

pierse

**THE
PIERSE FAMILY**

by

John H. Pierse

FROM NOTES COMPILED, MADE, BOUND & PUBLISHED

BY THE AUTHOR: ELTHAM, LONDON

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(Edited and with a Foreword by Richard G. Pierse, March 2006)



Pierse of Co. Kerry

**"... Pierse (Fitzmaurice), ancestor to the families
of Ballymac-Equim, Crossm^cshane and Meenogahane,
who changed their name to Pierse about the latter
end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and yet subsist...."**

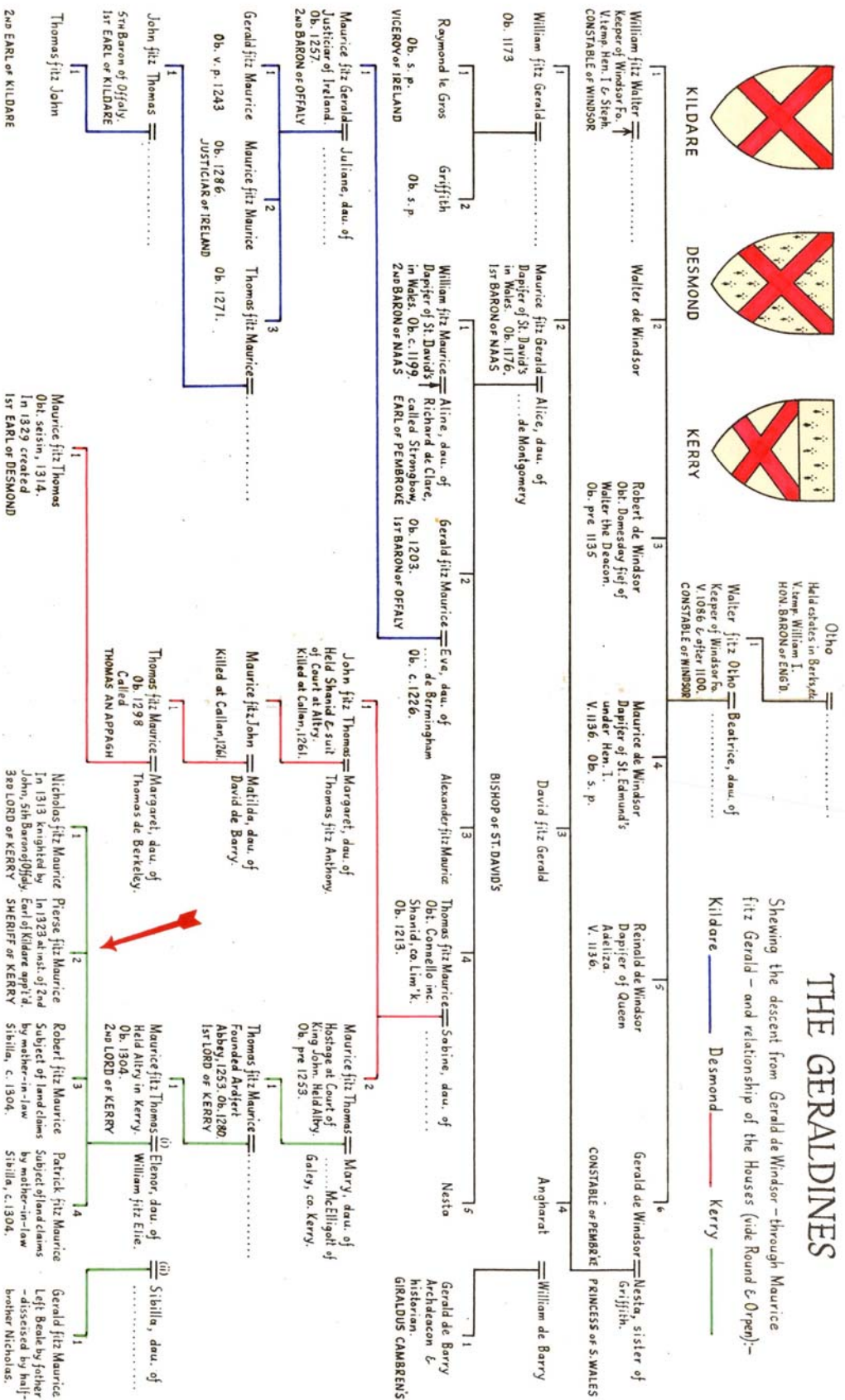
'Peerage of Ireland' by Mervyn Archdall

Edited by John Lodge, 1789.

THE GERALDINES

Shewing the descent from Gerald de Windsor – through Maurice
fitz Gerald – and relationship of the Houses (vide Round & Opren) –

Kildare — Desmond — Kerry —



THIS BOOK
without permission
is respectfully dedicated to
Dick and Mary Pierse
of
Listowel and Meenogahane
without whose helpfulness, kindness and generosity
it would indeed
never have been written

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* Editor's note: This list of illustrations, handwritten with many corrections, includes some that do not exist in the surviving typescript. Three photographs that are included in the typescript have been added to the list.

FOREWORD BY THE EDITOR

I suppose that I have known for a long time that it would one day fall to me to write a foreword to this book. Not that I, or anyone else in the family as far as I know, had ever seen the work before my Uncle Jack's death in 2002 (John Herbert Pierse, 1921-2002). However, I certainly knew of the book by reputation, mainly through my parents who had both had a part in its creation (my father as a collaborator - much of the search of Index Registers mentioned in the Preface was in fact done by him - and my mother as a typist of parts of the manuscript). However, it was only after Jack's death, that I finally came to see and read the book for the first time and then had to decide what should become of it. Over the last couple of years, I have received a number of inquiries from people, in Ireland, Australia and elsewhere, all interested in the Pierse family. Prompted by this, and the more general interest in genealogy that Jack's work seems to have anticipated, I decided that the best thing would be to create a version of the book for the web to make it accessible to everyone.

The work itself, of course, is incomplete. Of the nineteen main chapters in the list of contents (excluding the last three numbered chapters, which are in the way of appendices) only the first fourteen actually exist in the typescript that I inherited. What of the remaining chapters? In 1950, when Jack (then aged 28) seemed to be preparing the book for publication, the whole thing looked fully mapped out. Did he encounter problems with the later chapters and become disillusioned with it, or was it merely pressure of other work that led him to abandon it? I doubt if we will ever know now. In later years, he was certainly reluctant to talk about it.

I have many fond memories of my Uncle Jack. He was the official family photographer and one of my earliest memories is of having my photo taken by him, in my parents' front room, sitting very still and staring blankly into the lens. His photos are still very haunting. Much later, when I turned 21, it seemed that Jack (who was my Godfather) had completely forgotten my birthday. However, on a family trip to his Horsham home, some months later, he surprised me by taking me out to a local shop and buying me a beautiful (and expensive) chess set, with inlaid wooden board and green and white chessmen, resin copies of medieval originals. It is still one of my treasured possessions. This is just one of many examples of his generosity. Other things that I will always remember are his joviality and his enjoyment in telling a story. Sometimes, on the telephone, he could get carried away and go on for hours. While I was an Undergraduate at Oxford, I invited him up once for a few days to visit me in College. He spent some time in the Bodleian Library researching something, but what I don't recall. We went to Formal Hall in College which he enjoyed, but the trip was a fairly uneventful one and I would have thought not especially memorable. However, for some reason, it seemed to have a special significance to him and, in later years, he would frequently recall, in nostalgic tones, "the time when I came to visit you in Oxford".

In undertaking the job of preparing this typescript and transferring it into a machine-readable document, I have tried to do as little actual editing as possible. Of course, there was never a question of my attempting to complete the work. To steal what Jack so modestly says of himself in the Preface to this work: "I have not the literary ability or the intimate knowledge" to undertake the task. Instead, I have attempted simply to preserve exactly what Jack wrote. In the main, the typescript (double sided on yellowing 10" by 8" paper with hand-written corrections) was scanned onto my computer without trouble using a Canon scanner and the OCR software Omnipage. The main difficulty was with footnotes, mostly added to the typescript in pencil or pen; these all had to be typed in by hand. In many cases, footnotes are marked in the text but were never written. I have left these as they appear. In other cases, a footnote appears at the foot of the page but no mark appears in the text. Here, I have had to use my common sense to determine where the mark should go. In the typescript, the footnotes are numbered per page in the first chapters and later per chapter. I have chosen to number them consecutively through the whole document. In a very few cases, I have added an (unnumbered) editorial note to explain a decision I have taken, but I have tried to keep this to a minimum. I have corrected obvious spelling errors. Jack had a, now unfashionable, fondness for exclamation marks and I have preserved all these!

Finally, I have included, as an Appendix to the book, a piece (also incomplete) that Jack wrote on "The English Branch of the Pierse family". This survives as a handwritten draft that Jack lent my father, some years before his death. Whether this was ever intended to be a part of the book or not, I can't say. However, it does cover parts of the more modern history, especially concerning the de Lacy court case, that were intended to feature in the book and so it seems appropriate to include it here.

In his Preface, writing in 1950, Jack states that "my two brothers and I are the sole male representatives of our generation in Great Britain today". Jack married Betty Chandler in 1961 (a kind and quiet-spoken woman, she became a devout Quaker and died in 1990) and they subsequently adopted two children, Ann (Annie) and Jim, although they had none of their own. Jack's older brother Ted (Edward George Pierse, 1919-1988) had one son, Michael (b. 1957), and his younger brother Reg (my father, Reginald Frederick Pierse, b. 1923) had two sons, Richard (b. 1954) and Simon (b. 1956) and one daughter, Jane (b. 1962). None of our generation however has produced a male heir and so (although I have three lovely nieces, Rosie b. 1994, Anna b. 1997 and Sally b. 1999) it looks as if the male line of the English branch of the Pierse family is destined to become extinct.

Jack had already chosen a dedication for his book. However, I would like to dedicate this foreword, at least, in memory of Jack himself. I hope he would not be ashamed of it. I would also like to thank my parents, my brother Simon and sister Jane, and my cousin Michael, and all their children, perhaps, to borrow Jack's phrase, the very Last of the Mohicans.

R.G. Pierse

Richard Gerard Pierse, Cambridge, March 2006.

PREFACE

Permit me from the very start to make it clear that this historical account of the Pierse Family has not been planned in the sense that a number of family papers required editing and that I, as the most suitable person, have been chosen for the office. Nothing in fact could be farther from the truth. In the first place, my own branch of the family possesses no papers of historical interest, and in the second, until two years or so ago, we, and I can speak for the whole of the English branch, were quite unaware that any other branch of the family still existed. Further, sadly I have not the literary ability or the intimate knowledge of the Irish countryside, history - least of all the Irish language- necessary for the compilation of a book of this kind. So it is without invitation, and at the risk of accusation of being the tail wagging the dog, that I write this story of our - if I may say so - extraordinary family.

In order that the reader may understand why I first became interested in the activities of my ancestors, I would state that it was principally because of the unusual spelling of our name. Of this peculiarity I was first tearfully aware when, at the age of four years or thereabouts, I was invited to a children's party and was obliged, as were all the infant guests, to bring a cup bearing my name. My father met this requirement by printing on my name with red paint - but, as each letter was finished, he passed the cup back to me with a quip saying it was finished; thus in a few minutes I was separately PI, PIE, PIER and PIERS. Strangely, the addition of each successive letter brought a fresh protest from me that the name was not mine and a plea to wipe it off and start again, for, whilst I cannot vouch that I was familiar with the Greek alphabet at that early age, apparently I could recognise the words as they were formed, and was dismayed at being identified least of all with a pastry and then with a seaside structure!

Later on, I, as most bearers of unusual surnames no doubt can testify in their own instances, was (and still am for that matter) often required to correct the spelling of my name in registers, on forms and the masses of other records which are required of us in our everyday life. All this I suppose, in addition to vague family legends which I was destined to hear from my father and his family, relating in the main to various ancestors who had lived in Ireland, and all of whom appeared to have been either notable or disreputable, excited my curiosity. Further, I had never met, read, or heard of any other person who spelt his name in the same way, other than my own few relatives, who would have been able to explain the reason for our singularity. I had no paternal male cousins and it appeared that my two brothers and myself were the only persons able to pass on our name (and the now moth-eaten legends) to future generations.

Whether I was anxious to prove or disprove our peculiar position - "The Last of the Mohicans", "The Fall of the House of Usher" or the last of any race for that matter have always excited my imagination - I cannot now say. However, that my two brothers and I are the sole male

representatives of our generation in Great Britain today is now an established fact. But I am racing ahead. Before reaching this conclusion, I began searching telephone, professional, town and other directories for all counties in England, Scotland and Wales for persons bearing the name PIERSE. Perusal of well over a thousand volumes resulted in the discovery of less than a dozen names all of which, other than references to members of my own family, subsequently proved to be printers' errors.

Some few months after my grand-scale directory search, I decided that in Somerset House, wherein are contained the entries of births, marriages and deaths of all persons in England and Wales since 1837, alone would I find the real extent of our apparently small family. Here then, in May, 1947, I made a three-day search of all Index Registers, and, having searched through a thousand volumes, was, as would be expected, more successful. Again, however, a number of spelling mistakes had been made, and after deduction, I was left with a list of only 80 births, 26 marriages and 47 deaths, all of which entries referred to my own relations and immediate ancestors. Furthermore, the earlier entries contained the names of persons who figured in our family legends - de Lacy and Fitzmaurice!

Curiously this discovery of a connection with the Fitzmaurice family acted firstly in the sense of a red herring and secondly, in the result that I found at last the origin of the Pierse family. While reading through a number of genealogical handbooks, I found in Marshall's "The Genealogist's Guide" a mention of the name PIERSE with a reference to Thoresby's "Ducatus Leodiensis", a rare work which I was afterwards able to consult in the Reading Rooms of the British Museum. The pages referred to contained a genealogical and historical account of an armorial family bearing the name PIERSE residing in Yorkshire and who were descended from Gerard Pierse of Pierse Hall in that County. The armorial bearings of this family were given as "Azure, three lions passant guardant, between two bars gemells argent, armed and langued gules, with the Arms of Ulster in the dexter point". The line of descent shewed:- Gerard (temp. 15th C), William, Henry, William ("a famous Captain temp. Eliz. in Ireland"), Henry, Sir William, Knt., Sir Henry, Bart. (who apparently discarded the final E in his surname and whose posterity became PIERS), and Sir William Piers, Bart. who married Honoria, daughter of William Fitzmaurice, 21st Baron of Kerry and, Lixnaw, whose heir and successor to the Baronetcy was Henry of Tristernaugh Abbey in Co. West Meath and of Leeds.

Here then at first appeared to be the main stem of the family from which we were off-shoots - originally the same name and what was even more important, the same spelling, the same Christian names, a connection between Ireland and England, the reason for the perpetuation of the name Fitzmaurice - itself a most uncommon surname - and a person about whom legends may quite well have grown. All of this later proved to be so near and yet so far from being of assistance to me, for, apart from the Fitzmaurice marriage in the 17th Century, I afterwards discovered that there is no connection at all between the present PIERS families of Ireland and Yorkshire in England and the family about which this book is solely concerned.

But, as I have already said, the name Fitzmaurice proved to be the all important clue.

While still interested in the Piers family of Yorkshire, and anxious to learn more about the Fitzmaurices of Kerry and Lixnaw, I discovered in Archdall's edition of Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland", under "Fitzmaurice, Earl of Kerry" the reference which is the key-note of the whole of my study and of which this short history is the result. Lodge stated "... Pierse (second son of Maurice, 2nd Lord of Kerry) ancestor to the families of Ballymac-Equim, Crossnishane (recte Crossmacshane), and Magheogahane (recte Meenogahane), who changed their name to Pierse about the latter end of Q. Elizabeth's reign, and yet subsist."


From the time of this discovery, I confined my attention to Ireland, for it appeared that some descendants of this branch of the Fitzmaurice family would still be living in that country. In Thom's "Directory of Ireland - 1947", I found mention of two persons bearing the name, one in Dublin and the other in Kerry. So it was that on a cold winter's night in January, 1948, I summoned up courage to write to "Pierse, R. R., M.R.C.V.S., Acting Veterinary Inspector for Listowel, Co. Kerry", to ask if he could substantiate my theories, and if possible help me. Weeks passed and I feared that I would not receive a reply. When, a short while later, a bulky letter arrived bearing an Irish stamp, I could hardly contain myself! Mr. Pierse's reply contained more than I could have ever hoped. He was well aware of the history of the family, and - what was even more - he actually owned Meenogahane of the Lodge reference! Since that memorable day I have received many most helpful letters and have spent many delightful days enjoying the hospitality of Dick (if I may now be permitted the familiarity) and his equally estimable wife Mary Pierse at their home at Meenogahane.

With renewed vigour and greatly assisted by the new and more pertinent references I was given, I was able to make a more detailed study. Curiously, however, it is surprising that very few notices of the family occur in historical and genealogical books relating to Co. Kerry. One continually finds mention (quite apart from detailed accounts) of English houses settled in the county from the 16th Century onwards, but very little concerning the earlier established families.

The way was now clear. Little by little I collected evidence shewing the fortunes of the family from the 14th Century to the present day. One point still remained to be established: from where and when did my own family come to England? My earliest ancestor in England was my great-great-great grandfather, John Fitzmaurice Pierse, who died at his son John Patrick's house at Greenwich, Kent, in the year 1843, and the latter I knew was born in Ireland - but where?

Here again I met with the most amazing good fortune. While spending a few days holiday from Belfast in Dublin, on the 13th November, 1948, I had occasion to spend a few minutes waiting for my good friend Owen McCabe before our setting off for the afternoon. The time I spent browsing in a bookshop in O'Connell Street. No doubt attracted by the title, I picked up a second-hand copy of "The Roll of the House of Lacy" by "de Lacy-Bellingari". Imagine my astonishment when I looked at the page where my finger had stopped the flickering leaves and read "Joanna de Lacy O'Brien. Oldest daughter of the Lady Joanna de Lacy and Pierce O'Brien, Esq. She married on August 27, 1795, John Fitzmaurice Pierse, Esq., of Listowel, and later of Newcastle-West and London. The Reverend

Morgan O'Brien, kinsman of the bride, officiated at the ceremony in Newcastle-West. She died in 1821 in London, her husband dying there in 1844". Besides this were several mentions of "de Lacy-Pierses" - for most of whom I had already several notices! Clearly my research was now over. I had started and ended in Listowel! To complete the magic trio, upon my return to Belfast, I found a post-card re-directed from London, dated the 11th November from Mr. Pierse at Listowel saying that "... you will be pleased to know that there was another male member of the clann to add to your tree since yesterday" The last year or so has seen me collecting together the notes made in libraries, record offices, and manuscript rooms into some intelligible form, and now I am ready to start writing. As with all kinds of particular research, one meets with extraordinary coincidences and surprising good fortune; but it is with the inexpressible feeling of elation and wonder that I experienced in my first visit to the "Kingdom of Kerry", as I travelled over the plainland of Clanmaurice out towards the cliffs where Meenogahane House stood out with its black roof and dazzling white walls against a gray Irish sky, that I commence my history of the ~~clon~~ **mac piarais**.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J.H. Pierse", with a horizontal line underneath.

ELTHAM, LONDON. 1st January, 1950

AUTHOR'S NOTE

On reading through and sorting out the great pile of notes taken from standard works of reference, manuscripts housed in the Record Offices or private collections, and the multitudinous other sources from which the genealogist obtains his material, it has become quite obvious that, to enable a reader to follow the author's wanderings, some standardisation of names is an absolute necessity. This, requirement is more obvious when the family name is one, which, although always rendered phonetically correct, lends itself to a variety of ways of spelling. Some names do not suffer materially from this defect, as 'Fitzmaurice' will always be understood albeit some writers may have preferred 'FitzMaurice', 'Fitzmorris', 'Fitzmorrice' or 'MacMaurice'. Now, since one of the objects the author hopes to achieve in this present work is that of affording a guide to another more competent writer who may come along to the original location and subsequent distribution of the Pierse family, nothing will be gained by copying the mistakes of others. Much of the material to be used in the compilation of this history of the family has been drawn from transcriptions from now no longer extant sources, biographical details prepared after the decease of the subject, and from oral declarations recorded by persons, often "foreigners" who were quite unaware - least of all interested - in the peculiar spelling of persons' surnames. The actual quantity of documentary evidence composed by members of the family and still in existence is very small indeed. It is with a view to reducing the extent of ambiguity, which might otherwise have occurred, to a minimum that the following conventions will be followed throughout.

In the text generally, the form PIERSE will be used where referring to the branch of the Lixnaw Fitzmaurices of that name, the only exception being made where transcriptions from actual manuscript records occur where close conformity with the original will be maintained. Where the original manuscripts are now no longer extant and resource to transcriptions or printed versions is unavoidable, the form PIERSE will still be used unless the transcription is a certified copy.

In all translations from an original in the Irish language, where the form PIERSE might be employed equally well instead of that chosen by the translator, such as O'Donovan's translation of the "Four Masters", it will be used consistently. Similarly, in translating from the Latin, PETRUS will be rendered PIERSE (naturally only in its proper place) and not PETER, even though the original now no longer exists and only an English translation survives. However this convention may be taken by the reader, the family name after all is Pierse and not Peter.

Further, standard forms for names other than of the Pierse family will be adopted. Before surnames came into general use, many persons were identified only by the use of patronymics, such as 'Thomas, son of Maurice', and recorded 'Thomas fitz Maurice'. Authors and editors - genealogists above all - differ in their ways of writing this form and it is not uncommon to find 'Thomas fitz Maurice', 'Fitz Maurice', 'Fitz-maurice' and 'Fitzmaurice', all referring to one person. The identity of the person is of course quite clear until we find a 'Thomas fitz Maurice' whose father was 'Maurice

fitz John' (with the addition of a "fitz ----" for each preceding generation) located in the same district as a 'Thomas FitzMaurice' whose ancestors had adopted 'FitzMaurice' as a surname. Then the separate identities of the two 'Thomases' becomes confusing. In the present work, where possible, the form *fitz Maurice* will be used where intended as a patronymic, and *Fitzmaurice* where the surname is implied. The observations made earlier concerning transcriptions from manuscript sources, of course equally apply here.

Lastly, a convention regarding place names will be observed and names of counties, baronies, parishes and townlands will be written as they are shewn on Ordnance Survey maps. It need hardly be stated that, if a particular townland and village now no longer exists as such, and consequently is not shewn on the Survey maps, a form will be decided upon and used throughout. It is pointed out to the non-Irish reader that most of the place names referred to herein are English corruptions of Irish descriptive names, and, while it would be more correct actually to use the original form in Irish lettering, such adoption would no doubt make the way difficult for some readers besides appearing pedantic on the author's part.

J.H.P.

CHAPTER I - THE NAME PIERSE

Since possibly the most outwardly noticeable peculiarity of this family lies in the unusual spelling of its name, some explanatory notes regarding the origin of this, and a general notice concerning the distribution of the collective Pierce families in Great Britain and Ireland, will not be amiss. In addition, besides being somewhat of an introduction to the entire book, a preliminary account of the way in which surnames developed and eventually became hereditary will obviate the necessity for numerous footnotes in the ensuing chapters. It is, however, emphasized that the following must only be regarded as the broadest of broad outlines; the reader interested in this absorbing but extensive study will find countless major works illustrating the aptness of this point.

It may safely be said that most of our present day surnames are derived from ancestors to whom were applied, or who adopted themselves, descriptive names in addition to their personal or Christian names as a further means of identification. Thus in a village in England, for example, in which lived several persons bearing the name William, the identity of William the Bowman would not be confused with that of, say, William the Smith, and so on. In general, these additional appellations were drawn from personal characteristics, relationship with another, places of abode, and occupations; examples are Edward Longshanks, Harold son of William (often later to become Williamson), Richard of Lincoln, and of course, our friend William the Smith. Individual countries had their own methods of identifying persons; in Wales *ab* or *ap* denoted 'the son of' and *verch* 'the daughter of'; in Ireland and Scotland, the Gaelic races used *mac* and *ingean*, as 'son of' and 'descendant of', whilst in France, *fitz* meant 'the son of' as Maurice fitz Henry, and *de* implying 'of' as Thomas de Courcy - Courcy being a village in France. With passing reference to the Old French form *fitz*, it will not, perhaps, be out of place to mention that, contrary to popular belief, this prefix to a Christian name does not necessarily imply "the bastard son of" but merely, as already stated, "son of"; it is of interest to compare the Modern French form *fil*s.

As can well be imagined, due to friendly as well as hostile intercourse between races, names and descriptive prefixes were carried from one country to another, and although at first foreign, were soon adopted by the foster-country.

No definite period can be stated when descriptive names were permanently assumed by families. Some names, such as *de Courcy* are still borne by families and have remained the same ever since their ancestors first arrived with the Norman or other invaders. Some writers affirm that in the British Isles the Irish Gaelic names were among the earliest to be established, centuries even before the arrival of the Danes in the 8th Century. On the other hand, brother invaders of the de Lacys and de Courcys in 1066 settled in England but for many generations made use of patronymics until they eventually decided upon a permanent surname.

The name *Pierse* is one of many variants (*Pierce*, *Pearse*, *Pearce*, *Peirse*, *Peerse*, and others) all seemingly derived phonetically from the personal name *Piers*, which, records indicate, was introduced into Britain by the Normans in the 11th Century. In Holinshed's version of the Roll of Battle Abbey containing a list of "such Nobles and Gentlemen of marque, as came with the Conqueror", we notice amongst the many *Fitzs* that of *Fitz Pieres*. The name appears to be a corruption of the ancient French name *Piers*, itself derived from the earlier Latin *petrus* and Greek *πετρος* both words meaning *a piece of rock* or *a stone*. The modern French form is *Pierre*, which, apart from its use as a Christian name, still is the common word for stone, and the modern English, *Peter* and *Percy*. An allusion to the relationship between the Greek and English names is found in the Bible (John I, v.42) when Our Lord was in Jordan calling his disciples and was shewing some of them his dwelling: "And he (Andrew) brought him (his brother Simon) to Jesus. And when Jesus beheld him, he said, Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, a stone". Henceforth Simon was known as *Simon called Peter*. Again (Matthew XVII, v.17), on the coasts of Cesarea Philippi; Jesus said "And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church".

In connection with the early spelling of the name *Piers*, in his "History of Surnames", C. L'Estrange Ewen, comparing it with the modern French *Pierre*, suggests that the terminal *g* was possibly due to the influence of the French nominative singular ending, and gives other examples of this peculiarity such as *Jacquesg*, *Gillesg* and *Julesg*.

At all events, the name in the form *Piers* as a Christian name achieved a certain amount of popularity in England following the Norman invasion, and although it cannot be said that it was common, it was certainly not a rarity. As an illustration, in Foster's "Some Feudal Coats of Arms from Heraldic Rolls, 1298-1410", of the total of some 4,400 names mentioned, it is found that 900 persons bore the Christian name John (easily the most common), 197 the name Richard, 130 that of Henry, and 60 the name *Piers*. It is not suggested that the examples here given are necessarily the Christian names most frequently used or in relative popularity, but have been chosen because as they are still in use today, a comparison can thus be made. Among the well-known characters in history and literature will be remembered Sir *Piers de Gaveston*, the infamous favourite of Edward II, and *Piers* of the "Vision of *Piers the Plowman*", a poetic work attributed to William Langland, who lived during the 14th century.

By the 16th century, the name appears to have lost its original form and instead of terminating in the letter *g* was often written *Pierce* or *Piersg*. This practice of extending names and words is particularly noticeable in the forms of writing "warres", "dayes", "goode" and so on at this period. Following the Reformation, as a Christian name in England, the name lost what little popularity it ever had - doubtless the foundation of the Reformed Church had quite a lot to do with this - and nowadays it has become almost extinct. One very occasionally sees the name still in use, as in the instance of Sir *Piers Legh*, present Master of the King's Household, whose family appears to have

retained the name through many generations; in heraldic rolls of Edward IV, the name "Sir Piers a Legh of Bradly" occurs.

As a surname, however, the name in all its different spellings is, of course, quite common in England. It is these changes of spelling which often afford a clue to the counties from which the different families originated. The *Pearse* and *Pearce* families usually derive from the West Country, particularly Cornwall, while the *Peirce* and *Peirse* families generally have roots in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire. The form *Pierce* is probably the most common, and families spelling their name in this way are to be found in all counties in England although perhaps less frequently in Scotland and Wales. The families in the United Kingdom using the form *Pierse* are so few that they might almost be given here, but are all related and all derive from Ireland.

So far we have followed the development of the name firstly as a Christian name and secondly as a surname but only so far as its use in England, Scotland and Wales. In Ireland, the use and growth of the name, as may be expected, is somewhat different.

In common with England, the name was brought to the Irish by the Normans during their settlement after the invasions of 1169 and 1170. At first it was retained only by the Norman families, but, with the growth of mutual respect by the Normans and the Irish, the latter adopted the name for themselves. In so doing, the name underwent a change, for the Irish language softened the Plosive *Piers* down to the Fricative **PIARAIS** (pronounced "Fearish"). As a Christian name, and, preceded by the Gaelic *Mac* as a patronymic, it was frequently used, particularly in the southern counties, between the 13th and 14th Centuries, and since has caused much difficulty to genealogists. In his "Roll of the House of Lacy", Mr. Edy Harnett writing under the nom-de-plume "de Lacy-Bellingari" says: "From now on (c. 1500) the Christian name *Pierce* becomes very common with the Limerick Lacys and, one might add, confusing". So it is with many other Irish families. As opposed to the condition in England, during the Reformation period and after, the name became even more popular. In common with England however, several families adopted the name as a surname, but as a country with fewer inhabitants, the histories of the families in Ireland are much easier to follow.

In 1909, Sir Robert E. Matheson, LL.D., published an analysis of Irish surnames¹ from which the following details relating to Pierce and Fitzmaurice families are an abstract. In a notice in his Report relating to Anglo-Norman names, the author states that some branches of the *de Birmingham* family of Connaught adopted the name *MacFeorais* or *Peorais*, and the *Butlers* that of *MacPierce*. It is surprising that the assumption of the name *Pierse* by a branch of the Fitzmaurices the assumption of the name *Pierse* by a branch of the Fitzmaurices of Kerry is not noticed.

From a list of the most common surnames in Ireland, neither of the names *Pierse* or *Fitzmaurice*, nor any of their variants comes within the hundred names given. In 1890, the population of Ireland was estimated to have been 4,717,959 of whom some 62,000 persons bore the most

common name in the country, that of *Murphy*. The name *FitzGerald* took relative position of No. 36 with 14,700 persons of the name, and last on the list, *Dwyer*, appeared as No. 100, with 8,100 persons. In comparison, the population of England in 1853 was estimated to have been 18,404,421 persons; again none of the various forms of Pierce or Fitzmaurice figured within the first fifty most common names. *Smith* appears first with 253,600 persons, and lastly, *Carter* with 33,400 persons bearing the name.

The major part of the Report consists of tables shewing the distribution of surnames through the counties in Ireland. The entries relating to County Kerry are as follows:-

Distribution of Surnames

Registration County	Surnames and number of Entries in Birth Index for 1890.
Kerry	Sullivan 349, Connor 188, Shea 146, Murphy 95, McCarthy 88, Moriarty 74, Fitzgerald 72, Griffin 58, Connell 56, Brosnan 55, Foley 55, Leany 47, Clifford 45, Walsh 45, Cronin 43, Lynch 41, Mahoney 38, Daly 34.

From this it appears that even in their own county of origin, the births of Pierces and Fitzmaurices were so few as to not warrant recording. The next extract is from a long list of names in alphabetical order shewing where persons of a particular name were (and, still are for that matter) principally to be found. Against some names an asterisk has been added, and in such. instances the name is followed by a number in brackets; this indicates that, as with the name Pierce, other variations of spelling are included but that the number following the name is the actual number of entries with the spelling given:-

Names	Number of entries in Birth Indexes for 1890					Counties in which principally found
	Ireland	Leinster	Munster	Ulster	Connaught	
Pierce (22)	38	21	9	6	2	Dublin and Wexford
Ferris (32)	33	1	4	26	2	Antrim
Fitzmaurice	21	4	10	-	7	Kerry

It will be noticed that in addition to *Pierce* and *Fitzmaurice*, the present author has included the name *Ferris*. The reason for this is that in Kerry, the home of the Pierse family, it has often been suggested that the Pierse and Ferris families are related. In a paper, too, published in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, a writer affirms that the Pierces of Meenogahane, Co. Kerry are locally known as *Ferris*, that they held the townland, *Dun Ferris* and elsewhere that "the Pierces, a

¹ "Special Report on the Surnames in Ireland Based on information extracted from the indexes of the General Register Office". Sir Robert E. Matheson, LL.D. Pub. Dublin, 1909.

branch of the FitzMaurice stem" are represented in the placename *Dunferris*.² Notwithstanding the high authority of the R.S.A.I., it must be pointed out that during the whole time of his study of the Pierse family the present author has at no time alighted upon a reference to support this suggestion. Confusion in the first place probably grew out of the similarity in pronunciation of the two names:- *Ferris* - Irish *mac fheorais* -pronounced "Fiorish", and *Pierse* - Irish *mac piaraais* - pronounced "Fearish".

Lying loose enclosed within a copy of "A History of the County of Kerry" in the library of the Society of Genealogists, London, is an original letter by the author of the book - that Kerry enthusiast, the late Jeremiah King - in which he says "it appears almost certain that the Ferrises derived from the de Berminghams of Connaught". With regard to the idea that Dunferris was named after the local Pierse families, Jeremiah King in his "Co. Kerry - Past and Present" states on page 130: "Dunferris, dun na fithrech, baile in Lisselton; the fort was destroyed in 979 by the O'Brien army".

As we will see in the next Chapter, the eponymous ancestor of the Pierse families of Co. Kerry was not born until the latter end of the thirteenth century.

So far we have noticed three distinct Irish families bearing one or another of the various forms of the surname Pierce, namely, Pierce from the de Birmingham family of Connaught, Pierce from the Butler family of Munster, and Pierse from the Fitzmaurice family of Co. Kerry. These three, together with Pierce from the Fitzgerald family of Leinster hitherto not mentioned, may be taken as representing the old Irish families bearing the name; it will be noticed incidentally that all four are of Anglo-Norman origin.

These, of course, do not account for all the families bearing the name in Ireland today. As we shall read later, throughout the centuries commencing roughly from the time of Queen Mary (1540), English and foreign adventurers, by authority of the Crown and Commonwealth in England, took possession of lands and settled in Ireland. Among the many new names thus introduced into the country, many were one or another of the various forms of Pierce. In a great number of instances, the way of spelling one's name changed with the times, and Pearce became Pearse, Peirce - Pierce, and so on. In addition, Irish families were forcibly obliged to remove from their ancestral homes and estates and settle in districts many miles away in different counties and provinces. Thus the hitherto comparatively simple way of identifying form of spelling with origin of settlement and consequently tracing the ancestry of individual families now becomes well-nigh impossible. In compiling this work, however, the author has been obliged to trace back many of these Pierce families in order to ascertain if they originated from the Fitzmaurice family of Co. Kerry and thus come within the compass of the present work. The portion of the book devoted to the histories of individual branches of the Pierse family of Co. Kerry will be found in Chapter XIX. From the point of view of interest, and to preserve the results of years of study, brief histories of other families bearing a form of the name Pierce

2

together, where possible, with their origin of settlement in Ireland, will be added in the form of appendices to the chapter mentioned.

In conclusion, the following is a list of the 71 different forms of spelling the name (with or without the prefixes Fitz and Mac), dating roughly from 1066 to the present day, which have been noticed in manuscripts examined in compiling this work:-

<i>Pearce</i>	<i>Peerse</i>	<i>Peirs</i>	<i>Perrs</i>	<i>Piearcy</i>	<i>Pyerce</i>
<i>Pearcey</i>	<i>Peersey</i>	<i>Peirse</i>	<i>Perrse</i>	<i>Piearse</i>	<i>Pyercey</i>
<i>Pearcy</i>	<i>Peersy</i>	<i>Peirse</i>	<i>Perrsey</i>	<i>Piearsey</i>	<i>Pyercy</i>
<i>Pears</i>	<i>Peiarce</i>	<i>Peirsy</i>	<i>Perrsy</i>	<i>Piearsy</i>	<i>Pyers</i>
<i>Pearse</i>	<i>Peiarcey</i>	<i>Perce</i>	<i>Persse</i>	<i>Pierce</i>	<i>Pyerse</i>
<i>Pearsey</i>	<i>Peiarcy</i>	<i>Percey</i>	<i>Perssey</i>	<i>Piercey</i>	<i>Pyersey</i>
<i>Pearsy</i>	<i>Peiarce</i>	<i>Percy</i>	<i>Perssy</i>	<i>Piercy</i>	<i>Pyersy</i>
<i>Peerce</i>	<i>Peiarsey</i>	<i>Peres</i>	<i>Peter</i>	<i>Pieres</i>	<i>Pyr</i>
<i>Peercey</i>	<i>Peiarsy</i>	<i>Pers</i>	<i>Petros</i>	<i>Piers</i>	<i>Pyrse</i>
<i>Peercy</i>	<i>Peirce</i>	<i>Perse</i>	<i>Petrus</i>	<i>Pierse</i>	<i>Pyrsey</i>
<i>Peeres</i>	<i>Peircey</i>	<i>Persey</i>	<i>Piearce</i>	<i>Piersey</i>	<i>Pyr</i>
<i>Peers</i>	<i>Peircy</i>	<i>Persy</i>	<i>Piearcey</i>	<i>Piersy</i>	

CHAPTER II - FITZMAURICE PEDIGREES

So far we have seen that the few families in England bearing the surname Pierse are off-shoots of the families of that name in Ireland. Here, in Ireland, we have found that all the families of that name and spelling ultimately derive from the County of Kerry in the province of Munster and, we have been told, are descendants of the Fitzmaurices, ancient Lords of Kerry and Lixnaw.

But, the reader is probably asking, why did a number of Fitzmaurices change their name - and who indeed were or are the Fitzmaurices? To the author's knowledge, no reason whatsoever has even been advanced to answer the first part of this question, and we must try to find an answer for ourselves. In any case it would be out of place to attempt to solve such a problem without a fair understanding of the circumstances prevailing at the particular time of the change. All this will be presented in due course, and for the time being we must just accept the change as a fact.

With regard to the second part of the question, any manual of Irish family history or history of County Kerry will give its own particular version of the origin of the Fitzmaurice family; which, by a succession of honours, is at present represented in the person of the 7th Marquis of Landsdowne and 28th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw. The family, we find, is one of the so-called Geraldine Families - known by that name because they are descended from Gerald de Windsor, an Anglo-Norman knight who lived in the early part of the 12th century - and most of whom bear the name Fitzgerald.

Upon comparison, however, the separate genealogies of the Fitzmaurice family will be found to differ from one another, particularly where relating to progenitors, living in the 13th and 14th centuries. Fitzmaurice pedigrees have been prepared by different writers spreading over something like four hundred years, and each fresh historian (although it would appear that Fitzmaurice pedigrees were fair game for one and all), perceiving the defects in the accounts of his predecessors, attempted to reconcile the discrepancies by crediting some of the early Fitzmaurices with incredible leases of life, or by conveniently overlooking a Lord or two. By any manner or means, a connection had to be made with one of the known scions of the Geraldine House.

This continual process of patching up was at last arrested in 1902 when Dr. J. Horace Round, in a brilliant paper "The Origin of the FitzGerald",³ shewed that by discarding all details incapable of factual support, a logical and well authenticated pedigree of the early Geraldines could be produced. Following Dr. Round's approach came Dr. Goddard H. Orpen, who in 1914 in an equally distinguished treatise "The Origin of the FitzMaurices, Barons of Kerry and Lixnaw",⁴ shewed the descent of the Fitzmaurices from the Fitzgerald family.

³ See "The Ancestor", Vols. I and II, published London, 1902.

⁴ See "The English Historical Review", Vol. XXIX, 1914 and "The Genealogists' Magazine", Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2 and 3, 1925.

Since these dates, no writer to the present author's knowledge, has found fault with either account and we can accept them therefore as being nearest the truth.

The time-honoured genealogies of the earlier pedigree-makers should not, however, be completely abandoned for, although somewhat untrustworthy when considered as a whole, we find that each contains valuable information included by its contemporaneous author. With each retrogressive century legend becomes sharper; the early researchers too had the additional advantages of ancient records, many of which had perished long before successive searchers-after-the truth had turned their attention towards the family history of the Geraldines. Indeed, it is plain that the adage "there is no smoke without fire" prompted many eminent writers on to try to discover the true facts.

In order that the reader may follow the growth of Fitzmaurice Pedigrees, the remainder of this Chapter is devoted to a précis of each of the more important accounts. Most are drawn from comparatively rare books or from not easily accessible manuscript collections, and as such, have a further interest value. It will be observed that no attempt at explanation or further identification of persons or places is made on the present author's part, since it would be pointless to elaborate on detail later to be abandoned by Drs. Round and Orpen. It will be left until the next Chapter to shew how, why, and when the Geraldines came to be settled in Ireland.

The earliest of the manuscript Fitzmaurice pedigrees appears to have been that drawn up in 1615 by Sir William Segar, Garter King of Arms (1603-1633), a copy of which is preserved in the British Museum,⁵ and is here reproduced (Plate I). It is evident that the occasion for this account was in the year 1614 when, after King James I had ordered an assembly of the Irish Parliament (which order its members for some reason were reluctant to obey) two peers, the Lord of Kerry and the Lord of Slane conveniently decided to contest one another's right of position to Premier Baron of Ireland. Each refused to sit until the position had been clarified and were together supported by their fellow peers who, no doubt, were more interested in delaying the Royal Command than in the respective claims of the contestants. An inquiry was set up and each of the rival Lords collected evidence strengthening his case. At last a decision was made. The results of the investigations too, are lodged in the British Museum⁶ and the court summary, which confirmed the honour on the Lord of Kerry, opens as follows:-

"The Pedigree produced by my Lo. of Kerry wee thinck to be sufficient and grounded upon proofes wch he can produce. That the Lord of Kerry is as ancient as the conquest of Ireland wee doubt not. That King John gave lands in Kerry to Thomas Fitz-Morice his progenitour and that they have been reputed among the Magnates & great Lords of Ireland in the tyme of King Edward the first and K. Edw. 2 by the names of Morice-Fitz-Thomas of Kerry and

⁵ Harl. MSS., 1425.

⁶ Cotton MSS., Faust. C VIII, Titus B X, 381-389.

Nicholas Fitz-Morice of Kerry is apparent upon Record, and his sonne in the Annales of Ireland 1339 is called Dns. Mauritius filius Nicholai Dns. Kerigiae ..."

It was, then, because of this time-wasting incident that we are fortunate in possessing an early, properly attested (although now proved to be slightly inaccurate), Fitzmaurice pedigree.

