the 7th of January, 1842, in the 69th year of his age, and 36th of his ministry. Also the body of Owen Kelly, for seven years pastor of said parish, who departed this life on the 15th of July, 1810, in the 42nd year of his age, and 18th of his ministry. *R.I.P.* As a seal of affection this Tomb has been erected by the Rev. Daniel Kelly, C.R. Drumholme, on the 5th of October, 1842." This accomplished clergyman belonged to the well-known family formerly resident in the Mall House, Ballyshannon, who gave numerous members to the Church and cloister. His brother Peter was grandfather of the present generation of the Mall Kellys, who are now dispersed but not forgotten.

Daniel entered Maynooth in August, 1824, and was promoted to the priesthood in 1831, when he was allotted a curacy in Kilbarron. Five years later he was called to

Donegal County Library Service

the cathedral parish, Letterkenny ; thence he was transferred to Rathmullen in 1839 ; and finally he was assigned to his namesake in Drumhome as an assistant, till the death of the former in 1842, when he himself was promoted to that important parish. Immediately, he set about erecting a suitable parish church, to replace the spacious but hideous structure that stood quite near the site of its successor for close on eighty years, and, in 1845, the new handsome and enduring edifice was perfected. A glance at its proportions and architectural finish will convince the visitor that its projector was a man of refined taste and enlightened ideas. The inscription on the mural flag inserted in the front gable is very characteristic of his practical good sense : " St. Bridget's, 1845. Rev. Daniel Kelly, Pastor. James Mac Kenna, Stranorlar, Builder." Though Ballintra used to boast a reputation for aggressive Orangeism, it is recorded that the Protestants subscribed a very substantial sum towards the erection of St. Brigid's magnificent church.

The following obituary notice appears in the *Directory* for 1867 :—" 1866. April 19. Very Rev. Daniel Kelly, P.P., V.F., died at his residence, Drumcroill Cottage, Ballintra, in his 60th year (of pneumonia, contracted by standing in the graveyard, waiting for a funeral). Dr. Mac Gettigan preached at the funeral, enumerating the qualities which the Tridentine Fathers require in a parish priest ; and said that all these were exemplified in the everyday life of their deceased friend. 'Beata gens, beatus populus cui Dominus dedit talem pastorem.' His body was placed in a vault in front of the church, and a suitable monument was to be erected," and is still in that state of decreasing possibility, after the two score and fourteen years since elapsed ! A marble slab, however, inserted in the side-wall of the sanctuary by his

Donegal County Library Service

executors, is inscribed to his memory: "The Rev. Daniel Kelly, P.P., for 25 years Pastor of Drumholme, died 19th April, 1866, aged 60 years. This church alone, which he commenced and completed, bespeaks his zeal for God's house and the general interests of religion."

The Rev. John Ward succeeded; and, short as were his days in Drumhome, he left behind him, as a lasting legacy to his successors and to the parish, an elegant and well-designed parochial residence, planted on an ideal site. No doubt, his predecessor had purchased a desirable farm, and constructed upon it a commodious dwelling-house, quite suitable for the most up-to-date clergyman. But it was too far removed from the church; and a still more fatal barrier stood in the way to its continuance as a parochial house. It was private property, and its sale was ordered by the Will of the deceased to be carried out by public auction. At the time the executors, who were very level-headed and far-seeing clergymen, were severely criticised for not securing it for the parish, more especially as it failed to fetch a fancy price. But after events proved the wisdom of their action, for the present building is infinitely more suitable both in design and location. In 1873, Father Ward succumbed to a bronchial attack, after a brief illness, to the keen regret of his parishioners, on the 7th of May.

He was born in Glenswilly; received his early education in Letterkenny; read philosophy and theology in Maynooth, entering in 1842, and was there promoted to the Dunboyne Establishment. A man of great muscular strength, well-informed, affable, and energetic, he achieved great missionary success, wherever his lot was cast; and few of his compeers could tell a story or describe an incident of actual life with so much humour and vivacity, as this

Donegal County Library Service

good-natured *sagart* commanded. In the later years of his life, he walked with a halting gait, owing to an accident he encountered in Maynooth. It may be added that His Eminence Cardinal Logue, during his short stay as curate in Glenswilly, lodged in the house of his brother, Frank Ward, where Father Magroarty had also found hospitality and kindly attention. Father Ward is still affectionately remembered in Rathmullan, where he spent nearly all his career as curate and administrator under the patriarchal Father O'Carolan.

During the subsequent decade of years, commencing with 1873, the Rev. Father (afterwards Dean) Mac Fadden presided over Drumhome, where his suavity of manner and kindness of heart gained for him the unaffected esteem of all creeds and classes. A sketch of his life is given under Donegal. A more austere, but not less lovable, successor was appointed in the person of the Rev. Patrick Daly, in December, 1881. He was born in Kildoney, educated in Ballyshannon and Navan, was admitted to the Logic class in Maynooth, 1854, and, having secured high prizes in theology, was raised to the select rank of Dunboyne student. His uneventful life was from earliest youth characterised by indomitable perseverance, earnest piety, and strict observance of the evangelical counsels, as well as of the commandments. His first mission was Killygarvan, in 1862; thence he was changed to Killybegs the next year; in 1865 he was sent to the curacy of Mevagh; and in 1868 appointed curate at first, and in 1870, administrator to the Bishop in the cathedral town. In 1874 he became pastor of his favourite parish, Mevagh, where he laboured strenuously for seven years. Coming to Ballintra in 1881, he formed the unchangeable resolution to live the remainder of his life, and to leave his bones to await the resurrection, in the hallowed soil that had

Donegal County Library Service

been sanctified by the footsteps of St. Adamnan and St. Ernan.

He was among the first privileged few promoted to the Chapter on its revival in 1901, and was the Bishop's first choice to replace the late Dean Mac Fadden in Donegal parish, in 1908. But his apostolic simplicity abhorred dignities, and his attachment to his flock rooted him in Ballintra. For hospitality, unseen charity, and love of God's house, evidenced in beautifying the parish church, no clergyman could do more for the well-being of his fellow-man and the glory of his Creator. His personal sanctity was a shining example to all who knew him, and his public life was that of an ideal priest. Few events of a local character in recent times, have created greater consternation or more heartfelt regret than the news of the sudden death of the beloved Canon Daly on the morning of the 19th of December, 1916.—*R.I.P.*

The deaths of two curates are recorded, and the present generation can recall, with gratitude to God, that the number has not been augmented during the past half-century. Father MacDonagh was a member of a wealthy and devout family, who conducted the leading business shop in Main Street, Donegal. He was a Paris student, very amiable and promising, but his missionary career was brief, as the inscription on his tombstone in Clar, sadly testifies :—"This Monument was erected at the instance of the Rev. Daniel Kelly, P.P., by the Parishioners of Drumhome, as a record to perpetuate the profound esteem in which they held the exalted and shining virtues which adorned the short but glorious career of their beloved and learned curate, the Rev. James Mac Donagh, who departed this life on the 29th of February, 1841. Aged 25 years." "Many shall praise his wisdom, and it shall never be forgotten" (Eccles. xxxix. 12).

Donegal County Library Service

Father Daniel Ivers received his college training in Rome ; and, on his return, was appointed to the curacy of Lettermacard in 1847, where he spent only two years. He was a native of Ballyshannon, brother of Hugh Ivers, surgeon, and Charles Ivers, chemist. Transferred in 1849, to Drumhome, he was very happily located with his kindly townsman, Father Daniel Kelly, during the remainder of his lamentably short life. A tablet, in the tower of St. Brigid's, under which rest his remains, supplies few details :—" In memory of the Rev. Daniel Ivers, C.C., who died in this parish on the 28th of August, 1865. Aged 40 years. Pray for the repose of his soul."

James Connolly, a very gifted student, was accidentally drowned in the Erne, on a Sunday evening in August, 1873. His body was washed ashore at the Abbey, but nobody had witnessed the tragedy. He had completed his studies in Maynooth, but had not reached the canonical age for receiving priesthood, being only twenty-two years. He was universally beloved, and widespread sympathy was manifested in his native Drumhome and in Kilbarron.

Gelasius O'Cullenan

This great prelate, whose claims to solemn Beatification are still under review, was the first pastor of Drumhome whose name has come down to us. His family history has already been detailed in the short sketch of Dr. John O'Cullenan's life, given above, and we shall here content ourselves, and must ask our readers to be satisfied, with a translation of Henriquez' rather lengthy account. We are precluded from trenching on ground covered by the canonical investigation ; but there are no facts recorded

Donegal County Library Service

in the following biography, that are not to be found in Moran, Myles O'Reilly, Murphy, or the *Menologium* (p. 389). Tumulty, who was converted and moved to endow the Boyle Abbey with rich estates, belonged to the O'Connor stock, and Hugh O'Mulkerrin or Mulhern is said to have been a son of the herenach family of that name in Inniskeel. In any case, the life of Gelasius is presented here for the edification of our readers; no more noble or inspiring pattern of Tirconaill's fortitude and faith is discoverable in any chapter throughout the annals of the Christian martyrs.

The extracts from Henriquez here given were transcribed by Father Mac Erlean, S.J., and kindly forwarded to the author.

Henriquez Fasciculus Sanctorum Ordinis Cister., Vol. I., page 378, Life of the Holy Gelasius O'Cuilenan, Abbot of Boyle Monastery, who sustained the fight against the treacherous heretics in Ireland to the shedding of his blood.

CHAP. I.

The last among those most saintly prelates, who manfully took their stand as champions against the heretics, was the holy Gelasius, the luminary of our age, the ornament of the Cistercian Order, and the glory of all Ireland. Born in the province of Connacht, he was disciplined in the maxims of religion and devoted his mind to the study of Latin from his boyhood. Then, bidding good-bye to the world and clothing himself in the religious habit of the Cistercians, he achieved wonderful progress in every kind of virtue, and was eventually constituted Abbot of Boyle, while the saintly man was still pursuing his studies in Paris. When, however, he had completely finished his

Donegal County Library Service

course of philosophy and theology, he returned again to Ireland, in order that he might stimulate to increased fortitude in the faith his native land, then groaning under the weary burden of long persecution, and disseminate everywhere the seed of the divine word. Now, at that moment, the Abbey of Boyle had passed into the possession of a certain nobleman, and all the members of the community had been dispersed by the savagery of the heretics under the sanction of Queen Elizabeth's authority, immediately after her accession to the throne. Gelasius, when he understood the condition of things, animated by religious zeal, sought a personal interview with the nobleman, with the twofold object of inducing him to adopt a higher standard of life, and of securing the restoration (to the service of God) of the hallowed monastery, in its pristine integrity, illumined as it was by the lustre of saints. When the nobleman had been thus convinced of his long-standing errors, while he reviewed in his mind what untold blessings Gelasius, on the one hand, had conferred on his native country by the fruits of his daily preaching, whereby he enriched the souls of those tribes; and, on the other hand, recalled his own transgressions, he betook himself, with bitter repentance for the crimes of his life up to the moment, to the presence of the holy man, as the healer of his spiritual malady; and, strengthened by hope and animated by the stimulus of true penance, prostrating himself on the ground, in deep humility, he begged for pardon and absolution. Further, he promised that not merely would he resign to him all rights over the monastery, but that he himself, relinquishing wife, family, and fortune, would put on the religious habit and devote the remainder of his life to the service of God, in atonement for his sins. And this promise he happily accomplished. This arrangement concluded, the devoted Abbot obtained

Donegal County Library Service

permission from John Perrott, justiciary and viceroy of the aforenamed Elizabeth in Ireland, that as many members as might choose, could reside as monks in the Boyle monastery. But, when the viceroy had departed for England, certain heretics, incensed at the concession of this privilege to Gelasius, arrested some of his friends with whom he had lodged in Dublin. Receiving intelligence of this fact, Gelasius journeyed to Dublin city, and succeeded in obtaining a confirmation of the original grant by the unanimous consent of the Dublin senate and members of the Queen's Council.

But on the day preceding that of his proposed departure from the city, a well-known heretic, named John Garvin, Protestant Primate, went on his knees before the Council, and implored the members not to allow an adversary of such profound erudition and a papist (according to report) to roam at large, but to oblige him to change his religion, or otherwise to consign him to death. If this were not done, he proceeded, that man would not only persist in his homilies against the Queen and in his daily instructions, but he would, moreover, enkindle against her the entire provinces of Ulster and Connacht.

As soon as this appeal had been heard, without a moment's delay, soldiers from the royal army were despatched to arrest Gelasius, whom they found in a private house in company with a companion monk of the same Order, occupied in reciting their divine office. Both of them the dragoons imprisoned in the royal castle until some members of the Council and the aforesaid Primate addressed them the following day, exhorting them to renounce their errors and to conform to the Queen's religion, and promising them the most exalted honours and an accumulation of preferments. In reply to whom the holy Abbot said: "I pity your perversity, seeing that you openly avow

Donegal County Library Service

yourselves enemies of God and of His Church, and prefer the fleeting glory of this world to the bliss of unending life." He concluded his speech with the asseveration that never would he swerve from the Catholic faith and truth, no matter how excruciating might be the torments whereby they designed to compass his destruction.

Then the Primate threatened him with the most inevitable death accompanied by extreme torture, if he did not abjure the Catholic faith. But the venerable Abbot, in turn, implored his adversary to brush aside the mists of perversity and heretical depravity that had hitherto placed him in enmity to God and to the Church, and to suffer with him a glorious death for Christ's sake and obtain the crown of martyrdom in heaven. Thereupon they withdrew to their respective quarters, and his jailers caused him to be subjected to many forms of torture, fire being applied to his feet; and next morning, returning, they promised that the Queen would grant him, if he yielded, the archiepiscopal see (of Tuam) and the rulership of the whole province of Connacht, including his own monastery. At once and emphatically, Gelasius, in order to cut short their useless attempts to gain him over by persuasion, exclaimed: "If you were to offer me the sovereignty of all Ireland and of England, too, I will not diverge from the path of heavenly life, however different a view you may take."

Wherefore, after manifold and cruel torments had been endured by him in prison, the sentence of condemnation to death was at length pronounced against him, and he was conducted ignominiously to the scene of martyrdom that he had longed for, through streets everywhere filled with crowds of people gathered to receive the blessing of so eminent a dignitary and to drink in the doctrine with which he was inspired from heaven. So overflowing was

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the fervour and unction of the Divine Spirit with which he preached throughout the entire weary journey, and so deep was the awe and admiration he drove into the hearts of the heretics, that he converted 500 of them whilst he was being driven to the scaffold.

CHAP. II.

Hanged for Confession of the Faith, together with a comrade monk (Cronin), he triumphs most gloriously, and becomes illustrious by after-death Miracles.

Now, when they had reached the scene of execution, a companion of his, a monk (Hugh Mulherrin), thrilled with the dread of death, began to shows signs of faltering ; and the holy Abbot, observing this, besought him not to forfeit the palm of martyrdom and the eternal crown already within his grasp, and not to turn back to the empty glory of the world. And he solemnly pledged himself, calling upon Almighty God and the Virgin Mary as his witnesses, that his companion would appear in triumph, to be crowned before the throne of the Trinity, on the very instant of the separation of soul and body. "With all my heart," said the monk, "I accept your pledged assurance in this crisis and I have confidence in your sureties." And he vehemently besought that he should be executed before Gelasius, lest, if he survived, he might succumb to the behests of the heretics. This being agreed upon, united in prayerful communion with Jesus Christ, they were both hanged, and beheaded while they were still half alive. Their bodies, moreover, would have been quartered, as the judicial sentence prescribed, had not the arrival of some Irish nobleman in the city intervened.

Donegal County Library Service

Meanwhile, their venerated remains, thus severed, were reverently entombed by fellow-Catholics, and those who assisted divided among themselves the garments the victims were clothed in, and the ropes with which they were tied to the gallows. Every day in life many striking and well-attested miracles are accomplished through these relics, for the good and great God ordained that by their instrumentality these marvellous prodigies should be effected, signally by the winding-sheet in which his (Gelasius's) hallowed remains were enveloped, preserved by a devout lady in Dublin, where the blessed Abbot received the well-merited and glorious palm of martyrdom with his companion in the year of our Lord, 1580.

Racoo

Archdall's brief account of this Patrician monastery * shows that it was once a great centre of sanctity and learning, and that many renowned saints desired that their bones should mingle in its hallowed soil with the dust of its early occupants :—"*Rathcunga*, in the barony of Tyrhugh. St. Patrick founded an abbey here, in which St. Assicus and five other bishops were interred." In the itinerary of St. Patrick from Croagh Patrick to Elagh (in Inishowen), so attractively detailed in the *Trias Thaumaturga*, we search in vain at this point† for the name of the Abbot or Bishop, whom he invested with jurisdiction over the monastery and the surrounding district. On the south side of the Erne he left St. Ninnidius in charge, and, after he had passed into Magh Itha, beyond Barnas Gap, he appointed St. Dubhdubhanus to preside over the church and recent converts of Donaghmore. But, though he exhibited deep solicitude, and expended unwonted

* i. 211. † Page 176.

Donegal County Library Service

labour in the erection of a church at Racoo, the name of its first spiritual director has not found its way into either history or topography. He first inspected Ard Fothadh, the historic eminence surmounting Glasboly, as a possible site for the projected edifice, but was warned off by a heavenly vision in which he foresaw that this privileged mound was reserved as a home for the future Ardrigh, the great Donal, where "he lay for a year in his mortal sickness (A.D. 639); and he used to receive the Body of Christ every Sunday." * Then, having finally selected Racoo, "he built there a church from its foundations," or, in other words, he did not dedicate to divine worship an existing structure, as he did at Saul and elsewhere, but interrupted his journey to erect a completely new and enduring edifice, thus manifesting the necessity and importance of the undertaking.

This ancient fort overlooks the village of Ballintra, and displays to the visitor no vestiges of ancient splendour. The prospect from its summit is enthralling—precipitous headlands, richly-clothed islets, waving corn-fields, fertile pastures, etc. But at his feet he beholds no monuments to mark the resting-place of the illustrious dead; nothing but rough, half-buried stones, which remind him of the leaden balls planted by deadly cannon in a ruined fortress. St. Assicus, Bishop of Elphin, and disciple of St. Patrick, was one of the six dignitaries who elected to have their remains laid to rest in the church the Apostle had here consecrated for Conal's tribe. He had permanently withdrawn himself from his clergy and flock, because he had been accused of uttering a trivial and indeliberate untruth, and had concealed himself in a lonely hermitage on Slieve League. But his priests discovered his retreat, and endeavoured to drag their beloved, but too scrupulous, prelate back

* F.M. p. 276.

Donegal County Library Service

to his bereaved flock ; and they succeeded in pressing him to accompany them to Racoo, where he finally dismissed them with his blessing and his ultimatum, "Here shall I rest." Hugh Mac Bracken, Bishop of Killare, in the County Westmeath, a companion hermit in Slieve League, ordered his body after death to be stretched alongside that of St. Assicus. We may assume that the first pastor constituted by St. Patrick to evangelise this vast and populous district, was consecrated a Bishop by that prudent Apostle, and that he is another of the six prelates ; but who the remaining three are it is idle to conjecture.

After Drumhome had been launched on its career of fame, it eclipsed all neighbouring monasteries, but Racoo long survived as a parochial church, and its cemetery continued to be resorted to long ages after. Eventually, however, only the bodies of unbaptised children were buried there.

Colgan mentions the existence of an abbey here ; but at the present day we can only discern the *débris* of a large church at the western limit of the extensive enclosure (or rather elevated tumulus, there being neither trench nor fence) ; and endless gravestones, mostly unchiselled ; but here and there a polished slate or sandstone slab may be unearthed without serious excavation. The cemetery, as was usual, gradually extended over the ruins of the disused pile ; but a very curious extract from Tirechan, published by Reeves in his Introduction to Adamnan, demonstrates at once the celebrity, wealth, and prolonged existence of this fifth-century foundation. Writing about 850, Tirechan informs us that the monks of St. Eugenius of Ardstraw maintained a controversy with the Columban monks of Tirconaill regarding the ownership of, and jursidiction over, this monastery. While the general import of the passage is transparently clear,

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the phraseology is most involved and puzzling : " Et sunt ossa ejus in Campo Seredhi Rathcungi ; monachus Patritii sed contenderunt eum familia Columbae-cille et familia Ardstratha." " The bones of Assicus are laid in Saredh's Plain at Racoo ; he was a monk of St. Patrick, but the brotherhood of Columba and the brotherhood of Ardstraw both claimed him (as belonging to their respective Orders)." * Saints Eugenius and Assicus belonged to the older order of St. Patrick ; but the whole territory of Tirconaill was regarded as belonging exclusively, with all its religious treasures and relics, to the coarbs of the great Columba. At all events, it is obvious that Racoo enjoyed an enviable pre-eminence in the eyes of the monks of all the contemporary Orders.

Ballymagroarty

The Ordnance Survey Memoir of Derry contains the following note † on Ballymagroarty, in Inishowen :— " The signification is unquestionably the town of Mac Robhartaigh, a family of the Cineal Eoghain closely connected with the ecclesiastical history of Derry, and probably herenachs here, as Colgan says there was formerly a monastery in this townland, scarcely visible in his day (1647). Another branch of the Mac Rovertys, who were the keepers of the Cathach of Columbkille, gave name to Baile Mic Rowarty in Tirhugh." It would appear, therefore, that this ancient family owed neither their lineage nor their original habitat to the Cineal Conaill, but became associated with the great Columban abbey in Derry as herenachs, and were selected by the O'Donnells as the Keepers of the Cathach. But why was this precious relic not preserved in Derry or in Kilmacrenan ? Because,

* Reeves' Adamnan, lx. † 5 p. 211.

Donegal County Library Service

when this beautiful reliquary was first encased in a silver casket by direction of Cathbharr O'Donnell, that chieftain had already established a strong footing in Drumhome, and, for strategic purposes, it was important to station a large garrison there to keep the rival O'Muldoreys in check. Moreover, the presence of the Cathach in their midst was calculated to stimulate the ardour of the O'Donnell troops. It is unlikely that the Magroartys were yet constituted herenachs of Tory; but, whatever may have been the ties associating this family with the tribes or territory of Tirconaill, their connection with the Cathach gave them an indisputable claim to its custody. For it was a Mac Robhartaigh who designed and got executed the silver casket, as artist, employing another monk as artificer; and, in addition, this same Mac Robhartaigh was Abbot of Kells, and therefore coarb of Columba, whose psalter it enclosed, and whose supernatural favour and assistance in battle it was believed to guarantee by its revered presence. The original cover bears the inscription in Irish: "A prayer for Cathbharr O'Donnell for whom this Cathach was made; for Sitric Mac Hugh who executed the work; and for Donal Magroarty, coarb of Kells, who designed the same." Cathbharr died in 1106, while the O'Donnells were gradually asserting their supremacy over the O'Muldoreys and the O'Canannains. In 1723 Brigadier Daniel O'Donnell, in whose possession the casket then was, had it repaired in Paris, and dedicated it, by a long inscription, to the Old Pretender. However, it is still preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, but is acknowledged as the property of the O'Donnells of Newport, Co. Mayo, who claim to be the representatives of the old Tirconaill dynastic rulers. No doubt, they are an offshoot, but their acquisition of the Cathach was due to a mere accident. Red Hugh left no issue; and the Niall Garbh stock are

Donegal County Library Service

entitled to such pride of ancestry as may be derived from the renown of their boasted progenitor, Calvagh, a political disrupter, a sacrilegious profaner of religion, a cowardly invoker of English and Scottish protection, and the jailer of his own father.

But the Cathach itself is a venerable relic, a vellum manuscript supposed to have been written by St. Columba's own hand, containing a portion of the Psalms, enclosed in a brass case 9½ inches long, 8 inches broad, and 2 inches in depth, and ornamented with a silver, gilt and chased, plate on the top.* It was carried by Magroarty, attached to a bandolier and resting on his breast, in the front line of battle, and, if its bearer were free from grievous sin, the army unstained by conscious wrongdoing, etc., the Cathach brought the irresistible aid of St. Columba to the troops of his kinsman, and ensured them unfailing triumph. Nevertheless, whoever was at fault, the general, the army, or Magroarty, the Cathach was not always borne in triumph by its protégés, from the field ; it was even captured by the enemy on more than one occasion. The most signal instance is presented in the record of Con O'Donnell's defeat by the Mac Dermott at the Curlieus, in 1497 :—"The Cathach of Columbkille was also taken from them, and Magroarty, the keeper of it, was slain." † But Con was a usurper, and two years after the honour of Columbkille was vindicated by the triumphant recapture of the Cathach and the complete overthrow of its captors. Again, the Donegal Annalists, in their description of the Battle of Fearsad More, 1567, where Shane the Proud was disastrously and finally vanquished by the Tirconaill forces, are reluctantly compelled to admit, that, in the opening cavalry engagement,

* Doherty's *Innishowen and Tyrconnell*, ii. 297.
† F.M. p. 1233.

Donegal County Library Service

"Magroarty, who had the custody of the Cathach of Columbkille, was slain." * In this latter case, it might be pleaded that the rapidity of the unprepared-for onslaught prevented the formal execution of the preliminary ceremony, which required that the Cathach should be carried with due reverence, as Colgan informs us, three times around the entire area covered by O'Donnell's army.

But, after all allowances have been made and all explanations exhausted, it must be confessed that the Cathach more than once failed to secure immunity from war casualties for Magroarty, or victory for the O'Donnells. But it is a glaring falsehood to assert that it was looked upon as a mere superstitious charm, or lucky mascot. It was a religious relic, reminiscent of Columbkille's written promise to assist his kinsmen who would invoke his intercession in their difficulties, and it revived the faith as well as the courage of his heroic votaries.

