

### *Corkaguiny's Calvary.*

LET Lecky, Froude, Spenser, Paul Dubois and Leland describe the infamous methods by which the English soldiery dealt with the unarmed civilian population in the Dingle peninsula and elsewhere during the years from 1579 to 1581 when Queen Elizabeth graciously pardoned the "rebels," with the exception of the Earl of Desmond who for over two years longer eluded her butchers.

"The suppression of the native race," Lecky says, "in the wars against Shane O'Neill, Desmond and Tyrone, was carried on with a ferocity which surpassed that of Alva in the Netherlands, and has seldom been exceeded in the page of history. The war as conducted by Carew, by Pelham, by Mountjoy was literally a war of extermination. The slaughter of Irishmen was looked upon as literally the slaughter of wild animals. Not only the men, but even the women and children who fell into the hands of the English were deliberately and systematically butchered. Bands of soldiers traversed great tracts of country, slaying every living thing they met."

"The sword was not found sufficiently expeditious but another method proved much more efficacious. Year after year, over a great part of Ireland, all means of human subsistence were destroyed. No quarter was given to prisoners who surrendered and the whole population was skillfully and steadily starved to death. The pictures of the condition of Ireland at this time are as terrible as anything in human history." 118

Paul Dubois writes, "The cold-blooded and systematic savagery of Elizabeth's lieutenants, Sussex, Mountjoy, Raleigh, Pelham, Grey and Carew has seldom been equalled and the accounts of their proceedings given by Englishmen such as Carew himself, Spenser, Holenshed and Sir John Davies fill one with horror." 119

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The poet Spenser, author of the "Fairie Queen," who visited Ireland as private secretary to Lord Grey, Elizabeth's Lord Deputy, and who advocated famine as the most effective means of dealing with the "rebels," describing what he himself saw in Munster, wrote:—"Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them; yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves." 120

"Irish annalists relate, with shocking detail, how the soldiery of Pelham and Ormond used to slay 'blind and feeble men, women, boys and girls, rich persons, idiots and old people.' They tell us how, in the Desmond country, when all resistance was at an end the soldiers forced the people into old barns, which they then set on fire, putting to the sword any who sought to escape; how soldiers were seen to catch up children on the points of their swords, making them squirm in the air in their death agony; or yet again, how women were found hanged from trees, with the children at their bosoms strangled in the hair of their mothers." 121

"The Earl of Ormond, being appointed Lord Governor of Munster, divided his forces at Tralee into three divisions and from thence marched to Dingle. . . . From Slieve Mish, they slaughtered every man, woman and child they met, burned their houses and corn to the ground. At Stradbally, they tossed the children for pastime from pike to pike, in the presence of their mothers and next brutally stabbed with daggers those feeble mothers." 122

Leland wrote, "Long before the (Desmond) war had terminated, Elizabeth was assured that she had little to reign over in Ireland but ashes and carcasses." 123

"It was boasted," says Lecky, "that in all the wide territory of Desmond not a town, castle, village or farmhouse was unburnt, and a high English official writing in 1582 computed that in six months more than 300,000 people

had been starved to death in Munster, besides those who were hung or who perished by the sword." 124

"Pelham," Froude states, "marched to Dingle destroying as he went, with Ormond parallel to him on the opposite side of the bay, the two parties watching one another's course at night across the water by the flames of the burning cottages." 125

And the following brief record in the Annals of the Four Masters paints a terrible picture:—

"The Age of Christ, 1582. At this period it was commonly said that the lowing of a cow or the voice of the ploughman could scarcely be heard from Dun-Caoim (Dunquin, in West Kerry) to Cashel in Munster."

But let us pass away from these appalling incidents of cold-blooded massacre which, Froude truly remarks, have left the memory of a vague horror imprinted in the national traditions; 126 and hasten to the sequel of the grim Desmond tragedy.

At the "Inquisition taken at the town of Dingle c. 1584 decush (Dingle) in the County of Kerry in the 26th year of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and so-forth, before Nicholas Walsh, Esquire, Chief Justice of the Province of Munster, Thomas J. Wyseman, Robert Rosier and Arthur Robbyns, Esquires," the following, all merchants of Dingle, were examined:—

Richard Trante	William Trante,
Stephen Rice,	Gerald Trante,
John Rice,	Edward Russell,
Nicholas Trante,	Edward Rice,
John Walsh,	Dominick Rice,
Patrick Nagill,	Rowland Rice,
Walter Rice,	Edmund Trante,
Thomas Trante,	Nicholas Nagill.
William Goldinge,	

who on their sacred oath say that Gerald, the late Earl of Desmond, seduced and instigated by devilish and malicious thoughts, on the second day of November in the (twenty) first year of our said Lady Queen, collected together a multitude of malefactors and rascals ready and

prepared to enter in war and a rebellion against our said Sovereign Lady the Queen and her Crown and dignity; for which war and rebellion the said Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, on the 25th day of September, in the 24th year of our said Lady the Queen, by ordinance of law was attainted."

The Inquisition found that the following were seized in the late Earl of Desmond as of fee of certain property, and had entered into rebellion with him:—

Thomas Fitz David Gerald, gentleman, late of Ardnegrage, killed near Cosseleye;

Maurice Fitz John Fitz Garrett, late of Killneneghe;

Teigue Mac Dermod Mac Cormac Mac Curtye, gentleman, late of Malahive, killed near Aghadoe;

Rory O'Donoghue, alias O'Donoghue More, gentleman, late of Rossdonoghue, killed near Carherge;

Ulick Mac Thomas Eligot, gentleman, late of Carrignefeilye;

Conogher O'Dalye, gentleman, Kiltarcon;

Galfredus Mac Teigue O'Donoghue, Glanny de Glanfeske;

John Oge Maurice, gentleman, late of Killenoraghe, where he was killed;

Maurice Fitz John Hussey gentleman, of Glangorteen-korrane;

John Hussey, late of Ballenecourtye;

John Mac Edmond Mac Ulick, late of Ballyno;

Nicholas Mac Shane Piers, alias Mac Shane de Clanmorres;

David Duffe Gerald (held tenement in Dingle); killed at Aghadoe;

James Hussey Fitz John, killed at Ardfert;

James Russell, late of Dingle;

Dominick Roa FitzMaurice, late of Dingle, went to Spain;

Thomas Fitz William Bwye, late of Dingle; killed;

Thomas Browne, late of Newtown, killed;

Ulick Mac Thomas Eligott, Karrignefeilye;

Thomas Nicholas Fenn, Ballenikeartye;

Thomas Mac Ellistrum, Tralee;

Katherine O'Haretan, daughter and heir of O'Hartan, Tralee;

John Prendeville, Dysert;

John Fuller, alias Bowler, of Bowlerstowne;

Thomas Fitz David Ballaghe Gerald; David Oge Fitz David Gerald; Maurice Fitz David Gerald; and others;

Nicholas, alias Mac Edmund of Stradballye;

Thomas, Baron of Lixnaw, and Patrick Fitz Maurice, Robert Fitz Maurice, and Gerald Fitz Maurice, his sons;

All the gentlemen and householders in the cantred of Clannaurice, except John MacThomas of Ballykealey, John Oge of Ballyvicinkyn and Gerald Duffe Stack;

Edmund Oge Mac Clymmette, Clanmaurice;

Gerald Mac Richard of Glanhowyte;

Caher Mac Bryan, sone and heir of Mac Murrough;

Patrick Mac Shane,

John Browne of Kerybrowne and Maurice Browne.

It was also found that Mac Edell had associated himself with James Fitzmaurice Gerald and aided and "abetted in bringing the foreigners to Ireland." 127 The "foreigners," of course, were not the English!



