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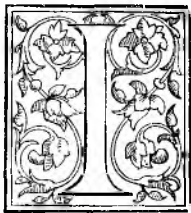
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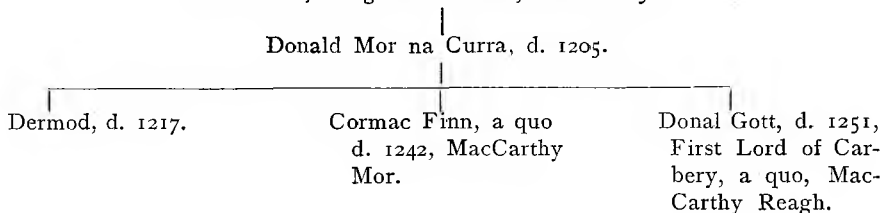
The Barony of Carbery.

BY PROF. W. F. T. BUTLER, M.A., F.R.U.I.



IN articles published in the "Journal of the Cork Archæological Society" in previous years I have given an account of the various portions of Cork and Kerry over which the last MacCarthy Mór, and first Earl of Clancarty, exercised or claimed dominion until his death in 1596. There still remains, however, another district of no inconsiderable extent, ruled over by a younger branch of the MacCarthy clan, which had broken off all connection with the parent house—the land, namely, of Carbery, the lordship of MacCarthy Reagh,⁽¹⁾ For this territory our means of information are unusually copious. Its position along the coast nearest to Spain, from the Bandon river to Bantry Bay, and the many excellent

⁽¹⁾ Dermot, King of Desmond, killed 1185.



harbours it contained, made it a particular object of attention to the authorities at Cork, even before the Spanish invasion of 1601 turned upon it all eyes. The doings of the taniist, Florence, fill many pages of the state papers, while he himself has left no inconsiderable amount of writings from which much knowledge can be gleaned.

But more important for our purposes are a note made by Carew in 1599 of all the subdivisions of the country, their extent, and the clans that inhabited them,⁽²⁾ and a long inquisition taken in 1636, on the death of Donal, or Daniel, MacCarthy Reagh, showing what his rights were over them all. We have also valuable sources of information in various inquisitions relating to the O'Driscolls, published in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, in the appendix to the tract on *Corca Laidhe*; while O'Donovan, in the appendix to his edition of the "Four Masters," gives copious details as to the clan from which he was sprung, and quotes in full the grants of James I. to O'Donovan of Clan Cahil, and O'Donovan of Clan Loughlin.

These latter documents, it will be noticed, refer to a time later than the Tudor period; but they represent a settlement made at the close of that period, and are especially valuable as illustrating the process by which an Irish country was transformed into part of an English shire, and an independent native chief into a great landowner, much restricted as to his old prerogatives, but fully secured in those rights that were left to him. For the actual Tudor period the note in the Carew Calendar will suffice.

There is one fact which deserves notice, before I proceed to my subject. In the various inquisitions to which I have referred the names of an immense number of townlands are given. The vast majority of these names can be at once identified to-day in the large maps of the Ordnance Survey. Probably still more would be recognized by a person acquainted with the Irish language, as, of course, many place names in Ireland have been changed from the Irish form to its English equivalent. But even without this help, I have been able in one district—the land of the O'Crowleys, in the parishes of Kinneigh and Fanlobbus, to identify nineteen townlands, out of twenty-three given in the inquisition of 1636. This is most remarkable, when we consider the almost complete change of ownership and of language which has taken place since that date. By the aid of the names in the ancient inquisitions and the modern maps, I have been able to fix, sometimes accurately, sometimes approximately, the boundaries of the different clans in the ancient principality of Carbery.

This land of MacCarthy Reagh's was much subdivided amongst

(2) This is found in the Carew Calendar, 1599, p. 351.