The foundations of the church at Ballymagroarty, where the Cathach was kept, can be still very distinctly traced, and measure about 75 feet by 40, near Mr. Coburn's house, and perpendicular to the road separating Ballymagroarty Scotch from Ballymagroarty Irish. Archdall says:—"The monastery of Bailemegrabhartaich was founded by Columba in Tir-Aeda, in the diocese of Raphoe, where the celebrated relique of St. Columba, called the Cathach, was said to have been preserved." No doubt, the *Trias Thaumaturga* † does convey that a monastery existed here, but it would appear both from tradition and an examination of the site that there never was any substantial building erected here except the church, the coinstones of which were brought from a great distance, probably from Mountcharles, as they are altogether

* F.M. p. 1613. † Page 495.

Donegal County Library Service

different from the limestone of the locality. It was, of course, out of reverence for the Cathach that this beautiful edifice was constructed, and that three and a half quarters of land were allocated free of rent to the herenach and keeper, Magroarty. In no passage of the *Annals* is it hinted that the Columban monks had any control of the Cathach.

We cannot pass away from this engaging topic without recording the opinion of the erudite and profound scholar, Dr. Reeves, that the Mac Robhartaigh sept were descendants of Conal and not of Eoghan. In his sketch of Domhnal Ua Robhartaigh,* forty-first Abbot of Iona, and Abbot of Kells when the Cathach was encased, he says :— " The family of which he was a member were a branch of the Cineal Conaill, and in after times, herenachs of Tory Island. The name was probably derived from Robhartaigh, the coarb of Columbkille, who died in 954. (Unfortunately, in treating of Ferdomnach, an earlier abbot, he represents him as a scion of the Magroarty stock, adding very inconsistently, 'We have no statement of his descent, but it *seems* to have been from the Cineal Conail.' He, moreover, asserts most gratuitously that this Ferdomhnach was identical with Ferdomnach, Bishop of Raphoe, 1057,† though he knew well the name was very common. His pet contention that celibacy was not invariably observed by Bishops or abbots, occasionally leads him aside from his subject into conjectural suggestions for which he can present no historical foundation. This transparent bias lessens the weight of his authority in the construction of genealogies.) It is still common in Donegal in the form O'Roarty, and, in Leinster, of O'Rafferty. The family of Magroarty were of the same line ; they were herenachs of Ballymagroarty, in Drumhome and Templemore, and their

* Adamnan, clxxviii., Edinburgh Edition. † F.M.

Donegal County Library Service

name still exists in the neighbourhood. in the form of Mac Grotty."

Parish Priests

1397. John Canon Mac Menamin.
1420. Laurence Canon O'Boyle.
1438. Fergal Canon O'Gallagher.
1480. Cosamhlach Canon O'Clery.
1520. Owen Canon O'Gallagher.
1575. Gelasius O'Cuilenan, D.D.
1590. Cormac Canon O'Clery.
1600. Edmund O'Gallagher, Vicar.
1735. James Canon Gettins.
1796. Owen Kelly.
1810. Patrick Kelly.
1842. Daniel Kelly.
1866. John Ward.
1873. Hugh Mac Fadden.
1881. Patrick Daly.
1918. Joseph Rogers.

Curates

1794. John Kelly.
1808. Nial Callaghan.
1810. Patrick Kerr.
1811. Peter Mac Cullagh.
1820. Nial Houston.
1825. Brian O'Donnell.
1831. Michael Mac Dermott.
1834. Bernard Lawn.
1836. Daniel Kelly.
1839. James Mac Donagh.
1842. Charles Ferry.
1843. Daniel Mac Gettigan, D.D.
1844. Maurice Tinny.
1846. Bernard Lawn.
1853. Daniel Ivers.
1865. John Collins.
1872. John Kelly.
1873. James Gallagher.
1874. John Doherty.
1876. Francis Gallagher.
1882. John Sweeney.
1886. John Gavigan.
1893. Hugh Sweeney.
1897. Daniel Coyle.
1904. Patrick Brennan.
1910. James Deeney.
1913. Bernard Sweeney.
1917. Charles Boyce.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XX

Parish of Gartan

This wild mountainous parish possesses few attractions beyond its historic distinction of being the place where the great Columbkille first saw the light, on the 7th of December, 521. "His father, Fedhlimidh, belonged to the clan which occupied, and gave name to, the territory surrounding Gartan; while his mother, Eithne, was of Leinster extraction, and descended from an illustrious provincial king. Thus the nobility of two races was combined in their son, and, no doubt, contributed to the extended influence which he acquired, when education, piety, and zeal were superadded to his honourable antecedents." *

"Before his birth, his mother had a dream which posterity has accepted as a graceful and poetical symbol of her son's career. An angel appeared to her, bringing her a veil covered with flowers of wonderful beauty and the sweetest variety of colours. Immediately after, she saw the veil carried away by the wind, and rolling out, as it fled over plains, woods, and mountains. Then the angel said to her, 'Thou art about to become the mother of a son, who shall blossom for heaven; who shall be reckoned among the prophets of God; and who shall lead numberless souls to their celestial home.'" †

He was baptised by the monk Cruitnechan, of Templedouglas Abbey, under the name Colum, to which *cille* was later appended in the popular effort to crystallise the conviction that he spent most of his time before

* Reeve's Introduction. † Adamnan, iii. 1.

Donegal County Library Service

the Blessed Sacrament. "On another night Cruitnechan, a priest of blameless life, to whose care the blessed youth was confided, upon returning home from the church after Mass, found his chamber illumined by a bright light, and saw, in fact, a ball of fire settled over the face of the boy, as he lay asleep. At this sight, he suddenly shivered with fear, and fell down in great amazement, with his face to the earth, realising fully that it indicated the grace of the Holy Ghost poured out from heaven upon his youthful charge." *

"His guardian angel often appeared to him, and the child asked if all the angels in heaven were as young and shining as he. A little later, Columba was invited by the same angel to choose, among all the virtues, those he would like best to possess. 'I choose,' said the youth, 'chastity and wisdom.' And immediately three young girls of wonderful beauty, but foreign air, appeared to him, and threw themselves on his neck to embrace him. The pious youth frowned, and repulsed them with indignation. 'What?' said they, 'then thou dost not know us.' 'No, not the least in the world.' 'We are three sisters whom our Father gives to thee to be thy brides.' 'Who, then, is your father?' 'Our Father is God; He is Jesus Christ, the Lord and Saviour of the world.' 'Ah! you have indeed an illustrious father. But what are your names?' 'Our names are Virginity, Wisdom, and Prophecy; and we are come to leave thee no more, to love thee with an incorruptible love.'" *

Having attained the age of maturity, Columba proceeded to the ancient Moville, in the Co. Down, to study the Sacred Scriptures and Theology, under the celebrated Bishop Finnian. Here he received minor orders, subdeaconship, and deaconship. It was in his capacity of

* Adamnan, iii. 3.

Donegal County Library Service

deacon he was assisting at Mass, when he performed the miracle of changing water into wine. "Hearing the ministers of the altar saying there was not the least drop of wine to be found, he took the vessel and went to the fountain, that, as deacon, he might bring water for the Holy Sacrifice. The holy man then blessed in faith the element of water taken from the spring, invoking, at the same time, the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who, in Cana of Galilee, had changed water into wine; and the inferior element of pure water was changed into the more excellent one of wine. Placing the wine near the altar, he said to the servers, 'Here is wine which the Lord hath sent for the celebration of His mysteries.' The holy Bishop and assistant gave thanks to God; but the blessed youth ascribed this not to himself, but to the saintly Bishop, Finnian." *

Another Finnian presided over the university of Clonard, which was at that time the most famous and most largely attended centre of higher education in Europe. It is related by O'Donnell and transmitted by common tradition, but we have not the authority of Adamnan for the statement, that when Columba was accepted as a student at Clonard, he erected his hut far outside the circumference of the crowded cluster. The rector expostulated, but Columba calmed his feelings by assuring him that the circle would at once expand to that extent, as crowds of students were coming to swell the ranks. As this Finnian was not a Bishop, our Saint was obliged to have recourse to Ecthen of Clonfad for the order of priesthood.

Having completed his training in Clonard, he placed himself under the direction of Mobhi of Glasnevin, in order to perfect his knowledge of the spiritual life. "A violent

* *Vita Quinta*, i. 26.

Donegal County Library Service

distemper, however, which appeared in the neighbourhood about 544, broke up the community, and Columba returned to the north." * According to the *Annals of Ulster*, the church of Derry was founded in 545. The popular version of the story of this foundation represents Aedh, son of Ainmire and cousin of Columba, as the spontaneous donor of the estate, and adds that Columba, being under a vow of obedience, declined to proceed with the establishment of a monastery until two of Mobhi's disciples arrived, bringing him this old saint's girdle as a "token" of his death. The Ordnance Memoir of Derry brings forward a formidable array of arguments to disprove the story, alleging, in the first place, that, as Aedh was only ten years of age at the time, he was neither high-king nor in a position, as "roydamhna," to make any such grant. Manus O'Donnell forestalled this objection, and described Aedh as *postea ipse rex*, "himself king later on," and the Four Masters, who assign the event to 535, omit all mention of Aedh—"the place having been granted to him by his own tribe, that is, the race of Conal Gulban, son of Niall." In the second place, the Memoir asserts that the race of Conal had neither possessions nor jurisdiction in Derry, at this period. This objection, if it rested on a clear historical basis, would be fatal; but no unbiassed student of history will believe that the family who supplied so many high kings to Ireland almost immediately after, wielded no sway over tanist or roydamhna estates in the vicinity of their home. Certainly Eoghan gave his name to Innishowen, but Derry was so anciently and so constantly the territory of the Cineal Conaill, that there is no reason to doubt that it belonged to Ainmire and to Aedh, when these great chiefs were high-kings, actual or designate.

* Adamnan, ii. 1.

Donegal County Library Service

"About 553 he founded the monastery of Durrow, but we have no means of ascertaining the dates of his other churches, and all we can do with any probability is to allow the fifteen years' interval between 546 and 562 for their foundation. In 561 was fought the battle of Cooldrevny, which is believed to have been, in a great measure, brought about at St. Columba's instigation. A synod, which Adamnan states (iii. 4) was assembled at Telltown to excommunicate St. Columba, was probably convoked at the instance of the High-King Diarmuid, for Telltown was one of his royal seats. The assembly, however, was not unanimous, and St. Brendan of Birr protested against the sentence. St. Finnian of Moville, also, testified, soon after, his sense of veneration for his pupil (iii. 5)." *

The reader will remember that Diarmuid had decided against Columbkille, when the latter claimed ownership of a copy he had made of the psaltery, believed to be the same as is encased in the Cathach. "To every cow her calf, and to every book its copy," was the ingenious and epigrammatical verdict of Diarmuid on appeal. A much more grave and far-reaching offence, however, had been perpetrated by the High-King against the personal prestige of the Saint, and indirectly against all the Hy-Neill of the North. For the youthful Curnan had sought and obtained sanctuary from Columba after he had slain a nobleman at a royal banquet in Tara. Diarmuid violated the sanctuary and put Curnan to death. The North was roused to bitter revenge; and Connacht quaked, when Diarmuid was hopelessly vanquished.

Filled with grief for the enormous mortality that resulted from this and other contests, of which he was a complacent abettor, if not the instigator, Columba is said to have had recourse to his "anamchara" or confessor,

* Reeves' Adamnan, xxxv.

Donegal County Library Service

St. Molash of Devenish, and to have received from him as a penance the task of gaining over to Christ as many heathens as were the victims these wars precipitated into premature graves. "He wished to become an exile for Christ's sake," says Adamnan; but there is nothing inconsistent with the spontaneous origin of that wish, in the traditional assumption that both confessor and penitent adjudged severance from the occasion of quarrels to be the most effective means of avoiding a relapse. In 563 he sailed from Derry for Iona with his twelve chosen disciples, and proceeded to found the most illustrious monastery the Christian Church has ever known.

Whatever may have been the motives of his self-imposed banishment, we may rest assured that they were pure, apostolic, and worthy of our great Saint; and that they were penitential to some degree, we can infer from his yearning love for the land of his birth. But, we may at once dismiss, as silly inventions, the tales of his going up to a rocky pinnacle to test the completeness of his visual separation; of his wearing eye-covers sealed with wax on his voyages back to Erin, and carrying Scotch sods attached to his sandals in order to preserve his contact with Caledonian soil, while traversing the Emerald Isle. The "dim visibility" so often pleaded as an excuse for failure in naval warfare, might have accounted for the disappearance of his native hills from the expanse of his view. Balor was said to have worn nine pads of various materials over his basilisk eye; and the ears of Ulysses were similarly sealed by the hand of a goddess. All these expedients secured a temporary success, but ultimate failure was inevitable. A closer parallel is the poor man, so often overwhelmed with ridicule, who had taken a vow never to drink inside or outside a public-house, and who tried to steady himself, with

Donegal County Library Service

the aid of the barman and a tape-line, in the exact centre of the doorway.

It is historically certain that the Saint re-visited his native country on two memorable occasions, in 575, to attend the Convention of Drumceatt, and, in 585, to effect certain disciplinary reforms in Durrow. The three projects Columba had contemplated carrying into effect when he persuaded his kinsman, Aedh, the High-King, to convene the Mordhail at Drumceatt, were: first, to, secure the immediate liberation of Scanlan, son of the King of Ossory, whom Aedh had imprisoned; secondly, to avert the threatened suppression of the bards; and, thirdly, to obtain recognition of the complete political independence of the Scottish Dalriada, originally a Munster colony. All these proposals were, in the truest sense, national, noble, and humane; self, clan, and province were elements alien and repugnant to this pure-souled apostle of reform. Hence, the enlightened assembly of kings and prelates arrived at a satisfactory and unanimous verdict, cheerfully endorsing the Saint's magnanimous views, and pledging themselves to support their observance, now that they had been translated into national enactments. The conversion of the whole Pictish race in Scotland, the planting of missionary colonies throughout the countries of Europe, and the effective supervision and extension of the Irish foundations, were, among the countless developments of our Patron's all-embracing zeal, the outstanding proofs of Columba's apostleship. He died, as he had lived, adoring our Divine Lord, present in the tabernacle, on the 9th of June, 597.

"We were now treading," says the famous Samuel Johnson, "that illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge

Donegal County Library Service

and the blessings of religion. Far from me and from my friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." *

St. Columba's love of Erin and regret for his severance from home associations found constant expression in his familiar discourses with his monks: "I look over the sea and great tears are in my grey eyes when I turn to Erin. My heart is broken in my breast." † The story of his welcome for the crane from Ireland, is by far the most touching illustration of the depth of these affectionate feelings. "On the third day from this," he said to one of his monks, "sit by the edge of the western ocean, and, at the ninth hour of the day, you will discern a weary and beaten-up guest, a crane to wit, after long aerial flights in circuitous course, falling to earth at last, and stretched on the beach before you. Take it up tenderly and carry it to the neighbouring hostel, watching and nourishing it fondly for three days. Then, refreshed, it will return to its own sweet home in Ireland." The brother carried out his instructions faithfully, and received the Abbot's effusive thanks. "God bless you, my son. I commended it to your care because it came from our fatherland." At the end of the three days, it arose in the air and flew straight for Gartan.

"On the western side of the Upper Gartan Lough," writes Dr. Mac Devitt, "there is a broad slope, and upon it are to be seen the remains of a chapel and abbey, covering the spot where Columbkille was born in 521."

* Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides.*
† Montalembert, ii. 32, 33.

Donegal County Library Service

But local tradition has always pointed to a well-known flagstone on the ridge summit still further westward, and this tradition has lately found concrete and permanent expression in a handsome stone cross erected near the new road leading to Glenveigh. The flagstone was formerly supposed to possess the virtue of extinguishing all feeling of home-sickness, and was visited by emigrants starting for America or Australia. Whether Ethne had a family roof-tree over her, or was delivered of her prophesied child under the canopy of heaven, history fails to state, but tradition clings to the flagstone. The church is almost intact in its shell, and has undergone no change since 1609. Its antiquity is undoubted ; but experts say it is not older than the thirteenth century. The graveyard is the most venerated burial place in the diocese.

" 108. After that Columba went into Assaroe ; and he built many chapels and churches in Tirconaill. Then he went to Gartan, and made his habitation there.

" 109. Once upon a time he was casually (staying) at a certain place that is designated Gort-na-Leici, to the western side of the place where he was himself born ; namely, Rath Cno. And there came to him a certain man of the people in the district there, from whom many of his friends and relatives had been snatched by death, and he was oppressed and very sorrowful after them. And, on Columbkille's descrying him, great pity seized him concerning (his trouble), and he blessed a flagstone that was at his hand, and he enjoined on that person to drink water out of it, so that his sorrow departed from him (went behind him) ; with the result that God's name and Columbkille's name were magnified thereby. And Columbkille left as a virtue on that flag that whosoever should drink water from it—on whom there was grief—from that moment forward his grief should depart from

Donegal County Library Service

him. And that has been verified ever since, and the flag of the Sorrows is the name of the flag to-day in memory of the great miracle.

"110. Once on a time, Columbkille was coming from Gartan along the eastern end of Lough Veagh, when he observed a certain individual, whose name was Crimthin O'Coinneanta, running past him. 'Behold the youth running towards the sod of death,' says Columbkille. 'Seize upon him at once, and do not let him approach that sod.' The company of Columbkille took hold of him at that moment, and, as they did not permit him to proceed, they saw the sod running towards them; and it came under the feet of the youth, and no sooner did it reach under him than the youth expired. 'Be it known to you, my people,' said Columbkille, 'that it was as a lesson God showed this manifestation to convey the significance that it is not possible for anyone who has taken a human body around him, to avoid the sod of death. And he uttered this stanza :—

'Three little sods no man can shun;
So the old saying used to run.
Sod of his birth, and sod of death,
Sod that enshrouds him under earth.'

"And, in the sequel, Columbkille prayed God to revive the youth so that he might do penance for his sins, and might be a good boy for God and for himself from that time forth; and he obtained that accordingly as he asked. And there is a penitential station at the spot where that was done as a memorial of the miracle to God and to Columbkille. And he restored to life another man in that place :—Begleach O'Bechlaidhe was his name." *

Gort-na-leice means *field of the flagstone*; and Manus

* *Beatha Columbkille*, Manus O'Donnell, translated by Kelleher.

Donegal County Library Service

O'Donnell most explicitly conveys in this passage that Columbkille was born about the site of the old church.

A heart-rending and unique spectacle was witnessed in this graveyard on the occasion of the enforced departure of 125 evicted tenants for Australia, in April, 1862. The Glenveigh clearances are described, with all their concomitant horrors, in Part II of this history; but Adair was not the only landlord who had first impoverished his tenants by robbing them of their mountain grazing, and then levelled their homes with a crowbar brigade, protected by British rifles. Stewart of Lough Veagh had escaped with his life from the avengers of their murdered parents in Tipperary, changing his climate but not his man-hating mind. The Derry-Veagh evictions were wholesale, unprovoked, and diabolical; nothing remained for the homeless but the workhouse or exile, and they chose the latter painful alternative. "Nov. 24, 1861. Letter from Australian correspondent, stating that £600, in addition to amount already collected, had been placed in the hands of an Emigration Agent to cover the passages of 125 of the Derryveagh evicted tenants to Australia." * The emigrants were accompanied by the aged and the children, and, on arriving at the cemetery where the bones of their relatives lay in peace, they poured out their grief in floods of tears, and in broken howls of woe that were heard miles away in distant Glendowan. Some carried with them perishable tufts of grass, but the majority a little parcel of clay from the consecrated soil. Indeed, this clay is still in such demand, that the writer was requested to procure a small boxful of it, even within the last few months.

It must be remembered that Termon was *the* Termon of Kilmacrenan, and formed no part of Gartan parish,

* *Catholic Directory*, 1862.

Donegal County Library Service

which comprised altogether only two bailebetachs, one of which consisted of herenach, and the other of non-herenach lands. The Inquisition informs us that O'Nahan was both herenach and coarb, and paid to the Bishop seven shillings as rent of the church estate, and the same amount out of the tithes on the other bailebetach. Besides the tithes, the parson and vicar possessed two gorts each, in their own respective rights, and O'Nahan, in his capacity as guardian of the "reed-stone of Columba," held two other gorts. This red stone, Manus O'Donnell tells us, came into the world with Columba at his birth, and was smooth and shaped like a golden apple. Columba's poem on its virtues is preserved in the Laud MS. (page 15), illustrating its power by the banishment of the demons from Sean Gleann by flinging it into their preserves; but Manus describes this latter stone as blue. Moreover, he relates that the "red stone is religiously treasured within the plot of ground," while he represents the stone hurled at the demons as being preserved in Glen. To make confusion more confounded, Kelleher translates the phrase in the latter context as follows:—"Columbkille crossed the stream, and an angel brought him a round *green* stone, and bade him cast it at the demons." This was certainly not the Gartan stone; and it is not easy to see that he needed any such missile, as the javelin and the Dubh Duaibhseach ought to have sufficed. The Cloch Ruadh was still in existence in 1609.

The material attractions of this parish, in the form of revenue, do not appear to have stimulated the ambition of any aspirant to a benefice so irresistibly as to have induced him to journey to Rome in order to prefer a claim to the rectorship or vicarage. Hence, the Papal Register has been searched in vain for the mention of any names

Donegal County Library Service

of the ancient parochial clergy. We know that they belonged to the coarb family of the O'Nahans, but that race had become extinct before 1600. Bishop O'Nahan is the solitary ecclesiastic of the name known to history, and, no doubt, he shed a bright lustre on his tribe as well as on the ancient see; for he had been a celebrated professor and an archdeacon before his elevation to the bishopric. The few names of pre-Plantation days we have been able to collect, will appear below, but we are utterly unable to give any details beyond the approximate time when they flourished.

At the Registration of Popish Priests' Sessions held in Raphoe in 1704, Gartan was unrepresented, but it by no means follows that the parish was vacant. The *Report on the State of Popery in* 1731 contains the one melancholy item: "Popish Priest died about nine months ago, and none as yet has succeeded him." Even this meagre morsel of information, supplied by the Protestant minister at Gartan, clearly implies that a secular priest always resided in the district. When we turn to Clondahorky, the neighbouring parish, we find that "several Itinerant Popish Priests and Fryers" celebrate Mass and assist at marriages. From these facts it is easy to infer that the people of Gartan were never deprived of tolerable facilities for hearing Mass and receiving the Sacraments. For it is absolutely certain that, after the monastery of Tory had been, first, plundered by George Bingham in 1595, and then utterly obliterated in 1608, the homeless monks sought a safe retreat among the mountains, and settled down at Craig-na-Sagart. The topography alone furnishes sufficient evidence of this fact, and the tradition of their long residence here is uniform and unbroken. Then, in the readjustment of parish boundaries effected by Dr. James Gallagher, a very anomalous and inconvenient arrangement was

Donegal County Library Service

adopted in regard to this impoverished district. It was placed under the jurisdiction of the parish priest of Aughnish; geography forbade the union of the two parishes, seeing that they were then several miles further removed from each other than they are at present, after the annexation of Termon to the original Gartan. In 1737, Anthony Mac Neilis was parish priest of Gartan and Aughnish; and we may justly assume that this latter parish was in charge of a curate. For Dr. Gallagher ordained a large number of priests for the diocese; the Report of 1731 records that "Three young priests lately ordained here (in Glencolumbkille) are gone to France for their education." *

Termon was united to Gartan by Dr. O'Reilly about 1765; up to that time it had formed an integral part of Kilmacrenan. The first pastor of the joint parishes, remembered in modern times, is John Harkin, a member of a strongly levitical family, whose habitat was in the vicinity of Creeslough. He was educated in Paris; and, whether the Rev. Peter Gallagher, or the Rev. Maurice Houghston was his immediate predecessor, the tradition of the place does not enable us to decide. However, it is almost certain that the Rev. Peter Gallagher held charge of these parishes before he was promoted to Cloghaneely, and that Father Houghston existed in Dr. Coyle's episcopate. Father Harkin was an extremely young man when he died, and was deeply lamented by his flock, who were being decimated by the Famine in spite of his tremendous efforts. In his latter days, he resided in Termon, where, in his time, there stood a small building, which served the purposes of a church, but the majority of the congregation worshipped under the canopy of heaven, "in spirit and in truth." His obituary in the *Directory* is brief but

* *Archivium*, i. 22.

Donegal County Library Service

expressive : " 1847. July 19. Rev. J. Harkin, P.P., Gartan, in the prime of life."

His successor, Denis Magee, entered Maynooth in 1818, and was ordained there in 1825. He was a curate in Kilmacrenan, Stranorlar, and, for a long period, in Cloghaneely. His zeal was unbounded ; in feeble old age, he might be seen on horseback, on his way to a sick call, the messenger leading the horse, as the rider was too weak and too near-sighted to pursue his way unassisted. He was a very special favourite of old Dr. Mac Gettigan, who frequently brought his guests to visit him. One morning he was celebrating Mass at a side-altar in Letterkenny, while the Primate, Dr. Dixon, was pontificating at the high altar. The old Bishop was kneeling outside the rails, and exclaimed, " Donnchadh, glac do am." It is said the poor celebrant frequently cast his eye around for a signal to proceed and, disappointed, unduly protracted the ceremonies. He was exceptionally fond of children, and many of his little favourites still breathe his name with grateful reverence. He died on the 10th of December, 1869.