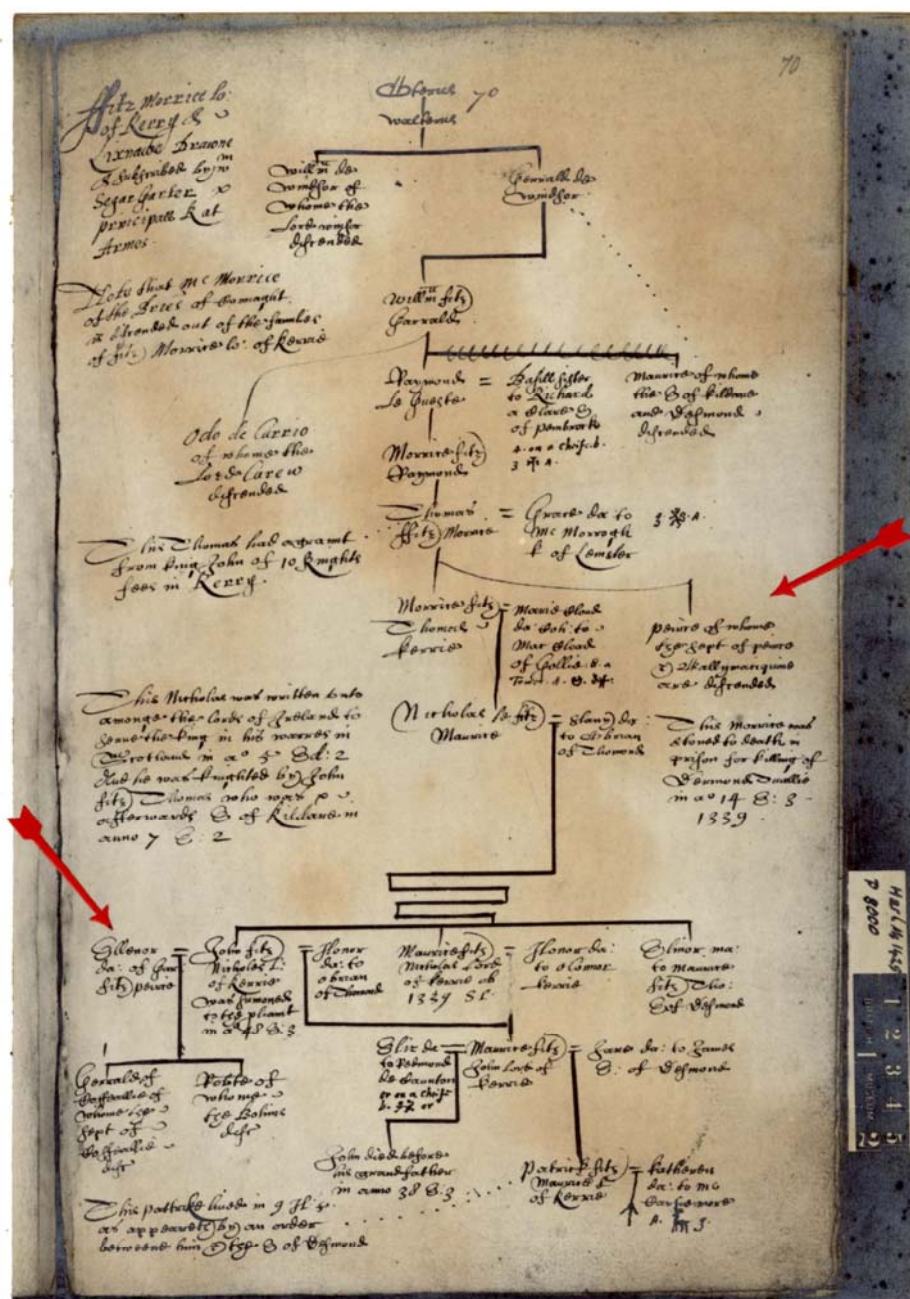


Plate I: Pedigree of Fitzmaurice, Barons of Kerry c. 1615

The first names which appear in the descent are:- "Oterus: Walterus: Gerald de Windsor: William fitz Garrald: Raymond Le Groste: Morrice fitz Raymond: Thomas ffitz Morrice" who bore his eldest son and heir "Morrice fitz Thomas-Kerrie" and second "Peirce of whome the Sept of Peirce at Ballymaciquime are descended" (indicated by arrow on Plate I). Two names further down the tree we find "John fitz Nicholas L: of Kerrie" whose wife (actually second wife although not indicated here) was "Ellenor da: of Garr: fitz Peirce" (also indicated by an arrow on Plate I).

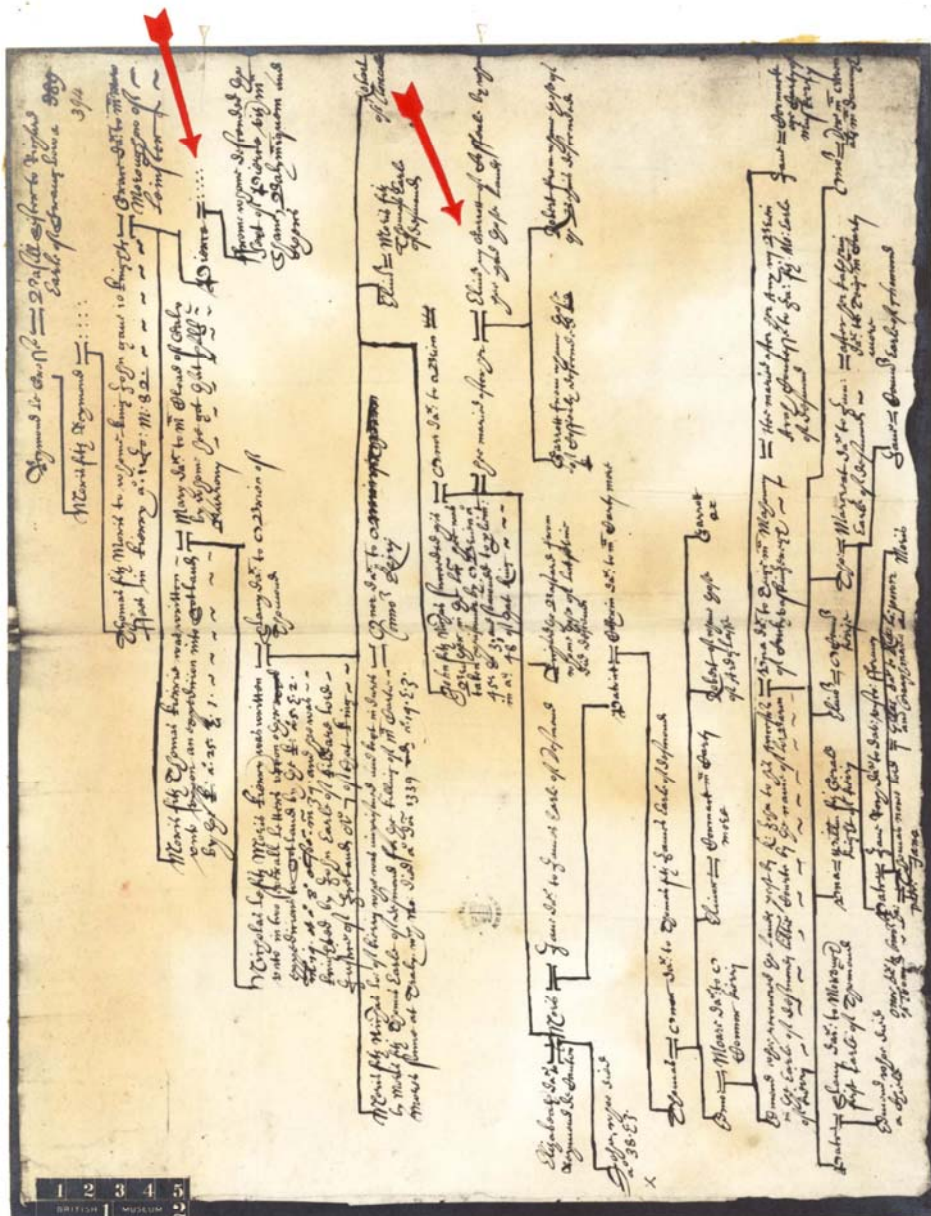


Plate II: Pedigree of Fitzmaurice, Barons of Kerry, middle 17th Century

With the pedigree referred to above may be compared another, also in the British Museum ⁷ unsigned and undated (for what particular reason it was compiled is not known to the author) but the last named person mentioned, Patrick fitz Thomas, generally reckoned the 19th Lord (1595 - 1660), dates it not earlier than the beginning of the 17th Century. A photographic reproduction is also here given (Plate II). The early descent is similar to that shown by Segar, but is more informative, and

commences:- "Reymond Le Grosse = Basill Sister to Richard Earl of Strangbowe: Morris fitz Reymond = ... : Thomas fitz Morris to whome King John gave 10 Knights Fees in Kierry a⁰ i Jo : M : 82 = Evarr dau to Mc Moroughon of Leinster" whose elder son and heir "Morris fitz Thomas Kierrie was written unto uppon an expedicion into Scotland by Ye K : a⁰ 25. E.I" and second son was "Pierce from whome descended ye Sept of Pierce viz Mc Shane, Balym^ciquem and others" (indicated by arrow). Further down (see arrow) as the second wife of John fitz Nicholas, appears "Elinor ny (daughter of) Garrott of Cosfeale by whom hee had these Lands" (also indicated by arrow on Plate II).

Similar to these two pedigrees of the Fitzmaurice family is that of Robert Dowding, dated 1696, and at present in Ulster's Office (now the Genealogical Office), in Dublin. It appears that Dowding's pedigree is only a revised copy of that of Segar mentioned already, but it corrects some of the more obvious discrepancies. Dowding's Pedigree is, however, often cited as an authority by Geraldine genealogists, and as such, merits reference.⁸

From manuscript pedigrees in chart form we next turn to printed literary accounts.. Probably the earliest of the more important of these is Father Dominic O' Daly's "History of the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond", written c.1655, but, as this work does not treat especially of the Fitzmaurices, we may disregard it for the time being, although reference to it will appear later. Next we find John Lodge's "History of the Kildare and Desmond Families of FitzGerald", published in folio in 1745, which, as the title implies, again is not largely concerned with the Kerry branch of the family. However, John Lodge's "The Peerage of Ireland", edited by Mervyn Archdall, A.M., was published in 1789, which included a section "Fitzmaurice, Earl of Kerry". It was upon this account that so many later writers based their own histories of the families and which contains so much detail which Dr. Orpen, as referred to earlier, found would not stand the test of detailed analysis. An abridgment of this lengthy treatise, omitting irrelevant dissertation and following only the descent of the early Fitzmaurices, is as follows.

Under the title of FitzGerald, Earl of Leinster, referred to earlier in his Peerage of Ireland, Archdall tells us, the second son of Gerald fitz-Walter and his wife Nesta, was *William*, who although claimed by Giraldus Combrensis⁹ to be Gerald's eldest son, was, Archdall affirms, citing the Leinster pedigree in support, the second. He further substantiates his claim:-

"His (William) being possessed of the castle of Karriu (or Carrio) in the county of Caermathen in South Wales, his mother's inheritance, and assuming that surname, bespeak him a younger son; which is confirmed by the unerring testimony of the addition of a chief,

⁷ Cotton MSS., Titus B X, 394.

⁸ Lodge's MS penit au.

⁹ Giraldus Combrensis the famous historian, otherwise known by his family name *de Barry* (c.1146 - 1220) was a grandson of Gerald fitz Walter (or de Windsor) and upon whose personal knowledge of the family most importance must be placed.

ermine, to his coat-armour, (a certain note of cadency) to distinguish him and his posterity from the eldest branch of the family".

We are next told that in 12 Henry II, William held two knights fees in Buckinghamshire, besides the manor of Spershalt and Hermitage in Berkshire. In 1171 he was sent with his son Reymond by Earl Strongbow to assist in the invasion of Ireland, but returned to England where, in 1173, he died. His second son *Reymond* (shewn as the eldest in the Segar Pedigree) named Crassus, or Le Grosse, from the corpulency of his body, was a principal sharer in the reduction of Ireland. After being of considerable assistance to Strongbow, he married the Earl's sister in the year 1175. Later, whilst "regulating matters" in the City of Limerick, Reymond was approached by Dermoid MacCarthy, King of Cork, who, with the promise of large rewards to himself and reasonable pay to his soldiers, asked Reymond's assistance in suppressing MacCarthy's son Cormac O Lehanagh who had run wild and had treated his father abominably. Reymond, upon advice from his friends, undertook the expedition, regained Dermoid his kingdom, and delivered to him his rebellious son whom his father later had beheaded. In reward Dermoid gave Reymond a large tract of land in County Kerry (then reckoned within the kingdom of Cork) which Reymond later settled on his son Maurice, after whom the land was named Clanmaurice.

This *Maurice*, the eldest son of Reymond, Archdall continues, "had a grant of five knights fees from K. Richard I in Cosmange and Molahiffe in Desmond; and married to his first wife Johanna (with her he got Rattivoe, Kilbury and Ballyheidge;¹⁰ which two last his great grandson Nicholas gave, among other lands, to Maurice the first Earl of Desmond, in marriage with his daughter Elinor), daughter of Miles Fitz-Henry, founder of Conall Abbey, in the County of Kildare, and Chief governor of Ireland".

The eldest child of this marriage was Thomas, called the first Lord Fitz-Maurice of Kerry, "whose brother Gerard (by some named Thomas, and made not the brother, but younger son of this Thomas) was the ancestor of the Fitz-Maurices of Liscahane and Kilfenurugh,¹¹ called the Lanistry, or second house, attainted in Queen Elizabeth's reign". Maurice, however, in 1177, married again - to Catherine, daughter of Miles Cogan (Councillor of State that year to William Fitz-Adelm, Chief Governor) by whom he had a son William, ancestor of the Fitzmaurices of Ballykelly in Clanmaurice. *Thomas* the eldest son of Maurice's first marriage, succeeded, and, we are told, was the first to assume the name Fitzmaurice. In his youth he had a grant from King John in the first year of his reign (1199) of ten Knights fees, in Iveforna and Ivefarba¹² in Kerry, and "an ancient rent is reserved to this family, time immemorial, out of the territory of Kerry of four pence by the acre from Bealtra to Grahane, which is called, 'the rent of the Acres'." Thomas founded the grey friary of Ardfert, famous for its miracles, in the year 1253, which Archdall describes as "a noble structure, over

¹⁰ Recte Rattoo, Killury and Ballyheige, formally tribal districts but now parishes in Co. Kerry.

¹¹ Recte Liscahan and Kilfenoragh etc.

¹²

the great gate whereof is inscribed the date of its foundation - M.CC.LIII (1253)". He married Grany, or Grace, the daughter of Mac-Murrough Cavenagh "son of Dermoid, King of Leinster, who brought the Earl Strongbow into Ireland".

Next comes the passage referred to by the present author in the Preface to this book:

"(Thomas) dying on the feast of St. Peter and Paul, 1280, at Browry, the house of his son-in-law, was interred on the north side of the great altar in the said Abbey; having two sons and as many daughters, viz:-

(1) Maurice, his heir and successor,

(2) Pierse (Peter) ancestor to the families of Ballymac-Equim, Crossnishane, and Megheogahane, who changed their name to Pierse about the latter end of Q. Elizabeth's reign, and yet subsist.

(1) Daughter Catherine, married to Sir Hugh de Lacy of Ballingarri,

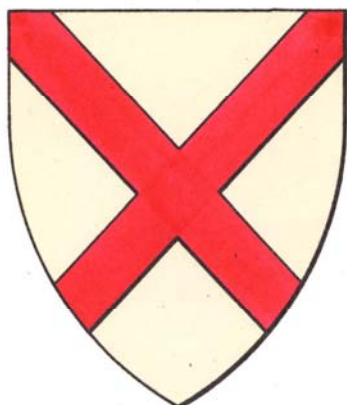
(2) Joan, to Sir Otho de Lacy of Browry".

Maurice, the second Lord of Kerry, sat in the Parliament held at Dublin in 1295, being styled Maurice fitz Thomas of Kerry, and in 1297 was sent a writ of summons from King Edward I requiring him to assist in an expedition to Scotland, which he obeyed "by going thither with horse and arms, prepared for that service". He married Mary, heiress to "Sir John McCleod of Galway; chief of his name" who brought him five Knights fees about Listowel and Tralee, the lands of Galy, O'Brenan, and Cloghan-McKinn, amongst others in Kerry. Archdall tells us that, in her own right as heiress, Mary bore the armorial bearings of her father's family "Azure, a Tower, Argent" and that "her kindred are since commonly called McElligott".¹³ Maurice died at his house in Lixnaw in 1303, and was buried with his father in Ardfert Friary. Maurice's eldest son, Nicholas, according to Archdall, succeeded as third Lord of Kerry, and in page after page gives similar accounts to those outlined above for each successive Lord.

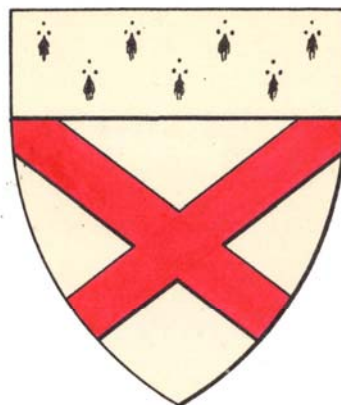
But, before leaving this, which is probably the most graphic (although not entirely accurate as we shall later see) history of the Fitzmaurices, there are two other references of interest to the Pierse family.

In the passage referring to John, the fifth Lord of Kerry, Archdall says " ... his second wife was Elinor, daughter of Garret Fitz-Pierse of Ballymac-Equim, and by her he had two sons and a daughter; Garret, ancestor to the family of Cosfeale; Robert, to those of Cloncalla; and Elinor, married to 'the White Knight'."

¹³ The arms of the Fitzmaurice family, until their later alliance with the Petty family, appear in most Peerages and Heraldic Dictionaries as Fitzmaurice (Argent, a saltire gules, a chief ermine) quartered with those of McElligott (Azure, a tower argent).



(a) FitzGerald
Earls of Kildare



(b) Fitz Maurice
Lords of Kerry



(c) Pierse
Family of Kerry



(d) McElligott
Family of Kerry

Plate III - Shields-of-Arms from Lodge's Peerage.

Much later, in reference to Patrick Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Maurice, the seventeenth Lord of Kerry, who was born in 1541 and died at Downloagh on the 12th August, 1600, we are told, he married secondly Elenor, daughter of Thomas Fitz-Gerald of Ballyglighin in the county of Limerick, Esq., had two sons, the eldest of whom, Captain Gerald Fitzmaurice, married Catherine, daughter of John Pierse of Ballymac-Equim, Esq., and had an only son Gerald who died unmarried in 1673.

Finally, before considering the next version of the early Fitzmaurices' history, a word or two concerning the shields-of-arms referred to in Archdall's account.

All arms mentioned are shewn in Plate III. The first (a) is that of the early FitzGerald, Earls of Leinster, and is the basic shield-of-arms of the Geraldine families. The next (b) is that of the FitzMaurices, Lords of Kerry and differs from (a) in the respect that a "chief ermine" has been added. From the very earliest times when the science of heraldry was first instituted as a method by which warriors could be easily identified on the field of battle, it became necessary to differentiate between fathers and sons, brothers and cousins, and so on. This difficulty was overcome by developing a system of cadency or "differencing" as it is sometimes called. These cadency marks, which were clearly defined, included the addition of birds, stars, fleurs-de-lys, and other devices, to the basic coat, and will be found in any manual Heraldry. A strip of ermine fur, later conventionalised to a white strip with black spots and tufts, is one of such methods of "differencing", and was that chosen to distinguish FitzMaurice from FitzGerald. Hence Archdall's observation "the unerring testimony of the addition of a chief, ermine, to his coat-armour, to distinguish him (William Fitz Gerald) and his posterity from the eldest of the family". The third shield shewn (c) would be that, if ever borne, of Pierse Fitzmaurice, who, as the younger brother of an heir to a title, would be required to differ from the coat-armour of the senior house by the addition of a crescent, which the heraldic system requires of a second son. This shield-of-arms as we will later find, was that actually used by the descendants of Pierse Fitzmaurice.

Fifteen years before Archdall's edition of Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland" was published, but twenty-nine years after John Lodge's own "History of the Kildare and Desmond FitzGerald", that is in 1774, Dr. Charles Smith published his "Ancient and Present State of the County of Kerry" by which he has since become known as "The Historian of Kerry". As naturally would be expected, he devoted space in his history to an account of the Fitzmaurices. However, in the earlier part of his book he says: "I should have given some account of the principal English families, who settled in this country from the time of Henry II to the end of Q. Elizabeth's reign, and the chief of them in point of antiquity, were undoubtedly the family of Fitzmaurice who were the posterity of Raymond le Grosse, and also, that branch of the Fitz-Gerald, who were earls of Desmond, but, the genealogical history of both these families, having been professedly treated of in the Peerage of Ireland, lately published by Mr. Lodge, I shall beg leave to refer the reader to that Work, where he will meet with more satisfaction, than in any imperfect abstract, that might be taken from the same." Nevertheless, some 160 pages later, Dr. Smith seems to have changed his mind and gives a fair précis of Archdall's account, given above. In only one respect does he differ in his statement concerning Pierse Fitzmaurice, which, on the face appears trifling. It is that after ".... the families of Minegehan, Ballymac-Equim and Croshnishane" he adds "in this barony (Clanmaurice)". As will be later noticed, no writer referring to Croshnishane or CrossmacShane has ever accurately defined its location; it has been described as, in Clanmaurice, in adjacent Truchanacmy, and even in Irraghticonnor - three baronies covering an area of something like 1,000 square miles! However it is not at present our concern. To proceed with the next history of the Fitzmaurices.

This was by Miss M.F. Cussack, known as the "Nun of Kerry", who besides many other major works including a "History of Ireland", published in 1871 her "History of the Kingdom of Kerry". In this account we are carried back many years before the *Otherus* of the Segar Pedigree in an attempt to link the FitzGeralds with an ancient and noble family of Florence, in Italy, known as the Gherardini. The theory of the FitzGeralds and allied families being descendants of the Florentine Gherardini would appear to have been based purely on legend, but Miss Cussack says: "There can be very little doubt that this descent is lawfully derived, for an interesting epistle is still extant which Gerald, earl of Kildare, wrote in reply to a letter from the Gherardini of Tuscany, in the reign of Henry VII.¹⁴ In this document he requests them to communicate anything they can of the origin of their house, their numbers, and their ancestors". Miss Cussack continues: "He informs them that it will give him the greatest pleasure to send them hawks, falcons, horses, or hounds, or anything that he can produce which they may desire. He concludes:-

'God be with you; love us in return.

Gerald, Chief in Ireland of the family of

Gherardini, earl of Kildare, viceroy of

the most serene kings of England in Ireland'."

This quotation, Miss Cussack appears to have taken from the "Gherardini MSS" given as an Appendix to Father Dominic O'Daly's "History of the Geraldines, Earls of Desmond", written c.1655 and translated and edited by C.P. Meehan in 1878. As the remainder of Miss Cussack's account is a repetition of accounts by other authors already given, we might here conveniently digress for a few lines upon the Gherardini descent theory.

Father O'Daly "the learned Dominican" outlines the results of his study in the dedication of his book to Their Eminences Antony and Francis Barberini, Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church; he says:-

"In the land of Hetruria there flourished once a mighty vine thither transplanted from the desolated plains of Troy. Florence claimed this beauteous plant her own; and well might she glory in it, for 'its branches stretched forth unto the sea, and its boughs unto the river'. From the banks of the Arno and the shores of the blue Tyrrhene Sea the branches of that great tree extended themselves to the far off land of Erin. That tree was the noble race of the Geraldines, who, under the shadow of Tuscan banners, penetrated regions whither Roman legions never dared to venture ... The history of this Florentine family has been my special study; for it is intimately associated with that of my religion and my country; and fondly does she cherish the memory of the Geraldines".

Now, if the descent of the Irish Geraldines from the Gherardini, Dukes of Tuscany, were true, it would naturally be expected that in the armorial bearings of the respective families (which must be

¹⁴ The letter was actually written in the year 1507; see "The Ancestor", No. 1, April, 1902 - The origin

accepted as unimpeachable authority), some similarity would occur. The Arms of the Gherardini, however, were "Gules, three bars vair", and a blazon of the Arms of this house, as given, together with a crest of a bird (raven?) holding in its dexter claw an annulet, and standing on a nest from which a young bird's head emerges, was possessed by a member of this house, Count Passerini of Florence¹⁵. The "argent, a saltire gules" of the Geraldines resembles this in no possible way. It would appear that the connection between the two families arose simply out of the similarity of the two names; but the origin of the one is derived from an entirely different source from that of the other.

To resume the series of précis of Fitzmaurice pedigrees, we refer next to that written by Miss Mary Agnes Hickson, and which was published in 1872, in her famous "Selections from Old Kerry Records". Here again we need not dwell for her account again is based closely upon that of Archdall. But from her opening paragraph on the Lords of Kerry, it is apparent that Miss Hickson realized only too well the need for a detailed history of the family; she says:- "As I have elsewhere said, the lineage and history of the illustrious house of Fitzmaurice, a branch of the old Geraldine tree, would require a volume to do it simple justice". It is probably because of the enormity of the task she had already set herself - that of writing a much needed detailed history of Kerry, entailing years of careful research - that she could not at that period give her time to another equally intricate study. So for the time being at least she was satisfied with Archdall's account.

A few years later, in 1881, John O'Bart, Q.U.I., published his "Irish Pedigrees". This work, whilst providing us with a ready-to-hand account of, one would think, all Irish families, has been viewed rather sceptically by genealogists in point of the validity of certain of the numerous pedigrees included. The pedigree of Fitzgerald, Earls of Kildare and Dukes of Leinster commences with "Otho Geraldino, who, according to the Battle Abbey Book came into England from Normandy with William the Conqueror, and was one of his chief commanders; and, according to Sir William Dugdale's 'Baronage of England', was in the sixth year of the reign of that king, created a baron"

For the pedigree of Fitzgerald, Earls of Desmond, we are referred to "The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland", Quarterly Number, July, 1876, and in the same Journal, Quarterly Number, January, 1880, to a paper "The Geraldines of Desmond".

The pedigree of Fitzmaurice, Lords of Kerry and Lixnaw, again is similar to that of Archdall, except that the issue of Thomas, first Lord, is shewn:-

- "1. Maurice (heir and successor);
2. Thomas (the last heir-general of this Thomas Fitzmaurice was Elis - or Elizabeth - who was grandmother of Charles, the last 'O'Conor Kerry'), ancestor of *Fitzmaurice* of Liscahan and Kilfenora;

of the FitzGerald.

¹⁵ See Journal of the Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc., Vol.XXII (Second Series), 1916; "The Arms, Crests, Mottoes and Slogans of the Geraldines" by Gabriel O'Connell Redmond, M.R.C.P.I.

3. Piers, who was the ancestor of *Fitzmaurice* of Ballymacquim, and of MacShaen of Crossmacshaen, the last of whom was attainted in Queen Elizabeth's reign".

Unfortunately, as with so much of O'Hart's novel detail, no reference to the source from which this information was derived is given.

For our last example of a Fitzmaurice pedigree we turn again to Miss Hickson. This careful historian, it seems, having given Kerry folk the best historical account of their (and her) native county, detected the rift in the then accepted origin of the Fitzmaurice family. A fresh and original argument from her appeared in a paper "Ardfert Friary and the Fitzmaurices, Lords of Kerry", submitted to, and published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, for which she was the Honorary Local Secretary for Kerry.¹⁶ Miss Hickson shews that there is not a particle of trustworthy evidence to prove that Raymond Le Gros (hitherto regarded as the primogenital ancestor of the Fitzmaurices) left any issue.

In fact, upon referring to Giraldus Cambrensis (Raymond's first cousin) in his "Description of John de Courcy",¹⁷ we read: "One thing, however, is very remarkable, and I cannot forbear mentioning it, that four of the main pillars of the English power in the conquest of Ireland, namely, Fitz-Stephen, Hervey, Raymond, and John. de Courcy, by some mysterious, though doubtless just, dispensation of Providence, had no lawful issue by their wives. I might add to those a fifth, Meyler who, although he be married, has yet no child by his wife".

Miss Hickson tells us that it is, therefore, amongst some of Raymond's numerous nephews and grand-nephews, living in the thirteenth century in Leinster, Munster and Connaught, that we must look for the heirs of such lands as he, with the help of his brothers, acquired in Ireland. State Papers prove that the founder of Ardfert Friary (Thomas, 1st Lord) was not the first to assume the surname Fitz Maurice; many generations after that date, the Lords of Kerry used patronymics as did their Geraldine cousins of Desmond and Leinster, causing some confusion in their genealogies before the creation of the Earldoms of Desmond and Kildare. The account continues, State Papers of 1203 - 1210 prove that the lands, or some of them, of Rattoo, Ballyheige and Killury (later parishes in Clanmaurice Barony) belonged to Meyler Fitz Henry, thus we may accept as true the traditions of the marriage and dowry of Joanna, the daughter (or, Miss Hickson says - really a niece) of Meyler Fitz Henry to Maurice Fitz Raymond. But, the authoress suggests, Maurice's father was not Raymond Le Gros (according to Archdall), who died in 1183, but Raymond Fitz Griffin, whose father, Griffin Fitz William, was a younger brother to Raymond Le Gros.

Lastly, Miss Hickson lays doubt to the tradition that Thomas FitzMaurice, son and heir of Maurice and his FitzHenry wife married a daughter of King Dermot Mac Murrough of 1170, as "chronology and history alike prove that it cannot be correct, and we must, therefore, reject it". More

¹⁶ See the Journal of the Proceedings of the R.S.A.I. Part 3, Vol. V, 5th Series - 3rd Quarter, Sept., 1897, and continued in Vol. VI, 5th Series.

likely, she suggests, Thomas's wife was Grace, or Grany, Gillaholmoe, great-great-grand-daughter of King Dermot Mac Murrough!

By her paper; then, Miss Hickson made it painfully obvious that, if the true facts were to be known, the homely old legends surrounding the origin of the Fitzmaurices, would at last have to be abandoned. Her summing-up of her fresh theory, which upon reflection will be seen to negate all the accounts presented up to this time, may itself serve as a key-note to end this Chapter covering nearly three hundred years of Fitzmaurice Pedigree making:-

"I do not insist that this short table of descents, framed, after carefully collating the thirteenth-century State Papers and monastic chartularies with the traditions of Kerry, for six hundred years is indisputably correct. But I maintain that it has reason and history to support it, and is much more likely to be correct than any other put forth up to the present time (1897), founded on the mythical traditions about a supposed son of Raymond Le Gros, whose cousin - germain, contemporary and loving admirer, Geraldus Cambrensis, says left no children by his wife Basilia De Clare, and whose illegitimate son, if he ever existed (we have not a particle of proof he ever did exist), would assuredly never have been allowed by his De Carew and Fitz Griffin cousins to seize on the lands of their uncle, which lands they helped him to acquire in Desmond and Kerry...."

¹⁷ "The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis", Ed. Thomas Wright, M.A., etc. Pub. 1863, p. 282.

CHAPTER III - THE GERALDINES

As we have already seen in the preceding chapter, even at the close of the 19th Century the relationship of the early Fitzgeralds was a matter of much uncertainty whilst the origin of the Fitzmaurices of Co. Kerry was purely speculative.

In fairness to the 19th Century and earlier pedigree writers, however, it must be pointed out that in order to obtain factual support for their claims, they had to struggle through piles of early unsorted manuscripts lodged in widely separated libraries and record offices. Nowadays, with the more easily accessible, much simpler to read, and carefully indexed printed Calendars to the State Papers, the original finding and subsequent corroboration of references makes genealogical research considerably less arduous.

Thus, in 1902, as already stated, Dr. Round compiled the first pedigree of the early Fitzgeralds based solely upon documentary evidence. Basing his research upon workable foundation, Dr. Orpen followed, in 1914, with his "Origin of the Fitzmaurices, Barons of Kerry and Lixnaw", similarly devoid of unsubstantiable legend. Now, since both of these papers were necessarily submitted in the form of arguments drawing comparisons from evidence relating to one member of the family with another, much of which becomes irrelevant when the *results* of the researches of these learned historians are accepted, a complete synopsis of neither will be given here. No doubt interested readers will follow the actual accounts for themselves from the references given in the preceding Chapter. Instead, we will follow the lines of descent of the three main branches of the Geraldine House - Kildare, Desmond and Kerry - with supplementary details from other writers not objected to by Drs. Round and Orpen in their skeleton accounts.

To begin, Dr. Round first discards the descent of the Fitzgeralds from the Gherardini, Dukes of Tuscany, as being incapable of factual support, and commences with "Dominus Otho".

Otho or *Other* or *Othere*,¹⁸ is said to have been, in 1057 (16 Edward the Confessor), an honorary baron of England. This statement is attributed to Sir William Dugdale, who, unfortunately, does not give the source of his information. Some writers in opposition, say that Otho came with William the Conqueror as one of his chief commanders and was, in 1072 (6 William I), created a baron. In support of this latter argument, it is alleged that his name appeared in the Battle Abbey Book, which, as already referred to in Chapter I, contained the names of those who came with William into England. This Book, or more accurately, Roll, was supposed to have hung in the Abbey of Battle in Sussex, and several copies of it, we are told, were made from time to time. One thing is certain, that is, that the copies were made with varying degrees of accuracy! At least six printed versions are known to exist including one by Holingshed and one by Stowe, the eminent historians,

¹⁸ Henceforth, to enable the reader to trace easily the direct descent of the Pierse family from father to son, the appropriate names in the line are underlined (ed. italicised). To maintain continuity, however, the names of all

but so differing from one another that the former contains nearly two-hundred names more than the latter.¹⁹ Even in Holingshed's "expanded" version, the name Otho or any similar form of the name is not mentioned; the nearest in similarity is that of Odo, Bishop of Bayeaux! In spite of this we cannot be sure that Otho did not "come over with the Conqueror" for most authorities today place little faith in the accuracy of any version of the Roll, and were Otho's name actually mentioned, it would be regarded with the same degree of suspicion as any other.

That there actually was a Dominus Otho, there can be no doubt, for we find indisputable record of his son Walter.

Walter fitz Otho, as far as we can trace, is first mentioned about ten years after the Norman Invasion in the so-called Domesday Book. This "Book" was compiled in 1086 by order of William I, who, in order to tax his subjects in proportion to their abilities, required a general survey of all the lands in his Kingdom together with details of their extent, value and kind, and the names of their inhabitants. It need hardly be stated that most of the chief proprietors were William's own Norman Barons who had been granted lands in return for their services.

Here we find Walter fitz Otho, recorded as "Walterius filius Other" as tenant-in-chief of a compact block of counties, Surrey ("Sudrie"), Hampshire ("Hantes"), Berkshire ("Berroches"), Middlesex ("Midelsexe"), and Buckinghamshire ("Bockinghsc"), and also holder of Winchfield ("Wildehel") in Hampshire under Chertsey Abbey. Walter was also castellan²⁰ of Windsor, and, in his private capacity as a tenant-in-chief, he held a barony reckoned at fifteen or twenty knight's fees and owing fifteen knight's as castle guard to Windsor.

The next reference to Walter after Domesday we find in the Abingdon Cartulary where it is recorded that Walter fitz Other, Castellan of Windsor, restored to Abbot Faricius the woods of "Virdele" and Bagshot, which he had previously held by consent of the abbot's predecessors Aethelelm and Reinald. It is stated that Walter made this restoration in the first place at Windsor Castle, and that he afterwards sent his wife Beatrice with his son William to Abingdon in order that they might confirm what he himself had done at home. From this record, Dr. Round deduces that Walter was still living after the year 1100 for Abbot Faritius ruled the house from 1100-1116, Abbot Aethelelm having died in 1084, and that Beatrice was Walter's wife and not Gladys, the daughter of Rhiwallon ap Cynfyn, Prince of North Wales, as had hitherto been assumed.

William fitz Walter, the eldest son and heir, succeeded to his father's estates, and was the ancestor of the de Windsor and allied families. It is of interest that the shield-of-arms of the de Windsors as well as the Geraldines - that of a plain saltire - confirms their common origin, and places the adoption of the charge by their common ancestors back to a very early date. It is recorded that the shield-of-arms of William, eldest son of Walter fitz Otho, was "Gules, a saltire argent, between 12

offspring are given (as accurately as can be determined) in correct birth sequence; see Genealogical Chart, Plate V on page 33.

¹⁹ See "The Genealogists' Magazine", Vol.1, No. 1, April 1925, et seq.

cross crosslets or", that is to say, a red shield superimposed with a white St. Patrick's cross, with three gold crosses with bars on the arms, in each of the four corners.²¹

William had several brothers, the youngest of whom was Gerald, called Gerald fitz Walter or more commonly, Gerald de Windsor.

Gerald de Windsor is spoken of by his grandson, the famous historian Gerald de Barry - (commonly known as Giraldus Cambrensis), as the constable and. captain of Arnulf de Montgomerie who raised the castle of Pembroke and placed him in charge thereof under Wiilliam Rufus. Dr. Round, referring to "Itinerarium Kambriae" (Giraldus Cambrensis), tells us that: "The gallant defence of that fortress against the Welsh and the slim stratagems by which Gerald induced them to abandon the seige are narrated with delight by his descendant, who adds that, to strengthen his position in the district, he married Nesta, the sister of Griffith, Prince of South Wales, who bore to him famous children, by whom the southern coast of Wales was saved for the English and the bulwarks of Ireland stormed".

Giraldus Cambrensis also tells us that, in the early days of the reign of Henry I, Gerald de Windsor, whom he describes in one of his histories as "a worthy, discreet man", was sent with others to Ireland by his lord Arnuff to seek the hand of King Murcard's daughter for him and was successful. Subsequent to the fall of Arnuff, Gerald obtained from the King the castle of Pembroke, which, it appears, he later rebuilt "in the place called "Little Angarth". It was here that, in 1105, he deposited all his riches, with his wife and his heirs, and all dear to him, and which he "fortified with a ditch and wall, and a gateway with a lock on it". In the following year occurred the tragic incident of the surprise by night of Pembroke Castle by Owen, son of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, Chief Lord of Cardiganshire, in which Gerald himself made a narrow escape but his wife and children were carried off by the "fiery Welshman". Gerald was afterwards able to avenge this outrage by killing Owen, and later he was made president of the County of Pembroke. Gerald's wife Nesta, apparently, was a very beautiful woman but, as Miss Cussack adds, "not very moral" having previous to her marriage to Gerald, been "mistress of Henry I, and wife of Stephen, constable of Cardigan".

Regarding the armorial bearings of Gerald de Windsor, we read that "Mullonex²² describes them as:- Three Starrs, three Vyne branches, and a Speare (the latter having been added to the Arms by Julius Caesar), and as Crest, a Wild Boar". It is suggested that these insignia were borne by Gerald's ancestors when they conquered Hungary, and in latter times they bore as supporters the Dragon of 'Wales, "having co-operated in the conquest of that kingdom".* Further, we are told that when they established themselves in Ireland in the time of Henry II, the ancient devices described

²⁰ Keeper.

²¹ See the Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, Vol. XXII (second series), 1916 - "The Arms, Crests, Mottoes and Slogans of the Geraldines" by Gabriel O'Connell Redmond, M.R.C.P.I.

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* At this point in the typescript appear some pages of extracts from the Domesday Book. These have been moved to Chapter XXII where presumably they were originally intended to go.

were abandoned as not being in accordance with the "chivalric and boisterous" era of the Crusades, but retained the "Saltire gules" of Gerald.²³

Dr. Round, it appears, has been unable to establish the date of Gerald de Windsor's death, but in 1135, and later in 1145, it is known that his sons were fighting the Welsh at the head of the French and Flemings. This Gerald, then, was the eponymous ancestor of the Geraldines - the Fitzgerald families in Ireland.

Of his sons, we are told, the best authority is their nephew Gerald the Historian - the Giraldus Cambrensis already referred to - "whose autobiography contains a passage of great genealogical interest". Dr. Round condenses:- "Towards the end of the reign of Henry II, Rhys ap Griffin, who had come to meet the envoys of the king, namely Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ranulf de Glanville, Chief Justice, was sitting at table in the house of William de Ver, Bishop of Hereford (1186-99), between the bishop and Walter FitzRobert, a noble baron, who like the bishop was of the Clares family. Gerald (Giraldus Cambrensis), historian and archdeacon, chaffingly congratulated the Welshman on sitting between two of the Clares, of whose inheritance, namely Cardigan, he was in possession. The prince turned the jest aside by a graceful compliment, which the bishop returned, and "after the midday slumber" they all went out on to the lawn, where Rhys recited the names of Nesta's "matrimonial adventures". William FitzGerald he named first, Maurice fourth, and David the Bishop last. He spoke of the lands they had acquired in Wales and of those they had conquered in Ireland, adding that 'their conquest there was great, if only they could keep it'. And this he added, observes the narrator, 'because these two nations, the Welsh and the Irish, ever feed upon the hope that they will recover the lands taken from them by the English' ".

William Fitz Gerald, the eldest son of Gerald de Windsor, was the father of Raymond, commonly called le Gros from his stature, and of Griffith. Raymond le Gros was acclaimed by the early pedigree writers as the ancestor of the Fitzmaurices of Kerry, but, as we have already seen, no documentary evidence has yet been discovered (nor is it likely ever to be discovered) to prove this allegation. Of the history of Raymond le Gros, much has already been written - in fact in many Irish history books he occupies a chapter to himself. Suffice it to say that in 1177 Raymond became the first Viceroy of Ireland.

Maurice fitz Gerald was the second son of Gerald de Windsor, and was amongst the first of the Norman invaders of Ireland. It will be remembered that Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster in Ireland, being engaged in war during the latter half of the 12th Century with Tiernan O'Rourke, King of Brefney, fled to England to seek the aid of Henry II. At that time, in 1168, King Henry himself was at war in Aquitaine with the King of France. Dermot, reaching Aquitaine, presented himself before Henry and entreated him for assistance against O'Rourke, offering in reward to hold his

²³ See footnote 21 on page 23. Whilst the present author does not profess to be an authority on Geraldine shields-of-arms, it would appear that these claims, particularly where relating to additions by Julius Caesar, are

kingdom under Henry and acknowledging him as king and master. Henry being too busily engaged himself gave letters of credence to Dermot authorising him to recruit any Norman adventurers on the Welsh marches who might care to assist him in Ireland. At Bristol Dermot secured the services of Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, better known as Richard Strongbow, and at St. David's in Wales, enlisted the aid of Maurice fitz Gerald and his half-brother Robert fitz Stephen (Nesta of Wales was their common mother) amongst others of the Geraldine family. To Strongbow Dermot offered in reward the hand in marriage of his daughter, and upon his death the kingdom of Leinster, and to Maurice and Stephen he promised the town of Wexford and the adjoining district.

In May, 1169, an expeditionary force of 100 knights and men-at-arms in coats of mail and about 600 archers, who with other foot soldiers comprised a total force of something like 2,000 men, under the leadership of Robert fitz Stephen and Maurice Prendergast landed at Bannow in Wexford.

A month or so later, a fresh force under Maurice fitz Gerald arrived, and the following year, in May 1170, Strongbow's advance guard of about 800 men under the command of Raymond le Gros landed in Ireland.

The war-cry of the Geraldines "St. David for Wales" was soon to be heard on all battle fronts, and the successes they won are common history; it would be pointless to elaborate here.

In his eye witness account of the invasion Giraldus Cambrensis gives a description of his uncle, Maurice fitz Gerald, which perhaps, will not be amiss here; he says:

"This Maurice was a man of dignified aspect and modest bearing, of a ruddy complexion and good features. He was of the middle height, neither tall nor short. In him, both in person and temper, moderation was the rule; the one was well proportioned, the other equable. Maurice was naturally of an excellent disposition, but he was much more anxious to be good than to appear such. He so goverend all his conduct that by both morals and courtesy he may be considered the pattern and model of his country and times. He was a man of few words, but his language was polished and there was more sense than sound, more reason than eloquence, in what he said; and when the occasion demanded it, he gave his opinion, though deliberately, with great intelligence. In war he was intrepid, and second to no man in valour; but he did not run headlong into danger, and though prudent in making attacks was resolute in defence. He was sober, modest, chaste, constant, firm and faithfully; a man not altogether without fault, but not stained by any great and notorious crime".

Maurice, Dapifer of St. David's in Wales, and first Baron of Naas in Ireland, married Alice de Montgomery, by whom he had several children: William, Gerald, Alexander, Thomas and Nesta. He died in the year 1176, and was succeeded by William fitz Maurice, his eldest son and heir, who married Aline, daughter of Richard Strongbow. Gerald fitz Maurice, second son to Maurice, married

not a little fantastic. However, since Mr. Gabriel O'Connell Redmond, seemed to have made a special study of

Eve de Birmingham, and was the first of a succession line of Barons of Offaly, the 5th of whom by reversion was John fitz Thomas. This John became the first of the long line of Earls of Kildare, who now by a glorious succession of honours are represented by the present Duke of Leinster - the only Dukedom in the Peerage of Ireland. Thus from Gerald fitz Maurice descended the senior branch of the Geraldine tree. The Kildare Fitzgeralds bore on their shields-of-arms "Argent, a saltire gules", which is to say, a white shield with a red St. Patrick's cross; their battle-cry and motto was "Crom-a-boo", or "Croom for ever".

Thomas fitz Maurice was the youngest son of Maurice fitz Gerald, and it is with Thomas that Dr. Orpen takes over from Dr. Round the history of the early Fitzgeralds of Desmond and Fitzmaurices of Kerry. Thomas, it appears, was too young actually to take part with his father and elder brothers in the invasion of Ireland, and Dr. Orpen surmises, it was probably due to this very fact that he was not mentioned by his cousin Giraldus Cambrensis in his history of the conquest.

However, during the years 1197-1200 we find Thomas and his brothers William, Baron of Naas, and Gerald, Baron of Offaly, concerned as sharers in the exploitation of lands in Limerick. Thomas obtained lands in the Manor of Costello, making his seat at Shanid. In 1210, Thomas, together with Geoffrey de Marisco, who had married his brother Gerald's widow, led a large force from Munster to join King John's army in Ireland. The following year he took part in the Declaration of Loyalty to King John. Thomas died in the winter of 1213-14, leaving two sons by his wife Sabine.

John fitz Thomas, apparently was the elder of the two boys since he inherited his father's estate of Connello, and was the ancestor of the Fitzgeralds, Earls of Desmond, and Geraldines in that district. The Desmond Fitzgeralds bore on their shields-of-arms "Ermine, a saltire gules", which is the same design and colour as that of their Kildare cousins, but that the "field" was spotted with black tufts to shew that they were from a junior branch. Their battle-cry and motto was "Shanit a boo" derived from Shanid their original seat in Munster.

