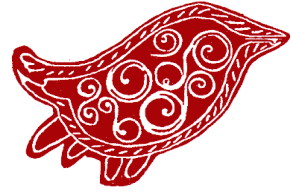


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JOURNAL
OF THE
CORK HISTORICAL & ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SOCIETY.

Ancient History of the Kingdom of Kerry.

BY FRIAR O'SULLIVAN, OF MUCKROSS ABBEY.

EDITED WITH PREFACE AND NOTES BY F. JARLATH PRENDERGAST, O.F.M.

CHAPTER II.—*continued.*

THE O'SULLIVANS. CULEMAGORT, CAPPANACOSS, &c.



ANOTHER family, in Leinster, of whom there were some persons of note about thirty years ago, but could not learn in what station they or their descendants were now. It was remarked that after these familys and others that went abroad, that, in Cromwell's war, when Daniel O'Sullivan More raised a regiment for King Charles, that there were one hundred and forty young and beardless men reckoned at a day of review in said regiment all of the aforesaid family of Capanacoss, and not one of them married but Captain Owen O'Sullivan of said regiment, head of said family; and such of them as were not lost in said service some went abroad, and some to the other parts of the kingdom, as Mr. John O'Sullivan, who went to study to Lovain, and attained afterwards to be President of the Irish College there, and made some foundations there, the benefit whereof some of said family lately had, as the Revd. Mr. Cornelius Sullivan, a person of good note for behaviour and learning, and

now chaplain in Collonell Buckley's regiment, and another of said family, together with another good clergyman of the name, enjoys at present the benefit of said foundations. The said Dr. John O'Sullivan that made said foundations was predecessor of the aforesaid Dr. Florence O'Sullivan⁽²¹⁾ of McGiollacuddy's family, and was called by another name in fflanders, which was Johannes Acutus.

And three brothers of said family, and of that branch of Grieneane, Daniel, Owen, and Timothy, went to Dublin, the latter named from the London tavern,⁽²²⁾ as was a nephew of his that succeeded him in the same ;

(21) The following is the very edifying will of the above-mentioned Florence O'Sullivan, by which, as already given (note 14), he leaves all his property and goods for charitable purposes, and especially for bourses in Louvain.

Fundatio R. D. Florentii Sullivane S, Th. Doctoris Reg., insignis Eccl. Coll. S. Jacobi, Lov. Can. et Decani, et Collegii Pastoralis Hyberniae Præsidis, Obiit 1731.

Tenor Testamenti.:—

In nomine Domini, Amen. Ego Florentius Sullivane Presbyter, Sacrae Theologiae Doctor Regius, insignis Ecclesiae Collegiatæ Sancti Jacobi Canonicus et Decanus, &c. Sciens mortem esse certam, horam autem illius incertam et nolens intestatus mori, declaro meam ultimam voluntatem contineri sequentibus articulis, revocans eum in finem omnia Testamenta ante hac a me condita.

Imprimis, animam commendo Omnipotenti Deo per Passionem ac Merita Redemptoris ac Salvatoris Nostri Jesu Christi per Patrocinium ac Merita Intemerata Christi Matris Beatæ Mariæ Virginis et Sanctorum Omnium. Corpus meum si Lovanii vita Fungar sepeliri volo in Ecclesia Collegiata Sancti Jacobi sine pompa ad discretionem meorum Executorum. Solutis Debitis meis Residuum Bonorum mihi a largitore Deo Optimo Maximo Concessorum impendi volo in Piam Foundationem in Universitate Lovaniensi ad quam præferentiam habebunt mei consanguinei usque ad tertium gradum consanguinitatis inclusive, quo extincto, præferentiam habebunt oriundi ex Familia Sullivane in Comitatu Kirriensi, post hos oriundi ex familia MacCarti in eodem Comitatu, post hos Kirrienses, post Kirrienses Casselenses et deinde Ultonienses, et omnes (exceptis consanguineis usque ad quartum gradum inclusive, qui studere poterunt juri vel medicinae et Philosophiæ), tenebunter ad Statum Ecclesiasticum, et ad Missionem Hyberniae, et esse promoti ante medium in Artibus.

Libros meos et supellectilem volo vendi in augmentationem Fundationis

Volo ut ex mea Fundatione solvantur annue quatuor floreni qui serviunt pro missa anniversaria pro requie animæ meæ quotannis legenda in Collegio Hybernico ex quibus Celebrans habebit octo Stuferos, Reliquum distribuetur inter Studiosos Collegii præsentés in Missa, Comprehenso etiam Celebrante et Famulo.

Famulo meo moderno nomine Debatti Lego viginti et unum Florenos Semel, et unum Librum judicio Executorum. Totidem lego ancillæ.

This was authenticated by the Registrar of Deeds and Testaments, in the office of the "General Archives" of Belgium. The Most Reverend Doctor Coffey, Bishop of Kerry, has the authenticated copy of this will. The original is to be found in the "Archives Generales du Royaume De la Belgique," No. 2,148, D'Linventaire provisoire du fonds de l'ancienne Université de Louvaine, fo. 219^{vo}.

(22) In 1604 Dermot, Daniel, and Cnogher O'Sullivan, sons of Donal O'Sullivan More, surrendered all their lands and chiefries in Kerry, and obtained a regrant in fee for them from the Crown.

In 1605, at the Royal instance, a similar surrender and regrant was made of the lands of O'Sullivan More, and giving him in lieu of the Headship of his Sept the title of Baron. *Rolls. Temp. Jac. I. in Canc. Hib.*

He had afterwards an enlarged grant of various castles, lands, fisheries, duties, markets, courts, tolls, and chief rents, as formerly granted to his father, "Sir" Owen O'Sullivan (the rents having been payable to the Earl of Desmond), to hold same to him, the said Owen, in tail male; remainder to the right heirs of the said "Sir" Owen.

the former had a son who was Council-at-Law, and died in London, and a daughter on whom he bestowed a considerable fortune to Counselr. Rayns [Ryan], of Cashill, of whose issue I can give no account, or of the descendants of the aforesaid Messrs. Daniel and Owen Sullivan, as the most of them went abroad, but of Mr. Daniel Sullivan, the notable, is now in Dublin, who is the eldest that I can understand now alive of that branch of the aforesaid Grieneane of the family of Cappanacoss. The aforesaid Daniel has many good relations in and about Dublin, by his grand-aunts and by the daughters of his grand-uncle. The aforesaid Mr. Owen, whereof is Captain Mercer and other gentlemen in good stations, whereof is the Revd. Mr. Brennan, Jesuit, and the merchant and surgeon, brothers to the late learned Dr. James Brennan (decd.).

Another family that went abroad at said time of Cromwell's war, and settled in the west of England, and changed their name from Sullivans to Silvers, of whom I have seen no account since the year 1691. Another family that settled in Cork and Bandon, which were in good stations for a time, but now almost extinct, or, at least, in no great stations.

7thly. The family of Capiganine. I refer to O'Sullivan More's records. What other denominations they had besides the said Capiganine and Tullig Capiganine, their mansion house. They were a family of good note for generosity and other good qualifications, but were not populous, and none of them now of greater note than some few that live in the station of private gentlemen.

8thly. The family of Formoyl⁽²³⁾ and Ballycarna, likewise referred to

In 1613, Daniel O'Sullivan and Stephen Rice, of Ballinraddel, represented the County of Kerry.

In this year, 1613, Sir Thomas Roper, had a grant of parcels of the estates of Teigue McDaniel O'Swellivan, and of Owen McDonnell, McDonough O'Swellivan, late of Cahirdonellmore, both slain in rebellion.

In 1632, The Lord President of Munster addressed the following letter to the Lord Justices on the precautions to be taken against the Algerian Pirates, who infested the coasts of the Bay of Kenmare.—“Mr. Daniel Sullivan has a house of reasonable strength at Berehaven, and takes upon him to defend it and Ballygobbin; he promised to erect five beacons upon the Dorseys, and four upon the great island. I have directed O'Sullivan More, who lives on the river of Kenmare, to take warning from the beacon erected on the promontory over the Dorseys, and by one of his own, to assemble his tenants and servants at his strong and defensible castle; but, I think this caution needless, as the inhabitants on both sides of that river are but few, till as far up as Glaneraught, where the pirates dare not venture.”

(23) In the Declaration of Royal Gratitude, in the Act of Settlement, we have the name of Captain Dermot O'Sullivan, of Kilmolœ, and of Lieutenant O'Sullivan, of Fermoyle.

Of these outlawed in 1691, were:—MacDonnell Soolivan of Letton, and Florence Sullivan of Modden, in the County Kerry.

We are sorry we cannot find anything authentic of the life and works of the celebrated Kerry Poet, Owen Rua O'Sullivan. He is buried in Muckross Abbey, in the tomb of the O'Sullivans, Mentobgies, at the head of McCarthy More's (now The O'Donoghue's) vault. We give a few words from one of his last songs, which can

in said record; what other denominations they had besides the four plough lands of said Formoyl and the four plough lands of said Ballycarna. They built the castle of Formoyl, and began the castle of Ballycarna, a little before Cromwell's time, which they did not finish. They were a family of good note for generosity, manhood, and education. Of the family of Formoyl was the courageous Captain Owen O'Sullivan, who was wounded and disabled at the skirmish of Ballinskellig, of which there will be a further account given in the following discourse, speaking of Cromwell's wars. Daniel Garane O'Sullivan, of the branch of Ballycarna, was an officer of good note in said wars, and afterwards in France, and was eminent for learning and poetry.