The Rev. Daniel Kerr had been already a decade of years in Gartan at this time, living in a country cottage in Kilmore, near Churchill. He changed his residence to Termon immediately after his predecessor's death, and displayed great anxiety to improve his flock, materially and spiritually. He introduced an annual Mission, and put forth strenuous and intelligent efforts to weaken Lord Leitrim's hold on the schools, as well as on the mountains and bogs of the peasantry. In all works of benevolence, designed for the relief and uplifting of his flock, he was a capable pioneer or a powerful auxiliary.

A native of Mevagh parish, he matriculated in Maynooth in August, 1840, passing for Rhetoric ; and, as we

Donegal County Library Service

find him located in Glenfin seven years after, as curate to Father Ramsay, we may assume that this was his first mission. Physically vigorous and athletic, he was always prepared to respond to calls, and soon became a universal favourite. Hence, when he was removed to Gartan in 1859, after the unusually prolonged curacy of twelve years at Cloghan, there was poignant and widespread grief among the good people, who looked to him as their future pastor. The Rev. F. B. Gallagher, afterwards Monsignor, was appointed curate of Gartan in 1871, and soon after Father Kerr exchanged the Termon residence for his former cottage in Kilmore, and thenceforward, during his lifetime, the curate occupied the undesirable annexe to the Termon church. Bright and active till about six months before the end, Father Kerr passed peacefully to his reward on the 4th of June, 1892.

The Rev. Andrew Mac Neilis succeeded, and immediately took up his quarters in the annexe. He paid particular attention to the schools, and gave extreme satisfaction in the discharge of all his parochial duties. On the memorable day of the Columban Centenary Festival, the 9th of June, 1897, his Irish sermon won the highest praise, as well for his fluency and perfect grasp of the old tongue, as for the simplicity and chasteness of the composition. In 1900, he was promoted to the parish of Kilcar.

The vacancy thus created was at once filled by the preferment of the Rev. Hugh Kerr, C.C., Fintown. He erected an excellent and much-needed school, but the chief memorial of his ministry here is the grand parochial house, which he constructed without imposing any considerable burden on the parishioners. In 1908 he was further promoted to the parish of Gweedore.

His successor was the Rev. John Mac Nulty, a man of

Donegal County Library Service

tireless energy, a strict disciplinarian, and a strong advocate of agricultural reforms. Single-handed, he succeeded in the introduction into the county of veterinary dispensaries; and, in this matter, other individuals and public bodies paid him the enviable compliment of copying his example. Born in Ballyshannon, he received his higher education under Hugh Harron, in the Letterkenny Seminary, and was admitted to the Humanity Class in Maynooth on November the 15th, 1867. In his Physics year, he was awarded a place in the second premium batch, being fourth honours man in his class. He was ordained in the Senior Chapel, Maynooth College, in June, 1873, by Dr. Whelan, Bishop of Bathurst. His uncle, the Very Rev. William Mac Nulty, Rector of Patterson, New Jersey, is Dean of the diocese of Newark, and was a generous benefactor to his native parish of Kilbarron, and to the diocese of Raphoe. In addition to a very substantial contribution towards the erection of the Cashelard church, he gave the total cost of the high altar, and he was exceedingly hospitable, generous, and helpful to the Raphoe collectors for the Cathedral. The Rev. Edward Mac Nulty, P.P., Glencolumbkille, in 1800, was an uncle of the Dean's, and the family name occurs in the Register of Papal Briefs in connection with Assaroe Abbey, away back in the fifteenth century:—"1421. Mandate to instal Thady Mac Anulty as Abbot of Assaroe, the Bishop of Raphoe to bless him, or cause him to be blessed by another Bishop." *

Father Mac Nulty's first appointment was to Stranorlar, in 1873, whence he was transferred to Raphoe, in 1880; in 1886, he was changed to Ardara, in 1891 to Churchill, and in 1894 to Kilmacrenan. Six years afterwards he was stationed for a time in Mevagh; and, in 1904, he obtained a curacy in Kilbarron. In the following

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vii. 192.

Donegal County Library Service

year, he was appointed to Killaghtee, where he laboured strenuously for the material progress of his flock. He had already erected a co-operative creamery in Kilbarron, and now, in Bruckless, he established another, with even more notable success. His promotion to the joint parishes of Gartan in 1908, was hailed with genuine delight by the clergy, but the people of Killaghtee were deeply grieved at his departure. During the remaining seven years of his life, he devoted all his energies to the faithful discharge of his duties, and the people of Termon will long regret his early demise on the 12th of October, 1915.

His worthy successor, the Rev. James Dunleavy, has given ample proof, in the Rosses and Drumkeen, that his well-balanced mind will always combine prudence with zeal in the administration of parochial affairs.

On July 10th, 1858, a very accomplished and promising curate, the Rev. Joseph Durning, was carried off by the inherited malady of consumption, in the very bloom of youth. His handsome figure and attractive personality were pleasingly familiar to the people of many parishes around, but particularly to the congregation of Letterkenny, where he was always prominent on great occasions in the pro-Cathedral. He belonged to a Clondahorky family ; matriculated in Maynooth, passing for Rhetoric, in August, 1843, and was distinguished in several important subjects. His first mission was Kilmacrenan, where he remained for close on four years, and the residue of his brief career was fruitfully devoted to the spiritual interests of his Gartan flock. His remains were deposited in the clerical plot of Kilmacrenan graveyard.

A much older but not less beloved curate of Gartan, who died on the ministry in the parish, was the Rev. Michael Boyle, a very popular clergyman and a noted pulpit orator. He, too, was a native of Clondahorky ;

Donegal County Library Service

entered Maynooth in 1836, and was a class-fellow and attached friend of the late Monsignor Mac Menamin. His first field of labour was Lettermacaward, where he officiated from 1843 till his transfer to Fintown in 1850. His reputation as a faithful and devoted priest is still a conspicuous feature in the stories still current in both localities regarding the relative merits of past priests. He appears to have been the first curate who resided permanently in Fintown, and hence was more familiarly acquainted with the people than was any other young clergyman anterior to Monsignor Mac Glynn. During the Famine, his zeal and intelligence staved off starvation from many stricken homes, and the grief of the people was profound when he was transferred from them to Kilmacrenan in 1858. Two years after, he was again moved to Glencolumbkille, where his health was sadly impaired. A rest of four years in Tory partially restored him; and from 1864 till his lamented death in 1871, he discharged his duties with marked devotion, in Gartan parish.

Termon

Bishop Montgomery's fantastic etymology of this word, Termon, and of Herenach, is ingenious and somewhat instructive, though palpably grotesque: "The tenents of the church lands are called Eirenaci, Corbani, or Termoners, and are all for the most part schollers and speake Latin, and anciently the chiefe tenents were the determiners of all civill questions and controversies among their nybors, whence they had their name of Eirenacs ἀπο τῆς εἰρήνης, from making peace, or of Termoners *a terminandis litibus*, from ending of controverises. And the lands of the church, being anciently sanctuary lands, within which no man was followed further by the pursuer in those tymes, were

Donegal County Library Service

called Termons *a termino*, because there ended the pursuite." This episcopal luminary had not the requisite courage to attack the coarb, or corbanus, as he styles that official ; his euphonious Greek and Latin conundrums failed to indent this flinty fortress. As a matter of history, in direct contradiction of Montgomery's imaginings, it used to be alleged that the people of Termon settled their disputes by "direct action," and not by arbitration.

Dr. O'Donovan, in one of his Ordnance Letters, dated from Letterkenny, September the 22nd, 1835, writes :— "The parish of Kilmacrenan is locally called Termon, a name which has never yet been properly explained, though touched upon by very clever writers of ecclesiastical history. It seems to me that the origin of Termons is to be found with pagan Romans, and I conceive that the word was afterwards adopted by the Christians and applied to their own *sanctuaries*. Terminus was the name of the deity that presided over landmarks and boundaries. He was represented by a stone placed erect, large stones being in early times the chief boundaries and landmarks; and this stone was worshipped, according to Numa's institution, with the first fruits. Livy says that the homage paid to this deity was such that, when room was required for the temple of Jupiter Olympius in the Capitol, the seat of every god, except Terminus, was removed.*

"This word, Terminus, was afterwards used by the Latin Church to designate a *territorium ecclesiasticum*, the limits of which were pointed out by sacred landmarks, which, among them, were generally stone crosses instead of the perpendicular stones of their pagan predecessors. From this Church the word Termon found its way into Ireland, and this fact is no weak support of the opinion

*Livy, i. 55.

Donegal County Library Service

that Ireland was converted to Christianity by missionaries of the Latin Church. Instead of Termon, the Irish writers often used another term compounded of two words in their own Celtic, or Scotic, language to express a sacred territory of this description; to wit, *Nemed*, which is explained by the glossographists as *nemi at*, that is, *terra celestis seu sacra*. The aged and venerable trees that were planted on these nemeds by the patrons, or distinguished *patres* of the churches belonging to them, were called ꝼıꝺ nemeıꝺ (*arbores Termini*), and their destruction by fire is sometimes recorded as a lamentable occurrence. That Fidh Neimheidh was understood by the Irish writers to signify the 'trees of a sanctuary,' I will now undertake to demonstrate in opposition to Dr. O'Connor and Thomas Moore, the last bard and historian of Ireland, who have thrown in the great weight of their authority in support of a far contrary meaning of the term, and thus given stability to an error, which few dare have the courage to refute."

He then proceeds to demolish the fantastic theory of Dr. O'Connor, who translated Nemeid as *Celestial Index*, and built on this shaky foundation a poetical fabric of unrealities, connecting the druidical institutions of our pagan ancestors with the sun-worship and astrology of the Chaldeans and Persians. In the chapter on Tory, his arguments are given at full length; they are only remotely germane to our present subject, as there never existed either "holy trees" nor "an astronomical observatory" or round tower in Termon-O'Friel. It was simply a part of the Kilmacrenan sanctuary lands, which, like the Termon Mac Grath estates, enjoyed a religious immunity from military or other forcible invasion or aggression.

The Four Masters record the complete overthrow of Sir Hugh O'Donnell's proud army by his nephew Con, at

Donegal County Library Service

Kiltole, on the 4th of July, 1581, and append the following explanation :—"It was in consequence of the curse of Bishop O'Friel, that they suffered this defeat ; for a party of the Cineal Conail had plundered Kilmacrenan the day before the battle, and the Bishop had prayed that their expedition might not be successful." It is superfluous to repeat that Termon then included all the monastic lands of the old Columban abbey, comprising Kilmacrenan itself. In a footnote to the passage quoted, O'Donovan comments :—"It is probable that the O'Friel mentioned in the text was only coarb or abbot of Kilmacrenan." It is absolutely certain that he was not diocesan Bishop, for Donatus Mac Gonagle was still energetic and attended a Synod in Armagh several years later. Neither is there any probability in the suggestion that the "busshope of Raphoe" mentioned in the English manufactured list of peers attending the Parliament of 1585 was this O'Friel. But, if space allowed us to discuss this not very relevant question, it would be easy to show that the Abbot was most probably a Monsignore, as the Northern prelates had, shortly before, complained to the Holy See that they had only ten Notaries-Apostolic in all Ulster.

Celebration at Gartan, June 9th, 1897

(*Freeman's Journal*)

The thirteenth centennial of the anniversary of St. Columbkille was celebrated to-day in the diocese of Raphoe in a manner worthy of the memory of one of Ireland's greatest saints. Not for many centuries has there been seen in Ireland anything approaching to-day's celebration in completeness and grandeur. Only once in our day has there been any attempt to celebrate in a similar way the memory of a great Irish saint. It is now

Donegal County Library Service

nearly thirty years since the festival of St. Brendan, our sailor Saint, the patron of Clonfert, was celebrated near his birthplace in Kerry. The spectacle on that occasion of Mass at the Saint's primitive oratory on the summit of Brandon mountain, overlooking the ocean at an elevation of over 3,000 feet, the difficulty of access, the wild and savage scenery, and the immense breadth of view, extending along the greater part of the western coast, lent to the celebration circumstances of unequalled sublimity. To-day's celebration, too, was held in the midst of grand and picturesque mountain scenery. Its programme was not confined to the religious ceremony, but included Irish speech, story, and song. The religious ceremony itself was on a grand and impressive scale. It included a High Mass, Benediction, and a *Te Deum*, on the mountain slope where the Saint was born. There was a sermon in Irish. The proceedings that followed were a great Irish revival. But the programme of events, important as they undoubtedly were, did not so impress the beholder as the religious fervour, one might say the enthusiasm, of the multitude assisting at it. One little incident will serve to give an idea of the extraordinary interest which the celebration excited. Letterkenny, the nearest town to the scene, was crowded with visitors. Every house in the town, whether hotel, lodging, or private dwelling, was packed. Numbers of people could find no bed to sleep in. The difficulty regarding cars, which the *Freeman* anticipated, presented itself in acute form last evening; many visitors telegraphed to towns and villages within a radius of twenty miles for cars to take them up. In Letterkenny the reply was invariably to the same effect as the following: "Cannot get cars enough for our own people—numbers walking." And so it was. The peasantry for miles around were walking to Gartan all through the

Donegal County Library Service

night. At daybreak there was a very large concourse already assembled. The flagstone which marks the spot where the Saint was born, and the ruin hard by the little church which he founded, were objects of careful and reverent scrutiny. The rising sun was saluted with the prayers of the assembled people, invoking the intercession of Columba for themselves, their families, and their country. The people of Donegal, like those of all the counties along the west coast, are mainly bilingual. Those of them that know but one language know only the Irish, and those that speak the two, have their native Gaelic more trippingly on the tongue than the language of the stranger. To-day the common form of salutation was *Dia agus Muire agus Colum agut*—"God and Mary and Columba be with you." St. Columbkille, himself an exile, is the patron of the children of Ireland in foreign lands, and an affecting element in the festivities of the day was the praying of the mothers of sons and daughters who have emigrated from their country. From most of these exiles, letters came referring to the celebration of this day, showing a deep interest in its proceedings. The Bishop received the following among other cheering messages :—

"The Holy Father sends to your Lordship personally and to the good clergy and people of Raphoe, with all associated in St. Columba's honour on the 9th inst., his congratulations and paternal benediction. On the total abstinence societies he bestows a special and most earnest blessing."

Telegram from Don Carlos O'Donnell, Duque de Tetuan, Madrid :—

"To the Lord Bishop O'Donnell, Letterkenny.

"As an O'Donnell, I beg your Lordship to convey to all those assembled to-day at Letterkenny the expression

Donegal County Library Service

of my heartfelt sympathy on this thirteenth centenary of your Patron Saint."

Telegram from Count Ferdinand Patrick O'Donnell, Vienna, forwarded through The O'Clery, Temple, London:

"Honour me by assuring Bishop O'Donnell of my sympathetic regard with his Lordship's noble resolve to celebrate St. Columba's great anniversary, so intimately associated with our names and ancient race."

From the Very Rev. Charles M'Cready, D.D., New York, a native of Letterkenny:—

"To the Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell.

"A hundred pounds for Columba (towards Cathedral Fund)."

The sacred ceremonies opened to-day in Letterkenny with Mass, celebrated at half-past seven o'clock, by his Eminence Cardinal Logue. The church was crowded. The choir sang the Hymn of St. Columba, taken from an old Office of St. Columbkille. At nine o'clock the procession started from Letterkenny for Gartan. A detour was made, so as to take in Templedouglas, where St. Columbkille was baptised on the 8th December, A.D. 521, in the door in the old church which stands within the churchyard there. Gartan was reached at eleven o'clock. A visit was first paid to the flagstone which marks the place of the birth of the Saint. Here he was born on December 7, 521. Lough Gartan, the lake of the little field, is sometimes also called Lough Beach, and Lough Veigh south is separated from Lough Veigh north, and Glenveigh, by the Glendowan Mountains, which bound it on the north-west. The country is singularly wild and romantic, and there are few more lovely spots than where Lough Gartan contracts into the Leannan River.

After the ceremonies Kilmacrennan was visited, where the Saint was educated before he went to the schools in

Donegal County Library Service

Clonard and Glasnevin. The Leannan flows by Kilmaccrennan, and Owen Connellan records a beautiful legend, according to which the river got its name, which means "the follower," because, in the mind of the people of Gartan, the waters followed the Saint, when he left them for Kilmacrennan. The road to the natal spot leads across the Leannan. Gartan was quickly reached, and the ceremonies commenced shortly after eleven o'clock. High Mass was celebrated in the field close to the spot where the Saint was born, and a short distance from the remains of the ancient church which he founded, among the first of the great number that his energy raised up in this country and in Scotland. A temporary altar was erected, surmounted by a canopy, and was beautifully decorated with flowers. A large banner with the figure of the Sovereign Pontiff was raised over the canopy. On the reredos was an Irish inscription, *A Coluimcille, guidh Orainn*—"O Columbkille, pray for us." The sacred ministers were robed in white vestments. His Eminence Cardinal Logue, vested in the *cappa magna*, and wearing the cardinal's red hat, presided at the temporary throne. The sacred ministers were :—Rev. John Doherty, P.P., St. Johnston, celebrant ; Rev. Patrick Dunleavy, C.C., Bruckless, deacon ; Rev. John Kennedy, C.C., Churchhill, sub-deacon. The Very Rev. Monsignor Gallagher, P.P., Carrygart, was master of ceremonies, and the Rev. Edward Gibbons, P.P., Glenfin, was the assistant master of ceremonies. The Right Rev. Monsignor M'Fadden, P.P., Donegal, and the Right Rev. Monsignor M'Glynn, P.P., Stranorlar, were the assistants at the throne.

The choir, which sang the music admirably, consisted of the members of the choir of the new Cathedral, Letterkenny, and was conducted by the Rev. J. Sheridan, C.C., Falcarragh. Miss Kelly, Ramelton, presided at the organ.

Donegal County Library Service

The High Mass was followed by Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, administered by his Eminence Cardinal Logue. A solemn *Te Deum* was sung. His Eminence Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, and his Lordship Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe, were present ; and 85 priests assisted in full choral dress, including Right Rev. Monsignor M'Fadden, P.P., V.G., Donegal ; Right Rev. Monsignor M'Glynn, P.P., V.G., Stranorlar ; Very Rev. Monsignor Gallagher, P.P., Carrygart ; Very Rev. E. Maguire, D.D., Gweedore ; Very Rev. B. Kelly, P.P., Kilbarron ; Very Rev. John Sweeney, P.P., Killybegs, etc., etc.

Doon Well

" Close to the Rock of Doon," writes Dr. Mac Devitt, " is a holy well, to which pilgrims come at all seasons of the year, and from the remotest corners of the country. Proofs are advanced of miraculous cures effected at this well, with day, date, name of patient, and all particulars ; and there is hardly in the whole county of Donegal a single Catholic family that does not keep always in their home, in some safe place, a bottle of water from Doon Well. It was blessed by a holy priest, Lector O'Friel, whose memory is still held in benediction among the people of the Kilmacrennan district." Several eminent ecclesiastics belonging to that levitical tribe are mentioned in the *Annals of Donegal*, among whom the most celebrated was Fergal O'Friel, Bishop of Raphoe, 1275-1299. His death is thus chronicled in the *Annals of Ulster* :—" Feargal O'Friel, Bishop of Rathboth, the one Gaelic bishop, who was best for hospitality, charity, humanity, and piety, rested in Christ." But long before this date another distinguished scion of the same stock had been Abbot of Derry, and subsequently Abbot of Iona :—" 1204 a monastery was built by Ceallagh, Abbot of Iona, in the centre of the enclosure, without any right, in contempt of the community of Iona, so that he wrecked the place greatly.

Donegal County Library Service

A hosting, however, was made by the clergy of Ireland, that is by Florence O'Carolan, Bishop of Ardstraw; Maoliosa O'Dorigh, Bishop of Rathboth; the Abbot of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, in Armagh; Amhalgaidh Ua Firghil, and a large number of the community of Derry, and a great portion of the clergy of the North. They razed the monastery according to the law of the Church, and Amhalagaidh Ua Firghil aforesaid assumed the abbacy by selection of foreigners and Gaels." Again, in 1581, Sir Hugh O'Donnell was defeated at Kiltole, near Raphoe, by Con, son of Calvagh, and the Four Masters conclude their account of the disaster by explaining the conjectured cause :—"It was the curse of Bishop O'Friel that the Tirconallians were defeated, because a party of them violated Kilmagrennan the day previous to that battle, and the bishop prayed that they might not prosper on their expedition." But Dr. Mac Gonagle was Bishop of Raphoe at this date, and hence the dignitary here referred to was Abbot of Kilmacrennan, and possibly a Pronotary or Monsignor. The Franciscan abbots do not appear at any time to have enjoyed the dignity of the mitre in virtue of their office; and the "Busshop Rapoten" is mentioned in the official list of delegates in attendance at the Dublin Parliament in 1585; while contemporary accounts exclude the probability of Dr. Mac Gonagle's participation in that assembly's deliberations. It is noteworthy that the Annalists do not describe this prelate as Bishop of Raphoe, though they invariably give the full title, when they allude to the Bishop exercising jurisdiction over the diocese. In the record of Primate Prene's Visitation, we find that in 1442 Eoghan, or Eugenius O'Friel was rector, and Brian, or Bernardus O'Friel was vicar of Kilmacrenan; and from this fact it is no violent conclusion, to infer that the O'Friel sept was very abundantly represented on the secular mission, as it always was in the cloister.

We have very insufficient data for determining either the identity of Lector O'Friel, or the approximate period of the inauguration of the Doon Well pilgrimage. The old inhabitants speak familiarly of Father Friel as of a saintly personage, who has not long disappeared from the

Donegal County Library Service

scene of his earthly labours, and the tenor of their treasured love suggests that he was a holy religious. The prelate who resented the violation of the sanctuary at Kilmacrenan is most probably to be regarded as a different personage from this Lector O'Friel, for grave reasons that shall be presently adduced, not on the superficial and flimsy ground that he cursed sacrilegious looters. Had he done so in revenge for a personal insult, or moved by unworthy passion, he would certainly have forfeited all claim to be looked upon as a special friend of the God of peace, and as a depository of miraculous power. But curse often means nothing more than frown or displeasure; excommunication would have been amply justified by the crime, but this dignitary had no jurisdiction to pronounce the penal sentence.

A parallel but greatly aggravated case of monastic "cursing" had occurred about 750 years before, but in this instance murder was superadded to sacrilege:—"817 Maelduin, son of Ceannfaeladh, Abbot of Rathboth, of the Columban community, was slain by violence. The community of Columbkille (at Raphoe) went to Tara to curse Aedh Oirdnidhe, High-King of Ireland, for complicity in the murder and for his wanton invasion of Tirconaill three years previously." We sometimes read in the police court news, that a fiery and ill-bred amazon in the slums of a city approaches her neighbour's door to abuse and curse her supposed enemy; but the most casual reader of our ancient annals will at once reject the suggestion that a whole fraternity of pious monks trudged on foot from Raphoe to Tara, shouted some envenomed maledictions in strong Irish into the Ardrigh's ears, and immediately returned in triumph! No; they "fasted against the King," according to the well-known custom, and this was the worst and most efficacious "curse" or punishment they could inflict upon him. Constructing temporary shelters in view of the palace, they refused to partake of food or drink until full reparation was made or guaranteed. In Ireland, hunger-striking is a weapon of defence, that can claim the two-fold prestige of antiquity and of saintly patronage.

It is inconceivable that the learned compilers of the

Donegal County Library Service

Annals should attribute episcopal rank to an ecclesiastic who was merely an unmitred abbot, seeing that they were treating of a notable dignitary, who was practically a contemporary of their own, and that they were thoroughly conversant with Church discipline. Hence, we are constrained to assume that the Abbot O'Friel, who presided over the Franciscan Monastery of Kilmacrenan in 1581, was a consecrated Bishop, without a diocese, or a Church dignitary on whom the honorary title had been conferred by the Holy See, without either episcopal orders or jurisdiction. In the whole wide domain of the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, we can discover only one example of a Bishop-lector, Aedh Ua Forreidh, chief lector of Armagh, who died in 1056. The dignity of Bishop eclipses and absorbs the minor distinction of lector, though it does not necessarily supplant the title of abbot, for we frequently read of Bishop Abbots. What position, then, did a lector hold? The Irish equivalent is *fear-leighinn*, and means a professor who gives lectures on theology, jurisprudence, history, or other scientific subjects. John Colgan is designated lector or *fear-leighinn*, because he filled a theological chair in Paris and in Louvain; and, in the enumeration of the more distinguished victims of the Battle of Desertdacreat, in 1281, the Four Masters mention "Cormac, son of lector O'Donnell, chief of Fanad." This latter celebrity succeeded the O'Breslin as chief brehon, and was lector in jurisprudence. But there were titular lectors, who were not professors, but who assumed or were assigned the title as a mark of pre-eminence, especially it would appear, in theological attainments. In this way they were licentiates of theology, and received their diplomas in the University of Armagh.

The *Annals of Ulster* record a decree enacted in 1162, as follows:—"A Synod of the clergy of Ireland was held under the presidency of St. Patrick's successor, Giolla MacLiach, at Cloenad, wherein were twenty-six Bishops and many abbots, to enforce discipline and good conduct. It was here ordained that no ecclesiastic could become a lector in any church in Ireland, unless he was an *alumnus* of Armagh." Beyond the fact that a lector was qualified to fill the exalted position of theologian in the Chapter

Donegal County Library Service

of the diocese, it is not very clear that he had any specific duties to dicharge, but the diploma entitled him to an enviable status among his ecclesiastical colleagues. Summing up all the arguments, we arrive at the conclusion that lector O'Friel was as celebrated for learning as for sanctity, that he was neither bishop nor abbot, and that he flourished in the fifteenth century.

