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# The O Callaghans and the Rebellion of 1641

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(*In memory of my father, William O Callaghan,  
of Bweeng and Drumcummer*)

## INTRODUCTION

The seventeenth century marks a watershed in the history of Ireland, as the old Gaelic order, structured upon the dominance of powerful families, was finally thrust aside and replaced by a new regime typified by English landlordism and the Penal Laws. The last vestiges of the O Callaghan lordship, stretching along both banks of the Blackwater River from Mallow to Kanturk, an area of about 5,000 acres known to the Tudors as Pobal Uí Cheallacháin or O Callaghan's Country, were destroyed.

In order to understand how the O Callaghan family, like so many others, was brought so low, one must reflect briefly on the rise of the family. The O Callaghan lordship adjoined the territories of Mac Donough, Mac Auliffe, and O Keeffe in the barony of Duhallow, and was situated in the parishes of Clonmeen and Kilshannig south of the Blackwater, and parts of Roskeen, Ballyclough, Castlemagner and Dromtariff north of the river.<sup>1</sup> MacCarthy Mór, the most powerful of the Gaelic princes in Munster, claimed ascendancy over them all, with the right to give the white rod of office to the chief at his accession.<sup>2</sup> Amidst the shifting political and religious currents of the Tudor era, the O Callaghans seem to have followed the lead of MacCarthy of Muskerry, whose lands lay to the south around Blarney and Macroom.

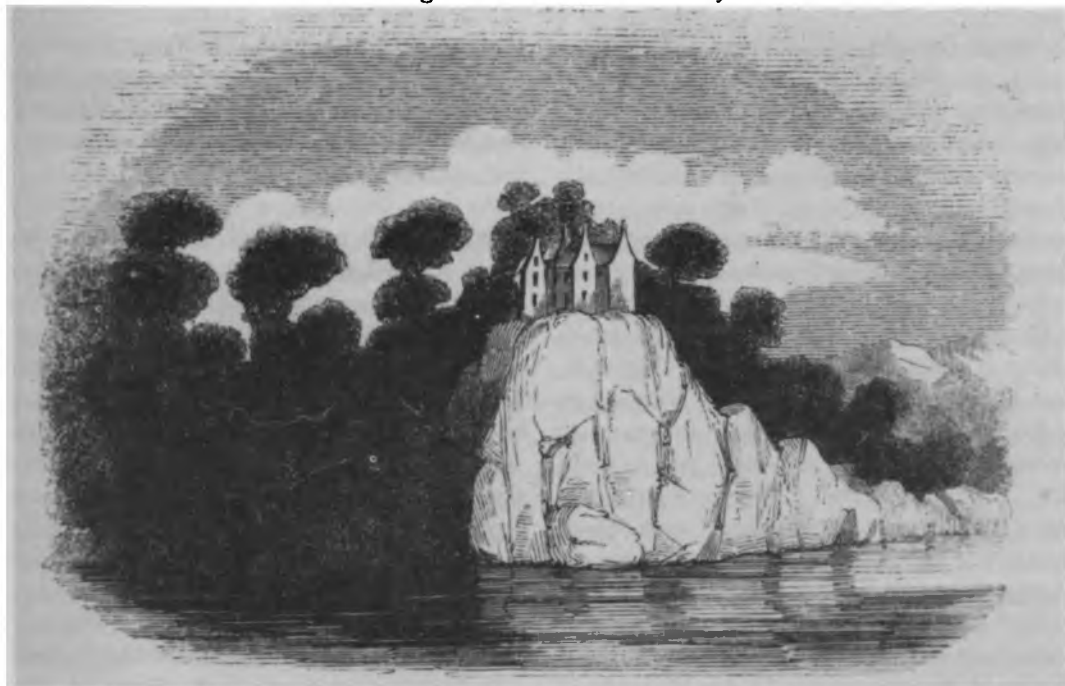
Thus when MacCarthy of Muskerry decided to surrender his lands to the crown and to

receive a regrant, giving him a legitimate title recognized by English law, Conor of the Rock, chieftain of the O Callaghans (1578-1612), followed suit. By the process of surrender and regrant in 1594, he transformed the family patrimony into a personal estate transmissible to his heirs. Thus he and his immediate family profited at the expense of the clan as a whole.<sup>3</sup> As other members of the clan challenged his high-handed tactics, the dispute eventually found its way into court. The famous 'Case of Tanistry', adjudicated in 1608, gave the government the opportunity to declare null and void the entire Irish system of land tenure.<sup>4</sup>

As a consequence of this quarrel, the principal lands once belonging to the O Callaghan lordship were divided between Conor of the Rock, who maintained himself at Clonmeen until his death in 1612, and his cousin, Cahir Modartha of Dromaneen, who surrendered his lands to the crown and received a new grant in 1610.<sup>5</sup> Although a clan in the older Gaelic sense no longer existed and neither man could claim to be 'captain of his nation', each retained some vestigial claim to the allegiance of the lesser members of the family.