Of this family of Ballycarna⁽²⁴⁾ was a young man that went abroad in the late Queen Anne's wars to South America, where he fixed himself in the town of Potosi, in Peru, where he acquired great riches, of which he made a remittance to his friends of seven hundred pounds, and at another

be named his hymn of repentance, for a life, we dread, neither exemplary nor Christian:—

Mo éár, ír tú an Szeimle,
 Aír éláraéuib Síhce.
 Aír zo bhráé béad ad Caoine
 Zo deéiz aír mo zlóir!
 Dair lanhad mo ríhcear,
 Sí, beir laíóreac le ríhe,
 Do b-reáirí lom, aírír tu.
 Ní íorfaé mé reoiré
 Ná mílce de'h op!
 'S'írl 43am ac h'zhoé.
 Aír ní fázfaíé me an cill
 O mo búhóreac zo deóí.

TRANSLATED BY WALSH:

My soul! how grief's arrow
 Hath fixed in my marrow!
 O'er that cold coffin narrow,
 I'll weep evermore.
 By the hand of my father!
 This moment I'd rather
 From the grave thee to gather,
 Than gold's yellow store.
 All feasts I'll give o'er;
 I'm stricken and froze—
 O! grave of Kilmather,
 Be my roof-tree and floor.

(24) In the curious old Pastoral of Murrough O'Connor (an. 1719), which we have given in the History of the O'Connors (see *History of Muckross Abbey*, chap. xix.), we have a very graphic account of the cruel treatment which Owen O'Sullivan, of Rhincarra, last head of this Sept of the O'Sullivans, of Iveragh, suffered at the hands of a certain Orangeman, named Captain Magee. Owen laments his bitter fate, in being deprived of his lands, and the headship of his Sept, by this ruthless soldier, in the

time a remittance of fifteen hundred pounds, and intended, as he wrote, to put in very considerable sums into some banks in Europe, but was taken short, as he died before he accomplished his intent, and it is not known to whom he has left his last will, or nominated his executors; but it is expected that a worthy clergyman, the Revd. Dr. Mortough

words of Virgil's Mœlibeous, whose property was also, 1700 years previously, handed over to the soldiers of Augustus.

OWEN :—

My dearest Murrough, I am glad to find
 So much content and pleasure in your mind.
 But, I, poor Owen, grieve, lament and moan,
 You see, I'm packing up and must be gone.
 My bended shoulders with my burden bow,
 And I can hardly drive this limping cow,
 Not long ago, which gave me cause to fret,
 A sea-hog at the Skallogs (Skelligs) broke my net.
 The sea did not up to Rhincarra flow,
 Mangerton's top was black and wanted snow,
 With mournful song, lamenting, the Bantee
 Foretold the ruin of my house and me.

Like our poor evicted tenants of the present day, he looks around to know where he can find a home for himself and family; and here we see the only means of subsistence open to our forefathers, who had lost all for their love of faith and fatherland in the last century.

OWEN :—

But I must quit my dear Iv'ragh and roam
 The world about to find another home.
 To Paris go with satchel cramm'd with books,*
 With empty pockets and hungry looks.
 Or else to Dublin to Tim Sullivan,†
 To be a drawer or a waiting-man.
 Or else, perhaps, some favourable chance,
 By box and dice my fortune may advance.
 At the groom porters could I find a friend,
 That would, poor Owen, kindly recommend.
 But shall this foreign Captain force from me
 My house and land, my river and fishery?
 Was it for him, I those improvements made?
 Must his long sword turn out my lab'ring spade?
 Adieu, my dear abode.
 I shall no more with Brogan Boan ‡ Scribiugh climb
 Steep Mullaghbert,|| enthroned on top sublime,
 Head of my clan, determine every case,
 To make my vassals live at home in peace,
 To teach them justice, a much cheaper way,
 Keep them from lawyer's fees, and courts delay.

* "'Tis a Kerry shift to go to Paris when reduced." It was the America of that day. In Brittany, however, in 1605, the Irish emigrant was treated as a vagabond, and hunted and deported at the public expense.—*Eccl. Record*, Ap. 1897, p. 317.

† A Kerryman who keeps the London Tavern (Dublin). *Notes to Ed.* 1719.

‡ *Brogan Boan*, a big brog or shoe, with scalloped heel, which no one but a gentleman was allowed to wear.

|| *Mullaghbert*, "Hill of Reference," where the head of the Clan sitting every Sunday and Holiday decided all controversies, literally—"Bare spot of arbitration," that is "a big stone on which to sit in judgment." (Notes from the original copy printed by James Carson, Coghill's Court, Dame Street, opposite to the Castle Market, 1719; and by E. Jones, Clarendon Street, Dublin, 1739.)

O'Sullivan, who lately came from said country of South America to Cadiz, in Spain, can give an account hereof.

9thly. The family of Ballyvicgullanavlaun, otherwise called the family of Cumenururevart, meaning a man of most generous actions, a family extinct.

The grandson of the aforesaid Redoricus of the fair hair, O'Sullivan More, built Dunkieron castle,⁽²⁵⁾ as did, very soon after, the grandson of the aforesaid Macarius, who was likewise O'Sullivan More during his life, as aforesaid. The castle of Cappanacoss and Templenoe church, having that name, it being the last that was built in the aforesaid county of Desmond, and bestowed a glebe on said church, whereby the de-

Thrice happy you, who live at your ease,
Have nought to do, but see your cattle graze.
Speak Latin to the stranger passing by,
And on a shambrog bank reclining lye.
Or on the grassy sod "cut points" to play
Backgammon* and delude the livelong day.
When night comes on to pleasing resting go,
Lul'd by the soft cronan or sweet speck show.
When Kircha Shula strains her warbling throat,
In timeful hum and sleeps upon the note.

Then Murrough invites Owen to enjoy his hospitality for the night, and gives us an insight into the life led by our forefathers, who had lost all for their Faith :

MURROUGH :—

But stay, dear Owen, cosher here this night ;
Behold the rooks have now begun their flight,
And to their nests in winged troops repair,
They fly in haste, and shew that night is near.
The sheep and lambkins all around us bleat ;
The sun's just down, to travel is too late.
Slacaan and Scallops shall upon my board,
Fit entertainment for a Kerry Lord.
In egg-shells then we'll take our parting cup,
Lye down on rushes with the sun yet up.

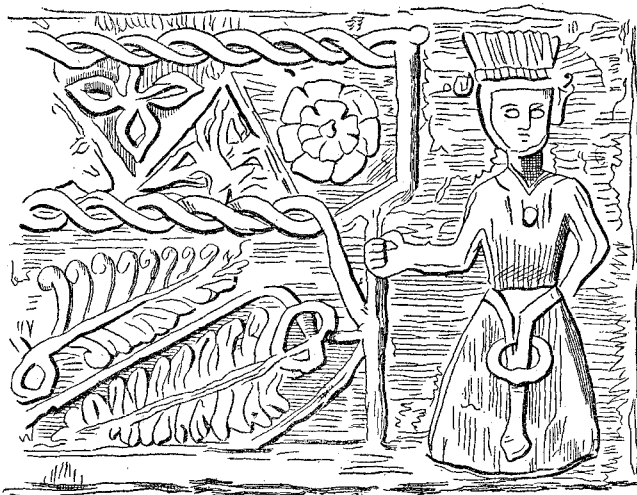
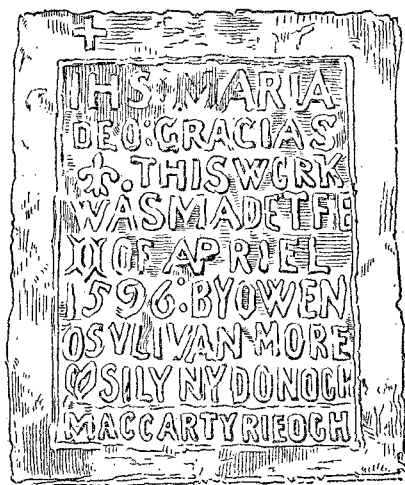
* *Backgammon*—Kerry men in those days were so fond of cards that they had them always about them. In a MS. of T.C. 1, 3, p. 11, we find that, "The inhabitants of the County (Kerry), I mean those of them that are downright Irish, are remarkable beyond the other parts of Ireland for gaming, speaking of Latin, and inclination to philosophy and disputes therein. When they can get no one to game with them you shall find them alone with a booke of Aristotle's, or some of his Commentator's Logick which they read very diligently, till they are able to pour out nonsensical words a whole day about *universalia, a parte rei, ens, rationes*, and such like stuff. When they have sown their summer corn in the spring, many families will take a vagary of going into Spain, and there spend the summer in begging and wandering up and down among the northern side of that kingdom. Those that are loath to be called the inferior sort, are generally very litigious, and they will go to law about the least trifle, and this is the reason (or perhaps the consequence) of this county's abounding more than ordinary with men that are (as they term it) 'towards the law.'"