Maurice fitz Thomas, the younger of Thomas's sons, Dr. Orpen shews to be the eponymous ancestor of the Fitzmaurices, Barons of Kerry and Lixnaw. Maurice, it appears, was born about the year 1197, and, according to the custom of that time, prior to his father's death was kept a hostage at the court of King John. Upon his father's death Maurice was released and brought to Ireland to assume his inheritance. He appears to have been settled in an estate called Altry in North Kerry, which he held until his death sometime before the year 1253.

Thomas fitz Maurice, son and heir to Maurice fitz Thomas, is referred to by Archdall as the first Lord of Kerry, and it was he who built Ardfert Friary in 1253 and died in 1280. Thomas, then was the first of the line of Lord of Kerry, and grandfather to Pierse fitz Maurice, ancestor to the Pierse families of Co. Kerry.

the subject, it would be ungracious of us if we were to disregard entirely the results of his research.

Here we come to the end of the research by Drs. Round and Orpen, and, from the next Chapter on we will be left on our own to follow the subsequent history of the Fitzmaurices of Kerry.

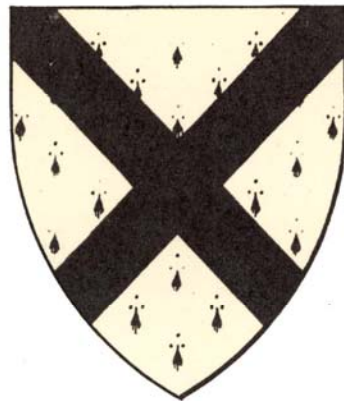
One point of especial interest in Dr. Orpen's paper, however, is that relating to the shield-of-arms of the Fitzmaurices. He says that, in a reply from George Dames Burtchaell, Athlone Pursuivant, at the Office of Arms in Dublin, acknowledging a copy of his paper "The Origin of the Fitzmaurices", Burtchaell states: "I doubt if the suggested descent from Raymond le Gros is older than the pedigree compiled by Sir William Segar in 1615. Lodge refers to this in his Peerage published in 1754 under *Kildare* and *Kerry* ... As to the 'unerring testimony' of the Arms of the Lord Kerry, the Arms, as now borne are no older than the Pedigree of 1615. For I find in the oldest armouries in this office 'FitzMaurice Lord of Liksnaw - Ermine, a saltire sable; Sir Thomas FitzMaurice, Lord of Kerey and Baron of Leksnow - Ermine, on a saltire gules five annulets argent; and FitzMaurice Baron of Kerry - Per saltire, ermine and argent, a saltire gules'. These go to show that before the establishment of this Office their Arms were uncertain; but assuming that the first two coats were actually borne, that the family was a cadet of the house of Desmond whose arms were "Ermine, a saltire gules".

The shields-of-arms referred above, are depicted in Plate IV in the order in which they are mentioned. It is easy to see the manner in which the differences from the basic shield evolved. The basic shield "Argent, a saltire gules" has already been referred to and illustrated in Plate III (a). The cross in saltire form is known in heraldic parlance as an "honourable ordinary" and is sometimes referred to as a "St. Patrick's Cross". An amusing theory suggested by a student in heraldry is that, since St. Patrick was not a martyr, there can be no such thing as a "St. Patrick's cross". The cross embodied in the British Union Flag is no more, the whimsical student alleges, than the "argent, a saltire gules" of the Geraldines! However, the Desmond branch of the family "differed" from the senior by using ermine instead of argent, as shewn in Plate IV (d). From the evidence of the Athlone Pursuivant given above, it would appear that the Fitzmaurices "differed" from the Desmond Fitzgeralds firstly by changing the tincture of the cross from red to black, as in (a). Then probably regretful at losing the famous red cross, they restored it, but with "annulets" in order to retain a "difference", as in (b). The use of "annulets" or rings, usually of one of the predominant colours in the shield, was by no means a rarity. The annulet in the heraldic cadency system denotes, as a rule, the fifth son, and, in early days, as if to bear emphasis, often appeared five times on the shield.

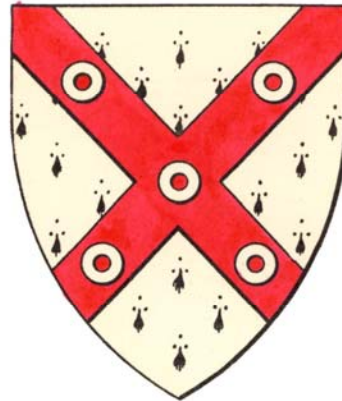
It is of interest to note that this identical arrangement of differencing was also used by Fitzgerald (Fitzgarret) of Rath, co. Meath in 1624, and Fitzgerald of Drumany, co. Waterford in 1626.²⁴ The third shield (c) shews a further return to a closer conformity with the Desmond arms, in effect, restoring the ermine field at the sides of the saltire to the original argent. It was but a small step

²⁴ See "Funerary Certificates in Ireland", ADDL. MSS. 4820, British Museum.

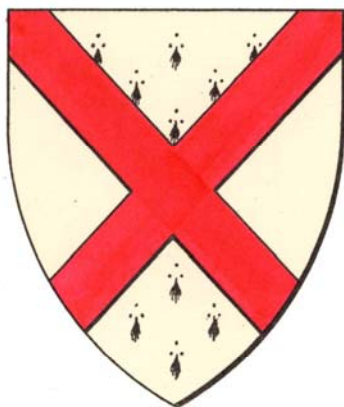
from this to the present shield, requiring only the restoration of the lower quarter to argent, and transforming the remaining upper ermine triangle into the plainer ermine "chief", described by Lodge.



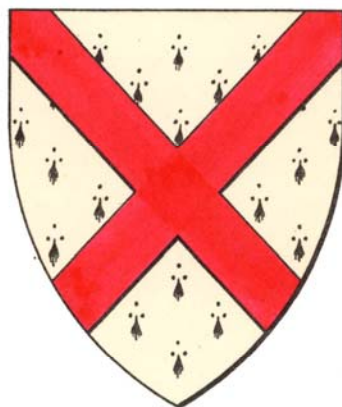
(a) FitzMaurice
Lord of Liksnow



(b) Sir Thomas FitzMaurice
Lord of Kerey & Baron of Leksnow



(c) FitzMaurice
Baron of Kerry



(d) FitzGerald
Earls of Desmond

Plate IV - Shields-of-Arms of early Lords of Kerry.

Early records of the Geraldine shields-of-arms are most interesting: that of Raymond le Gros was described as being "Gules, a saltire argent between twelve cross crosslets or", which will be seen to be the same as that borne by his father William fitz Walter, mentioned earlier in this Chapter.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford there is an early manuscript, stated to be as old as the middle of the 14th Century, in which the arms of the Kildare family "argent a saltire gules" are painted on vellum.²⁵

For many years it was thought that the Kildare family was a cadet of the Desmond House, and an early writer commenting on this wrote ²⁶:- "As for the Coate of Arms of the familie (Geraldine), before the division (i.e. into Kildare and Desmond), and from the beginning thereof, the Saltyer was plain without Ermine, but the Crest was a Bore (Boar), and was borne by the House of Desmond, and not the Monkey, and the reason of bearing the Ancient Coate by the FitzGerald of Kildare, may bee from (being) the first dignified with the Earldom".

It was upon such theories as this that many of the pre-Round and Orpen genealogists foraged for the truth regarding the relative seniority of the branches of the Geraldine tree.

In conclusion, the following quotation from another of Dr. Orpen's works ²⁷ is apropos: "Like other families, they (the Geraldines) have had their ups and downs of fortune, and some lines have become extinct or indistinguishable, but it is hardly too much to say that there has not been a moment in the history of Ireland for seven centuries past when some descendant of Gerald of Windsor has not been conspicuous amongst Irishmen for his position, his power, or his abilities". From the next chapter on, we will try to follow the "ups and downs of fortune" of one particular little line, which, although yet not extinct, has in parts almost become indistinguishable; the renunciation of one name and the adoption of a new is as good a way as any for the purpose of confusing identity.

There follows a poem by Thomas Davis (a Protestant barrister from Cork in the 19th Century), which although somewhat anachronistic to the period covered so far, gives a further indication of the legend surrounding the origin of the Geraldines current but a few years before Dr. Round's elucidation.

Finally, a genealogical chart (Plate V) shewing the descent and distribution of the Geraldine families, based upon the researches of Drs. Round and Orpen, with additions from a chart "The Geraldines" which appears in the "G.E.C. Complete Peerage".²⁸

²⁵ See Rawlinson MSS. B. 484, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

²⁶ see ADDL. MSS. 4814, British Museum.

²⁷ See "Ireland under the Normans, 1169-1216", page 112 - Goddard Henry Orpen. Pub. 1911.

²⁸ See "G.E.C. The Complete Peerage", under "Kerry". Pub. London, 1929.

The Geraldines! the Geraldines! - 'tis full a thousand years
Since, 'mid the Tuscan vineyards, bright flashed their battle spears;²⁹
When Capet³⁰ seized the crown of France, their iron shields were known,
And their sabre-dint struck terror an the banks of the Garonne;
Across the downs of Hastings they spurred hard by William's side,
And the grey sands of Palestine with Moslem blood they dyed;³¹
But never then, nor thence, till now, has falsehood or disgrace
Been seen to soil Fitzgerald's plume, or mantle in his face.

The Geraldines! the Geraldines! - 'tis true in Strongbow's van,
By lawless force, as conquerors, their Irish reign began:
And, oh! through many a dark campaign they proved their prowess stern,
In Leinster's plains and Munster's vales on king and chief and kerne;³²
But noble was the cheer within the halls so rudely won,
And generous was the steel-gloved hand that had such slaughter done;
How gay their laugh, how proud their mein, you'd ask no herald's sign -³³
Among a thousand you'd have known the princely Geraldine.

These Geraldines! these Geraldines! - not long our air they breathed;
Not long they fed on venison, in Irish water seethed;
Not often had their children been by Irish mothers nursed;³⁴
When from their full and genial hearts an Irish feeling burst!
The English monarchs strove in vain, by law and force and bribe
To win from Irish thoughts and ways this "more than Irish" tribe;³⁵
For still they clung to fosterage,³⁶ to breitheamh,³⁷ cloak and bard:³⁸
What king dare say to Geraldine, "Your Irish wife discard"?

²⁹ Reference to the theory that the FitzGeralds are descended from the Gherardini, Dukes of Tuscany.

³⁰ Hugh Capet, c. 1090.

³¹ Reference to the Crusades, c. 1090-1390.

³² Kerne - lightly armed Irish foot soldier.

³³ Because of armour, individuals and families were known more by their coats-of-arms than by name.

³⁴ Refers to the Irish custom of fosterage by which children of chieftains were weaned by women of clan; this custom the Anglo-Normans adopted themselves.

³⁵ Sovereigns of England tried continuously from 1--- to 1--- to break the power of the Geraldines and were particularly concerned with the way in which they wholeheartedly (adopted) the Irish way of life; they were contemptuously described as "Hibernores ipsis Hibernores" - "More Irish than the Irish themselves".

³⁶ See note 34.

³⁷

³⁸

Ye Geraldines! ye Geraldines! - how royally ye reigned
 O'er Desmond broad, and rich Kildare, and English arts disdained:
 Your sword made knights;³⁹ your banner waved, free was your bugle call
 By Gleann's green slopes,⁴⁰ and Daingean's tide,⁴¹ from Bearbha's banks⁴² to Eochail.⁴³
 What gorgeous shrines, what beitheamh⁴⁴ love, what minstrel feasts there were
 In and around Magh Nuadhaid's keep,⁴⁵ and palace-filled Adare!⁴⁶
 But not for rite or feast ye stayed, when friend or kin were pressed:
 And foeman fled, when "Crom Abu" bespoke your lance in rest.

Ye Geraldines! ye Geraldines! since Silken Thomas flung
 King Henry's sword on council board, the English thanes among,⁴⁷
 Ye never ceased to battle brave against the English sway,
 Though axe, and brand, and treachery, your proudest cut away.
 Of Desmond's blood, though woman's veins passed on th' exhausted tide;⁴⁸
 His title lives - a Saseanach Churl usurps the lion's hide;⁴⁹
 And, though Kildare⁵⁰ tower haughtily, there's ruin at the root.
 Else why, since Edward⁵¹ fell to earth, had such a tree no fruit?

³⁹ The Geraldines had the power of king in Ireland from ____ to ____.

⁴⁰

⁴¹

⁴²

⁴³

⁴⁴

⁴⁵

⁴⁶

⁴⁷ Thomas FitzGerald, 10th Earl of Kildare (1513-1537) called "Silken Thomas" because of his rich attire, threw the Sword of State down in defiance of Henry VIII in 1534.

⁴⁸ Gerald FitzGerald, "The Great (16th) Earl" of Desmond (d. 1583) was last effective Earl of Desmond but title passed through his daughter to ...

⁴⁹ After confiscation of the title from the Desmond FitzGerald's, an English family named Fielding were bestowed with the title Earls of Desmond; the title became extinct however in 17__.

⁵⁰ __ FitzGerald __th Earl of Kildare (__ - __).

⁵¹ Lord Edward FitzGerald.

True Geraldines! brave Geraldines! as torrents mould the earth,
 You channelled deep old Ireland's heart by constancy and worth;
 When Ginckle 'leaguered Limerick,⁵² the Irish soldiers gazed
 To see if in the setting sun dead Desmond's banner blazed!
 And still it is the peasants' hope upon the Cuirreach's mere,⁵³
 'They'll live who'll see ten thousand men with good Lord Edward here⁵⁴ -
 So let them dream till brighter days, when, not by Edward's shade,
 But by some leader true as he, their lines shall be arrayed.

These Geraldines! these Geraldines! - rain wears away the rock,
 And time may wear away the tribe that stood the battle's shock;
 But ever, sure, while one is left of all that honoured race,
 In front of Ireland's chivalry is that Fitzgerald's place:
 And, though the last were dead and gone, how many a field and town,
 From Thomas Court⁵⁵ to Abbeyfield,⁵⁶ would cherish their renown?
 And men would say of valour's rise, or ancient power's decline -
 "'Twill never soar, it never shone, as did the Geraldine!"

The Geraldines! the Geraldines! - and are there any fears
 Within the sons of conquerors for full a thousand years?
 Can treason spring from out a soil bedewed with martyr's blood,
 Or has that groom a purling brook, which long rushed down a flood?
 By Desmond swept with sword and fire - by clan and keep laid low -
 By Silken Thomas and his kin - by sainted Edward, No!
 The forms of centuries rise up, and in the Irish line
 Command their son to take the post that fits the Geraldine!

⁵²

⁵³

⁵⁴ See note 51.

⁵⁵ Thomas Court

⁵⁶ Abbeyfeale

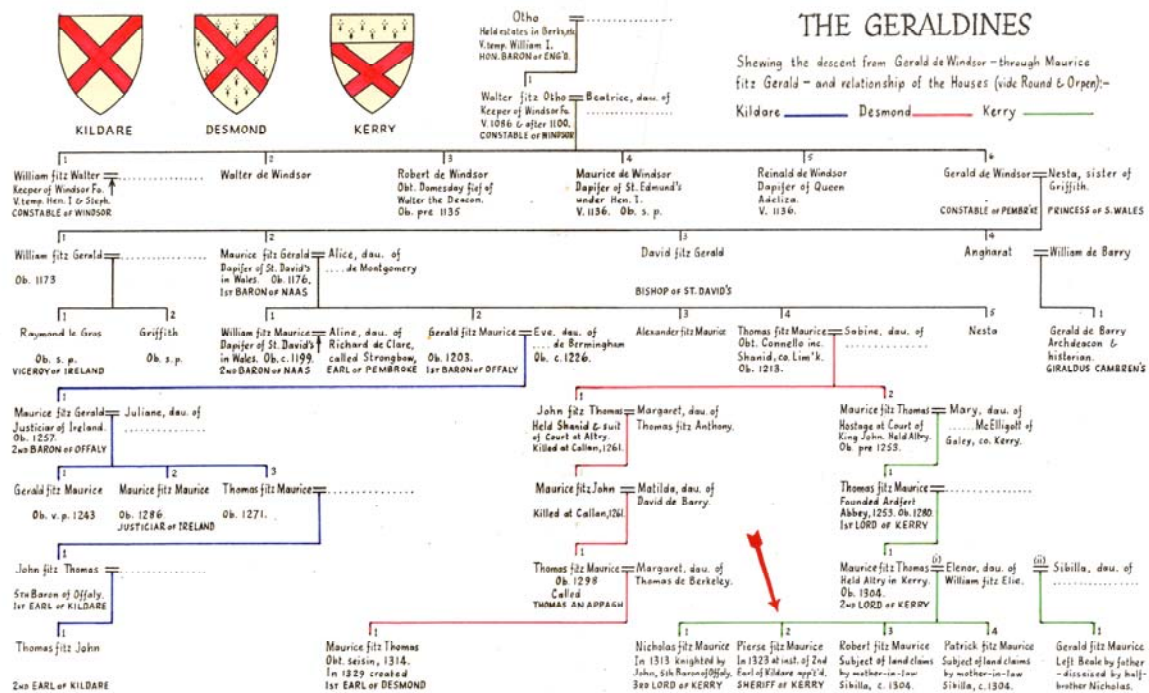


Plate V: The Geraldines, Genealogical Chart

CHAPTER IV - KERRY AND THE FITZMAURICES

During the years immediately preceding the Norman invasion in 1169, Ireland was divided into a number of kingdoms, each of which was governed by the representative of its ruling family. If, on a map of Ireland, a line is drawn through Dublin and Galway Bay, it will be seen to divide the country roughly into two halves. Of the northern half we will not be principally interested and we may, therefore, omit to name and delineate the kingdoms contained therein. The southern half contained two principal provinces, Mhumha (Munster) and Laighin (Leinster).

Mhumha included the whole of the western country and extended eastwards roughly as far as a line joining Youghal (co. Cork) and Thurles (co. Tipperary); it was again sub-divided roughly into two kingdoms - Tuadh-Mhumha (i.e. North Munster or Thomond) ruled over the O'Briens as kings of Thomond), and Deas-Mhumha (i.e. South Munster or Desmond) ruled over by the MacCarthy's, Kings of Desmond.

Laighin included the whole of the eastern country and as far west as the north-south border of Mhumha referred to above. The ruling family in Laighin were the MacMurroughs, and it will be remembered from the preceding chapter that it was Diarmuid or Dermot MacMurrough, King of Laighin (Leinster), who sought English help in his war against Tiernan O'Rourke, King of Brefni (Brefney) - one of the kingdoms in the north not mentioned here - which action resulted in the Norman Invasion.

Laighin was divided into a number of smaller territories: Laighin proper, lying to the north of the province and inland from Dublin; immediately to the south were Osraighe (Ossory) to the west, and Ui Cennselaigh, MacMurrough's immediate territory, including Wexford, to the east and south-east; in the south-west corner of the province lay Desi (Decies) ruled by the family of O'Phelan.

For many years the different kings of Ireland fought one another for the position of Ard-Ri, the High Kingship of all Ireland, possession of which dignity commanded tribute and respect from the lesser kings. At the time of the coming of the Normans, Ruaidhri O'Connor - (Rory O'Connor) - was Ard-Ri, and Ireland was a rich, fruitful country maintaining an exceedingly high standard of civilization.

We have already seen how the Norman invasion of Ireland came about, and how Maurice fitz Gerald and his brothers, nephews and cousins were successful in their battles, so we may carry on from there. In the earlier stages of the invasion, the Normans were engaged mainly in battles in the districts where they landed in Leinster, but soon fought their way northwards.

On the 18th October, 1171, King Henry II landed at the town of Crook, a little below Waterford, with an army estimated to have been of something like 10,000 men, including some 4,400 knights (or mounted soldiers) and men-at-arms. At Waterford Henry was met by Dermot MacCarthy,

King of Desmond, and at Cashel by Donall O'Brien, King of Thomond, O'Phelan of Decies, and many of the lesser rulers of the south, all of whom submitted to him and gave pledges. Henry did not stay long in Ireland and, on Easter Sunday, 17th April, 1172, he left for Normandy leaving Hugh de Lacy, one of his commanders, as his Justiciar⁵⁷ or representative, in Dublin.

A year or so after Henry's departure, Donall O'Brien of Thomond broke out in revolt and Strongbow marched towards Limerick in an attempt to suppress him. Strongbow and his army, however, were intercepted by O'Brien at Thurles (1174) where they suffered a signal defeat and lost the best part of their number.

Raymond le Gros, who had retired to Wales the preceding year, was recalled to Ireland. Raymond, much respected by the Norman troops, prepared to avenge Strongbow's defeat, and, in 1175, after a furious battle, captured Limerick and left Miles de Cogan, his cousin, in charge of a garrison there and returned to Dublin. Donall O'Brien, not to be outdone, laid siege to his former stronghold, and once again Raymond le Gros marched south. This time he roundly defeated O'Brien and finally captured and recovered Limerick.

In the year 1177, King Henry II at a Council held at Oxford, granted the "Kingdom of Cork" extending from the river Blackwater at Lismore to Brandon Head in Kerry (i.e. the old province of Desmond) to Robert FitzStephen and Milo (or Miles) de Cogan, and the "Kingdom of Limerick" (i.e. roughly Thomond) to Philip de Braose. Robert FitzStephen was the son of Stephen, castellan of Abertivy in Wales, by Nesta of Wales, and was thus a step-brother to Maurice fitz Gerald, ancestor of the Kildare, Desmond and Kerry Geraldines, and Milo de Cogan was the son of a daughter to Gerald de Windsor and so a cousin to Maurice fitz Gerald. They held the "Kingdom of Cork" for the services of 60 knight's fees.

Being granted lands and actually holding lands were two entirely different things: de Braose was driven out of his newly acquired territory by Donall O'Brien, and FitzStephen and de Cogan were obliged to come to terms with Diarmuid McCarthy, dispossessed King of Desmond, in order to maintain some at least of their granted lands. FitzStephen settled for the east and de Cogan for the west side of Cork city.

It was not until about the year 1197 that we find the Normans firmly established in the Limerick district. About this time we find the Geraldines *Thomas*, William and Gerald, sons of *Maurice fitz Gerald* were allotted estates here. *Thomas fitz Maurice*, ancestor of the Desmond Fitzgeralds and Kerry Fitzmaurices, obtained the manor of Connello in Limerick, making the mote of

⁵⁷ From this time onwards, Ireland was controlled by Governors designated by various titles; in brief, the different titles were:- *Viceroy*: representing the king; *Justiciar* or *Lord Justice*: chief governor; *Lord Lieutenant*: often a member of the English Royal Family; *Lord Deputy* or *Deputy*: acting in place of an absent Viceroy or Lord Lieutenant.

Shanid his seat; it was from this estate that he and his successors were known as "Lord Connello", and as already observed, Shanid was the object of the Desmond Fitzgeralds' war-cry "Shanit-a-boo".

Up to this time no clear attempt had been made to deal with the seaboard district lying to the extreme west of Limerick. This territory, known as Ciarraighe - the Kingdom of Ciar - now Kerry, comprised a number of small tribal lands, and at that time, was much smaller than it is today, extending only so far south as the confluence of two rivers - the Maine and the Flesk. It is difficult to say if Kerry was included in Thomond or Desmond, or whether it was, in fact, a self-contained Kingdom of its own.

At all events, it is clear that *if* Kerry was included in either of the grants from King Henry already mentioned, no grantee made an effective settlement there up to this time.

The Kingdom itself, as far as we can discover, was a small triangular shaped piece of country located about the district of Tralee. To the west lay the peninsular of Corkaguinny (now the barony of that name), eastwards, and immediately to the north of Desmond, was Aicme Ciarraighe (now included in the barony of Trughanackmy), whilst to the north as far as the river Feale in the district now known as the barony of Clanmaurice, were a number of lesser tribal lands. Of these latter, Cenn Bera - now Kerry Head stood out in the sea to the west; the plainland to the east was called Altraighe or Altry, and seems to have included the present towns of Listowel and Lixnaw. The district lying to the north of the present Clanmaurice, between the River Feale and the Shannon estuary, is now known as the barony of Irraghticonnor, and, at the period we are now considering, was ruled over by the powerful clan O'Connor.

The first mention of an attempt to deal with land in Kerry occurs in the year 1200 when King John granted to his Justiciar, Meiler fitz Henry, two cantreds of land, one "Akunkerry" or Aicme Ciarraighe (Trughanackmy as already mentioned), and the other "Huerba" or Ui Ferba (Offerba, the district about Tralee Bay). Fitz Henry also obtained a third cantred in Desmond in the district about Killarney.

Thomas fitz Maurice at this time was well seated at Shanid in Limerick, and we imagine, now advanced in years. It appears that he had two sons by his wife Sabine,⁵⁸ John and Maurice, both of whom, in accordance with the custom of that time, were detained in their minority as hostages for their father's good behaviour. Thomas fitz Maurice died in the winter of 1213-14 whilst his sons were still England at the Court of King John.

⁵⁸ For all sources of information, other than where noted by the present author, see Dr. Round's papers and the "G.E.C. Complete Peerage" referenced earlier. Following Dr. Round's original theory, many genealogists are finding evidence to support his claims and individual references are now too numerous to note separately in this short history of one line of descent from Thomas fitz Maurice.

During the year following Thomas's death, that is in 1215, we find that a system of defence in the erection of a number of castles was started, with a view to the permanent holding of the south-west of Ireland. There was no doubt that the Irish clans in Munster were very strong, and a general tightening up of control was commenced. Along the borders of Kerry and Desmond, by the sides of the river Maine, stone castles were built at Killorglin, Castlemaine, Currans, Callanafersy, Molahiffe, Clonmellan and Fieries, the last three but a mile or so from one another and connected by tunnels. The annallists ascribed the building of the Kerry castles either to "Muiris mc Tomais mc Gerailt" (i.e. Maurice fitz Thomas Fitzgerald) or to the son (or Dr. Orpen states more correctly, the grandson) of Maurice Fitzgerald.

On the 3rd July of the same year (1215), King John granted the custody of the escheated lands of Waterford and Desmond (including the greater part of Kerry) to Thomas FitzAnthony, seneschal of Leinster, and reimbursed him the expense of furnishing castles in those territories. On the 4th July, FitzAnthony received the charge of "the heirs and land" of Thomas fitz Maurice of Shanid; it would appear that the holding up of the boys' release was due to the preparation in building the castles, at least so far as Maurice the younger son was concerned.

Geoffrey de Marisco, who had earlier married the boys' uncle's widow, and had accompanied their father in bringing an army from Munster to assist King John, was, on the 6th July, 1215, appointed Justiciar of Ireland. The following day the King directed that "Maurice fitz Thomas fitz Maurice, a hostage in the custody of one Thomas Malet", should be released and delivered to Geoffrey de Marisco to be brought back with him to Ireland.

John, the elder of Thomas fitz Maurice's sons, succeeded to his father's estates of Connello and his house at Shanid. Later it appears that, due to the retirement of Meiler fitz Henry to the Monastery of Old Cornell which he had founded, and his having no legitimate children, fitz Henry's lands in Trughanackmy and Killarney became escheats and passed to John fitz Thomas. Thus this branch of the Fitzgeralds came to be settled in Desmond.

Maurice fitz Thomas, John's younger brother, was settled in Kerry in the district known as Altrej, already mentioned. It appears that he held this land subject to his brother's "suit at the Court of Maurice fitz Maurice at Altry and half the service of a knight". Maurice was probably born about 1197 and would thus be about twenty years old when he took up his estates in Kerry.

Lodge tells us that Maurice fitz Thomas married Mary, daughter and heiress of McElligott of Galey (the district north of Listowel) although it would appear that he wrongly attributed this marriage to Maurice's grandson of the same name and styling. Lodge further tells us that, as a result of this marriage, Maurice obtained five knight's fees about Listowel and Tralee and the lands of Galey, O'Brenan and Cloghan-McKinn. It is because of this supplementary information, that we can be sure that it was *this* Maurice fitz Thomas who married Mary McElligott, as we shall presently see.

A very interesting record relating to the lands held by the early Fitzmaurices in Kerry, is a document presented to Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 3rd Marquis of Landsdowne and 24th Lord of Kerry

and Lixnaw, by Sir William Betham, Ulster King-at-Arms, c. 1827, who was an extensive collector of early manuscripts. The manuscript, entitled "Ryntalle Domini de Leaksnavva in tota Kyrrigia" is at present at Bowood in Wiltshire, the home of the Lansdownes. Fortunately, access to the material contained in this interesting document, and more so the explanatory notes to it, is relatively easy, for Henry, 6th Marquis, made the Rental the subject of a paper delivered to the Royal Irish Academy.⁵⁹ The Rental, we find, contains a list of all the lands held by the contemporary Lord of Lixnaw, and, although the present manuscript appears to have been made during the early part of the 15th century, it is almost certainly a copy of an earlier document prepared in the 13th century. The reason for this belief is that lands known to have been held by the Lords of Kerry and Lixnaw from 1280 onwards are not mentioned. We do find mention, however, of the lands Mary McElligott brought to her husband. All evidence points to the fact that the original document was prepared for Maurice fitz Thomas after his release from hostage, settlement in Kerry, and subsequent marriage, as a ready-to-hand account of all his lands and the rentals he should derive from them.

In brief, the lands referred to cover the whole of the present barony of Clanmaurice, with the exception of the parishes of Rattoo, Killury and Ballyheige, and also some lands in the present barony of Irraghticonnor. It seems not a little curious that the three parishes in Clanmaurice not mentioned, were indeed those which Lodge says Maurice, the supposed son of Raymond le Gros, acquired upon his marriage to Johanna, daughter of Miles fitz Henry, and which his descendant Nicholas fitz Maurice (actually his great-grandson) gave in marriage with the latter's daughter Elinor to Maurice fitz Thomas, 1st Earl of Desmond. Dr. Orpen, however, has shewn the impossibility of the former alliance and we will do well not to speculate now that a workable descent of our early ancestors has at last been prepared.

The list of lands contained in the Rental is rather long, and in addition, details of the rents arising out of each townland are mentioned in full. Further, in the printed copy, the editor has included after each townland further mentions of each place in succeeding surveys of the estates of Lords of Kerry. Because of the great importance and antiquarian interest the Rental holds, a complete list of the lands mentioned will be given here. In the main, only the modern names for the lands referred to will appear, except where the townland is of particular interest to the Pierse family and to which reference will later be made; in such instances a transcription of the actual entry will be given together with successive mentions in the later surveys, referred to earlier. The surveys referred to are:-

1612 - Regrant by James I to Thomas, 18th Lord of Kerry.

1697 - Maps (once in the Public Record Office of Ireland) of the lands of Thomas, 21st Lord of Kerry.

⁵⁹ See Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, August, 1931.

1769 - Deed of sale to Benjamin Harene and William Lock by Francis Thomas, 23rd Lord of Kerry, who was responsible for the alienation of the whole of the Fitzmaurice property except the family mausoleum at Lixnaw

The lands are dealt under two headings: (i) "Cathedra de Otona" (Abbey Dorney) and (ii) "Cathedra Oflannayn et Altry" - (Kilflynn and Altry - the latter including lands in Irraghticonnor). For ease of reference, the modern name for the lands mentioned in each entry are underlined* thus: "*Ballykealy*", and a map is adjoined shewing the relative locations of the lands.

RYNTALLE DOMINI DE LEAKSNAVVA IN TOTA KYRRIGIA PRIMO ET PRINCIPALITER IN CATHEDRA DE OTORNA IN PRIMIS		RENTAL OF THE TOTAL LANDS IN KERRY OF THE LORD OF LIXNAW PRIMARILY AND CHIEFLY IN THE DEANERY OF O' DORNEY
(Original)		(Translation)
	(1)	
Villa prioris per annum tres solidos vel XX ^{ti} III ^{or} messores in expensis domini ville in pecunia vel in operibus.		<i>Ballinprior</i> (Ardfert P., Clanm. B.); annually three shillings in cash and the services of 24 reapers at the expense of the Lord of the Town.
	(2)	
Balemecvynn per annum XIII ^s . et III ^{or} dinarios in festo pasche et festu beati Micahelis pro equali porcione.		Ballymacquin - now <i>Ballymacquin Upper</i> and <i>Lower</i> (Ardfert P., Clanm. B.); annually 13s. 4d. due at Easter and Michaelmas in equal amounts.
	(3)	
Baleychayla per annum II ^s ad festum pasce et ad festum beati Micahelis pro equali porcione. It in eadem Villa de territoriis que dicitur Setur VI ^s . VIII ^d , ad festum pasche et festum beati Micahelis.		<i>Ballykealy</i> (Kilmoyly P., Clanm. B.); annually 2s. due at Easter and Michaelmas in equal amounts. Also from each town in the district known as "Setur" 6s. 8d. due at Easter and Michaelmas.
	(4)	
Baleyrvduluyg per annum VI ^s . ad festum pasce et festum Micahelis.		<i>Ballinruddery</i> (Finuge P., Clanm. B.); annually 6s. due at Easter and Michaelmas.
	(5)	
Kyllenayn per annum X ^s . pro equali porcione viz ad pascha et festum beati Micahelis.		<i>Killahan</i> (Killahan P., Clanm. B.); annually 10s. due in equal amounts, namely, at Easter and Michaelmas.
	(6)	
Villa Roberti per annum X ^s . ad pasche et festum beati Micahelis pro equali porcione.		"Robert's Town" - <i>Ballyrobert</i> (Kilmoyly P., Clanm. B.); annually 10s. due at Easter and Michaelmas in equal amounts.
	(7)	
Terris Cally per annum III ^{or} s. ad pascha et festum Micahelis pro equali porcione.		"Kelly's Land" - <i>Bealkelly</i> (Finuge P., Clanm. B.); annually 4s. due at Easter and Michaelmas in equal amounts.

* Editor's note: italicised

RYNTALLE DOMINI DE LEAKSNAVVA IN TOTA KYRRIGIA PRIMO ET PRINCIPALITER IN CATHEDRA DE OTORNA IN PRIMIS		RENTAL OF THE TOTAL LANDS IN KERRY OF THE LORD OF LIXNAW PRIMARILY AND CHIEFLY IN THE DEANERY OF O' DORNEY
(Original)		(Translation)
	(8)	
Villa Geraldı Juvenis per annum XVIII di ad pascha et ad beati Micahelis.		"The Town of Gerald the Younger" - <i>Ballygarret</i> (Kilfeighny P., Clanm.B.); annually 18d. due at Easter and at Michaelmas.
	(9)	
Kyllgolbynn per annum decem s. ad festum pasche et festum beati Micahelis pro equali porcione.		<i>Kilgulbin</i> (O'Dorney P., Clanm. B.); annually ten shillings due at Easter and Michaelmas in equal amounts.
	(10)	
Baleylatheff per annum duas marchas ad festum pasche et festum beati Micahelis pro equali porcione. Et in eadem Villa de bladis molendini octo modios.		<i>Ballylahiff</i> (O'Dorney P., Clanm. B.); annually two marks (26s. 8d.) due at Easter and Michaelmas in equal amounts, and from each town eight measures of corn from the mill.
	(11)	
Balem ^c ynkym per annum XX ^{ti} s: ad festum pasche et festum beati Micahelis pro equali porcione.		Ballymac-Equim- now <i>Ballymac-Equim East and West</i> (Killahan P., Clanm. B.); annually 20s. due at Easter and Michaelmas in equal amounts.
	(12)	
Kyllathyn per annum XX ^{ti} s. ad festum pasche et festum beati Micahelis pro equali porcione de bladis molendinis in eadem villa.		<i>Killaquin</i> - now _____ - (O' Dorney P., Clanm. B.); annually 20s. due at Easter and Michaelmas for equal amounts of measures of corn from the mill from each town
	(13)	
De territoriis fyody militis de huobreanyn XXs. ad pascha et festum beati Micahelis pro equali porcione.		"The Knight's Fee of O' Brennan" -i.e. the district about <i>O'Brennan</i> (O'Brennan P., Trugh. B.); 20s. due at Easter and Michaelmas in equal amounts.
	(14)	
Clochan m ^c Kyyn per annum XX ^{ti} s.		<i>Cloonmacken</i> (Listowel P., Irraght. B.); 20s. annually.

CATHEDRA DE O FLANNAYN ET ALTRY		DEANERY OF KILFLYN AND ALTREY
(Original)		(Translation)
	(15)	
De aulayn per annum VIII modios molendini de frumento infra festum sancti Martini et ex post facto VIIIIs. de regali servicio quando accidit Xs.		Aulane - now <i>Aulanebane</i> and <i>Aulaneduff</i> (Killahan P., Clanm. B.); annually 8 measures of corn due within a short time of the Feast of St. Martin (11th November) and 8s. in default. King's Service, when due, 10s.
	(16)	
Achanacranny de regali servicio Xs.		<i>Aghanacrinna</i> (Killahan P., Clanm. B.); 10s. King's Service.
	(17)	
Melrayg et lyswyrn per annum VIIs. VIIIdi.		"Melrayg" - now _____ and Lissireen (Kiltomy P., Clanm. B.); 6s. 8d. annually.
	(18)	
Baleyconayll per annum octo modios frumenti XVIIIdi. cum secta curie de Kyndena in Kyndenam.		<i>Ballyconnelly</i> (Kilflyn P., Clanm. B.); annually eight measures of corn (and) 17d. together with suit of court of
	(19)	
Cluoyncloyth per annum II. cum servicio curie de Kyndena in Kyndenam.		<i>Gortclohy</i> (Kilflyn P., Clanm. B.); 2s annually together with feudal service of
	(20)	
Kyllflanyn per annum IIIIs. et cum uno di cum secta curie de Kyndena in Kyndenam et XXs. de regali servicio quando accidit.		Kilflyn (Kilflyn P., Clanm. B.); annually 3s. and one penny together with suit of court of ... and 20s. King's Service when due.
	(21)	
Balemcyseonykyn per annum duos s.		<i>Ballyhemycin</i> (Kilmoyly P., Clanm. B.); two shillings annually.
	(22)	
Drommcyky per annum Vs. ad pascha et ad festum beati Micahelis cum servicio curie de Kyndena in Kyndenam.		<i>Drommakee</i> (Kiltomy P., Clanm. B.); annually 5s. (payable) about Easter and Michaelmas together with suit of court of
	(23)	
Tryhwoodrdrory et dachioyn marte IIIs. IIIIdi. cum servicio curie de Kyndena in Kyndenam.		"The Land of the Upper Wood and the House of St. John the Martyr" - i.e. <i>The Hospital of the Knights of St. John at Rattoo</i> (Rattoo P., Clanm. B.); 2s. 3d. together with suit of court of
	(24)	
Tholach mcyServyn per annum VIIs. VIII di.		"Tullig of Mac Servyn" - <i>Tullig</i> (Kilfeighny P., Clanm. B.); 6s. 8d. annually.
	(25)	
De palyys per annum II marchas et dimidium obulum de regali servicio XXs.		<i>Pallas</i> (Kilfeighny P., Clanm. B.); annually 2 marks (26s. 8d.) and half a halfpenny (1/4d.) and 20s. King's Service.
	(26)	
Gortbarrayn per. annum Vs. ad festum pasche et ad festum Micahelis.		<i>Knockburrane</i> (Kilfeighny P., Clanm. B.); annually 5s. (due at) Easter and Michaelmas.

CATHEDRA DE O FLANNAYN ET ALTRY		DEANERY OF KILFLYN AND ALTREY
(Original)		(Translation)
	(27)	
Culnalyn per annum. Vs. ad festum pasche et ad festum Micahelis.		<i>Coolnaleen</i> (Kilshenane P., Clanm. B.); annually 5s: (due at) Easter and Michaelmas.
	(28)	
Cnok baleyduygyn per annum Vs. ad festum pasche et ad festum beati Micahelis.		<i>Ballyduhig</i> (Kilshenane P., Clanm. B.); annually 5s. (due at) Easter and Michaelmas.
	(29)	
Raythnapraske per annum XIII ^s . et III ^{or} di. ad festum pasche et ad festum beati Micahelis.		<i>Rathea</i> (Kilshenane P., Clanm. B.); annually 8s. and 4d. (due at) Easter and Michaelmas.
	(30)	
Mukynach per annum VIII ^{di} .		<i>Muckenagh</i> (Kilfeighney P., Clanm. B.); 8d. annually.
	(31)	
Buely layneach per annum XXI marchas.		<i>Billeragh</i> (Kilshenane P., Clanm. B.); 21 marks (£14 0s. 0d.) annually.
	(32)	
Inse mcgyglyrevayg per annum Vs. et XX ^{ti} modios frumenti.		<i>Inchymacgilleragh</i> (Duagh P., Clanm. B.); annually 5s. and 20 measures of corn.
	(33)	
Effeane per annum II ^s .		Estane - now _____ - (Finuge P., Clanm. B.); 2s. annually.
	(34)	
Aynnach per annum XXXVI modios avenarum et XX ^{ti} et III ^{or} modios frumenti.		<i>Annagh</i> (Annagh P., Trugh. B.); annually 36 measures of oats and 20 and 4 (24) measures of corn.
	(35)	
Inse In fuorayn per annum dimedian marcham et III ^{or} modios frumenti.		"Inch (Island) in Furhane" - <i>Furhane</i> (Kilshenane P., Clanm. B.); annually half-a- mark (6s. 10d.) and 4 measures of corn.
	(36)	
Dyrycathyll per annum duos s.		"Derry Cathal" - <i>Derry</i> - (Kilconly P., Irraght. B.); two shillings annually.
	(37)	
De dominio In renelayth per annum I marcha et octo modios frumenti et levare in festo Micahelis.		From the Lord of "Renelayth" - now _____ (_____ P., Irraght. B.); annually 1 mark (13s. 8d.) and eight measures of corn levied at Michaelmas.
	(38)	
Duaha per annum X marchas Xs. undretum de Kyndena in Kyndenam.		<i>Duagh</i> (Duagh P., contained in Irraght. and Clanm. Bs.); annually 10 marks (£6 16s. 8d.) and 10s. Hundred Fee (or fine for non- attendance at Hundred Court) of

CATHEDRA DE O FLANNAYN ET ALTRY		DEANERY OF KILFLYN AND ALTREY
(Original)		(Translation)
	(39)	
Kyllmaenna per annum III marchas vardum et maritagium cum servicio curie de Kyndena in Kyndenam.		<i>Kilmeany</i> (Knockanure P., Irraght. B.); annually 3 marks (£2. 1s. 0d.) pledge and dowry (or marriage portion) together with feudal service of
	(40)	
Baleydoduwayn per annum octo s. dimedieatem ad pascha et alia dimedicatem ad festum Beati Micahelis wardum et maritagium cum servicio curie de Kyndena in Kyndenam.		<i>Ballydonohoe</i> (Galey P., Irraght. B.); annually eight shillings, half due at Easter and the other half due at Michaelmas, pledge and dowry with suit of court of
	(41)	
Gaylle per annum XVIIs. IIdi vardum et maritargium cum servicio curie de Kyndena in kyndenam.		<i>Galey</i> (Galey P., Irraght. B.); annually 16s. 2d. pledge and dowry with suit of court of
	(42)	
Dyre Imulaodyg per annum IIIIs. IIIIdi. vardum et maritargium cum servicio curie de kyndena in kyndenam.		<i>Derra</i> (Galey P., Irraght. B.); annually 3s. 4d. pledge and dowry with suit of court of
	(43)	
Cnokkynath per annum VIIs. VIIIdi, vardum et maritargium cum servicio curie de kyndena in kyndenam.		<i>Knockenagh</i> (Galey P., Irraght. B.); 6s. 8d. pledge and dowry with suit of court of
	(44)	
Villa fabri per annum XIIIIs. IIIIdi. vardum et maritagium cum servicio de kyndena in kyndenam.		"The Town of the Smith" - <i>Ballingowan</i> - (Lisselton P., Irraght. B.); annually 8s. 4d. pledge and dowry with suit (of court) of
	(45)	
Leakacronyn per annum IIIs. IIIIdi. vardum et maritagium cum servicio curie de kyndena in kyndenam.		<i>Lackacronin</i> now <i>Lacka East</i> and <i>West</i> (Lisselton P., Irraght. B.); 2s. 4d. pledge and dowry with suit of court of
	(46)	
Urlyh per annum IIIs. vardum et maritagium cum servicio curie de kyndena in kyndenam.		<i>Urlee</i> (Lisselton P., Irraght. B.); annually 2s. pledge and dowry with suit of court of
	(47)	
Baleysavragayn M ^c gygybuyn per annum XVIIIdi. vardum et maritagium cum servicio curie de K. in K.		"Ballyhorgan of Mac Gibbon" - now <i>Ballyhorgan East, South, and West</i> (Dysert P., Clanm. B.); annually 18d. pledge and dowry with suit of court of
	(48)	
Baleylocrayn per annum IIIIdi. cum servicio curie vardum et maritagium.		<i>Ballyloughran</i> (Lisselton P., Irraght. B.); annually 3d, with suit of court pledge and dowry.
	(49)	
Baleynbonenyth de regali servicio XVIs.		<i>Ballybunion</i> (Killehenry P., Irraght. B.); King's Service 15s.