## DONOUGH O CALLAGHAN

The division between the families of Clonmeen and Dromaneen was brought to a close when Donough O Callaghan succeeded his father, Cahir Modartha, at Dromaneen in 1637. Donough married his cousin, Ellen, the daughter of Callaghan O Callaghan and



DROMANEEN CASTLE (From J.R. O'Flanagan, *The River Blackwater in Munster*)

Joanna Butler, daughter of the second Lord Dunboyne. When Callaghan, the son of Con-  
or of the Rock, died in 1631, Ellen inherited  
Clonmeen. By her marriage to Donough, the  
two principal branches of the family were  
reunited and the castles of Dromaneen and  
Clonmeen were again brought under a single  
ownership.<sup>6</sup>

Donough O Callaghan came to the fore  
when a bitter conflict erupted between King  
Charles I (1625-1649) and the English parlia-  
ment over the twin issues of royal authority  
and religious liberty.<sup>7</sup> Prompted by distur-  
bances in England and the king's failure to  
make concessions to Catholics, Irish leaders in  
Ulster and Leinster organized a rebellion in  
October 1641. Ireland quickly divided into  
several factions. The Old Irish, that is, the de-  
scendants of Gaelic families, and the Old  
English or Anglo-Irish, the descendants of the  
Normans, were drawn together by their com-  
mon adherence to Catholicism and their con-

tinued allegiance to the king, from whom they  
still hoped to gain the right to practise their  
religion freely. They regarded with hostility  
the Puritans, mostly New English or Scots Pres-  
byterians, who had settled in Ireland in the six-  
teenth and early seventeenth centuries, and  
who strongly favoured the parliamentary  
cause.<sup>8</sup>

Soon after the rising in Ulster, the insurgen-  
cy spread into Munster. The whole province  
was out by March 1642.<sup>9</sup> An anonymous con-  
temporary reported that the Catholic leaders in  
Duhallow, viz., Dermot Mac Donough,  
Donough O Callaghan, Donal O Keeffe, and  
others, either in person or through their prox-  
ies, came with most of their forces to join the  
rebel general, Lord Mountgarret, at Buttevant  
on 10 February 1642.<sup>10</sup> Suggesting that Mallow  
be used as a base of operations, they promised  
that the army would not be lacking in pro-  
visions; they had already plundered the  
English settlers in the neighbourhood. Mac

Donough brought 200 men and O Callaghan and O Keeffe another 200.<sup>11</sup> About half of them were described as 'loose unarmed robbers, pillers, strippers, preyers, drivers of men, women and children', and the other half, though supposedly military men, were 'roguishly armed, falsehearted, ignorantly disciplined, penuriously powdered, carelessly commanded, and barely conditioned'.<sup>12</sup>

During the next several days as the rebels besieged Mallow, Lord Roche, Mac Donough, and O Callaghan supplied them with about '1400 English sheep . . . besides great store of beeves, plenty of beer and bread sent in every day . . .'.<sup>13</sup> One of their objectives was to take the stone house in the middle of town where part of the English had taken refuge. Captain Heneste, assisted by Donough's brothers, Callaghan and Conoghor, commanded the O Callaghans in an assault on the house. Some of those within were tenants of Cahir Modartha O Callaghan (now deceased) and had built upon and improved the lands they held from him near Mallow. Now persuaded to surrender on the promise that their goods would be restored, they were plundered again when they did so on 14 February. The rebels captured the Short Castle of Mallow on the next day, but when Roche and Mac Donough quarrelled over possession of the town, the troops abandoned the siege on 16 February.<sup>14</sup>

Some years later, after the collapse of the rebellion, the English who suffered losses during the siege of Mallow presented their claims. A widow alleged that she had been robbed by Donough O Callaghan's people of goods valued at £134. Another declared that Cahir O Callaghan's soldiers murdered William Lynes and his wife near Mallow. Still another stated that he had seen O Callaghan at the head of his own company at the taking of the Short Castle and the attack on the Great Castle. Two men reported being stripped by O Callaghan and 'turned naked to the garrison of Mallow'. Others settled on lands in O Callaghan's

Country reported losses in varying amounts. Whether or not these depositions were exaggerated, they do reflect the intensity of feeling that had been aroused by English settlement in and around Mallow.<sup>15</sup>

As Lord Mountgarret had left Roche and Mac Donough to quarrel over Mallow, the rebels in Cork were in need of a new leader. They found him in Donough Mac Carthy, Viscount Muskerry, who at first had remained neutral. According to our anonymous source his annual revenue amounted to £7,000 and he had inherited £30,000. By contrast, Roche, Mac Donough, O Callaghan, and O Keeffe were so deeply in debt that their revenues served only to meet their interest payments.<sup>16</sup>

#### THE CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY

With the aim of securing civil and religious liberties, the Old Irish and the Anglo-Irish Catholics formed the Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny in June 1642. Donough O Callaghan of Clonmeen was among the twenty-four members of the Supreme Council, the Confederation's principal operative organ.<sup>17</sup> Indeed he was one of the few Gaelic Irish to have such a notable position. He and his brother Callaghan O Callaghan ('who not long since came from the Inns of Court in studying the law, a pertinacious young fellow')<sup>18</sup> were among those who swore the oath of the Confederation in June 1642.<sup>19</sup> In close alliance with Donough Mac Carthy, Viscount Muskerry, both men played an influential role in the events that unfolded in the next few years. Allied with the Butlers by marriage, Muskerry and Donough O Callaghan seem to have concluded that co-operation with the Anglo-Irish and continued allegiance to the crown was the best way of retaining their possessions and the well-being of their families.<sup>20</sup>