On further investigation, it is discovered that Lector O'Friel, instead of blessing the well for the first time, silenced the criticism of sceptics by a miraculous test, purposely applied to determine whether the well had really been endowed with healing efficacy by the great St. Columba or not. Father O'Friel, in the company of many witnesses, took water from the well, and gave it to a patient in the neighbourhood, who was suffering from a disease said to be incurable, and the patient immediately recovered. Then he declared that the water of that despised fountain was indeed possessed of miraculous power, and that there was no need of further blessing. Apart from the weighty extrinsic authority on which this tradition rests, the occasional visitor and the residents alike are inclined the more readily to accept it for two very convincing reasons. First, this now celebrated well is far removed from the site of any ancient shrine or abbey that could invest it with any adventitious sacredness; and, secondly, for drinking purposes it is despicable and almost deterrent in its aspect. Consequently, some extraordinary effects must have been witnessed from imbibing its water, else Lector O'Friel could have found scores of more attractive and more accessible springs to bless for the healing of patients of strong faith. Neither the waters nor the gloomy landscape of the immediate neighbourhood possess any tinge of beauty to fascinate the most imaginative of mortals. It was elsewhere, and decidely not here, the gifted poetess Eva, felt the inspiration to write the beautiful lines :—

"Oh, lonely, silent, crystal well!
Thy stilly waters gleam
From out the shaded emerald dell,
As in a tranquil dream."

Donegal County Library Service

Like the king's daughter of Scripture, Doon Well exhibits none of its beauty on the surface ; Nature has been very parsimonious in her attentions here ; whatever gifts Doon Well possesses, they are exclusively supernatural. Nor has art observed even a favourable neutrality towards the venerated pilgrimage, for it will hardly be contended that farmyard ducks, for instance, render the landscape more picturesque, or the water more palatable. A plain, substantial wall enclosure is a glaring need, and pious pilgrims are profoundly surprised that cold neglect and sordid irreverence stare them in the face at each repeated visit. Some years ago, in 1911, the zealous pastor of the parish, Rev. John MacNulty, who was well known as a rigid disciplinarian, detected the germs of an abuse, which might have assumed a permanent and recognised existence here, had it not been promptly and effectively suppressed. Pilgrims deposited a copper each on a conspicuous stone near the well, and this process was repeated on a few consecutive Sundays, until the vigilant pastor strolled along one holiday afternoon, and scattered the pile of pennies irrecoverably over the moor. Very probably, he may have been influenced by the memory of the decadence that befell Inniskeel pilgrimage in consequence of the mercenary custom so concisely described in the familiar phrase, *Pog do 'n m-bearnan agus pighin do Mhichil.*"

Traditional custom has prescribed no special feast day, octave, or season for this time honoured pilgrimage. SS. Peter and Paul's day and the Assumption always attract the largest crowds, but St. Columba's festival, the 9th of June, also brings an enormous contingent. Unlike other pilgrimages associated with the name of our patron Saint, Doon Well is situated in his native district, and within the sanctuary boundaries or "Termon" of his Kilmacrenan Abbey, and its waters therefore possess a perennial efficacy and attraction for his fervent votaries. During the summer months, excursion trains bring hundreds of pilgrims from Derry and Strabane, as well as from the interior districts of Tirconaill, and it is not the luxury of travelling in overcrowded carriages, nor the sumptuousness of their banquet at Doon, that can account for their all but universal longing to repeat the visit.

Donegal County Library Service

Parish Priests

1412. Turlough O'Daly.
1737. Anthony Mac Neilis.
1795. Maurice Houghston.
1810. Peter Gallagher.
1812. John Brennan.
1829. John Harkin.
1847. Denis Magee.
1869. Daniel Kerr.
1892. Andrew Mac Nelis.
1900. Hugh Kerr.
1908. John Mac Nulty.
1915. James Dunleavy.

Curates

1785. Philip Kerr.
1792. Maurice Houghston.
1807. Bernard Cullen.
1814. Daniel Early.
1816. Bernard Magowan.
1823. Hugh O'Kerrigan.
1825. Joseph Magee.
1830. James Mac Fadden.
1834. John Tierney.
1840. John Kelly.
1842. James Bolton.
1847. Edward Glacken.
1853. Joseph Durning.
1859. Daniel Kerr.
1864. Michael O'Boyle.
1871. F. B. Gallagher.
1877. Edward Gibbons.
1879. John Doherty.
1880. Patrick Hegarty.
1883. Hugh Sweeney.
1885. Patrick Dunleavy.
1889. James Cannon.
1891. John Mac Nulty.
1894. Joseph Sheridan.
1895. John Kennedy.
1904. James Brennan.
1905. Michael Mac Hugh.
1906. James Brennan.
1908. Joseph Mac Bride.
1912. John Crumley.
1913. John Sheridan.
1919. Barry Doogan, D.Ph.
1919. James Deeney.

Note.—The name John Tierney occurs in several Directories, from 1832 till 1840, as that of the Pastor of Gartan. Sometimes Twomey is substituted for Tierney. John Tierney was a curate borrowed from Clogher.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XXI

Parish of Glencolumbkille

"When Padraic had banished and driven away the evil spirits from Cruachan Aigle, that is to-day called Cruach Padraic, there went a throng of them to the place that is now called Sean Gleann Columbkille, in the region of the clan of Conal Gulban to the north. And they were in that place from the time of Padraic till the time of Columbkille. And they raised a fog about them there, so that none might see the part of the land that lay beneath the fog. And of the river that formed the boundary to the north they made a fiery stream, so that none of all might go across it. And whosoever should touch of that stream little or much, he would die straightway.

"The angels of God revealed this thing to Columbkille; and he went with many others of the saints to drive away the demons and banish them out of that place. And they made a stay before the fiery stream we have mentioned already; and they had not been long there when the Devil hurled a holly rod out of the fog across the stream. And it killed An Cerc, Columbkille's attendant, with that cast, so that Srath na Circe is the name of that stream thenceforth.

"Thereat Columbkille waxed exceeding wroth, and he seized that same javelin and hurled it back across the stream; and the land was yielded to him for the space the javelin went into the fog, for the fog fled before that cast of Columbkille's. And that javelin grew in the place whereat it struck the ground that time, so that to-day it

Donegal County Library Service

is a fresh holly-tree, and it has not withered from that time till now, and thus it shall be till Doomsday.

"Then Columbkille blessed that stream, and its venom and enchantment departed therefrom. He crossed it; and an angel brought him a round green stone, and bade him cast it at the demons, who would fly before it as would the fog also. And the angel bade him throw his bell, Dubh Duaibhseach, at them in like manner; and Columbkille did as the angel commanded him, with the result that the whole land was yielded to him free from the fog. And they fled before him to a rock out in the great sea, opposite the western headland of that region. And Columbkille cast at them that stone which the angel had given him, and his bell, Dubh Duaibhseach. And he bade the demons go into the sea through the rock on which they were, and to be in the form of fish and to do no devilry against anyone thenceforth. And by reason of the word of Columbkille they must needs do that; and a man having on his armour might pass through the hole they made in the rock as they passed through it into the sea. And lest folk should eat them, Columbkille left a mark on them distinguishing them from all other fish: namely, that they should be blind of one eye and red. And fishermen often capture them even now, and they do naught to them when they recognise them but cast them back into the sea.

"Then Columbkille asked of God to give him back his bell and stone from the sea; and lo! he beheld them coming towards him in the likeness of a glow of fire, and they fell to the ground quite near him.

"And Columbkille blessed that land whence he had banished the evil spirits, and he bestowed thereon the right of sanctuary from that time; and he left the stone as a chief treasure to work wonders and miracles. And

Donegal County Library Service

in the place where the bell descended it sank deep into the earth, and left its clapper there; and Columbkille said the bell was none the worse without the clapper. And he charged them, if any man should do dishonour to the sanctuary, to put the bell in the hole where it had left its clapper, as a token of a curse upon him, and that man would not outlive the current year. The truth of this prophecy has been often proved.

"Then the folk besought Columbkille that the fiery stream aforesaid, blessed by him, should become so deep that no person could go or come across, save in a boat or ship, with the intent that, under these conditions, fewer people should frequent and abuse the sanctuary. Columbkille replied that he had ordained that sanctuary for the weak and for all those in need, and that he would place no barrier between them and it. And, furthermore, he said that he would obtain as a virtue for that stream that it should never be (so swollen) even for a day, that a man might not, at some moment, be able to cross it. And that word of Columbkille's hath been fulfilled from that time till now, for naught that he ever said hath God falsified." *

This long quotation is taken from Kelleher's recently published translation of Manus O'Donnell's *Life of Columbkille*. O'Donovan gives the substance of it in more elegant dress,† and adds a few interesting comments:—

"1. Cruachan Oigli, now Croagh Patrick, lies opposite Glencolumbkille, at the other side of that great gap or chasm which the sea has cut in the side of Ireland, between Tirconaill and Connacht. Killybegs, Teelin, and Sliabh Liag command a glorious view of this peak of Patrick.

* *Beatha Col.*, pp. 131–133.
† Ordnance Letter, Kilcar, Oct., 20, 1835.

Donegal County Library Service

"2. If you look at the map, you will find that this (definition of boundary) is not altogether correct, for the Glen river does not exactly separate Glencolumbkille from Inniskeel.

"3. Cearc's grave is yet pointed out on the Kilcar side of Glen river, and the townland has taken the name of Stranakirk (Kirk's Holme) from the victim. The tradition of the nineteenth century states that the tract was inhabited, not by demons, but by the Tuatha, and that it was one of them threw the pole at Cearc. For this insolence of the demons, the Saint glowed with greater zeal against them, and commanded them to depart, even from their craggy retreat. In their bustling outrush, they cleft the rock (where the gaping crevice is still shown).

"4. The tongueless bell was replaced in the hole which it had made in its fall from the sky, whenever the sanctuary was desecrated, and in the course of a year, computed from the day of violation, the sacrilegious man died.

"5. The hole is yet shown, and is a prominent feature in the theatre of the Turas, which is three miles in length.

"6. The holly tree is shown this day, 21st October, 1835, in the townland of Meenaneary, on the Glencolumbkille side of the river, and opposite the grave of Kirk. Is holly so longevous a plant as to grow from 1520 to 1835? Can this be the same mentioned by Manus O'Donnell?

"7. On the summit of the gloomy mountain of Slieve Liag are yet shown the ruins of the little cell of Aodh Mac Bric, whom tradition styles Aodh na Brice (Hugh Breaky), and a holy well blessed by him. A most solemn *turas* was performed here in the memory of the last generation; but he liveth not now who could point out all the

Donegal County Library Service

hallowed spots to be prayed at and visited. So that it has been abandoned as a station of pilgrimage, to the rapid oblivion of the name and fame of the good solitary, Bishop Aidus.

"It seems that two distinguished holy men committed themselves to solitude on the summit of this dark mountain, at a very remote age. Of these Colgan endeavours to scrape together lives, but his materials were very slender and unsatisfactory. Of one of them he says:—'The most holy and chaste Bishop Assicus, when it was incumbent on him to state a certain fact, uttered a falsehood instead, without advertence or reflection (*praevolante lingua*). In consequence whereof he became so deeply penitent that he determined never to be seen again in the place where he had committed so great a scandal. Wherefore, having resigned his see (Elphin) and deserted the convent of monks over which he presided, he retired to the northern parts of Ireland, and, on a certain mountain in the country of Tir Boghaine, called Sliabh Liag, he led a solitary life for seven whole years.

"'Meanwhile, his monks, by indefatigable exertions, discovered him in that solitude, and implored him to return to his deserted see and abbey, but he would not consent, thinking he had committed a great sacrilege, and that he ought not to be seen where he was once known to have uttered a lie. However, he removed with them to another solitary retreat, where he shortly after slept in the Lord, and he was buried by his disciples in the country of the Seuthi, at the place called Rathcunga (Racoo, near Ballintra) in company with Aidus, or Hugh Mac Brackan. He is remembered in different churches as patron; in Enachbruinin, in the country of Muskerry, in Munster; and in Sliabh Liag, in Tirconaill, where a chapel is consecrated to him and a solemn pilgrimage performed. He

Donegal County Library Service

died in the year 588, according to the *Chronicum Cluanense* and other annals."* The ruins of his chapel are yet shown on the top of Sliabh Liag.

"There was another chapel, dedicated to St. Athnaid, in the townland of Killanaid, but it is now level with the ground. A *turas* was performed there also with great solemnity. Does his name occur in the Calendar?" No, but the name of St. Banbhnat, Virgin, occurs twice in the *Donegal Martyrology*, here called the Calendar, at July the 23rd, and at August the 9th, and nowhere else do we find so clear evidence of this virgin's memory as here. O'Clery lived in immediate contact with ante-Plantation usages and lore; and hence he was in complete possession of Patrons' names, though naturally he found their genealogies quite untraceable, where the traditions were obliterated or obscure.

"There was another church," O'Donovan proceeds to say, "in the townland of Rinnakill, Promontory of the Church, of which the Holy Well only remains, which is called Tobar na-m-bean-naomh—Well of the Female Saints or Nuns." This delightful spot will well repay a prolonged visit; for here the antiquarian will be able to reconstruct mentally the pile of substantial, low-roofed buildings that once covered the picturesquely situated plateau, while the ordinary tourist must feel that he treads on hallowed soil. The sites of the chapel and of the isolated cells are easily discernible, and the scattered stones eloquently proclaim their ancient employment in forming a sanctuary for the Lord, and shelters for his devoted servants.

The celebrated pilgrimage, that used to attract thousands of people to this inspiring hillside, continued to increase in throng and attractive excitement, till Father Mac Neely's

* *Trias Thaum.* 176.

Donegal County Library Service

time, but excrescences of abuse, and especially drink and unseemly dancing, brought the celebration into degraded repute, and ultimately entailed ecclesiastical prohibition, about 1860. The Glencolumbkille pilgrimage had been already suppressed by the Rev. Edward Mac Nulty, in the beginning of the last century, as O'Donovan remarks in his letter :—

"Though the *turas* left by Columb in the Old Glen is now condemned by the clergy, some of the natives go through it yet, with reverence and solemnity, visiting each hallowed spot where Columb knelt, or stood, or planted his sacred footsteps." In neither case was the reverent and devout performance of the pilgrimage denounced or prohibited, but promiscuous and exciting gatherings introduced obvious elements antagonistic to religious decorum.

Colgan * and Clery † reproduce O'Donnell's account of Finn Mac Cumhaill's prophecy regarding Columbkille ; O'Donovan's translation and comments, however, may be more acceptable to our readers :—

"Manus O'Donnell," he says, "in opening the life of the great Thaumaturgus of his nation, goes on to enumerate not only all the inspired saints, who foretold his birth and sanctity, but also the many pagan augurs or druids, whom God permitted to foresee the same. And it appears the catalogue would be incomplete without introducing the name of Finn, the son of deathless fame, who used to get a peep into the mists of futurity by the simple ceremony of chewing his thumb. For, as soon as the nerves of that member were acted upon by the molars, they pourtrayed to his mind visions of things that were to come.

"I shall give this story at full length as written by

* *Trias Thaum.* 391b. † *Don. Cal.* 159.

Donegal County Library Service

O'Donnell, or rather one of the bards of his house, as I deem it useful in tracing up the history of the weak mind of men, over which so many mysteries hover, that it always conforms to the sort of opinions and belief, which the age or the climate makes fashionable. 'But not only had these and others who were advanced in Christian perfection, and men full of God, foretold the birth and holiness of Columb, but also the greater part of the heathen augurs (magi), very many of whom had been in Ireland before the great light of Christ blazed upon it, presaged the same. Finn, the son of Cumhall, was perhaps the most celebrated of these augurs, and a man, who, on account of the herculean strength of his body, and the many triumphs obtained over his enemies, was celebrated not only in annals, but in fables. This Finn had sent forth his hound to start a stag and the hound pursued the fleeing and startled animal, and drove it across the river which divides the land called Seanghleann from the rest of the mainland. The place, which is situate in the extreme west of that country of Tirconaill, running out great distance into the ocean, rising in high and uncultivated mountains, and finally terminating in rugged promontories, has been this long time consecrated to Columb, for whose monastery it is famous. As soon as the stag had reached this place, the hound, either overcome or outstripped in running, suddenly staid its pursuit. Finn, wondering why this keenest of dogs was delaying and hesitating, contrary to its custom, closely inquired into the cause of so unusual an event, so far as he was able by his ingenuity and art ; and, God granting it, he at length discovered the cause and said to his companions : "There will be born in this country a son by name Columb, who shall be, in his paternal extraction, in the ninth generation from Cormac, the now existing king,

Donegal County Library Service

and the place whither that stag has fled shall be sacred to him. To him also, as being bountifully enriched with divine favours and gifts by the Supreme God, many churches and much land shall be previously consecrated; and that place shall be a most safe asylum for all persons that shall have recourse thereto. As a prognostication of this circumstance, my dog, with unwonted indulgence towards that animal which has fled thither, stopped short his pace and mitigated his rage." The stag rendered that place, where he crossed the river, remarkable by the name of Bealach Damhain, or The Path of the Stag, which is its usual title down to our own time.'

"This is, no doubt, pushing the fable to its *ne plus ultra*, but it is nevertheless exceedingly valuable to the topographer and the historian, who grasp at everything that tends to throw light on the names of places, and on the progress of man from the period at which he was driven out of his beautiful garden for eating an apple, until he sank into barbarity and again rose into a very dignified state of vicious magnificence, to build the alabaster palace, loll on silken sofas, push his way through the azure fields of ocean, in search of Eden and foreign luxuries, and finally introduce tea as far as Seanghleann. Taking the above as a pure fable, we can very easily place it in the crucible, and take it out pure and free from bardic alloy, and then we can infer from it several important historical facts. First, that there was a way across the mountains called Bealach Damhain, *casan* of the Stag, which derived that name from the deer of this wild district, that made their way from pasture to pasture through it. This name suggested the fable about Finn to the fanciful and wild imagination of some of the bards, who were always on the look-out for some new

Donegal County Library Service

theme to magnify the name and glory of the Patron of Tirconaill, and to please the credulous chief, who imagined that he himself derived glory from the same source, being a relative of the saint. We next learn from it that there was a monastery in the parish, and that its land was deemed a sanctuary or termon. All the termons obtained the privilege of sanctuary, though the haughty aristocrats, whose pride often got the better of their religious feelings, frequently violated this privilege, to their own great remorse of conscience. For, in their cooler moments, when the paroxysm of pride and anger gave way to the horrors of religious contemplation, we find them falling victims to remorse, and their deaths recorded by the pious bards and ecclesiastics as the visitation of God for their sacrilegious doings. In 1496, the Four Masters record that Maguire, when pursued by Con O'Donnell, took refuge in Termon Dabhaeig, and that Magrath, the coarb of that Termon, warned Con and the Tirconaillans not to violate the privileges or the sanctity of the Termon by attacking Maguire. They refused to obey his warning, and arrested Maguire; but all the termoners of the province flocked to him, and demanded his liberation. (Con at length reluctantly consented, but the next year he was killed at Balladerry, near Ramelton, with 160 of his followers!)"

O'Donovan expresses his admiration of Manus's graphic description, and concludes that the chieftain had himself hunted over the same ground. He also calls attention to Colgan's euphemism for Manus's "chewing of the thumb," a crude and vulgar phrase, which the refined Colgan was ashamed to transmit in its unembellished nudity. He, further, pays a high and well-merited compliment to the clean and upright lives of the inhabitants, which he attributes "to their comfortless condition and their awe

Donegal County Library Service

of religion," applying to them a parody on Juvenal's Satire II. :—

"Happy the nations of the moral north,
Where all is virtuous, and the Winter's season
Sends sin, without a rag on, shivering forth—
'Twas snow that brought St. Anthony to reason."

The monastery stood on a picturesque plateau, now occupied by the Protestant church and graveyard, in the centre of a cosy amphitheatre, bounded by precipitous ridges of mountains, the only break in the circumscribed horizon opening up a charming view of the limitless western ocean. To the north, a furlong or so, lie Columbkille's Well and Columbkille's Bed, within the ambit of the Turas ; but by far the most striking feature in this rich field of antiquities is the conspicuous stone cross near the church, sculptured and set up in the sixth century. It is the calvary of the Turas, the middle point of the circuit, and, being designed to receive the greatest veneration from the pilgrims, it also received the most artistic attention in its execution. Two other monoliths present evidences of rude carving ; the remainder were distributed merely to mark halting stages. The curious investigator will descend into the cave in the churchyard, and will emerge therefrom without forming any new theory as to its original purpose. Seeing that the monastery was very large and naturally possessed considerable treasures, it was necessary to provide for them a safe receptacle in the case of a marauding assault. No round tower was available for this object, and hence a grotto was excavated, with two chambers at least, with a small entrance that could be made incapable of detection. The dryness of the soil is its most remarkable feature ; it awakens no mystic thoughts. So effectively was this

Donegal County Library Service

Donegal County Library Service

FAUGHER, GLENCOLUMBKILLE.

Photo by] [*W. Lawrence*

KILCAR.

Donegal County Library Service

subterraneous chamber concealed, that its existence was absolutely unknown, until it was accidentally discovered in 1842, while men were digging a grave right over it, and one of their implements shot down into the unresisting vacuum. Dr. Petrie and Dr. Todd undertook an antiquarian pilgrimage to the spot in 1866, but discovered no traces of human habitation or catacomb worship. The suggestion of the neighbouring peasant, that the monks had their cellar here, is infinitely more probable than the vague theory of the expert antiquarian, that it was an underground passage. In the case of the Donegal Abbey and other institutions, there did exist a subterranean passage, whereby an escape was open to the sea, but here no vestiges of further penetration are discoverable and no purpose can be conceived.

At the period of the Plantation, was the Catholic church situated in Faugher, or did it occupy the site of the present Protestant church? Apart from tradition altogether, there is no conceivable reason why the imported Scottish colony should have set their greedy eyes on this hallowed spot, except the presence of a Catholic house of worship ready for seizure at the hands of the spoliator. Nor is there any evidence that a parochial building existed at Faugher before the alien immigration of 1612. In the story of the Spaniard, which is at least substantially true, we are presented with a clue to the almost miraculous manner in which funds were provided for the conversion of the original scalan at Faugher into a tolerably decent church. Even in 1731, the *Report on the State of Popery* does not describe the building as a "shed" or "cabin," but merely states that there is "one Chappel," omitting the usual depreciatory name or epithet. A few years more than a century afterwards, Father Mac Garvey, when curate there in 1834, erected the shell of the present

Donegal County Library Service

church at Cashel. The sacristy was added by the Rev. John Dorrian in 1890, and this much-needed improvement was supplemented by a general renovation of the building, effected two years later, by the Rev. John Mac Ateer.

Carrick church was erected by Father Mac Neely, in 1862, while his flock were struggling under the appalling double yoke of intermittent famine and landlord oppression. It would be incredible at the present day how few carts were to be found in the parish ; and hence this good pastor's exhortation to the able-bodied members of his flock to carry building-stones with them whenever they came to Mass or devotions, would sound ludicrous in the ears of their descendants of to-day. Yet, his patience and theirs worked marvels, and in four years a very respectable Gothic church was the proud reward that crowned their enthusiastic efforts. Father Magroarty added the gallery, Father Gallagher the " Lady of Lourdes " apse, and Father Mac Devitt raised the existing tower, and provided the bell in 1904.

When Father Magroarty was evicted by the Musgraves from his cosy cottage on the Teelin road, his parishioners at once erected the parochial house, in 1878. Unfortunately, the brilliant and patriotic pastor did not long enjoy their noble gift. Father Gallagher built the parochial house in Glen, which was completed in 1884. Nowhere was this accommodation more urgently needed.

The Rev. Edward Mac Nulty was a member of an old Kilbarron family, which gave one abbot at least to the Cistercian abbey of Assaroe, in the fifteenth century, a dean to the diocese of Newark, still happily in the flesh, and a worthy pastor, only three years deceased, to the diocese of Raphoe. In 1421, a Brief * was forwarded to the then Bishop of this see commanding him to consecrate

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vii. 192.

Donegal County Library Service

Thady Mac Anulty, or to provide for his consecration by some other Bishop, as mitred Abbot of Assaroe. He was educated in Dr. O'Reilly's college in Ballyshannon, and was ordained by that saintly prelate about 1775. The first half-dozen years of his missionary career were spent in the curacy of Killybegs, and the remainder of his protracted life was devoted exclusively to the spiritual superintendence of the two parishes of Glencolumbkille and Kilcar. Seeking only the convenience of his dual flock, he took up his quarters in Roxborough, as the most central position, and was obliged to celebrate two Masses on every Sunday and holiday, one at Faugher, and one at Kilcar. Occasionally, he had the assistance of a friar, but, as the latter was not resident and had to officiate in Killybegs parish as well, his services were precarious.

Dr. Coyle's report to the Primate, in 1796, combined with the well-known fact that a Franciscan, Friar Shovelin, operated in Doe and Mevagh, very clearly conveys that it was a Dominican who assisted in Glencolumbkille. His name in religion was Anthony, but his surname is unknown. The austere and saintly Friar Walls was a later sojourner in these parishes, and was frequently described to the present writer, many years ago, by a very old lady, who not merely knew him, but had frequently conveyed his garments to a tailor for much-needed repairs. We shall encounter Friar Walls again in the chapter on Killybegs. Friar Anthony had been introduced by Bishop O'Reilly from the Dominican house in Drogheda, where this prelate had been parish priest, but it is most probable that Friar Walls, a native of Drumhome, had been, previously to his advent to Glen, resident at the Friary in Killymard. Father Mac Nulty lived to be a centenarian, and eventually retired to his ancestral home near Ballyshannon, where he died in 1829.