### *The Undertakers in Kerry.*

THE Geraldine Palatinate was portioned out into seigniories of 12,000, 8,000, 6,000 and 4,000 acres, but some undertakers received more than one seigniorie. For instance, Sir Walter Raleigh was granted 42,000 acres in Cork and Waterford.<sup>128</sup>

"Every undertaker of 12,000 acres was bound to plant 86 (English) families; to retain for his own family, 1,500 acres; for one chief farmer 400 acres, for two good farmers, 600 acres; for two other farmers, 400 acres; for fourteen freeholders (100 acres each) 4,000 acres; for twenty cottagers and labourers, 800 acres. . . . As a rule, the undertakers either did not or could not carry out the terms of the (foreign) plantation. As the former class of feudal proprietors, they failed to bring over English Colonists and sub-let their lands to Irish tenants, more easy of management and capable of paying their rents than the English Yeomen. Thus, after all, the actual displacement of the inhabitants was less than might have been anticipated. The result was rather to introduce foreign landlords than to establish an English population. . . . The plantation of Munster naturally exasperated the natives but failed to overpower them."<sup>129</sup>

Those who got grants of land in Kerry were:—

1. Sir William Herbert, Knight of St. Julians, Monmouth, 13,276 acres at £221 5s 5d. Crown rent per annum;
2. Charles Herbert, son of Sir William Herbert of Collbrook, Hadnock, Monmouth, 3,768 acres at £62 15s 4d;
3. Sir Valentine Browne, Knight (ancestor of the Earls of Kenmare) of Crofts, Co. Lincoln and of Hogesdon, County Middlesex, 6,560 acres at £113 6s 8d;
4. Sir Edward Denny, Knight, Waltham Abbey, Herefordshire, 6,000 acres with the Castle of Tralee, at £100.
5. Captain Jenken Conway, 5,260 acres at £8 18s. 8d. He brought his three brothers who were descended from Sir Henry Conway, Wales.

6. John Champion, alias Chapman, a servant to Sir Walter Raleigh, and John Stone, one of Queen Elizabeth's footmen, 1,434 acres at £23 18s. 0d. The lands were subsequently purchased from Champion and Stone by the first Earl of Cork.
7. John Holly, 4,422 acres at £73 0s. 0d.<sup>130</sup>

The undertakers having robbed the native population of their property were naturally very anxious, as a kind of "quid pro quo," to improve the moral condition of their victims. They found it easier to preach "Thou, shalt not steal" than to practice it!

Sir William Herbert, writing from Castleisland to Burleigh on the 30th April, 1587, is deeply concerned because "here is neither public prayers in any church nor private prayers that any of them doth understand, whereby it seemeth that God is altogether unserved. I have taken order that public prayers shall be said in their own tongue, and that they shall assemble themselves in their churches on the Sundays. I have caused the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and the Articles of the Belief to be translated into Irish, and this day the ministers of these parts repair unto me to have it in writing."

Sir William, writing again to Burleigh on the 9th January, 1589, "hopes to make Kerry and Desmond a little England after the example of Pembrokeshire in times past."

On May 25th of the same year, he sets forth the reasons which moved him "to put the statute in execution against Irish habits." He states that "the mantle is serving to the Irish as to a hedgehog his skin or to a snail her shell, for a garment by day and a house by night. It maketh them, with the continual use of it, more apt and able to live and lie out in bogs and woods, where their mantle serveth them for a mattress and a bush for a bedstead, and thereby they are less addicted to a loyal, dutiful and civil life!"

Sir Edward Denny, writing from "Dennyvale" also to Burleigh (25th July, 1589) complains that "no persuasion will ever bring the Irish to God or to Her Majesty (Elizabeth) but justice within mercy must first tame and

command them." He has also a complaint against Sir William Herbert—with whom he does not seem to be on very friendly terms—and somebody named Beacon for appointing constables throughout the country "but such for the most part as if one rake hell, he shall scare find worse, such as have been thieves, rebels and murderers. A Welsh humour and a fat conceit hath fed him foolishly"!

With all their missionary zeal, the undertakers in Kerry failed to "reform" the natives or to plant their estates with Englishmen or Welshmen, and consequently the Queen had no hesitation in expressing her displeasure with their conduct. The natives, too, were so unreasonable as not to regard their new masters and despoilers with feelings of gratitude and affection. An ungrateful people, surely!



### *Armada Ships on the Kerry Coast.*

THE ambitious design of Philip II of Spain to invade England in 1588 was defeated by the inexperience and incompetency of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armada (Don Alozo Perez de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia); the elements which were unfavourable from the start, and the shortage of cannon ammunition.

The Armada ("Great Fleet") consisted of 130 vessels—galleons, galleasses, galleys and other ships—of 57,868 tons, carrying 18,973 soldiers, 8,050 seamen, 1,332 volunteers, 2,088 rowers; 2,431 guns, 180 priests, several of whom were Irish, including the Bishop of Killaloe; and numbers of Spanish and Italian noblemen.

"It is doubtful if more than one hundred and twenty ships of all sizes came into the Channel. . . . Of the ships about half were transports or victuallers pure and simple and took no part in the fighting. Many, too, were pinnaces or despatch boats unfitted for fighting but they all carried men, sailors or soldiers, who must be deducted from the gross numbers. The effective total of fighting men in the Spanish fleet could thus scarcely have been more than from 10,000 to 12,000." 131

This interesting statement is made by Sir John Knox Laughton, M.A., R.N., and is in conflict with the figures given by other English writers as to the strength of the Armada and its effective fighting force as compared with the English fleet.

Under Medina Sidonia were Juan Martinez de Recalde, vice admiral, Diego Flores de Valdes; Pedro de Valdes, Miguel de Oquendo, Maitin de Bertendona, Juan Gorries de Medina, Don Antonio Hurtado, de Mendoza, and Hugo de Moncada.

The Prince d'Ascule, son of the King of Spain; Maurice Fitzgerald, son of Sir James Fitzgerald, who had been killed by the English a few years previously; and Lord Baltinglas, of Wicklow, also accompanied the Armada.

Sir John Laughton states that the English fleet under

Lord Howard of Effingham, a Catholic, numbered 197 vessels, and the gross total of the crews as not fewer than 17,000 or 18,000 men. He points out that the Spanish ships were very inferior to the English in the open sea, that the Armada was terribly undermanned, and that the Spanish guns were inferior to the English in number and weight, and were badly worked. The wretched seamanship of the invading fleet, and the weather conditions gave the English forces a further advantage.

According to Capt. Duro, the author of "La Armada Invencible," sixty-three of the Spanish vessels were lost; but of that number few were sunk or captured by the English in battle.

Nineteen ships were wrecked off the shores of Scotland and Ireland, and the rock-bound coasts of Donegal, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, Clare and Kerry accounted for, at least, a dozen of that number.

Of the crews of the ill-fated Armada, thousands never again saw their native land, and hundreds of those who returned in battered ships died daily from disease.

"Such Spaniards as were taken prisoners by the English," Froude states, "met with a fate of which it is impossible to read without regret. Flung, as they were upon the shore, ragged, starved and unarmed, their condition might have moved the pity of less generous foes . . . There might be nothing to fear from the Spanish prisoners in their present extremity, but if allowed to recover and find protection from Irish hospitality they might and would become eminently dangerous. . . . With the exception, therefore, of one or two officers who were reserved for ransom, all that were captured were shot or hanged on the spot."<sup>132</sup>

And the "undertaker," Sir Edward Denny, of Tralee, who eight years previously had assisted in the cold-blooded murder of the Papal forces at Dun-an-oir, and who only the previous year (1587) reported that a follower of O'Sullivan Mor had his ears cut off, apparently by his orders, for saying that he knew no queen but his chieftain, took an active part in the work of massacre.

An exhausted and starving crew—twenty-four in

number, mainly the household servants of Medina Sidonia—were driven by a violent storm into Tralee Bay. Sir Thomas Norreys (Norris), vice-President of Munster, writing to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State, stated that three men from the ship swam ashore and yielded themselves and the ship's company to Lady Denny. The seamen begged hard for mercy but Sir Edward Denny put every man of them to the sword.