The Earl of Castlehaven, after reviewing the causes of the war in Ireland, commented that among 'those very ancient Milesians (who) sided with such other confederate Catholics

... to bring back the whole nation to their former obedience to the King and his laws,' Viscount Muskerry (afterwards Earl of Clancarty), 'the O Callaghans and some other gentlemen thereof (men of note in Munster) were eminent'.<sup>21</sup>

Participation in the Confederation brought certain hazards, as O Callaghan learned shortly. The English parliament dispatched an army to Ireland under Lord Forbes, which, after landing at Kinsale in July 1642, terrorized the south-west. The army seems to have advanced inland and according to reports 'took also great O Callaghane's castle lately'. Clonmeen, the more westerly of the O Callaghan castles, presumably was meant.<sup>22</sup> In addition, Donough O Callaghan and sixteen of his relatives were among those indicted of treason at Youghal on 2 August 1642 and outlawed by the Court of King's Bench.<sup>23</sup>

In the next year, the Earl of Ormonde, whom Charles I had named as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, offered a truce to the Confederation. A cessation of hostilities for one year was agreed upon on 15 September 1643.<sup>24</sup> During that time Donough O Callaghan and Lord Muskerry were appointed commissioners to resolve complaints of the seizure of land, cattle, and other livestock in violation of the truce. Writing to Sir Philip Percivall on 24 February 1644 from Mallow, Thomas Bettesworth remarked: 'In truth, to give him his due (for that the devil must have), I find Do. O'Callaghane, in our intercourse of quarter, to be one of the moderateest, most rational men amongst them, and a strict observer of the Articles of Cessation, or a seemer to be so.'<sup>25</sup> Lord Inchiquin also told Donough that he had 'always found you more reasonable than most'.<sup>26</sup>

In a letter written to Captain Thomas Raymond at Clonmeen on 12 April 1645, Donough expressed his own wish for peace. Though he had not been informed officially that the truce had been prolonged, he com-

mented, 'yet such was and is my desire of peace and quiet with my neighbours that I gave order to my own people to sit quiet till I give order to the contrary. I am loath to begin hostility with my neighbours if not forced unto it, after the fair quarter and correspondency held between us since the beginning of the cessation. If you will acknowledge and serve our sovereign lord the king against his enemies, as I found you were resolved to do and obey the Lord Lieutenant's commands, I see no reason you should be held an enemy to our party who serve his Majesty and will live and die in his quarrel.'<sup>27</sup>

Donough's brother, Callaghan O Callaghan, in the meantime was in England on business of the Confederation. General Ludlow, who served the Puritan and parliamentary party, reported that two 'Irish Papists', who were 'very zealous to justify the king's cause and to condemn that of the Parliament', came to see him at Oxford in 1644. They had been 'sent over by the rebels in Ireland to treat with the king on their part, about assisting him against Parliament. This I afterward understood from one of them whose name was Callaghan O Callaghan, when together with the brigade commanded by the lord Musquerry he laid down his arms to me in Ireland.'<sup>28</sup>

The situation changed fundamentally following the arrival of the papal nuncio, Archbishop Giovanni Battisti Rinuccini, in October 1645. Invited by the Confederation to restore papal authority in spiritual matters in Ireland, he landed at Kenmare, bringing money and arms from Pope Innocent X and from King Louis XIV of France. His journey from Kerry to Kilkenny was a triumphal one, as he passed through Macroom, Lord Muskerry's seat, then to Dromsicane, the residence of Dermot Mac Donough MacCarthy, and thence to Clonmeen, the castle of Donough O Callaghan, 'the chief of his most noble and ancient tribe, whose singular

magnificence and humanity both the nuncio and the others in such a great multitude experienced'. According to local tradition, 'the dinner service used . . . for the occasion was gold plate'.<sup>29</sup>

Rinuccini's arrival unfortunately widened the breach between the factions. The bishops and many of the Old Irish wanted to push the war more vigorously, but the Anglo-Irish, most of whom were laymen and who were in the majority, wanted to negotiate with the king and with the Lord Lieutenant, Ormonde. The division was typified by the hostility between Owen Roe O'Neill and Sir Thomas Preston, the two principal generals of the Confederation.<sup>30</sup> Following the lead of Viscount Muskerry, Ormonde's brother-in-law, O'Callaghan favoured an accommodation with the king.