Donegal County Library Service

The Rev. Cornelius Mac Dermott, who had been administrator for a few years previously, was now appointed pastor, and was much revered by his flock. He was a native of the Glen of Glenties, and a student of the Irish College in Paris, ordained in 1818. His first appointment was the curacy of Templecrone ; he went next to Kilmacrenan ; and in 1826 came to spend the remainder of his life in Carrick. Unlike his predecessor, he possessed no jurisdiction, and discharged no parochial duties, in Kilcar. Until quite recently, many of the old inhabitants vividly recalled his tall, graceful figure, snow-white flowing locks, and courtly manners. In 1859, he became superannuated, and two years after, in November 1861, he died in an unpretentious cottage, still pointed out in the vicinity of the village. His remains were removed to Glenties ; "waked" for a night in the church there ; and, after the usual solemn obsequies, laid to rest at the opening to the western scalan in the Drumnshillagh graveyard.

A most amiable and good-humoured clergyman succeeded, in the person of the Rev. Charles Mac Neely, who belonged to a gifted and wealthy family in Mountcharles. He was educated in Navan, and at his entrance into Maynooth College, in 1835, passed for the Logic class. Appointed curate of Taughboyne in 1841, he was transferred to Ardara, in 1843, thence to Killygarvan, in 1845, and in 1851 to Glencolumbkille, at first as curate, and later as parish priest. The erection of Carrick church was, of course, the greatest memorial of his practical zeal bequeathed by him to his loving flock. In educational progress he was an ardent enthusiast, and was a special friend of Sir Patrick Keenan, Resident Commissioner. Nursed in his last illness by his attached sister, Mrs. Cannon, mother of the late Rev. James Cannon, and assiduously attended by the late Dr. John Kelly, of

Donegal County Library Service

Glenties, then dispensary physician in Carrick, he finally succumbed on the 20th of February, 1870. The late Primate Mac Gettigan, was then in Rome, assisting at the Vatican Council, and on receiving intelligence of the sad event, he wrote to Dean Feely, intimating his appointment of Father Magroarty to Glencolumbkille, and of Father Madden, the curate there, to the parish of Killymard. He added that, as the Holy Father had insisted on his acceptance of the primacy, he there and then relinquished the exercise of jurisdiction in Raphoe.

Born in Keelogs, Inver, John Magroarty studied classics in an academy conducted by Patrick Mac Goldrick, in Drumbigh, and among his schoolmates were the late Bishop Mac Devitt, Dr. John Mac Devitt, Dean Kelly, etc. He matriculated in Maynooth in 1849, and was so notably distinguished during his college curriculum, that it was a debateable point at the close whether Dr. Mac Devitt or he should be selected for the Dunboyne. Only one place was available for the diocese, and Dean Gaffney and others maintained that it should, in justice, be awarded to John Magroarty, but the majority of the Council of Studies voted in favour of the future Bishop. With the sole exception of the late Canon Mac Fadden, no Raphoe priest in modern times has had so eventful and so exciting a career. His first curacy in Doe (1858-62) placed him in the very centre of the war zone during the bogus "sheep-stealing" troubles, and a more competent champion of the down-trodden and calumniated peasants it would be difficult to find in any age. His evidence before the Commission of Inquiry does him infinite honour, and brushed away the cloud of obloquy that overhung his unjustly arraigned people. So immensely popular had he become that the congregation barred the doors and windows of Doe church against Father Diver in 1862, when

Donegal County Library Service

the latter was appointed parish priest in succession to the Rev. Joe Magee. They insisted that their gifted and indomitable protector, Father Magroarty, should be promoted to the post. Of course that storm soon passed, but Father Magroarty's popularity never waned.

From Doe he proceeded to Glenswilly in that year, and in the following year he threw the mantle of his protection over Francis Bradley, who was arraigned for the murder of Grierson, a Scotch bailiff, and, at four consecutive assizes in Lifford, tried by packed juries, on that horrible charge. The history of the trial and of the facts that surrounded and preceded it, is fully narrated in the author's *Letterkenny*, and also in Part II of the present work. It was universally admitted that the gigantic efforts of Father Magroarty saved an innocent man's life and shed undying glory on the priesthood of Raphoe. In Glenswilly he established a tribunal for the trial of all local cases, and surrounded it with all the paraphernalia of a public court of justice—a judge, jurors, advocates, and a secretary. During his residence in Glenswilly, no inhabitant dare venture to bring any alleged offender before a Petty Sessions or Assize Court. The "Glenswilly Decree" was a much older institution, and its existence goes a long way to prove that the Brehon Law held sway in Glenswilly, centuries after the King's writ began to run its demoralising course in neighbouring localities.

On the very threshold of his pastorate in Glencolumbkille, he took up the cause of the fishermen, and sought to establish for them the right to catch salmon in the open sea, in despite of the "three mile limit" law. As might be expected, he not only failed, but was mulcted in enormous costs, as the river proprietors all combined against him, and employed leading counsel. In his provocative

Donegal County Library Service

attitude towards the Musgraves, he was equally ill-advised, but his sacrifices helped to enchain public opinion abroad on the iniquities of arbitrary eviction and rack-renting. His comfortable home was ruthlessly wrecked by a crowbar gang of bailiffs, and he was obliged to seek shelter in a neighbour's cottage until a house was constructed to receive him. With that delicate considerateness that marked his daily relations with all men, unwilling to inconvenience a kindly host, he entered the new parochial house before the lime had dried, got double pneumonia, and lost his valuable life. May the soul of this good Samaritan, which passed to its Creator on the 8th of December, 1878, rest in peace!

Seven years and three months after, another beloved pastor, the Rev. Francis William Gallagher, was snatched away by a premature death from typhoid fever, contracted in the discharge of his spiritual ministrations to the sick of his parish. He was a son of William Gallagher, of Castlegoland, and was thus a first cousin of four contemporary namesakes in the Raphoe priesthood. His mother was a member of the respected O'Hanlon family, of Lettermacward. A student of much more than average ability, he was awarded admission to the Rhetoric class at the Maynooth Entrance Examinations of 1863, and, shortly after his ordination in 1869, was sent as an assistant to Father Diver, in Doe. In 1871, Dr. Mac Devitt took him to Letterkenny, first as curate and later as Administrator, reposing implicit confidence in his judgment, and deservedly admiring his tact, zeal, and refined taste. The Literary Institute was the embodiment of his views regarding the recreation and mental pabulum that were needed for uplifting the ideals of the artisan and working classes; and it will long remain a noble monument of his energetic zeal. Total abstinence from drink was his remedy

Donegal County Library Service

for the weak, and he founded a flourishing association that endures and expands to the present day. The unsightly chapel in the Workhouse he so completely and exquisitely renovated as to retain nothing but the walls; new furniture, decorations, and vestments having been provided without any expense to parish or union. When he arrived in Carrick as parish priest, in the late autumn of 1880, he found his future flock clasped in the clutches of pinching famine. Relying on a bounteous Providence, he imported abundance of meal and other necessaries, and money poured in from all sides in copious supply. Even the rugged old Scotch Secretary, Forster, was deeply impressed by his descriptions, which were verified by inspection. In his last sickness he had the happiness of being attended by the best doctors, among them by his brother, Dr. Joseph Gallagher. It is true to say that his premature death on Patrick's Day, 1886, was a signal loss to the diocese, as well as to the parish.

The Rev. Peter Mac Devitt was a Glenswilly man, of acknowledged talent and of soaring ambition, who won minor distinctions in Maynooth, where he matriculated in 1852. But his devotion to study was at all times spasmodic, and he rarely attained the goal of his ambition. He constantly entertained the prospect of a chair in Maynooth, long after he had embarked on the labours of the mission, but never undertook the arduous preparation for the ordeal of a public concursus. His winning countenance and eloquent voice were familiar to the people of half a dozen parishes; for he was appointed to Kilcar, 1859; Raphoe, 1862; Drumoghill, 1872 to 1875; and again, after Father Houston's death, 1876; Glenfinn, 1880; Ardara, 1883; and Carrick, 1885. Singularly popular among the clergy and laity, he died on the 25th of October, 1905, universally regretted.

Donegal County Library Service

His successor, Father Cassidy, was an exceedingly promising pastor, Irish-speaking, patriotic, and sympathetic. He was a native of Meenahimrish, in Inver, a student of Thomas P. Mac Ginley's, and read his classical course in the old Seminary; entered Maynooth in 1870, and was ordained by Dr. Mac Devitt in Letterkenny in the March of 1877. His first appointment was temporary, in Killybegs, and in 1878 he was transferred to Dunlewy, under the Rev. Bernard Walker, Adm., during a period of trouble. In 1879, Dr. Logue, the new Bishop, changed him to Glen, where he remained till his transfer to Donegal, in 1882. Here he laboured, the bosom-friend of the late Monsignor Mac Fadden, and the idol of the Townawilly flock, for twenty-three years. In 1893, he was deputed by the Bishop, as one of his best known and most popular priests, to collect funds in the United States for the building of the Cathedral, and devoted three years to that irksome and trying mission. His career as pastor of Glencolumbkille lasted only four years, from 1905 till his early and widely lamented death on the 5th of September, 1909.

But infinitely the most tragic and the most saintly death of a Glencolumbkille pastor, that has ever occurred, was that of Dr. O'Doherty, on the 1st of May, 1917. Being a singularly strict and scrupulous priest, he chose to hear confessions in the sacristy, that had just been freshly washed and was saturated with moisture, rather than bring the penitents to the adjoining parochial house; contracted pneumonia, and succumbed in a few days. The holiness of his life from his earliest years was never surpassed in the history of the saints. Other men performed and suffered more striking and memorable things; but Dr. O'Doherty's motto was to do all things perfectly at all times—"to live *well* in Jerusalem." Self-abasing

Donegal County Library Service

and humble in a supreme degree, he could not conceal his personal sanctity, no more than he could disguise his gentlemanly love of honour, from his fellow-students and associates, all of whom looked upon him as a spotless saint. Born in Fanad, and for some time a monitor in Doaghbeg National school, he entered the old Seminary in 1880, and at the Intermediate Examinations of 1881 gained a £20 Scholarship for three years. Matriculating in Maynooth, 1883, he was awarded the Rhetoric *solus* at the end of the year, and, throughout his college course, he was consistently among the few leading men in his consecutive classes. He was appointed a professor in the old Seminary in 1890, and President three years later. In 1896, he stood for the chair of Irish in Maynooth, where he would have made an admirable professor, but his humility impaired his public display. He became Professor of Physics in the Irish College, Paris, where for several years his brilliant lectures were very highly appreciated. However, he abhorred publicity, and returned, accepting the curacy of Lettermacaward, after one year's work in St. Eunan's, in 1907. Five years later he became parish priest of Ramelton, and in 1916 came to give his life for his flock in Glencolumbkille.

The present accomplished pastor, Rev. Hugh Mac Dwyer, was promoted from the rectorship of Killybegs Industrial School soon after Dr. O'Doherty's death. A native of Kilraine, he pursued his higher ecclesiastical studies in the Irish College, Rome, where he discharged for some time, the duties of Vice-Rector. He received priesthood at the hands of Cardinal Parocchi, in St. John of Lateran's, Rome, on the 24th of July, 1893. For a short time he filled the Downstrands curacy ; was one of the select deputation commissioned in 1896 to collect funds in the States for the building of the

Donegal County Library Service

cathedral; on his return was transferred to Ardara; and, thence, to St. Columba's School in 1909.

The statement that emanated from the Lifford Inquisition of 1609, as we have already explained,* would appear to be an *ex parte* account, supplied by Neal Mac Nealis, a member of the jury. But the only two passages that breathe a tainted odour, are those containing the insinuation that Neal's rival was unjustly awarded the herenachy of half the parish for his adhesion to O'Donnell's cause, and the direct assertion that the said Neal was entitled to half the royalties on the fishing. It is unquestionable that the entire parish, consisting of five quarters of land, was exclusively church property; "and the said Jurors further saie that in the saide parishe there are a parson and a viccar, and that there is one gorte of gleabe belonginge to the parsone and another to the viccar." One of these allotments was at Bangort and the other at Sraid, the latter being the property of the parson.

"Brian O'Connor, resident in Ballydubh, received priesthood from Thady Keogh, Bishop of Clonfert, in 1681, now 48 years of age," is the description the parish priest of Kilcar and Glencolumbkille gave of himself in the Lifford Register, 1704. The name is not redolent of Tirconaill extraction; hence it is not improbable that he was a friar.

The *Report on the State of Popery in* 1731 sets forth in the column headed "Popish Priests," that there is only "One, who officiates as Parish Priest, but in his absence one Mac Laughlin, a reputed Fryer, officiates for him. Three young priests lately ordained here, are gone to France for education." This last information does not at all imply that the three young priests belonged to Glen, for Dr. Doyle tells us that the prelate who ordained

* Page 48 supra.

Donegal County Library Service

them, always kept relays of students in his house, devoting their time to Scripture and Theology. This batch he had trained in Ballyshannon, but could not venture to ordain them there, as spies were constantly watching his movements, intent on earning blood-money. Had these sleuth-hounds followed him to Glen, St. Columb's tongueless bell would have resumed its clapper, and banished them into the watery wilderness of the demons. At all events, we are presented here with an illustration of the system, whereby Dr. Gallagher recruited the ranks of the Raphoe clergy. In 1737 Peter Conwell * was parish priest of Kilcar and Glencolumbkille, and this union of the two parishes under one pastor was maintained till the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. "Reputed Fryers" appear to have constantly supplied the place of curates till 1827. There is a tradition that Bishop Donatus Mac Gonagle's brother was parish priest here in the sixteenth century, but, as Conwell is a variant of Mac Gonagle, it is not unlikely that Peter Conwell, his kinsman, is meant, for dates do not count in tradition. Peter Congall, who died in 1782, and is buried in Faugher, is obviously identical with the signatory to the Petition of 1737.

Philip Magroarty,† Vicar of Glencolumbkille, was constituted a canon without a prebend, in 1404, but, though the vicarage was perpetual, we cannot designate him parish priest without some qualification. The parsons were members of the herenach family of Mac Nealis, but, as their appeals to Rome are not recorded, their names are not available. We find this surname strongly in evidence elsewhere, but, apart from the curacy of the late Father Andrew Mac Nealis from 1876 till 1881, there is no record of any ecclesiastical scion of the old stock, ministering in Glen.

* *Archivium*, vi. 58. † *Cal Pap. Reg.* v. 617.

Donegal County Library Service

The Spanish Church

Immediately before the American Independence War had been declared, the shores of Ireland had been frequently visited and inspected by foreign vessels, the mysterious object of whose reconnoitring the inhabitants took no pains to inquire about. They had long ceased to hope for foreign aid, and they now despaired of the Pretender's party ever achieving a lasting success. On a glorious evening in September, 1756, a cruiser and a lightship were observed rounding Glenhead and steering for some haven in Donegal Bay. Evidently, an equinoctial storm was apprehended, and it came with terrific suddenness. Thickening clouds, deafening thunderclaps, and streaks of lightning drove the affrighted Glen folk into their homes and compelled Father Owen Carr to take refuge in a neat, comfortable cottage in Malinbeg, where he had been attending to the sick. All versions of the story, though disagreeing in many details, represent the priest as accompanied by an intelligent and faithful valet, named Denis, whose one object in life was to minister to his master's comfort. The tempest had expended itself, and perfect calm returned about midnight, and at once the old priest insisted on proceeding homeward, remarking to Denis that they must keep close to the shore, as he feared the ships might have been driven to destruction on the rocks. When they had journeyed about a mile they heard a deep moaning proceeding from beneath the ledge of the precipice, and the old man at once clambered down the frightful escarpment, in spite of Denis's prayers and protests. Below he discovered a Spanish officer in the grip of death from a disembowelling dash against a sharp rock, praying earnestly, and making acts of contrition. Having studied in Salamanca, Father Owen had

Donegal County Library Service

no difficulty in conversing with him and hearing his confession in his own language. The dying man requested him to undo a belt around his shoulder, and to take charge of some gold within the lining, as an offering to God for the unexpected grace of dying, fortified by the Sacraments. These are the main and indisputable facts of the strange story, which is narrated with inimitable vividness and circumstantiality by the late Bishop, Dr. Mac Devitt, but with closer adhesion to history and local lore by Mr. T. C. Mac Ginley.

Father Carr was enabled, by this miraculous windfall, to renovate the old chapel at Faugher, and to build the Spanish Church at Ballydubh, south of the road from Kilcar to Carrick. The walls are still standing as evidence of the fact, and no doubt can be entertained as to the truth of the substance, apart from the embellishments of the tradition. Father Carr's bones rest in the old Kilcar graveyard, adjoining the Protestant church. The dates and historical surroundings, however, assigned by Mr Mac Ginley to the event, would better correspond with the pastorate of the Rev. Brian Cannon.

Parish Priests

1404. Philip Magroarty.
1438. Terence Craig.
1555. Ronald Conwell.
1704. Bryan Cannon.
1737. Peter Conwell.
1768. Owen Kerr, Adm.
1782. Edward Mac Nulty.
1828. Cornelius Mac Dermott
1859. Charles Mac Neely.
1870. John Magroarty.
1879. Peter Kelly.
1880. Francis W. Gallagher.
1886. Peter Mac Devitt.
1905. Edward Cassidy.
1909. James Cannon.
1914. Patrick A. O'Doherty
1917. Hugh Mac Dwyer.

Donegal County Library Service

CURATES

1731. Friar Mac Laughlin.
1780. Friar Anthony.
1802. Friar Walls.
1816. William Mac Brearty.
1828. John Mac Garvey.
1832. Patrick Houghston.
1833. ConstantineO'Donnell
1835. James Mac Ginley.
1841. Charles Ferry.
1845. Michael Friel.
1850. Michael O'Boyle.
1853. Michael Mac Dermott.
1854. Charles Mac Neely.
1863. John Madden.
1872. William Drummond.
1876. Andrew Mac Nelis.
1879. Edward Cassidy.
1882. Michael Ward.
1885. John Dorrian.
1892. John Mac Ateer.
1892. James Mac Ginley.
1895. Hugh Mac Dwyer.
1896. Christopher Cunningham.
1899 James Burns
1901 James Mac Shane.
1904. Art O'Friel.
1905. Alphonsus Ward.
1909. Bernard Sweeney.
1910. James Deeney.
1914. Joseph Sweeney.
1917. Philip O'Boyle.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XXII

Parish of Inniskeel

In tracing the history of the delimitation of the comparatively modern parish of Ardara, we have endeavoured to suggest the reasons why the name, Inniskeel, was not appropriated, together with the ancient monastic church and island from which the parish received its title. First, the section detached was but a small fraction in extent ; secondly, the Kilkenny church was vastly more accessible and, we may fairly presume, vastly more frequented, than the parent church on the island ; and, thirdly, the Memorial of 1737 exhibits East Inniskeel as a prebendary parish, and therefore entitled to pre-eminence.

The findings of the Lifford Inquisition of 1609 regarding Inniskeel amply demonstrate the importance of the old undivided parish :—"And the said Jurors do further saie that there are in all three bailebetaghes, of which there are four quarters of herenaghe lande ; and that the three herenaghes, Breslin, O'Kieran (Mulhern), and O'Mooney, paid yerely to the busshope of Raphoe twentie shillinges Irish, foure score and sixteen meathers of butter ; and, out of the busshop's thirds of the tiethes there, six and twentie shillinges and eight pence Irish, pencion, with some refections at the time of the lord busshop's visitacion, and other small duties as appeareth in the busshop's register." This is vastly the largest episcopal tribute exacted from any parish ; and, moreover, the refections or coshering are, in all other cases, commuted into an insignificant sum, six and eightpence, for instance, known as "proxies." The Bishop was evidently accustomed to

Donegal County Library Service

KILKENNY, INNISKEEL.

Donegal County Library Service

Donegal County Library Service

visit this parish frequently, in ancient as in modern days, the outstanding point of difference being that, in the good old times, he was accompanied by a retinue of from 50 to 200 attendants, all of whom were entitled to free and lavish entertainment at the expense of the parish. Of course, the episcopal mensal parish of Killybegs included Mullantiboyle, and was thus conterminous; but, next to the spiritual exigencies of visitation, the bounteous refections in store were obviously the chief attraction.

The *Calendar of Papal Registers* presents very few references to Inniskeel parish. "Mandate to Laurence O'Boyle, Cistercian monk of Assaroe, and to David O'Boyce, Canons of Raphoe, and to the Official of Raphoe, to assign to Murianus (Murrogh) O'Breslin, Rector of Inniskeel (Insula Cayle), the perpetual vicarage of Killymard, so long vacant by the death of John O'Craig, that its collation has lapsed to the Apostolic See, though Luke O'Callaghan alleges that his appointment, made after said lapse, is valid. Murrogh is hereby dispensed to hold Killymard conjointly with Inniskeel for ten years, the canon forbidding pluralities notwithstanding. Dated 20th December, 1427." * Elsewhere, too, we encounter the old family name, O'Craig, represented in the list of clergy, and a cursory glance at the Papal Registers reveals the fact that even the Plantation failed to disturb the local habitations of the ancient Catholic septs of Inniskeel, save along a small border of the sea-board from Kilkenny to Eden. Moreover, few as are the records affecting this parish traceable in the published Papal Registers, we possess in them the most convincing evidence that the O'Breslins, in normal circumstances, always supplied a member of their sept as parochial rector. Murrogh O'Breslin, we have seen, was promoted to that position

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* viii. 47.

Donegal County Library Service

in 1427, and Maolmuire O'Breslin presented himself at the Roman Court in 1443 (see Brady, *sub* L. O'Gallagher II.), and was then and there canonically constituted pastor of the parish. No doubt, Laurence O'Gallagher was lawfully, but through overwhelming influence, appointed successor to Murrogh, on the death of the latter in 1442 ; but Laurence could not hold the benefice for twelve months, as he was only invested with minor orders. He was elevated to the see of Raphoe in 1443 ; but it is almost certain that he never was clothed in the priesthood, much less in episcopal orders. In any case, we have already stated (pp. 88-95) that the Raphoe Chapter's petition to the Holy See in favour of Laurence's elevation to the bishopric, was granted, and that Maolmuire O'Breslin and Clement O'Friel, pastor of Donaghmore, were present at Rome in 1443, and liquidated the secretarial expenses. Clerical readers do not need to be reminded that, when a parish priest is promoted to a bishopric, the parish thus vacated cannot be disposed of without the interposition of Rome. This well-known provision of the Canon Law accounts for Maolmuire's presence, if he was anxious, as he obviously was, to secure his succession to the rectorship. But, as has been already remarked, it was no uncommon practice for candidates, in such circumstances, to present themselves personally before the Roman Court. The Latin was almost as familiar to our ecclesiastics as their native Irish. In the Papal document, dated 9th August, 1443, Maolmuire O'Breslin is styled "Rector of Inniskeel parish in Raphoe."

There is a very extended hiatus of nearly a century and a half, between Maolmuire O'Breslin, in 1443, and Nial O'Boyle, who was rector of Inniskeel when promoted to the bishopric of Raphoe, in 1591. Whatever may have been the name and clan of the Inniskeel pastor in 1600,

Donegal County Library Service

he declined to append his signature in endorsement of the allegations against the old Bishop, contained in the famous Petition presented to the Pope by some of the Raphoe clergy in that year. Subsequently, there was a long succession of the O'Boyles in West Inniskeel, and it is highly probable that the Rector in question was a member of the same dominant clan.

The *Report of the State of Popery in* 1731 is exceptionally illuminative in regard to Inniskeel:—"One Mass-house lately built. Three Secular Priests and two reputed Fryers officiate in the Parish. No Fryerie or Nunnerie; but vagrant Fryers, beside those already mentioned, officiate sometimes in the Parish, and are supported by collections made among the people." The "Mass-house lately built" was most probably the scalan in the Glen graveyard, more remote from the village of Glenties, as the western scalan appears to be the more modern, erected in Dean Quigley's time.

At first sight, the supply of priests would appear to be enormously out of proportion with the meagre provision existing elsewhere, and with the total number available for the diocese. But it must be borne in mind that the Ardara or Downstrand section is included, and secondly, that Dr. James Gallagher, who was then Bishop, had already vastly expanded the ranks of the clergy. In Glencolumbkille, the *Report* says, he had conferred priesthood on three students simultaneously, and, in 1737, six years later, we find all the parishes served by distinct pastors, except Killymard and Donegal, which he probably retained under his own immediate surveillance. Under his enlightened guidance the diocese had progressed by rapid strides, and Inniskeel marched in the van. Let us now take a brief retrospect of its condition in 1704, when the official registration of the Catholic clergy

Donegal County Library Service

was carried out at the Raphoe Sessions on the 11th of July. Daniel Tighe was parish priest, "resident in Glenleighan ; 54 years of age ; ordained by the Martyr-Primate, Oliver Plunkett, at Ardpatrick in 1674." No doubt, there was another pastor, William O'Boyle, living at Lochross, and in charge of the Downstrands district and of Lettermacaward. But it is evident that Father Tighe was unassisted, save by a friar in the Croaghs on the Killymard frontier, and that he was obliged to say two Masses on every Sunday, one at Stranagappog and the other at Bannabuoys. Dr. Gallagher was enabled to supply a curate ; and, after the lapse of a century, he restored Inniskeel to the dignity of a prebendary parish, the Rev. Conal Mac Laughlin being raised to the canonry. The *Report* informs us, and Dr. Doyle confirms the statement, that this learned Bishop sent all his priests, immediately after their ordination, to a continental college, to complete their theological and scriptural studies. Hence, the inference is well warranted that not only was the supply of clergy rapidly augmented, but their intellectual equipment was vastly improved. It must, further, be remembered, in connection with the place of residence of the pastor, that the village of Glenties is only of very recent growth, and that it stands quite close to the ancient boundary line, which was the Onea River in this quarter. In 1765, the ten townlands adjoining Inniskeel were annexed to that parish by Dr. Philip O'Reilly ; a scalan at first, and, shortly after, a commodious church was erected in the village, on a site overlooking the present police barrack, and, thenceforth, the pastor resided in the vicinity. The Rev. Daniel Early, however, was the first to fix his abode actually within the village, close to the bridge, where his residence is still well-known to the inhabitants.