(25) In 1598, Owen O'Sullivan, who built Dunkerron Castle, had four brothers—Dermot, married to a daughter of Owen McCarthy Reagh ; Boghe, married to a daughter of O'Donovan ; Conor, married to a daughter of the Knight of Glynn ; Donogh, married to a daughter of O'Leary (widow of the McGillicuddy). He had two sisters, married to O'Sullivan Beara and the Knight of Kerry.

scendants of said grandson of Macarius, by name Cor, son to Daniel McCrah, who lost the title, etc., of O'Sullivan More, said Cor and his offsprings, for two or three generations, had the choosing of a clergyman

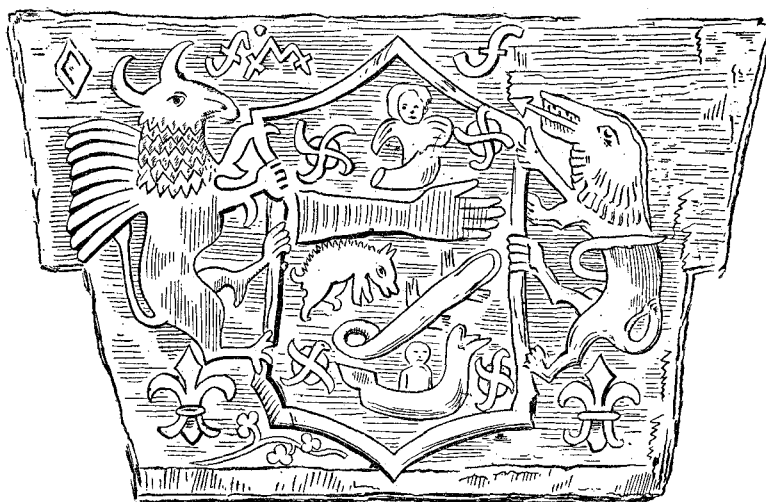
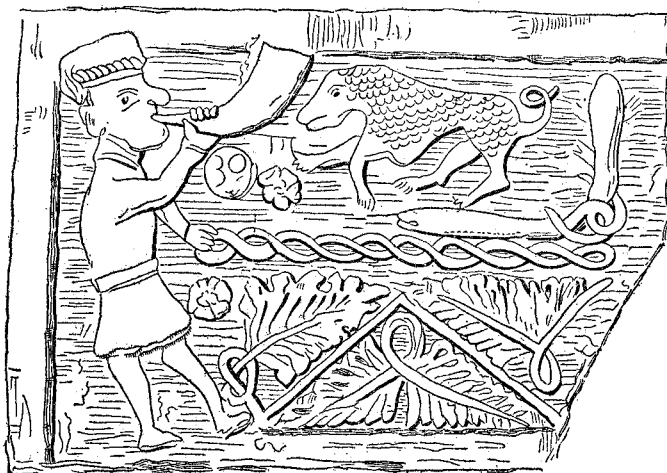
In a house attached to Dunkerron Castle was a chimney-piece with a carved inscription which shows the unfailling love of the family for the Mother of God: "*Maria Deo Gratias*. This work was made 11th April, 1596, by Owen O'Sullivan and Sily [Giles] Nig [h] Donogh MacCarthy Reagh." There are also some graceful figures supposed to be the likenesses of O'Sullivan More and his lady, in Irish costume. The lady is dressed very modestly in a long close-fitting gown, which covers her feet, but her head-dress is something "stunning."—*Kilkenny Journal*, Mar. 1859, p. 201. See note 30.

"One Eugenius O'Sullivan More is said to have been created by Queen Elizabeth Lord Baron of Bunvawer about the beginning of her reign, but, though his issue lawfully begotten do continue to this day they will not assume the title." Extract from MSS. account of Kerry in T. C. D. He was most probably this Owen O'Sullivan More of the time of Aileen McCarthy's marriage with Florence McCarthy, mentioned by Sir William Herbert, *Calendar State Papers*, 1588, p. 538.



We give here the will of this Owen's son, who was called Donal O'Sullivan More. It is a very edifying document and a model of the good sentiments which ought to animate a husband and father of family when preparing his last dispositions for his wife and children. Here we do not see the husband leaving his wife—who ought to be

in the parish of said Templenoe, but as their offspring neglected having this privilege recorded in Rome, it was forgot but by ancient clergymen and superiors as knew the nature of the case, who had still regard for the vote



the dearest object to him on earth—to the tender mercies of his heirs; nor his daughters in the power of their brother. Nothing can be more cruel or more unjust than the conduct of some husbands towards their good and devoted wives at this final moment, especially when these partners of their lives have solely lived for the happiness and health of those cold-hearted, ungrateful men. This is an unpardonable crime before God and man, and hence we are delighted to see this good O'Sullivan More

and commendation of the chiefest or eldest of the family of Cappanacoss in such cases. These two castles of Dunkieron and Cappanacoss, which were built about three hundred years ago, were burnt by Lord Musgry,

safeguarding his noble lady in such sort that she cannot be injured by son or relative, or deprived of her just rights while she lives. We would say to the men of money and means who read this, "*Go and do likewise*": otherwise you will have to render a terrible account to the just Judge, who will mete out to you as you have measured to *that one*, who, by divine and human law, ought to be the nearest and dearest to you on earth.

WILL OF DONAL O'SULLIVAN MORE.

Dated 14th Nov. 1632.

In Dei no', i'e, Amen. In the name of God, Amen.

I Daniel O'Sullivan, also O'Sullivan More, of Dunkieran in the County of Kerry, Esq., being att this Instante of p[er]fect witt and memorie, sickely in body, haveing God before mine Eyes, and being sure that death is certaine and the houre thereof uncertaine, do hereby make my last will and Testament, in Manner and forme as hereafter followeth: ffirst, I commend my Soule to the Hollie Trinitie and all the Scts [Saints] in Heaven. My body to be interred and buried in the Abbey of Irrelagh [Muckross Abbey], in my predecesors' tombe. Secundarily, I appointe and constitute Owen O'Sullivan, my eldest sonne, to be my true and lawfull heir, to whome I leave all my rents, lands, and Living within the Comit' [county] of Kiery. Thirdly, I leave to my wife Juan [Johanna] Fitz Morish, Cuillinyhe, contayning two plowlands, Ardentuirke contayning one ploughland, Kuilenagh, one plowland, Clueagh one plowland, Ross-doghin one plowland, with all their app'tenances whatsoever, and alsoe I bequeath and leave to my said wife certaine glinds and pastures, vidt:—Gleanmicky, Sronohiry, Cluon, the one-half of Bohishal, all w'ch lands shall stand to the use and behoofe of my said wife, for tearme of her natural life. And I doe also give full power, and authoritie, to my said wife, to ingadg and mortgage some three ploughlands of the premisses, as shee shall think fitt, for three hundred pounds [*i.e.*, about £3,000 of our money] and this to bestowe, and give to any of her sonne, as to her shall seeme meet. Fourthly, I leave and bequeath unto my daughter Syly for her maintenance and towards her p[re]ferment three hundred pounds ster', besides what chattle and mony shee hath in hands herself. To my daughter Ellen, tow'rds her p[re]ferment I leave one hundred and seventie pounds, besides what the country will afford her. And to Mary, my youngest daughter, the some of one hundred and thirty pounds ster', and what the country will afford her." (This was a very large sum, for all the Freeholders were obliged to give a certain amount on the marriage of each of the daughters, as we see in MacCarthy More's revenue.) "And untill these severall sumes be paied to them by my heire, each of them is to have according to . . . an hundred yearly for their Maintenance. Provided that the said daughters shall be directed by my sonne and heire, my wife and my deerest friends concerning their prefermt, and marriage, otherwise to allow them noe portion. Fifthly my said wife is to have and enjoy all the chattle and Corne that I am posses of att this instante. Lastly after the expirac'on of William ny hinsy [Hennessy's] his lease, past to Edmond McHue, of the two plowlands of Ardintuirke and Cladagh, I leave here, by my last Will and Testam't, to the said Edmond, a lease of seven yeares, paing thereout yearly neine pounds.

DANIEL O'SULLIVAN MORE.

Being p[rese]nte when th[e] above will and Testament was made, besides Ors. [others] wee whose names doe followe:—

John ffyeld [Field].
 Dermod Leynne,
 Melaghlen O'Leynne,
 Patricke Traunte [Trant].

McGillicuddy Papers, pp. 17 and 18.

When family differences arose—as they usually do when the son is left guardian and executor for his sisters—the case was left to arbitration. How well would it

in Cromwell's time, to prevent their being made garrisons for said Cromwell's party.

It was still remarkable that every O'Sullivan More of the descendants of the aforesaid Redoricus of the fair hair was either endowed with

be for families if they would observe the following wise arrangement in such cases:—
 " This Indenture witnesseth that the said Owen (O'Sullivan More), Joane (his mother), Siles (or Syly), Ellen and Mary (sisters), to avoyde all unnatural strife, suite, or contention w'ch heretofore did arise, or hereafter might arise between them, have respectivelie, with their mutual assent and consent, referred and submitted themselves, and doe by these p'ntes (presents) reffer and submit themselves to the order, award, doome and judmt (judgment) of James Knowde, Esq. (he was one of the officers of Sir James Roper, Baron of Bantry, and Constable of Castlemaine), Donell Fearys (Ferris), Esq., Edmond Hussey, Gent., Donel O'Sullevane, Gent, and Dermot Leyne, Gent.

