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22nd day of November, 1770. To elect two Common Council men, one in the room of Mr. Isaac Biggs, the other in the room of Mr. Wm. Spratt, deceased, late two the Common Council men of said Corporation. Mr. Richard Sealy, one of the Freeman of said Corpn. was this day elected and sworn one of the Comn. Council men of sd. Borough in the room of the sd. Isaac Biggs, and Mr. Thos. Child, one of the Freeman of sd. Corpn., was this day elected and sworn one of the Common Council men in room of the said Wm. Spratt.—JOHN TRAVERS, Provost.

BURGESSES—Jona Tanner, Shannon, George Sealy, John Sealy, Francis Travers, Richard Savage, Isaac Hewett.

COMMON COUNCIL MEN—Walter Travers, J. Biggs, Richd. Dowden, Jr.; John Williams, Frans. Allman, Joseph Wheeler.

FREEMEN—Thomas Wheeler, Thos. Morgan, William Leavis, Fras. Hewett, John W . . . , Francis Bernard.

22nd Nov., 1770. William Conner elected Burgess in place of George Conner, deceased.—JOHN TRAVERS, Provost.

At the same assembly the Rev. John Sullivan was sworn a Freeman of the said Corporation by the appointment of the Provost.

On the 24th day of June, 1771, Arthur Bernard, Esq., was elected Provost. "Witness our hands the day and year above written.

JONA TANNER. ARTHUR BERNARD. GEORGE SEALY.  
RICHARD SAVAGE. JAMES BERNARD.  
WILLM. CONNER.

JOHN TRAVERS, Provost.  
FRANS. TRAVERS.  
ISAAC HEWETT.

## A History of the O'Mahony Septs of Kinelmeky and Ivagha.

(Continued from page 81.)

BY REV. CANON O'MAHONY, GLENNVILLE, CROOKSTOWN.

[Addenda et Corrigenda.—One of the earliest references to the Ui Eachach Sept (afterwards called after Mahon) and to their fort, Rath Rathleann, is that of Maelmuire of Fahan in Donegal, "a poet and erudite historian," according to the Four Masters in recording his death in A.D. 884 :—

"Eochu Rathline cean dhiongar  
Cáin culaó,  
Eoghanacht ceó du i tat  
La bhígu muman."

### TRANSLATION.

"The Clan Eochy of Rathlean is without opposition  
Magnificent their apparel,  
Eoghanacht, wherever they are found  
In the land of Munster."

From an imperfect quotation of the above in Cronnelly, the present writer thought it referred to the Ui Eachach of Uladh, and therefore omitted it. An inspection of the original in Dr. Todd's "Nennius," p. 254, shows clearly that the bard meant the Ui Eachach of Munster.

The "Munster Annals" often quoted by Sir James Ware, and supposed to be lost, have been recently identified by the present writer in an Irish MS. in the R.I.A., mis-described as one of the "copies of the Innisfallen Annals." In it the agreement between Brian and Cian after the battle of Bealach Leachta is given as follows :—Peace was made between Brian and Cian, and Brian's daughter was given in marriage to Cian, and the tributes of the race of Eogan Mor and his own share of Munster from Carn Thierna to Carn Ui Neid, and from Sliabh Caoin to the sea (in the South), and the keeping of Cashel and Loch Gur and the island of Loch Saighlin and other fortresses in Munster."

The compilers of the so-called Dublin Annals of Innisfallen, who draw largely on these Annals, omit all the words after "Eoghan Mor," and substitute a supposition of their own. See *supra* p. 12, note.

It seems probable on reconsideration that the separation of the Septs of Kinelmeky and Ivagha did not take place until after 1259, and thus Dermot Mor may have been for some years chief of the entire Septland east and west.]

#### PART IV.

#### KINELMEKY.

After the voluntary division of the Sept in the middle of the thirteenth century, distinctive appellations became necessary for the separated territories and for their chieftains. "It is curious," says Dr. O'Donovan, "to remark the whim of custom in applying names to territories. The country of the Western O'Mahony retained the tribe name of the whole Sept (Ivagha, Ui Eachach), while that of the Eastern O'Mahony received that of Cinelmbece (Kinelmeky) from Bec or Bece, an ancestor less remote than Eocaidh." (Notes supplied by Dr. O'D. to Prof. Kelly, Ed. of *Cambrensis Eversus*). The chieftain of the Eastern Sept, though sometimes called *Τίσεαρηνα* *Κινεάλμβεκε*, Lord of Kinelmeky, was generally designated *Ο Ματσαμνα* *Κάρμπερεδ* in the Annals and Genealogical MSS., "O'Mahon or O'Mahony of Carbery," in the English State papers. This recognised appellation preserved the memory of the ancient predominance of his ancestor in Carbery. His western kinsman, of the elder branch of the family, is known in the Annals and other Irish documents as *Ο Ματσαμνα* *αν* *βυν* *λαρταρις* or *Ανταρταρις*, *i.e.*, "of the Western Land," and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as O'Mahon Fionn, *i.e.*, the Fairhaired, from an ancestor that succeeded in A.D. 1513. Whoever prepared the Index of O'Donovan's Ed. of the Four Masters has created some confusion by bestowing the territorial designation, "of Carbery," on both chieftains indifferently. Cox, in his *Regnum Corcagiense*,<sup>1</sup> discriminates them and their tribe lands by correct appellations: "The best branch was that of O'Mahown Fionn (Fune) alias 'Ownyerer,' or of the West, as he resided in West Carbery, where he had twelve castles, the principal whereof were Ardintenant and Three Castle Head. The other branch was called O'Mahown Carbry, and his seat was at Castle Mahon, which was then part of Carbry." The name Kinelmeky replaced the older tribal name Kinelea as regards the northern and western portions of the territory. Kinelea itself had replaced two older appellations, Musgry Mitine, which anciently was applied to the eastern and north-eastern portion,<sup>1</sup> in which was the chief's residence, Rath Rathleann, and Carbery, which was the name of the southern portion of the district, in which was built Castle Mahon, now called Castle Bernard. Dr. O'Brien, in his Irish Dictionary (sub voce Carbery), says that "Carbery was anciently a portion of Corcalaidhe (Corcalee), and extended from Bandon to the Mizen Head in the west." But it has been shown in the introductory portion of this history that Irish writers distinguished not only Corcalee but Ivagha from Carbery. With that correction, Dr. O'Brien's definition of Carbery may be