various branches of the MacCarthys, and several dependent clans—O'Donovans, O'Mahonys, O'Driscolls, and others. This subdivision was the consequence of the disturbed history of Carbery. Before the English invasion the O'Mahonys, who lived north and east of the Bandon river, had begun to make conquests at the expense of the group of clans of which the O'Driscolls were the chief,⁽³⁾ and which then held almost the whole district from Kinsale to the western extremity of Bere. Then came the English or Norman invaders, who drove the O'Mahonys towards the west, while the O'Sullivans expelled from Tipperary, and the O'Donovans and O'Collinses from Limerick, conquered new homes for themselves, the one in Bere and Bantry, the others round the river Ilen. The Normans, in the meantime, advancing along the sea coast, built castles in all the most favourable points, from Cork harbour round to Dunkerron on the Kenmare river. The O'Donovans, at first, were helped by the O'Mahonys to win lands at the expense of the O'Driscolls; but they afterwards quarrelled, for Crom O'Donovan was slain by O'Mahony near Iniskeen in 1254.⁽⁴⁾ The ruling house of MacCarthy had also been driven from their lands in Tipperary, and their royal fortresses in and near Cork; and had taken refuge in the fastnesses of Kerry. One of the MacCarthy princes, Donal Gott, forced his elder brother, Cormac Finn, to yield to him, in full sovereignty, the south-eastern part of the territories still left to the native rulers; and, perhaps aided by the O'Donovans, completely broke the power of the O'Mahonys in 1232, killing the three sons of O'Mahony.⁽⁵⁾ As the chief vassal clan in his new dominions was now the O'Donovans, their tribe name, *Ui Cairbré*, was applied to this district, and in course of time superseded the older name of *Corca Laidhe*.

We must not suppose that at this time the country which thus took the name of Carbery was at all equal in extent to the present barony of that name. Taking advantage of the feuds of the natives, the Norman settlers had got a firm grip of the whole coast. Timoleague, Clonakilty, and Ross were walled towns; while, further to the west, they erected numerous castles. The official English view in Tudor times was, that all the Irish of Cork and Kerry, who preserved any vestige of independence, were driven into the valley of Glanarought, in Kerry; where they lived miserably on "white meats," till the dissensions of the English, during the Wars of the Roses, gave them the opportunity of recovering their territory. Of course this official version is false: the expulsion of the English from Carbery began in 1260, when the MacCarthys of Carbery at the battle of Callan crushed for a time

(3) *Miscellany of the Celtic Soc.*, p. 141.

(4) O'Donovan, "Four Masters," Appendix, p. 2437.

(5) "Annals of Innisfallen" in *Miscellany of Celtic Soc.*

the English power, and captured all or most of the foreign castles west of Ross. But in the interval from 1232 to 1260 A.D. the power of MacCarthy Reagh must have been confined to the inland country round Dunmanway and Drimoleague; while the O'Driscolls and O'Mahonys of the coast were tenants of the Norman invaders.⁽⁶⁾

The result of all these vicissitudes was that, in Tudor times, the greater part of Carbery was in the hands of the MacCarthys, who had recovered it from the English. Next to them in importance were the O'Donovans, who had conquered and held several castles on the sea coast. The O'Mahonys were split into two branches, situated one at the extreme east, the other at the extreme west of Carbery; while the possessions of the O'Driscolls had shrunk to very narrow limits.

The lands which remained to the O'Driscolls lay along the coast from Castlehaven Harbour to Roaring Water Bay. They had two chief divisions—Collymore under O'Driscoll Mór, Collybeg under O'Driscoll Oge. The boundaries of the former district can be traced very accurately from an inquisition taken in 1609, and given in the Miscellany of the Celtic Society. Starting from a point on the river Ilen a mile or two below Skibbereen, the boundary line ran south-east to the sea, which it reached a short distance to the west of Toe Head. On all other sides Collymore was bounded by water. In fact, a large part of this district was made up of the islands Clear, Sherkin, and others, in and round Baltimore bay. The mainland part comprised the parishes of Tullagh and Creagh, and a small part of Castlehaven. Of the 65 ⁽⁷⁾ ploughlands of Collymore 39½ were on the mainland, the rest on the islands. In the time of James the First, more than half the district was in the hands of the chief; the rest was held by various septs of freeholders, who paid chief rents amounting to £18 6s. 7d. These rents were in place of all former Irish exactions. But, in reality, the whole riches of both chief and clansmen came from the sea. The harbour of Baltimore, then as now, was a great fishing centre, frequented by French and Spaniards, as well as by English or Irish. The inquisition above-mentioned gives a long list of the various dues levied by O'Driscoll on all ships and boats⁽⁸⁾ from a point west of Cape Cleere to Toe Head, as, for example, "Every ship or boat that fisheth there is to pay to the Lord in money 19s. 2d., a barrel of flour, a barrel of salt, a hogshead of beer, and a dish of fish three times a week."

⁽⁶⁾ The Carews, temp. Eliz., declared that the O'Mahonys held Iveagh from them (paper in Herald's College, quoted in notes to Smith's "History of Cork," vol. i. of this "Journal"; and "Pacata Hibernia" for O'Dalys).