Signed, sealed and delivered in ye (the) presence of us—

Mor. Moore	}	Owen Sullivan
Donell O'Sullivan		More.
Owen O'Sullivan, fz der		d.
Edmond M'Swyny		exd.
Char. Sughrue.		Ja. Knowde.

The award, as could be expected, was entirely in favour of the mother and sisters. See *McGillicuddy Papers*, pp. 30, 31. The referees, however, strictly enforce the wish of the testator as regards the daughters' marriage. "And we doe further order and decree that the said three sisters, nor any, nor neither of them (*sic*) shall espouse themselves, nor be married without the consent and good-likeing of us, the arbitraters, or some fower, three, or tow of us (yf soe many of us shall survive at such tymes of espousall marriage—Or if not then to have the consent of tow (two) of her nearest kindred by or the mother's syde of the house and lineage of Lixnaawe." This seems to us an admirable injunction, especially where there was a question of young *Princesses*, who knew not how to read or write. But even if they did, and knew all the "isms" or ologies of the "Blue stocking," or "New woman" of our day, it is worthy of the mind of a Hussey—who, we believe, suggested this injunction—to preserve those young ladies from themselves and the glamour of their name and fortune.

The last of this branch of the O'Sullivans More died at Tomies, according to Sir Ross O'Connell, who is assuredly the best authority on this matter, in 1762, and was buried in Muckross Abbey. The story Sir Ross relates about the destruction of so many valuable MSS. is painful in the extreme to an antiquarian. See *Last Col. of the Irish Brighade.*, vol 1, p. 53.

The following is a very authentic account of the famous outlaw of Glenflesk, who was an O'Sullivan of the Kenmare or Capanacus branch.

OWEN O'SULLIVAN OF THE ROBBERS' DEN.

High on the face of the precipitous cliffs, near the lake of Foiladaowne, is shown to this day *Leaba O'zain* (Owen's bed), a cave, bearing signs in its recess of having been once enlarged and fitted up for a habitation. A few beech, holly, and hazel trees shade the entrance, and the floor is covered with heath and fern. Owen's fire-place, table, and stool are pointed out in the projection and recess of the rock. The cave is open at two sides, one eastward, overlooks a cliff of fearful depth, the other commanding a narrow ledge, against which the outlaw placed a ladder when he desired to descend or ascend from his hiding place. The O'Reardons who were relatives of the outlaw, and who were also "Tories," near Macroom, were induced by Col. Hedges to betray O'Sullivan's hiding-place and to aid in arresting him. The "Tory" of Glenflesk was invited to spend a night with the Reardons in the year 1710, in Ballyvourney. While O'Sullivan was sitting unarmed by their fireside, in the evening, his treacherous hosts fell upon him, but as Col. Hedges says in his letter to the Castle: "Owen struggled hard and would give no quarter, and put Davy (O'Reardon) hard to it, giving

manhood, great sence, or education, or great generosity,⁽²⁶⁾ and most of said qualifications concurring in most of them besides the hereditary qualifications in all the family of being noted horsemen, proved in the famous Owen Roe, father to the present O'Sullivan, who was the most noted of his rank in the kingdom therein. Yet, for brevity's sake, I shall speak but of a few of them, and I shall begin with O'Sullivan called Donall na Scradly, who proved to be a man of great courage and conduct, and particularly in a day of battle, where he was commander not only of his own army, but also of the McCarthy More's, who were often put into disorder, and as often brought to their proper ranks, not only by his activity, but also by his continual shouting and vehement . . . screeching, sometimes crying out victory in a time of greatest desperacy, whereby he obtained the day, and got himself the name of Danll. na Scradly. Owen O'Sullivan More, who was married to Calia McCarthy, the couple who built the court at Dunkieron ; the said Owen, always much noted for great sense and foresight, particularly proved in him when the greatest warrior, Owen Roe O'Neill, sent a courier from Ulster to him, the said Owen O'Sullivan More, Florence McCarthy More, and Daniel Caum O'Sullivan Bear, to meet him at a certain place in Munster, which they observed. The said Owen Roe O'Neill at said meeting earnestly invited them to joyn him in opposition to the Queen, alleging that he had good strong allies in the kingdom, and great promise of considerable supplies from abroad, to which said Florence McCarthy More and Daniel Caum O'Sullivan Bear agreed.

But the said Owen O'Sullivan More not only refused to joyn them, but also absoutely told them their undertaking would prove in vain, that their allies at home were not sufficient, and may be disappointed in their expected succours from abroad, whereupon he was made captive by the

him four slight wounds, but Dan Reardon came to his assistance and knocked Owen down with a pike, and Reilly, the other Rapp, shot him with a brace of ball and then they cut off his head." Thus ended one of the last of the O'Sullivan chieftains of Kilgarvan and Kenmare. Reardon was ever after called *Ḥḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ Ḥḡḡḡḡ* or "Reardon of the head." The most painful phase of this foul murder is that at the very time Reardon committed the crime, the outlaw's father was returning from Dublin with an unconditional and free pardon for his son: hence the murderer did not receive "the wages of his iniquity." See *Kerry Records*, p. 132, and *History of Muckross Abbey*, chap. viii.

⁽²⁶⁾ The O'Sullivan name in 1890 held the third place in all Ireland in order of numerical strength, having only (1) Murphy and (2) Kelly before it. The MacCarthy name holds only the thirteenth place. The estimated population of the O'Sullivans at that date, in Ireland, was 43,000, and the MacCarthy's, 22,300; whilst the Ryans were 32,000, the Walshes, 41,700, and the O'Connors, 31,200. The number of births in families bearing the name O'Sullivan, in 1890, was the highest of any name in Cork (418) or Kerry (349). Murphy came next in Cork (390), and Connors in Kerry (188). Ryan heads the list in Limerick and Tipperary, and Brennan in Kilkenny.

said Owen Roe O'Neill,⁽²⁷⁾ and, by some histories, taken to Ulster; but as I had it from ancient knowing (clever) people, his being taken to Ulster is an error, and as said histories erroneously mentions that the said Daniel Caum was the son of O'Sullivan More, as undoubted he was not, but the son of O'Sullivan Bear,⁽²⁸⁾ called Donall Cnocanti, and the Earl of

(27) At this time O'Neill was master of the greatest part of Ireland; but Owen O'Sullivan was more far-seeing than the Leader of the North. This young Owen, son of Sir Owen, and his brothers were on the side of the English at the Siege of Dunboy as they laid claim to the Lordship of Beara. Young Owen was Lord of Bantry in 1615. He died in 1617. He was brother-in-law of Sir Cormac MacCarthy of Muscry (Muskerry), of Sir Nicholas Browne, ancestor of the Earl of Kenmare, and of O'Sullivan More. Carew says of the Siege of Dunboy that "so obstinate and resolved a defence had not been seen in the kingdom" (see "Siege of Dunboy," *History of Muckross Abbey*, chap. xi., No. 1).

(28) Of this family of Beara was the following illustrious member of the Franciscan Order who was buried at Kilcrea:—

FATHER THADDEUS O'SULLIVAN.

Father Thaddeus O'Sullivan was a gifted religious of the monastery of Kilcrea, in Cork. His powers as a preacher won him fame in all parts of Ireland. He followed the Irish troops of the Earl of Desmond, and his eloquent exhortations not only kept alive the Faith in the souls of those who heard him, but prevented many a bloody deed in those disastrous times. The toil, however, and hardships he had to endure in this war broke down his constitution in a short time, and brought on a premature death. The soldiers, who loved him tenderly, would fain convey his corpse to the Monastery of Kilcrea. This, however, was a dangerous undertaking; for at that time all Munster was in the hands of the English troops, and no one, under pain of death, dared to appear abroad in daylight. At length some soldiers who were thoroughly acquainted with the bye-paths placed the corpse upon a horse, and set out after nightfall for the monastery; but losing their way in the darkness, they were about to retrace their steps when one of the party said: "Let us leave the horse to himself, and he will certainly carry the corpse to the monastery." Adopting this suggestion they followed the horse all that night, and next morning they found themselves within the precincts of the monastery, where the remains of Father O'Sullivan were interred in the cloister, at the door of the chapter-room, December, 1597. He was the bosom friend of Dr. Craghe, Bishop of Cork, who consulted him on all matters of importance, and was guided by his counsels. A letter from Cecil to Carew about this illustrious Bishop of Cork, and Confessor of the Faith, is assuredly one of the most infamous productions in the correspondence of that wicked and bloodthirsty statesman. Cecil plainly asks Carew, in this letter, to make use of the Baron of Cahir, a Catholic, to deliver up this good Bishop to the tender mercies of Elizabeth; and he assures him that this diabolical act will make the Baron of Cahir very pleasing to the Queen; as nothing could please her *better than that some of the principal knaves of name be hanged*. We could scarcely imagine such inhuman depravity on the part of Cecil and Elizabeth, if we had not this *Carew State Paper*, in Cecil's own handwriting to prove it:

CECIL TO CAREW, 1600.