<sup>1</sup> The Rath lay to the east of Kilbrennan Abbey, which, according to old records seen by Colgan and Usher, was in Musgry Mitine. This may also be inferred from the Irish Life of St. Finbar.

accepted. His view that it was originally part of Corcalee is confirmed by some place names; for instance, Ballymodan (Bandon), pronounced by Irish speakers Ballymudain, is called after the Corcalee family of Mudan. We have already adopted the opinion of the old Irish antiquaries that the name Carbery came from Cairbre Riada in the third century, but it is quite possible that it may have come from the Corcalee tribe, Ui Carbre, who gave a name to Rosscarbery; or it may have come from Cairbre, one of the chiefs of the Ui Eachach, of the Cinel Laeghere branch, who flourished A.D. 580. We have proved that the modern conjecture deriving this very ancient name from the Carbre Aedha or O'Donovans is utterly untenable, and that the extension of the name to the four baronies was an English, not an Irish usage. (*Supra*, vol. xii., No. 72, p. 183).<sup>2</sup>

Donal Gott Mac Carthy, ancestor of Mac Carthy Reagh, after his unprovoked attack on the Sept in 1232, henceforward, says the Innisfallen Annalist, assumed the name "Cairbreach," and commenced to "live in the South"—that is to say, in that part of the original Kinelmeky which lay about Kilbrittain, which De Courcy had probably occupied before A.D. 1200, and sought to secure by building Kilbrittain Castle, of which Donal, or his son Fineen, deprived him. The district occupied included, besides Kilbrittain, Rathclarin, Burren, Rathdroutha, Dowagh, which were parts of the Deanery Kinelea Ultra with which Kinelmeky was originally identical. After that time there was no further encroachment on Kinelmeky by any MacCarthy Reagh, though the district *west of Kinelmeky*—that is to say, from Enniscean to the confines of Ivagha—was seized some time between 1260 and 1300.

After Donal Gott's raid of 1232, peace prevailed between his sept and that of the O'Mahons until 1259, when hostilities were renewed by Donal's son and successor, Fineen of Ringrone. An unfortunate incident furnished him with a pretext. Crom O'Donovan, chief of his name, in coming from or going to his own tribeland in West Cork, happened to pass by Innisbheil, now Phale, west of Ballineen, and there, becoming involved in a squabble with the O'Mahon's herdsmen, he was slain by them. (*Dublin Annals of Innisfallen*, under year A.D. 1254). Though the death of O'Donovan is not attributed by this record to the Chief of Kinelmeky (or any of the principal members of his clan), Fineen of Ringrone,<sup>3</sup> ever eager for a fray, took the opportunity of attacking him, possibly at the request of O'Donovan's successor. The Bodleian Annalist of Innisfallen records that in the skirmish that ensued "Macraith O'Mahon and several other nobles (maite) were killed." Macraith was the eldest son of Dermot, who, as we have said, was the first chief of the western Sept. The (*Dublin*) Annalist says that Dermot himself was slain, and that this event occurred in 1254. But it is not credible that the original Annalist would fail to record the death of a chief, while recording the death of his son. We

<sup>2</sup> To what is there said it may be added that Dr. O'Donovan adopted the opinion (vol. ii. *Four Masters*, p. 934) that "The O'Donovans were finally expelled from Hy Fidhgente in Co. Limerick in 1229." O'Mahon had the name Carbreach in 1220, and Donal Gott assumed it in 1232.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Mac Carthy (Glas), in his "Mac Carthys of Glennachroim," says that Fineen was influenced by the circumstance that Crom was his foster brother. This is a baseless conjecture. Dr. O'Donovan, who put together every ancient reference to Crom, says nothing about this; neither does any Annalist.

prefer, as in previous pages, to follow both as to the facts and the date, the contemporary Annalist rather than the compiler of A.D. 1765.

As Innisbheil or Phale is at a considerable distance beyond the boundary of Kinelmeky, it is probable that the district extending on to the west from Phale to Drimoleague had not ceased to belong to the Kinelmeky Sept before the conflict above mentioned, nor perhaps for some time after. The statement that Gleannchroim,<sup>4</sup> which nearly coincided with the parish of Fanlobbus, was before this time in the possession of Crom O'Donovan, rests on no authority but the unsupported assertion of John Collins, of Myross, in his *Pedigree of the O'Donovans*, a compilation abounding in errors, and completely discarded by Dr. O'Donovan in his account of that clan even in the more recent period of the 16th century. This particular assertion of Collins<sup>5</sup> is discredited by his representing Crom O'Donovan as living in A.D. 1120, and possessing Gleannchroim before his tribe removed from the Co. Limerick. Dr. O'Brien's account (see ante, p. 78) is that the tribe passed over Mangerton and entered West Cork, and obtained land from the tribes there by "the powerful assistance of the O'Mahonys," who certainly would not help them to obtain Gleannchroim, which was their own,<sup>6</sup> being between the traditional boundaries "Cork and the Mizen Head." Collins was influenced by a mistaken derivation of the place-name Gleann Chroim. But, as Dr. Joyce observes, "the name Crom (genitive Chruim and Chroim) enters into the composition of numerous words." It would be strange if it did not, as Crom (Cruach) was the chief idol of Pagan Ireland. Thus we find Domnach Chroim, the name of a Sunday in summer coinciding with a Pagan festival, and Cluain Chruim in Westmeath, "the mead of Crom," &c., &c. Crom as an adjective also helps to form compounds, as Cruingleann, a winding glen (Dinneen's Irish Dict.), from which word most probably Gleann chroim originated, the place of the adjective being reversed, as happened in the progress of the language in numerous instances as Dubh-abhainn and Abhain-dubh, Dubh gaill and Gaill-dubh, Ma'an Innis and Innis Ma'an.