It was this same valiant knight who a month later (October 27th) complained to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State, that "none else had been so hardly dealt with as he. The Lord Deputy (Sir William Fitzwilliam, who superseded Sir John Perrot in February 1588) claims all that was taken off the Spaniards for her majesty."

It is, however, probable that Denny did get some of the loot for Sir William Herbert, another of the Undertakers, wrote on the 24th May, 1589:—"Her Majesty, and not Sir Edward Denny, is entitled to have the wrecks of the Duke of Medina Sidonia's goods, worth £2,000, if not more."

In the English State papers (September 9th, 1588) we read that Sir Thomas Norreys "is sorry for the execution on the twenty-four Spaniards taken in the Bay of Tralee by Sir Edward Denny," but nothing happened to the man who was responsible for the massacre.

On the 11th September James Traunte (Trant), the English Government agent at Dingle, reported to Sir Edward Denny that "three great ships, one of 900 tons, being the Admiral's, whose name is John Martines de Recaldo, ride at anchor betwixt the Ferriter's main island (the Great Blasket) and the shore," and that the Santa Maria de la Rosaria had been wrecked.

Dr. Smith states:—"On Tuesday, 10th September, 1588, there was wrecked in the Sound of Blaskets a ship called our Lady of the Rosary of 1,000 tons (one of the Spanish Armada which was sent to invade England). In this ship was drowned the Prince of Ascule, the King of Spain's base son; Don Pedro, Don Diego, Don Francisco with seventy other gentlemen of account that accompanied

the Prince; also Ocquenda, and the Governor of the ship; Mantua, Captain of the infantry; Suarez, a Portuguese; Garrionere; Ropecho dela Vega Montene, Francisco, an Italian Captain; John Rice, an Irish Captain; Francis Roche, an Irishman, and five hundred other persons, whereof one hundred were gentlemen. There was but one person saved whose name was John Antonio de Monona, a Genoese, who was the pilot's son." 133

Monona, who was examined next day by English officials at Dingle, stated that the vessel struck upon a rock in the Sound of Blasket about a league and a half from the shore; and that his father was killed by one of the Captains who accused him of treachery.

The boy described the Prince d'Ascule as a slender man of about twenty-eight years of age with a high forehead; "of reasonable stature," with brown hair, stroked upwards, with very little beard, and pale-faced "with some little red on his cheeks." When he was drowned, the Prince wore a suit of white satin, a doublet, and breeches "cut after the Spanish mode" with russet silk stockings.

The original strength of the crew, Monona stated, was seven hundred, but this number had been reduced before the wreck to five hundred "by fight and disease."

Froude, describing the wreck of the vessel states:—

"She had nearly weathered the headland of Kerry. She had all but escaped. Clear of the enormous cliffs of the Blasket Islands, she had no more to fear from the sea. Between the Blaskets and the mainland there is a passage which is safe in moderate weather, but the gale which had slightly moderated, had risen again. The waves as they roll in from the Atlantic on the shallowing shores of Ireland boil among the rocks in bad weather with a fury unsurpassed in any part of the ocean. Strong tidal currents add to the danger, and when Our Lady of the Rosary entered the Sound it was a cauldron of boiling foam. There were scarcely hands to work the sails. Out of seven hundred, four hundred were dead, and most of the survivors were gentlemen, and before she was half way through, she struck among the breakers on the Island. A maddened

officer ran the pilot (a Genoese) through the heart 'saying he had done it for treason.' Some of the gentlemen tried to launch a boat, but no boat could live for a moment in such a sea. The pilot's son lashed himself to a plank and was washed ashore alone of the whole company, and all the rest lay among cannon and doubloon chests amidst the rocks in Blasket Sound." 134

"About seventy years ago the Blasket islanders fished up a small brass cannon, with a coat of arms on it bearing the device of an uprooted tree. It is preserved in Clonskeagh Castle, near Dublin." 135

On the 5th September, two days before the frigate went ashore in Tralee Bay, two ships belonging to Recalde's squadron had come round Dunmore Head. One of the vessels, the Almiranta with Don Martinez on board entered Dingle Bay, and sent boats ashore to procure a much-needed supply of water.

"It was the same Dingle," Froude sneeringly remarks, "where Sanders (the Papal Legate) and (James) Fitzmaurice had landed eight years before, with processions and incense, and the Papal Banner displayed—the sacred spot of Catholic Ireland. Now the ships of the Most Catholic King, which had come to fight the Irish battle as well as their own, pleaded in vain to be allowed to fill their water casks. The boat's crew gave so piteous an account of Recalde's condition, the Catholic cause was now so clearly the losing one, that it was decided they should have no relief at Dingle. It was already a spot of tragical memory to the Spaniards. The boats were seized, the men who had landed imprisoned, and those on board the galleons, hunted already within a hair's-breadth of destruction, and with death making daily havoc among them, hoisted their ragged sails, and went again to sea." 136

In another work, Froude states that the belief in Spain was that Recalde took the water by force. "Perhaps," the historian adds, "the inhabitants were not entirely inhuman and did not interfere." 137

The fact, of course, was that the people were terrorised by the English agents on the coast from rendering assist-

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ance to the Spaniards.

"Recalde, no doubt, knew the Kerry Coast well, for some years previously he commanded the squadron that landed the unfortunate (Papal) expedition which met its fate at Fort del Oro (or Dun-an-oir) in Smerwick Harbour" 138 (in 1580).

Emanueli Fremoso, a Portuguese, one of the prisoners taken at Dingle was examined on the 12th September. He stated:—"He was in the ship St. John of the Port (Oporto), of 1,100 tons with eight hundred soldiers and one hundred mariners. There died four or five in the ship every day of hunger and thirst. There remain five hundred men, one hundred of them are very sick and do lie down and die daily. All the rest are very weak and the Captain very sad and weak. Twenty-five pipes of wine are left in the ship, and very little bread and no water, but what they brought out of Spain, which stinketh marvelously; and their flesh meat they cannot eat, their drought is so great. No part of the navy touched any land until such time as they came to this coast of Dingle-i-Couch or had any water, victual or other relief from any coast or place 'sithence' (since) the English fleet had left them."

With the Almiranta there also came into Dingle bay another ship of 400 tons and a barque of about 40 tons, Fremoso added. The three vessels appear to have escaped wreck or capture.

Spanish ships were also reported in distress at Carrigafoyle but apparently there were no wrecks, or captures of starving crews for slaughter.

"It was calculated," Froude states, "that in the month of September alone, before da Leyva and his companions were added to the list, 8,000 Spaniards perished between the Giants of Causeway and Blasket Sound. Eleven hundred were put to death by Sir Richard Bingham" (Governor of Connaught).<sup>139</sup>

The Bishop of Killaloe escaped but Maurice Fitzgerald died aboard one of the Spanish vessels which made its way to Blacksod Bay and anchored outside Ballycroy, and, according to Bingham, "was cast into the sea in a cypress chest with great solemnity."

### *The "Sugan" Earl's Revolt.*

WAR broke out again in Corkaguiny in connection with the Insurrection of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, in 1598 when the Northern chieftain created James Fitz Thomas, Earl of Desmond—the "Sugan" Earl he was called by the anti-Irish section of the population.

The foreign undertakers became alarmed; and "All the English in Kerry," we read in the State Papers "have abandoned it."

Sir Thomas Noreys (Norris) vice-President of Munster, writing to the Privy Council from Cork a few months afterwards (9th December, 1598) stated: "The town of Dinglecush, not being walled or otherwise defensible, has been surrendered by the townsmen on condition that by May Day next they must either join the rebels or else abandon the place to be raised by them; and they are not to carry away with them any of their corn or cattle. Meantime, William FitzGerald, alias the Knight of Kerry, one of the principal traitors in those parts, whose father has sold to the merchants of Dinglecush the most of his lands, compelled them to surrender to him all their estates."