"You cannot please the Queen better than that some of the principal knaves of name be hanged. It is said that Cahir can deliver Dr. Craghe when he list: It wear well tryed to impress yt upon him, not as the doer, but underhand; for he can doe yt [it] with a wett finger, and it will make him verre consyllable," that is, pleasing to Elizabeth (see *Life of Dr. Creagh Renehan*, p. 9; *O'Reilly*, p. 116, and *Analecta* by Dr. Moran, p. xlvi. and 395, *seq.*).

This Thaddeus O'Sullivan is very probably the same whom we find at A.D. 1592, in the *Calendar State Papers*, where he is called Sir Teige O'Swyllevan. "There is one Sir Teige Owylllevan, an earnest preacher of Popery, preaching from house to house in Waterford, Clonmel, Fethard, and in the country about the towns."

At the year 1587, of the *Calendar State Papers*, p. 363, there is a very valuable note on the division of lands among the O'Sullivanans of Beara and Bantry:—"The proper

Tuamond's daughter, but was Owen O'Sullivan More's son-in-law, married to one of his daughters, Helena. The said Owen O'Sullivan More did not join in this enterprise, and at last dissuaded the said Florence McCarthy More (who was his brother-in-law) from being concerned, which saved

inheritance of land belonging to the O'Sullivans is 15 teen quarters, every quarter containing three plough lands. The one half whereof was, by ancient custom, allotted to the O'Sullivan, lord of the country for the time being. The other half to be divided and distributed among the worthiest and best of the name, as cousins and kinsmen to the lord, as a portion to live upon, viz. :—To the tanist the best part of the said one half, which is two quarters, every quarter containing three plough lands; to the second eldest next the tanist, which is Donel O'Sullivan [the celebrated Donal Cam], the plaintiff there is allotted of the said one half six plough lands, and so the rest to be divided among the other kinsmen. But it is to be understood that this order was in some times altered, and so ought to be according [to] the custom of the country, that is according [to] diminution or increase of the said name of the Sullivans; which alteration should be when the name should augment, then every one's portion were diminished to give living to the new comer; and if the name were diminished, then the portion of the deceased to be divided among the out-living. But the lord's portion, which is the first half, did never alter, but continues still to O'Sullivan for the time being. The lord hath also four quarters of land belonging to his manor of Foyd, and this, with half the 15 teen quarters aforesaid, is all the land the lord hath in his own possession, howbeit he is chief lord of all the country. There are 20 quarters more in the country which is the lord's too, but they be allotted to other cousins and kinsmen, as their shares of old ancient custom to live upon, paying his rents to the lord, which is but little worth now-a-days, as the issues descended of Fyngu Duff O'Sullivan, the issues descended of the son of Lawrence O'Sullivan, the issues descended of Dwling O'Sullivan, the issues descending of the son of McBwoy [Boethuis] O'Sullivan, the issues descended of the son of Donnell O'Sullivan, the issues descended of the son of Teig O'Sullivan, and such like, and every one of them hath his share thereof, paying his rent to the lord for the time being, and at the lord's pleasure he may take the lands out of their hands, if they had not paid the rent, which in old time was the cessing of his men of war, as gallowglasses, kerne, horsemen, and such like, besides to pay all his charges whensoever he would come out of his country to any town or city, to sessions, terms, service of his prince, and such like, etc.

There is also belonging to O'Sullivan two principal castles, as his chief manors or dwelling, in Beare and Bantry. In Beare, the chief manor of Dunboye, *alias* Bearehaven Castle, of which he carrieth his name of O'Sullivan Beare. In Bantry, the manor of Foyd, and another castle, builded by Sir Owen's own father, called Carrigin Assygi, the which three remaineth in the possession of the said Sir Owen. There is also a fourth castle, called Ardea, which is the manor or house allotted for the tanist for the time being, and is now in the possession of Philip O'Sullivan [father of Don Philip, the historian], tanist and brother to Sir Owen; but there was never seen a castle allotted to any other of the name.

The standing rent due to O'Sullivan out or upon his country is but £40, and that itself was never allotted to the lady for the time being towards her idle expenses [pin-money], so, as the country being no good farm land, but all valleys, cragged rocks and hills, can yield no great commodity, and, therefore, the O'Sullivan for time being liveth only by the sea, and the commodity thereof as his fishing, his wrecks and such like, etc. And for the fishing it is a thing uncertain, for some years, if fishing do fall upon the coast, then Dunboye is worth much; if fishing fail it cannot yield profit.

For the ships and boats, the rents of them is but as the lord, and they can agree, according as the fishing do continue all the season of the year, or fail, as sometimes it doth fail within a month, etc. [Does not this look like a correspondence of yesterday, to a Cork paper from Bantry Bay?]

The reason wherefore there is no reservation of rents upon those that hold the said land is because they were to pay everything the lord lacked from time to time, as debts, building of a house or castle, or marrying his daughter, or to supply the wants of his house, and such like, etc. *June 8, 1587.*"

him, the said Florence McCarthy, his estate ; but all his persuasions could not prevail with Daniel Caum from joining in that undertaking.

There is a history of said Daniel Caum's great courage, conduct, and brave actions in the war that ensued, and I doubt not but one of the said histories may be met with in O'Sullivan More's library ; if not, here is one passage not to be omitted : "As the Earl of Tuamond, uncle to the said Daniel Caum, and General to the Queen, could not bring his said nephew to submit, ordered an invasion by sea, which demoralised Dunbaoi, one of said Daniel Caum's mansion houses, which the said Daniel resented so much as to march with his small army, mostly by night, to the county of Clare, where he was revenged at Bunratti, one of said Earl's seats."⁽²⁹⁾

At No. 10 of this Note there is an abstract of Sir Owen O'Sullivan's proofs affirming the succession of tanist, and the tanist's portion in Beare and Bantry (p. 6). June 8, 1587.

No. 11.—Petition of Donel O'Sullivan to the Lord Treasurer against the practices of his uncle, Sir Owen O'Sullivan, to detain his lands (p. 1). See also Nos. 12 and 13, and above all the interesting papers at p. 1.

No. 13 (i).—Collection of depositions, touching the seizin of Donnel O'Sullivan's ancestors of Dunboy, and the rest, in the life of their uncles, claiming by Irish custom (p. 1).

No. 13 (ii).—Collection of such witnesses as Sir Owen produced touching the possession of persons in the collateral line (p. 1). See also No. 14 for the amount allowed Donal O'Sullivan for his maintenance, "and a device to bring the land to inheritance by descent" (p. 1).

No. 15.—Plot of O'Sullivan's country of Bearehaven, and the part adjoining, with a view of Beare Castle, *alias* Dunboy.

⁽²⁹⁾ The author runs riot here with chronology. The attack on Bunratti Castle took place in the Cromwellian wars. It was attacked by Lord Muskerry, and capitulated after two days' defence, on the 13th June, 1646; whereas, the famous "retreat" of Donal Cam took place after the destruction of Dunboy, in 1602. This last—of one of our best known historical facts—is carefully recorded by all our historians, as the defence of the castle by MacGeoghegan, and the "retreat" of Donal Cam to O'Rourke's country are among the most heroic acts of bravery we have of ancient or modern warfare. See *Cath. Hiber. Compend.*, tom. 3, lib. 7. It is a painful record, for our country, however, that Donal Cam was conquered by Irishmen and not by the English, as there were only 500 English in the army that besieged and destroyed his Castle of Dunboy, whilst there were 3,500 Irish according to Don Philip O'Sullivan. *Idem*. cap. ii., fol. 182—and lib. 7, cap. iii., fol. 183. See a full account of this extraordinary man and his melancholy death, in *History of Muckross Abbey*, chap. xi., Nos. i., ii. and chap. xii. and xiii. As Don Philip pathetically observes, Donal Cam was slain between two good actions. "He left his prayers to stop a strife"—as he had then his rosary in his hands. He hastened to the scene to calm his friends and retainers, when he received his death wound from his servant John Bathe. Assuredly, there is no reason to suppose Bathe—who was an Englishman,—was employed by any "other power" in what he committed. There is not a shadow of foundation for this assertion of our author. The great chief's remains were carried into the church of the Dominicans—where he had been a few moments before reciting his Rosary—and by the care of the Prior, the Rev. Dominicus Didacus Brocher, they were honourably interred next day, "after stately obsequies, attended by the leading Spanish nobility, splendid Knights and Royal Counsellors." *Don Philip's Hist.*, p. 339. Donal Cam was only 57 when he was thus murdered, in an insane broil of his own people. "He was of a comely aspect, combining in his person a manly stature, an elegant bearing, and a handsome face. He was verging on venerable old age." This of course, was not from years but from the trials and sufferings undergone in Ireland. "He used

The said Daniel's retreat from said county and his conduct was remarkable, being pursued by a much superior army till he came to the river Shannon, where he found all the boats secured and taken up from him, upon which he encamped in the woods and copices on the banks of said river, where he found himself surrounded by the enemy at the approach

to hear two masses every day; he prayed with extreme devotion, and frequently received the most Holy Sacrament in atonement for his sins." A pension of 300 pieces of Spanish gold was paid to him every month. He received the Spanish Order of the Knights of S. Jago, which was also conferred on his two sons, who entered the Spanish service, and died without offspring.