Donegal County Library Service

The old church was built by the Rev. Constantine O'Donnell, P.P., a native of the parish, who died at a very early age. His family occupied in those days a very influential position in the parish ; and a nephew and full namesake entered Maynooth in 1820, was ordained in 1827, and died in Ballyshannon three years later, in 1830. On the gravestone covering the remains of the Glenties pastor is inscribed the following epitaph :— "Mortales Reliquiae Revdi. Constantini O'Donnell, P.P., Inniskeel, hic jacent. Obiit die 15 Martii, 1797, annos natus 45."

His successor was the Rev. Philip Carr, a native of Fanad, brother of the Rev. James Carr, P.P., Kilcar, uncle of the Rev. William and Rev. Patrick Gibbons and grand-uncle of the late Judge Gibbons of Chicago. He appears to have lodged with Dean Quigley's parents, when he was curate, and not to have changed his residence when promoted to the position of pastor. With that intelligent thoughtfulness which is traditionally associated with that gifted family, they have perpetuated the memory of this holy priest, by commemorating the fact that his bones were laid to rest in their grave-plot :—"Here resteth the body of George Coigly, who departed this life in 1804, aged 82 years. His wife, Margaret Coigly, *alias* Johnston, in 1794, aged 72 years. Under this stone resteth the Rev. Philip Carr, who departed this life, January, 1800, 42 years. Ye, who trample on our ashes, pray for our souls." The hallowed precincts of the old scalan were extremely limited, and hence a narrow space was available. Thirty years had elapsed from the date of Father Carr's interment before the present graveyard was enclosed and consecrated, for, at the outer edge of the same old altar slab, we find inscribed :—"This grave-yard was given and walled in [To Rev. Dean Coigly ;

Donegal County Library Service

altera manu later] by the Right Honourable William Conyngham, at the expense of £20 9s. 6*d*."* Neither record nor tradition furnishes any clear evidence as to who was placed in charge of the parish in the interval preceding Father Mac Cullagh's induction. It was probably the Rev. Con Boyle, a native of the parish, and afterwards parish priest of Ardara. The Bishop, Dr. Coyle, was, at this period, old and feeble, and his coadjutor, Dr. Dillon, had been transferred to the see of Kilmore. Hence, when Dr. Mac Laughlin assumed the spiritual rulership of Raphoe, he found the diocese very sparsely supplied with clergy, and many important parishes, including Inver and Inniskeel, bereft of pastors. Four Derry priests accompanied him, and from these he selected Father Mac Goldrick for Inver, and Father Henry Mac Cullagh for Inniskeel. The last-named worthy clergyman was a most zealous and devoted priest, and to this day the old inhabitants of the parish narrate many edifying stories about Sagart Ban Mac Cullagh. He led a very simple life at Strabuoy, and was always to be seen moving about among his people. In his efforts to readjust the existing provisions for public worship, he found himself in conflict with Rory O'Donnell, of Glassagh, a local magnate, whose residence on the bank of the Glassagh river was just within the parish boundary In 1802, Father Mac Cullagh decided to transfer the place of assembly for Sunday Mass from the old site at Stranagappog, still marked by the ancient rude altar, to a more central spot near the Ballinamore school. O'Donnell objected, on the ground that the Stranagappog scalan was largely a chapel of ease, fixed mainly with a view to

* The dedication of the altar-slab to Dean Quigley's memory was incised by some inartistic friend, long after the Dean himself had got inscribed his tribute to the generosity of the Marquis.

Donegal County Library Service

the convenience of his family. Finding the *Sagart Ban* inflexible, he appealed to the Bishop, Dr. Mac Laughlin, who came on the ground and decided that the interests of the general population were paramount, and that Rory and his family were not the only folk to be considered. Finally, he consulted the Earl of Bristol, Protestant Bishop of Derry, whom he had met on the hunting field and at political gatherings of the Volunteers, as to the propriety of instituting proceedings in the High Courts of Law to enforce his imaginary rights. This Bishop's memorable answer is enshrined in terse Gaelic, and treasured with pride by the inhabitants of the Fintown district. It may be paraphrased thus :—"The law of the land cannot touch the sacred relations subsisting between a father and his children, between a teacher and his pupils, or between a pastor and his parishioners." This sapient epigram appears to have silenced the O'Donnell, and the scalan was erected near the embouchure of the brook that empties into the Fin to the east of the school, where it stood for about fifteen years. It was then replaced by a similar shelter behind the Constabulary barrack, in Fintown, which continued in use until the present church was constructed in 1834.

In 1816 Father Mac Cullagh convened an assembly of the inhabitants of the Fintown district, to select a small plot of ground to be fenced in and consecrated as a graveyard. The meeting took place in front of the new scalan; and, as there was manifested a great divergence of opinion among the gathered multitude, the *Sagart Ban* ordered one of the boys who stood near him to take a spade and test the nature and depth of the soil in the field right in front, bordering on Lough Finn. The digger soon threw up a human skull, and this astounding omen at once hushed the heated controversy. The landlord, Rev.

Donegal County Library Service

James Hamilton, of Brownhall, Ballintra, very graciously granted both the graveyard plot and the site for the church. Very soon after, in the same year 1816, the graveyard was consecrated by Dr. Mac Laughlin, and in few places was the need for one so glaringly patent.

Daniel Aeneas (properly Aenghus, or Nees) Coyle was ordained in 1833, and his first appointment was the curacy of Fintown. Soon after his arrival there, he addressed a touching and vehement appeal to the old Celtic spirit of the worshippers, one Sunday at the scalan, to build a church worthy of the Holy Sacrifice; and he concluded by asking, "Are there any men present who will help me with the work?" Mr. Brennan, of Shallogans, and Mr. Timony, of Meenataway, stepped to the front, and their fervid ardour fired the entire assembly. Within twelve months the structure was completed and solemnly opened for public worship. Till Father Magee's time hardly any addition or notable improvement was undertaken in this church, save the erection of a sacristy by Father Gallagher in 1858. For a decade of years following that date, Jeremiah O'Donnell, senior, and a few other important men, might be observed on a Sunday extracting from their pockets a newspaper to preserve their knees from the damp oozing out of the clay floor, and seats were unassociated with public prayer in the dreams of the good, unsophisticated worshippers. Father Magee first improved the sanctuary, then supplied a boarded floor, and eventually introduced seating accommodation. The beautiful high altar was also erected by this saintly pastor, but the side altars, extended sacristy, Stations of the Cross, and the grand bell are to be credited to the late Canon Mac Fadden, the expenses having been mainly liquidated by a generous benefactor, named Shane Mac Giolla Buidhe, or John Boyce, whose munificence is

Donegal County Library Service

commemorated by an Irish inscription on a brass plate attached to a wall in the sanctuary, meaning, "In lasting remembrance of John Mac Ilwee (or Boyce), Brisbane."

Monsignor Mac Glynn erected the parochial house in 1872, after he had lived, first, with Jamie Gallagher, in the Lodge, next with Peter Mac Geehan at the Millside, and lastly with Neddy Moy, in Meenagoland. The new accommodation was urgently needed for the convenience of both priest and people, but neither the site nor the plan of the building is above criticism. Heavey was Dr. Mac Devitt's architect, but here, in Lettermacaward, and in Glenswilly, his design lost sight completely of three important objects—comfort, elegance, and prospect. The one paramount desire of the flock was, however, effectively achieved, for the curate was thenceforth tied down to permanent residence in their midst.

George Quigley and his successor, Daniel Early, were both admitted to Maynooth on the same day, December the 15th, 1808, and both were registered as students of the Humanity class. The former, however, was the more brilliant, and, after his ordination in 1815, was appointed to the headship of the Seminary in Letterkenny. When Dr. Patrick Mac Gettigan was consecrated Bishop on the 17th of September, 1820, the Rev. George Quigley was curate of Conwal, but most probably he was also assisting in the classical department of the old Castle Street academy, in Letterkenny. After the death of the Rev. James Gallagher, P.P., Conwal, Father Quigley was constituted Administrator, and, in a short time, he was promoted to the important parish of Inniskeel, 1829. The next year, he was canonically appointed Dean, in succession to Dean Kerrigan of Stranorlar. At this initial stage of his pastorate he lived at Stracastle, and the clerical Conferences were, for the southern district, held alternately

Donegal County Library Service

at his residence there, and at Father Mac Goldrick's of Inver. It was under the progressive administration of this enlightened pastor that the Fintown church was erected, and the Glen cemetery walled in and consecrated in the year 1834. The last few years of his short but brilliant and fruitful life were passed in the well-known cottage to the south of the present parish church of Glenties, where he passed peacefully to his reward early in the spring of 1836. But his fame and his works survived: Dean Quigley will be always remembered as the most gifted and intellectual pastor who has at any time directed the spiritual advancement of Inniskeel.

Daniel Early was a parishioner, a neighbour, and a class-fellow of the Dean, and was promoted to the priesthood in the same year, 1815. The Registers do not enable us to trace his various appointments anterior to his promotion to Inniskeel parish in 1836; but his first mission was Lettermacaward, and his last prolonged curacy was Cloghaneely, where he had an immense territory under his charge, as there existed a great scarcity of clergy in those parts. At all times sympathetic and kind-hearted, this saintly pastor is best remembered in connection with the famine of 1846, when he saved many an impoverished family from starvation by spending his last shilling and soliciting funds to tide them over that frightful crisis. Having ridden to Fintown to celebrate Mass on November the 1st, 1852, he was seized with a fatal illness, but survived for some weeks; was conveyed to the house of his sister, Mrs. Furey, of Mullantiboyle, where he yielded up his pure soul to his Creator, on the 27th of December, 1852. The Rev. Daniel Furey, D.D., St. Eunan's College, is a grand-nephew.

His successor was the Rev. Patrick Gallagher, whose nobility of soul as of birth was reflected in his commanding

Donegal County Library Service

presence, his intellectual countenance, and his sonorous voice. A lineal descendant of the celebrated Sir Eoin O'Gallagher, Marshal and Biatach of Ballybeit, he was born at Ballynaglack, near Stranorlar, in 1800, and was exceptionally favoured in his upbringing and education. He matriculated in Maynooth, taking Rhetoric, in 1825, and received the order of priesthood in 1832 ; and spent his entire career as curate in the parish of Inver. He inserted a high altar in the western gable of the Frosses church, built an additional large apse, walled in a cemetery, and made other substantial improvements.

Possessing strong aristocratic predilections, fond of hunting and an adept angler, he was a very special friend of the Marquis of Conyngham and of the famous Sandy Montgomery, the latter being the Protestant rector of Inver as well as landlord of the Bonnyglen estate. His first meeting with the Marquis was quite accidental, both happening to be fishing simultaneously at the same pool in the Eany. Father Gallagher was very successful on the occasion, and noticing that the Marquis was in bad luck, he proffered his skilled assistance, and changed his fly as well as his fortune. Both in Inver and in Inniskeel he could obtain at once the grant of any reasonable request from the Conynghams ; and old Montgomery gave him the Cloverhill house for his residence, and accepted him as a tenant of the finest farm on his estate. Parenthetically, it may be remarked, as an illustration of the revolution in public opinion since those days, that the purchase was tainted with the dubious justice of recent evictions. And as history repeats itself, so does reliable tradition ; it is asserted, on equally credible testimony, that the farm he acquired in "The Wood" bore a tinge of the same unsavoury repute. Neither Father Gallagher, whose honour and uprightness were above suspicion, nor the

Donegal County Library Service

general public of the day, regarded these transactions as shady in the smallest degree, "sed tempora mutantur et nos mutamur cum illis." This powerful influence, which he possessed with the local squires, was one of the many arguments urged by Archdeacon Mac Cafferty in favour of his preferment to the parish of Inver, when Father Mac Goldrick died in 1849, but the old Bishop replied that justice claimed it for Dean Feely. No doubt, Father Gallagher was deeply disappointed, but never manifested the faintest symptom of chagrin. Three years after, he saw no cause to regret his temporary eclipse; in his appointment to Inniskeel his highest hopes of earthly happiness were realised, for the two ambitions of his life were ample work and a docile flock. The writer stood by his bed of sickness some few days before the end, and was an edified witness of his resignation and profound faith. In the presence of Dean Mac Fadden, his brother Eoin, and a few special friends, he uttered his last words of blessing, and breathed out his noble soul on the 6th of July, 1866.

Considerable as was the interval between the extinction of the Killymard Friary and Father Gallagher's pastorate, an interesting link of connection was made public at a clerical conference, held in Donegal chapel in 1860. Father Pat was discoursing, with his wonted volubility, on an intricate controversial point in theology, and was making copious quotations from Molina, when the Bishop asked him where he had found a copy of that rare work. "In Ward's of the Croaghs," he replied, "where the last of the monks from Killymard Friary used to spend his evenings when he came to say Mass in the Glen."

In all walks of life and in all professions there is a noticeable variety of character and conduct between

Donegal County Library Service

individual members, but it is questionable if any parallel could be found for the striking contrast, that made itself visible at every turn, between Father Magee and his predecessor. The latter was a brusque, loud-voiced, independent-looking, aristocratic clergyman, born to rule; the former was a shy, attractive, insinuating democrat, born to gain affection. Both were excellent pastors, but the transparent unselfishness and zeal of Father Magee stamped his image on the hearts of his flock, and his devotedness to his work left imperishable memorials in every corner of his vineyard. Churches and schools he loved and cared with inimitable devotion, and the temporal welfare of his people was an object of constant solicitude. He was an ideal pastor and a model man; and when death stealthily visited him, like a thief in the night, on November 13th, 1900, he might joyfully exclaim, with holy Simeon, "Now, O Lord, Thou dost dismiss Thy servant in peace."

The celebrated "Patriot Priest of Gweedore," the Rev. James Mac Fadden, was next parish priest of Inniskeel and the memory of his eventful life is still so fresh in the minds of the present generation that our immediate purpose demands nothing further than a recital of the most noted landmarks in his brilliant career. By birth, he was a kinsman both of the present illustrious Cardinal Logue and of the late Primate Mac Gettigan, and, like them, a nursling of Mevagh. His college curriculum in Maynooth was strewn with laurels, from start in the Humanity Class, 1863, till finish on the Dunboyne Establishment, in 1870. In January, 1871, he was invested with the order of priesthood by the late Primate, in Armagh, and appointed to the curacy of Lettermacaward, where he resided for about twelve months, at Doochary. At the end of that period, he was practically entrusted with

Donegal County Library Service

charge of the entire parish, as the old pastor was feeble and bedridden, until Father Hugh Mac Fadden's promotion to Drumhome had created a vacancy in Gweedore, during the summer of 1873. For the first two years he was Administrator, and Gweedore was constituted a mensal parish ; then, after the death of Dean Feely, the more lucrative parish of Inver was appropriated by the Bishop, and Father Mac Fadden was raised to the pastorate of Gweedore in 1875. His gigantic struggles against landlord tyranny, and his brilliant efforts in the political field, are pretty exhaustively described in Part II of this work. A warrant had been issued for Father Mac Fadden's arrest under a Coercion Act aimed at the suppression of the Land League, in consequence of a speech delivered by him at a monster meeting of tenants in Derryart, Dunfanaghy, towards the close of the year 1888. He celebrated the public Mass in Derrybeg church on Sunday, February the 3rd, 1889, and, as he emerged in his soutane and cap, from the parochial church, while the congregation had not dispersed, an insane attempt was made to capture him. The scuffle lasted a considerable time, and created such a frenzied outburst of indignant rage that the District-Inspector, Martin, who clutched and clung to the priest's soutane, was done to death by a blow of a paling on the head, at the very door of the parochial house. The object of their search then delivered himself up to the Constabulary, and was dragged off to Derry Jail. Three most respectable men were arraigned on the charge of murder, and one in particular, Jack Gallagher, was subjected to the ordeal of three consecutive trials at Maryborough, owing to "split" juries, on this odious accusation. Peter the Packer, then Attorney-General, despairing of a verdict in his favour, at length abandoned the prosecution. His first imprisonment was

Donegal County Library Service

not so tragic in its surroundings, but was also dramatic and ill-timed. In January, 1888, this fearless champion of the people's rights was quietly walking down one of the streets of Armagh, on the day of Primate Mac Gettigan's Month's Memory, when three policemen seized upon him, and thrust him into prison. On this occasion, Father Stephens was a fellow-prisoner for three months.

But by far the most exciting and tragic episode of his eventful life was the sudden and complete flooding of the Derrybeg church, while he was engaged in the celebration of Mass, on the 15th of August, 1880. The entire body of the church was in a moment transfigured into a pond, from five to eight feet deep, and in the panic five precious lives were lost. A Mass-server, son of Shane Ferry, was caught by his soutane being clenched in the sacristy door by the inrush of the deluge, and held until he was asphyxiated. To the present day individuals who were present shudder when they recall some heart-rending incidents ; but the celebrant proceeded quite calmly, and at last mounted the altar-table, having finished the Mass.

However, public sympathy was awakened, and ample funds poured in for the diversion of the river and the renovation of the building. This visitation had supervened on the partial famine caused by the failure of the potato crop in 1879, and the poverty of Gweedore had been well advertised. That Father Mac Fadden was an ideal administrator of a parish was never admitted by the Gweedore people in his absence, for they always pointed to the rocky spink he purchased to be converted by some inconceivable miracle to serve as a graveyard, and to the beautiful plots of parochial property he sold to Daniel O'Donnell. But that "he was the law in Gweedore," was never open to question.

In the autumn of 1896, he volunteered his services as a

Donegal County Library Service

collector for the Cathedral building fund in America, and, being a man of big ideas, he sought, and exercised, unhampered discretion to traverse the States "from Sandy Hook to Golden Gate." Self-abasement was not one of his virtues, but self-sacrifice undoubtedly was; he laboured hard, and held earthly gain in utter contempt. Like Father John Doherty and Monsignor Walker, he received notification of his promotion to a most important parish while he was still in the States, on his second tour, in 1900.

During his arduous pastorate of seventeen years in Glenties, he effected vast improvements and exhibited conspicuous evidences of his progressive and apostolic zeal. An obdurate prohibitionist, he waged an aggressive war against alcoholic consumption "on or off the premises," and he was a confirmed disciple of St. Conal Caol in enforcing the observance of Sunday. His princely generosity in furnishing the Union chapel so gorgeously for the nuns, deserves special record; and, naturally, he expected that the parishioners would be equally open-handed in their benefactions towards the worthy housing of their clergy. He built a palatial residence for the pastor, and trusted to Providence, to his flock, and to chance for funds to liquidate the enormous expenditure. After a very brief illness, and to the consternation and genuine regret of all who knew him, he was called to his eternal reckoning on St. Patrick's Day, 1917. May he rest in peace.

Father Pat Gallagher built the present Glenties church in 1858, Hugh Maguire, Assistant Surveyor, being the architect. The older of the two scalans in the graveyard dates from the dispersion of the monks of Magherabeg in 1609, and for more than 120 years after was continuously conducted under the management of that scattered

Donegal County Library Service

community. Kilkenny, or the church of St. Cainech, was the chief centre of worship down to 1609, when it was forcibly annexed by the plundering Planters. In 1752, Dr. Pococke designates it a Protestant chapel-of-ease; and, as he does not disparage the structure by saying it was thatched, as he describes the Templecrone building, we may infer that it was roofed with Boylagh slates. It continued to be used for Protestant service until the Glenties church was erected for that purpose in 1825, but Lewis is obviously wrong in stating that the "Catholic parish is co-extensive with the Protestant," since the Order in Council of 1829 readjusted the boundaries; and it is equally evident that he was either ignorant or oblivious of the fact that two Protestant churches exist, one at Narin and one at Glenties, both of which are coeval.

That St. Cainech was identical with the patron of Ossory is more than probable, for his association with Columba in Clonard and in Iona, and the meagre facts known to us of his early life, are suggestive and confirmatory of the assumption that he founded a monastery here. This famous saint was born in Kianacht, near Dungiven, in 517, and next to Baithen was Columba's most intimate and favoured companion. While Columba was founding monasteries in all parts of Tirconaill, St. Canice settled down in the neighbourhood of Conal Caol's celebrated monastery, to prepare himself and his disciples for their projected mission among the Scottish Picts. "Eighty-four years was his age when he sent his spirit to heaven, A.D. 598," says O'Clery in the *Donegal Martyrology*, at his feast-day, the 11th of October, but he is careful to add, "There are three other Cainechs, and we know not of which of them Cuimin's quatrain contains the praises." O'Hanlon does not assign him any church or

Donegal County Library Service

local habitation in Donegal; but, in all the lives of this great saint about a score of years are unaccounted for, and during that time he lived and prayed on this sloping hillside over the Gweebarra.

It is worthy of notice that the herenach lands attached to St. Canice's first great foundation at Drumachose, are designated in the Limavady Inquisition * of 1609, Termonconny, a name strongly reminiscent of Killacanny, the old abbey and long disused cemetery at Ardlogher. But this obliterated *reilig* has been always associated with St. Mochonna of Dromboe, the brother of St. Mura of Fahan, and not with St. Canice.

The old Glenties church, as we have seen, was built by the Rev. Constantine O'Donnell in 1795, replacing a temporary shelter or scalan on the same site. Dr. Coyle's report to the Primate, in 1795, establishes the disappearance of the friars, even at that date, who had continuously ministered to the spiritual needs of the people in the Big Glen, and retained a central habitation on the edge of Lough Eske in Killymard. In that document he explicitly states that there remained only two working friars, one, a Dominican, whose activities were divided between Killaghtee and Glencolumbkille, as occasion demanded, and the other a Franciscan, who functioned chiefly in Doe, and occasionally in Mevagh. Father Mac Cullagh allowed the old scalan in the Glen to remain unchanged; it was Dean Quigley, who built the newer, though not much more modern-looking scalan, on the western side of the cemetery. The inscriptions on the altar-slab demonstrate this fact beyond question; but others serve an infinitely more useful purpose, for they record indelibly the names of the pastors and the exact dates at which they, respectively, passed to their last account :—

* See Derry Memoir, 219.

Donegal County Library Service

"Sub hoc tumulo jacent reliquiae Rev. Domini Henrici Mac Cullagh, Pastoris de Inniskeel, qui obiit die 20 Maii, 1829, annos natus 66." His age would appear to show that he was already matured in the work of the ministry, when he accompanied Dr. Mac Laughlin from the diocese of Derry into his new sphere of jurisdiction in Raphoe. He lived in Strabuoy, where, among the many traditions still retailed about the *Sagart Ban*, as he was called, it is said that in 1825, when the Sadlier Bank collapsed, and when gold was at a premium, he buried in the earth, for the sake of security, the few gold coins he possessed. He failed, however, to mark the spot of deposit; and the poor old man was sometimes observed in the morning twilight vainly turning up the soil with a spade, in earnest quest of the little treasure.

It speaks volumes for the healthful atmosphere of the place that, as far as can be ascertained, only two curates died in the parish for the past century and a quarter, and that one of the parish priests, who died there, had attained the overdue limit of 105 years. The Rev. Michael Mac Dermott was a native of the Glen of Glenties, and obtained many distinctions in Maynooth College, where he matriculated in 1820, passing for the Rhetoric Class. His first appointment was a temporary curacy, as an assistant to Father Early, senior, in Killymard, 1827, thence he was removed to Conwal. In 1834 he was again changed to Clondahorky; in 1836 to Taughboyne; in 1841 to Clondavaddog; and in 1853 to Glencolumbkille. Five years later his health gave way, and he died in the house of Patrick Mac Dermott, Lacklea, on Palm Sunday, 1858.

The Rev. Michael Gallagher was a member of a gifted family in Kilraine, and showed considerable talent in Rome, where he received priesthood in 1900. His first

Donegal County Library Service

six years following were devoted to teaching in the old Seminary. In 1906 he was appointed to the Downstrands curacy, where his services were so highly appreciated that the parishioners presented him with a valuable testimonial on the occasion of his transfer to Fanad in 1912. In this latter parish his health had been indifferent from the start, but he made an heroic effort to celebrate Mass on Sundays, and to fulfil important engagements. In 1917, he was promoted to the curacy of Fintown, but, as the fatal malady was rapidly gaining way, he succumbed on the 27th of February, 1918.

Dr. John Mac Devitt, at one time prominent in the ecclesiastical circles in Dublin and in his native diocese, was an elder brother of the Bishop, Dr. James Mac Devitt, and his close companion during life. When the Bishop died on the 5th of January, 1879, his surviving brother, then a professor in All Hallows College, immediately set about writing his biography, and produced a work filled with affectionate and laudatory recollections and quotations, but absolutely barren of dates and facts that could be of any utility whatever in the compilation of history. He loved and idolised his brother, the Bishop, and he paid a loving, but transient, tribute to his memory. He does not even inform his readers that his father was Dainey or Daniel Mac Devitt, Hotel-keeper, Glenties, and his mother a member of the Glassagh family of the O'Donnells, lineal descendants of the Calvagh stock. Both brothers received their classical education, first, at an unpretentious academy in Drumbigh, near Mountcharles, and later in Glenties, whither they had invited the teacher, Patrick Mac Goldrick, to transfer his classes, in 1848. Two years after, James entered Maynooth, matriculating in Humanity, and John was admitted to the Irish College in Rome. The curriculum was shorter

Donegal County Library Service

in the latter institution, and John, already honoured with the Doctorate of Divinity and promoted to the priesthood, volunteered as chaplain to the Papal Zouaves early in 1857.