Norreys is doubtful whether he will be able to relieve Dingle by May Day and adds, "as the town is very important, and the townsmen have ever been reputed very dutiful and loyal subjects, prays that five hundred foot and fifty horse may be sent there with victuals and munition." He mentions that "Lord Fitz Morris (baron of Lixnaw, who had been 'greatly graced by her Majesty') with his sons and followers, is joined with the traitors, and so are generally all the freeholders and inhabitants of Kerry."

Two weeks later, Norreys reported that he "has received news out of Kerry that the traitors there, as soon as they shall hear news of any forces to march down that way purpose to break down the Abbey of Tralee, the Castle of the Island (Castleisland) and to burn the town of Dinglecush with all other buildings fit to receive any garrisons. The boat sent to relieve Castlemaine was taken by the traitors."

On the 31st March, 1599, the Earl of Ormonde reported to the Privy Council that a Waterford barque, which he had sent to Dinglecush, had been seized by James Fitz Thomas who used it to send a letter to the King of Spain by Andrew Roche. The barque on putting to sea was, however, seized by the Waterford merchants, and the letter captured. In this letter, Fitz Thomas informed the King of Spain that he had drawn his sword first for the Catholic religion, and then to maintain his own right to the earldom of Desmond, and asking for cannon and powder to assail the towns and a competent force of soldiers.

Castlemaine was surrendered to the Irish forces in December, 1599. "The ward have yielded in respect of famine, and have been granted their lives, goods and furnitures."

Liscabane castle was surprised and captured by the English; and O'Connor Kerry surrendered Carrigafoyle Castle. Beale Castle was destroyed by Lord Fitz Morris, whom Sir George Carew, President of Munster, described as "the most obstinate and malicious traitor within this province."

On the 23rd August, 1600, Carew reported the taking of Lord Fitz Morris's house "called Lixnaw," and of Rathonyne Castle belonging to the bishop of Kerry; that "Edward Denny's house at Tralee was utterly defaced, nothing being left unbroken but a few old vaults; and that the Island of Kerry, "the ancient and chiefest house of the Earl of Desmond, and later belonging to Sir William Herbert as an undertaker, and almost all the Castles in these parts are razed to the ground by the rebels." Shortly afterwards he reported the submission of the Knight of Kerry and of Florence McCarthy.

In December (1600) Listowel Castle surrendered to Sir Charles Wilmot. Nine of the garrison were hanged and one hundred soldiers were left in charge of the fortress. The eldest son of the Constable, Gerrot Roe Stack, was "kept as pledge" by Wilmot.

In the same month "Castlemaine had been delivered up unto the Earl of Desmond by Thomas Oge Gerald and a Constable placed therein."

The Earl of Desmond, who received the surrender, was son of the Fifteenth Earl. He had been released from the Tower of London with the object of weakening the "Sugan" Earl's influence. When it was found that he was not a Catholic, like his ancestors, the people refused to associate themselves with him and the object of his release was frustrated. He died in the Tower of London in 1601 in his twenty-ninth year.

In June 1601, Carew reported that he was sending Florence McCarthy and James Fitz Thomas (who had been captured in a cave)—"two Earls of their own making and the most powerful rebels that ever lived in Munster"—to London, and that he had paid the White Knight £400 for capturing Fitz Thomas.

In 1602-3, Wilmot reduced the Dingle peninsula, and was appointed first, Constable of Castlemaine and afterwards Governor of Kerry "with the usual entertainments and with powers to proceed against rebels, traitors and offenders, and to parley with them; also to be a justice of Assize and Custos Rotulorum and with power to hold courts of oyer and terminer." Subsequently Wilmot was created Earl of Athlone.

The O'Neill insurrection was crushed, and Ireland was again "subdued."

Elizabeth's long and tragic reign, which closed in 1603, may be summed up in the words of Dr. Samuel Smiles, a Scottish Protestant, who describes it as one of the darkest and bloodiest passages in history—"In her time almost the entire country was reduced to the condition of a desert, and at least half the entire population perished by famine or the sword. Nearly forty rebellions occurred during the half century that she occupied the throne—many of which rebellions were stirred up and fomented merely for purposes of rapine, confiscation and plunder. Famine and pestilence were then openly advocated as the only pacificators of Ireland. . . . Elizabeth's entire reign indeed was a continued series of disgusting cruelties and crimes. Famine and devastation were the "good" queen's handmaidens; the rack, the gibbet, and the dungeon, her Protestant missionaries." 140

### *The Cromwellian Butchers.*

IN all the subsequent reigns down to our own time when the infamous Black and Tan regime showed that the governing classes in England were as determined as at any period of the attempted Anglo-Norman conquest to wipe out Irish National aspirations in the blood of patriotic Irishmen and women, despite all the hypocritical professions made only a few years previously during the Great War about the rights of small nations, Corkaguiny suffered, in common with other parts of Ireland under the rule of the invader; and the wonder is that any of the native population survived the terrible persecutions, famines and massacres of the tragic centuries.

And the religion of the sovereign was not a matter of very great consequence to our people because Irish history shows that Catholic and Protestant monarchs alike have plundered, outraged and massacred our people without the slightest moral right to interfere in the destinies of our country or to exact even the most shadowy form of allegiance from it.

James I, the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, followed faithfully in the footsteps of Mary the Catholic Queen, who first introduced planters, and of the Protestant Elizabeth, whose rule brought such misery on our people. His reign was remarkable for the Ulster Plantation which introduced thousands of the scum of England and Scotland as settlers into the confiscated northern province,<sup>141</sup> and created what English politicians are pleased to call, "the Ulster Question"<sup>142</sup>— the miserable pretext of the invader for mutilating the Irish nation.

It was in this reign that Justice Walshe wrote to the Earl of Salisbury (18th Sept., 1606) describing "the successful union of Desmond and Kerry."

Charles I brazenly cheated the Catholics of Ireland out of large sums of money on the definite promise of granting to them certain concessions, or "Graces";<sup>143</sup> and the fear of further confiscations of their property in

the interests of foreign adventurers, and the destruction of their religion, became widespread among the sorely-harassed native population.

Lecky says:—"Before them lay the gloomy and almost certain prospect of banishment from the land which remained to them, of the extirpation of the religion which was fast becoming the passion as well as the consolation of their lives, of the sentence of death directed against any priest who dared to pray beside their bed of death."<sup>144</sup>

All the horrors of Elizabeth's terrible reign were repeated during the Cromwellian wars.

The most liberal interpretation was given to the following instructions issued by the Privy Council from Dublin Castle: "It is resolved that it is fit that his lordship (the Earl of Ormond) do endeavour to wound, kill, slay, and destroy, by all the ways and means that he may, all the said rebels, their adherents and relatives; and burn, spoil, waste, consume, destroy and demolish, all the places, towns and houses where the rebels are, or have been, relieved or harboured; and all the men there inhabiting capable of bearing arms."

But in practice, not only men "capable of bearing arms," but decrepid old men, women and children were brutally massacred. One of the favourite pastimes of the Cromwellian soldiery was to toss babies into the air and to receive their little bodies on the points of their bayonets. Children were frequently brought into the world by the Caesarian operation of the sword. People were burned to death in their homes, or in thickets in which they had sought shelter. Irishmen found in boats or in ships about the coast were drowned; and famine helped the design of the Cromwellians to wipe out every man and woman who was suspected of being Irish and Catholic.

"The sieges of Drogheda and Wexford, and the massacres that accompanied them," Lecky states, "deserve to rank in horror with the most atrocious exploits of Tilby or Wallenstein."<sup>145</sup>

Kerry became involved in the war at an early stage and it is interesting to note that members of prominent imported families were to be found in rival camps.

In the English State Papers under date, 25th February, 1645, we read:—"The Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland paid to Gerald Fitzmorrish for Co. Kerry £479 6s. 8d."