DON PHILIP O'SULLIVAN BEARA.

We give the following translation of the beautiful Latin poem of Philip O'Sullivan on the sufferings of his family for their faith and their country. We have omitted the first part, as it contains nothing historically interesting to our readers. This translation, which is a very good version of the poem, gives the author's sentiments in fairly flowing verses. We do not know the author. It was evidently printed fifty years ago or more, if we are to judge from the paper and type then used in Kerry. Perhaps some one of our readers has heard the name of the translator.

Philip O'Sullivan is one of the noblest characters we find in Irish history, and the one who has done more, as a layman, to illustrate the history of Catholic Ireland and her sufferings for the Faith, than any other Irishman at home or abroad during the 17th century—of course, we except the *Four Masters* and the Franciscans of the College of St. Antony, Louvain, as well as De Burgo's learned work. Philip's father, Dermot O'Sullivan, was the brother of the celebrated Donal Cam, and his companion in his wars and retreat to the North, as we have already related in the *History of the Fall of Dunboy*. See *History of Muckross Abbey*, chap. xi. 1, 2, 3, and chap. xii. xiii. etc. His mother was daughter of Donal MacSweeney. Her three brothers, Eugene, Edmund and Maurice MacSweeney, together with Dermot O'Sullivan, father of our author, were the first who rose at the call of the chivalrous FitzMaurice, Lord of Lixnaw, in 1569. Again, when FitzMaurice landed in Ireland from Spain in 1579, the MacSweenys and Dermot O'Sullivan enrolled themselves under John FitzGerald, brother to the Earl of Desmond, and shared all the dangers of the contest to its close. Giollaisa and Bernard MacSweeney were seized and executed. Their brother, Rory, fled with the wreck of the Desmond army to the Chieftains of North Connaught.

Joanna MacSweeney gave birth to seventeen children, of whom thirteen died before the fall of Dunboy; the other four were involved in the fate of Dermot, their father, as already related. Don Philip and several other noble youths were sent to Spain with the son and heir of Donal Cam, Prince of Beara. They sailed from Castlehaven in February, 1602, about 10 months after Red Hugh O'Donnell had sailed from the same port. They landed at Corunna, and were kindly received by the Marquis De Caracena, who placed Don Philip under the care of an Irish Priest, Rev. Patrick Sinnott, evidently a Wexford man, who took charge of his education. Don Philip was very probably born in Dursey Island, where his father built a castle, and found a refuge after the wreck of the Desmond army. He describes himself a boy in 1602.

In this poem, Philip O'Sullivan paints in painful, but most pathetic words, the ruin of all his family, on account of their love of Faith and Fatherland. But his sentiments are so full of piety and submission to the Divine Will, that they read like the words of a Father of the Church, or a St. Laurence in his martyrdom, rather than the expressions of a young sailor who is roughing it, in the hard life of a marine of those days. He wrote besides the *Historiæ Catholicæ Hiberniæ Compendium*, the "Lives of St. Kyran of Laiger, St. Alban, St. Aille, St. Declan, and St. Mochudda." None of these have been published, except the translation of an Irish life of St. Mochudda, which he gave to "Bollandus"; nor could Colgan find where the MSS. were deposited. He wrote also an answer to Usher's fierce attack on his history, but we are obliged to say that this was unworthy of him, if we can judge by the summary given in Doctor Kelly's learned "Preface" to the *Historiæ Cath. Comp.* (Maynooth Ed.), from which we have

of night, upon which he ordered sufficient lamps and lights in the boughs of trees as meaning that he intended maintaining said camp and giving battle next day. In the interim, employed all his men in making hobbles or kishes in the shape of small boats, or cotts, and got all the horses in his small camp killed, and said hobbles covered with their skins, which

taken this notice. The date or place of his death is unknown. Smith, in his *History of Cork*, says he died a Franciscan monk of Kilcrea, but there seems no foundation for this assertion.

POEM OF PHILIP O'SULLIVAN BEARA.

Of ancient stem from many a royal line,
 Offspring of Dermot, noble Prince of Beare,
 His mother of that well-known Geraldine,
 Ellinor, fair daughter of the great Kildare;
 Alone, or with other cities renowned in war,
 Our father triumphed both on sea and shore.

Of many a well-contested field of fame,
 Where blood flowed free to loose the tyrant's hold;
 With many a garland Dermot wreathed his name,
 In council wise, in action prompt and bold;
 His country's cause with Desmond long sustained,
 Nor left his own great chief while life remained.

The shores of Shannon gazed with pleased content
 As on he hastened down its stream to fight;
 Its hills rejoicing, all their echoes lent,
 When twice seven vessels yielded to his might;
 Scaling the walls of Youghal, its troops recoil,
 He stormed the city, but refused the spoil.

The smiling fields where Connaught's heroes fought
 In times of yore, in later days of fame,
 Beheld his triumphs, and too dearly bought
 The blue Lough Foyle; where, to his country's shame,
 The sons of Nial their precious birthright sold
 To tampering hirelings for land and gold.

All that he did for praise I need not tell,
 Much is recorded on the historic page.
 Whatever his to do, he did it well,
 From early manhood to extreme old age.
 His hundred years on earth in honour close,
 And wearied nature sought its last repose.

When those we love to their last sleep are borne,
 Their memory compels the frequent tear;
 Mine the sad lot my parents both to mourn,
 Brothers by every tie of friendship dear,
 Through time's long corridors the plaintive tone
 Of man's bereavement mingles with my own.

The clash of arms, the fervour in his blood
 My brother Daniel charmed from learned pursuits.
 He joined the fleet, which towering o'er the flood,
 The mastery in storm and war disputes,
 Swept through the billowy seas with sails wide spread,
 Crushing the hostile squadrons 'neath its tread.

machines were then and at other times called Corocain, or Naovoge, by which he got all his men but very few safe over said river to the great surprise of his enemy ; but after this and all his other brave actions, was obliged to go to Spain, where he had the creation of Count of Bearha, and a considerable pension, conferred on him and his heirs. He lived to a great age, with the character of a pious and religious man, in Madrid,

In battle with the Turks, as fortune turned,
A bolt like that from heaven its errand sped,
His spotless spirit to his God returned—
His lifeless form the ocean monsters fed.
The mould of manners, and of war the guide,
In youth's first bloom, in all its fragrance died.

Not Hector's self was more robust in form,
No peril his intrepid breast could daunt ;
He scaled the lofty deck, or led the storm,
Glad to achieve, but all too proud to vaunt.
If those who die for duty never die,
As Plautus tells us, he still lives on high.

Ah ! woe was mine, to lose him, yet before
Time to my anguish some slight respite gave,
My sister Helena sought her native shore
Her husband, but to find a watery grave.
Gentle in speech, of noble trait, devout,
With her life had some promise, none without.

The walled Corunna on Galicia's shore
Received his* bones that pious hands inter,
But who for Christ his sacred armour wore,
Bursts like his Master from the sepulchre.
Earth may resume the body it has given—
His memory lives on earth, his soul in heaven.

When you died, too, my mother, life, what pain !
You, too, were of the noblest, hero-born,
Donald's ten brothers, valiant sons of Sweyne, †
Marshalled our clans and led the hope forlorn ;
Donald and Margaret of Desmond's line,
You loved and mourned your parents as I mine.

We laid her gently by our father's side,
The worthy wife of one both great and good,
Wedlock's own glory, manhood's noblest pride,
The choicest crown of virtuous womanhood.
With them we buried all we knew of home,
Earth's joys, or doubly blest the joy to come.

Parents and brothers all beneath the sod,
My sister Leonora still lives on ;
She early gave her blameless youth to God,
Heaven's saintly rest by pious office won ;
Alone survivors of a happy host,
Our chiefest luxury to lament the lost.

* His father, Dermot O'Sullivan, who lived to the age of a hundred years, and was buried in the Franciscan Monastery of Corunna, in Galicia.

† McSweeney, his mother's name.

where he was at last murdered by one Jho. Batts, an Englishman, who served him in the nature of a servant for about twelve months, and was supposed to be employed by a certain power in what he performed. Said Daniel Caum's estates were forfeited, but as his uncle, Sir Owen O'Sullivan, was married to Barry More's daughter and one of Sir Owen's daughters, Calia,⁽³⁰⁾ married to the first of the noble family of Browns that came to the kingdom, and had great estates in the county of Kerry and Desmond conferred on him, the said Sir Owen, by the interest of the said noble families, had the estate of Daniel Caum granted to him. It was the said Sir Owen that dismembered ye county of Kerry and Desmond to the barony of Bear and Bantry, and joined them to the county of Cork for

But what can it profit to sigh or mourn ?
Tears cannot those we loved again recall ;
Inexorable Death assigns one bourne,
For kings in purple, for the humblest thrall.
Our transitory life glides fast away,
No power avails its ceaseless course to stay.

Then since its years flit by on rapid wing,
Old men and youth yield to the doom ordained.
That its approach no needless terror bring,
Let us, to meet it, by our faith sustained,
Remember that its mystic realms are shared
By those that entered it not unprepared.

Perhaps this lay the memories may save
From dark oblivion what we cherished here ;
But they well knew the hand that took and gave,
'Midst trials chastened, both with love and fear ;
May we not trust that through His merits they,
In glory clad, have joined His bright array ?