The possibility of gaining concessions seemed greatly enhanced when Charles I suffered defeat at the hands of the parliamentary army in England in July 1645. Ormonde, instructed by the king to remove some of the civil and religious disabilities of the Catholics, negotiated the so-called Ormonde Peace on 28 March 1646.<sup>31</sup> Owen Roe's great victory over the parliamentary forces at Benburb in Tyrone on 5 June, however, gave heart to those wishing to press the military effort with greater vigour. Thus when Ormonde published the peace on 30 July and the Supreme Council did so at Kilkenny on 3 August, Archbishop Rinuccini rejected it, threatening with excommunication those who assisted its implementation. When the assembly of the Confederation met in February 1647, it rejected the peace.<sup>32</sup> A new oath of association stressing the rights of Catholics was drawn up and signed by Donough O'Callaghan of Clonmeen and his brother Callaghan O'Callaghan of Castle MacAuliffe as representatives from Cork.<sup>33</sup>

The royalist cause suffered a severe blow when the parliamentary army in England seized the king, prompting Ormonde to sur-

render Dublin to the Puritans in July 1647. In Munster, Lord Inchiquin, who had gone over to the parliamentary cause, took Dungarvan in May and Cashel in September, and destroyed the Confederate army under Lord Taaffe at Knocknanuss near Mallow on 13 November. Among the fallen was the commander of a force of Antrim Highlanders, Colonel Alastair MacColl MacDonnell, known as Colkitto. After the battle Donough O'Callaghan interred MacDonnell's body in his own ancestral tomb, apparently in the ruined church of Clonmeen, today all covered with ivy and lacking a roof.<sup>34</sup> Among the many others who fell in the battle was Owen O'Callaghan of Kilcranathan; his son, Donal Mór was wounded but survived.<sup>35</sup>

The shifting political currents were clearly illustrated when Lord Inchiquin abandoned the parliamentary cause in favor of the king in April 1648 and declared his readiness to conclude a truce with the Confederation. Callaghan O'Callaghan and Sir Richard Everard were appointed to negotiate the terms, which highly displeased a contemporary who remarked caustically that 'The Supreme Councell, men beyond example for falsehood, had now, contrarie to their severall oathes of union, association and confederacie, inclined to a contracte of friendship and association with the Baron of Inshishuynne (and) for this purpose employed privately Sir Richard Everard, Baronett, and Callaghan O'Callaghan Esq.'<sup>36</sup>

Despite Rinuccini's objections, the Supreme Council appointed representatives, including Donough O'Callaghan of Clonmeen, to sign the Articles of Concord establishing a truce with Inchiquin on 20 May 1648. Together with William Ryves, governor of Mallow, Donough, now identified as both *armiger* (squire) and Lieutenant-Colonel, was named commissioner for County Cork with authority to resolve disputes that might prejudice the truce.<sup>37</sup> Presumably he was also included among those

whom Rinuccini excommunicated on 27 May for supporting the truce. Corish described the legate's action as a 'political disaster . . . an irrevocable declaration of war on the Supreme Council'. The Council decided to appeal to Rome on 31 May against him. When the assembly met at Kilkenny in September 1648, Owen Roe O'Neill was declared a traitor to the Confederate cause. Despite the commonplace that the Old Irish adhered to the legate and to O'Neill, Donough MacCarthy, Viscount Muskerry, Donough O'Callaghan and his brother Callaghan were among the Old Irish who remained steadfast in their adherence to the moderate course, seeking to come to terms with the king and his representative, Ormonde.<sup>38</sup>

When Ormonde returned to Ireland in September 1648, Callaghan O'Callaghan was one of twelve commissioners whom he named to advise him concerning the establishment of a general peace in Ireland.<sup>39</sup> On the other side, Donough O'Callaghan was one of the committee appointed by the Confederation to consider Ormonde's proposals.<sup>40</sup> An accord was reached on 17 January 1648, assuring Catholics of religious liberty and of the king's promise to consider legal recognition of the Catholic Church in Ireland. The treaty dissolved the Confederation, replacing it with twelve 'commissioners of trust', among whom was Donough O'Callaghan, Esq. Article 2 provided that a free parliament should be held within six months or as soon as the commissioners should decide.<sup>41</sup>

#### THE END OF THE REBELLION

The treaty was made meaningless by the execution of King Charles I on 30 January 1649. England was declared a Commonwealth, but the royalists in Ireland proclaimed Charles II, who designated Ormonde as Lord Lieutenant. Rinuccini, whose high hopes for the restoration of Catholicism in Ireland were in ruins, left Ireland for good in February. Ormonde

now prepared to defend the royalist cause against the Commonwealth. When the Munster forces in the royalist army were mustered in the spring of 1649 the infantry was commanded by General Purcell whose Lieutenant-Colonel was Conner Callaghan, probably a younger brother of Donough of Clonmeen. The cavalry under the command of the Earl of Castlehaven included Major Callaghan O'Callaghan, probably Donough's other brother, who had been active in the affairs of the Confederation. Another Major Conogher O'Callaghan served in the regiment of Colonel Donough Mac Namara.<sup>42</sup>

Events moved swiftly but unfortunately for the royalists who were defeated at Rathmines in August 1649, a few days before the arrival of Oliver Cromwell with an army of 12,000 men. After the sack of Drogheda in September and Wexford in October, he marched from Youghal through Mallow to Kilkenny, which surrendered in March 1650. Ormonde was meeting simultaneously with Donough O'Callaghan and the other commissioners of trust at Limerick, concerning the breakdown of governmental functions. After the surrender of Clonmel in Tipperary on 10 May 1650, Cromwell departed for England two weeks later, leaving his son-in-law, Henry Ireton, to complete the conquest.<sup>43</sup>