It was in the October of that year, it will be recalled, Giovanni Baltista Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, the Nuncio sent by Innocent X to Ireland, landed in Kenmare. In a letter written to Cardinal Pamphili, the Nuncio described his landing.<sup>146</sup>

"My first lodging," the prelate stated, "was in a shepherd's hut in which animals also took shelter, and there I remained two days, not so much to repose after our trials, as to return thanks for our safety. . . . I rejoice greatly that fortune had brought me to a sterile and unknown part of the country where no Apostolic Minister had ever been before as it thus appears to me that God desired to signalise this new embassy by some similitude to the great work of the Redemption which by His permission was first announced to the Shepherds and his apostolic work begun within the walls of a stable"<sup>147</sup>

Rinuccini "had sent some arms before him which, with these that he brought himself; amounted to 2,000 swords, 500 petronels, 20,000 lbs. of powder and five or six small trunks of Spanish gold."<sup>148</sup>

For some time after the outbreak of the war, the Irish forces in Kerry had matters very much in their own hands.

Florence MacCarthy, Carrigprehane, was appointed Governor of Kerry by the Irish forces and with him were associated the following prominent residents of the County:—Daniel MacCarthy, Carrigprehane; Edmund Fitzmaurice, Tubrid; Garrett Fitzgerald, Ballymacdaniel; Daniel Moriarty, Castledrum; O'Sullivan Mor, Dunkerron (Lord Kerry's brother-in-law); Donough MacGillycuddy; O'Donoghue, Glanfesk and O'Donoghue of Ross, James Browne, Killarney (brother of Sir Valentine Browne); MacElligott of Ballymacelligott; Nicholas MacThomas whom St. Leger, President of Munster, appointed Governor Fitzmaurice, Ballykealy; Pierce Ferriter of Castle Sybil; Tieg MacDermott Carty, Tiernigoofe; Walter Hussey,

MacFíneen Carty, Ardtully; Dermot MacCarthy, Kilowen and Fineen MacDaniel Carthy, "the Captain Sugane."

Edmund Fitzmaurice was half brother to Lord Kerry, whom St. Leger, President of Munster, appointed Governor of the County for the King, and he represented Kerry at the General Assembly which held its first sitting at Kilkenny on the 14th October, 1642.

Pierce Ferriter was the famous Gaelic poet who took a prominent part in the war as an officer and who was hanged by the Cromwellians in Killarney in 1652.

We read that "as many of the English gentlemen of the County as were able either joined the Lord President, St. Leger, or passed over into England. Among the latter was the Lord of Kerry who quitted his castle of Ardfert, February 13th, 1641-2, and went to Cork, from whence he passed over into England, and remained there until his death in 1660. Others fortified themselves in places of strength. . . . All the English families in or about Tralee fled for shelter to two castles in that town. The larger one belonged to Sir Edward Denny and the other at this time was taken by the English from one Rice, a Roman Catholic, and was called the Short Castle. In the first of these, there were one hundred and seventy men, women and children and in the other one hundred and five souls who carried with them their household goods with provisions sufficient to support the whole number for two years."<sup>149</sup>

The Castles were taken by the Irish who also captured Castlemaine and Colonel David Crosbie's Castle at Ballingarry (near Kerry Head), which was one of the last strongholds in English hands in the County.

In 1650, Colonel Phair, Governor of Cork for the Parliamentarians, took Kilmurray Castle and captured a large number of cattle belonging to the people of the district.

On the 5th July, 1652, Colonel MacGillycuddy and Major Mac Fineen MacCarthy were captured and MacDonogh, lord of Duhallow, was killed at the battle of Knocknicalafhy, Co. Cork, fought between the English

under Lord Broghill and the Irish under Lord Muskerry who sustained a serious defeat.

After this battle, General Ludlow marched into Kerry with 4,000 foot and 200 horse and captured Ross Castle—one of the last fortresses in Ireland to hold out against the Cromwellians.

According to Sir William Petty, out of a total population of 1,466,000, no fewer than 616,000 Irishmen and women perished by the sword, plague and famine during the war. 150

Thousands of Irish girls, women and children were sold as slaves and sent to the Barbadoes, as well as men taken in arms.

In addition, Paul Dubois points out, "Between 30,000 and 40,000 Irishmen fled to France and Spain to join those who had already become rulers during the wars and confiscations of Elizabeth's reign. . . . The lands of three provinces, Ulster, Leinster and Munster were confiscated and divided between the Puritan soldiers and the 'undertakers.' The remaining province, Connacht, was given over to the remnants of the old population who were, so to speak, penned into it. Death was to be the portion of every Irishman found east of the Shannon. 'To hell or Connacht' was the law and the policy of Cromwell. Never has a more savage design been put into execution, at any rate in modern times, than this project of destroying a whole nation and planting another in its place." 151

In 1655 following the confiscations in the County, involving almost half a million acres, the inhabitants of Kerry were ordered to remove to Inchiquin and Burren, Co. Clare, and to Artagh in Co. Roscommon. Burren, we are told, "had not wood enough to hang a man, not water enough to drown him, nor earth enough to bury him."

Few Kerry people obeyed the transportation order. They managed to evade it and worked on the confiscated land for the Cromwellian adventurers.

The list of forfeiting proprietors in County Kerry issued on the 27th January, 1656, contained 547 names:—

21 in Glanaroughty; 70 in Dunkerron; 109 in Iveragh; 48 in Magunihy; 47 in Trughenacmy; 48 in Irraghticonnor; 81 in Clanmaurice, and 123 in Corkaguiny.

These proprietors included in Corkaguiny—Maurice Fitzgerald of Glandyne; Edward Rice, Walter Hussey, Edmond Fitzgerald, Arthur Denny; Teige Moriarty, Sir Valentine Browne, Edward Spring, Owen McDonnell, Owen McMorris, Daniel Moriarty, the Knight of Kerry, Maurice Hussey, Lord Broghill, Andrew, Patrick and Pierce Rice, James and Dominick Rice, Edmund and Dominick Trant, Henry Moore, Teige Crohon, Peter Nagle, Joan Rice, Gerald Fitz Nicholas, John McRobert, Pierce Ferriter and his wife; Patrick Rice Fitz Thomas, Andrew Skddy, John Bowler, Maurice Trant, etc.

Altogether over 23,469 acres were forfeited in the barony.

The forfeitures in the other baronies according to the Down Survey, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, omitting roods and perches, were Irraghticonnor, 37,270 acres; Clanmaurice, 15,869 acres; Trughenacmy, 41,970 acres; Glanaroughty, 66,071 acres; Dunkerron, 85,322; Iveragh, 74,243 acres and Magunihy, 90,381 acres, making a total for the county of over 434,595 acres.

The Cromwellian soldiers did not like the allotments of land assigned to them in Kerry, particularly in the baronies of Iveragh and Dunkerron.

Ireland was crushed and broken by the Cromwellians as she had never been crushed and broken before even in Elizabeth's tragic reign but the nation again survived its terrible martyrdom.



plentiful, and would have been still more plentiful had not the beach been, in the finest part of the year, covered with multitudes of seals, which preyed on the fish of the bay. Yet the seal was not an unwelcome visitor; his fur was valuable; and his oil supplied light through the long nights of winter.

"An attempt was made with great success to set up iron works. It was not yet the practice to employ coal for the purpose of smelting; and the manufacturers of Kent and Sussex had much difficulty in procuring timber at a reasonable price. The neighbourhood of Kenmare was then thickly wooded; and Petty found it a gainful speculation to send ore thither. The lovers of the picturesque still regret the woods of oak and arbutus which were cut down to feed his furnaces."

As a matter of fact, Petty cleared Dunkerron and Glannerroughty of timber for export or use in his furnaces; and many years earlier (in 1634) we read that timber from Kerry had been cut down to supply ships timber at Plymouth for the East Indian Company.

Macaulay continues—"Another scheme had occurred to Petty's active and intelligent mind. Some of the neighbouring islands abounded with variegated marble, red and white, purple and green . . . and he seems to have indulged in the hope that the rocks of his wild domain in Kerry might furnish embellishments to the mansions of St. James's Square and to the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral." 155

The English historian forgets to mention that the peaceful, industrious, and enterprising little foreign colony was living on the property of the native population; and it is not surprising to learn that the Colonists were occasionally harassed by the starving, plundered peasantry who finally drove them from the country after besieging the house of Petty's agent, "The White House," as it was called, in which they had entrenched themselves.