⁽⁷⁾ Only 63 ploughlands in Carew's list.

⁽⁸⁾ These dues of O'Driscoll were enormous, and would nowadays seem intolerable.

There were at least six castles in this district, the chief being Dun-na-shad, now Baltimore, and Dun-na-Long, on Inis Sherkin, which between them commanded the entrance to the harbour; while Dun-na-Gall on Ringarogy Island commanded the entrance to the Ilen. Collymore paid of old to the Earls of Desmond eight nobles, or instead, eight beeves; and to MacCarthy Reagh the usual chief rents, duties, etc., which were all compounded for £27 11s. 11½d.⁽⁹⁾

Collybeg lay between the river Ilen and Roaring Water Bay, and corresponded pretty closely to the parish of Aghadown. It contained 34 ploughlands, had at least two castles—Aghadown and Rincolisky, and paid £10 10s. 11d. to MacCarthy Reagh.

There was also a small district called Glanbarraghan in possession of a branch of the O'Driscolls, probably subject to Collymore. There was in it an important castle, now called Castlehaven, commanding the entrance to the bay of that name. This territory had only 5½ ploughlands, and probably ran along the coast from Castlehaven to Collymore. In the time of James I., indeed, some of the townlands on this strip of coast belonged to the O'Donovans of Clan Cahil, but they may have acquired them after the battle of Kinsale, when the owner of Castlehaven lost his lands as a penalty for having joined the Spaniards. The castle itself was given to Touchet, an Englishman, better known as the Earl of Castlehaven, one of the chief leaders of the Catholics in the Confederation of Kilkenny.

Adjoining Glanbarraghan was the country of the O'Donovans. It ran right across Carbery from the sea to the river Mealagh, where this stream divides Carbery from Bantry. This territory contained 131 ploughlands,⁽¹⁰⁾ and included the modern parishes of Drimoleague, Drinagh, Myross, and Kilfaunaghbeg, with large portions of Kilmacabea, Ross, and Kilmeen, as well as some parts of Castlehaven and Caheragh.

There were two main divisions of the O'Donovans—Clan Cahil and Clan Loughlin; but their territories were so interlaced that it is not easy to give the exact divisions between them. The 67 ploughlands of Clan Cahil lay to the north and west, with practically the whole parishes of Drimoleague, Drinagh, and Myross; Clan Loughlin, with its 54 ploughlands, lay to the east of Glandore Harbour.

On the coast the lands of the O'Donovans ran from Castletownsend to the Roury river, near Ross. The lord of Clan Cahil had dues in all the havens of this district from the head of Glandore Harbour westwards; those of the east side of Glandore Harbour belonged to the lord of Clan Loughlin. Clan Cahil, according to the inquisition of 1636,

(9) The Inquisition specifies the various sums which made up this total.

(10) According to Carew Calendar in 1599. The numbers differ slightly for all these territories in the various documents.

paid only £5 6s. od. and two-thirds of a "drachma" a year to MacCarthy Reagh, as well as "a poundage hog," i.e., one pig from every herd of swine of five or more animals. Clan Loughlin, on the other hand, paid £27 1s. 9¼d. yearly, besides poundage hogs. Perhaps Clan Cahil paid such a small rent because the O'Donovans had aided the MacCarthys to make their first settlements in Carbery; or perhaps because when the lands were divided some time after 1254 between Cathal and Loughlin O'Donovan, the division was so made that the lands that were exempt from contributions were allotted to the senior line. ⁽¹¹⁾

Besides the main divisions of Clan Cahil and Clan Loughlin, the O'Donovans possessed a small district called *Glan-i-Vollen*, which, according to O'Donovan, in his appendix to the "Four Masters," corresponded to the present parish of Kilmeen. The grant to O'Donovan of Clan Loughlin, given in the above-mentioned appendix, includes the greater part of this parish; so probably this district was held by a branch of Clan Loughlin. It contained 12 ploughlands.⁽¹²⁾

The O'Donovans do not seem to have had the same taste for castle-building as the other clans of Carbery. I can find only mention of two in Clan Cahil, Castle Donovan and Raheen; the latter on Castlehaven Harbour. In Clan Loughlin was Glandore, captured by the Irish from the Barretts.⁽¹³⁾ Smith declares that Banduff Castle, near Rosscarbery, was built by the O'Donovans, but Carew and all other authorities, give it as one of the castles of MacCarthy Reagh.