The royalist party disintegrated rapidly, especially after Charles II, hoping to win support among the Scots, in August repudiated the peace concluded at the beginning of the year with the Confederation. Ormonde, accompanied by many of the royalist faction, sailed for France in December, after yielding his authority to the Earl of Clanricarde. Donough O'Callaghan evidently remained in Ireland, but his brother, Colonel Callaghan O'Callaghan, went to France on behalf of Lord Muskerry to try to obtain funds from Charles, Duke of Lorraine, to maintain a force of four or five hundred horse and fourteen hundred foot. Richard Bellings, who informed Ormonde,

on 19 May 1651, of 'Colonel Callechan's' activities on behalf of Muskerry, expressed the fear that without money, the troops would 'disperse and either turn irregular Tories or serve the enemy'.<sup>44</sup>

The Duke of Lorraine's scheme to intervene in Ireland was a last straw which the Catholics tried to grasp, as Ireton moved inexorably to victory. Limerick surrendered on 27 October 1651, and the fall of Galway on 12 May 1652 completed the conquest. Among the very last to surrender was Lord Muskerry, who held out for three weeks at Ross castle on the lower Lake of Killarney, before finally yielding to General Edmund Ludlow. Muskerry appointed Callaghan O Callaghan as one of the commissioners to conclude the articles of surrender on 22 June 1652. Muskerry's son and Lieut.-Col. Conor O Callaghan, probably a brother of Donough and Callaghan, were given as hostages to Ludlow to guarantee observance of the articles, which allowed Muskerry and the 5,000 men under his command to go abroad.<sup>45</sup>

Muskerry and Callaghan O Callaghan seem to have gone to the continent, but it is uncertain whether they took any large body of troops with them. The parliamentary commissioners reported on 19 February 1653 that they had learned of the return of Muskerry and Colonel O Callaghan 'and of their declining their former intentions for the transporting of men', a phrase that suggests that they had decided not to attempt to transport soldiers to the continent. Apparently they had gone to Spain, where they discovered that because of their adherence to the Ormondist faction in the Confederation of Kilkenny, they were not received with great warmth by other Irish exiles, and decided to return to Ireland to take their chances there. The commissioners instructed Colonel Phaire, the governor of Cork, 'immediately to send both of them up with a safe convoy to Dublin, that so we may understand something more fully from themselves of their present resolutions; in the doing whereof

we shall desire you that all civil respects may be shown unto them'.<sup>46</sup> Both were lodged in Marshalsea prison in Dublin, and by December Muskerry was brought to trial for the murder of various persons. Colonel Callaghan O Callaghan, who seems not to have been tried, appeared in Muskerry's defence and reported that on one occasion, while he was with General Barry at Limerick or Kilmallock, Barry read a letter to General Purcell from Muskerry concerning the murder of English ladies travelling from Macroom. Muskerry 'was much grieved at that murder, desiring the General to prosecute the murderers to justice, but (O Callaghan) did not hear what was then done thereupon'.<sup>47</sup> Muskerry was acquitted of the charge and of a second murder charge in May 1654, when he was allowed to go into exile.<sup>48</sup>

#### THE TRANSPLANTATION TO CLARE

Eleven years had passed since the rising of 1641. Now that the parliamentary party had triumphed, the day of reckoning was at hand. The English parliament passed an Act of Settlement in August 1652, ordering the aristocracy, both Old Irish and Old English, who had participated in or abetted rebellion to remove themselves from their ancestral lands to Connaught and Clare west of the Shannon where they would be allotted land hitherto considered wasteland.<sup>49</sup>

The commissioners appointed to apportion land to those being transplanted met at Loughrea in County Galway and by decree of 12 June 1656 ordered Donough O Callaghan of Clonmeen and his wife Ellen to transplant themselves. By a decree of 29 August 1657 they were assigned 2,500 acres in County Clare in the baronies of Bunratty and Tulla. The allotment of 276 acres to Donough and 1,491 to Ellen probably is in proportion to the extent of their respective holdings at Dromaneen and Clonmeen. On the other hand, they had possessed about 12,000 acres in Cork in 1641,



so their portion in Clare was about a fifth of that total.<sup>50</sup> Together with their sons Teige, Donough and Cahir, they settled in the barony of Tulla, parish of Clonlea, township of Mountallon, where nineteen O Callaghans were recorded in the census of 1659.<sup>51</sup>

By a similar decree of 21 June 1656 Conor O Callaghan of County Cork was transplanted and assigned 400 acres. He was probably Donough's younger brother and probably the same as the Lieut.-Col. Conor O Callaghan mentioned in the muster rolls of 1649 and by General Ludlow. In 1659 he was settled in the barony of Tulla, parish of Killogenedy, Ballyquaine townland.<sup>52</sup> Donough's brother, Colonel Callaghan, who was so much involved in the affairs of the Confederation, does not appear in the list of the transplanted Irish, but he may be that Callaghane O Callaghane, settled in Island barony, parish of Dromcliff, townland of Dromanure in 1659. Still another O Callaghan proprietor, Israel O Callaghan (probably descended from Irrelagh O Callaghan) was settled in the barony of Bunratty, parish of Templemaley, Ballyally townland.<sup>53</sup>

The removal of the aristocracy now allowed the government to settle Cromwellian soldiers and others on lands confiscated. New Protestant colonists moved in, establishing farms, enclosing the land, clearing woodland, developing iron mines and other industries. The agent for John Percivall, one of the principal proprietors in North Cork, fully expected that the immediate effect of transplantation would be an abrupt drop in rents, as 'you will have few or no tenants this next year by this proclamation of transplanting, which clearly extends to all papists without exception'.<sup>54</sup> In point of fact the majority of the Catholics remained on the land in Cork, now in dependence on the adventurers who took over O Callaghan lands.