CATHEDRA DE O FLANNAYN ET ALTRY		DEANERY OF KILFLYN AND ALTREY
(Original)		(Translation)
	(50)	
Gortlomynse per annum VIIs. cum uno denario vardum et maritagium cum secta curie de K. in K.		<i>Gortnaminshe</i> (Dysert P., Irraght. B.); annually 6s. with one penny pledge and dowry with suit of court of
	(51)	
Drommurn per annum tres marchas et I letrenam de nuscibus in autumnno cum un gallina in qualibet domo.		<i>Drommurin</i> (Galey P., Irraght. B.); annually three marks (£2 1s. 0d.) and 1 litre of nuts in autumn and also one gallon delivered at any time to the manor.
	(52)	
Baleysauragayn M ^c y heryby per annum XVIdi.		"Ballyhorgan of Offerba" - now <i>Ballyhorgan</i> (Rattoo P., Clanm. B.); 16d. annually.

Beyond the Rental, given above, very little more is known about Maurice fitz Thomas. From the "G.E.C. Complete Peerage" we gather that he had a grant of ten knight's fees in Limerick (R. Cartarum, Rec. Com. p. 19; dated 6th Sept.) and that he was living in the year 1210 (R. de Prestito, pp. 188, 202), and also mentioned in 1212 (Col. Docs. Ireland, 1171-1251 p. 73). Dr. Orpen makes it clear that he did not receive the "ten knight's fees in Iveforna and Ivefarba" in Kerry from King John in 1199, and it would appear that some confusion grew between this and the grant in Limerick just mentioned. It is evident that Maurice fits Thomas died before the year 1253, and that he was succeeded by his son Thomas fitz Maurice.

Thomas fitz Maurice was probably born about the year 1220, and, since we find no trace of any brothers, we assume that he was the sole son and heir. Lodge, as we have seen, tells us that this Thomas was the first to assume the name Fitzmaurice as a surname, but it is quite clear from later records that, for many years after this time, the Fitzmaurices in common with their Kildare and Desmond cousins still made use of patronymics. It was not until after the creation of the earldoms of Kildare and Desmond that the name Fitzgerald obtained any degree of permanency with these branches of the Geraldines. Most genealogists agree nowadays that it was not until the time of Patrick "the Bearded", 7th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw (c. 1400) that the name Fitzmaurice became established with the Kerry family.

Lodge also says that this Thomas was the first Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw, and whilst some writers prefer to begin with Thomas's son Maurice,⁶⁰ it is felt that there is no reason to doubt this statement. Although it is admitted that the argument carries little weight, it is remembered that the Rental attributed to Thomas's father Maurice was entitled "Domini de Leaksnavva" or Lord of Lixnaw. In any case, the succession of the title in most accounts of the family commences with Thomas, and for this reason alone there is justification in avoiding ambiguity.

In 1253, Thomas fitz Maurice founded the Franciscan Abbey (or Friary) at Ardfert, which, we are told, was famous for its miracles. Archdall describes it as "a noble structure, over the great gate thereof is inscribed the date of its foundation - MCCL III".

Concerning the same writer's statement that Thomas married Grany, daughter of MacMurrough Cavenagh, we have already been shewn the impossibility of such a marriage. There can be no doubt that he had a son Maurice who succeeded him, and we see no reason to doubt that he had two daughters, Catherine, who married Sir Hugh de Lacy of Ballingarry in Limerick, and Joan, who married Sir Otho de Lacy of Bruree, also in Limerick. It is also clear, as we shall presently see, that Piers, the ancestor of the Pierse families of Ballymac-Equim, Crossmacshane and Meenogahane, was *not* the son of this Thomas fitz Maurice, but of his son Maurice, his successor.

Thomas fitz Maurice, then, died at the house of his son-in-law, Sir Otho de Lacy at Bruree, apparently whilst on a visit there, on the 29th June (the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul), 1280. He was brought back to Kerry and buried on the north side of the high altar at Ardfert Abbey, which he had established but twenty-seven years earlier.

Maurice fitz Thomas, whom we assume was born about the year 1245, succeeded his father as the 2nd Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw. The first mention of him in the Public Records occurs in the year 1290, and further mentions are noticed in the years immediately following (Cal. Docs. Ireland, 1285-92, 1293-1301). We find that, in the year 1295, he sat in the Irish Parliament, held by John Wogan, Lord Justice (23 Edward I); his styling being "Maurice fitz Thomas of Kerrie".⁶¹

The same year, in 1295, as one of the *Fideles* of Ireland, he was commanded by King Edward I to be at Whitehaven with his forces by March, 1295-6. Shortly after, in 1297, he was ordered to be prepared to serve in the then impending war with France. Yet later again, in January, 1299-1300, he was sent a writ of summons from the King to aid in the wars against Scotland and in the years following (1300-1302) we find, concerning the Scottish wars, several letters of credence addressed to him.

Maurice fitz Thomas married twice. His first marriage was to Ellen (or Elena), daughter and heiress of William fitz Elie, by whom he had Nicholas; his heir and successor, Piers, ancestor of the Pierse families in Kerry referred to by Lodge, Robert and Patrick. By his second marriage to Sibyl (or Sibilla), he had a number of sons the only one of whose names we know was Gerald.

In his papers demonstrating his then new theory regarding the origin of the Fitzmaurices, Dr. Orpen includes a summary of a Plea Roll (32 Edw. I m.29, 1303-4) of which he says he "fortunately made a full extract before the Day of Doom came upon the Irish Public Record Office". Now, as the original, by this remark, doubtless is now no longer extant, and as copies of "The English Historical Review" and "The Genealogists' Magazine" in which Dr. Orpen's researches were published are not easily available, it will be of interest to include the summary here. The wording is the same as Dr.

⁶⁰ Cf. "The G.E.C. Complete Peerage".

Orpen's summary, but slightly adapted with regard to names of persons and places to conform with the conventions observed:-

"Sibilla, wife of Maurice fitz Thomas, seeks against Nicholas fitz Maurice one-third part of a house, watermill, lands (1,060 acres) and rent in Lystothyl ⁶² (Listowel) in Altry,⁶³ and of the fishery of the river Feer ⁶⁴ (Feale) in the same vill, and the third part of a house and lands (2,400 acres) and rent in Viale de Kylessshene ⁶⁵ (Beale in Killehenry parish, Barony of Irraghticonnor) as her dower. - And Nicholas says that Sibilla was not entitled to dower in Viale de Killaushene because one William fitz Elie gave the said tenements to Maurice fitz Thomas with one Elena his daughter in frank-marriage. - And Sibilla says that the said William gave the said tenements to the said Maurice and Elena to hold to them and their heirs, and not in frank-marriage, and she produced a fine levied before the justiciar to prove the same. - And Nicholas being unable to show any deed to prove that the tenements were given in frank-marriage, it was considered that Sibilla should have her dower, and Nicholas be in mercy for unjust detention. With regard to Lystothil, to the pleading of Nicholas that it too was given in frank-marriage Maurice and Elena, Sibilla replied that it was given not in frank-marriage, but in exchange for other tenements. - And the sheriff was ordered to summon a jury to enquire into the facts".

Dr. Orpen tells us that on the back of the same membrane there was a record of a further claim by Sibilla against Nicholas's brother Robert fitz Maurice for the third part of a house and lands in Lystaghe,⁶⁶ of a knight's fee in Couldorghith,⁶⁷ of a house and lands in Feynyn,⁶⁸ of lands and a fishery in Kyllynwragh,⁶⁹ and of lands, rent and a water-mill in Moyhile.⁷⁰ Against another brother, Patrick fitz Maurice, Sibilla claimed a third part of a house and lands at Balywyn,⁷¹ as her dower. To meet these claims, Robert and Patrick called to warranty their brother Nicholas. It seems that Piers, older brother to Robert and Patrick, was not involved in *these* land disputes at least, and it is very probable that he was by this time settled in Ballymac-Equim, itself as we saw in the Rental, one of the highest valued lands. Ballymac-Equim, as one of the hereditary lands of the early Lords of Kerry, would naturally have been beyond marriage claims such as Sibilla's.

⁶¹ See list in Sir Richard Cox's "History of Ireland", p. 86.

⁶² Listowel, Listowel P., Clanmaurice B.

⁶³ Altry

⁶⁴ River Feale

⁶⁵ Beale of Killaheenny, Kilconly P., Irraghticonnor B.

⁶⁶ Lisduff, K P., Clanmaurice B.

⁶⁷ ?

⁶⁸ ?

⁶⁹ Kilfenora in the Parish of Ardfert?

⁷⁰ Moybella, Lisselton P., Irraghticonnor B.

⁷¹ Ballyouneen, Rattoo P., Irraghticonnor B.

Maurice fitz Thomas died at Molahiffe, one of the castles erected for his grandfather and namesake, during Easter, 1304, and was brought back to be buried with his father at Ardfert Abbey. It would appear from the foregoing claims by Sibilla his last wife upon his sons, that he was at the time either very ill or, in fact, actually dead. Were he in good health he would naturally have been able to confirm or deny his wife's statements concerning his acquisition of lands by his former wife.

Even whilst Maurice was on his death-bed, a further intrigue concerning his lands was being conducted. The affair finally reached a climax three years after Maurice's death when Nicholas, then 3rd Lord of Kerry, with his brother Piers were taken to court and required to answer charges of having disseized (or dispossessed) their half-brother Gerald of his inheritance. Dr. Orpen includes a summary of this, too, in his paper, but since this record contains the first reference to Piers fitz Maurice, it is better that it appears here in full ⁷²:-

"Yet of Juries and Assises at Ardart (Ardfert), in co. Kerry, before John Wogan, Justiciar, on Friday, after the Feast of S. Barnabus, and Tuesday, after the Feast of SS. Gervasius and Protasius". June 16-20, 1307

Assise of Novel disseisin. If Nich: fitz Maurice, Piers fitz Maurice, and John Roddel disseised Gerald fitz Maurice, of his freehold in Vyaille (Beale), the manor of Vyaille.

Piers and John say they claim nothing and made no disseisin. Nicholas answers as tenant that Gerald never had seisin in the manor as of freehold, so that he could be disseised; and of this he puts himself in the assise.

The Jurors say that Maurice fitz Thomas (i.e. 2nd Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw), lying in his death bed at Moyflath ⁷³ on Wednesday before Easter, a.r. XXXIII (quare XXXII, i.e. Easter, 1304), had in mind to promote his younger sons born of Sibilla his last wife, and to give them all lands which he had of his own acquisition, and he ordained that Gerald, his son, should have all lands of his own acquisition of Vyaille (Beale). And that he should know this of the assent of Nicholas, his son and heir, he sent by the Abbot of Kyryleyson (Kyrie-eleison - the Cistercian name for Abbey Dorney), and a friar minor, who were with Maurice in his sickness, to Nicholas, who then was at Moyflayth, that he would give his assent to the gift, and do this by his letters patent, and by taking his oath. Who, coming to him, and knowing that he would not freely given assent to this, said to him that his father asked him, and enjoined him to give assent that Gerald should have of the gift of Maurice, the tenements of Lystrath ⁷⁴ and Culcleth. ⁷⁵ To which he (Nicholas) freely gave assent granting that he would

⁷² Calendar Justiciary Rolls - Ireland, A.D. 1305-1307, 35 Ed.I, pp. 421-2-3, Membrane 30d. (The original doubtless was destroyed in the fire of 1921 and the Calendar is our only source of reference).

⁷³ Molahiffe.

⁷⁴ Lisroe, Duagh Parish, Clanmaurice B.

⁷⁵ Coolclieve, Molahiffe P., Irraghticonnor B.

make his letter upon this, and take his oath, knowing nothing of the wish of his father as to making the gift to Gerald of Vyaille. And the Abbot and friar minor returned to Maurice asserting that Nicholas would do fully what he (Maurice) had sent them to ask of him. And when Maurice sent for Nicholas to come to him, to fulfill the premises, one of Nicholas's well-wishers, who was aware of Maurice's wish, drew Nicholas apart before he entered the chamber, and told him that his father wished to have the security of his assent, on asking a gift to Gerald of said tenements of Vyaille. Which, if he would not do, to believed that Maurice was ready to give him his curse. And Nicholas, fearing this, asked his counsel what he should do. Who answered that he should go into the chamber and say to his father that he was ready to do in all things what the Abbot and friar told him, on the part of Maurice, as to the giving to Gerald of lands and tenements of the acquisition of Maurice. And under the same form of words he should take oath, at the request of his father. Entering the chamber he did so in everything, in the speaking of words and in taking oath, and immediately put his seal to a letter patent in which was contained that Maurice, his father, should enfeoff Gerald of Vyaille. Which, being done, Maurice gave to Gerald those tenements, and made two attorneys, Thomas Hubert, then present, and Stephen Underwode, bailiff of Vyaille, to put Gerald in seisin, and he gave him the keys of certain chests at Lysnaue,⁷⁶ in which were charters and writings, enjoining him to go there, and take with him all charters and writings touching the acquisition by Maurice of his lands in Vyaille. And he granted to him all his movables in the Manor of Vyaille, not only from intent that he should have the movables, but that by such grant the seisin of Gerald might be more full and valid. And Gerald, immediately taking Thomas with him, came to Lexnaue,⁷⁷ and took all charters and other writings which he found there of Maurice's acquisition of the Manor of Vyaille. And in the meanwhile, Nicholas enjoined Piers his brother to go to Vyaille, and by all means to impede the seisin of Gerald. Who, with what celerity he could, came there and, entering the castle, called Stephen, enjoining him on the part of Nicholas, that whatever letter should come to him on the part of Maurice for putting Gerald in seisin, he should do nothing. And Stephen, doubting that if Maurice should recover and he (Stephen) should not have executed his mandate, he would do him much ill, but on the other hand he feared the ill will of Nicholas, if Maurice should die, and he had executed the mandate. On which account Stephen remained in the castle with Piers, as if enforced. The fourth day after Gerald and Thomas had left Moyflath, they came together to Vyaille, and entering the manor without impediment, because there is not an enclosure for the entrance (claustrura and portam) there. Upon dismounting, they put their horses in a stable there together with the horse of one David (blank), who likewise came there with Gerald. And immediately, Thomas said: "I put thee, Gerald, in seisin of this manor",

⁷⁶ Lixnaw.

according to the form of the letter patent. And afterwards Gerald broke a stack of corn there, and fed their horses with the corn. Afterwards, Gerald and David, seeing the door of a cellar of the castle to be open, went into the cellar. And Gerald, having left David in his name in the cellar, returned to the house where their horses were. And Piers, who with Stephen, had always held himself in the castle, hearing that David was in the cellar, entered it, commanding David to go out. Who immediately went out and returned to Gerald. And together they held themselves in the said house, with their horses for two days. The third day one of the tenants gave Gerald his plough, to plough in the demesne lands of the manor, for continuance of his seisin. Which, when he knew, Piers went there, and finding the plough ploughing, cut the ox-yoke and other apparatus of the plough, and so impeded the ploughing. Maurice yet surviving. Afterwards, on the fourth day following, Maurice being dead, Nicholas came and took seisin of the whole manor, but Gerald withdrew before his coming.

Asked how many days Gerald so maintained himself there before, the death of Maurice, they (i.e. Nicholas and Piers fitz Maurice and John Roddel) say five days, and three days after his death. Asked if Gerald had any intendance from the tenants or household of the manor, and if he took there any other necessities and issues before the death of Maurice, or after, except the said corn with which he fed his horses, they say no. And they say that Maurice granted to Gerald the said movables after the making of his testament on his death bed, but nearly a year before".

Unfortunately, the findings of the Court, if ever recorded, are now no longer to be found, and it is left to our imaginations to decide how justice was done. Although it would appear from the foregoing that Gerald had a clear claim, it is apparent that he was cheated out of his inheritance for the Manor of Beale, including the castle, was still in the hands of the senior family nearly three centuries later, held by Thomas Fitzmaurice, 18th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw.

Nicholas fitz Maurice, eldest son and heir of Maurice fitz Thomas by his first wife Ellen, succeeded, as already mentioned, and became the 3rd Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw. Again, we cannot be sure of the date of his birth, but we may estimate it to have been about the year 1270. As before, we go to the "G.E.C. Complete Peerage" for the most complete account of his life. We find his name occurs first in 1295, with further mentions in successive years (Col. Just. Roll. 1295-1303, pp. 74, 166, 227, 228), and in 1307 we find he was *custos* of the peace. (Ibid, 1305-7, p. 518).

⁷⁷ Lixnaw, as above.



Molaniffe Castle from the South East



Molaniffe Castle - North Wall from the North West

In November, 1309, we read that Nicholas fitz Maurice, as one of the *Fideles* of Ireland, was summoned for military service against the Scots about the year in the Summer of the following year (Parl. writs). During January, 1309-10, he was summoned to the Parliament of Kilkenny (Early Stats. of Ireland, Vol. I, p. 260), and in October, 1310, he was one of the persons appointed to enquire as to offences by the coroners in Kerry (Col. Rot. Pat. Hib., p.16). In the following year, May, 1311, Nicholas was appointed to hear causes in the stead of John Wogan, Justiciar, who at that time was otherwise employed in the King's service (Idem. p. 17). Whilst attending a great feast at Christmas, 1312, he was knighted by John fitz Thomas, then the 5th Lord or Baron of Offally, but later 1st Earl of Kildare ⁷⁸ (Clyn's 'Annales' - Irish Arch. Soc., p. 11).

When Edward II was preparing war in 1314 against Robert Bruce of Scotland, Nicholas was summoned to give aid, and during this and the year following several letters of credence were addressed to him as one of the magnates of Ireland (Parl. Writs). Concerning his home activities in Kerry, in 1312, Nicholas erected the castles at Ardfert and Portrinarde - the latter now just included within the western borders of Limerick. At Lixnaw he erected the stone bridge over the river Brick, and was the first to construct causeways, or *toughers* as they are called in Irish, to Lixnaw. In addition to his lordship he appears to have held some official position as escheator or sheriff. In 1331 he is described as Sheriff of the Crosses of Kerry, which implies that he had jurisdiction over certain church lands.

Nicholas married Slany, daughter of Connor O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, by whom he had several children, the eldest of whom, his son and heir Maurice fitz Nicholas, succeeded as 4th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw. It appears that he died about the year 1332, for that same year Maurice his son succeeded to his father's Sheriffship. Nicholas was buried at Ardfert Abbey with his ancestor.

Here we come to the end of our short history of the early Fitzmaurices of Kerry, and from the next Chapter on we will try to follow the descent from Pierse fitz Maurice, brother to Nicholas and second son of Maurice fitz Thomas.

In conclusion we give the heraldic achievement of the Lords of Kerry, which, although we understand from the Office of Arms through Dr. Orpen, was not at this period officially recorded, was that borne by the senior House of Fitzmaurice until their alliance with the Petty family in the eighteenth century, when, by a testamentary whim, "Argent, a saltire gules, a chief ermine" fell second best to "Ermine, on a bend azure, a compass needle pointing to the North Star, or".

Appended is a list of the successive Lords of Kerry and Lixnaw which the author prepared to assist him in identifying the different representatives of the family to be referred to later, and will no doubt be useful to the reader for the same purpose.

⁷⁸ See the genealogical chart "The Geraldines" on page 33.

EARLS OF KILDARE

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Succ.</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Biographical Notes</i>
-	Gerald	-	-	1205	1st Baron of Offaly. With his father Maurice fitz Gerald in Siege of Dublin 1171.
-	Maurice	c.1200	1216	1257	2nd Baron of Offaly. Received grant of Croom Castle from King 1216. Introduced Franciscans and Dominicans into Ireland 1216. Lord Justice 1229-1245. "A very valiant knight; a very pleasant man".
-	Maurice	-	1257	1277	3rd Baron of Offaly. Lord Justice 1272-1273.
-	Gerald		1277	1287	4th Baron of Offaly. Completed Abbey Kildare 1260.
-	Maurice	-	1287	c 1289	5th Baron of Offaly.
1	John	-	c. 1290	1316	1st Earl of Kildare. Appointed Piers fitz Maurice Sheriff of Kerry 1323. "John the redoubtable, the high-minded, the noble man".
2	Thomas	-	1316	1328	Appointed by King to command army of 30,000 against the Scots. In 1317 appointed Sheriff of Kildare for life and male heirs. Lord Justice of Ireland from 1317 until his death. "A prudent and wise man".
3	Richard	1317	1328	1329	Died at age of 12 years. Buried with father in Kildare.
4	Maurice	1318	1329	1390	At Siege of Calais. Knighted by Edw. III. Lord Justice 1356-57, 1360. Lord Deputy 1371-72. "A man of great piety,"
5	Gerald	-	1390	1410	Keeper of Peace in Kerry 1400. Lord Deputy 1405-1406.
6	John	-	1410	1427	"Crouchback".
7	Thomas	-	1427	1477	Lord Deputy 1454-60. Lord Justice 1460-61. Lord Chancellor for life. Founded Franciscan Abbey of Adare in ____.
8	Gerald	-	1477	1513	"The Great Earl". Lord Deputy 1478. Lord Justice 1480. Lord Deputy 1480-1492. Imprisoned in Tower of London 1493-94. Lord Deputy 1496-1510. Knight of the Garter 1504. "Very liberal and merciful; of strict piety; mild in his government; passionate but easily appeased".

EARLS OF KILDARE

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Succ.</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Biographical Notes</i>
9	Gerald	1487	1513	1534	"Garret Oge". Lord High Treasurer 1504-13. Lord Justice 1513. Lord Deputy 1513-20. With Hen. VIII on "Field of the Cloth of Gold" 1520. Lord Deputy 1524. Ordered to arrest Earl of Desmond 1525. Imprisoned in Tower of London 1526, 1528, and 1534 where he died. "Wise and prudent man in war, valiant without rashness, politic without treachery".
10	Thomas	1513	1534	1537	"Silken Thomas". Vice Deputy 1534. Threw down Sword of State in defiance of Hen. VIII 1534. Imprisoned in Tower of London 1536. Deprived of Liberties of Kildare and attainted 1536. Hanged, drawn, and quartered with his five uncles (all Geraldines) at Tyburn as traitors 1537.
11	Gerald	1525	1537	1585	Lived abroad. Knighted by Edw. VI and estates restored 1552.
12	Henry	1562	1585	1597	"Henry of the Battleaxes". In war against Earl of Tyrone.
13	William	-	1597	1599	In war against Earl of Tyrone. Drowned at sea.
14	Gerald	-	1599	1612	In war against Earl of Tyrone. Governor of Offaly 1600.
15	Gerald	1611	1612	1620	Died in infancy.
16	George	1612	1620	1660	"The Fairy Earl". Of diminutive proportions.
17	Wentworth	1634	1660	1664	Named after Duke of Wentworth.
18	John	1661	1666	1707	Governor of Kildare 1674.
19	Robert	1675	1707	1744	Lord Justice 1714. "A religious and benevolent man".
20	James	1722	1744	1773	1st Marquis of Kildare. 1st Marquis of Offaly. 1st Duke of Leinster.

EARLS OF DESMOND

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Succ.</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Biographical Notes</i>
-	Maurice	-	-	1261	Relationship to Kildares? First-cousin to Thomas, 1st Baron of Kerry. Killed in Battle of Callan.
-	Thomas	1260	-	1298	"An Appach" or "The Ape". When 9-months old his father and grandfather were slain at Callan; a tame ape carried him up to top of Tralee Abbey for the crowd to see, and returned him to his cradle. Lord Justice 1295.
1	Maurice	-	1329	1355	1st Earl of Desmond. Married secondly Elenor, dau. of Nicholas, 3rd Baron of Kerry. Imprisoned Maurice, 4th Baron of Kerry who died. Excluded King's Sheriffs and Judges from Kerry 1330. Summoned a Parliament in Tralee 1345 in opposition to Lord Justice.
2	Maurice	-	1355	1358	"Maurice Oge".
3	John	-	1358	1369	Died and buried at Youghal, Co. Cork.
4	Gerald	-	1369	1394	"The Rhymer" or "The Poet"; also called "The Magician" because of his extraordinary abilities in mathematics. Joined Maurice, 4th Earl of Kildare in defending Naas against O'Brien of Thomond. Sheriff of Kerry 1388. Lord Justice of Ireland 1367. Murdered at Castleisland.
5	John	-	1394	1399	Drowned when crossing River Suir in Tipperary.
6	Thomas	-	1399	1420	Thrice expelled from his estate. Died of grief in Rouen, Normandy, in France.
7	James	-	1420	1462	Signed pact with Patrick, 7th Baron of Kerry to keep peace 1408. Keeper of Peace in Limerick, Kerry, Cork, and Waterford 1444.
8	Thomas	-	1462	1467	"The Martyr of Christ". Founded College of St. Mary, Youghal. Murdered at Drogheda by Earl of Worcester 1467.
9	James	1459	1467	1487	With Thomas, 8th Baron of Kerry, refused to answer King's Summons to Court. Murdered at Youghal 1487.

EARLS OF DESMOND

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Succ.</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Biographical Notes</i>
10	Maurice	-	1487	1520	"Claudius" or "The Lame". Joined with Gerald, 8th Earl of Kildare, in war against Burke of Clanricarde and O'Brien of Thomond. Wrote to Hen. VIII pleading for release of Earl of Kildare from prison.
11	James	-	1520	1529	Accused of High Treason 1525. Proclaimed a rebel and a traitor. Gerald, 9th Earl of Kildare sent to arrest him but avoided a meeting.
12	Thomas	-	1529	1534	"Maol" or "The Bald". Died at a great age at Youghal.
13	James	-	1534	1536	Would not attend Parliament or assist the Lord Deputy unless an Earl of Kildare held that office.
14	John	-	1536	1536	Died at a great age at Tralee. His grandson, James fitz Maurice or James Geraldine, was known as the "Arch Traitor".
15	James	-	1536	1558	Had wardship of Thomas, 13th and Edmund, 14th Barons of Kerry. Tried to enable Gerald, 11th Earl of Kildare, to regain his estates. Lord High Treasurer from 1542 until his death.
16	Gerald	-	1558	1583	"The Great Earl". In rebellion against Queen Elizabeth. Attainted 1582. Estate of 574,628 acres confiscated. Murdered at Gleanaginty, Co. Kerry, 1583.
17	James	-	1583	1601	Q. Elizabeth was his godmother. Imprisoned in Tower of London 1584-1600.
-	James	-	-	1608	"The Sugaune (Straw rope) Earl". Grandson of James, 15th Earl. Joined O'Neill in attempt to regain family estate 1598-1601. Imprisoned in Tower of London until his death.

BARONS OF KERRY AND LIXNAW

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Succ.</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Biographical Notes</i>
1	Thomas	c. 1220	c.1253	1250	Son of Maurice. Founded Ardfert Abbey, 1253.
2	Maurice	c. 1245	1280	1304	Father of Piers fitz Maurice, ancestor of the Pierse family.
3	Nicholas	c.1270	1304	1332	Knighted by John, Earl of Kildare. Elder brother to Piers.
4	Maurice	-	1332	1339	Murdered Dermot McCarthy in Assize at Tralee, 1325. Was attainted and lost lands in Molahiffe and Desmond. Died imprisoned by Maurice, Earl of Desmond.
5	John	(See Note 1)	1339	1378	Married secondly Elenor dau. of Gerald fitz Piers of Ballymac-Equim
6	Maurice	-	1378	1398	Not summoned to Parliament 1374-1382.
7	Patrick	-	1398	c. 1410	"The Bearded". Name Fitzmaurice established.
8	Thomas	-	c. 1410	1469	"The Stammerer". With Earl of Desmond did not answer King's Summons to Court.
9	Edmund	-	1469	1510	"A vessel of wisdom and hospitality".
10	Edmund	-	1514	1541	Resigned estates and retired to a monastery.
11	Patrick	-	1541	1547	(See Note 2)
12	Patrick	-	1547	1547	Died of a cold taken after hunting.
13	Thomas	-	1547	1549	Minor in ward of Earl of Desmond. Died in Listowel Castle
14	Edmund	-	1549	1549	Minor in ward of Earl of Desmond. Died in Beale Castle.
15	Patrick	-	1549	1550	"The Red-haired". Killed in Desmond.
16	Thomas	1520	1550	1590	Aided English in opposition to Earl of Desmond.
17	Patrick	1541	1590	1600	By second marriage had Gerald who married Catherine, dau. of John Pierse of Ballymac-Equim.
18	Thomas	1574	1600	1630	In rebellion with his father.

1. The actual dates of births of most of the early Fitzmaurices are not known and, since the title did not necessarily pass from father to son, it is difficult to approximate. Some of the successors to the title died at a very early age.
2. Not all genealogists agree with the descent about this time. Five successive holders of the title died within the space of seven years, passing from father to son and to uncles, as will be seen.

BARONS OF KERRY AND LIXNAW

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Succ.</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Biographical Notes</i>
19	Patrick	1595	1630	1660	Left Ireland during 1641 rebellion.
20	William	1633	1661	1697	Followed James II to France.
21	Thomas	1668	1697	1741	Created 1st Earl of Kerry. Married Anne dau. of Sir William Petty (whose son Henry was created Earl of Shelburne).
22	William	1694	1741	1747	2nd Earl of Kerry.
-	John	1700	-	1761	Petty-Fitzmaurice. Brother of 22nd Lord to whom title of Earl of Shelburne reverted.
23	Francis Thomas	1740	1747	1818	3rd Earl of Kerry. Sold Kerry estates and died without issue.
-	William	1737	-	1805	Son of John Petty-Fitzmaurice.
-	John	1765	-	1809	Son of William (above). 2nd marquis of Lansdowne. Died without issue.
24	Henry	1780	1818	1863	Brother of John (above). 3rd Marquis of Lansdowne to whom Kerry title reverted. Refused offer of Dukedom of Kerry.
25	Henry	1816	1863	1866	4th Marquis of Lansdowne.
26	Henry	1845	1866	1927	5th Marquis of Lansdowne.
27	Henry	1872	1927	1936	6th Marquis of Lansdowne.

CHAPTER V - PIERS FITZ MAURICE

Piers fitz Maurice, the eponymous ancestor of the Pierse family of County Kerry, as we saw in the preceding Chapter, was the second son to Maurice fitz Thomas, 2nd Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw, by his first wife, Elenor, daughter heiress to William fitz Elie. It appears that Piers's elder brother, Nicholas, later to succeed his father as 3rd Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw, was born about the year 1270, and thus we can assess that Piers was born a year or so later, that is, in or about the year 1272. With practical certainty we can say that Piers was born and spent his childhood at Lixnaw Court, the Fitzmaurice family home.⁷⁹ Sadly, little of his life has come down to us but legends, still current in two now fairly widely separated branches of the family,⁸⁰ agree in that he was "red-haired and wild". It is possible that his fiery hair earned him the sobriquet "ruadh"⁸¹ as the legends also relate.

We imagine that Piers married in or about the year 1294, but here again we have no fact and details are not given in the Segar or other contemporary pedigrees of Fitzmaurice. Further, while it has not been authoritatively stated, it is practically certain that Piers was given lands by his father about Ballymac-Equim in the neighbouring parish of Killahan, a little above four miles south-west of Lixnaw. Ballymac-Equim it will be remembered, was included in the Rental of the Lord of Lixnaw⁸² attributed to Piers's great-grandfather, Maurice fitz Thomas (c.1197-1253); it was then recorded as "Balem cynkym" and appears to have been one of the most valuable townlands. Ballykealy in nearby Kilmoyly Parish was also included in the Rental, and this townland too was given to a scion of the Fitzmaurice family, from which a separate branch also was formed. At both Ballymac-Equim and Ballykealy, castles were erected for the purpose, it would appear, of resisting attack from the south. Ballymac-Equim Castle appears to have been particularly well sited for, if on a map a straight line is drawn through the Fitzmaurice castles of Listowel and Lixnaw, it will be seen that the same line, when produced, also cuts through Ballymac-Equim. Further, on either side of the line between Ballymac-Equim and Lixnaw, we still find extensive bog-land which must have been much deeper and more treacherous in those bygone days; thus Ballymac-Equim, as it were, guarded the main approach to Lixnaw from the south. It was wise of the Fitzmaurices to, install trusted members of the family in these vulnerable positions and it is very probable that Piers fitz Maurice himself built Ballymac-Equim Castle to provide a home after his marriage. It is significant that henceforth Ballymac-Equim was not included in the direct estate of the Lords of Kerry.

It is clear that Piers had left Lixnaw before the year 1303 when his father's second wife Sibilla made claims against Piers's elder brother Nicholas and his half-brothers Robert and Patrick, and he

⁷⁹ See Chapter XX, Part , Lixnaw

⁸⁰ George Pierse (1863-1941) of the Greenwich, Kent, family, and Dermot Pierse (b. 1918) of the Carshalton, Surrey, family. Both branches originate from Listowel, County Kerry.

⁸¹ See Glossary.

⁸² See Chapter IV, p. 40.

was not mentioned in any of the claims. Piers's father died in 1307 at his castle of Molahiffe, eighteen miles or so due south of Lixnaw. Piers attended his father in his sickness but was not present at the last as we shall read. The following year we find our first reference to Piers, who with his elder brother Nicholas (then 3rd Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw) and a certain John Roddel, was summoned to the Court of Justice at Ardfert to answer charges of having prevented his half-brother Gerard from taking possession of his inheritance of the Manor of Beale.⁸³ Beale itself is a seaboard townland on the River Shannon Estuary about twelve miles due north of Lixnaw. It should be noted that, at this time, obtaining possession of land, or "taking seisin" as it was called, was recognised legally by the owner moving into the house within a certain number of days, installing pieces of furniture, breaking the soil with a plough, and feeding livestock; as a token. If these formalities were not carried out within a specified time, a person could be "disseised" on the grounds that the estate was not actively occupied, and tenure would revert to the next in line for ownership. The trick of preventing taking up of seisin was that used by Nicholas, aided and abetted by Piers, against their half-brother Gerard, the lawful owner.

The account of the hearing at Ardfert has already been given in full,⁸⁴ and from it we gather that, while on his deathbed at Molahiffe, Maurice fitz Thomas, 2nd Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw expressed the wish that Gerard should be given the Manor of Beale for his home. Nicholas, however, advised by a "well-wisher" of his intention, deceived his father and arranged for Gerard to have inferior property. We read how the dying father gave Gerard "the keys of certain chests at Lixnaw in which were charters and writings". probably the title-deeds of Beale, and arranged for two attorneys to see that Gerard was properly established at Beale. Gerard then set off for Lixnaw, a distance of some eighteen miles, but as soon as he had left, Nicholas asked Piers to ride as fast as he could to Beale, about twenty-eight miles away (as the crow flies, but more like thirty-six miles by road) and by all means possible prevent Gerard from taking seisin. We read how Piers "with what celerity he could" rode hard to Beale and, entering the castle, instructed the keeper not to accept letters of credence from Gerard. The keeper was clearly perturbed; on one hand he was afraid that if the Lord of Kerry should recover, he would be enraged to find that his instructions hadn't been properly carried out, but on the other hand, he was equally afraid of Maurice dying, Nicholas becoming Lord of Kerry, and he too being bitter of being outwitted of Beale. The keeper compromised by staying with Piers in the castle "as if enforced".

⁸³ See Chapter IV, p. 49.

⁸⁴ See Chapter IV, p. 48.



Ballymac-Equim Castle

Four days after leaving Molahiffe, Gerald, with one of his attorneys, and a certain David (____), rode into the Manor without difficulty for, we are told, there was no great gate installed at Beale. Upon dismounting, the man took their horses to the stable and afterwards, the attorney went through the formalities of putting Gerald in possession; in response, Gerald broke a stack of corn and fed the horses. Shortly after the ceremony, while walking round the castle, Gerald noticed that one of the cellar doors was open. Doubtless Piers had closed and barred all other doors to the castle and Gerald, seeing a means of getting installed, directed David to enter and stay in the cellar in his name. Gerald then returned to the stable.

While all this was going on, Piers was still within the castle and, hearing David moving about in the cellar, he went down and, finding him there, commanded him to leave. David left immediately and reported to Gerald what had transpired; they then stayed inside the stable together with their horses for the next two days.

On the third day, one of the tenants of the manor came to Gerald to lend him his plough so that he could continue with the formalities of taking seisin. This too, Piers observed and, leaving the castle, he stopped Gerald ploughing by cutting the ox-yoke and "other apparatus of the plough".

The following day Maurice died at Molahiffe and Nicholas, who had stayed with his father to the end, left as soon as he could for Beale. Hearing of this, Gerald abandoned Beale and returned to Lixnaw.

Altogether, Gerald spent only eight days at Beale, three of which were after Maurice's death, but because of Piers's impedance, his only qualification for taking seisin was the breaking of the stack of corn for feeding the horses.

We do not know the Court's findings but, although it would appear that Gerald had a *prima facie* case, it is clear that Beale was not delivered to him for it was still in the hands of the senior family, the Lords of Kerry and Lixnaw, three hundred years later.

But from this we gather that Piers and Nicholas, apart from being brothers, were also great friends. In parts, we also seem to detect something of the "wildness" referred to in the legends of Piers fitz Maurice, as, for instance, in his race to Beale and method of preventing Gerald from ploughing.

About Christmas, 1312, Nicholas, then 3rd Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw, was staying with his blood-cousin John fitz Thomas (later 1st Earl of Kildare) who, during the course of a feast,⁸⁵ knighted Nicholas. The Geraldines, it will be remembered from history books, had the power of king in Ireland. Two years later, Nicholas was summoned by King Edward I to assist him in the war against Robert Bruce of Scotland and, no doubt, he bore the Fitzmaurice arms "Argent, a saltire gules, a chief ermine" on his coat armour and shield. Piers, too, may have been summoned to assist Nicholas, and would have borne the same shield-of arms but, to "difference" from his brother, would have had a red crescent superimposed on the Fitzmaurice arms, indicating that he represented the second house. These arms as we shall later see, are actually recognised as being those of the Pierse family.

Because of the friendliness existing between the three Geraldine families - Kildare, Kerry and Desmond - at this time, it is perhaps not surprising to find that the same John fitz Thomas who had knighted Nicholas, but was then 1st Earl of Kildare, in 1322 recommended Piers for the Sheriffship of Kerry. The actual manuscript upon which the appointment was recorded is now no longer extant, having perished when the Public Record Office of Ireland was burnt down during "the troubles" of 1921, but fortunately a copy was made and which was published in 1854.⁸⁶ The manuscript was known as "The Court of the Irish Exchequer relating to County Kerry", and the following is an extract from the printed transcription:-

"15 Edw. II (1322) Maurice fitz John, Sheriff. On the 5th November, the Treasurer, at the instance of Thomas fitz John, Earl of Kildare, appointed Piers fitz Maurice Sheriff of Kerry; and Maurice fitz John, the former Sheriff was directed to deliver to him all his rolls, tallies, etc. without delay, and the Corners were commanded to receive his oats".

Whether his wildness did not suit Piers for the office we do not know, but he was relieved of the post the following year, as the next extract makes plain:-

⁸⁵ See Chapter XX, Part _ - Ballynagare. p. _

⁸⁶ Kerry Magazine No. , Vol. __. The manuscript was first noticed by Mr. James F. Ferguson (D. 1855) who made a copy and contributed it as an article to the Kerry Magazine.

"16 Edw. II (1323) Piers fitz Maurice, Sheriff. On the 20th November, the Treasurer, by a Commission, appointed Philip le Bret Sheriff of Kerry, and directed the former Sheriff, Piers fitz Maurice, to deliver all rolls, etc. to him. He was summoned to distrain Gilbert Brown, John de Athy, Philip de Valle, John fitz Simon, Martin FitzGerald, Maurice fitz John, and Piers fitz Maurice, former Sheriffs, to render their accounts.

The Sheriff and Receiver of the King's Money in County Kerry were summoned to account in the Exchequer; and not appearing, were fined 100s., £10, and £20 on three several occasions".

From the latter it would appear that Piers and his predecessors were guilty of mismanaging their accounts. Kerry officials for many years had caused considerable consternation to the King's Deputy in Ireland, particularly regarding the handling of taxes and the conduct of the Justice Courts and Assizes.

Another interesting extract from the same record is that for the years 1330-1 (3 and 4 Edw. III), when Richard fitz Maurice was Sheriff of Kerry. At this time Maurice fitz Thomas was head of the Desmond Branch of the Geraldines, and closer cousins than the Kildare to the Kerry branch. Indeed, Maurice fitz Thomas was even much more closely related since his wife Elinor, was the daughter of Nicholas fitz Maurice, 3rd Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw, who, Lodge tells us, gave Rattoo, Killury and Ballyheige for his daughter's dowry. Upon the Memoranda Roll of the Exchequer, part of the manuscript referred to, was enrolled the Charter whereby "for good and laudable service", King Edward III praised

"his beloved and faithful Maurice fitz Thomas and created and girt him with a sword as such Earl (of Desmond) giving and confirming to him all the Royal Liberties⁸⁷ which the King had in the County of Kerry except the four pleas of burnings, rape, forestalling, and treasure trove, and also the profit of the crosses in the County with all things belonging thereto which the King reserves to the Crown. The said Earldom, etc., to be held in tail male⁸⁸ by the service of one knight's fee . "

This Charter was given by the King's own hand at Gloucester, on the 27th August, 1330, in the third year of his reign.

This action in elevating the Desmond House was to cause bitter rivalry between the Kerry and Desmond Geraldines for, up to this time, although genealogically the junior branch, the Kerry family was by far the more powerful. Tralee Castle was the Desmond headquarters but, to the north the Lords of Kerry and Lixnaw had reigned supreme. With Rattoo, Killury and Ballyheige given to the Desmonds, and the latter's power of authority in Kerry, the Fitzmaurices had lost their omnipotence. Hitherto presumably quite content to pay the required taxes to the King, they could not reconcile

⁸⁷ See Glossary, p.

themselves to the fact that they would have to pay them to their cousins instead. However, a full account of the antagonism which arose between the two families is given in the next Chapter.

About this time, we imagine that Piers fitz Maurice died and while we cannot give the name of his wife, we can give that of his son, namely, Gerald, and the names of two others whom we believe were also his sons, David and Maurice.

Gerald fitz Piers seems to have been the eldest son, and most likely was born round about the year 1294 at Ballymac-Equim Castle. He was more generally known as Garret for, as we saw in Chapter I, the Irish language could not cope with the harsh Norman names and were thus softened; in Irish the name was rendered and re-rendered into English variously as Garret, Garrott, Garatt and Garold. Apart from the established fact of his holding Ballymac-Equim, little more of Gerald's life is known. From the Segar Pedigree, we learn that his daughter Elenor was the second wife of John fitz Maurice, 5th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw, who died in 1378. From this union, the family of Fitzmaurice of Cosfeale descended.

Elenor, herself, was born in 1320, or thereabouts, but undoubtedly Gerald also had at least one son, for Ballymac-Equim remained in the hands of the Pierse family, passing from father to son, until 1641 when, for their share in the Cromwellian Rebellion, it was taken from them, "granted" to a Cromwellian settler, and never regained.

The difficulty at this period is that, because of the widespread use of patronymics, positive identification of individuals is extremely hazardous unless a person's name is coupled with that of his estate or place of abode. Kerry records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries literally abound in "fitz Gerald", "Fitzgeralds", "fitz Garolds", "Mac Garrets", "Mac Gerriots", and so on. At this time, too, the surname Fitzgerald appears to have become established, and the problem of identification becomes well-nigh insoluble. If this were not difficult enough, the Geraldines were known by special clan-names, and Gerald would have been known severally as Gerald fitz Piers, Garret Mac Piers, Garret fitz Maurice fitz Piers, Garret fitz Piers Geraldine, Garret fitz Piers Fitzgerald, Garret de Geraldinis, etc., according, almost, "to the fancy of the speller".

However, Gerald fitz Piers, if he lived the full expectancy of life of that time, died, probably about the year 1360.

David fitz Piers may have been one of the sons of Piers fitz Maurice of Ballymac-Equim, but we cannot be certain. If in fact, he was, then the name David, while not very common in the Geraldine families, would have been given to him, without question, in respect of their kinsman David fitz Gerald, Bishop of St. David's in Wales. The only reference to David fitz Piers occurs in the Kerry Exchequer Roll already referred to, in which for the year 1314 it is recorded:-

"7 Edw. II (1314) David fitz Piers being attached (to the Court) and not appearing was fined 20d."

⁸⁸ See Glossary, p.

It should be remembered that, at this period, Piers was not a common name, least of all in Kerry with its very few Anglo-Norman inhabitants, and it is possible that we do actually have notice here of another early member of the Pierse family.