The O'Donovans came particularly well out of the troubles of Elizabeth's reign. The grants of James I. to the heads of both branches of this clan included chief rents from the O'Mahonys of West Carbery, and from several branches of the MacCarthys, such as Clan Crimin in the east and Clan Teige Roe in the west. In particular, the castle of Castle Derry and some adjoining lands in Clan Crimin were given to the lord of Clan Loughlin; but O'Donovan, who quotes the patent, gives no explanation of this circumstance.

West of the O'Donovans were several branches of the MacCarthys, the chief being Clan Dermot, Clan Teige Roe, and Clan Teige Ilen. The lands of this last, a small district of 27 ploughlands, were on both sides of the river Ilen, round Skibbereen. This latter place itself, however, with the detached part of the parish of Creagh, in which it stands, belonged to MacCarthy Reagh, who had a castle here called

⁽¹¹⁾ The tributes, duties, etc., of the Overlords were attached to the land, not to the occupiers. This is evident from O'Brien's and MacNamara's Rent Rolls, as well as from the inquisition of 1636.

⁽¹²⁾ Cal. Carew MSS.

⁽¹³⁾ O'Donovan, in Appendix to "Four Masters."

Gortnaclogh. Two or three miles due East he had another castle, Letterinlis, ⁽¹⁴⁾ and the district round and between the two castles formed part of his demesne land.

This detached piece of MacCarthy Reagh's demesne gave a very irregular outline to the lands of Clan Teige Ilen; ⁽¹⁵⁾ but the district occupied by the MacCarthys of Clan Dermot was still more straggling in its shape.

From a comparison of the names of the townlands in the inquisition of 1636 with the names on the modern ordnance maps, it would seem that Clan Dermot included the whole parish of Kilcoe, at the head of Roaring Water Bay, and west of Collybeg. From this parish it ran eastward, being bounded on the south by Clan Teige Ilen. The greater part of the southern portion of Caheragh was thus in this territory. East of the Ilen, it included the detached portion of Caheragh, and a considerable district in Castlehaven, as well as some townlands in Kilmacabea, so that it almost reached to the sea again at the head of Glandore Harbour. Unless we suppose that the lands of this clan were in two detached portions, their country must have included the northern part of Abbeystowry parish, but the names in the inquisition throw no light on this. Thus the Clan Dermot had as boundaries to the east the country of the O'Donovans, and to the south O'Driscoll Oge, Clan Teige Ilen, and MacCarthy Reagh's demesne round Letterinlis.

Two castles in this district figure largely in the operations before and after the battle of Kinsale, namely, Kilcoe and Cloghan. The Ordnance maps show the former, on an islet at the head of Roaring Water Bay; the latter has been identified by Mr. Gillman as standing near the river Ilen. ⁽¹⁶⁾ The maps show that there was also a castle in the townland of Ballyouane, which was part of this territory.

Clan Teige Roe lay west of the Ilen, and north of Clan Dermot, thus including the northern part of Caheragh. The barony of Bantry was its northern boundary. I cannot determine how far it extended to the west. The castles of Skart and Baur Gorm, in the parish of Kilmocomege, were certainly in this district; that of Coul-na-long, at the head of Dunmanus Bay, belonged, according to Smith, to a branch of the Clan Carthy called Muclagh. There was another castle close to this, on the coast, Rossmore. If the MacCarthys of Clan Teige Roe and of Muclagh were the same, their lands would include the parish of Durrus; if

⁽¹⁴⁾ Smith. Letterinlis, or at any rate the townlands round it, belonged to MacCarthy Reagh when the inquisition so often cited was taken in 1636. *Pacata Hibernia*, however, calls it the property of Conogher, son of Sir Fineen O'Driscoll.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Clan Teige Ilen included most of Abbeystowry and a few of the southern townlands in Caheragh. They paid £7 1s. 1¼d., besides poundage hogs.

⁽¹⁶⁾ See his article in this "Journal," vol. ii., p. 173.

not, then the north of Caheragh, and the Carbery part of Kilmocomoge, would constitute their territory. Clan Teige Roe had only 18 ploughlands, and paid £4 gs. od. and one-third of a "drachma" to MacCarthy Reagh, while £24 11s. 1¼d. were paid by the 63 ploughlands of Clan Dermot.

The lands of this group of septs of the Clan Carthy only touched the sea at three points—at the head of Roaring Water and of Dunmanus bays, and for a mile or two on the shore of Bantry Bay, south-west of the territory of O'Sullivan Bere.