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* recorded the details concerning the distribution of forfeited lands. Donough O Cal-

laghan's lands of Dromaneen passed to Sir Richard Kyrle and Richard Newman, while Clonmeen was divided between Dame Elizabeth Fenton and her husband, Sir William Petty. Among other dispossessed O Callaghans was Cahir O Callaghan of Kilpadder who lost his lands to Kyrle and Newman. The lands of Dermot O Callaghan in Lackendarragh, Gortmolire and Gortroe passed to several persons, including Kyrle and Newman, and those of Teige Roe O Callaghan in Roskeen went to Elizabeth Fenton. Others forfeiting their lands were Owen O Callaghan of Ballymacmurragh, Loughlan O Callaghan of Rathmore and Rathbeg, Callaghan O Callaghan and Owen O Callaghan of Kilcranathan, Callaghan, Dermot, and Dermot O Callaghan of Gortnecloghy and Garrauncowny.<sup>55</sup> The new proprietors, besides those mentioned, included Lord Kingston, Lord Baltinglass, Sir Philip Percivall, Sir Nicholas Purdom, Sir Peter Courthorpe, and several former Cromwellian soldiers.<sup>56</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The restoration of the Stuart monarchy in the person of Charles II in 1660 raised hopes that the Cromwellian settlement would be undone and that civil and religious liberties would be extended to Catholics. Although Charles II specifically cited Donough O Callaghan as one of those whose lands would be restored, nothing was ever done to re-establish him in Clonmeen.<sup>57</sup> Hopes for recovery were raised again when Charles II was succeeded by his brother, James II (1685-1688), a Catholic. The overthrow of James II by William of Orange, the subsequent defeat of the Irish royalists at the Boyne in 1690 and at Aughrim in 1691 ruined any prospect that the Catholics in Ireland might regain religious freedom. New confiscations followed and more restrictive legislation was enacted.

The Cromwellian wars and the subsequent triumph of William of Orange completed the

destruction of the Gaelic order that had existed for centuries. Transplantation to Clare effectively removed the head of the O Callaghan family from his people and the willingness of the Cromwellians and the Williamite victors to allow Irish soldiers to seek service abroad with the kings of France and Spain, left the clan without its natural leaders. While many O Callaghans distinguished themselves in the service of foreign rulers, the men and women who remained behind had to come to terms with the new order as best they could and as conscience dictated.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

##### (Abbreviations:

*Egmont MSS: Report of the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, 2 vols. London: Hist. MSS Comm. 1905.  
*JCHAS: Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society.*

*Ormonde MSS: Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormonde preserved at the Castle of Kilkenny*, 11 vols. London: Hist. MSS Comm., 1895-1902.

RIA, OS: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, Ordnance Survey.)

1 *Topographical Poems by Seán Mór Ó Dubhagáin and Giolla na-Naomh Ó Huidhrín*, ed. James Carney (Dublin, 1943), 47, 53; *ibid.*, ed. John O Donovan (Dublin, 1862), 103, 117 and notes 356-7, p. lxxv.

2 H.W. Gillman, 'Chieftains of Pobul I-Callaghan, Co. Cork', *JCHAS* iii (1897) 201-220; W.F.T. Butler, *Gleanings from Irish History* (London, 1925), 12, 79-80, 97; Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, *Family Names of County Cork* (Dún Laoghaire, 1985), 66-73.

3 *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ire. Hen. VIII-Eliz.*, ed. James Morrin, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1861-1863), ii, pp 254-255, 260-262, 335-336; Fiant Elizabeth, nos. 5903, 5908, in *16th Rep. DKPRI*; RIA OS Inquisitions, Cork, I, 52-4, No. 6 (incomplete); Butler, 84-5; Liam Ó Buachalla, 'Some Researches in Ancient Irish Law', *JCHAS* liii (1948) 76-7; C.J.F. MacCarthy, 'Some Researches in Ancient Irish Law: A Complementary Note', *JCHAS* liv (1949) 11-16.

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5 *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1608-1610*, no. 966 (16 Oct. 1610), p. 584; 1611-1614, no. 536 (16 Oct. 1612), p. 292. See also RIA OS Inq., Cork, I, no. 12 (20 April 1609), no. 40 (26 Aug. 1618), pp 137-148, 325-331.

6 RIA OS, Cork, V, nos. 413 (13 April 1637), 464 (9 April 1638), pp 77-78, 184-185.

7 R. O Donovan, 'To Hell or to Clare: Donogh O Callaghan, chief of his Name, A Transplanter', *The Other Clare* 9 (1985) 68-75.

8 Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland 1625-1642* (London, 1966).

9 Patrick Corish, 'The Rising of 1641 and the Catholic Confederacy, 1641-1645', in *A New History of Ireland*, ed. T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin, F.J. Byrne, vol. iii (Oxford, 1976), 294-295.