East Muskerry ceased to belong to the Chief of Raithleann, descendant of Mahon, when De Cogan in about 1177 succeeded in seizing Dun Draighneain, the site of Castlemore, but West Muskerry, or a district of it comprising the parishes of Kilmichael, Kilmurry, and part of Moviddy, and containing sixty-three ploughlands, was retained for more than another century. The proof of this statement is that there were three divisions of the district, Clan Fineen, Clan Cnogher, and Ui Flon Lua, the two former being called after the grandsons of Dermot Mor and his brother, and the third allocated to the great-grandson of the former. From the

<sup>4</sup> The name Gleannchroim does not occur in any Irish MS. We have adopted the spelling given by Florence Mac Carthy Reagh in his letters. The name Cluainchruim is erroneously translated by Dr. Joyce.

<sup>5</sup> Collins lacked "the historic sense," and was more at home in poetry. His splendid poem on Timoleague Abbey made an impression on Clarence Mangan and Sir S. Ferguson, both of whom gave an English translation of it.

<sup>6</sup> Windele has the following statement, which is a traditional account, not in any of the hitherto known records, and not free from anachronisms, but which may have some foundation in fact:—"An O'Mahony (whom he calls Cian) endowed his daughter, the wife of O'Coghlan, with one hundred ploughlands in Fanlobbus; O'Coghlan gave these ploughlands (recte thirty-two) to Diarmuid O'Crowley, whose three sons were O'Crowley Buidhe, O'Crowley Bacach, and O'Crowley Reagh." Windele MSS., R. I. Acad.

genealogical list, it is plain that these allocations must have been made after A.D. 1300, and they could not be made then, if the district had passed out of the possession of the Chief of Kinelmeky.

East Muskerry, on the death of De Cogan in 1182, passed into the possession of what was afterwards known as the Blarney branch of the Mac Carthys, but they were unable to annex the West Muskerry district until they brought down from Donegal a portion of the Mac Sweeney galloglasses (between A.D. 1310 and 1320), who received for their services lands, on which they built the castles of Cloghdha and Mashanaglas.<sup>7</sup> But the three families or minor septs, above mentioned, continued (as we shall show) as freeholders, subject to a small head rent, down to the confiscations of 1642.

Thus, at the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century the authority of the Chief of Kinelmeky did not extend beyond the boundaries of the barony that at present bears that name. It is described in an Inquisition of A.D. 1586 as "twelve miles in length," and within it were the parishes of Templemartin, Kilbrogan, Kilowen, and parts of Ballymodan, Brinny, Murragh, and Desertserges. Its sixty-three ploughlands contained nearly thirty-six thousand acres, estimated as twenty-eight thousand, without measurement, at the time of the confiscation. From the fertility of the soil, it must have been capable of maintaining a larger population than some of the western tribelands that had nominally a much larger number of ploughlands. It was described by Lord Burleigh in 1578 as "a proper territory," and the very same words were used, with more minute details, giving evidence of its fertility, about ten years afterwards by Robert Payne,<sup>8</sup> an agent of the undertakers, in a small book or pamphlet that he wrote about the confiscated territories. In a Government return, of 1659, of the "profitable" and "unprofitable" acres of the different baronies, the "unprofitable portion of this barony was set down as *nil*."<sup>9</sup>

From the time of the division into the Eastern and Western Septs, for over three centuries, Kinelmeky was a Celtic outpost. From the junction of the Brinny river with the Bandon, one might travel almost in a direct line to Mitchelstown and the Galtees, and look in vain for a single Irish tribe.

In the earlier portion of the thirteenth century the Norman invaders

<sup>7</sup> This is the received opinion, but in the "Munster Annals" above quoted there is an entry under 1237: "Cormac Fionn, son of Donal Mor na Curra Mac Carthy, died in his Castle of Mashanaglas." It may have been afterwards rebuilt. This entry shows the early date at which the Irish chiefs had begun to build castles, after the Norman invasion.

<sup>8</sup> The full title is "A brief description of Ireland to XXV. of his partners for whom he is undertaker, by Robert Payne, A.D. 1590," edited by Dr. Aquila Smith, and published in vol. ii. of "Tracts relating to Ireland." He complains of the dishonest conduct of the English "undertakers" to those whom they enticed over from England to occupy the confiscated estates. He says that owing to the fruitfulness of the soil of Kinelmeky, Beecher got more tenants than any two in Munster.

<sup>9</sup> Boyle (Earl of Cork) describes all the district near Bandon as "a mere waste of wood and bog serving as a retreat for wood kerns, rebels, thieves, and wolves." Cox has transcribed and adopted this account, so totally at variance with the above quoted authorities. Much change could not have been effected between 1619 and 1659. It was a favourite trick of the unvaracious Boyle to represent the lands he acquired as worthless. See in Gibson's "Hist of Cork" (vol. ii., pp. 31 and 37) his attempt to persuade Sir Walter Raleigh's son that the lands of his father (Sir Walter), which Boyle had contrived to acquire for a trifle, were all "utterly waste and yielded him no profit."

began to systematically build castles to secure their acquisitions and facilitate further aggression. It was the advice of Giraldus "to imitate the example of Turges and his Ostmen, and sow Ireland with castles so situated that their occupants could assist each other." In 1215<sup>10</sup> (O'Donovan's note, *Annals of Four Masters*) a large number of castles had been erected in Munster, especially on the southern coast. It must soon have become apparent to the Chief of Kinelmeky that a primitive fort such as Rath Rathleann, the headquarters of the chiefs, his ancestors, for so many centuries, would not afford protection in case of a Norman invasion of the territory, and that a stronghold of the new type should be provided without delay. Hence we may conclude that Castle Lac (Cairteán na Leacá) must have been built not very long after 1215. About a mile and a half south of Rath Rathleann a site was selected adjoining the small plain which has been shown (supra p. 18) to have been the battlefield on which the victory was gained over the Danes in 1089. Windele, who visited the place in 1856, writes:—"To the west of the standing stones is the site of the castle which gives its present name to the place in conjunction with the Leachts. The ruins are low, and form almost a mound so as to present few features of the castellated structure. It was a solitary square tower, and from the dimensions it would seem to have been a 'peel house' (or 'peel tower'). It was erected in an ancient fort which has survived it in its moat and rampart."<sup>11</sup> The old structure had been used as a quarry when a mill was built in its vicinity towards the end of the eighteenth century. Castle Mahon was more recent than Castle Lac, and was of a much better type; the exact date of its erection is not known, but it cannot have been later than A.D. 1400, as the necessity for a castle south of the Bandon River must have been felt in the troublous days of the preceding century. We may readily believe that in that period of intense aggression on the part of the grantees of Henry the Second's Charter and of their representatives, the clan did not preserve its existence without much hard fighting. In 1359 the son of a chieftain, Tadhg, who from his place in the Genealogical Table must have flourished at that date, fell in battle, doubtless against some invader of the tribeland, according to the entry in the *Annals of Loch Ce*:—"Donal Mac Tadhg O'Mahouna occisus est."<sup>12</sup>