Maurice fitz Piers, too, is not known for certain to have been a son of Piers fitz Maurice of Ballymac-Equim, although again it is extremely likely that Piers named one of his sons after his father; a glance at the Fitzmaurice family tree will illustrate the fondness of the family for perpetuating their own Christian names. We have one reference only to Maurice, and that comes from King's Co. Kerry - Past and Present, in which the author states that, in the year 1366,

"Maurice fitz Piers de Geraldinis, Canon of Ardfert, value 50 florins, was given the Archdeaconry of Limerick, value 40 marks."

The Fitzmaurices were long closely connected with Ardfert⁸⁹ and several of the family were bishops there. In addition, the use of the name "de Geraldinis", as already mentioned is not at all unusual in records relating to the Geraldines; in a Papal Dispensation, Maurice, 6th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw (d.1398), is referred to as "Maurice fitz John de Geraldinis", and much later (1560), James Fitzgerald, son of Maurice (who was the third son of John, 14th Earl of Desmond) and popularly known by the English as the "Arch Traitor", was called and signed himself "James Geraldine".

Thus we come to the end of our account of Piers fitz Maurice and his issue, the origin from which the Pierse family has grown.

⁸⁹ See Chapter XX, Part 9 - Ardfert.

CHAPTER VI - KERRY IN THE 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES*

Genealogists work on a basis of three generations to a century, and three generations precisely are what are required to span the period between 1340 and 1440 in order to show an uninterrupted descent from Piers fitz Maurice (fl. 1322), eponymous ancestor of the Pierse family of Co. Kerry down to the present day. In other words, we require the name of a grandfather (nephew to Elinor ny Gerald fitz Piers, fl. 1360, who married John fitz Maurice, 5th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw), a father, and a son (who was the father of John Fitzmaurice of Clanmaurice Barony, Co. Kerry, fl. 1460), whose descendants are known and about whom we shall read more later). To narrow the gap still further, we can safely say that each of these men personally knew the other two, that the grandfather was born probably about the year 1350 and died about the year 1420, that the father was born about 1380 and died about 1450, and that the son was born about 1410 and died in or about the year 1480. Further we know that, in accordance with the custom of this period, the names of each of these men was --- fitz ---, the second name in each case being the Christian name of his father, and that, from the prevalence of the Geraldines to perpetuate their own family names, the blanks can almost certainly be filled from the following:- Gerald, Maurice, Thomas, Piers, John, Richard, Patrick and Nicholas. Also we know that each man would have been described as --- fitz --- of Ballymac-Equim, Aghamore or O'Dorney; lands known to have been held by the Pierse family between the years 1350 and 1450. All of this, of course, is so far but no more, and we must wait until a writer has, the time and patience to comb the Kerry Records of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and supply us with the missing names.

The important point is, that we *know* these three men actually lived and maintained the lands of Ballymac-Equim, Aghamore and O'Dorney, to pass down to their descendants of whom we will read more later.

For continuity purposes, then, we can utilise this Chapter covering "the silent century" and take stock of the Fitzmaurice family as a whole and see how they lived in Kerry in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As we saw earlier, the Fitzmaurices, although genealogically junior to the Desmond branch of the Geraldines who adopted Fitzgerald as a surname similar to their Kildare cousins, were by far the more powerful. The Fitzmaurices held the string of castles separating Kerry from Desmond, and in Kerry itself maintained the rich and high-yielding arable and pasture-land. Kerry, particularly, the sub-divisions later to be known as the Baronies of Clanmaurice and Irraghticonnor, was comparatively flat and well-watered, but Desmond consisted largely of high mountain ranges covered with coarse grass and heather, difficult to work and suitable only for the rearing of hardy cattle.

* Editor's note: An alternative Chapter title, "The Silent Century", appears in pencil but the original title remains in the Contents list and so has been retained here.

To give some idea of the power of the Fitzmaurices, the following serves as a typical example. Between the years 1332 and 1339, Maurice fitz Nicholas (nephew of Piers fitz Maurice of Ballymac-Equim) was 4th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw. Now, Maurice fitz Nicholas had "a distaste to, and a dispute with" Dermot Oge McCarthy, son and heir to the McCarthy More. The McCarthys, it will be remembered from Chapter IV were a powerful Irish clan, the successive chiefs of which, until their disposition to Robert FitzStephen and Miles de Cogan by Henry II in 1177, were hereditary Kings of Desmond. Subsequent to their losing the Kingdom of Desmond, while still extremely powerful, the clan vested in their hereditary chiefs the title of McCarthy More - that is the Great or Chief McCarthy. Thus Dermot Oge McCarthy was a man of no mean substance. However, the dispute was taken to Court for judgment and heard in the Assize of Tralee in 1325. During the course of the proceedings, Maurice fitz Nicholas, apparently enraged by Dermot Oge McCarthy, leaped down and killed him upon the Bench before the eyes of the Judge! For this action, Maurice fitz Nicholas was arrested, taken to Dublin and tried by Parliament.

We learn, that he was spared the fate of being put to death, but was attainted, and his family thereby lost the lands they possessed in Desmond and Molahiffe. It will be remembered that it was at Molahiffe Castle that Piers fitz Maurice tended his dying father Maurice fitz Thomas, 2nd Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw in the winter of 1307.

During August, 1330, as we saw, King Edward III bestowed the title of Earl of Desmond upon Maurice fitz Thomas, Baron of Shanid, Glenogra and Insicoyne, head of the Desmond Fitzgeralds (13-- to 1355), which gave him all Royal Liberties over the Fitzmaurices in Kerry and deprived the latter of much of their former power. In addition, Maurice fitz Nicholas's sister Elenor married Maurice fitz Thomas after his elevation to Earl of Desmond and, as part of her dowry, the Fitzmaurices gave to Maurice fitz Thomas the valuable lands of Rattoo, Killury and Ballyheige in Clanmaurice Barony. All this, of course, reduced rapidly the Fitzmaurices' already waning superiority.

In 1339, Maurice fitz Nicholas (4th Baron of Kerry) was taken Prisoner by Maurice fitz Thomas, Earl of Desmond, for "associating with the Irish and disturbing the peace", a very serious affair in those days when every effort to keep the Normans and the "native Irish" apart was being made. He was kept "in confinement" by the Earl until his death the same year "occasioned by his strict diet". This in effect we take to be that he was imprisoned by his brother-in-law, and starved to death!

Regarding the "native" or "mere Irish" of this period the following account is of interest. Writing in 1774, Dr. Charles Smith - the Historian of County Kerry, wrote:-

"Above 1300 years since, they (the native Irish) were great lovers of music, poetry, and many kinds of polite literature; and possessed a country abounding with all things necessary for the civil life of man; yet what is surprising, they never erected any houses of brick, or stone, before the reign of Henry II as most writers affirm; or at least a very few; until they saw the English begin to build castles upon their borders; and in imitation of them, they erected some few piles for their chiefs: Yet no private person ever built any house of stone but

such, who in later times had grants of their estates from James I or Charles I neither did any of them in all that period, plant either gardens or orchards, inclose or improve their lands, live together in settled villages or towns, or make any provision for posterity: which being contrary to all common sense and reason. can only be imputed, as sir John Davis justly remarks, to their old customs of Tanistry, and Gavelkind, which made their estates so uncertain and transitory. For who would plant or improve, or build upon that land, when he knew not who was to possess it after his death? By the custom of Gavelkind every child being born to inherit land, they scorned to condescend to husbandry or trades, so that they rather chose to live at home by extortion, and what they termed coshering, then to labour for their maintenance."

The Earl of Desmond, however, seemed to take his newly acquired power to heart, and in 1330 he attempted to exclude the King's Sheriffs and Judges from Kerry. In 1345, he even summoned a parliament in opposition to the Lord Justice of Ireland. In consequence of this, Sir Ralph Ufford, overran the country of Desmond and deprived the Earl of his grants; these were not restored to him until 1352.

As for the Fitzmaurices, after the attainder of Maurice fitz Nicholas, 4th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw, the family estates were not restored until the time of John fitz Maurice, Maurice's son, who inherited after his death in 1339. John, 5th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw defied the King's orders and married Margaret, daughter of O'Brien of Thomond (Co. Clare). This O'Brien was hereditary Chief of the O'Briens and descendant of the earlier Kings of Thomonds; they were afterwards created Earls of Inchiquin, and were many times closely connected to the Fitzmaurices and Pierses of Co. Kerry by marriage. As it happens, after the death of Margaret, John, 5th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw, married secondly Elenor, daughter of Gerald fitz Piers of Ballymac-Equim by whom he had two sons and a daughter: Gerald, ancestor of the Fitzmaurices of Cosfeale,⁹⁰ Robert, ancestor to the Fitzmaurices of Cloncalla,⁹¹ and Elenor, who married the White Knight. These knights - the White Knight, the Knight of Glin and the Knight of Kerry, were all Fitzgeralds and representatives of junior houses descended from the Earls of Desmond; their names - for the titles were hereditary - occur throughout Kerry history down to the present day.

Maurice, eldest son to John fitz Maurice by his marriage to Margaret O'Brien, succeeded as 6th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw upon the death of his father in 1378. For some reason or other, he was not summoned to Parliament with the other peers of Ireland up to the year 1382. He, like his father, married twice; firstly to Elizabeth, daughter of Raymond, Lord Condon, who at the time was the widow of Maurice, 2nd Earl of Desmond, and secondly to Joanna, daughter of Gerald, 4th Earl of Desmond. Throughout the histories of these Geraldine kinsmen, the Fitzmaurices of Kerry and the

⁹⁰ Cosfeale - now Duagh.

Fitzgeralds of Desmond, the amazing fact occurs time and. time again that, although rivals, they always found time to forget their grievances to ally their families in marriage, but without exception, soon continued their old family differences fighting tooth and nail. But that was life in those misty days of the past.

Further power fell to the Earls of Desmond in the year 1388 when Gerald, 4th Earl of Desmond, known variously as "The Rhymers", "The Poet" and "The Magician" - the latter on account of his extraordinary abilities in mathematics - was made Sheriff of the Crosses of Kerry; this implied jurisdiction over Church Lands, known as "the Crosses" because the boundaries of the lands were actually marked with stone crosses. This Gerald joined with his kinsmen, Maurice fitz Richard Fitzgerald, 4th Earl of Kildare in defending Naas, Co. Kildare, against O'Brien of Thomond. Gerald was Lord Justice of Ireland in 1367, and was murdered "privately" by an unknown assailant at Castleisland in 1397. His daughter Joan, was the second. wife of Maurice fitz John, 6th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw.

In 1398, Patrick fitz Maurice, known as "The Bearded", succeeded as 7th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw. He maintained the family feuds with the Earls of Desmond, and it is said that with Patrick, the name Fitzmaurice was established as the family name. The following record from the Public Record Office dated 1409, is of interest and shows that the rival families sometimes made an effort to live as peaceable neighbours.

"Agreement made at Castleisland, Co. Kerry between James FitzGerald 7th Earl of Desmond, Lord of the Liberty of Kerry, and Patrick FitzMaurice, fitz John (7th Lord of Kerry) and Captain of his Nation, establishing peace and concord between them; and that the said Patrick himself, his heirs, and his whole people should be henceforth answerable to the said Earl and his heirs at their Assizes, in respect of all charges., as the other tenants and subjects of the said Earl in the County of Kerry, with many other covenants.

Witnesses:- Nicholas, Bishop of Artfert
 Master William Stack, Archdeacon of Artfert
 Henry Hulbert
 Maurice O'Huoleghan, and others

Dated- Tuesday next after the Feast of the Annunciation of the B(lessed) V(irgin)
 Mary, 9 Henry IV (1408)."

One point of particular interest in the foregoing is the reference to Patrick Fitzmaurice as "Captain of his Nation". How this title came to be adopted by the head of the Fitzmaurices is difficult to state; although used by native Irish families it does not appear to have been used by other Norman families. The Fitzmaurices, it must be understood, in defying the order that the Normans were not to

⁹¹ Clooncalla, Dysant P., Clanmaurice B.

associate with the native Irish, seemed to have completely adopted the Irish way of life in addition to intermarriage with daughters of Irish clan chieftains; thus they earned for themselves the remark in the poem (quoted in Chapter IX) by the satirist Aenghus O'Daly (1602), "speckled shins in linen rags", and bore out the Chronicler's sarcastic comment "Hibernicis ipsis Hiberniores" - more Irish than the Irish themselves! The title "Captain of his Nation" was even noticed by William Shakespeare, who, being within Court circles, must have heard a Fitzmaurice, possibly paying homage to the Sovereign of England thus proclaimed. As is well known, the shrewd Shakespeare incorporated factual detail in his plays, and thus in "King Henry V" Act II. Scene I, we read how Captain Fluellen in Henry V's army in France before Harfleur spoke with his fellow officers Captains Macmorris and Jamy. Macmorris, the Irish captain, and apparently responsible for mining operations (comparable with our modern Royal Engineers), is clearly a Fitzmaurice; we have already noticed the use of Mac Maurice or Morris as the Irish form of FitzMaurice. However, Macmorris, who apparently interlaced his conversations with "By Chrish la", "So Chrish save me", and "By my father's soul", is spoken to by Captain Fluellen who suggests (under possible correction) that "there is not many of your nation ...". Here Captain Macmorris breaks in, obviously enraged, with "Of my nation! What ish my nation? What ish my nation? Who talks of my nation ish a villain, and a bastard, and a knave and a rascal."

This is most interesting for, apart from the reference to his nation, of which Macmorris was presumably "Captain", it also shows that Shakespeare was well-acquainted with the Fitzmaurice habit of the period in employing loosely sacrilegious remarks, and that he knew the Kerry brogue. This has not so far been mentioned herein, but Kerryfolk have the charming characteristic of rendering the letter "s" as "sh"; thus Lixnaw becomes "Lixshnaw", Listowel - "Lishtowel", listen - "lishen", and so on; hence Captain Macmorris says "Chrish" for "Christ" and "ish" for "is". Since the period of Henry V was 1413-1422, it would appear that "Captain Macmorris" was a contemporary of Patrick Fitzmaurice, 7th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw, described above as "Captain of his Nation". Further, as Shakespeare wrote "King Henry V" previous to the year 1600, it seems likely that either Thomas Fitzmaurice, 16th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw (1520-1590) or his son Patrick Fitzmaurice, 17th Baron (1541-1600), both of whom were at Court in England (particularly the latter who while very young was sent to England as a hostage to Queen Mary for his father's good behaviour, and remained there until his twenties), was used by Shakespeare as a model for his "Captain Macmorris".

However, to revert to our subject, it appears that in the year 1422, Patrick Fitzmaurice, Lord of Kerry, made a further agreement with James Fitzgerald, 7th Earl of Desmond, by which Patrick agreed to answer James at his Assizes. This indenture was also signed at Castleisland, Co. Kerry.

James was elected also Keeper of Peace in Kerry, Limerick, Cork, and Waterford in the year 1444; his daughter Honora married Thomas Fitzmaurice, 8th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw.

Thomas Fitzmaurice, 8th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw, succeeded on the death of his father Patrick in 1410. Because of an impediment in his speech, Thomas was known as "The Stammerer". He, too, appears to have been somewhat of a renegade for, when the Irish peers were instructed to

appear at Court during the fifteenth-century, he, together with the Earl of Desmond, refused to answer the royal summons.

From 1462 to 1467, Thomas fitz James Fitzgerald was the 8th Earl of Desmond, and was regarded as "the flower of the southern Geraldine stock". He was loved by the Irish people and described as "an affable, eloquent, hospitable man; kind and munificent to the poets and antiquaries of the Irish race". He tried to establish an Irish National University in 1466, and constantly strove, in spite of the English laws approbating the contrary, to unify the Anglo-Norman and native Irish races. For such sensible and peace-making activities, the English hated him. His marriage to an Irish woman was the crowning infamy! In the year 1467, Thomas, Earl of Desmond, together with his kinsman Thomas, Earl of Kildare, were arrested by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester and Lord Deputy of Ireland, acting on secret instructions from Queen Elizabeth. The English feared the power of the Geraldines, and it was on the trumped up charge of exacting coyne and livery, and for making alliance with the Irish, contrary to the laws, that the two earls were arrested. Kildare was pardoned, but Desmond was held and beheaded by Tiptoft at Drogheda, Co. Lowth, the same year. By this murder, Thomas, Earl of Desmond, became known as "The Martyr of Christ", and all Ireland went into deep mourning; Tiptoft, himself, was henceforth appropriately known as "The Butcher", but he did not enjoy his new epithet very long, for he was summoned to return to England shortly after and was himself executed.

From these little incidents in Irish history, we can piece together to obtain a picture of what life was like in Kerry during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It should be noted, however, that the position of the head of a family in relation to the rest of his kin in those days in wild and remote Co. Kerry was very different from that in the Pale and parts of the country more easily accessible. The Fitzmaurices, Barons of Kerry, and Fitzgeralds, Earls of Desmond, were much more closely associated with their widely distributed families and tenants than in say, Dublin or Wexford. It is true that they lived in castles and held courts, but the main part of their lives was taken up in wresting a livelihood from the soil, building defences and roads, and good husbandry. They were as much concerned with politics and court etiquette as the present-day farmer, competing day and night, Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter with the wiles of nature. The sea was close at hand, and fishing, sailing, and hunting occupied the best part of their leisure time. The luxury of comfortable and well appointed mansions with the attendant round of entertainment on a lavish scale could not be indulged - not that it was sought - for the management of their estates mainly occupied their attention. This too applied to the junior branches - indeed to all families. Thus at this time, we imagine the third of our (as yet) unknown descendants from Piers fitz Maurice living at Ballymac-Equim, a few miles from Lixnaw, and managing the family estates. No doubt he was probably little concerned with the disputes of his rival kinsmen Fitzmaurice of Kerry and Fitzgerald of Desmond, being too busy with his own farm.

The next century, however, was to change all this, and peaceable Kerry men were inescapably involved in war, brought to their very doorsteps. It became no longer safe to voice one's opinions fearlessly - least of all upon religious matters - for to do so might well mean deprivation of one's lands - the only means of livelihood - but all this we will follow in the next Chapter.*

* Editor's note: At the end of this chapter there is the following pencil note: "mention spread of family by this time to Meenog. Crossmac, etc."

CHAPTER VII - THE DESMOND REBELLION

From the histories of the Fitzmaurice family, extracts of which appeared in Chapter II, we saw how most writers agreed in that the Fitzmaurices of Ballymac-Equim, Meenogahane and MacShane of Crossmacshane, changed their name to Pierse "about the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign and yet subsist". Unfortunately, the genealogists omitted to tell us, or could not give, the reason for the change, or why MacShane was attainted. Now, Queen Elizabeth reigned from 1558 to 1603, that is forty-five years, and so we may assume that "the latter end" may be taken to imply the years between 1581 and 1603. The earliest *notice* of the change of name appears to be in the Segar pedigree of the Fitzmaurices, Plate I, dated 1615, at which time the occurrence of the change of name could well have been within living memory. Thus, we may assume the change of name as a fact and the period given as being correct but, since we have not been supplied with the reason, we must try to find this ourselves. One thing which must be borne in mind, however, is that in the more remote parts of Ireland, surnames did not become established until, compared with England, at quite a late date. We are told that the senior family of Fitzmaurice did not adopt the name permanently until the time of Patrick fitz Maurice, 7th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw, who died in the year 1410. Other families less in the public eye continued to use patronymics for centuries after - indeed, in Ireland today, folk are still known as Thomas "Kilcooly", Mary "of the Big House" and so on, their epithets given to them at some time in their lives, and remaining with them until death; it sometimes happens that a person's real surname is not known even by intimate associates!

It is significant that, during the period covered by "the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign", the focus of Irish affairs was directed to the south-west corner of the country - Kerry and Desmond in particular - drawn by the uprising of the Earl of Desmond. Beginning as a tiny glow, incidents spread until finally flared up what has been described in recent years as "the most frightful civil war Ireland has ever witnessed" - the Desmond Rebellion. By the time the Rebellion had burnt itself out, thousands of people had lost their lives, thousands more - although living - were in a desperate plight, and miles of countryside were reduced to a desert. The Pierse families in Co. Kerry were in the very centre of the massacres and destruction.

In order to understand the circumstances of the rebellion, and the events leading up to the final outbreak, particularly for the reader not familiar with Ireland's history, we must go back a few years before the rebellion and examine the state of the country; this we will trace in the main from State Papers and other contemporary documents in order to obtain as far as possible an unbiased opinion.

We start at the close of the fifteenth century when, in the year 1477, Garret (or Gerald) Fitzgerald, 8th Earl of Kildare succeeded to the title upon the death of his father Thomas. Garret, or "The Great Earl", as he is known in Irish history, was, at the time of his succession, a prisoner in London having been attainted for high treason, and was required to answer the charges laid against

him. It is recorded that, during the proceedings, one of his accusers exclaimed "All Ireland cannot rule this man!", to which the king, Edward IV, replied "Then let this man rule all Ireland!" Garret was successful in clearing himself and, leaving his son Garret Oge as a hostage for his good conduct, was allowed to return to Ireland. Here he was reinstated as Lord Deputy of Ireland.

About this time, 1496, a bitter war was being conducted between Mac William, Lord Burke of Clanrickard on one side, and O'Kelly, Chief of Hy Mony with others on the other. On the 5th June, 1510, Maurice Fitzgerald, 10th Earl of Desmond, with others petitioned the King to allow the Earl of Kildare to remain in Ireland so that he could end "the browbill and wariens" between Mac William and O'Kelly. The request was granted and the Earl of Kildare, in attempting to quell the war, with his forces overran the whole of south Munster; he was unsuccessful, however, and was defeated by the Burkes of Clanrickard assisted by the O'Briens of Thomond. Three years later, Garret, The Great Earl of Kildare, died.

In 1520, to fill the office left vacant by the death of the Great Earl, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, was sent out to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. Writing to him on the 11th July, 1520, the King complaining of the discord between the Earl of Desmond and his hereditary family enemy the Earl of Ormond, instructed Surrey to settle the matter. This he was able to do, and on the 6th October following was able to report that reconciliation between the two rival earls had been made.

Peace in the Province of Munster, however, did not last long, and the following year, James Fitzgerald, 11th Earl of Desmond invaded the territory of the powerful McCarthy clan. The clan chief, Cormac Oge McCarthy, in April, 1521, wrote to Lord Lieutenant Surrey desiring that his complaint should be addressed to the King himself. Surrey was again able to bring about a reconciliation but, overtaxed by the anxiety of his office, he begged leave of the King to retire; this being granted, he returned to England.

In place of Surrey, in 1521, Piers Roe (Ruadh - or "The Redhaired") Butler, Earl Of Ormond, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. The hereditary enemy of the Geraldines, the Earl of Ormond used his newly acquired powers to injure the absent Earl of Kildare, and either took or destroyed many of his castles. Garret Oge Fitzgerald, 9th Earl of Kildare, like his father, had been summoned to London to answer charges of treason, and was not released until Ormond had done considerable damage. Upon his return to Ireland, Garret Oge, enraged on finding the malicious damage done to him by Ormond, immediately prepared for war. From England, Commissioners were sent out to enquire into this fresh outbreak, and finding Garret Oge to have been badly wronged, caused Ormond to be dismissed from office. In 1524, Garret Oge himself was appointed Lord Deputy in place of Ormond.

During these years, James Fitzgerald, 11th Earl of Desmond, dismayed at the interference by the English in Irish affairs and their hatred for the Geraldines, had been holding correspondence with the King of France concerning the prospects of a French invasion of Ireland. The plot was discovered by The Earl of Ormond who, anxious to regain favour and at the same time cause more mischief against the Geraldines, informed Henry VIII. The King straightway summoned Desmond to London,

but the Earl refused point blank to go. Thereupon the Earl of Kildare as Lord Deputy was instructed to arrest him. Kildare marched with a force into Munster but, as has been suggested, because of their blood relationship, he allowed the Earl of Desmond to escape. James Butler, Earl of Ormond, seized too on this and, informing of the alleged collusion, caused the Earl of Kildare himself to be arrested. He was summoned to London where, upon his arrival in 1526, he was straightway committed to the Tower.

Again in 1528 we read of trouble with the Earl of Desmond. On the 28th January of that year, Sir John Fitzgerald and his son Gerald, kinsmen of the Earl of Desmond, writing from Dromony to the King, stated: "They have obeyed his (the King's) commands and aided James Butler (Earl of Ormond). For which aid James, 11th Earl of Desmond, came with a host and burnt and destroyed the most part of their country" and that they have "driven the said Earl to take shipping to the main sea, and slain many of his host". On the 24th February, Sir John Fitzgerald again wrote to the King, this time complaining of the injuries done to him and his tenants by the Earl of Desmond, and "solicites pardon for the inhabitants of Youghal (Co. Cork) who suffered the said Earl to land with a great company from certain English ships".

As a result of these last moves, on the 14th October, 1528, a bill was prepared for the attainder of "James, 11th Earl of Desmond, for treason in receiving and comforting the Lord Kendall of France, with other Frenchmen, his associates, within his lordships and manors in Ireland, and for privily sending messages to Francis, the French King, then being at war with Henry VIII".

These incidents of the Earls of Desmond continued to build up, little by little, and were causing the Desmond Geraldines to be regarded as trouble-makers by the English sovereigns. In many respects, the Earl's actions were justifiable for, even from the few incidents given here, we can detect the mischief stirred up by the envious and would-be rival families of Butler, Earls of Ormond, and Burke, Earls of Clanrickard - both haters and traditional enemies of the Geraldines. Again, about this time, Henry VIII was engaged in his quarrel with Rome, and failed to understand why his infamous marriages were not looked upon with favour by the Pope. It need hardly be stated that the Geraldines were faithful Catholics, while the Butlers and Burkes were more keen to follow the wind and curry favour with the English sovereignty.

From 1534 to 1536, James fitz Thomas was 13th Earl of Desmond, and on the 15th February, 1535, a correspondent in Ireland observed that "The Earls of Desmond have a malicious rebellion rooted in them ever since the execution of Thomas, (8th) Earl of Desmond, at Drogheda."⁹²

In the year 1536, Henry VIII, by Act of Parliament, established himself as Supreme Head of the Church in England and, by a subsequent Act, similar Head of the Church in Ireland.

Now in 1544, many of the Irish chiefs sent forces which were formed together as an Irish Army to be sent to England to supplement the army there. A record entitled "King Henry's Irish Army

⁹² "The Irish Genealogist", Vol. 1, No. 1, April, 1937.

List" is still extant which shows the names of the men mustered. Under the heading "Therle of Desmond's Kerne"⁹³ (The Earl of Desmond's Kerne⁹⁴), among a long list containing many "MacMorishes" (Fitzmaurices), we notice "Gerald Fitz Pierse". Of course, as already discussed, it is difficult at this period to tell if "fitz ____" is used as a surname or a patronymic, but it is quite likely that this Gerald fitz Pierse was one of the Pierse family of Co. Kerry.

In 1547, Henry VIII died and was succeeded by his only son, yet a child, as Edward VI. Henry, in spite of his quarrel with Rome and his self-appointment as Head of the Church in England and Ireland, remained to his death a staunch upholder of the Catholic Faith. But now, with a boy king, the undercurrent of Reformation took on a vigorous increase in pace.

About this time too, the quarrels between the Desmond and Kerry branches of the Geraldine family were gathering impetus. On the 28th July, 1551, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir James Crofts, sent instructions to James fitz John, then 15th Earl of Desmond, "for the better ordering of the King's service in Co. Kerry." In reply, James writing to Sir James Crofts on the 15th December of the same year, complained of "Lord Fitzmaurice Kerry (then Thomas fitz Patrick Fitzmaurice, 16th Baron), who refuses to acknowledge his (Desmond's) right of liberties in Kerry", and offers "to entertain any Judge to hear, examine, and determine all manner of causes within this liberty, Tralee".

James Fitzgerald died in 1558 and was succeeded by Gerald fitz James, the eldest son of his second marriage, as 16th Earl of Desmond; James's first marriage to Joan Fitzgerald, daughter of James, 11th Earl of Desmond, had been declared void on the grounds of consanguinity and the son born of it, Thomas Ruadh ("The Red-Haired") was declared illegitimate.

Now this Gerald, 16th Earl of Desmond, or Garret fitz James as he is sometimes styled, was the man whose name was given to the terrible rebellion - the Desmond Rebellion - in which he played the prominent part. From a biographical study of him, we gather that he was of "a restless and ambitious mind, not satisfied with being one of the greatest subjects in Europe". History books tell us that "he gained a place in Irish history chiefly through his misfortunes", that he possessed a "determined obstinate spirit", while some state that he was "a man without either intellectual capacity or moral strength".

In order to follow the sequence of events related herein, it must be clearly understood that this Gerald had a cousin named James who was the son of Maurice fitz John, the third son of the 14th Earl of Desmond. This James is almost invariably referred to in contemporary manuscripts (as well as modern history books) as James Fitzmaurice (recte James *fitz Maurice*) and as such, causes considerable confusion with the Fitzmaurice family of Co. Kerry - one of whom in particular, James Fitzmaurice (later known as James Pierse) was one of the Pierse branch of that family and was at this time Bishop of Ardfert and Kerry. Correctly named James *fitz Maurice* Fitzgerald, Gerald's cousin was also known to the English as "The Arch Traitor" or James Geraldine, as he was accustomed to

⁹³ "The Irish Genealogist", Vol. 1 No.1, April, 1937.

sign himself. For this reason, this latter James will hereinafter be referred to as *James Geraldine* to avoid confusion with his namesake the Bishop of Kerry; James Geraldine's father Maurice, distinguished in history as "Maurice-Dubh-Mac-an Earla" (Black Maurice, the Earl's son), was also known as "Maurice the Murderer".

To summarize then, the men whose actions we will principally follow in the course of the Desmond Rebellion are:- Gerald (or Garret) fitz James Fitzgerald, 16th Earl of Desmond - styled "Gerald (or Garret) the Rebel Earl", his cousin James fitz Maurice Fitzgerald - styled "James Geraldine", Thomas fitz Edmond Fitzmaurice, 16th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw, and James Fitzmaurice (later Pierse), Bishop of Kerry - styled Bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe.

On the 22nd June, 1559, we find granted "Confirmation of the regalities of the County of Kerry to Gerald fitz James, Earl of Desmond"; this news was of much embitterment to Fitzmaurice, Baron of Kerry.

Queen Mary, who had succeeded Edward VI, died in the year 1558 and her half-sister Elizabeth became Queen of England. Now, whereas Mary had been a strong maintainer of Roman Catholicism, Elizabeth, in addition to requiring to be Head of the Church in England and Ireland (as had her father Henry VIII), was also a fanatical supporter of the Reformation movement. Hitherto the southern provinces of Ireland, particularly Munster, apart from the quarrels of the Desmonds with the Butlers and other rival families, had been in a state of peace compared with the ravages of war being waged in the northern provinces. But with the progress of the Reformation, differences other than those of hereditary family hate grew into being.

The Geraldines of Kildare, Desmond, and Kerry adhered to the Catholic Faith, but the Butlers, Earls of Ormond, the Burkes, Earls of Clanrickard, and others, accepted the Protestant doctrine in order to win favour in England. Gerald, Earl of Desmond, continued his raids into neighbouring territories, complaints from the chiefs of which resulted in an Order, dated 20th May, 1562, by which Gerald was required to swear to be true to the Queen and obedient to the Principal Governor; he was also "to suffer the Lord Great Barry, Lord Roche, Little Barry, Barry Roe (Ruagh), the Lord (de) Courcey, the Lord Fitzmaurice (and others) to remain in the Queen's peace, and to have the leading of his own kin and holders of land in Cork, Limerick, Kerry and Desmond." On the 28th June, 1562, Gerald replied that he "submits, acknowledges the Queen, and gains her favour", he further stated that he would assist the Bishop in the furtherance of religion; "he would be answerable to the laws, will suffer the Lord Fitzmaurice of Kerry (and others) to remain upon the Queen's peace, and will repair to Parliaments". For this assurance, the Queen granted "Pardon to Gerald, Earl of Desmond", dated Greenwich, 21st July, 1562.

The Bishop referred to in this correspondence, was the Bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe (also known as the Bishop of Kerry), whose See, covering an area of some 4,000 square miles and

⁹⁴ Dict: "Lightly armed Irish foot-soldier". Irish *ceithern*.

thousands of persons, was one of the largest in Ireland. The diocese of Aghadoe itself, long since disused as a separate bishopric, was incorporated with that of Ardfert, Co. Kerry, in the Fitzmaurice's territory. Thus, most of Desmond's subjects, including the Earl himself, were spiritually administered to by a bishop - often a Fitzmaurice - seated in the Baron of Kerry's territory. In certain affairs of State too, the Bishop, as a *spiritual* peer, took precedence over the Earl of Desmond as a *temporal* peer. At this time, the combined See of Ardfert and Aghadoe was occupied by James Fitzmaurice, one of the Pierse branch of the family; formerly James was Abbot of Odorney, a monastery in the Cistercian Order - also known as Kyrie Eleison; he later was known as James Pierse. It is impossible, if a readily understandable account of the Desmond Rebellion is to be given herein, also to interweave the threads of the entire life of James Fitzmaurice, Bishop of Ardfert, into the already complicated pattern of history of this time: for this reason, we will only notice incidents relating to the Bishop insofar as they directly affect the course of the Desmond Rebellion; a full account of the life of James, Bishop of Ardfert is given in Chapter ____.

After receiving the Queen's pardon, Gerald, Earl of Desmond, was for a few years a most loyal subject and peace was enjoyed in Munster. But, knowing something of the strong undercurrents which continually swept around the Geraldines, we realize that this could not last for long. As we might have imagined, Desmond was again involved in war with the Butlers. It happened that Desmond claimed certain control over Decies in Waterford, and Gerald fitz James, in a journey to levy tribute, crossed the River Blackwater with his army. The chief of Decies was Sir Maurice Fitzgerald who, although a Geraldine himself, was also related by marriage to the Butlers. When he discovered Gerald fitz James's arrival, Sir Maurice Fitzgerald immediately called to his aid the Earl of Ormond, chief of the Butler family. The result was a battle between the two rival armies which took place at Affane, Co. Waterford in 1565. During the course of the battle, Gerald, Earl of Desmond, was wounded and, it is recorded, that as the Earl was carried on a litter from the battlefield, one of his captors jeered at him - "Where is now the Great Earl of Desmond?" To this Gerald retorted - "Where he ought to be - on the necks of the Butlers!"

The Lord Deputy of Ireland, at this time Sir Henry Sidney, having heard of the battle, took the wounded Gerald prisoner and appointed Sir John Fitzgerald (also known as John of Desmond), the Earl's brother, to govern South Munster in the Earl's absence. True to form, while Desmond was held prisoner in Dublin, the Butler's took advantage of this fact to destroy the Earl's property. The State Papers of 1567 contain a note, dated 4th January, of "burnings, spoils, and murders committed by the Butlers against the Earl of Desmond since his going to serve the Queen in the English Pale." The same year, due to the treachery of the Earl of Ormond, Garret, Earl of Desmond, and his brother Sir John Fitzgerald were summoned by Queen Elizabeth to London; upon their arrival, they were immediately arrested and imprisoned in the Tower.

The arrest and imprisonment of the Earl and his brother seems to have acted as a signal in Munster. For some time unrest at the way the Reformation was being forced had been growing, and

rumours were circulating that lands were to be taken away from their owners and sold to Englishmen. This, of course, had happened in Queen Mary's time when the counties of Leix and Offaly had been "planted" with English colonies; the former owners being entirely dispossessed. At this time, in the absence of a Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir William Pelham was Lord Justice and, on the 8th February, 1568, he reported that "James fitz Maurice (James Geraldine), the Earl of Desmond's cousin-germaine, and Thomas Roowe (Ruadh), a base brother of the said Earl's, attempt a disturbance striving for the rule of Munster. James was appointed by the Earl to have the rule in his absence. Thomas Roe claims the rule of right. The Earl's uncle John, proffers his services for ruling the country."

At this time, Thomas fitz Edmond Fitzmaurice, 16th Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw, was striving to rule his territory in obedience to the Queen, and at the same time cope with Desmond's claims and demands. James Geraldine was the effective representative of the Earl of Desmond in his absence, and he went around the various chiefs of Munster encouraging them to band together into what subsequently came to be known as The Geraldine League, with the object of defending their religion and lands against the English. Now Thomas Fitzmaurice was not keen to join the Geraldine League for to do so would entail joining issue with his family rivals the Desmonds, and, while it cannot be said that he encouraged the Reformation, he did not positively denounce it. In this unhappy state he was subject to numerous attacks by supporters of the Geraldine League. As an example, recorded under the date A.D. 1567, the Four Masters state in their Annals of Ireland that during the course of one of these attacks:-

"Manus, the son of Edmond, son of Manus Mac Sheehy, was slain by Mac Maurice of Kerry, that is by Thomas, the son of Edmund, son of Thomas. And there was of his tribe (Sheehy) not one man of his years more distinguished for prowess and hospitality than he."

The clan Sheehy, together with the clan Sweeney, were particularly devoted to the Desmond family, and the clan Sheehy were evidently a kind of hereditary bodyguard to the Earls.

The following year, James Geraldine came up into Kerry from Desmond, plundering, pillaging, and murdering as he went. This drew from the enraged Baron of Kerry the following protest to the Lords Justices of Ireland:-

16th July, 1568.

"Thomas Fitzmaurice of Kerry, writing from Lixnaw to the Lords Justices, that James Fitzmaurice of Desmond (James Geraldine), with all the power of the Geraldines, entered his country, took all the cattle, burned the houses, and is still there pulling up all the green corn and killing his men. He also complains of the Bishop of Limerick's false book against the writer."

In reply to the order for an explanation from the Lords Justices, James Geraldine, on the 27th July, 1568, from Ballyrobearde wrote that he had "committed not hurt on MacMaurice but had taken 200 beeves (head of cattle) in pledge for rents."

Not content with this attack upon the Fitzmaurices, James Geraldine and John Oge Fitzgerald (son of the 14th Earl of Desmond) led an army up into Kerry again "devastating, burning, and ravaging as they went". The ordinary forces of the Lord of Kerry at this time were 24 horsemen and 200 foot, but in spite of such a small army, Fitzmaurice engaged the invaders. On the 29th July, 1568, the people of Kerry having taken refuge in Lixnaw Castle, the Fitzmaurices gave battle to the Desmonds at Lixnaw and defeated them. It was estimated that, of the persons involved, 300 were killed in this affray - quite a considerable number since the population of the little county of Kerry as it was at this time was only a few thousand. During the course of the battle, Fitzmaurice killed O'Conner Kerry, chief of the clan O'Connor, and Edmond Oge MacSheehy. On the 11th September, 1568, John Oge Fitzgerald writing to the Earl of Desmond reported that he had been "in parts of Kerry resisting the enemy".

On the 1st December, following, a Captain Humphrey Gylberte of the English forces in Ireland writing from Limerick to the Lord Deputy described his "voyage into Kerry"; he stated that he had been "hindered by tempest and adverse wind" and had "despatched Mr. Apsley and twenty horse thither; Apsley, assisted by the Baron of Lixnaw, Sir Thomas (Fitzgerald) of Desmond, Rory McShee, John McShee, Purcell and Edmond FitzDavy, reduced Kerry and Connolough (Connolly, Co. Limerick) to obedience". During the same month, two French ships arrived at Dingle haven, and James Geraldine was proclaimed a traitor.

The Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, decided to end James Geraldine's rampages once and for all, and in 1569, took a strong army down into Munster. James Geraldine had no thought of yielding to the English, and was chased all over the Province. In order to try to preserve the peace, Sydney appointed Presidents of Munster and Connaught, Sir John Perrott being installed in the former in 1572. Finally, after capturing his castles one by one, the stern Perrott forced James Geraldine to submit.

The uprising was now considered to have been put down and Gerald, Earl of Desmond, and his brother Sir John Fitzgerald were released from the Tower and permitted to return to Ireland. Gerald promised to give up his feudal independence, and left his only son James fitz Gerald (who was born in England and honoured by Queen Elizabeth being his godmother) behind as a hostage.

On the 28th January, 1573, the President of Munster, Sir John Perrott, wrote to the Lord Deputy from Cork and reported that he had sent "the Queen's letters for the readiness of their services against the rebels to the Earl of Clancarr, the Baron of Lixnaw, and to Sir Thomas Fitzgerald of Desmond".

Upon request to the Queen, Gerald, Earl of Desmond, was again put in possession of the lands he formerly held. However, soon afterwards, he was again involved in quarrels with the surrounding chiefs and, having solemnly given his word that he would strive for peace, he provoked Queen Elizabeth's anger. Writing to the Lord Deputy on the 18th May, 1574, the Queen instructed that "Desmond should submit himself in England; if he remain obstinate, he is to be prosecuted

immediately". The following month, on the 15th June, the Queen again writing from Greenwich to the Lord Deputy, advised him that she "esteemed her honour very much wounded by the proceedings with Desmond", and ordered the Lord Deputy to "proceed against him without attending further answer". A proclamation was issued against the Earl offering £1,000 and a pension to anyone bringing him in, or £500 for his head.

This brought the desired result, and on the 2nd September, 1574, Gerald, Earl of Desmond, gave his "final humble submission" before the Lord Deputy at Cork. As a result, the Lord Deputy was able to report to the Queen of "perfect conclusion with Desmond: earnest show of duty emphasized at taking the Oath of Allegiance". Desmond himself wrote to the Queen protesting that he would "faithfully serve and dutifully obey her Majesty and her Governor of Ireland" and "prays for one drop of grace to assuage the flame of his tormented brain". The Queen was pleased with her success and ordered a consultation to be held in Ireland for avoiding further disorder in Munster.

During all these years of trouble, the Pierse branch of the Fitzmaurice family were living in Co. Kerry, mainly in Clanmaurice Barony and all within a few miles of Lixnaw. We can be sure that they felt the effects of the Desmond and Geraldine League raids into Kerry and no doubt lost cattle, crops and perhaps members of their families in resisting them. The state of affairs was most unhappy. On one side they owed allegiance to the senior family, the head of which Thomas fitz Edmond Fitzmaurice, 16th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw, was always under suspicion by the English authorities, and on the other, they were continually subject to attacks from Desmond in the south. On the vulnerable East, they were also open to attacks from the English. This, of course, applied to other families living in Kerry, but one of the Pierse family, James Fitzmaurice, was Bishop of Kerry and, as a Roman Catholic, in view of the now advanced Protestant doctrine, he was ever under the eagle eye of the Church Reformists. Although the Pierse families united with the Desmonds in their common support of the Church of Rome, such belief itself was then an act of treason.

James Geraldine, the administrator of Desmond in the Earl's absence, eventually left Ireland for Rome with the view of presenting his case to the Pope and enlisting the aid of Catholic powers in Europe to form an army to invade Ireland and drive out the Protestants.

The quarrel between the Fitzmaurices and the Desmonds was by no means settled and, on the 30th August, 1575, an Order was passed by the Commissioners of Munster for the Earl of Desmond against Thomas Fitzmaurice "Baron of Lixnaw" stating that he was to appear in the Liberty Court of Kerry where he would be required to answer charges regarding "rent and kine (cattle) rising out of (the Barony of) Clanmaurice". This, Fitzmaurice ignored and on the 27th February, 1576, the Lord Deputy was obliged to state in a letter that "the Queen's writ is not current in Kerry". At all events, Garret, Earl of Desmond, was not satisfied that his claims were being met and forthwith he again sent a force up into Kerry. The events which followed are best described in the word of Thomas, 16th Baron of Kerry, himself for, a short time after the attack took place, he addressed a letter of complaint to Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, as follows:-

"My bounden duty premised to your good Lordship, advertising your Lordship that the 12th of this present month (August, 1576), certayn of the Erle of Desmond's men in several companies came to my poore countrie, one companie to the south side of my country, and one other to the north side, and from one of my tenants - being my chaplain about the adge of four score years - took awaie his plough garrans (horses), killed two of my menne, and left not soe much as my poore greyhoundes unkilld, so that the man's guttes from the dogge's could scars be discerned, and the same night another companie (went) to one of my horsemen in the north side of my countrie, and took from him 15 stode (stud) mares, and drowned three, and the next night being the 24th of this month, another companie of the M^cAgle M^cTirrelaghe, with the Erle's Constable of Carrig-an-Foyle came to another of my poore tenants, being the best I hadde, and from him tooke awaie his plough to his utter undoing; all this being done the first or second night after his Lordship coming to Kerry, and as I am informed by his Lordship's procurement.

The which I humbly beseech your Honour to consider, and being therewith contented, but swares and says that he will with alle his power come to invade my countrie, - praieing your Honour - if there be anie remedie - to see my afflicted case remedied, being one alwaies ready to answer any right or lawe before your Honour to the keepinge of God,

from Lyxnawe, the 25th of August, 1576

Your Lordship's alwaies to command,

Thomas Lixnawe"

This was followed with:

"P.S. My Good Lorde, after the sending of this letter, the Erle of Desmonde did sende such force as he broughte with him over the mountaine this morning into my countrie, and invaded all the west part of the same, and carried with him 600 kyne (cattle), 800 sheepe, and hogges, to the utter undoing of myself and alle my poore tenants.