Richard Orphen, agent to Petty, and the Rev. Thomas Palmer were the managers of the colony. The former in 1689 published "An exact relation of the persecutions, robberies, and losses sustained by the Protestants of

Killennare in Ireland with an account of their erecting a fortress to defend themselves against the bloody insolence of the Papists; also, the way and manner of their escape into England, together with the reasons why the Protestants there did not requit themselves, and take the field or make their flight sooner; as likewise, some natural conclusions that plague and famine will arise forthwith in that Kingdom. By a principal manager in that action."

An account of the Colony and of the siege of the "White House" will also be found in Smith's and Cusack's histories of Kerry and elsewhere.

The Williamite wars brought further sorrows on our people who, as usual, espoused the cause of the Stuarts.

James II, depending for his monarchical existence on the English people whose hearts were "steeled by hatred of the Irish race and of the Romish faith" made the mistake of attempting to do justice to the Catholics of Ireland whom, like other English sovereigns, he claimed as subjects. As a result, William of Orange was invited to depose him, and he succeeded in the attempt after a struggle which was glorified by the heroism of Derry and of Limerick and disgraced by the cowardice of James at the Boyne.

"King James's forces," we are told by Dr. Smith, "held possession of this county until the month of August of this year (1691) when Brigadier Levison with seven hundred horse and troops entered the northern part of it. The Irish were everywhere up in arms to oppose him and had two regiments of horse viz. Lord Merrions and Lord Britta's. Upon his approach they burned Tralee, but the Brigadier took the two Captains who set it on fire. He sent an account of his progress to General Ginkle who was besieging Limerick; and he ordered him to remain with his battalion in Kerry and to secure himself there as well as he could; and he sent the Prince of Denmark's regiment to reinforce him. He ordered him to hang the Irish officers who had burned Tralee, viz., Captains Navarre and Ouloughane, but they were pardoned at the intercession of Colonel Denny, notwithstanding that he had suffered greatly by the destruction of the town. Nor did

## More Confiscations and Adventurers.

1660 CHARLES II, from whom the Catholics of Ireland expected so much on his restoration to the English throne, practically confirmed the Cromwellian confiscations.

"The part which Charles played throughout these transactions," Dr. Samuel Smiles, the Scottish Protestant historian, states, "was even more heartless and infamous than usual with that debauched and beastly monarch. He violated every promise which he had formerly made to his Irish subjects, and sacrificed them to those who had been leaders of the rebellion against him." 152

In 1666 and 1667 we find estates in Kerry granted or restored to the following, among others:—Captain Henry Ponsonby, Sir Arthur Denny, John Carrique, John Blennerhasset, Launcelot Sanders, John Fitzgerald, Anthony Raymond, Major John Godfrey, Edward Rice and to Trinity College.

John Fitzgerald in his petition for the restoration of his estates stated that his house and other property had been burned by the rebels, that he had been excommunicated by the bishop of his diocese because he had opposed them, and that he had not been guilty of any crimes to deserve the forfeiture of his estates. Patents were granted to him for lands in the baronies of Clanmaurice, Truckenachmy, Corkaguiny and Magunihy.

In his "Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution," John P. Prendergast, author of "The Cromwellian Settlement," refers to claims made by Daniel O'Sullivan More and Donogh MacFineen of Glaneroughty for the restoration of their estates in Kerry on the ground that they had been loyal to the Stuart Cause. MacFineen stated that he had raised a regiment of foot and a troop of horse and served faithfully under the Earl of Clancarty until Clancarty laid down arms at Ross Castle in 1652.

The Hollow Blade Co. of London had come into possession of the confiscated property which had been held by the Earl of Clancarty, Sir Patrick Trant, Nicholas

Skiddy, Daniel MacFineen McCarthy and the lands of James Fitzmaurice.<sup>153</sup>

Colonel Frederick William Mullins (ancestor of Lord Ventry) of Burnham, England, purchased land near Dingle in 1666.

After the Act of Settlement, the Protestants possessed, according to the estimate of Colonel Lawrence (a Cromwellian soldier in Ireland who wrote an account of this period) four-fifths of the whole Kingdom; according to that of (Sir William) Petty, rather more than two-thirds of the good land. . . . The downfall of the old race was now all but accomplished.<sup>154</sup>

In 1666 a militia troop was raised in Kerry by Sir Arthur Denny who became Captain, with Thomas Crosbie as Lieutenant; Edward Shewell as Cornet and William Collis as Quartermaster.

It was in this reign (in 1670) that Sir William Petty, having acquired huge estates in Kerry (principally in Iveragh and Dunkerron), planted his imported Protestant Colony in Kenmare, and spent £10,000 in improving the district in which the colonists were engaged in agriculture, fishing, trading and in smelting works.

"The little town which he founded, named from the Bay of Kenmare," Macaulay states, "stood at the head of that bay under a mountain ridge, on the summit of which travellers now stop to gaze upon the loveliest of the three lakes of Killarney. Scarcely any village built by an enterprising band of New Englanders, far from the dwellings of their countrymen, in the midst of the hunting ground of the Red Indians, was more completely outside the pale of civilisation than Kenmare. Between Petty's settlement and the nearest English habitation the journey by land was of two days through a wild and dangerous country.

"Yet the place prospered. Forty-two houses were erected. The population amounted to one hundred and eighty. The land round the town was well cultivated. The cattle were numerous. Two small barks were employed in fishing and trading along the coast. The supply of herrings, pilchards, mackerel and salmon was



they produce any order from Major-General Sarsfield, who commanded in chief, for doing so. This express from the General was brought to the Brigadier then encamped at Lixnaw by Captain William Fitzmaurice of the Earl of Drogheda's Regiment." 156

At Lixnaw, Brigadier Levison inflicted a defeat on the King's forces, and Dr. Smith remarks that "this was the only action of moment that happened in Kerry during the late wars, the English having been driven out of the county at the beginning of the troubles." 157

It was calculated that 1,067,792 acres, producing an annual income of £211,623 6s. 3d. and valued at £2,685,130, were confiscated in Ireland when William of Orange had driven James II from the Throne, and violated the Treaty of Limerick, which guaranteed certain civil and religious rights to the Irish people. 158

In Kerry 90,116 acres, producing £3,652 11s. 9d. per annum and valued at £47,403 12s. 9d. were confiscated.

"The forfeited lands were either passed to grantees of King William or leased out for a year or number of years. In 1693 Commissioners of Forfeitures were appointed to administer the forfeited estates, and continued till 1700. In the meantime, the English Parliament manifested disapproval of the King's conduct in disposing of the lands; and after a Committee of Inquiry had reported, appointed Trustees (II William III, C2) into whose hands all the grants of King William save seven were resumed. They held a court at Chichester House in Dublin at which all those having claims on the forfeited estates were heard and after disposing of such claims sold the land by public auction." 159

Lecky summing up this period, states:—"When the eighteenth century dawned, the great majority of the former leaders of the people were either sunk in abject poverty or scattered as exiles over Europe. The last spasm of resistance had ceased, and the long period of unbroken Protestant ascendancy had begun." 160

In the words of Grattan, "Protestant Ireland knelt to England on the necks of her countrymen."

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Love of Learning in Kerry.

**E**VEN during the long, cruel centuries of plunder and slaughter when the Catholic schoolmaster, like the Catholic priest was a hunted outlaw, and valuable Irish manuscripts were being destroyed by the English Invader following the example of the Pagan Norsemen, there were many proofs of the traditional love of learning among the poorest of our people.