Barry Og, lord of Kinelea (separated from Kinelmeky by the river Mughin or Brinny river) had, or claimed to have, a piece of parchment giving him a title to Kinelmeky. The "title"<sup>13</sup> was obtained from De

<sup>10</sup> Castles were built in Ireland long before the Normans came. An O'Connor of Connacht was called "Tadhg of the three towers" in 954, and his grandson, "Tadhg of the Tower" in 1009. In 1124 three castles were built (*Annals Four M.*), and besides there was "Hags Castle" in Lough Mask, which still exists. The original Norman castles or "Peel Towers," with an entrance door to the first floor, were places of refuge not much differing, for that purpose, from the Round Towers of Ireland.

<sup>11</sup> Windele on the same occasion visited Rath Rathleann, without being able to identify it as Cian's Fort, but he inferred from its great size that it was a Riogh Rath or Royal Rath. He did not happen to meet local shanachies who could tell him the traditions about the Rath and Castle Lac.

<sup>12</sup> The *Annals Four Masters* have two entries—one that Donal "died," the other that he "was killed." The latter is confirmed by the *Annals of Loch Ce*.

<sup>13</sup> See "Records of the Barrys" by Rev. E. Barry, who shows that De Courcey claimed a head rent from Barry Og as his feudal superior. In an Inquisition dated 1373, Milo De Courcey is set down as the owner of Kinelea, held by Philip Fitzwilliam Barry, The Barry Og. (*Rotulorum patent, et claus, Cal., Dublin, 1828.*)

Courcy as the representative of De Cogan, who was authorised by Henry II. to rob, if he could, the native proprietors of "one moiety of the kingdom of Cork." In Smith's *History of Cork* mention is made of an Inquisition held after the death of William De Barry, among whose possessions, held from De Courcy, are set down Kinelmeky and Ifflanloe (Ui Flon Lua in West Muskerry). But neither in Kinelmeky nor in Ifflanloe was any of the line of Barry Og able to acquire a foothold. Indeed the Kinelmeky Sept cannot have found the Kinelea pretender a formidable opponent, as the Barry Og of 1578, who had the same resources as his predecessors, is described by Lord Burleigh as a "poor beggarly Captayne of the land between Cork and Kinsale, called Kynoley" (Kinelea).

In the year 1400, if not somewhat earlier, the Connacht bard O'Heerin<sup>14</sup> composed his topographical poem descriptive of the numerous tribelands of Leath Mogha, as Leinster and Munster were then called. To obtain the information oral and written that he required for such an exhaustive description he must, of course, have made the circuit of the two provinces. As he died in 1420 (*Annals F. M.*) at an advanced age, as O'Reilly discovered, we may fairly fix on 1400 as about the latest year in which he would be physically capable of such a laborious peregrination. We are not to suppose that in this circuit he visited *all* tribe lands, for he describes some of them vaguely and some erroneously. But the minutely accurate description that he gave of Kinelmeky suggests that he wrote from actual observation:—

Cinel m-béce an fúinn ealaig  
 Imon bándain m-báin-pearraig  
 fear ar cathbáda ón muaidh mór  
 O matgáinna an éuain chuipgíl.

TRANSLATION (Dr. Donovan).

"Cinel mBece the land of cattle  
 Around the Bandon of fair woods  
 A most warlike man from the rapid Muaidh  
 Is O'Mahouna of the harbour of white foam."

The territory is here described as on "both sides" of the Bandon, "of fair woods"—an epithet anticipating Spenser's "crowned with many a wood"—and the river opens out not far beyond the eastern boundary into "the harbour of white foam." He does not omit to notice the small river Muaidh, since known by its diminutive form Muaidhin (pr. Muaghin, written by Smith Mughin), which is the eastern boundary of Kinelmeky. These are minute descriptive touches. He shows that he was aware that there was another Sept of the name in the west, about which he has also a quatrain.

In this connection it will be convenient to mention some place names in the tribeland that preserve the memory of some ancestors of the Sept. The principal place-name is, of course, Kinelmeky itself, the spelling of which, in Irish, is correctly given in O'Heerin's quatrain. With reference to Smith's attempted derivation, which Bennett repeated, Dr.

<sup>14</sup> Topographical Poems of O'Dugan and O'Heerin, Ed., J. O'Donovan, LL.D., 1862.



O'Donovan<sup>15</sup> writes:—"Nothing can be more erroneous than Smith's derivation of the name in his *History of Cork*. It is taken altogether from the English spelling, and shows that he never saw the word in the original Irish. The genealogy of the O'Mahons is traced up from Conn, son of Diarmuid Mor of Ivagha (1320) through twenty-four generations to Bec (or Bece), in the seventh century." Cox thus alludes to two other well-known place names:—"From this Kean (Cian, father of Mahon) was called Enniskean, and from Droghid i Mahoun Bandon Bridge" (*Regnum Corcagiense*). Droghid Ui Mahouna, "O'Mahon's bridge," was also called by Irish speakers "An droighid," The Bridge, a name indicating the great rarity of bridges at the time it was built. Curravreeda, "the enclosure of the hostages," carries us back (as also does Lisbanree) to the ninth and tenth centuries; Gurteen O'Mahon is still the name of a townland, and another is called Gurteen Conogher Og in some title deeds of the seventeenth century.