Thomas Lixnawe"

The next week, the following letter, dated 1st September, 1576 from the same to the same, was sent:-

"The Erle hath done far greter hurte in my countrie, (he) has taken my strong castel of Balywykaghayme (Ballymac-Equim), and taken awaie 2,400 kyne, 200 capuls, and so much sheepe, hogges and goodes that they cannot be reckoned, killed and wounded eight or nine persons, and burnt a church-full of householde stuffe.

Thomas Lixnawe"

A further account of this contention, interesting in that it is preserved in the Annals of Ireland, is that recorded by the Four Masters. Chronicled under the year A.D. 1577, a transcription of O'Donovan's translation from the original Irish, is as follows:-

"A war broke out between the Earl of Desmond, Garret (Gerald), the son of James, son of John, and Mac Maurice (Fitzmaurice) of Kerry, Thomas, the son of Edmond, son of Thomas; and the Earl took Baile-mhic-an-Chaim (Ballymac-Equim, a castle of considerable strength) from Mac Maurice. The young abbot of Odoorney went over to the side of the Earl, and was slain by a ball-shot in the doorway of Lixnaw Castle, which the Earl had besieged. Had no more mischief been done between them than the killing of this abbot, it would have been great enough; but, besides him, numbers of Mac Maurice's people were killed and drowned on the same day. They continued for some time thus at war with each other, until at last they made peace; and Baile-mhic-an-Chaim was restored to Mac Maurice as were also his hostages, and a countless number of herds of kine and horses."

Now, since the Pierse branch of the Fitzmaurice family in Clanmaurice Barony were settled only in the western part (the area mentioned as being overrun by Desmond's army), we can be sure that they were involved as much as any in the battles that were fought and lost goods and cattle which were carried off. The senior family of the Pierses held Ballymac-Equim Castle, and it might well be that some of them were killed during the assault and subsequent taking of the castle.

Opinions were divided in Kerry at this time and it is not perhaps surprising that, after these raids into Kerry, "Edmund fitz Davie, her Majesty's tenant in Kerry" wrote a letter of complaint on the 10th September, 1576, stating that his farm was attacked by "Mortagh M^cEdmond M^cShey (Sheehy) and Morrough M^cEdmond, his brother, with 198 gallowglass, their followers, and Patrick Fitzmaurice, son of the Baron of Lixnawe, with 15 of Desmond's horsemen". It would appear that this Edmund FitzDavy was the same man who assisted the English with the Lord of Kerry in 1568.

However, following these, the latest of Desmond's retribution raids into Kerry, on the 30th November, 1576, the Earl of Desmond sent a note from Tralee offering "protection to the Baron of Lixnaw and freeholders of Clanmorris within Kerry on condition of their answering his Liberty Court of Kerry". Needless to say, Fitzmaurice and the freeholders of Kerry had no intention of meeting this demand in spite of the "protection" offered.

While all this activity was going on in Kerry, the Lord Deputy of Ireland was watching to see what was happening to James Geraldine who had gone to the Pope to obtain his Benediction and aid in ousting the English heretics. During January, 1578, James Geraldine was reported to be "on the seas" on his return, and the English arranged to lay a trap for him in Munster for when he disembarked.

In the meantime, Gerald, Earl of Desmond, was at a loss to know which way to turn. His sympathy, although he denied it publicly, appears to have been with his cousin James Geraldine, but

he was obviously weary of the continuous strife, imprisonment in England, trying to maintain his (what he considered were just and reasonable) rights in Kerry, and skirmishes with Elizabeth's army. In this state of mind, he signed an agreement with other potentates in Munster to openly engage and resist the impending war-march of the Lord Deputy's forces into his territory of Desmond. While it is of interest to include a transcription of this "Deed of Combination", as it was called, there is further significance in it of particular importance to the Pierse family, for one of the signatories used the form "Ja. K. E. ff D., K.B.", and it has been suggested by some writers that these initials represent James Fitzmaurice, or Pierse, then Bishop of Kerry. It is not proposed to deal with this question now since this is fully investigated later, but the document forms a good illustration of the attempts made to deal with the difficult problem men in Kerry had to face in these terrible years.

Deed of Combination of Gerald, Earl of Desmond, 1578

"Whereas the Right Honourable, Garrett Earl of Desmond, hath assembled us his kinsmen, followers, friends and servants about him, after his coming out of Dublin, and made us privy to such articles as by the Lord Deputy and Council were delivered unto him the 8th of July, 1578, to be performed, and also his answer to said articles - which answers we find so reasonable, as we with one minde do counsel and advise the said Earle not to yield to, anie more than in his said answer is already granted - and further, the said Earle declared unto us, that if he do not yield presentlie to the performance of the same articles, and put in his pledge for observation thereof, that then the Lord Deputie will bende his force, and make warre against him.

We the persons underwritten, do advise and counsel the said Erle, to defend himself from the violence of the said Lord Deputie, that doth aske so unreasonable a demand as in the said articles is conteyned, and for to defend and stick to this our advice and counsel, we renounce God if we doe spare life, body, land and goodes, but will be aiding, helping and assistinge the said Erle to mayntain and defend this our advice against the Lord Deputie, or any other that will covett the said Erle's inheritance.

In witness whereof, that this is our counsel to the Erle, we have hereunto putte our hands, the xviiiith of July, 1578.

Garrett Desmond	Ja. K. E. ff D., K.B.
Thomas Lixnaw	Theobald Burke
John of Desmond	Donnel O'Brien
John Fitz James (Pierse?)	Richard Bourke
Rory Mac Sheaghe	John Browne
Murrough O'Brien	Daniel M ^c Canna, of Drombrane
Moriertagh McBrien, of Longforthe	James Russel
Ulick Burke	Ulick M ^c Thomas, of Ballincanighe
John Fitz William, of Karnedarry	Teige O'Leyne, of Carneyley "

On the 3rd August, 1578, it was announced from Limerick that Sir John of Desmond, one of the signatories to the Deed of Combination given above, had received a Bull from the Pope to maintain his rebellion and "excommunication for all that depend on the Queen". The Earl of Desmond, however, wrote 'to Queen Elizabeth on the 20th September following, "protesting his readiness to spend life, lands and goodes against Her Majesty's enemies". To this the Queen replied assuring the Earl of her "desire to maintain the Irish subject in peace and quietness". This letter was followed by another from the Queen dated the 31st January, 1579, in which she stated that she would not restore the town and castle of Castlemaine to him, but would grant him "the fee farm of the abbey lands he deserves in Kerry". Castlemaine was forfeited by the Earl of Desmond in 1572 when he unsuccessfully tried to hold it against a siege by Sir John Perrott, then President of Munster; the abbey lands in Kerry comprised those of Rattoo and Odorney.

James Geraldine was now on his way back to Ireland from Rome with his invading army. Unfortunately, due to a set-back suffered at Lisbon, he was accompanied by the very small army of only 600 men, 80 of whom were Spaniards and the rest Italians; all were carried in three small ships. While lying off the coast of Kerry, James Geraldine wrote to the Earl of Desmond on the 1st July, 1579, exhorting him in the strongest possible terms to join with him in rebellion. Still waiting for a reply, James Geraldine landed with his force on the 18th July at the little harbour of Smerwick, in the Dingle peninsular, and made for and established themselves in the fortress of Dunanore, built on a rock jutting out into the sea. From here he forthwith issued proclamations written in English and Latin addressed to the Anglo-Normans and Irish chiefs beseeching them to join him in his war in defence of the Catholic faith in Ireland against a heretic Queen. He met with little response; even at this time the threat to their liberty was not apparent to the Desmond and Kerry chiefs.

It is evident from the State Papers relating to this period, that no one of consequence knew what action to take. Letters were sent to and from the Lord Justice, then Justice Drury acting in the absence of a Lord Deputy or Lord Lieutenant. On the 22nd July, 1578, Gerald, Earl of Desmond, wrote that he was ready "with all his to venture his life in her Majesty's quarrel" and asked for advice. Justice Drury, writing from Dublin, commended the Earl for his loyalty, care and diligence, and stayed that he was making preparations to assist him. The Earl avowed that "with the hand of God he would expel this traitor James fitz Maurice (Geraldine)". Thomas Fitzmaurice, Baron of Kerry, and other nobles were requested to arm and unite against the rebels. To Persuade the Earl of Desmond to maintain loyalty to the Queen, the Lord Justice sent to him two English officials, who appear to have been judges. These two, while spending the night in an inn near Tralee, were set upon by John and James Fitzgerald, younger brothers to the Earl, and murdered in cold blood; these latter then fled with their followers to join James Geraldine,

When it was learned that these Geraldines had gone over to the "Arch-Traitor", by order of the Council of Ireland, dated 9th August, 1578, all persons between the ages of 16 and 60 in the Pale were mustered. A proclamation against "the traitor James fitz Maurice" was made, and as a safety

measure, "all leaders of blind folks, harpers, bards, rhymers, and all loose and idle people having no master" were ordered to be executed by martial law.

In Kerry, James Geraldine was infuriated at the clumsiness and stupidity of the Earl's brothers, and refused to associate with them. He himself left his fort of Dunanore and marched with his forces northwards towards the river Shannon. On the way, however, his forces ran into an army of the Burkes, who were aiding the English. The two forces engaged in battle and, while engaged in single combat with one of the Burkes, James Geraldine was killed.

The elder of the two brothers, John Fitzgerald, thereupon assumed command of the Munster insurgents and gathered together a strong force. The Earl of Desmond himself was anxious to assure the Lord Justice that he was innocent of the murder of the two officials and had no part in his brothers' rising, and to this end, came to the Lord Justice at Killmallock, Co. Limerick; here he was obliged to give up his little son James as a hostage. However the war raged on - sometimes the rebels were victorious, but during other skirmishes, the English defeated them and they sustained considerable losses. The English forces were under the command of Lord Justice Drury, and actively engaging the rebels whenever he could, was involved in many terrible battles. The Four Masters state, under the year 1578, "A promise was given to the Earl (of Desmond) that his territory should not be plundered in future, but, though it was given, it was not kept, for his people and cattle were destroyed, and his corn and houses burnt".

The Earl of Desmond again appealed to the Lord Justice - this time Sir William Pelham - to arrest the damage being done to his people and territory, but he received no sympathy or help. In answer, Pelham curtly instructed him to be at a certain place on a certain time and the Earl, naturally mistrustful of Pelham, avoided a meeting. As a result, in November, 1579, Gerald, the Great Earl of Desmond, was proclaimed a traitor and an outlaw.

With nothing now to lose, the Earl, assuring himself that he had been forced into a religious dispute, joined forces with his brothers John and James. As a result, the civil war took on a terrific impetus, and "the frightful war broke out now more violently than before; and brought the country to such a state as had never yet been witnessed". Whole towns were devastated; thousands were massacred; and crops, goods and cattle were carried off by both sides.

The President of Munster, Sir Warham St. Leger, shortly after the Earl's outbreak, observed that "all Munster is bent to the Popish religion", and stated that more forces were needed to fight the rebels. In a further letter, dated 2nd December, 1579, he wrote that "the people of Munster are marvellously addicted to this rebellion; Finnin M^cCarthy with two sons of O'Sullivan More and four hundred swords, and Edmund M^cSweeney and his train have joined the traitors". In Kerry, Patrick, Edmond and Robert Fitzmaurice, sons of the Lord of Kerry, joined in with the Earl of Desmond, causing "great misliking of Lixnaw" to the Lord Deputy. In spite of this, Thomas Fitzmaurice, 16th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw, still refrained from taking sides.

During March, 1580, Sir William Pelham and the Earl of Ormond marched with their armies into Kerry "burning, spoiling, and preying" as they went. Their policy was simple: to kill all who resisted or who might resist them, and to destroy all buildings, cattle, and goods which were likely to be of use to the rebels.

While we know that some of the Pierse families had joined forces with the rebel Earl, it is clear that, as a whole, the clan was divided in its loyalty; many had, like Fitzmaurice himself, refrained from taking sides. However, in June, 1580, we find evidence of some members of the family joining the English in opposition to Desmond. From the foregoing it will be realized that most Kerry people were between two fires; they abhorred the interfering English, but at the same time, were loath to join the Earl of Desmond after his murderous and destructive raids upon their homes; after all, Desmond himself had evaded joining the rebels until his hand was forced. The evidence of the pro-English attitude of a number of the Pierses is in the form of a letter to the Lord Justice Pelham, in which they were joined by Edmond Fitzmaurice, son of Thomas, Lord of Kerry, who, as we saw above, had previously joined up with Desmond's forces. The letter reads exactly as follows:-

Appeal from Edmond Fitzmaurice and James Pierse to Lord Justice Sir William Pelham (1580)

"The copie of a letter sent from Edmond fitz Morris, and James oge fitz piers to my lor: Justice (Sir William Pelham) dated the IX Juno 1580⁹⁵ Accusing the Lo. fitz Morris of treason and desires Protection

My verrie good lor:

Where Edmond fitz Morris sonne, to mc Morris is with the Ea: of desmond since the beginning of this Motion, and rebellion, have entered into the same with his father, and elder brother patricke fitz Morris, and as he tells, and complains is ev^r sithens (since) kept in the said rebellion by the procurement of his father m^c Morris, now my verrie good lor: leaste the same should grow to farder (further) mischiefe, he doth crave, and besheeche her Ma:^{ties} protection, that he maie enter into your honours service, and take some office in hande wherebie he Maie shewe his dilligence and contention, fardere, James oge fitz piers doth crave the protection of that he maie enter the licke (like) service, with the said Edmond of which you shall not myslike. The said Edmond and James doth also beseech your honours letters to save and kepe what livinge soever they hade, and maintaine it in their hande against all power. They are principallie of their companie, for whom they will have protection, whose names shall be hereunder subscribed: for their servantes, they will make a booke.

From Slyffe knagrake the ix Junno 1580

⁹⁵ Carew Mss., Vol. 597, fol. 445.

We the saime remain,

Edmond fitzjames fitz piers

Edm. fitzmoris

Ric: fitzjames fitz piers

James oge fitz Piers

Garrot fitzjames of the same

James fitzthomas of the same "

The text, of course, is self-explanatory, but there are some features of this letter which require comment. It will be noticed that, apart from Edmond Fitzmaurice, three of the signatories used the form "____ fitz piers" while the remainder signed "____ of the same", i.e. "the same as the above" or "fitz piers". Now, since the patronymics of the first four are all "fitzjames" ("James oge" denotes "James fitz James"), we may assume that they were related and, as their Christian names are all different, that they were very likely brothers. It then becomes evident that these four were sons of James Fitzmaurice or Pierse, Bishop of Kerry, and whom we know from other records "were aiding the Queen's people" at this time. The last signatory was James fitz Thomas Pierse, a scion of the Aghamore branch of the family. This appears to be the first notice of members of a branch of the Fitzmaurice family using the name "fitz Piers" or "Pierse". Another curious feature in the letter, is that it was addressed from "Slyffe knagrake", a place which is now impossible to identify. "Slyffe" is obviously intended to be *Slieve* - meaning a mountain, and it seems that the name was intended to read "Slieve na Gragh" or "Slievenagrath", but even so, it still cannot be traced in modern Kerry topography. It is possible that either Slievenageeragh - Sheep's pasture, Slieve luachra - the mountain moorland between Kerry and Limerick, or, by substituting "Ard" - "height" for "Slieve" obtaining Ardnegrath - a castle and town held by a branch of the Desmond Fitzgeralds - was intended, but we cannot tell for certain.

To preserve continuity, we can at this jointure, conveniently pass over a year and see the result of this letter of appeal. It should be pointed out that letters of this kind were by no means uncommon, and were the formal means by which individuals so desiring could obtain amnesty from the English forces; the alternative was to openly join the rebels, or suffer the consequences of being regarded as suspicious. Literally hundreds of letters of this kind were addressed to the Lord Justice or his Deputies and, if considered genuine, resulted in a Royal Pardon being granted. These pardons were issued in the form of Fiants and, although the originals now no longer exist, fortunately copies were made; these were published and carefully indexed by the Deputy Keeper of Public Records of Ireland in his series of Reports during the nineteenth and present centuries. Usually, the applicants were granted pardon collectively - often hundreds at a time - but that for the writers of the appeal given above reads exactly as follows:-

"A.D. 1581 ELIZ. 23 No. 3752	Pardon to James oge Pyers, Edm. fitz James Pyers, Ric'd. fitz James Pyers, Garrett fitz James Pyers, and John oge Pyers, gent. Security as in 897, in Co. Kerry, 11th September, XXIII. "
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The "security as in 897" refers to Fiant No. 897 which stated that pardon was granted "Provided that within six months they appear before Commissioners in their county, and give security (usually about two hundred pounds) to keep the peace and answer at sessions when called upon". It is noticed that, while pardon was granted to the four sons of James Fitzmaurice, Bishop of Kerry, no mention here is made of Edmond Fitzmaurice, son to Lord Kerry, or to James Fitz Thomas Pierse of the Aghamore family. In place of the latter, however, we find "John oge Pyers, gent."; this John Oge Pierse was head of the senior branch at Ballymac-Equim, and a powerful man in Kerry at that time.

To return to our chronological account of the Desmond Rebellion, we resume with events occurring after June, 1580. Contrary to the evidence of his son given in the letter of appeal, it would appear that Thomas Fitzmaurice, Baron of Kerry, was still holding out in opposition to his hereditary rival, the Earl of Desmond and, although at this time not actively supporting the Lord Justice or President of Munster, was holding correspondence with them and may be said to have been "on the English side".

Early in September, 1580, four Spanish ships were sighted off the Kerry coast and it soon became known that these contained the long-awaited help from the Continent for James Geraldine. On the 14th of the month, Lord Kerry wrote from Ardfert to M^cCarthy, Earl of Clancarr, "desiring his mutual defence of their countries against the Spaniards". On the 17th, the English led by Sir George Boucher again stormed into Kerry, creating havoc as had Pelham and Ormond, "burning the south and north sides of Sliev Mish (recte Slieve Mis - the sloping moorland between Castlemaine and Tralee)". At about this time, too, a letter to the President of Munster informed that "O'Sullivan More has come in (i.e. joined the English forces), also Clancarr and Lixnaw". During the same month, Fitzmaurice, Baron of Kerry, wrote to the Commissioners of Munster to inform them that the Spanish ships had arrived at Smerwick.

At Smerwick, near Dingle, the four Spanish ships dropped anchor, and the small army of some seven hundred Spaniards and Italians landed and took possession of the ill-fated fort of Dunanore, abandoned the previous year by James Geraldine. Again the invaders waited in vain for help from the mainland. No doubt the English sweeps into Kerry had terrified the otherwise sympathetic Catholic inhabitants, for they certainly made no attempt to reinforce the foreign invaders. However, the Spaniards shortly afterwards kept camps in the Fitzmaurice castles of Ardfert and Fenit as appears evident from letters from "the Commons of Lixnaw" addressed to a certain Mr. Attorney

Golde, and dated September, 1580. On the 27th September, "the Commons of Lixnaw" again wrote "praying for aid"; this arrived several weeks later in the form of an English force of three hundred men led by Lieutenant-Colonel Zouche, who straightway made preparations to besiege Ardfert and Fenit.

At the same time, the main English army under Lord Grey, successor to Pelham as Lord Justice, set about besieging the recently arrived invaders in the fort of Dunanore. Dunanore - the Golden Fort - stood on a high cliff at the very tip of the Dingle peninsular, surrounding which the English fleet under Admiral Winter lay at anchor below; thus the besieged were cut off and attacked from all sides. The fort withstood a terrific bombardment and no breach was made, but with the winter drawing near, Lord Grey sent in a flag of truce with the object of getting the defenders to surrender. It seems scarcely credible that the besieged men should have surrendered unconditionally since their fort was impregnable and they had ample supplies of provisions and ammunition, but if conditions were offered, they were certainly not kept by the English. What next happened is best related by Grey himself; he wrote "When morning came, the Colonel (San Josepho) came with ten or eleven of his chief gentlemen, trailing their ensigns rolled up, and presented them to me with their lives and the fort I sent straightway certain gentlemen in to see their armour and weapons laid down. Then I sent in certain bands who straightway fell to execution". From other records we learn that the few Irish men and women in the fort had their arms and legs broken by a blacksmith's hammer and were then hanged from the fort walls; the Spaniards and Italians were put to the sword. In this way, although promised their lives, well over six hundred unarmed men and women were massacred.

When the winter had passed, Lord Grey carried on the war "with relentless barbarity". The Earl of Desmond and his brother John Fitzgerald had been encamped near Tralee when Dunanore had been besieged, but had remained inactive. On the 23rd July, 1581, "Articles of Allegiance and Promises of Service" were set down by Colonel Zouche in Kerry, which were subscribed by "Thomas, Lord Macmaurice, Baron of Lixnaw", his tenants, followers, and freeholders. Fitzmaurice himself was obliged to surrender pledges for his good conduct; these were his sons Patrick, Edmond and Robert. The three brothers were held prisoner in Limerick Castle but, after a short time, they and a certain Rory M^cShee managed to escape. On the 11th August, it was reported that, as a result of their escape, they were "likely to do much harm".

The Earl's brother, John Fitzgerald, by this time had been slain in a skirmish, and James Fitz Thomas Fitzgerald of Desmond, the Earl's kinsman, seeing that the cause was now already doomed to failure, on the 30th December, petitioned the Queen that his father Thomas might be acknowledged Earl of Desmond, and that he be provided with assistance to "extirpate the present rebel Earl".

The year 1582 was an eventful one for the Fitzmaurice and Pierse families. In the opening months, the Lord Justice was advised that "the horse and foot in Kerry, in a miserable and weak state, are brought away"; a ward was left at Dingle, and the castle of Ardfert was committed to the Sheriff. On the 8th May, a report was dispatched that there was no hope of preservation of the garrison at Ardfert,

and that "the Baron of Lixnaw, alias MacMaurice, has gone to join his sons; he is old, wise, and of great experience". A descriptive account of the final breaking out of Thomas fitz Edmond Fitzmaurice, 16th Baron of Kerry, and some revealing remarks concerning the attitude of some of the Pierse families living in Clanmaurice Barony, Co. Kerry, at this time, is recorded in the Annals of Ireland, in which the Four Masters under date A. D. 1582 wrote:-

"Patrickin (young Patrick), Edmond, and Robert, the sons of MacMaurice, had sided with the Geraldines in the war from the time of their escape from Limerick until then. One night they went to Ardfert, and on the next morning, they seized upon the spoils of the town. The captain of the (English) cavalry, Captain Archem, rose up suddenly to meet them without waiting for his soldiers, but he was actively responded to, dismounted, and put to the sword in the first onset. MacMaurice's sons then returned with their prey and later encamped around the town, prepared to besiege the (English) soldiers.

A gentleman of the Clan Sheehy, namely Murtough, the son of Edmund, son of Manus, son of Edmund Mac Sheehy, who was along with MacMaurice's sons at this time, was slain in the doorway of the monastery of O'Dorney by the sons of the Bishop of Kerry (James Fitzmaurice or Pierse) who were aiding the Queen's people on that occasion. MacMaurice himself, and the greater number in his country, had hitherto been obedient to the law, but when he saw his territory plundered, and when he heard that his sons had killed the captain, he at once destroyed (his castles of) Lixnaw, Beale, and Ballybunion. He afterwards went to join his sons. He was not joined in this career by the inhabitants of Ballymac-Equim, or of Ballykealy, or by the Clan Pierse".

This record is followed by an account of another incident, which, chronicled under the same year (1582), refers to a month or so later:-

"James and Gerald, the sons of the Bishop of Kerry, namely the sons of James son of Richard (Fitzmaurice or Pierse), were slain by the sons of Edmund Mac Sheehy, in revenge of their brother Murtough, whom the sons of the Bishop had slain some time before."

In the first of these two extracts, it is interesting to note the coupling of Ballymac-Equim and Ballykealy - both Fitzmaurice family castles. The former, of course, was held by the Pierse branch of the family, the head of which at that time was John Oge Pierse of Ballymac-Equim. The latter was held by a junior branch of the Fitzmaurices, the head of which then was John fitz Thomas Fitzmaurice of Ballykealy. Here again we notice an incident which seems to point to the alienation of the Pierse branch from the senior family of Fitzmaurices. Up to this time, as the Four Masters observed, it is evident that the Lord of Kerry and "the greater number in his country" had been "obedient to the law". But whether the Four Masters were drawing a shrewd nicety between Fitzmaurice being "obedient to the law" and the Pierse family, particularly the sons of the Bishop of Kerry, "who were aiding the

Queen's people on that occasion", we can only surmise; although it would appear from the extracts of Fitzmaurice's letters given in this Chapter, together with his attitude toward, and the assistance he gave the English, that he could be described as being more than "obedient to the law". Also it is noticed that the victim of the attack by the Bishop of Kerry's sons is singled out as "a *gentleman* of the Clan Sheehy" and was very probably a brother, if not a very close relative, of the Manus, son of Edmund Mac Sheehy slain by Fitzmaurice himself, also described in highly complimentary terms by the Four Masters but fifteen years earlier. That an hereditary discordance existed between the Fitzmaurice and Sheehy families is amply evident, and was doubtless due to the affinity of the Clan Sheehy for the house of Desmond - themselves the time-old rivals of the Fitzmaurices. It is true that the above excerpts are translations from the original Irish, and that much feeling is always lost in rendering in a basically different, and in this particular instance, a much less poetic language. Nevertheless, allowing for all this, it would appear that in these two extracts we have an example of the "abject, time-serving spirit" which has been noticed by many writers referring to the Four Masters' entries concerning the Geraldine families, in which "they (the Four Masters) constantly stigmatize the struggles of the Catholics of the south as treason, and apply disparaging epithets to their leaders".⁹⁶ Another point, apparently entirely overlooked by the Four Masters, is that James Oge Pierse, one of the sons of the Bishop of Kerry referred to, was related by marriage to the Sheehies, and that the quarrel in which Murtough was killed, might indeed have been due to a family - as opposed to a political - difference. In actual fact, neither James nor Gerald Pierse was slain in revenge by Murtough's brothers; it would appear that a third son of the Bishop, namely Richard Pierse, suffered in their stead.

It too should not be overlooked that Fitzmaurice was practically forced into rebellion against the English in much the same fashion as Desmond himself had been. Had Fitzmaurice's sons (one of whom, Edmond, it will be remembered sided with some of the Pierse family two years earlier in disclaiming his father's actions) not murdered Captain Archem, it is most improbable that Fitzmaurice would have broken out as he did. But in a similar position to the Earl of Desmond after *his* brothers had murdered the English officials at Tralee, the Lord of Kerry had no alternative. Of one thing we *can* be sure; the rapid succession of events in Kerry during these terrible years caught the peace-loving inhabitants, as it were, in a trap, and dissention, which otherwise would not have arisen, grew between families and even between members of individual families.

To return to our sequence of events in the Desmond Rebellion, the news of the outbreak of Thomas Fitzmaurice, 16th Baron of Kerry, was reported to the President of Munster on the 25th May, 1582. A few days later, the English soldiers garrisoned at Ardfert were relieved. Colonel Zouche, who the preceding year had drawn up the "Articles of Allegiance" for the people of Kerry, straightway hanged the men pledged by Fitzmaurice for his good behaviour, in revenge of the murder of Captain

⁹⁶ History of Ireland. Haverty.

Archem at Ardfert. It was afterwards reported that "Fitzmaurice and his sons are too strong for half the English forces in Munster, and the Earl of Desmond too strong for the rest". The war raged on. Towards the end of the year, about the 22nd September, news came to the English that "the Romish Bishop of Killalowe (James O'Corrin of Killaloe) and Patrick Fitzmaurice, Lord Kerry's son, have gone to Spain, and the soldiers at Ardfert are hardly beset by the traitors".

Taking a broad view, however, we see that, although Lord Deputy Grey was still conducting his merciless sweeps throughout the whole length and breadth of Munster, the combatants on both sides were utterly exhausted, and the rebellion had lost much of its force. The Irish now realized that an attempt was being made, not only to destroy their religion, but also their very existence, and although terribly devastated, continued wearily to fight on. By now, Munster, which had only a few years earlier been the richest and most prosperous province in Ireland, was, in the words of the Four Masters, "reduced to a desert"; they wrote; "the lowing of a cow or the voice of a ploughman could scarcely be heard from Dunquin (West Kerry) to Cashel (Co. Tipperary)" - a distance of some one hundred and ten miles! Edmund Spencer, an eye-witness, in his "View of the State of Ireland" thus described the scene:-

"Notwithstanding that the same (Munster) was a most rich and plentiful countrey, full of corne and cattel, yet, eare one yeare and a halfe, they (the Irish people) were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony hart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not beare them; they looked like anatomies of deathe; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eate the dead carrions, happy where they could finde them; yea, and one another soone after; insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves, and, if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time; yet, not able to continue there withal; that in a shorte space, there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentifull countrie suddainelie left voyde of man and beaste."

The County of Kerry itself was described as "all wasted". James Lecky in the Preface to his "History of Ireland", and writing about the Desmond Rebellion says:-

"The slaughter of Irishmen was looked upon as literally the slaughter of wild beasts. Not only men, but even 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 suppression of the native race was carried on with a ferocity which surpasses that of Alva in the Netherlands, and which has seldom been exceeded in the pages of history."

At last, Queen Elizabeth realized that the prosecution of the war against the Earl of Desmond had gone too far and, in 1582, she recalled Lord Deputy Grey. From the State Papers of the time, we

find a report of a review of Munster in 1583, from which the following, relating to Co. Kerry, is an extract:-

Review of the Province of Munster (1583)

"A perfect viewe of the severall Counties within the Province of Munster, what Noblemen & families of noate Inhabite the saied Counties, and what are most disposed in affection to the house of Desmond:-

The Countie of Kerrie

The Lo. fitz Morrice

The Knight of Kerrie

4 Chiefe

Lo. Conor Kerrie (...) to the Desmond

The Moores

This Countie was Desmondes countie Pallatine but continuall warres between the Desmond and Fitz Morris, all others in this Countie depende uppon the Desmond."

As to Gerald Fitzgerald, 16th Earl of Desmond, himself, we find that, although formerly one of the largest landowners in the whole of Ireland, his territory was devastated by the English and, although for a time he made a gallant stand against his enemies, at length, all his castles fell into their hands, for he was not able to resist such superior forces. Now a white-haired old man, he was reduced to the last extremity and, with his own immediate attendants consisting only of a priest, two horsemen, and a boy, he was obliged to wander from place to place, hiding from the ever-watchful spies anxious to claim the price on his head. Closely pressed by his pursuers, he was hunted from Limerick to Kerry with the indefatigable Captain Dowdall of the English army close upon his heels.

To add to the Earl's misery, he soon learnt that his old hereditary enemy, "Thierna Dubh Ormond" - the Black Earl of Ormond - had been sent out from England as Lord General of Munster, and was now the arbiter of his destiny. But the Earl of Desmond still "possessed a spirit worthy of his race"; in a letter, dated 1583, from Sir Henry Wallop to the Earl of Leicester on the subject of Desmond's possible submission, the writer stated:-

"John (de) Lacy, who came lately out of England, having license to deale with the Earle (of Desmond), his master, concerning his submission, at his coming, pleaded him to submitt himselfe simplie to her Majestie's mercie, and in manifestation to yield himselfe to the Lord General. The first part of his speeche the Earl heard with patience, but to the second he bade "Avaunt, churle," with other opprobrious words, saying also, "Shall I then yielde myselfe to a Butler, mine ancient and knowne enemy? No: if it were not for those English churles that he hath at command I would drinke alle their bloode as I would warm milk" - the late overthrow he gave the Butlers being, as the countrie saith, six to one, causeth him (Desmond) so to insult them (the Butlers)."

It must have pained Desmond more that anything else later to have to plead to Ormond for pardon, but even so, pardon was not granted. However, the Earl's end was near. During the early part of winter, 1583, the Earl and his few followers, at the end of their day's wanderings, found temporary shelter in a shack in the vale of Gleanagenty - Valley of Weeping - near Castleisland, a few miles from Tralee his old stronghold. What then ensued is best described in the words of his contemporary and loving admirer, Father Dominick O'Daly, who in his "History of the Geraldines" wrote:-

"they (his pursuers) tracked him like bloodhounds during the darkness of the night, and on the 11th November, 1583, entered his miserable hovel at the break of day. The few horsemen basely took to flight and the Earl was alone and stripped. A soldier, whose name was Daniel O'Kelly, smashed his right arm with a stroke of his sword, and then cut off one of his ears with a second blow. This miscreant then dragged him out, and being apprehensive lest any might come to his rescue, brutally separated his head from his body. Thus perished Desmond in the 25th year of his earldom. His aged corpse was thrown on the highway as food for bird and beast. Daly (a kinsman of the writer) soon after this deed followed in pursuit of the murderers, but they had secured themselves against attack in a strong castle, and on the second night a troop of horse cuirassiers came in the solemn stillness - for even then they dreaded the people - and carried away the Earl's head to Cork."

In this ignominious manner, Gerald, Earl of Desmond, was murdered by the hand of one of his own countrymen. From Cork, his head was dispatched to London where, spiked up high on the Tower, it was left to rot. His body, which had lain outside the fateful hut in Gleanagenty, was carried away at night by his kinsmen, the Fitzgeralds of Ardnegragh, and some eight weeks later, was interred in the abbey there.

Under date of the same year, 1583, the Four Masters wrote in their Annals of Ireland the following notice of his friend and spiritual adviser:-

"The Bishop of Kerry died, namely, James, the son of Richard, son of John. This bishop was a vessel full of wisdom. He was of the stock of the Clan-Pierse, that is, of the race of Raymond (le Gros), the son of William. Fitzgerald. This William was brother of the Maurice who came from England at the time of the first invasion of Ireland to assist Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, and from him most of the Geraldines of Clanmaurice are descended."

CHAPTER VIII - AFTERMATH

The Desmond Rebellion burnt out, the countryside devastated, thousands killed or homeless, the Rebel Earl dead; a time of reckoning was bound to come. Come it did with a vengeance. In the year 1584, a general peace was proclaimed throughout Ireland - gratefully accepted by the exhausted supporters of both sides. From the surrounding areas, people crowded in to inhabit Co. Kerry and West Limerick because, in those counties where destruction had been the greatest, vast tracts of land were left unoccupied. But the would-be settlers were not allowed to remain, for much of this land had been held by the late Earl of Desmond and it was yet to be decided how it was to be treated.

First it was necessary to decide the actual extent of the late Earl's estates. For this purpose, a Court of Enquiry was set up in Dingle in Kerry; the Court sat on the 6th October, 1584, and the findings of the Inquisitors were recorded. We are fortunate in possessing a copy of the Court's findings for, although the original document was destroyed in the fire at the Public Record Office of Ireland in 1921, a copy had earlier been taken and published.⁹⁷ The complete list of lands is rather lengthy and deals with areas far remote from the little county of Kerry; for this reason, extracts only are given here, but these alone provide a good idea of the contents of the record:-

"Inquisition Exchequer, Elizabeth. Kerry No. 2

Inquisition taken at the town of Dingledecush, in the County of Kerry, on the 6th October, in the 26th year of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, Queen, to inquire by the oaths of good and lawful man of the counties of Waterford, Tipperary, Counties of the Cross in Tipperary, Kerry, Cork, Desmond and Limerick, in the said Province of Munster, concerning all and singular the Lordships manors, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, incomes, ... escheats, forfeitures, hereditaments, whatsoever which by reason of or on account of attainders, escheats, forfeitures, convictions, deaths, have by Act of Parliament been restored or given up to our said Lady the Queen, and what lands have been detraigned and subtracted and concealed from our said Lady the Queen, ... under the Great Seal of her Kingdom of Ireland, bearing date on the 22nd day of August, in the 26th year of our said Lady the Queen, - more fully appears."

Here follows a list of seventeen persons, all described as "of Dingle", including six of the name of Trant and six of Rice, but none of Pierse or Fitzmaurice:

"who on their sacred oath say that Gerald, the late Earl of Desmond, seduced and instigated by devlish and malicious thoughts, on the 3rd day of November, in the twenty-first year of

⁹⁷ Kerry Archaeological Magazine, No. 4, 1910.

our said Lady the Queen (1579), collected together a multitude of malefactors and rascals ready and prepared to enter 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 twenty-fourth year of our said Lady the Queen (1582) by ordinance of law was attainted."

Here follow list after list of place names of lands held by the Earl of Desmond, including:-

"Of Shanakyll near Limerwick,⁹⁸ in the County of Kerry, aforesaid, containing forty acres paying to the Bishop of Ardfert some rent, the certain amount of which the jurors are ignorant of."

and:-

"Of the castle, town, lands, tenements and hereditaments of Ballynoe in the Parish of Killury, in Clanmorris in the said County (Kerry)."

and:-

"Also a yearly rent of £160 issuing out of the cantred of Clanmaurice ... (and) another yearly rent of 120 cows out of the said cantred of Clanmaurice."

further down:-

"Also they say that at the time of his death in rebellion (he) was possessed of all the late religious houses at O'Dorney and Rathoye with their appurtenances, which he held from our Lady the Queen for a term of years."

later:-

"Also the said Jurors of their solemn oaths say that there are in the said County of Kerry three cantreds viz:- one cantred called Troughanackme, another called Corkogwyne, and Krybryoonaghe and Cantlon and that the said Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, at the time of his death in rebellion was seized as of fee to him and his heirs male legitimate of his body, of an annual rent of eighty cows and a hundred and sixty marks out of those cantreds."

and:-

"Also they say that Iraght-I-Conogher was held of the said Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, by knights' service and that the last O'Connogher who held it died so seized of it, and that John O'Connogher is his heir and aged sixteen years."

The next extract is particularly interesting:-

"Also the said Jurors on their solemn oath say that Nicholas Mac Shane Pierse, alias Mac Shane de Clanmorres, in the said County of Kerry entered into rebellion against our Lady the Queen, and thus being in rebellion died being then seized in his lordship as of fee of certain lands in Clanmorres aforesaid."

also:-

⁹⁸ Shanakill.

"Also they say that Thomas, Baron of Lixenaw, Patrick Fitz-Maurice, Edmund Fitz-Maurice, Robert Fitz-Maurice, and Gerald Fitz-Maurice, his sons entered into rebellion with the said Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, against our said Lady the Queen, but of their lands the jurors are ignorant."

and lastly:-

"Also the said jurors say that all the gentlemen and freeholders of the cantred of Clanmaurice, except John Mac Thomas (Fitzmaurice) of Ballykealey, John Oge (Pierse) of Ballyvicikyn, and Gerald Duffe Stack, - took arms against our said Lady the Queen; and that, entering into rebellion, they remained in rebellion with the said Gerald, late Earl of Desmond."

From this record, we see that the Lords of Kerry at this time did not hold all of the county of Kerry, nor indeed the whole of Clanmaurice Barony. As we saw earlier, Co. Kerry at this period extended south only as far as the River Maine - to the south was Desmond and Cork. Even in the present day barony of Irraghticonnor, they held only the southern half which, at this period, then formed part of the barony of Clanmaurice. Irraghticonnor itself was known as a half-barony and was held by the chief of the clan O'Connor-Kerry. Of the barony of Clanmaurice, the Fitzmaurices had lost the western portion comprising the parishes of Rattoo, Killury, and Ballyheige, when Nicholas fitz Maurice, 3rd Baron of Kerry, gave them as a dowry when his daughter Elinor married Maurice fitz Thomas, 1st Earl of Desmond. These latter lands, which were known as the Half-barony of Brown and Cantillon, were up to this time not yet regained by the Fitzmaurices and restored to Clanmaurice Barony; this recovery did not occur until some time later. Thus, the inhabitants of the Half-barony of Brown and Cantillon, which included the Pierse families settled at Meenogahane, Maulin, and Rattoo, paid dues to the Earls of Desmond. The Browns and Cantillons themselves were Norman families and apparently settled in Kerry during the first occupation. The division of Kerry into these baronies is shown on the map which appears as Plate __; it will be noticed that the map has not the usual orientation, but is drawn with the Atlantic Ocean, which lies to the west of Co. Kerry, shown at the top. This map was discovered bound up in a volume of old manuscripts in the British Museum and so excited the discoverer, Mr. John Lecky, that he had it reproduced.⁹⁹ However, a similar map is to be found in the Carew Collection at Lambeth Palace.¹⁰⁰ It has been dated to a period (temp. James I) rather later than that with which we are at present concerned, but it may be taken as being roughly representative. The few places mentioned on it are Traly (Tralee), Ardart (Ardfert), Rahonon (Rahoneen Castle - residence of the Bishops of Kerry), Lixnaw, Odoorney (Abbey Dorney), Newton (Newtown - now Ballynoe), Rahtorn (Rattoo), Carig foyl (Carrigafoyle), Tarbert, Bortrn'nard (Portrenard - an old Fitzmaurice castle, now included in Co. Limerick), and Mon-na-fealy

⁹⁹ Kerry Archaeological Magazine, Vol. IV, No. 19, October, 1917.

¹⁰⁰ Carew MSS., Vol. 625, f. 20.

(Abbeyfeale - also now included in Co. Limerick), the mountain range of Sleivlogner (Slieveluachra) is also shown.

From the Inquisition too, we see that the Pierse families were not in unison among themselves. Nicholas, the son of John Pierse, or "Nicholas Mac Shane de Clanmaurice" as he was known, was clearly on the side of the Earl of Desmond and, during the course of the rebellion, was killed. His kinsman John, the son of John Pierse of Ballymac-Equim, however, remained neutral. With reference to the former, it is interesting to see the use of the French form "de" meaning "of" - a remnant of the Normans' own language still surviving at this period some four hundred years since their invasion of Ireland. In the more densely Norman occupied areas such as Kerry, Limerick, and Wexford, this was by no means unusual; no doubt many descendants of the invaders in the remoter areas were trilingual, speaking Norman-French, Irish, and English (and in some instances even Welsh also) with equal facility.

With the Inquisition just given may be compared another record known as The Desmond Survey Roll, XXVI, dated the same year, 1584, but possibly a month or so earlier. This Roll, also now destroyed, contained a list of all the lands held by the Earl of Desmond before his defeat and death. Again we are most fortunate in that the portion of the Roll referring to Co. Kerry was translated and privately published in or about the year 1885.¹⁰¹ Copies of the translation are exceedingly rare - only twelve copies more printed; one is at Bowood, the Wiltshire home of the Marquisses of Lansdowne, another is kept in the Public Record Office of Ireland at the Four Courts, Dublin, and another is lodged with the Society of Genealogists in London. Because this record is so rare, and for the reason that it contains information referring to the districts in which Pierse families more settled at this time, the portion relating to "The Barony and Half-Barony of Clanmaurice" is given here in full:-

" *DESMOND SURVEY ROLL XXVI ELIZABETH, A.D. 1584 COUNTY OF KERRY*¹⁰²

The Barony and half-Barony called the Troghakede and half Troghakede of Clanmorris, in the said Co. of Kerry.

From rents of lands chargeable with Shragh and Marte,¹⁰³ issuing out of divers Castles, Towns, and Villages within the said Country of Clanmorris, in the said County of Kerry, containing 160 quarters of land, every quarter of which is charged from ancient time with a rent of two marks, in half-face money, and a fat cow. And the names of the said Castles, Towns, Villages, and Lands are as follows, viz:- The Castle and Town of Ballykealough,¹⁰⁴ the Castle and Town of Ballymaccewhin,¹⁰⁵ the Castle and Town of

¹⁰¹ Translated by W. M. Hennessy, Assistant Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office, Dublin, 1829-89.

¹⁰² In the following footnotes: "P" denotes Parish, and "B" Barony; for locations of names given, refer to maps and key in Chap. XX.

¹⁰³ See Glossary.

¹⁰⁴ Ballykealy, Kilmoyly P. Clan. B.

¹⁰⁵ Ballymac-Equim, Killahan P. Clan. B

Lyckfothan,¹⁰⁶ the Church and Town of Killoyne,¹⁰⁷ the Church and Town of Killyaghna,¹⁰⁸ the Church and Town of Kyltan,¹⁰⁹ the Church of Behayne,¹¹⁰ the Church and Town of Dowanfely,¹¹¹ the Church and Town of Graylle,¹¹² the Villages and Lands of Ballygoddenan,¹¹³ Ballaghwegg,¹¹⁴ Moyvilleigh,¹¹⁵ Letterlym,¹¹⁶ Gortneskaye,¹¹⁷ Moykennagh,¹¹⁸ Garrenregorrog,¹¹⁹ Farranloghtiepiece,¹²⁰ Tubbrenemulte,¹²¹ Ballynstackabolde,¹²² and Dromelegagh;¹²³ the Castle and Town of Cossheley;¹²⁴ two Villages called Bollyns;¹²⁵ the Villages of Ballygarrold,¹²⁶ Kyllnockelyn,¹²⁷ Ellananene,¹²⁸ Garrantinote,¹²⁹ Killwayna,¹³⁰ Ilanene,¹³¹ Knockenenelagh,¹³² parcel of the Lands of Inchkenry;¹³³ the Church and Town of Kyllwyleigh;¹³⁴ the Villages of Cowly,¹³⁵ Tengarry,¹³⁶ Dromon Emoligg;¹³⁷ the Church and Town of Kyllcomyle,¹³⁸ Downenynclaughte Ashane,¹³⁹ with the Butt Castle and Lands to the same belonging; and the town of Cross McKane,¹⁴⁰ and others at present unknown.