What though our earthly bodies may decay
Amidst the ocean, or beneath the clod,
Each soul reclaiming will find its kindred clay
Regenerate in presence of its God :
He who from nothing made may well restore
Giving His children life for evermore.

(30) Calia or Celia or *Julia*. This latter she is called in the genealogy of the Kenmare family. The name in Irish is Sighile or Sheela. It is not, however, of Irish origin. (See *Donovan's O'Duggan*.) Of this marriage, Sir Nicholas Browne writes in his "Discourse concerning the Province of Munster" :—"But I, *being prevented of the Earl of Clancartie's daughter by Florence MacCartie*, whom I would have married with her majesty's consent, who passed a patent to me of the country, and being spoiled by Donald Mac Cartie daily, and upon the death of Sir Valentine Browne, my father, being left secondless in the hearte of the wilde countrie of Desmond (these lands being the substance of my poor estate), for my better strength *and to maintain my owne*, I married with *Sir Owen O'Sullivan's daughter*, who before was contracted to Florence Mac Cartie—wherein, he having falsified his faith, procured the said Owen and all his friends to be his bitter enemies, *by which* I grow able to raise companies for my defence, etc." This Julia O'Sullivan was a very clever and good lady. By her, the Browne family were led back to the Catholic Church, and after the death of her husband, all her children were married into Irish Catholic families. We will give in next paper a monograph on this noble house of Kenmare.

some reasons, particularly as the leading men of said counties would not grant him the conveniencys of Assizes and Sessions in Killarney.

As I am not exact of O'Sullivan Bear's estate, or of the families that had their estates out of his houses, I shall speak but of few. The offsprings of Daniel Caum are extinct; of Sir Owen's descendants were the late Count of Berehaven, and his brother, Collonel Owen, etc., in Spain.

Mac Finine duv, before said Sir Owen's time, had his estate of near third part to O'Sullivan Bear's.

This family was of good note for generosity and manhood, the chief of 'em is much spoken of for his behaviour along with said Daniel Caum, being the only man he confided in time of most desperacy and emergency.

The family of Ardea, the first of them by name Philip, was brother to the O'Sullivan Bear, called Donall Cnocanty, and to the said Sir Owen, and had but thirteen and a half plough lands, but had, in addition, £300 more per annum, and the yearly tribute of £1,900 that was due to O'Sullivan Bear of the Spaniards at the time of their great trading with the west of Ireland, for anchorage, port charges, and other privileges in ye port of Dunbaoi; the agreements with the Spaniards for such yearly tribute to be seen with the family of Ardea, under hands and seals. They were a family of good note for generosity and hospitality, but had the estate of said Bunane conferred on 'em by McCarthy More by observing well to him. To return to the aforesaid O'Sullivan More, who, by his conduct and foresight in not joining the aforesaid Owen Roe O'Neill, maintained his estate for himself and posterity for two or three generations, and for the other families that had their estates out of his and his ancestors' house; he lived in great prosperity during his life. Daniel O'Sullivan More, the said Owen's son, married to Joan Fitzmaurice, daughter to Lord Kiery, as well called McMaurice Kiery. The grandeur of this renowned family referred to the author of the intended history, to whom it must be well known.

The said Daniel OSullivan More⁽³¹⁾ had four sons by the said Joan

DUNKERRON CASTLE.

(31) Near the head of the estuary in the bay of Kenmare (*Hibernice* Ceun Mara), in the county of Kerry, stands all that remains of this once important fortalice. Dunkerron Castle, a massive vaulted structure of the Tudor time, is on the site, as its name implies, of an ancient dun or fortress, constructed before the introduction of castles into Ireland. In its present state it is a broken down but picturesque ruin, close by the shore within a small demesne, and surrounded by young plantations. The southern side has almost disappeared, and has carried with it a part of the eastern and western walls. The great archway, instead of being placed in the upper part of the building as is usual, formed a basement compartment, at about one-third of the whole elevation from the ground. The greater part of this vault has been destroyed, and only a mere fragment remains.

At a short distance from its south-east angle stands the high-pitched end wall or gable of a more recent mansion, belonging to the transition period, after the time of

Fitzmaurice, viz., Owen O'Sullivan More, the two Collonells, Philip and Dermod, of great repute both at home and abroad, and Daniel Oge O'Sullivan. The said Daniel O'Sullivan More and Joan Fitzmaurice maintained and enjoyed their estates and lived happily during their lives, as did their son, Owen O'Sullivan More, married to Mary Fitzgerald,

the first James. It retains its capacious fire-places and mantel-pieces, but no other feature worthy of notice. No doubt tradition and legend have been associated with its story, and reminiscences of its past days may still survive in the folk-lore of the neighbouring peasantry, for its ancient lords were of a stirring and daring race, who limited not their operations to the adjoining plains and mountains; their galleys traversed in search of adventure, glory, or traffic on the open seas which lay around,



DUNKERRON CASTLE.

frequently visiting the ports of the Saxon and the Gall; or these farther to the south, remembered as the original home of their distant forefathers, as we see in the "Historia Catholica" of Philip O'Sullivan Beara.

The Capanacus O'Sullivan had his castle a few miles to the west of Dunkerron. His stronghold was a narrow peel house or castlet, most unpretentious in its architectural features. This ruin still braves the storms of the bay within the demesne of Dromore, near where the Kerry Blackwater joins the bay of Kenmare, after emerging from one of the most picturesque scenes to the south of Killarney at Blackwater Bridge. The O'Sullivan of Capanacus, in default of male issue to the O'Sullivan More, succeeded to his inheritance as next in seniority.

Other septs of power and consideration were the O'Sullivans of Ardea, at the Iveratha side of the estuary, and the MacFinneen Duff, whose descendant in the female line, Mrs. Peter MacSweeney, only recently removed from the shore of Glenmore Lake, in the vicinity of that chieftain's home (Windle).

O'Sullivan, Dunkerron.

The shield of arms—The blazoning is totally different from that in use by the O'Sullivans for the last two centuries—which is, according to the heralds, Per pale,

daughter to the much esteemed Edmond Fitzgerald, of Balimulno, of the same family with the great Earls of Desmond and Kildare. The said Edmond Fitzgerald had two other of his daughters, sisters to the said Mary Fitzgerald, one of them married to the Earl of Inchiquin, the other to Lord Kiery, nephew of the aforesaid Joan Fitzmaurice.

Daniel O'Sullivan More, son to the said Owen O'Sullivan More and said Mary Fitzgerald, was married to Ellinor Brown, of the noble family of the Lords Kinmare, a family very much noted for generosity and forwardness to serve their country; their alliance was great with some of the Milesian princes and with the renowned family of the Butlers and Fitzgeralds and others of the English conquest.

The said Daniel O'Sullivan More and Ellinor Brown enjoyed their estate but for a short time, as the said Daniel O'Sullivan More joined Daniel McCarthy, Terence O'Brien, and the aforesaid two Collonells, uncles to the said O'Sullivan More, and in opposition to Oliver Cromwell.

The first action (as far as I could learn) that they were engaged in was at Dromcassaragh, where they were defeated, though behaving courageously, where one of said collonells, I know not which, distinguished himself greatly, verified by a heroick verse composed by a county Kerry poet in praise of said colonell, and arguing with a North country poet, who composed a very lofty verse a great while before in favour of ye aforesaid Owen Roe O'Neill; the said verse is as followeth:—

THE NORTH COUNTRY POET.

Éinne a3ur Eozam na Neill
 Glac a3ur oimoo3 iac
 Seo naireib.

THE COUNTY OF KERRY POET.

Rom 3o con3enom an Lanj
 Alce do Colonel Suilloban
 Aneazhuir mraeta an glac
 To zelib do anonom earamac.

The North country poet, in said rhyme, speaking of Ireland, says

vert and *ar.*; on the first, a buck pass., ppr.; on the second, a boar pass., per pale, *sa* and ppr.; on a chief *or* two lions ramp. combatant, *gu.*, supporting with the four paws a sword entwined with a serpent; crest, on a ducal coronet a bird ppr.

Motto, "Lambh Foistenach an Machar."

In *Harris's Ware* their war-cry is given as "*Fustina-stelly-abo.*"

"To me the Dunkerron shield and its charges have a very arkite expression, and seem quite a mythological composition. The latter appears, more or less, connected with the legendary lore of the family. Differing so entirely from all the recognised rules of heraldry in the sixteenth century, we may presume that in the blazoning the artist must have taken his instructions from the hereditary Bolsuire or Leanachuidhe, full traditional recollections of the race, who used "emblems and devices which had previously existed beyond the memory of man."

In the chief or upper part of the field occurs the Murgheim Muirghuilt, Murruch, Merrow, or Mermaid, which may be explained by that legend of an O'Sullivan who wooed and won, but only immediately to lose, one of those fabled sea nymphs, as we are informed in Crofton Croker's metrical version of the "Lord of Dunkerron."—*Kilkenny Journal*, March, 1859.

that the said Owen Roe O'Neill was the hand and thumb thereof. A county Kerry poet in his verse arguing that the hand should have been divided, and half thereof to be given to Colonell O'Sullivan, as so deserving in said battle of Dromcassaragh.