The Lords of Kinsale might be supposed to be interested in Barry Og's pretensions, as they were his feudal superiors. Nevertheless between them and the Kinelmeky Chieftains no dissension appears to have arisen after the twelfth century, and about 1450 there was a connection by marriage. In Lodge's *Peerage* (Archdall's Edition) we find the following (s. v. Kingsale, Baron):—"Nicholas De Courcey, twelfth Baron of Kinsale, married Mor,<sup>16</sup> daughter of O'Mahon, chief of his sept and descended from Corc, King of Munster." This O'Mahon was Donal (son of Dermot, and ninth in descent from Donogh Na Himerce O'M.), whom Duald Mac Firbis, in his *Book of Munster*, sets down as a contemporary of his western cousin, Donogh O'M., Chief of Ivagha. As the latter succeeded in 1427 (the date of his father's death, *Annals Four M.*), and died in 1473 (*Annals of Loch Ce*), we can thus determine the time of Donal of Kinelmeky. In the above quotation from Lodge's *Peerage* we have substituted the true name, Mor, for Lodge's "Maurya," a female name not in use in the fifteenth century in Ireland. Dr. O'Donovan says:—"Mor was the name of many ladies in Elizabeth's time. In our own times it has been almost invariably Anglicised Mary, with which it is neither synonymous or cognate." (Preface to O'Dugan and O'Heerin). The twelfth Lord Kinsale died in 1474, and the following obit is taken from the *Liber Fratrum Minorum de Timolagge*:—"Ob. Nich. De Courcey suae nationis caput, vir Praeclarus." James, his son and successor, died in 1499, according to another obit of the same book. These extracts are found in Wäre's Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (classed Rawlinson 479).

In view of the long array of ancient records that have been set forth in the course of this History from the sixth century down to O'Heerin's circuit in A.D. 1400, showing that Kinelmeky, named after their ancestor, was the cradle and the home of the O'Mahony Sept, it is unnecessary to notice at all Bennett's statement in his *History of Bandon* (first Ed.) that

<sup>15</sup> In a letter to Dr. Aquila Smith (Editor of Payne's work, above quoted), who had asked for information as to the derivation of the place name.

<sup>16</sup> The name "Mor" is contained in the Kinelmeky place-name Curravordy, "the house of dark Mor" (curr av móir uíthe).



BATTLEFIELD OF CAISLEAN NA LEACHTA (A.D. 1088.)  
(Square Rath, on which are remains of Castle, in background,)

the Sept "came originally from Carbery, and intruded, about the year 1460, on Kinelmeky, which then belonged to the English Crown, and gave half of it to Mac Carthy Reagh for his assistance." But it may be of interest to show what kind of history was manufactured about Irish tribes in the time of Elizabeth. That falsehood was doubtless suggested by the appellation "Carbery" or "of Carbery" attached to the name of the chief—an appellation misunderstood by those who were unacquainted with the peculiarities of Irish nomenclature, and unaware that Kinelmeky, on its western side, included a portion of the territory known from ancient times as "Carbery." When preparing for his second edition, Bennett had some perception of the absurdity of the statement he had so uncritically received, and sought to modify it into a less extravagant assertion, viz., that the Clan had been dislodged from Kinelmeky, their ancient patrimony, and *returned* to it 1460. But that is not the assertion of the authority that he followed, the Inquisition held in Cork in 1584, as quoted in Cox's *History of Ireland*, p. 383. The English colonists of Cork, who were the "Juratores" in that Inquisition, meant to say that "O'Mahown Carbry" began to occupy Kinelmeky for the first time in the above-mentioned year. Having put forward this unhistorical statement, they then proceeded to stultify themselves by deciding that, nevertheless, Conogher, the Chief who fell in the Desmond Insurrection, was owner of (not half but) the whole Barony of Kinelmeky, having somehow acquired a valid title to land that 120 years before was "the ancient inheritance of the Crown." They were as ignorant of English Law as of the history of the Irish tribe, or they would have known that their law recognised no "acquisitive prescription of land" that was known to have belonged to another even in the previous century.

Their "history" was adopted by none of their contemporaries. Two years afterwards it was completely ignored at the Youghal Inquisition (held regarding the same Chief and other participators in the insurrection), which simply decided that Conogher O'Mahony "died seized of the fee of the Barony of Kinelmeky." The decision was, of course, unjust to the members of the Clan, who held land by the same right as their Head, but it clearly implied that the Chief held by *unbroken* and *immemorial* possession. Four years afterwards, Bishop Lyon, in a letter which will presently be quoted at greater length, wrote that the Sept of the "O'Mahownies" were "ancient in Kinelmeky as Mac Carthy Reagh in Carbery." In the numerous State papers about Kinelmeky between 1584 and 1600, no notice at all is taken of the alleged "intrusion on Crown Land in 1460," though, if provable, it would summarily dispose of all the points raised against the confiscation and transfer to Beecher.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The text of the Inquisition, given by Cox, is as follows:—"That Kinelmeky was the ancient inheritance of the Crown, and Barry Og (Farmer of it—i.e., lessee) paid the rent to the Exchequer; that O'Mahown Carbry intruded on it, and gave Mac Carthy Reagh half for protection. That Conogher O'Mahown was slain in the Earl of Desmond's rebellion, and died seized of the Seignory of Kinelmeky." The concoctors of the above did not know that Barry Og derived his claim to all that he possessed, or pretended to, from De Courcey, Lord Kinsale; that therefore he held no right "from the Crown," and paid no rent to the Exchequer. The falsehood about the division of Kinelmeky is easily shown by comparing the present Kinelmeky with the Deanery of "Kinelea Ultra," already described. As has been stated in a previous page, there was no change in the area of Kinelmeky since the time of Donal Gott Mac Carthy,

The fact is that pages might be filled with the mis-statements made about the past history of Irish tribes by English colonists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thus, the citizens of Cork, in a doleful letter written in 1449 to the Lord Deputy, inform him that "all the Irish of the South had been driven into the valley of Glennahought, between two great mountains, and there they lived many years as best they could with their white meats, until the English Lords fell at variance with one another," and then the Irish returned to their tribelands! Camden, followed by a writer of the Herald Office in 1600, asserted that it was "from Carew the O'Mahons received their land of Ivagha"—which has been proved to have been in possession of their ancestors four centuries before Carew's time. Spenser<sup>18</sup> believed that the Mac Mahons and Mac Sweenys were descendants of Englishmen, Fitzurses and De Veres, who translated their names into Irish. Davies wrote that when the English took possession of the Pale all the Irish were expelled—a statement that Hardiman easily disproves, the fact being that the Irish retook possession of much of the original "Pale." Davies also asserts that no Irish chiefs built castles until they renounced Tanistry and adopted the English tenure—that is, that they built none until the 16th century! Only a very uncritical writer would think of making use of such authorities as the foregoing at the present time, when "criticism of one's sources" is regarded as the first duty of a historian.