The wild peninsula between Dunmanus and Bantry bays was known as Muintir Bairre, from a branch of the O'Driscoll stock, the O'Bairres, who had held it in early times. In Tudor times this district—the present parish of Kilcroghan—was held by a branch of the great bardic family of O'Daly. This widely scattered clan had lands in Desmond, Muskerry, the Earl of Desmond's country, Thomond, and Clanrickarde, all held by them in virtue of their office as hereditary bards to the chiefs of these countries.⁽¹⁷⁾ It is curious that in Thomond their home of Kinvarra was just such a wild promontory as Muintir Bairré, while in Kerry they seem to have chosen the solitudes of Slieve Luachra as being the fittest dwelling for followers of the poetic art. In Muintir Bairré they had a castle, near which the Ordnance map shows a great enclosure which is styled "O'Daly's bardic school."

In "Pacata Hibernia" it is mentioned that the O'Daly was arrested on the march of the English to Dunboy, and committed for trial on a charge of trying to win over some of the Irish troops to the side of the revolted chiefs. No details are given of his fate, but several O'Dalys are given in the list of forfeiting proprietors in 1641, so that probably he was not severely dealt with. It is curious that the inquisition of 1636 makes no mention of any chief rents received by MacCarthy Reagh from the 36 ploughlands of the O'Dalys, unless we are to take the entry Tuovintirry-dorche £3 gs. od., as being the attempt of the Cork jurors to spell Tuath Muintervarry. Probably, as bards, the O'Dalys held their lands free from all or nearly all duties.

The large peninsula between Dunmanus and Roaring Water bays, known as Ivagh, was held by O'Mahony Fine. A minor sept, the Sliocht Teige O'Mahony, had an inland district, containing 36 ploughlands, and lying south of Clan Teige Roe, and west of Clan Dermot.⁽¹⁸⁾

⁽¹⁷⁾In the notes to "Irish Topographical Poems" it is stated that all the various branches of the O'Dalys sprang from a family originally settled in Westmeath. There were still O'Dalys, landowners, in Westmeath in Elizabeth's time in Dalton's Country, i.e., the barony of Rathconrath.—*Fiants*, 1590, No. 5432.

⁽¹⁸⁾Some interesting details about these O'Mahonys "of the West" have been given in a former number of this "Journal."

This sept paid yearly £7 8s. 8d. to MacCarthy Reagh, while he got £23 18s. 9¼d. from the 105 ploughlands of O'Mahony Fine. The country of these O'Mahonys corresponded to the parishes of Schull and Kilmore. This clan seems to have had a perfect mania for castle building. Almost every headland on the rocky coast of Ivagh was crowned by a castle, many of which still remain in fairly perfect condition.

The inhabitants of all this coast line were given to piracy; ⁽¹⁹⁾ and one at least of these strongholds of the O'Mahonys—Rossbrin—was confiscated in Elizabeth's time for the piracy of its lord. ⁽²⁰⁾

Rossbrin was the first castle of the O'Mahonys on the west side of Roaring Water Bay. Proceeding westward we come to Ardintenant, the residence of the lord, and opposite was another fortress on the island, now called Castle Island. Further on were Leamcon and castles in the townlands of Goleen and Castlemehigan. At the extremity of the peninsula is Three Castle Head, called from the three towers, the ruins of which stand upon it. Finally, on Dunmanus Bay were Dunmanus and Dunbeacon.

(¹⁹) See the various conflicts of the O'Driscolls with the city of Waterford, as given in the Miscellany of the Celtic Society.

(²⁰) Smith says it was taken by Sir G. Carew; but from the Cal. State Papers it appears that it was forfeited in the fourth year of Elizabeth (1587, p. 425).

(To be continued.)

The Heiress of Dromana Two Hundred Years ago.⁽¹⁾

BY J. F. FULLER, F.S.A., F.R.I.A.I.



THE romantic incidents of the following narrative will possibly have additional interest from the fact that the heroine became afterwards the grandmother of the elder Pitt. Be this as it may, however, the story furnishes another illustration of the old saw, "Truth is stranger than fiction"; and would form excellent groundwork for a modern three-volume novel.

On the 16th of February, 1662, John FitzGerald of Dromana, Lord of the Decies, by "deed of feoffment," provided that his large estates in county Waterford should go to the husband of his only child, Catherine, who was to marry, with the consent of his feoffees, "any worthy person

(¹) By permission of the author, we are enabled to republish this curious narrative, which appeared first in a London magazine.