10 Herbert W. Gillman, 'The Rise and Progress in Munster of the Rebellion, 1642', *JCHAS* i (1895) 539. Other leaders included Viscount Roche of Fermoy, Mr Robiston, Redmond Barry, and Robert Magner. The author of the manuscript (BL Sloane 1008) edited by Gillman was evidently a partisan of the parliamentary cause, familiar with the area around Mallow, and perhaps a Protestant clergyman.

11 In 1569 Mac Donough, O Keeffe and O Callaghan were each said to be able to raise 100 foot and three, seven, and eight horse respectively. In 1599 Mac Donough, O Keeffe and O Callaghan raised a total of 200 foot and 8 horse. *Cal. Carew MSS* i, 391, 393, 395, and iii, 298-300.

12 Gillman, 'Rise and Progress', 541-542.

13 *Ibid.*, *JCHAS* ii (1896) 14.

14 *Ibid.*, pp 19-20, 22-24, 26-27, 63.

15 Henry F. Berry, 'The English Settlement at Mallow', *JCHAS* xii (1906) 14-15, 18-22.

16 Gillman, 'Rise and Progress', 17-18. Several

February 1642 indicate that Muskerry had still not joined the rebels; on 15 February one correspondent reported that Muskerry, Roche and O Callaghan 'I hear are out, but no certainty of it.' *Egmont MSS*, i, part 1, pp 161-164, 173.

17 Charles P. Meehan, *The Confederation of Kilkenny*, new ed. (Dublin, 1882); Thomas L. Coonan, *The Irish Catholic Confederacy and the Puritan Revolution* (Dublin, 1954); Corish, iii, 298-299.

18 Gillman, 'Rise and Progress', 19. Callaghan, then resident at Castle Mac Auliffe, had probably been sent to London to study law because his father Cahir Modartha recognized its importance in defending the family's property rights.

19 John T. Gilbert, ed., *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1641-1649*, 7 vols. (Dublin, 1882-1891) ii, 212, 214, 217.

20 Muskerry (1594-1665) was married to Eleanor Butler, sister of the earl of Ormond. Meehan, op. cit., p. 93.

21 Earl of Castlehaven, *Memoirs*, (Dublin, 1815), 21.

22 Philip D. Vigors, 'Rebellion 1641-2 described in a Letter of Rev. Urban Vigors to Rev. Henry Jones, with a note of Officers engaged in the Battle of Liscarroll' (From a Manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin), *JCHAS* ii (1896) 305; the letter was dated 16 July 1642. W. Maziere Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1863-1864), ii, 330, 346. Also during mid-summer, Edward Vauclier, sent to warn the defenders of Ballycarty Castle that relief was on the way, was captured in Slieve Lougher by Teige Mac Auliffe of Castle Mac Auliffe, Baron Mac Auliffe, Conoghor Ceogh of near Liscarroll, and Owen O Callaghan of near Newmarket. Inq. of 21 March 1642 in Mary Hickson, *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century, or the Massacres of 1641*, 2 vols. (London, 1884), ii, 127.

23 Gilbert, *History*, iii, 351-352. Besides Donough, the following O Callaghans were outlawed: Cahir, Teige Roe, Callaghan, and Cornelius all of Dromaneen, apparently Donough's brothers; Dermot of Gortmore; Cahir, Teige, and Donough all of Kilpadder; Owen McDonough of Kilbranty, Dermot McDonough of Killbramitty, Cornelius

Reagh of Coolegeile, Irrelagh of Clonmeen, John of Coolemofy, Cahir late of Scarowe, Teige of Roans, and Cahir of Dromlegagh.

24 Corish, iii, 308-309.

25 *Egmont MSS*, i, part 1, p. 202; other letters on this matter are found on pp 196-200, 203, 206-209, 230, 244.

26 *Egmont MSS*, i, part 1, p. 230 (12 May 1644, Doneraile).

27 To Captain Thomas Reymond, *Egmont MSS*, i, part 1, p. 250.

28 *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, ed. C.H. Firth, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1894), i, 85. John Cornelius O'Callaghan caustically dismissed Ludlow, pointing out that 'Colonel Callaghan O'Callaghan, and the powerful Munster sept of which his elder brother, Donough O'Callaghan of Clonmeen was the head, were from the beginning of the troubles in 1641, remarkable for their solicitude to put an end to these troubles.' See Charles O'Kelly, *Macariae Excidium*, (ed. J.C. O'Callaghan) in *Narratives Illustrative of the Contests in Ireland (1641-1690)*, ed. T.C. Croker, (Camden Society, London, 1841), 474.

29 *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, ed. Fr S.J. Kavanagh, 6 vols. (Dublin, 1932-49), ii, part 1, pp 13-17; O Donovan, 'To Hell or to Clare', 69. In 1976 Tom Mannix, a very old man, gave me directions to Clonmeen and described the coming of the nuncio as though it had happened only yesterday.

30 Jerrold Casway, *Owen Roe O'Neill and the Struggle for Catholic Ireland* (Philadelphia, 1984).

31 Donough O Callaghan signed many of the orders of the Supreme Council issued in 1646; Gilbert, *History*, V, 279-280, 282-283, 286-308 (text of the peace), 330-332, 338-340; *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, 1633-1647, p. 441. See *The Embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G.B. Rinuccini*, tr. Annie Hutton (Dublin, 1873), 119, 137, on Muskerry's role.