The successor of Donal was his son Dermot Spáineach, "The Spanish," so called in the genealogies, as having served in his youth in the Spanish army, for some time, during that eventful period of the war with the Moors. Dermot's successor was his son Finghin. Towards the close of the century the *Annals of Loch Ce* have an entry under the year 1492 of the death of Finghin—"finghin O Maṡṡamna ṛéḡ." This is, of course, the entry of a chieftain's death, and the date distinguishes him from the contemporary Finghin "of the Western Land," who, according to the same Annals and the Four Masters, lived until 1496.

In the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. "the country," says Mr. Gibson,<sup>19</sup> "all but passed out of the hands of the English Monarch." There is no exaggeration in this statement. In the London State Paper Office there is a report of the state of Ireland compiled in the year 1515, which shows that the Pale had dwindled to portions of five counties, in which, moreover, the majority of the inhabitants were Irish. It proceeds to say that the greater part of Ireland was in the hands of the "Irish enemy," and divided into "sixty regions, some as large as shires, some more, some less, under a many captaynes, who obey no temporal person but him who is strong"—which the English King was *not*, as Surrey, a Lord Lieutenant in 1520, informed him in plain language. The report commences with the "regions and captaynes of Mounster," and beginning with Mac Carthy More, it mentions "O'Mahunde of Fousheragh (Fonn Iartharach, Ivagha), Chief Captayne of his nation," and

1232. Mac Carthy Reagh, in his letter to the Privy Council, 1588, so far from endorsing the "history" given in the Inquisition, subverts its fundamental assertion about the "ancient inheritance of the Crown."

<sup>18</sup> Spenser, in his "View of the State of Ireland," accepts the Cork letter of 1449 as a trustworthy record.

<sup>19</sup> Hist. of Cork, vol. i., p. 112.

"O'Mahund of Kynalmeke, Chief Captayne of his nation." "Nation" was but another name for sept; there was no Irish nation in the modern sense of the term. The writer of the report shows how incomplete was the knowledge that English officials had of the Southern tribes, for he omitted to make mention of O'Sullivan Mor, O'Donoghue of the Glens, O'Donovan, O'Keeffe, and Mac Auliffe. The name "Irish Enemy" used in the report, as in all previous Acts of the Parliament of the Pale, was an accurately descriptive term, but, not long afterwards, the officials of the English Crown began to substitute for it the appellation of "rebels and traitors." The use of those names involved the arrogant assumption that those of the Irish who (like the two Septs whose history is here given) did not welcome an extension of English rule, owed, somehow, allegiance to a foreign king, too weak to perform the fundamental duty of keeping order, and disposed, like his predecessors, to carry out, if he got strong enough, the wholesale spoliation projected by Henry II.

The English power had considerably increased in 1541, not so much through any military successes as through dissensions in Munster. In that year the Lord Deputy St. Leger was sent over with special instructions to get the Irish Chiefs and Anglo-Irish nobles to acknowledge Henry VIII. as their "natural and liege lord" and as "supreme head of the Church in England and Ireland." In pursuance of his mission, St. Leger came to Cork, and his summons was obeyed by the three Barrys, five Irish Chiefs of the Co. Cork, and two of Kerry, who, if the Indenture given in Cox's *History* be authentic,<sup>20</sup> subscribed their names to the Declaration required of them. The Chief of Kinelmeke did not attend, neither did Connor Fionn, the head of the kindred Sept of Ivagha, nor his neighbours O'Driscoll and O'Donovan.

In 1551, as a State Paper informs us, when the Earl of Desmond visited the new Lord Deputy Crofts in Dublin, he found that the latter had resolved to call before him the Earl's son and Maurice, the Earl's brother "for preys taken from the O'Mahons," i.e., from those of Kinelmeke, which was easily invaded from Kerri-currihy, a Desmond possession, whereas the Western O'Mahons were practically inaccessible. The Lord Deputy cared little about the interests of an Irish tribe which had shown no loyalty, but it was a matter of State policy not to allow attacks to be made without permission on the "Irish enemy," and an Act of Parliament had been passed to that effect. For over three centuries, but especially since 1487, the Earls of Desmond and their immediate relatives had been harassing and plundering the Irish of South Munster, not, however, with impunity, for they were often repulsed<sup>21</sup> with great slaughter. Thomas Davis, in his splendid but unhistorical poem on "The Geraldines," has thrown a glamour over the whole line of ruthless marauders, on

<sup>20</sup> Doubts have been expressed as to the authenticity of the clause in the Indenture acknowledging Henry as Head of the Church in Ireland, and discarding expressly the authority of the Pope. See "Records of the Barrys" on this point. It is certain that all the signatories (and their sons who succeeded them) lived and died members of the Catholic Church, and were never accused of having renounced their Creed.

<sup>21</sup> As at Mourne Abbey in 1520 by Mac Carthy of Muskerry, at Innishannon in 1560 by Turlough Mac Sweeny and his gallowglasses in the pay of Mac Carthy Reagh, and in 1564, when Maurice, "the Freebooter," or Maurice Dubh, brother of the Earl, was killed in one of his forays in Muskerry. Mr. Gibson gives a good account of the incessant forays of the Desmond branch of the Geraldines.

account of the part taken by James Fitzmaurice, Earl Garret, and the "Sugán" Earl in the national movement in the time of Elizabeth.