Returning to the diocese, he was appointed to a curacy in Convoy in 1859, but, before he had given twelve months' service on the mission, he secured a more congenial appointment as Junior Dean and Librarian in the Catholic University. After his brother was promoted to the bishopric, some two or three years, he became a professor in All Hallows. Besides his college labours, he devoted his energies, with great industry and assiduity, to literary work. Dr Moran received from him very valuable assistance in the compilation of his copious annotations to Archdall's *Monasticon*. While he was engaged in the University, he wrote extensive notes on the antiquities of the Jews, etc., and published them some years after, when in All Hallows, in a handsome volume, entitled *An Introduction to Sacred Scriptures*, on the lines of Dr. Dixon's much-prized work. Again, in 1895, he published a booklet dealing with the question of the "Validity of Anglican Orders," but its appearance was anticipated by half-a-dozen learned pamphlets, that left nothing further to be said on the subject. He also republished, with additions, the Bishop's *Donegal Highlands*, and, finally, wrote the afore-mentioned biography of his deceased brother. In 1895 he retired from All Hallows, but, feeling unhappy in his solitude, he transferred his books to Dean Wood's Seminary, in Blackburn, prepared to give his services gratuitously to that missionary institution. His constitution could no longer stand the strain ; returning, he was fondly cared in his tedious illness, to which he finally succumbed on the 27th of May, 1901.

The continuous output of distinguished ecclesiastics for

Donegal County Library Service

the past century and a half, is an infallible index of the high standard of education maintained in this parish during all that time, and never so uniformly promising as at the present moment. A religious brotherhood is soon to be introduced into Glenties; the Mercy Nuns there are to be secured an attractive home and improved school equipment; and technical education is to be established on a basis and with an endowment that guarantee both efficiency and permanency. This brilliant outlook is the creation of the beneficent disposition of their vast wealth, by the late Hugh and Charles Mac Devitt, whose deaths, a few years ago, were separated from each other by a very short interval. They were Inniskeel men by birth and blood; they were debtors to Inniskeel patronage for the bulk of their huge hoard; and they were at all times determined that the main beneficiaries should be the Inniskeel posterity.

But, more than half a century ago, Inniskeel could boast of its flourishing schools and premier teachers. Mr. Mac Caffrey, of Ballinamore, and Mr. Fisher, of Meenacross, held a prominent rank in the very forefront of their profession, and they were by no means the only remarkable and successful teachers in the parish, even in those days of dismal discouragement. Quite as eminent men filled the places they vacated—Sir Francis Gallagher, Mr Mac Dwyer, Mr. Mac Loone, Mr. Boyle, etc. It must, however, be admitted that there existed a deplorable dearth of suitable educational buildings down to the advent of Father Magee to the parish, in 1866. In a few years after, he constructed five splendid schools in the districts hitherto neglected, and in staffing and equipment left nothing to be desired.

Responding to a noble impulse of pure evangelical zeal, the Rev. Edward O'Doherty, in the early summer

Donegal County Library Service

of 1919, abandoned the home mission in Inniskeel "to become an exile for Christ's sake" in darkest China. The abruptness of his departure sent a thrill of poignant sorrow through the hearts of the devoted flock; and though the political fever had developed a high temperature, men and women, boys and girls, Sinn Féiners and Hibernians, all rushed with undistinguishable eagerness to lay some little offering at his feet, to aid him in his perilous mission of gaining to Christ the darkened souls of the "heathen Chinee." His fellow-clergy felt the parting very keenly, but admiration was their dominating feeling. "Beati pedes evangelisantium pacem, evangelisantium bona."

Born in Fanad, in 1879, brother of the Rev. Dr. O'Doherty, P.P., Carrick, and of Father Daniel O'Donnell, or, as he is known in religion, Brother Columba, of the Cistercian Order, Mount Melleray, he read a distinguished course, both in his Intermediate studies in Letterkenny, and still more so in his theological curriculum at Maynooth. He received priesthood at the hands of the Most Rev. Dr. Henry, in St. Malachy's College, Belfast, on the 21st of December, 1903, and proceeded at once to take charge of the exclusively Catholic island of Arranmore, assisting, also, the clergy on the mainland, whenever such assistance was needed. Somewhat more than five years later, he was transferred to Kilcar, mainly with a view to the utilisation of his enthusiastic activities in the effort to raise funds for the contemplated building of a grand church in that circumscribed and not very opulent parish. While he was curate of Kilcar, he was mostly to be found appealing from the pulpits, or climbing the stairs of the sky-scrapers, in Chicago or Philadelphia. When his brother was promoted to the parish of Aughnish, in 1912, Father Edward succeeded him in

Donegal County Library Service

Lettermacaward, and, after the lamented death of the former in 1917, he was promoted to his last curacy, in Glenties. May the Patron of Tirconaill, the great Columba himself, guide and protect our missionary exiles.

Parish Priests

1420. Murrogh Breslin.
1442. Bishop Laurence O'Gallagher II.
1444. Maolmuire O'Breslin.
1580. Bishop Nial O'Boyle.
1630. Patrick O'Donnell (S.P. 1621).
1704. Daniel Tighe.
1737. Conal Canon Mac Laughlin.
1780. Constantine O'Donnell.
1797. Philip Carr.
1802. Henry Mac Cullagh.
1829. George Quigley, Dean
1836. Daniel Early.
1852. Patrick Gallagher.
1866. Daniel Magee.
1900. James Canon Mac Fadden.
1917. Christopher Cunningham.

Curates

1755. Philip Carr.
1790. Con O'Boyle.
1802. Anthony Coyle.
1809. John Brennan.
1816. Charles Mac Laughlin.
1823. Bernard O'Donnell.
1825. Hugh O'Kerrigan.
1828. George Quigley.
1829. Michl. Mac Dermott.
1833. Daniel Coyle.
1837. John Boyce.
1839. John O'Donnell.
1848. Michael Boyle.
1858. Hugh Mac Fadden.
1866. Charles Mac Glynn.
1874. Daniel Mac Gettigan.
1877. Bernard Walker.
1878. James Gallagher.
1879. Edward Gibbons.
1887. Hugh Kerr.
1888. James Murray.
1888. Henry Mac Shane.
1900. John Mac Ateer.
1905. Charles Kennedy.
James Mac Shane.
Charles Boyce.
1908. Art O'Friel.
1913. Christopher Cunningham.
1916. Andrew Logue.
Michael Gallagher.
1917. Edward O'Doherty.
1918. Edward J. Mullen.
1920. Thomas Mulloy, D.Ph.

Donegal County Library Service

Donegal County Library Service

INVER.

TURAS, MOUNT CHARLES.

Donegal County Library Service

CHAPTER XXIII

Parish of Inver

"There was a King named Aongus Mac Nadfraich who held the sovereignty of Munster. And one night his wife had a vision, in which she perceived that she was heavy and great with child, and that she brought forth a whelp and bathed him in new milk. And to what place soever that whelp went thenceforward, the place was straightway filled with new milk. The Queen told her vision to the King, and the King himself interpreted the vision, and said: 'Thou shalt bear a son and he shall be baptised in the graces of God, and he shall become a saint sowing the Word of God, and preaching it in every place whither he goeth throughout Erin. For Padraic assured me when I gave him my seat, Cashel of Munster, that thou shouldst bear me a son, and that he should be a very holy man.'

"And thereafter the wife of the King of Munster did bear a son, and an angel from God bade the priest who baptised him to give him the name Naail. And when that royal boy was grounded in knowledge and learning, an angel came to him and told him to go to the Master Cleric of all the Western World and the Guardian of faith and piety, to wit, Columbkille, the son of Felimidh. And he bade him to follow the counsel of Columbkille, till death, and obtain land from him whereon to build a dwelling and a church in which to praise God. Then went Naail with a company of clerics in his fellowship to seek Columbkille. And Columbkille was at that time in a place now called Inver-Naaile, in the territory of the clan

Donegal County Library Service

of Conal Gulban, and the saints of Leith Coinn in his fellowship ; and he prophesied and said : 'There shall come to us this day a holy man, to wit, Naail, son of the King of Munster, with angels of God in his fellowship ; and I shall give him this land, and we two shall bless it, and from him it shall have its name for ever.'

"And that prophecy of Columbkille was fulfilled, which is to say, Naail came to him that day ; and it was clear to Columbkille and to his holy companions that angels of God were with the holy youth as he approached him. And Columbkille made him welcome and kissed him ; and Naail fell on his knees before Columbkille, and asked him where he should get land whereon to build a dwelling and a church in which he might praise God, as we have stated before. 'In this very place,' said Columbkille, and he granted to Naail to make a dwelling there ; and Inver-Naaile is its name from that day.

"It were a subject of shame to Naail that Columbkille and his saints should be without food, seeing that they had given him a site for a monastery and it were a subject of shame to Columbkille that Naail should be without food the first night he had come to him. And they put the sea under bonds to send to land enough fish to meet their wants so that it filled the strand in front of them with fish. And they then gathered as much of the sand as seemed ample, and blessed it, and it was made flour. So that Columbkille and Naail and their saints had abundance of flour and fish that night, and God's name, and Columbkille's, and Naail's were magnified thereby." *

The feast of St. Naail occurs on the 27th of January, and, at that day, the *Donegal Martyrology* contains the following biographical notes :—"He was the son of

* *Beatha Col.* par. 141.

Donegal County Library Service

Aenghus, son of Nadfraech, son of Corc, son of Lughsaidh, and Eithne, daughter of Crimhthann Cosgrach, was his mother, according to his own Life. It was to him God gave water from the hard stony rock, when great thirst had seized himself and Meadhog of Ferns, and the monks of both, when he made a distant cast of his staff at the hard, stony rock, so that a stream of pure spring water gushed therefrom. This spring is still to be seen at Killenaul, according to Naail's own Life, chapter x. The *Life of Columbkille*, chapter x., states that Naail came into the presence of Columbkille, for the first time, at the Inver, and that Columbkille and Naail blessed the place, and that it is from Naail the church has been henceforth named Invernaail.'

A holy well on the steep sloping seaside at Fanaghan has been traditionally associated with this miracle, and was once the centre of a great annual pilgrimage. Even in recent times, this Well was invariably decorated with silk and linen bandages of varying colours, removed from sores that had been healed there ; and a few stout butts of walking sticks attested the miraculous cures of leg ailments. For the past quarter of a century, the fame of this well has been rapidly declining, and the number of visitors steadily dwindling down to negligible dimensions. There is a second Well of St Naail, claiming no miraculous efficacy, but yielding delightful, limpid waters, on Ardaghy hill, hear Lugnaail, where the saint is supposed to have located his granary or "grange." Aenghus, the Saint's father, was the celebrated King of Munster, who, on the occasion of his baptism at the hands of St. Patrick, had his foot perforated by St Patrick's crozier, without uttering a murmur or showing any symptom of discomfort. When St Patrick pleaded inadvertence and healed the wound, Aenghus merely smiled, and said he thought

Donegal County Library Service

the boring through his foot was a part of the ceremony. In his *own* Life, as O'Clery designates that manuscript, Natalis is described as a brother of Molaise of Devenish, but this is an obvious error. He was successor of Molaise, and left Inver on the death of the latter saint, in 563, but must have been intimately associated long before with both Devenish and Kinauly, for he died in 564. Near the ruins of Kinauly church is a remarkable well, known as Tobair Naaile, and it is to this well O'Clery alludes in the extract given above. O'Hanlon's *Life* of the Saint is deeply interesting, but, as Colgan acknowledges his inability to disentangle the shreds of stories woven by different writers into conflicting narratives regarding two saints named Nathalis or Naal, we content ourselves with the reproduction of thoroughly well-authenticated facts and references, taken directly from original sources.

O'Clery would appear to have been much better acquainted with the traditional lore of Kilnawly than with that of Inver. In the district surrounding the old abbey of St. Naul, many of the old people used to recount the story of this alleged miracle, and associated with it "the Bishop of Wexford and his young students." Of course, they realised its patent improbability, seeing that the Fanaghan Well was quite convenient to the abbey, and that fresh water exists in the neighbourhood in average quantity. Hence, they were constrained to recognize the stronger claims of another well to this miraculous origin. At Bawan, some few miles north of Killybegs on the Kilcar frontier, there is a famous well known from remotest antiquity as St. Naal's Well, and, as it is a long weary distance from Inver, the two saints and their disciples would naturally be fatigued and thirsty when they had accomplished the journey. The Patron Saint

Donegal County Library Service

of Inver is not associated with this remote locality by any other link. Hence, the well must have been blessed, if it was not called into existence, by the great Saint whose name it bears.

About 1460, the Franciscans founded a monastery on the same site, and established an auxiliary house in Dysart, which Hugh Roe endowed with a small estate. Here, the sick monks and those devoted to literary work were accommodated, in ideal surroundings. The graveyard is now very rarely resorted to for funerals, but clay taken from beneath the altar is sometimes used for the strange purpose of banishing rats. The small detachment of the Inver community of monks residing here, was not dispersed for some time after 1609; for it was here the aged Bishop, Nial Boyle, prepared himself for the final ordeal, and received the last summons on the 6th of February, 1611.

This little estate was purchased by the late Daniel Mac Devitt, J.P., Glenties, in 1870, and was among the very first sold under the 1903 Land Purchase Act. At the time of sale, the late Hugh Mac Devitt was the landlord, and the terms were very satisfactory to the tenants. He had already given an all-round reduction of eight shillings in the pound, and the purchase was effected on the basis of twenty years reduced rental, the current year's rent and all arrears being cancelled. Another interesting point in connection with the estate was a small freehold farm with a comfortable slated house that had been long used as a school. Here the Hibernian Bible Society had established a proselytising centre, but never was even one child or grown-up captured from the Catholic fold. Paddie Furey presided over the academy down to the year 1854, when he resigned the position, and engaged in the liquor and auctioneer lines in Donegal.

Donegal County Library Service

In the school he simply taught the three R's in a very elementary way, but, once in the winter of each year, he made a circuit of the neighbouring houses, and warned the scholars—who, in most cases, had never visited the school—to prepare the spelling of two words each, for the approaching annual examination. The Inspector was a still more consummate hypocrite, for he was obliged to demonstrate the genuineness of his "rescue from Rome" by eating beef on a Friday. It is very doubtful if the dregs of this abomination have been completely washed out, even at the present day. No doubt, all traces have disappeared in this district; but a recrudescence has been repeatedly detected elsewhere, from time to time. It is no wonder that some of the old pious priests denounced the teaching of Irish, seeing that it was a mere device to secure capitation fees for fictitious perversions.

Dysart is situated within the limits of the historic Gleneany, which spreads out like an elliptical amphitheatre beneath the delightful plateau, on which the monastery stood. "There is a very remarkable valley in this parish," writes O'Donovan, "which I find mentioned by the *Four Masters* under the years 1562, 1564, and 1616." * The entry at this last date ought to be assigned to 1611, and actually appears in its correct place, in O'Donovan's own inimitable edition of the *Annals*, as well as in Connellan's:—"Niall O Boyle, Bishop of Raphoe, died at Gleann Eidhnighe on the 6th of February, and was interred in Innis Caoil." This persecuted prelate had been imprisoned by the English, Lynch tells us, in 1597; during Red Hugh's campaigns he was driven from his manor in Killybegs to the secluded castle of Kiltoorish; and, after the Cahir O'Doherty *debacle*, he came to make his peace with God, in the pure

* Donegal, Oct. 23rd, 1835.

Donegal County Library Service

atmosphere of Carnaween, ministered to by the holy Franciscans. The following letter of O'Donovan is interesting, but not very elucidating :—

"DONEGAL, *October 25th*, 1835.

"DEAR SIR,

"St. *Naalis* is yet remembered as the patron of the parish of *Inver*, and I think his name should be postfixed to it as well as in Kimwaley in Fermanagh, of which he is likewise the patron. In an Inquisition taken at Lifford, in the 7th of James I., it appears that the Jurors did, "upon their oaths say and present that in the saide Baronie is also the parish of *Enivernale* containing in all three Ballybetaghs, whereof half a quarter is Churchland, and is now in the possession of the Bishop of Raphoe, and that the usual rent thereof is fiftie meathers of butter and thirteen shillings and foure pence Irish in monie, etc.

"There is a pool at Inver Bay (into which cattle are driven to remove some diseases) yet retaining the name of this Saint, and also a Townland called Lag-Naile. The following is nearly all that Colgan could collect about his life :—

"There are not wanting other very weighty testimonies of the great sanctity of St. Natalis or Naalis, and the solemn veneration formerly paid to him in different parts of this kingdom. For some of our menologies relate that he, by merit, derived the fountain of his faith from the rock, and that he is venerated on the 27th January, with solemn festivity and the honour due to a patron, at three places where he discharged the offices of abbot. These places, are the church of *Inber-Naile*, in the country of Tir-connell, the church of Kill-Naile, in the territory of Breffny (rather Fermanagh), and the monastery of Damhinis, in the government of which he is said to have

Donegal County Library Service

succeeded St. Molassius. He was the son of Aengus, King of Munster, and of Ethnea, the daughter of Crimthan, King of Leinster. Were I so goodly born I would not become a monk; but, perhaps, he preferred quietness to eternal war, such as his father and brothers were engaged in, and the government of Devenish was considered, in those days, a distinguished office."

The story about the cattle being driven into the Church pool, as it is called, was never told O'Donovan in the form it assumes under his pen, by the natives of the place. When Columba was blessing the north side of the river, on which the monastery was to be erected, he prayed that no plague might ever cross the Eany. Hence, in the case of widespread havoc among cattle from any communicative disease, the threatened herd were sometimes driven, or made to swim, across the river. Though the superstition is long extinct, the memory of it very faintly survives. His translation of Colgan's description of the alleged miracle is unpardonably erroneous; "the fountain of his faith" is grotesque. The passage ought to be rendered thus:—"By the merit of his faith, he drew a fountain from the rock."

There can hardly be any question entertained regarding the pagan origin of the cluster of monuments at Killian. The imperfect cromleacs, of which there are three, and the huge dimensions of the other gravestones, confirm the tradition that giants sleep here. Thomas C. Mac Ginley gives a most fascinating narrative of the frightful prowlings of the ghastly pooka, that occasionally emerged in the twilight from this weird morgue of unregenerated warriors. In bygone days these precincts were the usual receptacle for the bodies of children who died without baptism, but there is no vestige of a church here in

Donegal County Library Service

existing ruins, history, or tradition. The topography is obvious; for Killian means a "small cemetery."

Nor is there any discoverable evidence that a graveyard existed in Dysart before the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Franciscans founded a branch house on that picturesque mountain slope. The meagre dimensions of the plot employed for interments, the absence of monuments, and the prairie appearance of the surroundings, all point to the comparatively modern origin and unimportance of this neglected burial-place. It is a common practice on the part of the inhabitants to kneel for a few minutes in prayer at the altar, when they are passing that way.

On the other hand, the Inver graveyard is extremely circumscribed, but absolutely devoid of ancient monuments. No doubt, the sandy soil supplies an explanation of the absence of mounds and of the disproportion of the space to the accumulation of human remains. But the conclusion is irresistible that the Abbey grounds in Donegal contain the bones of the O'Donnells, O'Boyles, and O'Gallaghers, while the Mac Swines were laid to rest in Killaghtee and Ballysaggart. Thomas Nesbitt, of Kilmacredan, famous inventor * of the gun-harpoon for killing whales, is here interred, 1801.

The Lettermore Graveyard

An aggregation of pillar-stones, resembling the headstones sometimes seen in a small crowded cemetery, forms a picturesque and puzzling feature of the landscape on the northern side of Gleneany. From time immemorial this conspicuous unenclosed plot has been locally known as Lettermore Graveyard, but never used for interments,

* *Young's Tour in Ireland*, i. 176.

Donegal County Library Service

even of unbaptised children. The tradition that a battle was fought in the neighbourhood was quite vivid a quarter of a century ago, but was tainted by the anachronism that the event took place in Cromwell's time, the Catholic army suffering a calamitous defeat. This excrescence on the original story was attributable to the historical fact that the Marquis of Clanricarde was dislodged from the Castle of Donegal after a few weeks' occupation of Red Hugh's chief fortress in 1651, and the O'Boyles permanently driven from Boyle's Town, or Ballyweel, into the bogs of Gleneany.

Neither does this interesting cluster of monoliths possess the sacredness of any real or supposed religious association; no ruins and no vestiges in traditional lore suggest the existence here of church or monastery. And yet succeeding generations have always regarded these memorials as marking the scene of some dark tragedy, or wholesale slaughter, which the silence of history, tradition, or legend stamps as inimical to the interests and pride of the native rulers.

The present writer has no hesitation in affirming his settled conviction that the two most conspicuous of the artificially upraised stones were there erected in memory of the two important chiefs of the Mac Swines, who were slain, with many of their followers, during the raid, in 1564, organised by Hugh O'Donnell of Ramelton against Calvagh, his kinsman and rival. Shane the Proud was at the head of the invading army, and, having captured the Castle and having taken Calvagh's son, Con, prisoner, he ravaged Tir Boghaine. The Mac Swines collected all their available forces, and opposed his progress, selecting this vantage ground for a trial of strength. But Shane's army was strongly reinforced by the adherents of Red Hugh's father, as well as by the Ramelton contingent,

Donegal County Library Service

and the Mac Swines suffered a crushing defeat. "Con O'Donnell and the sons of Hugh Buoy," write the annalists, "proceeded to demolish the tower in which Hugh, the son of Hugh Dubh, was; and they took no notice of anything until very numerous hosts had poured into the town (of Donegal), and around it in every direction. These are they who were there: John O'Neill and Hugh, the son of Manus O'Donnell, with their forces, which were very great and numerous (who had come hither) after having heard that Calvagh was on his way from Dublin, and that these other relatives were at strife with each other. Con, the son of Calvagh, was taken prisoner here, on the 14th of May; and marauding parties of O'Neill's army went forth through Tir-Boghaine (Banagh) and slew the son of the Mac Swiney, that is Maolmuire Meirgeach, son of Maolmuire, son of Niall (Mor), at Glean-Eidhnighe, and Hugh Meirgeach, son of John, and many others along with them." Presently we shall endeavour to show that another disastrous battle was fought in this neighbourhood, and it may very possibly be objected that it might well have been the bones of the O'Boyles slain in that fratricidal strife, that rest beneath the boulders here erected to mark their graves. But there is not a scintilla of evidence to show that any such custom existed among the O'Boyles; whereas the Mac Swines unquestionably placed large erect gravestones over the remains of their departed chiefs. No doubt they had witnessed in Scotland the widely practised ceremony of erecting huge crosses over the spot where clerics or warriors had fallen; but, being a martial race, they attended more to the solidity than to the religious character of the monument. The two beautifully carved slabs in the Doe Franciscan cemetery and in St. Catharine's Church, Killybegs, respectively, display military emblems

Donegal County Library Service

and family devices very abundantly, but the emblem of redemption is conspicuous by its absence.

The most convincing argument to prove that it was the Mac Swines who were slaughtered here, is the resemblance between these upright monuments and the pillars that stand out with equal prominence, but at much greater distances from one another, in the vicinity of the old Castle of the Mac Swines of Banagh at Rathain. But surely none of their chiefs were slain in sight of the family fortress? Several, as many at least as there are monoliths to mark their graves. We take the following example from the *Four Masters*:—"1535. Mac Sweeney of Tir Boghaine, Maolmuire Mor, the son of Niall, was treacherously slain by his own brother Niall, at the door of Mac Sweeney's Castle of Rathain, on the festival of Saints Peter and Paul." Again, at 1550, we find a less revolting but more disastrous slaughter recorded in three pregnant sentences:—"Mac Sweeney Banagh was slain at Mac Sweeney's town by the clan Coilin and the clan Coinnegein (both Scotch). Rory Ballagh, the son of Owen Roe Mac Sweeney, requested O Donnell to give him the lordship of Tir Boghaine, and, as he did not obtain it, he went to Killybegs and totally burned that town. He was slain three months after by Maolmuire, son of Hugh, on the 31st of March." These few quotations by no means exhaust the list of recorded tragedies enacted at Rathain, but they are amply sufficient to justify the conclusion that each of the pillars marks the grave of a Mac Swine chief done to death by violence.

About forty years ago, a large number of bones were dug up in the adjacent valley, and some pike heads have been unearthed from time to time in the neighbourhood.

Civilisation had attained its utmost development, and the arts an enviable fame in Inver, for ages before the

Donegal County Library Service

Saxon plunderer planted his desecrating foot on the hallowed preserves of St. Naul, as the following extracts evidence :—

"A mysterious discovery was made in the parish of Inver during the year 1845, towards the clearing up of which there is no clue, by record or tradition.

"A man, in paring a bog, situated on the side of a hill, with the intention of enabling his barrow to run freely over it, found the body of a lady lying six inches below the surface; ten feet depth of bog having been previously cut away on the spot. There was a black silk mantilla on the body when found, precisely suitable to the present fashion, which had a quilled ribbon trimming all round, with a hood attached, the string being still in the latter; the shoes had high wooden heels; the shoe buckles were very large and massive, composed of solid silver, and weighing upwards of three ounces. The hair was profuse and beautiful, and, it is conjectured, that at the time of her death, she was from eighteen to twenty-five years of age. What adds to the mystery is, the great probability that at the remote period when the costume she had on was usually worn, the part of the country where the body was found was uninhabited. An investigation was immediately held upon the remains, but nothing conclusive as to the manner or time of death could be ascertained.