And so the aforesaid Lands are worth per annum, in rent of half-face money, 320 marks, payable at the feasts of Easter and Michaelmas, by equal portions.

¹⁰⁶ Lick (Faha), Kilconly P., Irr. B.

¹⁰⁷ (?) Kilflyn, Kilflyn P., Clan. B.

¹⁰⁸ Killfeighny? townland, P., Clan.B.

¹⁰⁹ Killelton, Aghavallen P., Irr. B.

¹¹⁰ Behens, Kilshenane P., Clan. B.

¹¹¹ Duaghnafealy - now Duagh, Duagh P., Clan. B.

¹¹² (?) Graigue, Ardfert P., Clan. B.

¹¹³ Ballingowan, Lisselton P., Irr.B.

¹¹⁴ Ballaghnesyard-now Tullahennel, Aghavallen P., Irr. B.

¹¹⁵ Moybella, Lisselton P., Irr. B.

¹¹⁶ Litter, Aghavallen P., Irr. B.

¹¹⁷ Gortnaskaha, Killehenry P., Irr. B.

¹¹⁸ Muckenagh, Kiltomy P., Clan. B.

¹¹⁹ Garrynagore, Siltomy P., Clan. B.

¹²⁰ Farranpiece, Killehenry P., Clan.B.

¹²¹ Tubber na molt, in Tubrid More, Ardfert P., Clan.B.

¹²² Farranastack, Lisselton P., Irr. B.

¹²³ Dromlegagh, Duah P., Clan. B. or Dromolought, Galey P., Irr. B.

¹²⁴ Cosfealy - now Duagh; see note 111.

¹²⁵ Ballyouneen, Rattoo P., Irr. B.

¹²⁶ Ballygarret, Duagh P., Clan. B.

¹²⁷ ? Coolnalaght, Listowel P., Irr. B.

¹²⁸ Illananeene - now Rea, Duagh P., Irr. B.

¹²⁹

¹³⁰ Kilmeany, Knockanure P., Irr. B.

¹³¹ Illananeene; see note 128.

¹³²

¹³³ Inch, Galey P., Irr. B.

¹³⁴ ? Kilmoyly

¹³⁵ Kilcooly P.

¹³⁶

¹³⁷

¹³⁸ Kilconly ?

¹³⁹

¹⁴⁰ Crossmacshane - now Cloontubrid, Listowel P., Irr. B.

And further, in 160 fat cows to be delivered on the 1st day of May, annually, amounting at the rate of 13s. 4d. each, to £106 13s. 4d.. - making in English money, £391 2s. 2½d.

Rents of freeholders in the said Country of Clanmorris, issuing as well from the free lands of Thomas McMorris, Baron of Lixnawe, as of divers other tenants of the said Country for their face lands there, at the present time, per annum, nil; because no Court could be held there for want of inhabitants, in the time of this survey, nor can be held up to this for the same reason - and therefore, this rent should be respited until the aforesaid country shall abound with a greater number of people.

And there are two towns, with their appurtenances, in the said country, of the proper Lands of the said late Earl of Desmond, containing altogether 1 quarter of land, one of which towns is called Ballyrodull,¹⁴¹ containing half a quarter of land, both being in the parish of Kyllromano,¹⁴² in the said county; worth per annum, £2.

And so, all the premises, as well the said rents as farms aforesaid, in the said Country of Clanmorris, are worth, in all, per annum, in lawful money of England, payable at the aforesaid feasts of Easter and Michaelmas, per equal portions, £393. 2s. 2½d. "

By the next year, 1585, after the Inquisition, Desmond Survey Roll, and other records had been examined, it was discovered that the vast estates of the late Earl of Desmond, together with those of about 140 of his adherents, totalled nearly a million acres! These, all being within the Province of Munster, were thereupon confiscated by Parliament held in Dublin. The Earl of Desmond's estate alone comprised 574,628 acres.

Throughout the rebellion, and during the years following, the Royal Pardon, for those who sought it, was being granted in the form of Fiants. As we saw in the preceding Chapter, the procedure was for the applicant, to address his petition to the Lord President of the Province concerned - nearly always Munster - who, if he so deemed, granted the pardon and, where a person had been attainted, if he saw fit, rescinded the order. In every case, a pardon was only granted on certain conditions; these were appended to the Fiant and, since thousands of petitions had to be considered, persons were pardoned in groups, often hundreds at a time, with the conditions referring back to an earlier Fiant. One such example of the conditions has already been given in Chapter VI and, unless otherwise stated, may be taken as representative of those to be given subsequently; in practically every instance, the complete forfeiture of lands was involved. Thus we notice the following, which is unusual since a separate Fiant was issued for one person only:-

¹⁴¹ (?)Ballyroe, Kilquane P., Corcaguiney Barony.

¹⁴² Kilquane, Parish in Corcaguiney Barony.

A.D. 1585 ELIZ. 27 No. 4716	"Pardon to James oge Piers, of Ardartha (Arfert), co. Kerry, gent. Provisions as in 4645 (relating to persons who had committed murder, etc., being excluded from pardon). James oge Piers excepted from the clause excluding those in prison or on bail. 18th June, XXVII."
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This Pardon, of course, refers to James Pierse, the eldest son of James Fitzmaurice (later Pierse), late Bishop of Ardfert, who, with his brother Gerald, murdered Murtough Sheehy in the doorway of the monastery of Abbey Dorney, and who, the Four Masters told us, was himself slain by Murtough Sheehy's brothers in revenge in 1582! As already noted, the Four Masters are obviously a little inaccurate here as it appears from this Fiant that James Oge Pierse was in 1585 either in prison or on bail, and probably for having committed murder.

Now in England, Queen Elizabeth was pleased with her victory over Desmond and, anxious to develop the plan adopted by Queen Mary - that of establishing English colonies in Ireland - found an opportunity in the death of the rebel earl. The Marian Plantations, as they were called, had not affected Kerry, Desmond, and the adjacent counties, but with the million acres now forfeited to the Crown, a good opportunity presented itself. In 1586 then, proclamations were made throughout England inviting gentlemen to undertake this rich territory. Estates were to be of 12,000, 10,000, 8,000, 6,000, and 4,000 acres. For the first few years while the "undertakers" were getting settled in, the rent was to be free, but later it was to be 2d, or 3d. per acre! Each English "undertaker" or "planter", as a condition, was required to settle on his estate a number of English families in proportion to its size, but he was forbidden to take Irish tenants or for himself and his English tenants to associate with them in any way. Four of the larger estates - or "seignories" as they were called - were available for English undertakers in Co. Kerry. Kerry at this time, as we have noticed before, extended south only as far as the River Maine, and was then about only one quarter of its present size. On the 17th June, 1586, it was recorded that three seignories in Co. Kerry were allotted to Sir William Herbert and Edward Unton, and in "the country of Desmond, one seignory, desired by Sir Valentine Browne".

During these years, Royal Fiantes were still being issued pardoning participants in the Desmond Rebellion. From the gigantic lists we notice the following issued during the year 1587:-

A.D. 1587 ELIZ. 30 No. 6059	"Pardon to ... James mcTho. Pieres of Aghymore (Aghamore), yeoman ... Security as in 4963. The pardon not to include intrusion into crown lands or remit crown debts. It shall exclude any person not born in Munster, any person who has
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committed murder, any person convicted or in prison at the time of granting the pardon, or any who will not submit to the orders to be made by the Deputy concerning their lands. Each must give security by recognizance in the sum of £200 English to abide by such order concerning the disposition of their lands.

21st November, XXX."

This Fiant of course refers to James, son of Thomas Pierse of Aghamore. During the following year, we find another Fiant:-

A.D. 1588 ELIZ. 30 No. 5184	"Pardon to ... Robert fitz Wm. Fitz Pierse of Ardath, labourer, ... in co. Kerry. Provisions as in 4938. Excluding also any person who has committed murder.
	22nd May, XXX,"

In this last Fiant, we have given the name of Robert, son of William Pierse of Ardfert, described as a labourer, but cannot be sure that he was one of the Fitzmaurice Pierse family; it appears unusual in that, by this time, the Pierse family were no longer referred to as *Fitz* Pierse but simply as Pieres, Piers, Peirs, etc. However, the relationship of the various persons noted will be investigated in full in Chapter XX, where all records are co-related to give as full an account as possible of each member of the family.

Now five years since the rebellion had ended, Munster was again comparatively peaceful. Once again the fields were ploughed, cattle raised, and the savage scar of destruction was slowly fading from the face of the countryside. The newly installed English planters tried as best they could to abide by the order prohibiting them from associating with the Irish people but, owing to the scarcity of English families, were eventually compelled to take back the Irish former proprietors as tenants in order to work their estates. An interesting letter of this period is that dated August, 1587, from Chief Justice J. Smythes to Lord Burghley in which the writer stated "The sessions in Kerry tended to the amendment of that country" and "prays that Desmond may be united to Kerry on account of the old malice between them." Another, illustrative of the goodwill some of the English showed to the "mere Irish", reads as follows:- "20th March, 1588, Sir William Herbert, Castle of the Island,¹⁴³ to Lord Burghley - Requests favour to Patrick Fitzmaurice, Lord Lixnaw's son and heir, now in some restraint of liberty at Dublin, and who (Herbert) offers his son and heir as a pledge." If granted, this request

¹⁴³ Castleisland, at this period in Desmond just over the south border of Kerry, was the former stronghold of the Earls of Desmond where they had their principal castle. The entire town of Castleisland and the surrounding area formed part of Sir William Herbert's estate bought in 1586.

was not met for quite a long time after for, from a letter dated the 31st of the following August, it was noted that Patrick Fitzmaurice (later to become the 17th Baron of Kerry) was with other pledges for their father's good behaviour "still remaining within the castle of Dublin".

It would appear that the eventual release of Patrick Fitzmaurice, in the year 1590, was on the occasion of the death of his father Thomas. Patrick then became 17th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw. It appears, too, that Patrick was prepared to meet the taxes and levies due out of Kerry, formerly claimed by the Earls of Desmond, as disclosed by the Desmond Inquisition and Survey Rolls and which had reverted to the Crown - indeed only recently released from over three years in prison and the country over-run by the English, he had no alternative: So, in the year 1592, he (and John Oge Pierse of Ballymac-Equim, representing the gentlemen of Clanmaurice Barony, Co. Kerry) signed an agreement between himself, on the one hand, and the Commissioners of Munster on the other, to pay the dues to the Crown. The actual agreement, which still exists in the Carew Mss. at Lambeth Palace, reads as follows:-

"AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE COMMISSIONERS AND GENTRY
OF CLANMAURICE BARONY, CO. KERRY (1592)

Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the Lord Fitzmorris and the Gentlemen, etc., of country, otherwise called the barony and half-barony of Clanmorris, Co. Kerry, the last of September, 1592.

The said gentlemen, etc., do yield to her Majesty £35 ster. yearly out of the lands chargeable with sraghe, marte, etc., and further £15 yearly in composition for cesse, victualling, and other imposts for the space of three years.

(Signed) Pa. Lyksnawe
John X Oge Piers (his mark)"

With this may be compared another Agreement between the gentlemen of the remaining Baronies forming Co. Kerry at this time, on the one hand, and the same Commissioners of Munster on the other:-

"AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE COMMISSIONERS AND GENTRY
OF NORTH KERRY (1592)

Articles betwixt the Commissioners and the Gentlemen, etc., of the three baronies of Trughnackmye, Browne Lonclone and Offerbuye, and the barony of Corkevynnye, in the said co. Kerry, at Dinglecouishe, 18th August, 1592, in public assembly.

Whereas by verdict of jurors every of the said three baronies do contain 16 Knights' fees, each chargeable with sraghe and marte in one equal rate of 5 marks ster. and 5 beoves yearly to the late traitor Desmond, of which charge the greatest part was never levied, by

reason of its greatness; the Commissioners having moved them to compound for the same, the gentlemen, etc., do yield to her Majesty, in full satisfaction of sraghe, marte, cesse, and other such charges, £2 13s. 4d. ster. yearly for three years, deducting *pro rata* for all lands in the possession of any patentee as an undertaker, and likewise for the free lands which are parcel of the said three baronies.

(Signed)

Richard Trantte, suffrain	Gerott Duf Stak
John FitzEdmond Gerald	Thomas X McEdmond (Pierse) (his mark)
Mich: Brown	John McThomas Mc X Shane (Pierse) (his mark)
Stephen Ryce	Moris McUllick X (his mark)
Gerald FitzMorish	John X McUllick (his mark)
Raphe Patterson, as agent for	Richard Trauntt
Sir Edward Denny	
James Trauntt	Mich: Trauntt
Jenkyn Conway	"et diversorum aliorum" "

From the State Papers for the same year we find a list, dated 31st December, 1592, containing the names of the principal English undertakers of estates in Co. Kerry together with the number of acres they held and the rents arising therefrom. In the county of Kerry, because of the high quality and fertility of the land, a higher rate was charged - that of 4d. or 6d. per acre!

<i>name</i>	<i>acres</i>	<i>crown rent</i>
Sir Edward Denny	6,000	£100 0s. 0d.
Sir Valentine Brown	6,560	£113 6s. 8d.
Sir W. Herbert	13,276	£221 5s. 4d.
Mr. Charles Herbert	3,768	£62 15s. 4d.
Mr. John Holles	4,422	£73 14s. 0d.
Captain Jenkin Conway	526	£8 18s. 8d.
Mr. John Champion	1,434	£23 18s. 0d.
Nicholas Brown (son of Sir Valentine Brown)	1,200	£120 18s. 0d.

Many grants of land were made "under Queen's letter" and were included in the Royal Fiants already referred to, and as such have been published in the Reports of the Deputy Keeper of State Papers of Ireland. From these we can trace the transfer of particular townlands and obtain the names of the original Irish owners. Since the estates of the English planters were often made up of townlands in widely separated areas, frequently in different counties, it is not possible to give here the grants in

full - some run to the size of a page of a modern newspaper in content- but we give extracts relating in the main only to Co. Kerry, and in particular, to members of the Pierse family. Extracting the information is not entirely simple for even at this period, persons were known often only by patronymics but, since the names are usually coupled with their owners' former estates, identification then becomes easier, for the names of townlands known to have been inherited Pierse family lands are well established. Thus, commencing with the year 1594, we find:-

A.D. 1594	Grant (under Queen's letter, 1st July, XXXI) to Edm. Barret, gent., (the lands) of ...
ELIZ. 31	Ballihawregan, ¹⁴⁴ Banegaran, ¹⁴⁵ Mynemore ¹⁴⁶ and Gortcarde, ¹⁴⁷ 2 carucates, and
No. 5912	three messuages with gardens in Ratowe, ¹⁴⁸ parcel of the lands of Edm. McKierrie, alias McKierrie of Ballihawregan, ¹⁴⁹ attainted (5s. 6d.); ... Mynechonen, ¹⁵⁰ ¼ carucate, land of Rob. Fitz Morice of Mynechonen, attainted (10d.); ... Rathkeny ¹⁵¹ ... 7 carucates, lands of Shane oge m ^c Shane McThomas of Kilfynorighe, ¹⁵² in said co. (Kerry), attainted (17s. 6d.); ... Dromartin ¹⁵³ and Knockmaghe, ¹⁵⁴ 1½ carucate, lands of Nicholas M ^c Shane Pierse of those places, attainted (3s. 9d.).
	16th December, XXXVII."

Another is:-

A.D. 1596	{ This Grant appears to be a duplicate of No. 5912 given above, but of a later date. }
ELIZ. 32	
No. 6029	

and:-

¹⁴⁴ Ballyhorgan, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

¹⁴⁵ ? Bunegarry (now Meen), Listowel P., Irragh. B.

¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁸ Rattoo, Townland and Parish, Clanm. and Irragh. Baronies.

¹⁴⁹ See note 144.

¹⁵⁰ Mineconeen - now part of Meenogahane, Killury P., Clanm. B.

¹⁵¹ Rathkenney, O'Dorney P., Clanm. B.

¹⁵² Kilfenora, Ardfert P., Trugh. B.

¹⁵³ Drommartin, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

¹⁵⁴ Knockenagh, Ardfert P., Trugh. B.

A..D. 1597 ELIZ. 31 No. 6117	"Grant (under Queen's letter, 27th September, XXXI) to George Isham, of Brianstown, Co. Wexford, gent., (the lands) of ... a tenement there (in the town of Ardfer, Co. Kerry), forfeited by John M ^c Richard (Pierse) and now in the tenure of George Rice, ... a tenement there (Ardfer) in the tenure of Shane M ^c Edmond Stondon, belonging to Edmond Fitz James (Pierse), attainted, ... a tenement with a parcel of land near the town of Ardart, ¹⁵⁵ called Ballyknock, ¹⁵⁶ Clonemore, ¹⁵⁷ and Graige, ¹⁵⁸ forfeited by the attainder of James Fitz Richard Pierse, late Bishop of Ardart. 27th September, XXXI."
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and lastly, another given in more detail to give an idea of the extent and difficulty in identifying the persons and ancient place-names:-

A.D. 1597 ELIZ. 39 No. 6123	"Grant (under Queen's letter, 7th May, XXXIX) to the provost and fellows of the College of the Holy Trinity by Dublin; (the lands in Co. Kerry) of ...Ballym ^c choim, ¹⁵⁹ Aghevore, ¹⁶⁰ Ballinealigan, ¹⁶¹ Ballinchrossige, ¹⁶² Clonegill, ¹⁶³ Kilcowlie, ¹⁶⁴ two tenements in Ardart, ¹⁶⁵ Corballie, ¹⁶⁶ Ballince, ¹⁶⁷ Clonlogher, ¹⁶⁸ Ballinvaranig, ¹⁶⁹ Menevorine, ¹⁷⁰ and Clonegill, ¹⁷¹ 4 carucates, lands of Gerot fitz James (Pierse) of Ballim ^c echoim, ¹⁷² attainted, in said co. (13s. 4d.); Finglas, ¹⁷³ parcel of the lands of Donall Mc Tirloghe Mc Connor of Finglas, attainted, in said co. (2s. 8d.); Ballingerot ¹⁷⁴ near Dowra, ¹⁷⁵ 1/16 carucate, land of Rich. duff Mc James, attainted in said co. (1s.) Meneveg, ¹⁷⁶ half of Farrynomoylegan, ¹⁷⁷ two tenements in Killurie, ¹⁷⁸ Lissichurrig, ¹⁷⁹ a mortgage of 6 cows upon an acre of land and a mill seat near Rathwiriell, ¹⁸⁰ a mortgage of 8 cows as on half Ballinglanry, ¹⁸¹ a mortgage of 12 cows on
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¹⁵⁵ Ardfer, Townland and Parish, part in Clanm. and part in Trugh. Bys.

¹⁵⁶ ? Knockroe Ardfer P., Clanm. B.

¹⁵⁷ Cloon Mor - now Cloon Glebe, Ardfer P., Clanm. B.

¹⁵⁸ Graigue - now Graigue Glebe, Ardfer P., Clanm. B.

¹⁵⁹ Ballymac-Equim, Killahan P., Clanm. B.

¹⁶⁰ Aghamore, Killahan P., Clanm. B.

¹⁶¹ Ballymellagon - now part of Ballymac-Equim; see note 159.

¹⁶² Ballincrossig, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

¹⁶³

¹⁶⁴ Killcooly, Kilmoyly P., Clanm. B.

¹⁶⁵ Ardfer; see note 155.

¹⁶⁶ Corbally, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

¹⁶⁷ Ballynoe, Killury P., Clanm. B.

¹⁶⁸ Cloonlogher, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

¹⁶⁹ Ballinbrantig, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

¹⁷⁰

¹⁷¹

¹⁷² Ballymac-Equim, Killahan P., Clanm. B.

¹⁷³ Finglas

¹⁷⁴ Ballygarret, Duagh P., Clanm. B.

¹⁷⁵ Duagh - Town, townland and Parish, in Clanm. B.

Graigentlea,¹⁸² parcel of the possessions of Shane Mc Edm. McUllick, attainted in said co. (4s. 6d.); Cowle,¹⁸³ 2 carucates, lands of Donell Roe begg, attainted in said co. (8s.); Tynny,¹⁸⁴ 2 carucates (8s.); lands of Tiege e Yattery, attainted, in said co.; Likfavin or Kilfavin,¹⁸⁵ Brovore,¹⁸⁶ Letter,¹⁸⁷ and Meneclovin,¹⁸⁸ Kilconlie¹⁸⁹ and Kilnegolman,¹⁹⁰ Tullymore,¹⁹¹ Ballynonene,¹⁹² Dyrrine¹⁹³ and Dromgallon,¹⁹⁴ Donevlan¹⁹⁵ and Moghan,¹⁹⁶ Dirrirahie¹⁹⁷ and Gortscoble,¹⁹⁸ Farrinedmond¹⁹⁹ and Gortscoble,²⁰⁰ tenements in Ratowe,²⁰¹ 260 acres, possessions of Shane McGerot McGerald, attainted, in 44 said co. (29s. 4d.); Gortnelyny²⁰² with a burgage in Ratowe, and the twelfth part of the common pasture of Ratowe, half of Cloneya,²⁰³ Kilcowliekillie,²⁰⁴ Plohiriske,²⁰⁵ two parcels of land called Leveg²⁰⁶ and Levore²⁰⁷ near Ardculen,²⁰⁸ possessions of the abbey of Ratow alias Arragacensis, in said co. (6s. 8d.); ...

28th June, XXXIX."

As can well be imagined, considerable confusion grew out of the confiscation and subsequent grant to English planters of the former Irish owners' estates. By comparing these grants issued in the form of Fiantis, it is possible to trace particular townlands being originally forfeited and granted to one planter, and later, to find the same townlands granted to a different planter. To add to the chaos, sometimes an

¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁷ Farran, Killury P., Clanm. B.

¹⁷⁸ Killury - Parish in Clanm. B.

¹⁷⁹ Lissycurragh, Killury P., Clanm. B.

¹⁸⁰ Rathmorrel, Aghavallen P., Irragh B.

¹⁸¹

¹⁸²

¹⁸³

¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁶ Bromore, Kilconly P. Irragh. B.

¹⁸⁷ Letter, Aghavallen P., Irragh. B.

¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁹ Kilconly - Townland and Parish in Irragh. B.

¹⁹⁰ Kilcolgan, Kilnaughtin P., Irragh. B.

¹⁹¹ Tullamore, Galey P., Irragh. B.

¹⁹² Ballyouneen, Rattoo P., Irragh. B.

¹⁹³

¹⁹⁴ Dromgower, Ballyheige P., Clanm. B.

¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁷ Derrico, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁹ Farranedmond, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²⁰⁰

²⁰¹ Rattoo - Townland and Parish in Clanm. B.

²⁰²

²⁰³ Clooneagh, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²⁰⁴ Kilcooly, Kilmoily P., Clanm. B.

²⁰⁵ Ploresk, Kilmoily P., Clanm. B.

²⁰⁶ Leagh, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²⁰⁷ Lymore - now Knocknacree, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²⁰⁸ Ardculen, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

undertaker transferred certain of his lands or sub-let them to another English tenant; thus we can imagine a planter buying a small estate and finding that, by virtue of an earlier Fiant, his townland had already been allotted to another planter - probably in some remote county on the opposite coast of Ireland - who seldom visited his estate - so that the planter from whom he bought his land was actually not in a position to sell! Further, in some instances, although very few indeed, the original Irish owner managed to obtain a regrant of his lands, to find them already parcelled out to a number of separate planters. This was the case with Thomas Fitzmaurice, 16th Baron of Kerry and Lixnaw, whose large estates in Kerry were forfeited in the year 1587; in connexion with this, the following abbreviated memorandum²⁰⁹ is of interest:-

"Memorandum of Thomas FitzMorrice, son and heir of Patrick, Lord Baron of Licksnaw,²¹⁰ on the 19th March (1597), in the 39th year of her Majesty's reign, Having appeared in Chancery, etc.

Conveyance whereby Edmond Barrett gave and granted to Sir Henry Wallope, Treasurer-at-War; Sir Anthony Sentleger, Master of the Rolls; and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Chief Secretary; the town and lands of Ballilloghran Oughter, and Ballilloghran Eighter,²¹¹ Killeheney,²¹² ... Derico,²¹³ Knockenan,²¹⁴ Ballihawregan,²¹⁵ ... Mynemore,²¹⁶ and Gortecarde,²¹⁷ ... Galie,²¹⁸ ... Coulkeraghe,²¹⁹ ... Dromore,²²⁰ ... Mynechonene,²²¹ ... Cowle,²²² ... ; three messuages in Ratowe²²³ ... Ballinorig,²²⁴ Dromarten,²²⁵ Ballihumicken,²²⁶ in the counties of Kerry and Desmond, which had been granted to the said Edmond Barrett, by patent dated 14th January (1597) in the 39th year of her Majesty's reign

14th January, 1596, XXXIX."

Here we find the Baron of Kerry's estates distributed among at least four English planters, yet the Lord Deputy was then considering the restitution to Patrick Fitzmaurice, 17th Baron, after having been forfeited by his father Thomas, 16th Baron.

²⁰⁹ Patent and Close Rolls, Eliz. 1597, membrane 2/49.

²¹⁰ Lixnaw.

²¹¹ Ballyloughra Upper and Lower, Lissalton P., Irragh. B.

²¹² Killeheney - Townland and Parish in Irragh. B.

²¹³ Derryco, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²¹⁴ Knockenore, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²¹⁵ Ballyhorgan, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²¹⁶

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²¹⁸ Galey - Townland and Parish in Irragh. B.

²¹⁹ Coolkeragh, Galey P., Irragh. B.

²²⁰ Bromore,

²²¹ Meenoconeen, now part of Meenogahane, Killury P., Clanm. B.

²²²

²²³ Rattoo - Townland and Parish in Clanm. B.

²²⁴ Ballynorig, Kilmoyley P., Clanm. B.

²²⁵ Drommartin, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²²⁶ Ballyhemikin, Kilmoyley P., Clanm. B.

All in all, from both the Irish and English points of view, the plantation of Kerry and Desmond was by no means satisfactory. On paper, the professed object of suppressing the Irish in punishment for the Desmond Rebellion, and the establishment of ruling English families appeared to be complete and thoroughly carried out, but quite a different picture was to be observed in the countryside itself. The former Irish owners, often paying - or promising to pay - high rents for the privilege of working as tenants on their old estates, were showing signs of unrest. Isolated attacks by them on the English planters began to grow in frequency and number. Some of the undertakers, sensing an impending outbreak, grew frightened, gave up the lands they had bought, and returned to England.

Of course, such a state of affairs could not last for long, and the inevitable insurrection eventually did break out. This time, it did not originate in the south of Ireland, but in the north - in the Province of Ulster. The outbreak in Munster did not occur until the year 1598, but this is dealt with as the principal subject of the next Chapter.

As a conclusion to this Chapter, we give transcriptions of outsiders' views of Kerry and Desmond at this time. The first is extracted from a work entitled "The Description of Ireland as it is in hoc anno 1598"²²⁷ - a description obviously by a contemporary writer - and illustrates the change in the face of Kerry and the principal families since the Desmond Rebellion.

" THE DESCRIPTION OF IRELAND THE STATE THEREOF AS IT IS AT PRESENT IN ANNO 1598

Mounster - Co. of Kerry

Certain men sworn to continue in Rebellion - The Lord FitzMorris, Thomas Oge (Fitzgerald) of Arnagreagh, E. Hussey of Balynahowe, Owen M^cMoriartie of Skart, Cahir M^oBrien of Traly, Thomas FitzJohn (Fitzmaurice) of Ballykely, heir of Ballykely.

The Countie of Kerrie

This Countie properly containeth onlie that land which lyeth between the River of Mayne and the Sheynon (Shannon), and includeth the most part of the mountaine of Shewroyer which mountaine being the most Easterlie part of this Countie boundeth it upon the Counties of Limerick and Corke to the East, upon the Sheynen to the North, upon the Sea to the West, and the River of Mayne to the South.

Principall Townes

Ardfert

Dingley, a walled Towne

Traley

Castles

Island, belonging to Sr. Willm. Herbert

²²⁷ Author Edmund Horgan (priest of the Society of Jesus). Pub. Dublin and London 1878.

Castle Mayne, belonging to the Queene
Carrigfoyle, to John O'Connor
Lixnaw, to the L.; thereof
Torbert, to the Queene
Ardfert, to the L.; of Lixnaw
Traley, to Sr. Edward Denny in the Court of England

Principall Men

The Baron of Lixnaw, commonlie called the L:
Fitzmorrice, his name is Patrick Fitzgerrald,
his Chief House Lixnaw
The Bishop of Ardfert
Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerrie
Traunts (Trant) of Dingle
Nic: Browne
James Oge Pierce
The Stacks, a great name
Mr. Conway
McKelgot (McElligott)
Mr. Grey
Mr. Spring
John Burtall
John Middleton
Oconnor Kerrie
and many other meane Freeholders.

This Countie is in a manner all out in Rebellion, the Inglyshe almost being expelled, their number is about 300 men.

This Countie was a Countie Palatyne to the Earl of Desmond and in that tyme no small hindrance to the Government of Munster, by reason the Liberties and Royalties thereof falling to a man of small discretion caused him to be insolent above measure forbidding the L: President and Council of the Province to have any dealings with this Jurisdiction and this was the verie ground and caus of his rebellion and utter overthrow - which evidentlie teacheth what may ensue when Princes do bestow places of Justice (as Justiceships or Sherifships) or great priviledges upon any man for himself and his posteritie seeing no man can assure that his posteritie shall be capable thereof."

It will be noticed from the foregoing, that at about this time, the term Desmond as applied to a County was being abandoned, and that the country earlier known by that ancient name - used in its

original form *Des mumha* centuries before the Norman invasion of Ireland - was being absorbed into the growing county of Kerry. It might well be that even the name Desmond, following the Rebellion of 1568 to 1583, had become repugnant to the English!

In this respect, the following taken from the Carew Manuscript Collection is of interest:-²²⁸

"Desmond is a parcel of the Countie of Kerry and is divided into three Baronies and an half, viz:- Magonny (Magunihy), Ivregha (Iveragh), Dounkerran (Dunkerron), and the half-barony of Glanoraghte (Glanarought). In the North side yt is bounded by the river of the Mang (Maine) which doth bounde Desmonde from the rest of Kerry."

How the Earls of Desmond must have turned in their graves! While they were omnipotent, the little county of Kerry had been regarded as a county palatine of the Earls, but now the mouse had eaten the lion!

From now on, while concentrating in the main upon North Kerry - Clanmaurice and Irraghticonnor Baronies in particular - we must enlarge our scope to include the rest of the county. The County Baronies as now given: Irraghticonnor, Clanmaurice, Trughanacmy, Corkaguiny, Magunihy, Iveragh, Glanarought and Dunkerron, at this time were much the same as they are today in boundaries and extent, with the exception that the last named is now divided into two - Dunkerron North and Dunkerron South. It will be seen too that the former so-called Half-Barony of Brown and Cantillon, formerly containing the parishes of Killury, Rattoo, and Ballyheige, which the Fitzmaurices had given to the Earls of Desmond, was restored and absorbed into Clanmaurice Barony, while the portion of the latter which at one time extended north of the River Feale, was restored to Irraghticonnor Barony, earlier the territory of the powerful O'Connor family.

Thus it appears that, by some strange irony of history, the injustices the invading Normans meted out to the native Gaels, and the wrongs perpetrated by Normans upon brother Normans, were in some small measure righted by the English, although of course, these restorations were of no consequence to the people living in Kerry at that time and who, Gael and Norman alike, were regarded as "mere Irish" and joined issue in their common hatred of the English.

²²⁸ Carew MSS., Vol. 625, f. 25.

CHAPTER IX - THE CATHOLIC INSURRECTION AND AFTER

Whilst during the few years following the Elizabethan Plantations, Munster was comparatively peaceful, in the Province of Ulster in the north, fierce rebellion - referred to in history books as the Rebellion of Hugh O'Neill - was raging. Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and leader of the Irish Catholics, was drawn into rebellion early in 1595 as the result of outrages committed against the Irish in the north and the Earl's fear of an attempt being made to subjugate the whole of the country, including the Province of Ulster - his own territory.

At first the effects of the rebellion were not felt in Munster but, when the southern chiefs heard news of O'Neill's successes in the north, they too broke out in revolt. At this time, Sir Thomas Norris was President of Munster and, referring to the State Papers of this period, we can trace the effect of the rebellion in the County of Kerry. On the 21st October, 1598, James Sarsfield, Mayor of Cork, reported to the Privy Council that "The undertakers of Kerry have come to this city for their refuge, being rifled of all their goods".

The Geraldine families, together with the Burkes and some of the Butlers joined O'Neill. The English planters suffered the brunt of all the pent up discontent of the dispossessed proprietors; lands were raided, cattle driven off, houses burnt, and their occupants sent fleeing in fear for their lives. Only in the larger towns were the English safe, but even there they dared scarcely venture outside the walls. On the 9th December, 1598, it was reported that "Lord Fitzmaurice (Patrick, 17th Baron of Kerry) with his sons and followers is joined to the traitors, and so are generally all the freeholders and inhabitants of Kerry". Two weeks later, on the 21st December, news was received that "the traitors in Kerry, as soon as they hear news of any forces marching that way, propose to break down the Abbey of Tralee, the Castle of the Island (Castleisland), and burn the town of Dinglecush (Dingle), with any other buildings fit to receive garrisons". Patrick Fitzmaurice, Baron of Kerry, was particularly singled out as a man evoking the royal displeasure; recorded on the 26th March, 1599, a paper summarises his recent activities:-

"In June, 1598, (he) excused himself from the general hosting. When in England was graced by Her Majesty, made a Pensioner, and employed in service of great trust. Was taken to Limerick and escaped. Patrick Fitzmaurice was then taken to Dublin Castle from which he escaped again. As forward now as anyone in the rebellion."

During February, 1600, Sir George Carew came to Ireland as President of Munster. The collection of documents known as the Carew MSS, now in the Lambeth Palace Library, is particularly rich in information relating to these troublesome times. A letter from Carew, dated the 18th July of the same year, reveals that Liscahane Castle, which was then in the possession of Edward Gray, was surprised and held by Carew's orders, and that "Lord MacMorris broke down his castle of Beale. He is the most obstinate and malicious traitor within this Province (Munster)."

It will be remembered from Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, that this "Lord MacMorris" - or Patrick Fitzmaurice, 17th Baron of Kerry - married twice; his second marriage was to Elenor, daughter of Thomas Fitzgerald of Ballyglighin, co. Limerick, whose son Captain Gerald Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald married Catherine Pierse, daughter of John Pierse of Ballymac-Equim, Esq., We further read that "Patrick Fitzmaurice, being in rebellion and all his castles of Ardfert, Lixnaw, Listowel, and Beale being in possession of the English, he sickened and died of grief on the 12th August, 1600 at Downlogh, co. Limerick."

Sir George Carew, described as "able, courageous, but crafty and avaricious", applied all his talents with great zeal in suppressing the rebellion in Munster. Spurred on by his intense hatred of the Irish, he captured castle after castle, and ordered his soldiers to destroy crops wherever they could in order to bring about a famine, On the 25th August, 1600, he reported the taking of "Lord Fitzmaurice's house called Lixnaw, and Rathonyne Castle belonging to the Bishop of Kerry". Later the same year, Sir Charles Wilmot writing on the 2nd December, 1600 to Carew said: "The castle of Listowel yielded today having been mined in the cellar". Of the eighteen soldiers within the castle with the womenfolk and English prisoners, Wilmot reported that he had hanged nine. Three days later a letter was despatched from Wilmot informing Carew that he (Wilmot) had "taken away the eldest son of MacMaurice - a child".

A glimpse of the view with which the Barony of Clanmaurice in which the Pierse families were settled all through these years of war and bloodshed was held, is revealed in the following extract from a letter by Sir George Carew, dated December, 1600:-

"The only place to plant the Earl of Desmond is in Clanmaurice, Kerry and Desmond. A sure man in this place is more needful than in any other part of Ireland."

This refers to James fitzThomas Fitzgerald, the "Sugaune (straw rope) Earl", grandson of James, 15th Earl of Desmond, who tried to have his claim recognized following the death of his father Gerald the Great Earl of Desmond in 1583.

As for the Fitzmaurice families - or the Clan Maurice as they were called, the sentiments of the poet Aenghus O'Daly in 1602 who was employed by Sir George Carew to lampoon the Irish chieftains are summarised in a stanza of the following satire:-

Kerry Tribes

O'Donoghue of Gleann - Fleisge!
I will give his character as it is;
An increase of evil ever comes from him,
Every day during his life.
Woe to him who slew his brother
For the inheritance of Gleann - Fleisge

And that - unless from stale buttermilk -
No one ever there was drunk!

The Lord of the Reeks
Hates both layman and priest;
As the daisy hates the night
He hates mankind!

In Desmond - above all other places -
They deserve from God to go to Heaven;
On account of their fasting for their crimes
They should go dry footed in!

The simple Clan - Maurice shall not get
(I forgive them what they have done)
A verse of praise or satire from me.
They are poor gentlemen,
Specked shins in linen rags,
And their hags yoked like bald dogs
Until hunger forces them to break their gads,
Are in Carrick, which cannot be relieved!

My supper in the house of Hare,
The wind carried off through the windows;
Both the bread and the butter -
They could not be separated!

I suffered (though hard the case)
On a small supper in the house of Thomas;
From fear that his eyes should injure me for my supper
My bit, without being chewed, stuck in my throat!

All throughout these years in a ceaseless flow the Elizabethan Fiants were being issued. The extracts from these Fiants given below, while typical of the form in which the pardons were set out, necessarily give no idea of the numbers of persons mentioned. To give a complete copy of each would require many more pages than can reasonably be devoted to the present work which, after all, is intended to be a history of the Pierse family only and not a comprehensive history of Kerry.

Singled out as they are, the following names might have been noticed among lists of anything from ten to three hundred names which, although if transcribed in their entirety would convey the proportionate sizes of the different families, as well as the number of persons in a district, would hardly justify the large amount of space required:-

A. D. 1600 ELIZ. 43 No. 6477	"Pardon to ... James oge Peirs, of Raghonyne, ²²⁹ Margaret ny Moregh, his wife, John McRickard (Pierse) of Lishnegonyne, ²³⁰ yeoman, Garrett McShane (Pierse) and Tho: McJohn (Pierse), of the same, yeomen, ... John Fitz Richard (Pierse) of Liskenlau, ²³¹ ..
Provisions as in 6469.	
18th March, XLIII"	

and,

A. D. 1601 ELIZ. 43 No. 6494	"Pardon to ... Nich. Dall (Pierse) of Rattoo, harper, ...
Provisions as in 6465.	
11th April, XLIII"	

and,

A. D. 1601 ELIZ. 43 No. 6497	"Pardon to ... Rich. Peirs, of Claghanorke ²³² Morris Peirs, of Balliluogan, ²³³ Ulick mcShane McEdmund, of Kilurie, Robert mc Edm. mcUllick, Ulick, mc Tho. McEdmund of the same, ... Sean McSean Peirs, of Dromartin, ²³⁴ ... Rob. McTho:
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²²⁹ Rahoneen, Ardfer P., Clanm. B.

²³⁰ Lisnagonoeny, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²³¹ Liscullane, Kiltomy P., Clanm. B.

²³²

²³³ Ballyhorgan, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²³⁴ Drommartin, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

Peirs, of Ballibreanig;²³⁵ John McRobert (Pierse) of Lysneconyne,²³⁶ ... Morris McSean Peirs, of Ardfert, ... Wm. Oyn mcShihie, of Crossmcsean,²³⁷ * ... Edm: mcRobert Peirs, of Balliheig,²³⁸ ...

Provided that they appear and submit before the President of Munster, N. Walsh, knt., Chief Justice of the Common Bench, the chief and second Justices, and the Queen's Attorney of Munster, and John Everard, Esq., Justice of the Liberty of Tipperary, within three months, and be sufficiently bound with sureties; and that all the recognizances be recorded in the Council Book of the Province at the next session to be held in the several counties where the parties live, if any be held there within three months. If any fail to find the required surety within three months, the pardon as regards them to be void. The pardon shall not extend to any in prison or bound for appearance at sessions; nor to any Jesuit, seminary, or mass priest, nor any freeman of any city or incorporate town who lives in the town. It shall also not include any offence or crime committed after that date of the President's letter to the Deputy for the pardon; nor any intrusion or possessions of the Crown or any debt or arrears due to the Crown.

Date destroyed; Lord Deputy's warrant dated 17th April, 1601"

also,

A..D. 1601 ELIZ. 43 No. 6576	"Pardon to ... John oge (Fitzmaurice) of Lixnawe, ²³⁹ ... John oge Pierse of Ballemichocuin, ²⁴⁰ , ...
Provisions as in 6497.	
(No date)	

and another,

A. D. 1601 ELIZ. 43 No. 6555	"Pardon to James mc Robert, of the Currins, ²⁴¹ ... James mc Edmonde, and Shane O Sullane (Sullivan), of the same, Riccard mc Morrice Pierce, James mc Tho: Pierce, Maurice mc Riccard mc Morrice Pierce, Tho. mc Morrice Stacke, Tho: oge
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²³⁵ Ballinbranhig, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²³⁶ Lisnagoneeny Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²³⁷ Cuossmacshane (now Cloontubuid) Listowel P., Irragh B.

* Editor's note. The following margin insert appears on this page: Crossmcsean is Baliegonoghe, Rathonyne, Rathkenny, Crossmcsean, Liseiltin, Ballieline, Fyneglassie, Balligonighe, Clananrourke, Edm. mcMorris McSean of Munister Odorne, Thomas mcEdmund Oige of Gallie.

²³⁸ Ballyheige, Ballyheige P., Clanm. B.

²³⁹ Lixnaw, Kilcaragh P., Clanm. B.

²⁴⁰ Ballymac-Equim, Killahan P., Clanm. B.

²⁴¹

mc Tho: mc Riccard (Pierse), John me Thomas (Pierse) of Killahane.²⁴² Provisions as in 6497. Not to pardon any offence committed since 28th March last, being the date of the Lord President's letter on behalf of this pardon.

22nd June, XLIII"

The insurrection, so far as it affected Munster, was short lived, and by the autumn of 1601, practically all hostilities had ceased. The President of Munster, Sir George Carew, had employed all his cunning in order to obtain the subjection of the insurgents; to clan chiefs he offered hopes of a light punishment if they submitted, but at the same time he wreaked pitiless vengeance upon those who still held out. One by one the beleaguered strongholds fell and the affects of the famine made further resistance impossible. James fitz Thomas Fitzgerald, the "Sugaun" Earl of Desmond and Florence MacCarthy, two of Carew's most powerful enemies were both betrayed, the former by the treachery of his brother-in-law the White Knight,²⁴³ and both Fitzgerald and MacCarthy were committed to the Tower of London. In September, 1601, a force of 3,000 Spaniards landed at Kinsale who had been sent to assist the Catholics by Philip III of Spain. With this help, Kinsale put up a gallant defence but, in view of the overwhelming odds in favour of the English forces, final surrender was inevitable.

On the 26th March., 1603, Sir Charles Wilmot writing to Sir George Carew stated:-²⁴⁴

"No rebels are now stirring in Munster except those in the castle of Ballingarry in Clanmaurice (co. Kerry), who are blockaded by Captain Boys with 800 foot. Within are Macmaurice himself, Gerrot Roe Stacke, Donnell O'Sullivan More, Hussey the Scholar, and other principal rebels. The place is within a hugh cliff in the sea, and no way to come in or out but by a bridge. The rock is 50 fathoms down into the sea. One hundred persons are inside."

Now "Hussey the Scholar", or Oliver Hussey as his real name was, was a schoolmaster in co. Kerry, and in "Pacata Hibernia"²⁴⁵ is described as "a most pernicious member of this traitorous combination"; he was also brother-in-law to James Oge Pierse, son of James Fitzmaurice or Pierse, late Bishop of Ardfert, by virtue of their wives being sisters and the daughters of Morrough McSheehy of the sept of Slaught Owen.²⁴⁶

The rebellion was finally suppressed by the 29th March, 1603, when the supreme leader of the Irish, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, submitted to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, then Lord Deputy of Ireland.