In 1568 Sir Peter Carew came over from England to prosecute his claim to "one half of the Kingdom of Cork" as heir to Fitzstephen, one of the grantees of the Charter of Henry II. He produced a forged roll, which was received as evidence setting forth that "Fitzstephen's moiety contained Imokilly, Tyr Barry (Barry's country), Tyr Courcey (Courcey's country), Muskerry, Kinelmeky, Carbery, Ivagha, and the countries of O'Driscoll and O'Donovan," with some other districts in Kerry. "The corrupt Government of the day," says O'Donovan,<sup>22</sup> "allowed the ludicrous claim—the claim of a collateral branch to be heirs of a bastard—in order to frighten the Earl of Desmond and the Irish chiefs." We hear nothing about the progress of his case until 1575. Cox, who carefully avoids stating whether there was any decision given in favour of Carew or not, relates that in 1575 "Sir Peter sent his agent, John Hooker, to Cork, where he had a solemn meeting with Mac Carthy Reagh, Cormac Mac Teig of Muskerry, Barry Og, O'Mahon, O'Driscoll, and others, and that they made this proposal to him, that they would advance three thousand kine with sheep, hogs and corn proportionable for the present; and that if Sir Peter would live among them they would pay a rent that would be reasonable; whereupon Hooker took a house for Sir Peter at Cork and another in Kinsale, but as Sir Peter was going that way he died in Wexford, Nov. 1575." Cox's account has been transcribed and adopted by Smith and Gibson in their County Histories. It may be that those chieftains resolved to submit to the inevitable. But it was certainly not credible that they displayed such abject servility as to *stipulate* that the man who came to carry out the long-deferred spoliation arranged by Henry II. should do them the favour of living among them. We can now compare Cox's narration, derived apparently from hearsay, with that of a first hand authority, the agent Hooker himself, whose original MS. has been published by Mr. MacLean in his *Life of Sir P. Carew*. Hooker, alias Vowell, says:—"And forthwith they all, the Lord Courcey, Lord Barry Oge, McCarthy Riogh, the O'Mahons, McSweyne, O'Driscoll, O'Daly and sundry did conclude with this agent that they would submit their lands to Sir P. Carew and take same at a reasonable rent. And for that that was past they would give 3,000 kine, which they accounted to be one year's rent of the lands they did hold. The Earl of Desmond, the Lord Courcey, the Lord Roch, and Sir Cormac Mac Teig pretended great joy at Sir Peter's coming to live among them," but before any rent was paid Sir Peter died of a short and painful illness. But a serious objection may be raised against the agent's narrative. If there was such a compact as he mentions, it would have been duly reduced to writing, and could have been enforced by Sir George Carew, when he became his brother's heir on the death of his nephew at the skirmish of Glenmalure. He has never been considered to be so indifferent to his own interests as to be capable of renouncing such a vast income. If Lord Courcey took part in that compact with the agent, then the title deeds by which Cogan was said to have conveyed Courcey's Country and Kinelea to his ancestor are clearly proved to be mythical.

<sup>22</sup> Annals Four M., vol. v., p. 1,738, note, where there is reference to the forged roll.

The O'Mahon at this date, and for some years previously, was Finghin (Fineen), son of Maolmuadh, who appears to have succeeded his brother Cian by Tanist law. He was married to a sister of Mac Carthy Reagh. His name in the Latinized form, "Florentius O'Mahowney de O'Mahoone-Castle, gen. [erosus]," occurs in the "Inquisition held after the death of Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh," written in the "Law Latin" of the time, in June, 1576. In 1575, when Sir Henry Sidney, the conciliatory Lord Deputy, took up his residence in Cork for six weeks, he was visited by the Southern Chiefs generally, even by those who had made no declaration of allegiance, and had no intention of renouncing their status and adopting the English tenure. He wrote an account of his visitors, by many of whom he was favourably impressed, and he was considering a plan for attaching to the English Crown, by a distribution of titles, "those of them not yet nobilitated." His letter may be seen, in extenso, in Gibson's *History of Cork*, vol. i., p. 226. After mentioning several of the Irish "who in respect of their lands might pass as Barons in England or Ireland," he continues:—"O'Kyffe and Mac Fynnen, and the sons and heirs of Mac Auly and O'Callaghan, the old men not being able to come by reason of age. O'Mahon and O'Driscoll,<sup>23</sup> each of them, have land enough, with good order<sup>24</sup> to live like a Baron here or there. Of those descended of the English race Sir James Fitzgerald, &c., &c." It appears that only one of the O'Mahons attended, and it is impossible to determine which of the two is referred to in the above extract. Certain it is that neither of them, as their subsequent history shows, was influenced by a desire of obtaining an English title. Two years afterwards O'Mahon of Carbery was engaged in some proceeding which brought him into collision with the English Government, but the nature of which is not set forth in the Calendar of State Papers. In the record of the Fiants, 1577, we find:—"Pardon to Owen McCarthy Reagh, of Kilbrittain; Donal Mac Carthy, of Kilgobbin; Florence O'Mahowne, called O'Mahown Carberie, and Dermot O'Mahowne, of same place." In the same year, Fiant No. 3,039 has the following:—"O'Mahowne Carberie is suitor for the pardon of twenty-five of his men."

This is the proper occasion for exposing two mis-statements and mis-quotations of Mr. Bennett in his *History of Bandon*. "When Sir H. Sidney," he says, "visited Cork in 1575, one of those who visited him was O'Mahony, whom he represents as 'a man of small force, though a proper country.'" He found no such passage in Sir H. Sidney's letter. It occurs in a letter of Lord Burleigh's, in which also is found a depreciatory reference to Barry Og, quoted in a former page, and a querulous disparagement of several heads of Septs. But what would Burleigh call "a small force"? Mr. Bennett proceeds to make the description definite and precise:—"The chief of Castle-Mahon was not a powerful chief, for . . . it is recorded that his forces were twenty-six horse and one

<sup>23</sup> Dr. W. A. Copinger, in his notes to the new Ed. of Smith's *Cork* (vol. ii. of this Journal, p. 162), professes to give Sir H. Sidney's letter, and transcribes it accurately until he comes to the name "O'Driscoll," after which he places a full stop, and without any indication of omission, suppresses what follows in the same sentence and passes on to "Of those descended from the English," &c. Any such manipulation of historical documents should be discountenanced, even in matters of great importance.