"The love for literature of a traditional type, in song, in poem, in saga, was, I think," Dr. Douglas Hyde states "more nearly universal in Ireland than in any country of Western Europe. . . . An almost universal acquaintance with a traditional literature was a leading trait amongst the Irish down to the last century, when every barony and almost every townland still possessed its poet and reciter; and song, recitation, music and oratory were the recognised amusements of nearly the whole population." 180

Lecky says:—"The passion for knowledge among the Irish poor was extremely strong, and the zeal with which they maintained their hedge schools under the pressure of abject poverty, and in the face of the prohibitions of the Penal Code is one of the most honourable features of their history." 181

"Still crouching 'neath the sheltering hedge,  
Or stretched on mountain fern,  
The teacher and his pupils met  
Feloniously to learn."

The Rev P. S. Dinneen, M.A., the well-known Kerry Gaelic scholar writes:—"I claim for the Irish race that throughout their history they have cut down their bodily necessities to the quick in order to devote time and energy to the pursuit of knowledge; that they have engaged in intellectual pursuits, not unfrequently of a high order, on a low basis of material comfort; that they have persevered

in the quest of learning under unparalleled hardships and difficulties, even in the dark night of 'a nation's eclipse,' when a school was an unlawful assembly and school-teaching a crime. I claim, moreover, that, when circumstances were favourable, no people have shown a more adventurous spirit or a more chivalrous devotion in the advancement and spread of learning." 182

Edward Campion, one of Queen Elizabeth's English Jesuit martyrs, who spent some time in Ireland, wrote of our people: "They speak Latin like a vulgar tongue learned in their common school of Leachcraft and Law, whereat they begin children and hold on sixteen or twenty years conning by rote aphorisms of Hypocrates and the Civil Institutions and a few parings of these two faculties." 183

The anonymous author of an old manuscript on Kerry in Trinity College Library states:—"The inhabitants are remarkable beyond the inhabitants of the other parts of Ireland for their learning, speaking Latin, and inclination to philosophy and disputes therein."

Dr. Smith wrote in 1756:—

"It is well-known that classical reading extends itself, even to a fault, among the lower and poorer kind of this county (Kerry), many of whom, to the taking them off more useful works, have greater knowledge in this way than some of the better sort in other places.

"I have, in my survey, met with some Latin scholars who did not understand the English tongue. . . . Greek is also taught in some of the mountainous parts. . . .

"Neither is the genius of the commonalty confined to this kind of learning alone, for I saw a poor man near Blackstones who had a tolerable notion of calculating the epacts, golden number, dominical letter, the moon's phases and even eclipses, although he had never been taught to read English. Some of the inhabitants have produced tolerable specimens of poetry, not only in their native language but also in English." 184

Seumas MacManus states, also in reference to Kerry,

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that it was "authoritatively boasted that cows were bought and sold in Greek in mountain places." 185

And this love of learning, stretching back to the remotest ages, has continued down to our own time despite poverty and persecution.



### *Smuggling on the Kerry Coast.*

IN the eighteenth century there were three forms of smuggling in active operation on the Kerry coast.

Priests were smuggled into the country from the Continent where they had been educated and ordained for their dangerous work in Ireland. Young men were smuggled to France and other European countries as recruits for the army, and goods were shipped from Ireland or landed on her shores which never paid duty to an English official.

This latter form of smuggling was called "free trading" and, of course, it was perfectly legitimate though illegal according to English Acts of Parliament which had no moral binding force in this country.

"Smuggling," Lecky states, "was the one lucrative trade (in Ireland) and it was practised equally by landlord, middleman and tenant, by Catholic and Protestant. The officers of the revenue were baffled by a conspiracy of all classes, and informers were in such danger from public outrage that they soon abandoned their trade." 186

Indeed there is reason to believe that for a long time the revenue officials themselves not only connived at the smuggling, which was taking place in every creek and bay in the county, but actually profited by it in some cases. They liked cheap brandies, wines, and tobaccos just as much as any section of the native population, and did not feel insulted if offered a bribe in connection with contraband goods.

In Friar O'Sullivan's History of Kerry it is stated that the trading with Spain grew to such an extent that there was nothing in vogue in Kerry and Desmond but Spanish wines, Spanish clothes, Spanish leather and Spanish swords, etc.; and that Kerry people, "made no difficulty of making voyages to Spain; an instance, whereof: "As a woman in Ballyanskelicks (as it passes for truth) calling to her gossip or neighbour

for the loan of a mantle, being asked how far she intended to go, answered, unconcerned 'only to Spain'" 187

Froude complains that smuggling promoted a close and pernicious connection between Ireland and France, to which Irish wool was exported in large quantities, and claret, brandy, and silks received in payment, when actual cash was not paid.

"The gentry," he states, "entered heartily into the game" (of smuggling). "Though there are several Protestant gentlemen in the County of Kerry," wrote the Duke of Devonshire in 1740, 'yet for one odd reason or other there is little prospect of doing good by their means.' The Knight of Kerry, who was the occasion of the Duke's observation, had his cellar regularly supplied from Bordeaux, and in return was blind to everything which it was desirable that he should see." 188

In the State Papers relating to Ireland, Sir William Herbert in 1589 complained that pirates were too much favoured in Kerry. "Sir Edward Denny," he added, "has received Gascon wine which was robbed from Frenchmen, and Lady Denny has received goods which were taken from Buttaines. One Capt. Marss of Youghal, a known negociator in these kinds of affairs, is shortly to remove to Tawlaght, a castle of Sir E. Denny's, near Tralee, there to exercise that trade."

Smuggling continued in Kerry into the nineteenth century; and we know that another kind of smuggling—the smuggling of arms and ammunition—became popular in our time in the struggle against the invader.

"It is said," Dr William Forbes Taylor, who wrote "Reminiscences of Daniel O'Connell" under the pen-name, "Munster Farmer," stated "that the men of the Kerry coast combined wrecking with smuggling and that for both purposes they organised a very complete system of posts and telegraphic signals along the bluff headlands.

"When a suspicious sail was announced, nice calculations were made to ascertain her probable position before night fall. A horse was then turned out to graze on the fields near that part of the shore opposite

to which she must probably was and a lantern was tied to the horse's head.

"Viewed from a distance, this light, rising and falling as the animal fed, produced precisely the same effect as light in the cabin of a distant ship. The crew of the stranger vessel thus lead to believe that there was open water before them, steered rapidly inwards and could not discover their error until they had dashed against the rocks."



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### *Kerry M.P.'s and the Union.*

THERE is nothing exaggerated in the poet's description of the infamous methods adopted to perpetrate the legislative union of 1800 which involved the extinction of the Irish Parliament and the degradation of the Irish Nation:—

"How did they pass the Union?  
By perjury and fraud;  
By slaves who sold their land for gold  
As Judas sold his God;  
By all the savage acts that yet  
Have followed England's track—  
The pitch-cap and the bayonet,  
The gibbet and the rack;  
And thus was passed the Union  
By Pitt and Castlereagh;  
Could Satan send, for such an end,  
More worthy tools than they?"

No historian, or public man, Irish or English, has ever attempted to justify the unscrupulous methods adopted to destroy the Parliament in Ireland.

"I know of no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man," Gladstone declared in the course of one of his public speeches in Liverpool in 1886, "than the making of the Union between England and Ireland."

Lecky, in one of his best known works, states:—

"In the case of Ireland, as truly as in the case of Poland, a national constitution was destroyed by a foreign power contrary to the wishes of the people. In the one case the deed was a crime of violence; in the other, it was a crime of treachery and corruption. . . . Scarcely any element or aggravation of political immorality was wanting (in the passing of the Union), and the term honour if it be applied to such men as Castlereagh or Pitt, ceases to have any real meaning in politics. What-

ever may be the abstract merits of the arrangement, the Union as it was carried, was a crime of the deepest turpitude—a crime which, by imposing with every circumstance of infamy a new form of Government on a reluctant and protesting nation, has vitiated the whole course of Irish opinion." 206

While the Union was being passed over 137,000 troops remained under arms in the country to intimidate the people.

O'Connell gave an instance of the wholesale intimidation used by the Government against the opponents of the Union.