The next action was at Cnock na Noss, where the Irish, after a resolute dispute, were defeated, after which several treaties of peace, which did not hilt; on which Cnoc na Clarsi, by mutual consent of both parties, was fixed for the field of battle, and though a passage that happened the night before said battle is not altogether pertinent to the purpose, yet I shall set forth it, as the Earl of Inchiquin,⁽³²⁾ who was general of

(32) The Earl of Inchiquin: This remarkable man was called "Morrough *un toh'aine*"—of the burning ("τοῖτεση," means to burn a house and its effects), from the dreadful conflagrations caused by him during the Cromwellian wars. He was grandson of the Baron of Inchiquin, who perished in the Erne in 1597, fighting on the side of Elizabeth, along with his relative the great Earl of Thomond, against Red Hugh O'Donnell. He thus from his earliest childhood learned the fatal tradition of his family, by sustaining the enemies of his Faith and country. He was perhaps, the ablest commander on the royalist side, or of any of the military leaders then in Ireland. He changed sides as often as it suited his ambition or personal interests, now a Royalist, again a Cromwellian, then a Confederate, and finally a Royalist. He was like Cromwell, always successful during his short, Machiavelian career, and seems to have outlived his early wicked and cruel propensities. He was converted to the Catholic church, the church of his fathers, fourteen years before his death, which happened 9 September, 1674, at the early age of fifty-six years. His biographer in the *Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 305, says:—"Inchiquin's Protestantism, like that of many others in later times, was more of a political than a religious character." One thing is certain he made the greatest sacrifice of his life to hold fast to his faith during these last fourteen years. His great ambition through life was to be President of Munster. "Nor could anything," says Borlase (p. 278), "have barred him of it since His Majesty's happy return, wherein his servants had the fruit of their fidelity, but his change of religion, which equally prejudiced the Lord Dillon in the Presidency of Connaught, truly observable in them both." He also had his children brought up Catholics, and thus incurred the anger of his wife who separated from him on this account. He was created Earl of Inchiquin and had a grant of £8000 from Charles II. His body was interred in Limerick in the Cathedral of St. Mary's. His memory lives in the horror and execration of the Catholics of Ireland for his inhuman atrocity at the siege of Cashel. "For, having shaken the walls with the power of his guns and not being able to effect a breach, he had recourse to the horrible expedient of piling up a great quantity of turf against the outward wall, and to this he applied fire, by which the religious and other people who were crowded inside were absolutely baked to death" (*Lenihan's Limerick*, p. 161). Upwards of thirty priests and friars fell victims to his refined cruelty on this occasion (*Idem*). The Marquisate and Earldom became extinct on the death of James, third Marquis, 3 July, 1855. The barony vests in Sir Lucius O'Brien of Dromoland, as descendant of Donogh, third son of Morrough, Tainist of Thomond. The will of Inchiquin, bearing date 11 Sep., and proved 14th Nov. 1674, directed that his body should be interred in the Cathedral of Limerick, and a decent monument erected to his memory. The other provisions are very singular, and show his matter-of-fact mind to the last: "Whereas there is a debt of above £200 due to me from Lord Viscount Dillon and his son by bond and judgement, I bequeath the same to Patrick Nihil of Limerick, gent., for him to pay and satisfy thereout to my servant, Philip Roche FitzDavid, £50, which I owe him. To William Comery, £100, which I owe him, £20 to the Franciscan Friars in Ennis, Co. Clare; £20 to Richard Assin, and the remainder to be disposed of by him according to the directions of the said Philip Roche, as well for the performance of the usual duties of the Roman Catholic clergy, as also for other pious uses, as I have already instructed the said

Cromwell's party, hearing of a wizard, or a man inspired with the spirit of prophecy, to live in the neighbourhood, sent for him, and desired to have his sentiments who would be next day defeated, on which the said man was much daunted, which the Earl observed, and desired him to declare his thoughts and that he should not be in the least molested, on which the man told him by what he could prophecy that the Irishman would maintain the field with credit, and the Englishman totally defeated.

Philip" (this was evidently for masses, which were then an illegal bequest, as they are yet in England). Inchiquin after his death brought utter ruin on hundreds of his fellow Catholics by giving the thirty-three large volumes of "lying" Depositions from 1641 to 1654, to Pereigh or Perry, secretary to his father-in-law, S. Leger, President of Munster. Perry appears to have handed them over to Sir Philip Percival. We have called them *lying* Depositions for the author who has published several of them assures us they have been thus named by "all Catholic historians and by some English Protestant writers during the last two centuries, as untrustworthy exaggerations, bearing internal evidence of their worthlessness, or else as deliberate wholesale perjuries, devised to bring about the confiscation of the lands of innocent men." (*Ireland in the 17th Century*, p. 121). Warner, a clergyman of the Established Church of Ireland, says:—"In these books, besides the examinations taken by the Royal Commissioners, there are several copies of others said to have been taken before them, which are therefore of no authority, and there are many taken ten years afterwards before Justices of the Peace appointed by the Commissioners of the English Parliament. . . . I took a great deal of pains and spent a great deal of time in examining these books, and I am sorry to say they have been made the foundation of much more clamour and resentment than can be warranted by truth and reason." And in another place he adds: "They are contained in two and thirty large volumes and deposited in the College Library of Dublin, besides one that contains the examinations that were taken by Archdeacon Bysse, for the province of Munster, which Borlase, among his other falsehoods, says, was smothered with great artifice." "Reid," says the author of these two volumes of Depositions, "differs wholly from Warner," and she cites Reid at p. 327 of his *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*. Sir John Gilbert quoting this passage from Reid says, "Had Doctor Reid examined the whole collection, as has been done for the purposes of this report, he would have found that Warner's statement was in the main correct. Innumerable instances occur, in which not only the words, *duly sworn and examined* have been struck out, but also many passages, in some entire pages, have been so dealt with. Of this, a notable example is furnished by the volume for the county Waterford in which few pages can be found that are not thus cancelled." Of Warner, the author cited above says in one place, "that he was a clergyman of the Established Church in Ireland, who wrote towards the close of the last century a rather dry, but on the whole a rather fair and candid history of his country" (p. 122). But in another place she says, "Warner tells us he took much pain and spent much time in examining them" (these Depositions) "and never was time and pains more wasted." And she thus finishes up on both Sir John Gilbert and Warner:—"The strangest, the most incomprehensible thing, however, is that Mr. Gilbert, F.S.A., accredited with such talents for research" (for he was with the unanimous approval of all the learned men of Europe, pensioned and knighted) "by the Government and the public, sitting down to make an exhaustive search into these documents for the purpose of an official report, should have accepted and *done his best* to make the world accept the gross mistakes of Warner for truth."

Here it is a question of fact, between Sir John Gilbert and this author. It is well known that the late learned and eloquent Lord Emly spoke of Sir John Gilbert when he said: "Ireland had now scholars whose reputation in Archæology was European, and, to such of them as had made the Anglo-Irish muniments their special study, should be committed the superintendence of all Government record publications connected with that country."—*Speech in the House of Commons, 16th July, 1863*. Mr. C. D. Hardy, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, and Mr. J. S. Brewer, of the

The Earl answered he was right, as he himself was the Irishman, and O'Brien a Milesian, and Count Tafe, general of the Irish party, an Englishman by extraction, which happened as the Earl interpreted; as the Count, with his party, after a desperate bloody dispute, were defeated. Soon after said battle, the aforesaid Daniel McCarthy, Terence O'Brien, and many more, submitted to much more moderate conditions than they could have before, but Daniel O'Sullivan More, who here lost a good many of his regiment and name, marched to that part of the county of Kerry, the baronies of Iverahegh, Dunkieron, and Clanarough, expecting by the bad passes and roads thereto leading that he could maintain said districts till further supplied or relieved; by this time, the aforesaid two collonells, uncles to the said O'Sullivan More, seeing no further prospect of success, declined that service, and went to France. Soon after this the said Earl of Inchiquin, having a concern and tenderness for the said O'Sullivan, sent to him earnestly desiring and advising he may submit, and that the said Earl would use his best interest with the Government to get him good conditions.

Rolls Department, London, says of his letters, *Record Revelations*—“In fact, we don't remember to have seen, in England or in Ireland, any work of the same nature in which so much critical knowledge of this kind has been displayed, or which indicates a greater familiarity with archæological studies.”—*Record Revelations*, p. III. pp. 6 & 7. On the other side we have this author, who is so dogmatic in her condemnation of Sir John Gilbert, and of every one who disagrees with her bigotry or prejudices. As to the doubt raised by this author about Inchiquin's religion at his death—“it is said he died a Catholic,” vol. I, p. 125—it is settled by his last will, given above.

To be continued.

Newports' Waterford Bank.

By REV. W. P. BURKE.



THIS, the best known of the old private banks of the South, deserves a fuller notice than the page devoted to it by Mr. Tenison in a former number of the *Journal* (Vol. II., No. 15). I am induced, therefore, to relate its history at length, as also for the reason that its history is the history of the others; for, apart from those swindles which, in the years 1797-1803, masqueraded under the name of banks, the old private banks ran a career in the main identical. We have first a period of honest and successful business—the state of innocence; next the temptation, when credit is unbounded,