"These relics are in the possession of Thomas Brooke, Esq., Lough Eske, who also held the inquiry." *

"In the bog of Drumkeelin, in this parish, was found in 1833, at a depth of 16 feet beneath the surface, a wooden house 12 feet square and 9 feet high, with a roof perfectly flat, the whole completely framed and compactly joined. The framework consisted of large

* Lord George Hill, *Hints to Tourists*, p. 39.

Donegal County Library Service

trunks of trees, the sides of cleft planks of oak about three inches thick, and the joints were cemented with a composition resembling tar and grease. The house rested on thick layers of sand and gravel spread on the bog, which was 15 feet deep beneath its foundation; and traces of a paved road leading to it, and resting on sleepers of timber, with numerous vestiges of domestic utensils, were found in several places around the building." * The excavation at Coolum will well repay a visit.

The Inquisition of 1609 and Sequel

Religion was by no means a marked characteristic of the adventurers and freebooters who answered the invitation of James I. to accept slices of plundered estates in Tirconaill. Their one consuming desire was to gratify their avarice; and, though they had shaken off the restraining shackles of Popish theology and of conscience, and professed unswerving loyalty to his generous Majesty, they refused obstinately to bind themselves by the Lutheran oath, as by law prescribed. Sir Patrick Mac Kee had no sooner received the Letters Patent in 1610, than he leased the lands on the 9th of July to William Stewart for two years; again, in 1612, he alienated the same to William's brother, Patrick, for three years; then to Robert Gordon; and, finally to another Patrick Stewart, "severally for the space of two years and more; neither the aforesaid William Steward, etc., took the aforesaid oath, but every of them broke the condition." † These planters sublet the lands to the natives, Mac Collians, Meighans, etc., and hence, outside of the Doorin peninsula, the Catholic families remained undisturbed, paying

* Lewis, i. 689. † Inq. 27 March, 1720, R.I.A.

Donegal County Library Service

rackrents. Had Episcopalians settled in the Mountcharles district, they would have appropriated and preserved St. Peter's church at Turas Hill.

The Inquisition of 1609 estimates the area of the herenach land at half a quarter of a bailiebetach, and this account exactly corresponds with the extent of the glebe, which included the three townlands of Inver, Ardaghy, and Lugnaul. "The usual rent thereof is fiftie meathers of butter, and thirteen shillinges and foure pence Irish in monie, and out of the busshop's thirds of the tiethes there, fowere markes per annum." It is hardly necessary to explain that the value of a mark was thirteen shillings and fourpence Irish, or to repeat that there existed no coarb, St. Natalis being a complete stranger, and no herenach, in consequence of the limited acreage with which the monastery was endowed. But "the one moytie of the royalties for fishinge belonging to the busshopricke of Raphoe" was a most valuable asset, as the quantity of fish exported annually from Inver was enormous.

"There are both a parson and vicar to whom belonge twoe gortes of glebe, and whoe paie unto the said busshope of Raphoe eight shillinges Irish, proxies per annum." There is no room for disputing the unbroken tradition that the vicar's plot was situated in, and gave name to, Gorteens, which signifies small (vicar's) fields, and its contiguity to the ancient church on the Eany bank at Gargrim accounts for its location. Moreover, there is ample documentary proof that a priest always resided in this neighbourhood. It is much more difficult to identify the parson's "gort," and it is hopeless to attempt to point out the exact site of his church. That the latter was named St. Peter's and that it was situated somewhere near the large disused mill west of Mountcharles, there can be no reasonable doubt. At the Plantation,

Donegal County Library Service

sixty acres were reserved as glebe-land in Dromore (*not* the Dromore in Killymard), and this land was afterwards exchanged for Inver Glebe, of which James II. had made a donation to Lord Clandeboye, or Sir James Hamilton, as he then was, the most unprincipled swindler among the well-named Undertakers.

St. Peter's Island and St. Peter's Well, to which an annual pilgrimage on the 29th of June is still very devoutly maintained by a very considerable concourse, take their name from the ancient church. Tradition, supported by contemporary history, informs us that, in the penal days, Mass was celebrated here by some Augustinian monks, who were expelled from Lough Derg. Their sojourn in the district was short, commencing about 1670 and terminating before 1731. But there can be no doubt that the Turas Hill had been the centre of worship for the Muintir Aonghuis, the Mac Faddens, the O'Boyles of Drumkeelin, the Dunlevys of Drumalost, and the other great Catholic families of Doorin, for long centuries before the Plantation. Before Pynnar's Survey, in 1620, the first usurping alien, Sir Patrick Mac Kee from Scotland, had already established his residence in Stonepark, and, though neither he nor many of his retainers took the oath, it became at once a sheer impossibility for Catholics to approach St. Peter's Church, which was soon completely obliterated. Pynnar thus reports :—"Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of clay and stone, rough-cast with lime, being 60 feet square and 12 feet high and built upon a rock (on the Old Road). I find 23 families planted on this land, all of British birth, but these do dwell dispersedly in the country." *

From the suppression of the Franciscan monastery at

* Hill, p. 502.

Donegal County Library Service

Inver, in 1609, till the erection of the present Protestant church at Cranny, in 1807, service was held by the rector in the old monastic chapel. The adjoining graveyard, however, continued to be the chief burying-ground for Catholics as well as for Protestants, until the new cemetery at Frosses was consecrated in 1841. Even still an occasional Catholic is buried in the "mixed" graveyard; the remains of John Cordubh Friel were deposited there within the past twelve months. Mass has been celebrated at Ardaghy, without any break, ever since the desecration of the old monastery chapel to Protestant worship, for the first two centuries in a sheiling on the left of the road to Ardara, on a site until recently marked by two stone pillars, and later in the scalan still standing. The Rev. James, now Canon, Gallagher, built the present exquisite Gothic church at Ardaghy in 1890, without imposing any serious burden on the parishioners. St. Naal is very properly its titular, and it was a deplorable omission on the part of other clergymen, when they were erecting churches, not to have similarly perpetuated the veneration of parochial patrons, for instance, St. Barron, St. Ernan, St. Crone, etc. Canon Mac Fadden made a belated effort to remedy this defect in Glenties church, but he unconsciously substituted Comhgall of Bangor for Conal Caol.

The ornate masonry and devotional finish of the Mountcharles church are due to the energy and taste of the Rev. Hugh Mac Loone, now parish priest of Clondahorkey. It is dedicated to the Sacred Heart, and was solemnly opened for divine worship in 1897.

Donegal County Library Service

Past Clergy

A most careful scrutiny of the Papal Registers fails to diffuse any considerable light on the personnel of the ancient pastoral succession. There was no native herenach family, and hence we cannot look for a constant recurrence of any particular surname. The O'Donnells predominate, probably on account of the outstanding importance of the parish, but very frequently we encounter a Mac Conagle, or Conwell, from Killybegs, a Craig from Glenties, etc. "1420. Mandate to the Abbot of Assaroe to collate and assign to Cornelius Mac Gonagle, priest of the diocese of Raphoe, the Rectory of Invernaul, vacated by the death of Laurence Mac-an-Craigeach (Craig)" *

But, in 1424, Manus Canon O'Donnell was rector; in 1428 Maurice Mac Menamin Canon O'Donnell; in 1512 Rory O'Donnell, and so on. The fact that Hugh O'Donnell, rector of Inver, was Archdeacon, Vicar-General, and Official of the diocese, in 1600, only accentuates the personal worth or family influence of that individual pastor. It does not, by any means, disprove the statement that the archdeaconship was ambulatory, and restricted to no particular parish On the other hand, Inver had a prebend attached, and, in normal conditions, the rector was a canon. In 1704, Manus O'Donnell was the parish priest, resident in Ballymacahill, fifty-four years of age, ordained in March, 1680, by Scaveous Millenous, Archbishop of Emesussaria, in Madrid, Many young officers of clan Dalach had sought employment in the Spanish army after the Settlement of 1653; and, as there was only one well-known Manus of Glassagh house at this time, it is more than probable that this Manus

* *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vii. 186.

Donegal County Library Service

was a grandson of Donal of Mevagh. However, this is little more than a conjecture, strengthened by the conspicuous absence of that name in the Nactan line. In any case, after the transportation of Luke Plunkett, 1676, and the cold-blooded murder of Dean Mac Gurk in 1705, Manus O'Donnell was appointed Vicar Capitular, and ruler of the diocese till the consecration of Dr. James Gallagher as Bishop in 1725.

The *Report on the State of Popery in* 1731* informs us that in Inver there was only "one Popish Priest who resides in the parish," thereby implying that friars still ministered in the mountain parts. But this uninspiring document emits one flash of gladdening light when it concedes to Inver the privilege, unique in the diocese, of possessing "two Popish Schools." Four years afterwards, the parish priest† was Dominick Byrne, who was not a canon, though the Chapter had just been resurrected by Dr. Gallagher. Patrick Magroarty, of Killybegs, being a more eminent man, was allotted the Inver prebend.

The Rev. Dominick Canning is the earliest parish priest of whom family and local tradition in Inver has perpetuated any reliable account. His collateral relatives still flourish there, and his name has been uniformly associated with the erection of the first chapel at Frosses, and with strong denunciation of the 1798 movement. That he came from the neighbourhood of Ramelton is fairly well attested, for Eneas or Aonghus Canning, who entered Maynooth in 1835, and was regarded as a near relative of the old pastor, hailed from that district, and the celebrated medical doctor of that name, who practised in Churchill, and died in 1858, was a kinsman and a native of the same locality. The orthography of the surname points to British origin, but such deductions are

* *Archivium*, i. 22. † *Archivium*, vi. 80.

Donegal County Library Service

mostly fallacious. Father Cannon of Kilmacrenan, who was probably a scion of the same stock wrote his name with the old Celtic termination. A cursory look through the Inquisitions, to which a precise reference is given below, and through the Rolls documents, reveals the fact that one important member of the old O'Canannain tribe settled in the Rosses after 1609, calling himself James Maolcanain,* and that one other, at least, settled in the Kilmacrenan "precinct," with the abridged surname, Canan. Burke's *Extinct Peerages* would appear to dispose of the legend that any widespread progeny could claim descent from the famous George Canning, who settled in Beragh in 1611, as Secretary to the Ironmongers Company.

A portion of the gable of the old Frosses chapel, built by Father Canning, is still visible near the principal gate, incorporated in the highest portion of the boundary wall on the northern side, and easily distinguishable from the rest of the masonry. Its erection cannot be fixed later than 1780, for this location of the church could alone account for the change in the residence of the pastor. He purchased a farm in Drumbarron, which is still connected with his memory, and was acquired by Dean Feely in 1854, purely on account of this association. The Dean at once exchanged it with Condy Harley for his small farm at Frosses, on which he erected the the present parochial house, some fifty yards removed from Condy's public inn, that he was so anxious thus to demolish. This good old priest died at a very advanced age in 1801, and his remains were deposited in the Inver graveyard. It is said he was the last to celebrate Mass on the well-known altar still standing at Dysart, on the site of the ruined Franciscan monastery.

*Hill's *Plantation*, 501 n. See article on the O'Conannains in Pt. II.

Donegal County Library Service

His successor was of Fermanagh origin, as he often reminded his visitors, alluding to his nobility of birth ; and, like many others of his kinsmen from Castlecaldwell, had been a schoolmaster for some years in his early manhood. While Dr. Mac Laughlin was still Dean of Derry, he had assisted Michael Mac Goldrick in his preparatory studies for the priesthood ; and, when he was promoted to the see of Raphoe, he brought with him his esteemed protégé, now an ordained priest of some missionary experience in Derry, and close on thirty years of age. Though Inver was recognized as the premier parish of the diocese, he did not hesitate to instal his friend as pastor there, and the verdict of the parishioners extolled the wisdom of the selection. As long as his physical energies held out, he laboured incessantly for the spiritual and material welfare of the parish, with an intelligence and tact that commanded admiration and ensured respect. In his prime of life, he erected the present church of Frosses, completed in 1808, and regarded at the time as a vast stride in advance of earlier church architecture. The "new aisle," as it is called, including the gallery therein, and the sacristy, were later additions, effected by Father Patrick Gallagher in 1844, when the old pastor was incapacitated by enfeebling age. It has been already explained that it remained for Dean Feely to introduce the National Education system in full force throughout the parish, as Father Mac Goldrick obstinately resisted all Government interference with the mental training of Catholic youth. He warmly patronised classical academies, which flourished in the parish, at various periods of his long pastorate, but it must be admitted that primary education was ill-provided for in his day. The very fact, however, that clerical conferences were committed to his guidance, is a sufficient proof that he

Donegal County Library Service

was an expert theologian and an accomplished scholar. He used to boast that his ancestors possessed twenty-four castles in the County Fermanagh, thereby implying that his family were an offshoot of the Maguire stock. His residence was a plain cottage in Ballymacahill, or Gurteens, till lately occupied by people named Mac Brearty. There, at the ripe age of ninety-six years, he was "gathered to his fathers" in peace with God and man, on the 10th of October, 1849. Dean Feely erected over his hallowed grave a suitable monument, with the inscription :— "Orate pro anima Rev. Michaelis Mac Goldrick ; natus 1774, Parochus Inverensis plus 50 annos. Pie obiit die decimo Octobris, 1849."

In 1841 the Frosses graveyard was consecrated by Dr. Patrick Mac Gettigan, who was accompanied by the Lord Primate, Dr. Crolly. The latter eminent prelate delivered on the occasion, a long-remembered and most eloquent discourse on Purgatory, to a vast assemblage of people from the surrounding parishes as well as from Inver. Dr. Mac Gettigan selected for him a picturesque position on a neighbouring hill. The first individual whose remains were laid to rest in the new cemetery was John Conwell, of Drumbigh, the next was a man named Sweeney, and the third was Dr. Kerrigan, of Mountcharles, nephew of Dean Kerrigan.

The Dromarone graveyard was levelled and fenced in by the Rev. Michael Mac Hugh (who also built the parochial house), and consecrated on 9th of September, 1911, by the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Ginley, Bishop in the Philippine Islands.

John Feely was a member of one of the oldest and most respected families in Ballyshannon, and received an excellent education from earliest boyhood. A most promising student of Dr. Mac Laughlin's college in that town,

Donegal County Library Service

then in the zenith of its fame, he matriculated in Maynooth, commencing with Humanity in 1817, and won brilliant distinctions throughout his entire academic career. Immediately after his ordination, in 1825, he was allocated to the staff of the old Seminary in Letterkenny, and, in the following year, succeeded Dean Quigley as President. His first missionary appointment was the pastorate of Raphoe parish in 1831, where he introduced much-needed reforms, and built the Drumkeen church. He was the first Raphoe priest who crossed the Atlantic on a collecting tour, but his parish was, at that time, glaringly incapable of raising the necessary funds, and he was determined to erect a structure worthy of the Divine mysteries to be celebrated within its walls. It cannot be said that his mission was a triumphant success, for locomotion, even in the States, was still in a backward condition. Railways were yet an unrealised dream, spoken and written about, but not brought into actual operation. Frequently the pinch of hunger, chilling receptions, and painful journeyings, prompted a regret that he had ever undertaken so trying a task. But his patience and heroic fortitude, animated by sterling piety, overcame all obstacles, and he returned with sufficient funds to execute his undertaking. In 1833, he became archdeacon, and four years later he was elevated to the deanship by Papal Brief.

During his comparatively long and laborious career in Raphoe, several parishes had, in their turn, been placed at his acceptance, but the saintly pastor still considered his allotted work uncompleted. In 1849, he accepted Inver, in succession to Father Mac Goldrick, and there he became at once the idol of his flock. Refined, gentlemanly, exemplary, devout, he was venerated as a father during life, and his memory is treasured as that of a saintly benefactor after death. Within three years from

Donegal County Library Service

his propitious advent to the parish, he erected and efficiently staffed four splendid schools without a shilling of expense to the people. Later on he built the beautiful church at Drumarone, largely out of his own meagre savings, for the only appeal made to the parish or the public is reported in the *Directory* of 1869:—"8th of March, 1868. Most Rev. Dr. Mac Gettigan, Bishop of Raphoe, preached in the parish church of Frosses, in aid of the funds for the completion of the new church in the upper division of the extensive parish of the Very Rev. Dean Feely, Inver. The handsome sum of £112 was the substantial result of his Lordship's eloquent appeal." The writer was Thurifer on the occasion; the Rev. Charles O'Donnell, celebrant; Rev. Michael Kelly, deacon; Rev. T. Sheridan, sub-deacon, and Dr. Richard Mulreany, who also preached in the evening, was master of ceremonies. In 1873, he defrayed the entire expense of constructing a boarded floor over the natural flag in Frosses, out of his own personal resources. His final illness was protracted, and at times he celebrated Mass and he heard confessions, though he was evidently suffering, and greatly discoloured by jaundice. To the very end, he was the same amiable, obliging, and holy priest, never ceasing to edify by word and example. He was twice constituted V.C., once by the unanimous demand of the parish priests, during the interregnum following the translation of Primate Mac Gettigan to Armagh, in 1870; and again on the nomination of Dr. Mac Devitt, during his prolonged visitation *ad limina*, in 1873. While he was still in glowing health, he had procured a plain monumental stone and placed it on the site he thus marked for his grave, erecting at the same time an exactly similar tombstone, with a suitable inscription, over the remains of his immediate predecessor, Father Mac Goldrick. His death was, indeed,

Donegal County Library Service

a happy one ; his confessor, Monsignor Mac Glynn, had been daily in attendance for more than a month ; Father Boyle rarely left his bedside ; while the Bishop, Monsignor Stephens, and Dr. Kelly were constant visitors. All these preparations and attentions, however, failed to restrain the manifestations of deep, heartfelt grief throughout the parish, when it was learned that the good Dean had passed peacefully away on the morning of the 29th of August, 1875. His epitaph is prolix, but truthful :— "Orate pro Anima Admodum Rev. Joannis Feely, V.G., Parochi Inverensis. Natus A.D. MDCCXCIX (1799). Ordine sacerdotali insignitus in diocesi Rapotensi annos LII sacro functus ministerio. Vacante sede, Venerabilis Capituli vices summa laude gessit. Paroeciae Inverensis Pastor indefessus, pietate, observantia, caritate erga pauperes, animarum zelo, plane insignis. Diem supremum obiit die XXIX Augusti, A.D. MDCCCLXXV. Cujus animae propitietur Dominus. Amen."

The Rev. Patrick Gibbons died of typhus fever, which he contracted by attending patients during a malignant epidemic (sacro ministerio fungens), on the 8th of April, 1839. He was exceedingly young, amiable, zealous, and cultured, and his death was mourned by the parishioners he had ministered to, for half a century after. On one occasion he visited Lough Derg, bringing with him a large contingent of pilgrims from Inver, and embarking at the northern end of the lake. When they were returning, a tempest arose; the women-folk were panic-stricken, and all the passengers realised that they were in the gravest danger of shipwreck. A popular ballad, which the writer often heard sung, described how, in imitation of the miracle of Our Lord related in the 8th chapter of St. Matthew, Father Gibbons first reproved the pilgrims for their weakness of faith, and then besought the Author of that miracle to still

Donegal County Library Service

the tempest. He lived at first in the Roos, but later on in Ballymacahill, where he died. His remains were conveyed to Massmount graveyard in his native parish of Clondavaddog. He had a brother William, a priest in the diocese, and two uncles, James Carr, P.P., Kilcar, and Philip Carr, P.P., Inniskeel. The late celebrated Judge Gibbons, of Chicago, was his nephew.

Another very esteemed clergyman and, like Father Gibbons, a student of the Irish College, Paris, passed peacefully away to his reward in Mountcharles, on the 25th of August, 1866, in the person of the Rev. Anthony Gallagher, C.C. Fond of sport and of the society of children, he was a universal favourite with the laity, and was greatly admired by his brother-priests on account of his transparent candour, singular accomplishments, and attractive personality. He was a native of Ballykillowen, in Drumhome parish, and was ordained in 1854. His first mission was the curacy of Kilcar, where he contracted so intimate a friendship with Father Hugh O'Donnell, that he was always invited to spend a few weeks there every summer. Tall and athletic, he seemed to possess all visible signs of longevity, but lurking tuberculosis abridged his days, at the age of forty-one years, to the bitter grief of all who knew him. His remains repose in the Clar graveyard, in an undistinguished plot.

The Rev. Patrick Kelly was brother of the more celebrated Father Mick, and nephew of Dr. Drummond, of Killybegs. A simple, unobtrusive, amiable priest, he had a very uneventful career. Born in the Abbey, Ballyshannon, he received his early education from T. C. Mac Ginley, of Croagh; he then studied classics and philosophy in Monaghan Seminary, and matriculated in theology at Maynooth in 1866. His first mission was Kilmacrenan

Donegal County Library Service

where he remained from 1869 till 1878; next he spent three years in Fanad, and a similar period in Raphoe, before his appointment to Mountcharles in 1884. His death was foreshadowed, according to Dr. Mac Feely's diagnosis, for more than six months, hepatitis being the fatal ailment, but when the final attack came, it found him hearing confessions in Donegal. He died that evening, the 23rd April, 1891.

The Rev. John Kelly was a native of the Roos, Inver, and a first cousin of Dean Kelly and of Monsignor Walker. He entered the Irish College, Paris, in 1861, and, after his ordination at Letterkenny, in 1867, was appointed curate of Kilmacrenan. Two years later he was promoted to the curacy of Stranorlar, and in 1871 he was again changed to Ballintra. Convinced that he was called to the religious life, he entered the novitiate of the Redemptorists at Bishop Eaton, Liverpool, in 1873, but his health obliged him to return to his native air. Occasionally, he was able to perform missionary work in Inver, but the fatal distemper from which he suffered was gradually enfeebling his physical energies, until at length fatty degeneration of the heart terminated his once highly promising life, on the 25th of August, 1895. He had resided mostly under the hospitable roof of Mr. Francis Friel, his sister's husband, but he died in the neighbouring house of John Boyle, in Doorin.

Father George Flaherty was born in Dromore, Killymard, and was highly esteemed for his ready wit and amiable disposition. He entered Maynooth College in 1855, passing for Rhetoric, and, after his ordination in 1862, was appointed to the curacy of Doe, which he exchanged for that of Kilmacrenan the following year. In 1867 he was transferred to Fanad, where he laboured with great zeal for eleven years. In 1878 he became the

Donegal County Library Service

first occupant of the new parochial house in Ardaghy, and there he passed the remainder of his life in great happiness. His sermons were characterised by inimitable pathos, fluency, and vehemence, and his popularity was unbounded. His death, after a brief illness, on the 30th of September, 1896, was genuinely and universally regretted by the parishioners.

The Rev. Cornelius Boyle was a priest of the diocese of Raphoe, but was discharging the duties of the ministry in Down and Connor, when he caught fever while attending the sick, and died in Belfast on the 1st of August, 1896. Rarely has any young priest's death evoked so widespread manifestations of sympathy as marked this tragic event. He had been only two years in the priesthood, when his promising career was abruptly terminated, far from his devoted relatives and from his former schoolmates among the diocesan clergy. He was a native of Meenayooish, in Inver parish, and a student of Salamanca. His brother John is a well-known pastor in Toronto.

Parish Priests

1401. Laurence Canon Craig
1420. Cornelius Canon Conwell.
1424. Manus Canon O'Donnell.
1428. Maurice Mac Menamin Canon O'Donnell.
1512. Ruaidhri Canon O'Donnell.
1550. Eugene Canon O'Gallagher.
1600. Hugh O'Donnell, Archdeacon.
1658. Art O'Gallagher (S.P.)
1670. Louis O'Gallagher.
1704. Manus O'Donnell, V.G.
1737. Dominick Byrne.
1770. Dominick Cannon.
1802. Michael Mac Goldrick.
1849. John Feely, Dean, V.G.

Donegal County Library Service

CURATES

1772. Hugh Kerrigan.*
1790. George Griffin.
1802. John Kelly.
1810. Patrick Mac Brearty.
1812. John Cummins.
1815. William Carolan.
1818. John Gallagher.
1829. Patrick Gibbons.
1830. Eugene Mac Cafferty.
1832. Patrick Gallagher.
1839. Daniel Mac Gettigan.
1840. Daniel Spence.
1847. Richard Mulreany, D.D.
1850. John O'Donnell.
1854. Anthony Gallagher.
1855. Michael Kelly.
1866. Bernard Walker.
1868. Joseph Boyle.
1876. Peter Kelly, Adm.
1877. Francis Gallagher, Adm.
1878. George Flaherty.
1879. Jas. Gallagher, Adm.
1884. Patrick Kelly.
1891. Patrick Mac Cafferty, Adm.
1894. Hugh Mac Looney.
1896. John Boyle.
1902. Edward Maguire, D.D.
1906 Michael Mac Hugh.
1906. Hugh Gallagher, Adm.
1909. Joseph Sheridan.
1909. James Brennan.
1912. Charles Boyce.
1912. Alphonsus Ward.
1916. Charles Kennedy, Adm.
1916. John Mac Ateer.

* Dean Kerrigan's memory was perpetuated in this parish not merely by his personal repute, but by the fame of his nephew, who was Medical Officer in Mountcharles. Another nephew, Maurice, married one of the Kellys of the Roos, and their descendants still survive in Drumagrath.

An elegant slab inserted in the ruined gable of the old Stranorlar church "at the immediate instance of Rev. E. Mac Cafferty, C.C." bears the inscription: "Near this Stone reposes the body of the Very Rev. Hugh Kerigan, Catholic Dean of Raphoe, who departed this life, December the 6th, 1821. His virtues will live in the remembrance of after Ages."

END OF VOL. I

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