32 Corish, iii, 320-321; Casway, 172-173.

33 Thomas Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana* (Cologne, 1762), 884 (10 March 1647); Corish, iii, 322.

34 *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, ii, 784-786; Corish, iii, 323-325; Meehan, 236-237;

- 35 See the testimony of Oiléan Ní Cheallacháin given in 1762 in Joseph F. O Callaghan, 'The O Callaghans of Kilcranathan, County Cork', *JCHAS* xcii (1987) 106-112.
- 36 *A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland 1641-1652*, ed. John T. Gilbert, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1879), i, 190.
- 37 Burke, 887-889, art. 15; Corish, iii, 328-331.
- 38 Corish, iii, 330-331; Casway, 226-228.
- 39 *Contemporary History*, i, 191.
- 40 Gilbert, *Hist. Ir. Confed.*, vii, 154-155 (19 December 1648), 163-164 (27 December).
- 41 For the treaty and communications between Ormonde and the commissioners see *ibid.*, vii, 184-199, 235 (29 Jan. 1649), 249-250 (9 Feb.), 255 (10 Feb.), 266-267.
- 42 *Ormonde MSS*, i, nos. 64, 75, pp 200, 214.
- 43 Corish, iii, 336-347.
- 44 Gilbert, *Hist. Ir. Confed.*, vii, 371; Corish, iii, 348-351.
- 45 Ludlow, i, 320-322; Ludlow's letter of 14 June 1652 to William Lenthal (*ibid.*, i, 524-525), mentions Lieut.-Col. Knocher O Callaghan; *A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland*, iii, part 2, pp 324-329; Robert Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1913), i, no. 206, pp 221-228, and ii, nos. 301, 322-323, pp 298-299, 308.
- 46 Hickson, ii, no. 345, pp 238-239; Dunlop, ii, no. 345, p. 318. The letter refers to Colonel Callahan, probably Callaghan O Callaghan.
- 47 Hickson, ii, 196 (1 Dec. 1653). Lieut. Richard Beare asked John Percivall on 11 December 1653 'whether you have put in our suit against O Callaghane, who, I hear is now at Dublin'. He also said that he had written to Percivall by Col. Callaghan, presumably Colonel Callaghan O Callaghan, but there is no clear indication of the nature of the suit involved. *Egmont MSS*, i, part 1, 530.
- 48 Dunlop, ii, no. 520, p. 436; Peter Berresford Ellis, *Hell or Connaught!* (New York, 1975), 69, 96-97.
- 49 C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum (1642-1660)*, 3 vols. (London, 1911) ii, 598-603; R.C. Symington, *The Transplantation to Connacht, 1654-1658* (Dublin, 1970), vii.
- 50 'An Account of Lands set out to the Transplanted Irish in Connaught', *Ormonde MSS*, ii, 127; Symington, 6; O Donovan, 'To Hell or to Clare', 71, says that Donough was allotted 2,788 profitable acres.
- 51 Séamus Pender, *A Census of Ireland in 1659* (Dublin, 1939), 172-174.
- 52 Symington, 52; *Ormonde MSS*, i, 214; Ludlow, i, 524-525; Pender, 172.
- 53 Pender, 165, 178. Also transplanted were Katherine Stapleton, alias Callaghan, of County Cork who was assigned 50 acres (21 May, 13 Aug. 1656); *Ormonde MSS*, ii, 174. Evelyn Callahan of no original address was assigned 39 acres in County Galway, Barony of Dunkellin, Parish of Killeenin; Symington, 107.
- 54 Lieut. Richard Beare to Percivall, 11 Dec. 1653, *Egmont MSS*, i, part 1, p. 530.
- 55 *The Books of Survey and Distribution* for Cork have not yet been published, but are to be found in the National Archives in Dublin. The entries cited above are for the parishes of Kilshannig, Clonmeen, Kilbrin, and Ballyclough. John O'Hart, *Irish Landed Gentry when Cromwell came to Ireland* (Dublin, 1884), 285, lists the following O Callaghans among the forfeiting proprietors in 1657 in Cork: Donough, Callaghane, Owen, Dermot Mac Shane, Dermot Mac Teige, Donogh Mac Dermot, Donough, Cahir, Lehland, Dermot and Teige Roe. Among those whose names were enrolled in the Decrees of Innocents were Callaghane and Connor Reghe O Callaghane (p. 321).
- 56 They included Capt. William Harmer, Lieut. Thomas Smith, Capt. Richard Burnels Child, Capt. Walter Yelverton, Lieut.-Col. Widenham, Q.M. John Chinnery, and other adventurers named Lombard, Walton, Groves, Clayton, Beaseley, Comins, Bettridge, Hamilton, Pomeroy, Nagle, Dixon, Hodder, Craig, Morris, and Strange. See Karl Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land. The 'Adventurers' in the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (Oxford, 1971).
- 57 *Statutes at Large . . . Ireland* (Dublin, 1786), ii, 245-263, especially 256; O Donovan, 'To Hell or to Clare', 73.