<sup>24</sup> Mr. Gibson does not say from what original he quoted; the Calendar of Carew MSS. has "to live like a knight."

hundred and twenty kerne." Now this is a mere invention. There is no such record in the State Papers or histories of the time. Bennett had no hesitation about supplying the want. He saw in a report of Carew's that the Western O'Mahon had seventy-two horse and two hundred and twenty kerne, but that under that chief's immediate command there were "twenty-six horse and one hundred and twenty kerne," the remainder being mustered by his cousin and subordinate, O'Mahon of Brin (Rossbrin). The "twenty-six horses and one hundred and twenty kerne" the historian transfers from the west and assigns to the Chief of Kinelmeky. This ingenious method of manufacturing history is hardly calculated to inspire his readers with confidence in his other statements and quotations. We will show in a subsequent page that the Clan, though weakened by its losses in the Desmond war, was able in 1601 to muster three hundred fighting men at about two hours' notice.

Fineen died in the beginning of 1579, leaving four sons, Conogher, his successor, and three others, to whom he bequeathed the three ploughlands which constituted the parish of Killowen.

Conogher O'Mahony succeeded to the chieftainship at the early age of twenty-three (as tradition tells) in the troubled and eventful year 1579. He was not, as the phrase ran, the "eldest and the best man of the blood," who usually succeeded almost as a matter of course, but he was eligible according to Tanist Law, and either his own personal qualities, or his deceased father's popularity in the Clan, secured his succession. In 1579, after the death of Sir James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, the Earl of Desmond, after some vacillation, put himself at the head of the movement against Elizabeth, initiated and organised by his deceased kinsman. It has been called the Desmond "Rebellion," but from the point of view of the Irish Chiefs who took part in it, it was simply a continuation or renewal of the warfare that had for centuries been waged between the foreign invaders and the "Irish enemy," to whom an additional stimulus had been supplied by the enforcement of the persecuting Statute of 1559. Some nobles and heads of Septs did not openly take up arms, but all, without exception,<sup>25</sup> actively sympathised with the insurrection to an extent that was not known before the publication of Sir W. Pelham's letters. Kinelmeky had been ravaged by members of the House of Desmond, but past grievances were forgotten in the great crisis which had arrived. The young chieftain responded to the general call to arms, and led his clansmen to the rendezvous at Ballyhoura on the ninth of August, 1579.<sup>26</sup> It is stated by Bennett that he fell in 1582, but further research is necessary to discover the time and place of his death, as also of the death of O'Donoghue Mor and some other leading men among the Irish. A State Paper refers

<sup>25</sup> Even that paragon of loyalty, Sir Cormac Mac Teig Mac Carthy, was thought to "draw two ways," and so Pelham took him to Limerick with fifteen other chiefs and Anglo-Irish gentlemen "who inclined towards the traitors." (Letter to Council in England, July, 1580.) Among the fifteen was Sir Owen Mac Carthy Reagh, who according to Warham St. Leger, "had as cankered a mind as any of them to the English Government, and would be in rebellion if he durst."

<sup>26</sup> These particulars are stated in the Youghal Inquisition of 1586: "*Item dicunt quod Conogher O'Mahowneye, nuper de Kinealmeykye, seisitus fuit de feodo, de Castello, etc., et de omnibus terris, etc., eidem spectantium pertinentibus in Comitatu Cork, continentibus in longitudine circiter duodena milliarium, et sic seisitus existens, intravit in rebellionem apud Ballyhawry, nono die Augusti, anno dictae Dom Reginae nunc vicesimo secundo.*"



to an "Inquisition taken at Cork in 1584 of the lands of Conogher O'Mahown, traitor, slain in rebellion." He was no traitor, at all events, to the cause of his own race and country.

*(To be continued.)*

[The writer desires to take this opportunity of acknowledging his indebtedness to Mr. Peirce G. Mahony, B.L., Cork Herald, for the help he has kindly given by sending copies of several Inquisitions and other manuscript records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.]

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"In Itineribus Saepe."

## Bishop Dive Downes' Visitation of his Diocese, 1699.

*(Continued from page 74.)*

EDITED, WITH NOTES, BY T. A. LUNHAM.

I staid Friday, Aug. 11, 1699. I staid at Bantry and was at Whidy Island. On Saturday, Aug. 12, I left Bantry and went to Skibbareen. The chapel at Skibbareen was formerly the market house, consecrated about the year 1686 by Dr. Wetenhall, Bp. of Corke,<sup>9</sup> it stands in the parish of Abbystrowry. A burying place consecrated near the town. There is no burying place about the chappel. The chappel built of thin stones like slates. The Macarthys, the O'Sullivans, and the O'Donovans were the old proprietors of Carbery and Bere and Bantry.

Skibbareen is the estate of Colonel Beecher and Colonel Townsend. The land for three miles before you come to Skibbareen from Bantry is pretty good.

I preacht at Skibbareen on Sunday, Aug. 13, 1699. I lodged at my Lady Catherine Barclay's house in Skibbareen.

Creagh Church ruinous, stands 3 miles to the S.W. of Skibbareen. Affadown Church stands to the N.W. of Skibbareen at 3 miles distance.

The parishes of Creagh and Abbystrowry meet at Skibbareen. They are divided by the river.

Affadown parish comes within a mile of Skibbareen to the westward. The ruin of the church of Affadown stands near the river of Skibbareen

<sup>9</sup> Wetenhall was educated under Busby at Westminster, from whence he was elected a Scholar of Trin. Coll., Cambridge. Afterwards he removed to Oxford, and became M.A. of Linc. Coll. He accompanied Michael Boyle to Ireland, was Chanter of Ch. Church, Dublin, Bp. of Kilmore and Ardagh, and in 1678 was translated to Cork. He is thus referred to by Dean Davies, when describing the siege of Cork:—"Whereupon the enemy let the Bishop come out to us, whom they made prisoner in the city, with all the clergy, and about one thousand three hundred of the Protestants, and towards evening they beat a parley and came to a treaty," &c. *Journal of Dean Davies*, p. 154 (Camden Society, 1857). A list of his writings is given in Anthony Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv., p. 561 (ed. Bliss).