"I remember," he stated, "a gentleman from Kerry, Mr. St. John Mason, who was hounded out of the country because he dared to put an address in the newspapers calling on the people of Kerry to petition against the Union. He was pursued to Roscrea and afterwards committed to Kilmainham gaol where he lay for months for no offence but attempting to petition against the Union." 207

But it was by the sale of peerages, and other methods of corrupting the members of the Irish Parliament that the Government succeeded in the project of a legislative Union.

Mitchel states that the tariff of prices for Union votes was familiarly known—£8,000, or an office worth £2,000 a year if the member did not like to touch the ready money. "Ten (Protestant) bishoprics, one chief justiceship, six puisne-judgeships were granted, besides regiments and ships given to officers of the army and navy. . . . If bribery on the same scale, say £100,000,000, were now judiciously administered in the English Parliament, a majority could be obtained which would annex the Three Kingdoms to the United States." 208

We read in the Cornwallis Correspondence:—"Among the many engagements which I have been obliged to contract in the event of the success of the measure for a legislative Union, I have promised to use my utmost influence to obtain an earldom for Lord Kenmare." 209 This earldom was granted on the 29th December, 1800, when the Union had been passed.

On its first introduction, the Union was defeated by the small majority of six votes—111 against 105. This defeat only strengthened the determination of Pitt and Castlereagh to force it through. Many Catholics, including priests and bishops, supported the measure because they were given to understand that religious freedom would follow. Needless to say, they were cheated, and that it was not until many years afterwards (in 1829) that the Catholic Relief Bill was passed, on the admission of the Duke of Wellington, as an alternative to civil war and through no sense of justice or fairplay.

Daniel O'Connell, in his first public speech at a meeting of the Catholics of Dublin in 1800, declared that they would trust their Protestant fellow-countrymen rather than lay their country at the feet of foreigners and if the Union was to be an alternative to the re-enactment of the Penal Code with all its pristine horrors, they would prefer the re-enactment of the Penal Laws. 210

The Union was carried on its second introduction in 1800 by forty-three votes (158 to 115), and the Parliament of Ireland became absorbed in the English legislature.

All the money spent in corrupting members of Parliament and intimidating the people was levied off the country and this fact led O'Connell to remark:—"It was strange that Ireland was not afterwards made to pay for the knife with which Lord Castlereagh, twenty-two years later, cut his own throat!"

The Public Debt of Ireland had increased from four millions before the Insurrection to £26,841,219 at the Union, and this sum was to remain a separate charge on this country. We know from the report of the English Royal Commission appointed in 1894 and presided over by Mr. Childers, a former Chancellor of the Exchequer, to investigate the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland that our country had been overtaxed to the tune of almost three millions per annum since the Union; and a penny of the huge sum which has accumulated for over a hundred years has never been refunded.

"Ireland," Grattan declared in the course of the Union debates, "is asked to multiply her charge for the loss of

her Parliament, or, rather, you are asked to pay the tribute of the slave."

Dr. Johnson, speaking to an Irish friend, said, "Do not come with us, or we shall rob you"—and they did.

One of the most vigorous speeches in opposition to the Union was made by Charles Kendal Bushe who said:—

"You are called upon to give up your independence, and to whom are you to give it up? To a nation which for six hundred years has treated you with uniform oppression and injustice. . . . For centuries has the British Nation and Parliament kept you down, shackled your commerce, paralysed your exertions, despised your character, and ridiculed your pretensions to any privileges, commercial or constitutional. She never conceded a point to you which she could avoid, or granted a favour which was not reluctantly distilled.<sup>211</sup> They have been all wrung from her, like drops of her heart's blood, and you are not in possession of a single blessing, except those which you derive from God, that has not been either purchased or extorted by the virtue of your own Parliament from the illiberality of England."

And most readers are familiar with Grattan's eloquent words at the close of the Union debates:—

"The cry of the connection (the Union measure) will not in the end avail against the principles of liberty. . . .

"The cry of disaffection will not in the end avail against the principle of liberty.

"Yet, I do not give up the country. I see her in a swoon; but she is not dead. Though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life and on her cheek a glow of beauty.

"Thou are not conquered: beauty's ensign yet  
Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,  
And death's pale flag is not advanced there."

"While a plank of the vessel stands together, I will not leave her. Let the courtier present his flimsy sail, and carry the light bark of his faith with every new

breath of wind; I will remain here, anchored here, with fidelity to the fortunes of my country, faithful to her freedom, faithful to her fall."

What attitude did the eight M.P.'s sitting for Kerry constituencies adopt in reference to the Union?

The two county members—Maurice Fitzgerald and James Crosbie voted for the measure, the latter receiving in return for his vote, according to Sir Jonah Barrington, "a regiment and patronage of Kerry, jointly."<sup>212</sup>

The Ardfert members—Lord Charles Fitzgerald and John Talbot—also voted with Castlereagh. Barrington's observation on Lord Fitzgerald is, "Duke of Leinster's brother; a pension and a peerage; a sea officer of no repute."

The Dingle members, Lodge Morres and William Monsell both voted for the Union on the second occasion, though Monsell voted against it in 1799. He was afterwards, Barrington states, "actually purchased by Lord Castlereagh." Morres received a peerage for his vote. He became Lord Montmorenci.

Of the Tralee members, Henry Kemmis "son of the Crown Solicitor," voted for the destruction of the Irish Parliament; and was afterwards appointed Recorder of Kilmainham; but Arthur Moore, whom Barrington describes as "a staunch anti-Unionist," voted against Castlereagh's measure.

In his Black List (those who voted for the Union), Barrington has also the following:—

"Richard Hare—Put two members into Parliament, and was created Lord Ennismore for their votes," and "William Hare—his son."

£1,260,000 was provided by the Government to compensate the borough mongers; and the owners of the Dingle and Ardfert constituencies, which were extinguished, received £15,000 each—Richard Boyle Townshend in connection with Dingle and the trustees of the marriage of the late Earl of Glandore (William Crosbie) in respect of Ardfert.

Tralee, after the Union, returned one member and the County two members to the Imperial Parliament.<sup>213</sup>





T. F. O'Sullivan Romantic Hidden Kerry

## Burnham House

THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

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forated doorposts lay in the defaced gateway, and in the garth, which measures 70 ft. in diameter, are the horse-shoe shaped foundations of a clochaun. The oblong area measures 48 paces from E. to W., and 45 from N. to S. Its walls are only 3 ft. 6 ins. thick, and 10 ft. high. On the E. Side were some remains of a strong peel tower. . . Holed stones were found in the fort."<sup>350</sup>

In the parish of Kildrum, there are gallans at Loughane, Kilfountain and Knocknavrogeen and a penitential station, beside Tober Michael (St. Michael's Well) in Ballymore.

Burnham House, (on the south-west side of Dingle Harbour), the late residence of Lord Ventry,<sup>351</sup> whose ances for Colonel Frederick Mullins of Burnham, Norfolk, changed (in 1656) the old name of the district to Burnham from Ballingolin, where the Rices had a Castle, all traces of which have long since disappeared has been converted into an educational establishment.

Dr. Smith stated, in 1796, that "there was found in a bog five or six feet deep near Burnham a very large old brass spur which had been gilt and probably belonged to the Knight Templars which is now in the possession of Mr. Mullins. The Templars formerly possessed the lands of Farryhavanagh in this barony which estate was forfeited by the Fitzgerald's of Castle Ishin, near Charleville, Co. Cork, and was granted by the Act of Settlement to Bollabroke from whom it was purchased by the family of Mullins whose estate it now is"<sup>352</sup>

There are seven Ogham stones at Burnham House.

Lady Chatterton examined at Ballyheigh in 1838 a structure which apparently deeply excited her interest.

"In shape," she stated, "this building is circular but it is constructed without mortar and is about 16 ft. in diameter in the inside. The remains of the wall are now about 9 ft. in height and 5 ft. thick. They incline inwards so as to induce a supposition that the building had a stone roof, like the cell we saw yesterday at Gallerus.

"Its original entrance, now blocked up, faced the

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