²⁴² Killahan, Killahan P., Clanm. B.

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The result of the rebellion was a repetition of that of the Desmond Rebellion a few years earlier. Carew, as President of Munster, "caused all the country of Kerry and Desmond, Beare, Bantry, and Carbery to be left absolutely wasted, constraining all the Inhabitants thereof to withdraw their Cattle into the East and Northern parts of the County of Cork".

In the year 1603, Queen Elizabeth died and James I succeeded to the throne of England; the policy in Ireland of confiscating lands, however, and transplanting them with English adventurers, was resumed. In the main, although confiscations were made generally throughout Ireland as the result of the Catholic Insurrection, the Jacobean Plantations were principally in Ulster where Scottish families were introduced. According to a list compiled from contemporary records, the names of the planters in co. Kerry during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I were the Herberts, Sir Valentine Brown, Sir Edward Denny, John Crosbie, Captain Thomas Spring, Stephen Rice, Luke Morrice, John Champion, Robert Blennerhassett, among others:²⁴⁷ descendants of these families from this time on formed the principal leading families in co. Kerry, some of which still exist today.

All this time, fiants were still being issued, and from the Patent Rolls of James I we notice the following of interest:-

A. D. 1603 2 JAMES I PATENT ROLLS PART I, DORSO LX 10	"King's Letter for the Pardon of Thomas Fitz-Morrish Gerald, baron of Lixnawe, who had been in rebellion against Q. Elizabeth and whose pardon and restitution has hitherto been stayed - also, to accept his surrender of the lands of which his father Patrick late baron of Lixnawe had been seized, and to make him a regrant of the same.
	28th October, I"

and,

A. D. 1605 2 JAMES I PATENT ROLLS (p.53) XIV 27	"Grant from the King to Theobald Bourke, baron Bourgh of Connell, otherwise Castleconnell - (Here follows a long list of lands granted in several counties) <i>In Kerry and Desmond Co.</i> ... in Cloghanleis, ²⁴⁸ 7 acres; parcel of the estate of Morrish Fitz-James Fitz-Edmond Fitz Morrish of the same, yeoman, dead in rebellion; rent 1s. 6d. - ... in Moynogohan, ²⁴⁹ 2½ carucates; parcel of the estate of Edmond Mc Robert Mc Thomas Fitz-Morrice (Pierse) of the same, yeoman, dead in rebellion; rent 5s. - ...
	22nd March, II

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²⁴⁸ Cloghaneleegh, Ballyheige P., Clanm. B.

²⁴⁹ Meenogahane, Killury P., Clanm. B.

<p>A. D. 1605</p> <p>2 JAMES I</p> <p>PATENT ROLLS</p> <p>(p.56)</p> <p>LI - LV</p>	<p>"General Pardon to Tho: Fitz Morrice, baron of Lixenawe²⁵⁰ in co. Kerry, ... (and to) ... James Mc Shane oge Pierse, of Ballimcquim,²⁵¹ in co. Kerry, ...</p>	
		<p>16th July, II"</p>

<p>A. D. 1610</p> <p>8 JAMES I</p> <p>PATENT ROLLS</p> <p>PART I, DORSO</p> <p>XLV 7</p>	<p>"King's Letter to accept a surrender from Thomas Fitz Maurice Gerald, Baron of Liksnawe." (The Letter further goes on to include a note stating that some, if not all, of the lands in question had earlier been granted to the English undertaker John Crosbie, who was required to surrender them.)</p>
	<p>25th April, 1610</p>

²⁵⁰ Lixnaw, Kilcaragh P., Clanm. B.

²⁵¹ Ballymac-Equim, Killahan P., Clanm. B.

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A. D. 1612 10 JAMES I PATENT ROLLS PART I, FACIE VIII 35	<p>"Grant from the King to Thomas Fitz Morris, baron of Lixnawe. - Kerry Co.</p> <p>The manor, castle, town, and lands* of Lixnawe, containing 21 plowlands, viz. Myanes, Ballynegarrie, Ballentogher, Knockane, Incurrihine, Erribegga, Ballycrahine, Liscalane,²⁵² Conygeare, Tonereogh, Farrennyseare, Kilcluony, Ballenwallen, Ballenawbuorty, Ballencloher, Dirrioren, Ballendermody, Farrennegissah, Killvaldy, Gort-Iliegan, Mollenower, Tyremountrycarhy, Garruffecluon, Clowneveale-Inahie, Moanevilcon, Farren-Ivally, Moanenteady, Kippaghruo, Farrennywouncknory, Gortnygrave, Toameny, Farran-Ivessegerib, both the Aghibeggs, Cluonyne, Mallarno, Farrennyraghterie, Dromcroe, Mockenagh,²⁵³ Killfeighny,²⁵⁴ Buolyleinagh, and Gortencloghan, -- the manor, castle, town, and lands of Listowell, containing 4 plowlands, called Illane-Igannyffe, Illane-M^cLougherie, Ballihowloge, Clieveragh, Aghitroughs, Gort-Icurrin, Gorticrushane, Dromevran, Inshym^cgullyreogh, and Illanevockane -- the castle, town, and lands of Ballenvonianige,²⁵⁵ containing 3 plowlands, called Farrenpierce²⁵⁶ and Dromen²⁵⁷ -- the castle, town, and lands of Bealy, Finit, Feiniobeg, and Iniscorrynian; in all 8 plowlands -- the castle, town, and lands of Bennagh, 6 plowlands -- the towns and lands of Lissoteige, Ardconnyle, Lisseneale, Tubbered, Ballenstackyboligg, and Lerigge, containing 16 plowlands and 20^a -- the manor and castle of Ardfert, and all the lands in Ardfert, called Farrenwilliam;²⁵⁸ except 4^a belonging to Stephen Rice of Dingle, esq. and 5 stangs belonging to George Rice -- the towns and lands of Ardfertougher, Clogher-Joroslane, Gort-Iknuck, Boltinus, and Ballenknuck, with certain gardens and tenements, all in the burrow of Ardfert -a parcel of land called Bonnow, and the Broken Quarter, containing 6 plowlands -- the towns and lands of Dromelegagh, Mynskavane, Ballyeaghie, Loghane, Ballyeagan, Ballengowne, Killomiroge, Cwillnyline, and Rathnypraskie, Fynouge, Balliduhige, Knockburane, Ballyeanessie, Ballyhowregan, Myneonolane, Palice, Baunemoer, Tullym^cshiarhowne, Muckenaghbegg, and Muckenaghwilbe, Clonedowglassie, Tullycrimine, Cluonysillagh, Crossencurrane,²⁵⁹ Lissighanruomy,²⁶⁰ Lislanhedile, and Ballenrodolig near Ballykeale; Ballym^cAndrew, Ballym^cQuoyne,²⁶¹ with the lough there, Ayle, Cohin, Ardglasse, Rathskannil, Dirrirahie, Finiallibegg, Glanedalhen, and Caherneade; in all 38 plowlands -- all the fishings, weirs, and ferries, royalties, and perquisites of the rivers of Broke, Smerlagh, Gallye, and Cassane -- that</p>
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* Editor's note. In the abridged version, the word "lands" appears as "lynegarrie," with a (missing) footnote.

²⁵² Liscullane, Kilcaragh P., Clanm. B.

²⁵³ Muckenagh, Kilfeighny P., Clanm. B.

²⁵⁴ Kilfeighny, Kilfeighny P., Clanm. B.

²⁵⁵ Ballybunion, Killeheny P., Irragh. B.

²⁵⁶ Farrenpierce, Kilconly P., Irragh. B.

²⁵⁷ Dromin, Killeheny P., Irragh B.

²⁵⁸ Farranwilliam, Ardfert P., Clanm. B.

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²⁶¹ Ballymacquin, Ardfert P., Clanm. B.

part of the fishing of Feall in this co. late in his possession -- the town and lands of Killynanue, 1 plowland; a court baron within the manor of Ardfert -- the chief rents following, out of Ballykeile, 8^l Eng. out of Lackencronyn, 3^s; out of Tohavane, Ballyconill, and Cahirrowgarnuff; 3^l 10^s 0^d; out of Killonie, 3^s 4^d; out of Gortlome-Inshie, 6^s 8^d; out of Ballygerrenane, 6^s 8^d; out of Kennaeshianie and Clancrichard, twelve in-calf cows; out of Ballynepriorie, 24 reapers in autumn, or in lieu thereof, 3^s 4^d; out of Crossm^cShane,²⁶² 8 cows; out of every plowland inhabited in Ballynyeligan²⁶³ when waste, 13^s 4^d. -- No rents reserved on the above lands or tenements, etc. -- The towns and lands of Killehenie and Gortneshannagh, 1 plowland; rent 2^s 6^d Ir. parcel of the estate of Will. oge Bannan otherwise Bonanagh, late of Killeheny, attainted -- Galye, Carrowknock, Cowlkeragh, Cowlard,. Ballidonogho, the Inses, Kilkerevane, Dromore, Tullymore, Glorie, Carrowblough, Dirrvinloght, and Kiltan, containing 9 plowlands; rent 1^l 2^s 6^d; parcel of the estate of Thomas McKillgodd, chief of his sept, late of Gallie, slain in rebellion -- Dowa or Ballinrealigh, Trenieragh, Killmena, Moate, Illananen, Inshehaurie, Fowran, and Ballym^cGerrott, 6 plowlands; rent, 15^s; parcel of the estate of Edmond M^cJames of Coffealye,²⁶⁴ attainted -- Monynechonen,²⁶⁵ ¼ plowland; rent 10^d; parcel of the estate of Robert Fitz-morrice, attainted -- Ballygodran, Cregan, and Ballym^cJordan, 5 plowlands; rent, 12^s 6^d; parcel of the estate of Shane M^cThomas Nemanowe, late of Ballygodran, attainted -- Rathkenny, Ballilahive,²⁶⁶ Daranaboe,²⁶⁷ Robertstowne,²⁶⁸ and Balliovin,²⁶⁹ 7 plowlands; rent, 17^s 6d; parcel of the estate of Shane oge M^cShane M^cThomas, late of Kilfirorigh, attainted -- Ballynorig and Gerrigankigh, 2 plowlands; rent, 5^s 8d; parcel of the estate of John Fitz -Edmond Fitz-Ullick, attainted -- Dromartin,²⁷⁰ ½ plowland; rent 3^s 9^d; parcel of the estate of Nicholas McShane Perse, attainted -Eynallymore, Ballyneahe, Ballynglanenesore, and Ballyhimikin, 3 plowlands; rent 10s; parcel of the estate of Thomas Browne, late of Kilkelan, attainted -- Killgobbin, 1½ plowland; rent 3^s 9^d; parcel of the estate of John O'Termyne, attainted -- Ballyloughan, 1 plowland; rent 2s 6^d; parcell of the estate of William Keagh Stack, attainted -- Cowlunligher, 1 plowland; rent, 2^s 6d; parcel of the estate of Evan otherwise Eneas M^cMurragh McCragh, attainted -- Killaridie, 1 plowland; 1/3 part of Fynewick, called Iphan; 1/3 plowland; rent, 3^s 4^d; parcel of the estate of James M^cMorrice, late of

²⁶² Crossmacshane (now Cloontubrid), Listowel P., Irragh. B.

²⁶³ Ballimellagan (now Ballmac-Equim), Killahan P., Clanm. B.

²⁶⁴ Cosfealy (now Duagh), Duagh P., Clanm. B.

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²⁶⁸ Ballyrobert, Kilmoyly P., Clanm. B.

²⁶⁹ Baltovin, Kilmoyly P., Clanm. B.

²⁷⁰ Drommartin, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

Killaridie, attainted -- Knockanihuge, 2 plowlands; rent 5^s; parcel of the estate of Edmond Fitz-Morrice, attainted -- Killcartnenteleve, Ratheoran, and Dirinduff, 1 plowland; rent 5^s; parcel of the estate of Edmond Fitz-James, late of Cosfeale, attainted -- a. small parcel called Srone, near Galie, with other parcels, containing 1 small carucate or plowland; rent 5^s; parcel of the estate of Thomas M^cGillgott, late of Galie, attainted -- in Irrymore, 2 plowlands; rent 5s; the estate of John McThomas, late of the same, attainted -- Power to create tenures; to hold courts leet and baron within the manors of Lixsnawe, Listowell, and Ardfert; to enjoy all waifs and strays; free warren and chace within the lands of Benagh; to impark 100^a of the lands of Lixsnawe and Ballyding; to hold a saturday market, and a fair on the feast of the Holy cross and the day after yearly at Listowell, unless when the said days fall on saturday or sunday, then the said fair to commence on the following monday; a thursday market and fair on the feast of S^t Peter and Paul and the day after at Ardfert, unless the said feast day falls on saturday or sunday, then the said fair to commence on the following monday, a wednesday market at Lisselten; a fair at Bealy on the feast of the Exaltation of the cross and the day after, except when the said feast day falls on saturday or sunday, then the said fair to commence on the following monday, with courts of pie-powder, and the usual tolls; rent 2^l 6s 8d. -- And it being found by divers inquisitions and other records, that Gerald, late earl of Desmond, at the time of his entering into rebellion, was seized as of fee tail, of a chief rent of 100^l a year, in half face money, making 213^l 6^s 8^d Eng. and. 120 beoves, payable out of the estate of the said baron of Lixsnawe, and divers other free tenants in the country of Clanmaurice, the King, in consideration that the said lands were charged with the composition and other crown rents, released and exonerated the whole country of Clanmaurice from the said rent and service. -- To hold for ever, the manor, castle, etc. of Licksnawe, in capite, by one knight's fee, and all the rest, as of the castle of Limerick, in common soccage.

6th July, 10th

The "Nicholas M^cShane Pierse, attainted" of the foregoing, is clearly the same as the "Nicholas Mac Shane Pierse, alias Mac Shane de Clanmaurice" of the "Inquisition Exchequer of 1584" given earlier. A copy of the regrant of lands to Thomas Fitzmaurice appears in Dr. Charles Smith's "History of Kerry", but Smith incorrectly gives "Nicholas" as "Michael". Further, in Smith's transcription of the Grant, and in several others given in Histories of Kerry, after "Edmond Mac James, late of Cosfeale" appears "the lands of Thomas Fitzmaurice of Mingehane (Meenogahane), attainted;". How this reference crept into Smith's account we cannot tell; the present author has seen the official *printed* copy of the Roll in the Public Record Office, London,²⁷¹ and no such name or place is given. Possibly two copies of the Roll were in existence in Dr. Smith's day (1770) and it is possible that the copy he saw may erroneously have included Meenogahane. Thomas Fitzmaurice of

²⁷¹ State Papers - Ireland, James I, 1612.

Meenogahane was, of course, a family member of the Pierse family using his ancestral family name before the change of name took place, and Meenogahane was never held by the Barons of Kerry, having been in the Pierse branch of the Fitzmaurice family's hands from about the fourteenth century. It is noticed, incidentally, that Edmond Mac Robert Pierse of Meenogahane, son of Robert Fitzmaurice above, was pardoned in 1601. Again it is possible that the original mistake regarding Meenogahane - if such a mistake actually was made - of Dr. Smith was copied by other writers (by no means unusual, for Smith is generally quite accurate and supplies us with much material in his History the originals of which are now, unfortunately, no longer extant) and as such would account for the several transcriptions printed, all containing the same reference.

"Monynchonen" or Mineconeen (to give it its more common spelling) referred to in the Grant at one time was a townland bordering on the east of Meenogahane, and at this time was the seat of another branch of the Fitzmaurice family.

That considerable confusion arose out of the confiscation and redistribution of lands is quite plain when the Elizabethan Fiant and Patent Rolls of James I are compared. From the foregoing extracts, it will be seen that the first notice of the Pardon of Thomas Fitzmaurice, 18th Baron of Kerry, and the surrender of his lands to the Crown was in 1603; repetitions occur in 1605 and 1610; while the actual regrant did not occur until 1612. Likewise, it is noticed that in 1613 a grant was made from the King to Sir John Davys, Bart., Attorney General, (Pat. Roll 11 JAMES I; Part 3, Dorso, XL 18, dated 7th March, XI), which included in the lands within Co. Kerry "Dromartin and Knockinagh, one plowland; parcel of the estate of Nicholas M^cShane Pierse, of the same places, attainted; rent 3s. 9d. Irish". These lands had already been included in the regrant to Thomas Fitzmaurice, 18th Baron of Kerry, the previous year as we have just seen.

While all this forfeiture and regranting of land was going on, many dispossessed proprietors took advantage of the fact that no reliable maps or surveys were available at the time, and "concealed" or withheld details of portions of their estates. Sadly, certain local busybodies took it upon themselves to report the facts of such "discovered" lands to the authorities, and hence were contemporarily known as "Discoverers". From records of 1613 date, it appears that among the estate of ----- O'Connor in Irraghticonnor Barony, County Kerry, land held by Bryan M^cRobert of Dooncaha was "concealed". Dooncaha was a townland in Kilnaughtin Parish, and from surveys taken at the time of the 1641 Rebellion, it would appear that Bryan M^cRobert was a member of the Pierse family settled in Irraghticonnor Barony.

The following Grant is particularly interesting, and may be compared with the Elizabethan Fiant No. 6123, dated 28th June, 1597, given in Chapter VIII:-

A. D. 1618 15 JAMES I PATENT ROLLS PART 3 IV 13	<p>"Grant from the King to Sir Arthur Savage, Knt, Vice Treasurer of Ireland, and Privy Councillor -- (Here follows a long list of lands granted in several counties.) <i>In Kerry Co.</i> The castle, town, and lands of Ballym^cIcoyne otherwise Ballimaccoinoy or Ballm^cconine;²⁷² the towns and lands of Aghemore,²⁷³ Ballinealegan,²⁷⁴ Ballincrossige,²⁷⁵ Cloynhillie or Clonygilly,²⁷⁶ Killcowry,²⁷⁷ Corrabally,²⁷⁸ Ballinoe,²⁷⁹ Clonlogher,²⁸⁰ Ballinbranigge,²⁸¹ Menevorny,²⁸² and Clonine;²⁸³ 2 tenements in Ratowe,²⁸⁴ and 2 tenements in Ardart or Adart,²⁸⁵ containing 8 plowlands; rent £1 6s. 8d. Irish, parcel of the estate of Gerrott McJames (Pierse) of Ballym^cconie,²⁸⁶ and of Patrick M^cShane oge Pierse of Aghamore,²⁸⁷ gent., attainted ...</p> <p style="text-align: right;">20th August, IV"</p>
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So the lists run on - attainer, pardon, forfeiture, grant, regrant, and so on. From their lengths and the numbers of persons mentioned, one would imagine that the names of every male person living in Ireland at that time together with the title of every square foot of Irish soil is mentioned.

In the year 1625 King James I died and was succeeded by his son who became Charles I. Charles, as is well known, was ever in need of money and, with a view to obtaining assistance in this matter, permitted certain of the restrictions imposed upon the Irish Catholics to be relaxed. The concessions granted were known as "Graces".

Now, since the death of James Fitzmaurice (or Pierse), the last preReformation Bishop of Kerry (or Ardfert and Aghadoe) in 1583 or thereabouts, the diocese, following the various changes in the old ecclesiastical organization due to the penal enactments, had been supplied at various intervals with Vicars-Apostolic. On the 17th February, 1629, Don Dermot O'Sullivan Beare wrote to the Franciscan Father Luke Wadding referring to the possibility of a bishop being appointed to the see, stating that to his own knowledge no bishop had visited that diocese for twenty-eight years, the last bishop there having been the Right Reverend Dr. Dermot Creagh, Bishop of Cork. The following 3rd

²⁷² Ballymac-Equim, Killahan P., Clanmaurice B.

²⁷³ Aghamore, Killahan P., Clanmaurice B.

²⁷⁴ Ballimellagan (now in Ballymac-Equim), Killahan P., Clanm. B.

²⁷⁵ Ballincrossig, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

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²⁷⁸ Corbally, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²⁷⁹ Ballynoe, Killury P., Clanm. B.

²⁸⁰ Cloonclogher, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²⁸¹ Ballinbranhig, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

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²⁸⁴ Rattoo, Rattoo P., Clanm. B.

²⁸⁵ Ardfert, Ardfert P., Clanm. B.

²⁸⁶ Ballymac-Equim, Killahan P., Clanm. B.

²⁸⁷ Aghamore, Killahan P., Clanmaurice B.

May, 1631, a petition was forwarded to Rome requesting that the see of Ardfert be filled by the appointment thereto of Father Dominic (Daniel) O'Daly, a native of Tralee. Sadly, the petition was not granted, and Father Dominic later left Ireland and became Bishop of Coimbra in Portugal: this was to be his last resting place for he died at the Convent of Corpo Santo in 1662 at the age of 67 years.

The Petition itself was written in Latin and a number of transcriptions and translations have been published with varying degrees of accuracy;²⁸⁸ it was signed by the Archbishop, two bishops, as well as a number of the "nobility and gentry" (as they are termed) of County Kerry. The list of names is rather, long and, in conformity with the rule followed throughout this book - of giving extracts of interest to the Pierse family only, but with a clear reference to the source from which the information is derived - an abridgment only is given here. It will be noticed that the spelling of some of the place names is rather odd, and also that in accordance with the times patronymics instead of proper surnames sometimes occur; where possible, the present author has attempted to identify persons and places from comparison of revealing documents of a little later date, and has inserted such information in parentheses:-

"Donald O'Sullivan, alias O'Sullivan More
 William Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry
 Maurice Fitzmaurice, second son of the Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw
 The MacEligott
 John FitzJohn of Licka
 Thomas Fitzmaurice of Ballikelly (Ballykealy)
 James FitzThomas (Pierse) of Ballymac-quinn (Ballymac-Equim)
 Edmond FitzThomas of Cosfore (
 John FitzEdmund of Killenena
 Edmund Fitzmaurice, alias McRobert (of Meenoconeen)
 Nicholas Daule (Pierse) of Lisnecongny (Lissnegoneeny)
 Gerald Diersy²⁸⁹ (Pierse) of Aghamore
 James FitzJames of Lelin
 Edmund Fitzmaurice of Ardglass
 Maurice FitzJohn (Pierse) of Aghohane (Aghamore)
 Manus Sheehy
 Roger Sheehy
 Thomas FitzEdmund (Pierse) of Myogahane (Meenogahane)"

²⁸⁸ Cf. Wadding Papers 1614-39, Edited by Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., Pub. Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin Stationary Office, 1953, from which the above is extracted and translated, with translation which appears in the Kerry Archaeological Magazine, Vol. IV, No. 20, April 1918.

²⁸⁹ The substitution of a letter D for a letter P is a common error when transcribing from documents written in Secretary (or English Free Hand) of this period as both letters are formed in a similar way. It is clear that the

The Petition was also signed by a number of the burgesses and inhabitants of the Cathedral town of Ardfert and of Tralee. In some ways it is not surprising that the appointment of a bishop to Ardfert was not granted for in England the "open toleration of Popery in Ireland" was viewed with great alarm. The question of the latter was raised in the House of Commons and the outcome was a proclamation from the Lord Deputy to close all Catholic convents, monasteries, and schools, and that no priests were to be permitted to officiate in public. No doubt the Pope was alive to the conditions prevailing in Ireland at the time and possibly considered the time not ripe for a restitution.

In the month of July, 1633, Viscount Wentworth (later Earl of Strafford) arrived in Ireland as the King's Lord Deputy. Wentworth has been described as "the most despotic ruler the Irish had yet experienced" - caring nothing about any man's religion, and determined solely to carry out to his utmost his commission of raising money for the king.

A Parliament was convened in Dublin during the month of July, 1634, which was attended by Catholics and Protestants alike. Recorded in the Calendar of State Papers of Charles for that year,²⁹⁰ we notice the following:-

*"Names of the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the present Parliament
holden in Dublin, 14 July, 1634*

Co. Kerry

County: Sir Valentine Browne, Bart., and Sir Thomas Harris, Kt.

Ardfert: David Crosby, Esq., and Pierse FitzJames Pierse"

Another record of interest, which appears in Jeremiah King's History of Co. Kerry, entered here in its correct chronological sequence is as follows:-

"On the 12th February, 1635, Arthur and Anthony Stoughton of Dublin leased to Nicholas Piers of Toreragh²⁹¹ ..., all the village and fields of:-

Killycullykilly²⁹² . . . 3 acres

Powriske²⁹³ 7 acres"

Wentworth, by his bullying manner succeeded in evading the Catholics' call for a restitution of the Graces and forced on with his plan for obtaining further revenue. By dishonest means, he

transcriber (see note 288) was not a Kerryman or familiar with Kerry genealogy or he would easily have recognized the coupling of the name Pierse with Aghamore.

²⁹⁰ State Papers - Ireland, Charles I, 1634.

²⁹¹ Tonereogh (in manor of Lixnaw)

²⁹² Kilcooly, Kilmoily P., Clanm. B.

²⁹³ Ploresk, Kilmoily P., Clanm. B.

deprived land owners of their estates on a grand scale, and replanted them with settlers prepared to pay higher rents. In the year 1640, Wentworth - then raised to the Earldom of Strafford - raised an army of 8,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, mostly Catholics, who were well drilled and armed, intending them to be used in the service of the King.

Knowledge in England that Strafford had "armed the Irish Papists" brought alarm to the Protestant elements, and Strafford was immediately recalled to London. On the 12th May, 1641, Strafford was taken from prison to Tower Hill where he was beheaded.

CHAPTER X - THE 1641 REBELLION

After the recall and subsequent execution of Lord Deputy Strafford, the Crown in Ireland was represented by two Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, both of whom opposed the concessions to the Catholics that King Charles was willing to grant. A wave of unrest swept the country. Many were in despair at the non-confirmation of the Graces, others feared that the transplantations of English undertakers would never end, while above all, the whole of the Catholic population was put in fear of the religious hardships imposed upon them.

On the 23rd November, 1641, the inevitable rebellion broke out. Similar to the insurrection of 1595-1603, revolt first broke out in the north, this time under the leadership principally of Rory O'Moore of Leix, Sir Phelim O'Neill of the Tyrone family, his brother Turlough O'Neill, and Lord Maguire of Fermanagh, and a few others.

During the early stages of the rebellion, that is during November, 1641, there was no outbreak in Munster, although the President, Sir William St. Leger, knew he had no means of resisting one. The flame of rebellion, however, quickly spread to the south, and by December the whole of Munster was involved. Apart from a few exceptions, the inhabitants ranged themselves on the opposing sides - Irish and English - which amounted to the same as Catholic and Protestant.

Focussing our attention on Co. Kerry, we find that Patrick Fitzmaurice, 19th Baron of Kerry, was appointed Governor of Kerry by St. Leger and directed to "array the county". Lord Kerry's first act was to order Sir Edward Denny,²⁹⁴ who had a garrison at Castlemaine, to deliver the ward of that place to Captain Thomas Spring. Lord Kerry then proceeded to muster a force of men from Kerry and supplied them with arms and equipment, appointing Pierce Ferriter of the Blasket Islands (also known as the Ferriters) their captain. Within a few weeks, Pierce Ferriter together with a number of others, deserted and went over to the rebel side taking their arms and equipment with them, and proceeded to harass the English forces. Among the deserters were Lord Kerry's own brothers; Lord Kerry himself, unprepared for such a disaster, straightway fled to Cork and from thence, in February, 1641/2, sailed for England, leaving his but recently completed mansion at Ardfert to plunder and ruin. In Lord Kerry's place, St. Leger then appointed Colonel David Crosbie as Governor of Kerry.

With regard to Lord Kerry's actions and the apparent lack of unity between him and his brothers, Miss Mary Cusack in her "History of County Kerry" says²⁹⁵:-

"The Fitzmaurice family were by no means distinguished for loyalty and, in truth, not the least curious phase of Irish history is that which shows how disaffection to English rule grew with the growth, and strengthened with the strength, of the Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland. Their loyalty was exceptional, and depended for its continuance on proximity to the English

²⁹⁴ It will be remembered from Chapter IX that the Denny, Crosbie, Herbert, Spring, Rice, and other families were originally English undertakers in co. Kerry, and most of whom had large estates and held high positions in the county.

Pale; in the south and west expediency seems to have been its sole motive. Opinions or interests were divided in Kerry at this period (c. 1641), and even the nearest relatives took opposite sides."

From these remarks, it is clear that Miss Cusack had not much time for the Anglo-Norman settlers or their descendants in Ireland - least of all for the Fitzmaurice family. But to be fair to the Geraldines, particularly the Fitzmaurices, it should be borne in mind that they held the foremost position in the counties in which they settled, and consequently, throughout the centuries, were the first called upon to account for any disorder or signs of disloyalty in their provinces. In many ways their position was unenviable since they owed dual (and often irreconcilable) loyalties - firstly to their sovereign, with whom they were more closely in contact than any other person in their province, and secondly to the people among whom they lived from day to day. A study of the Geraldine family as a whole will show how they coped with emergencies and difficult situations throughout the centuries of their leadership in Ireland and, essentially individualists, the action they finally took in each circumstance (although often resulting in attainder and forfeiture) usually turned out to be the wisest course as subsequent events have proved.

However, to return to the rebellion in Co. Kerry, the Irish, under the leadership of Pierce Ferriter, the O'Sullivan More, Colonel McElligott, Florence Mac Fineen M^cCarthy (known as Captain Sughan), Captain Garret Pierse and others, having captured Castlemaine, proceeded to besiege Tralee Castle where Sir Edward Denny had taken in many of the English settlers for asylum and defence. Sir Edward Denny, having set the castle in order under the command of his father-in-law Sir Thomas Harris, sent his wife and children to England, and he himself departed to join St. Leger's forces.

The attack on Tralee by the rebels began on the 23rd January, 1641/2, and the castle was kept under siege for several months. At last, the defenders, having no other alternative, being short of ammunition, supplies, and food, surrendered. Colonel David Crosbie, Governor of Kerry, by this time had drawn a number of English Protestant families to him for protection, and had taken up occupation of the small castle of Ballingarry built upon an island a little to the south of Meenogahane. When Tralee Castle fell, the besieged occupants by terms granted by the Irish insurgents, were permitted to depart to any other English-held stronghold they cared to choose and were provided with food and water for, as Pierce Ferriter had earlier affirmed, "they meant Sir Thomas (Harris) or the English no hurt and they took up arms only on account of their religion". Most of the Protestants were pleased to accept such generous terms and, while deprived of their arms but provided by the Irish with clothing and food for themselves and their families, took themselves off to Ballingarry Castle where Colonel Crosbie was still holding out.

²⁹⁵ A History of the Kingdom of Kerry, Mary F. C. Cusack, Dublin, 1871.

A complete history of the rebellion is outside the scope of this present work, but suffice it to say that by March, 1642, the rebellion was quashed as far as the major part of Ireland was concerned - although curiously enough, Ballingarry Castle was the last place in the whole of Ireland to be relieved and at this time was still holding out against the Kerry rebels.²⁹⁶ The result of the 1641 Rebellion was a repetition of the other rebellions and insurrections of the sixteenth century; the "insurgent Irish gentry" were attainted and had their lands confiscated to pay the cost of the reconquest.

Now, during the rebellion, it was claimed that a great number of helpless, unarmed Protestants settlers, including women and children, had been massacred in spite of promises of protection and a safe transfer to English garrisons. The numbers of Protestants alleged to have been brutally murdered was estimated at the time by different persons with varying degrees of accuracy ranging from 300,000 to 37,000, but of which the lower figure is probably the more accurate.²⁹⁷ To afford a comparison, it is perhaps of interest here to add that, at this time, the entire population of Ireland was estimated to have been approximately one and a half million persons, and that as a result of the entire period covered by the 1641 rebellion, more than half a million persons all told died by sword, famine, and pestilence.²⁹⁸

In the year 1641, a High Court of Justice was set up for the purpose of investigating the allegations of murder of unarmed Protestants, and those found guilty were executed. Commissioners, too, were appointed to each of the Provinces of Ireland to enquire into the losses sustained by the Protestants. In Munster the Commissioners were Archdeacon Philip Bysshe, Dean Gray and Benjamin Baraster who, in order that justice be done, received depositions from the injured parties. These depositions were recorded, and a number are still extant in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Fortunately, however, when all the depositions were complete, Miss Mary Hickson in 1884 compiled her "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century or the Irish Massacres of 1641-2";²⁹⁹ and in which she included numerous transcriptions of the depositions. A number of the depositions relate to incidents in Co. Kerry and contain references to members of the Pierse family; the extracts which follow will supplement the brief account of the rebellion given so far in this Chapter, and provide contemporary evidence of the atrocities alleged to have been committed in Co. Kerry.

DEPOSITIONS OF 1641-2

(Extracts)

"STEPHEN LOVE, late of the town and parish of Killarney, in the barony of Magunihy, within the county of Kerry, a British Protestant, duly sworn and examined before us by virtue of a commission bearing date 5th March, 1641, concerning the robberies and

²⁹⁶ In 1603, during the course of the Catholic Insurrection (see Chapter X), Ballingarry Castle was held by the Catholic rebels against Sir Charles Wilmot, who described it as "The place is within a huge cliff in the sea, and no way to come in or out but by a bridge. The rook is 50 fathoms down into the sea".

²⁹⁷ The English in Ireland, Vol I, James Anthony Fraude, London, 1886.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ireland in the Seventeenth Century or the Irish Massacres of 1641-2, Mary A. Hickson, London, 1884.

spoils since this rebellion committed upon the British and Protestants in the province of Munster, deposeth and saith, that on or about the 15th of November, 1641, Edmund Hussey of Rath, in the said county, Esquire, steward and overseer to Sir Valentine Browne, Bart., now under age, came to Killarney aforesaid, and there warned the English inhabitants of the same to consult together and muster there under and according to the tenor of their respective leases, being bound by them severally to have so many men in readiness in times of open insurrection, which being then denied, amongst others, by this deponent, fearing he and the rest hereby to be betrayed of their firearms, and also because the Papists generally deceived great statesmen, this deponent then and there told the said Hussey that he and the rest (of the Protestants) had doubtless reason to mistrust them. The said Hussey then made answer, 'This national distinction will breed a national quarrel', and pressing them further saith, 'Nay, and it shall breed a quarrel'. This deponent saith that since that time the said Hussey has gone into actual open rebellion and is one of the committee for the said county.

From the best information and intelligence this deponent could learn, the said Hussey was from time to time a messenger between the enemy and Sir Thomas Harris, and the rest of the English in the castle of Tralee, who were beseiged from the 14th of February, 1641, until the Christmas following, during which time the English in the castle endured extreme misery, being at least five or six hundred souls when they went into the same, and there were three hundred of them perished through the extremity of the seige, some of them being to eat bran and tallow, and others raw hides; this was occasioned by the hands and means of Donnel MacCarthy of Ballincarrig (sic) in the same county, gent., then colonel in the said seige, Captain Florence MacFineen, commonly called Sugan, since killed in the rebellion, Donogh MacFineen of Ardtully, Esquire, Pierce Ferriter of Ferriter's Island, in the said county, gentleman, then captain of a company ... Captain Morris Mac-Eligot of Ballymacelgott, in the said county, gentleman, Walter Hussey of Castle Gregory, gentleman, ... Nicholas MacThomas (Fitzmaurice) of Ballykealy, gent., Garret MacPatrick, alias Pierse, near Ballinfroyne,³⁰⁰ in the same county, gent., Garret MacJames FitzGerald of Ballymora, gent., John FitzGerald, commonly called John Atlea of Glandine, gent., Edmund FitzMaurice of Listohill,³⁰¹ gent., ... Pierse FitzJames FitzPierse of Ardfert, gent., Donough MacGillicuddy of Castlecorr, gent., ... Owen O'Sullivan, alias O'Sullivan Mor of Dunkerron in the same county, Esquire, ... Fineen MacDermot MacFineen of Kenmare, gent., now High sheriff of the same county of Kerry, ... Thomas MacTirlogh of Noghoval, in the same county, gent., ... Florence MacCarthy of Castle Logh (illegible), governor of the said county, ... John Pierce of Killiny,

³⁰⁰ This is intended to be Ballymac-Equim, and was probably a mistake either in transcription or printing; research has indicated that there was no such place as "Ballinfroyne" in the whole of co. Kerry either at this, later or earlier periods. Garret M^cPatrick Pierse of Aghamore (near Ballymac-Equim) is fully documented; see Chapter XX.

³⁰¹ Listowel, Parish, town and townland in Irraghticonnor Barony.

gent., one of the attornies of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, and (illegible) of the said county's Council, ... the above named parties, either in their own proper persons or by their counsel and assistance, were at several times at the seige of Tralee, as also at the sieges of other castles in the said county, where the English betook themselves for safety.

(Here follows an account of maltreatment of English Protestants at the hands of Phelim MacFineen MacCarthy, which we may omit in view of space)

"About the latter end of November last, this deponent then being in the castle of Ballycarthy, where the said Florence came to take possession of the same from Robert Blennerhassett, Esquire, he then observed those particulars following; first, the said Florence then and there produced a list of all the names of the lords and commons assembled in their parliament at Killkenny; and then in this deponent's presence did aver that Nicholas Plunket, Esq., and counsellor-at-law, was speaker of the said parliament; he likewise produced a rough draft of the several acts concluded in the said assembly, namely, that all manner of persons, of what degree, state, or condition soever; should take the oath of union and association in this general cause, as they termed it, otherwise to be dealt withall as enemies and accounted of the malignant party, and to maintain the Roman Catholic cause, to the uttermost of their skill and endeavour, and not to embrace any particular pardon until such time as a general pardon was granted for the whole Kingdom, etc., etc., etc., During the siege of the castle of Traly aforesaid, William Bolton of Glanoroght, in the said county, carrier, John Abraham of Ballycarthy, husbandman, English Protestants, were hanged at Traly, by direction or appointment of the said persons or some of them. ... This deponent lastly saith, that John Pierce, above named, John Madden of Rattoo, in the said county, gentlemen, Christopher Holcome of the same (illegible), and his wife Ellen Holcome, and their daughter Anne, Richard Curtis, yeoman of the same, Richard Linegar and his wife Mary, of the same, being formerly English Protestants, are since this rebellion turned Papists, and further depose not.

Jurat. coram nobis, 3rd Feb., 1642, Stephen Love

Phil. Bisse

Thos. Bettsworth"

Similar to the deposition given above is that of Michael Vines, who stated much the same as Stephen Love. Omitting names and details already given, the deposition reads as follows:-

"MICHAEL VINES, late of the town and precinct of Tralee, in the county of Kerry, shoemaker, a British Protestant, duly sworn and examined before us by virtue of his Majesty's commission, depose and saith, that about the last of January, 1641 (O.S.), he lost, was robbed, or forcibly despoiled of his goods and chattles, worth £340 part consisting of debts due by Papists who are now out in open rebellion, as ... Garret McJames of Ballymachthomas,

colonel of the rebel forces, Edmond FitzMaurice of Tubrid, Esq., ... Nicholas MacThomas, a FitzMaurice, of Ballykealy, gent., Garret Pierse of Aghamore, gent., Pierce Ferriter of Ballysybil, gent., ... Walter Hussey of Castle Gregory, gent. This deponent further saith, that the said parties, with their forces, consisting sometimes of three hundred armed men, at other times of five hundred, sometimes of a thousand, continued the siege of the said castle, till the beginning of August following, during which siege the English Protestants in the castle, being in number five hundred persons, young and old, or thereabouts, endured much misery, the enemy having cut off all relief from them so that by the time the said castle was delivered up, divers of the besieged men, women, and children, English Protestants, were shot and murdered. etc. etc. etc.

Jurat. coram nobis, 25th Feb., 1642

A. Blennerhassett

Phil Bisse

her

Jane X Guard

Thos. Bettesworth"

mark

Another interesting deposition, given practically in its entirety, but omitting names, places, and incidents already given, is as follows:-

"WILLIAM DETHICK, late of Killballylahiff, in the parish of Killiny in the barony of Corcagniny, within the county of Kerry, gent., a British Protestant, duly sworn and examined before us by virtue of his Majesty's commission, etc., deposeth and saith, that about the last of January, 1641, and since the beginning of this present rebellion, he lost, was robbed, and was forcibly despoiled of his goods and chattels to the value of £402 10s." (Here follows an account of robberies and maltreatment committed upon the Protestants which, similar to others already given, we may omit to give in full owing to space limitations.)

"These captains (who took part in the siege of Tralee Castle) are all of the part of Kerry aforesaid which they call Desmond, Nicholas FitzThomas aforesaid excepted; besides other commanders of the other parts of Kerry, viz. Edmund FitzMaurice of Lixnaw, Esq., ... Captain Pierce Ferriter, ... Captain Garret MacPatrick FitzGerald of Aghamore, in the barony of Clanmaurice, gent., slain at Liscarrol. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

Also he saith that Ellis Wheywall (sic) of near Stradbally, in the barony of Corcaguiny, miner, Richard Walker of Kilgobbin, in the said barony of Trughenackny, yeoman, Richard Bigford of the Kerries, in the said barony, yeoman, John Pierce of Ballynallard (sic) in said barony, gentleman, formerly reputed to be Protestants, are since this rebellion turned Papists. He also saith, that after the delivering up of the said castles upon quarter, he, this deponent, repaired to John FitzGerald's castle of Ennismore, where he often heard some of the priests and friars that usually resorted thither say, that it is true the rebels

had not the king's commission for what they did, but that, however, the king did connive and wink at it. And further he cannot depose.

Jurat. coram nobis, 17th may, 1643

Phil Bisse

William Dethick

James Wallis"

A further Kerry deposition, which will not be given here in full, is that of Daniel Spratt, "late of the town and parish of Tralee", a clothier, whose deposition is dated the 15th June, 1643, but which does not contain much more information of interest over and above that given in the extracts above.

Now, as already stated, while for the most part the rebellion had been put down in Ireland by this time, in Kerry the little castle of Ballingarry with its Protestant and fellow-traveller inhabitants under the command of Captain John Crosbie was still holding out against the rebels! The following extract from the deposition of Daniel Spratt is illustrative of the curious situations which arose in Kerry at this time due to differences of opinion in religious matters between members of the same family. The Captain John Crosbie at this time in command of Ballingarry Castle was a Catholic (!) and was a nephew of Colonel David Crosbie, Governor of Kerry, and earlier the commander of Ballingarry Castle: from the very start of the rebellion, Captain John Crosbie had sided with the Irish Catholic rebels, and apparently family relationship had obliged him to succeed his uncle in the command of Ballingarry Castle. Captain Maurice McElligott of Ballymacelligott and Captain Donough MacGillicuddy of Castlecorr, officers in the Catholic rebel army, were also nephews of Colonel David Crosbie. The extract from Daniel Spratt's deposition reads as follows:-

"He (Daniel Spratt) further deposeth that about a fortnight before Michaelmas last, 1642, he saw Captain John Crosbie of Ballingarry Island discourse freely with the rebels that came within a bow-shot of the island, and brought them forth drink, and drank freely with (illegible) FitzMaurice, McEligot of BallymacEligot, gent., Captain Walter Hussey of Castle Gregory, gent., and Dermot O'Dingle of Ballynacourty, gent."

Yet another Kerry deposition, made jointly by Josias White, John Abraham, and Nicholas Roberts, contains no fresh information but states that:- "John MacThomas FitzGerald, late of Tralee, tailor, and Anne his wife, ... James O'Connor of the Kerries, in the parish of Tralee, gentlemen, ... John Pierce of Tralee (illegible), formerly reputed Protestants, since this rebellion turned Papists".

The last extract we will give is also the last of the Kerry Depositions which Miss Hickson includes in her "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century" and, since Miss Hickson was a Kerrywoman herself, we may be sure that she was anxious to include all the depositions relating to her own county. This deposition is by Edward Vauclier, "late of Tralee," who on the 21st March, 1642 deposed that:-

"... his household stuff and money were taken away by the besiegers of Tralee Castle, whereof these were the chief: Donnel MacCartie of Castlelogh in said county, gent., Florence MacCartie, formerly living with his father, O'Donovan, in the county of Cork, gent., Garret MacPatrick (Pierse) of Aghamore, gent., Fineen MacDermot Carthy of Glanerogh, gent., captain among the rebels, ..."

In reading through the extracts given in this Chapter, it will be easy to establish the members of the Pierse family who were involved in the rebellion, and a comparison of the seven different depositions shows the various forms by which a person was identified. For example, Garret Pierse, the son of Patrick Pierse of Aghamore, is variously described as "Garret MacPatrick, alias Pierse, near Ballinfroyne (probably an error in transcription from Ballymac-Equim which would be written in a similar manner)", "Garret Pierse of Aghamore", "Captain Garret MacPatrick FitzGerald of Aghamore", and "Garret MacPatrick of Aghamore". From this it will be seen that patronymics instead of established surnames were still in general use at this late period, and that the Pierse family was still regarded as being part and parcel of the Geraldine clan.

It will be noticed, too, that several depositions refer to a John Pierce, variously described as "John Pierce of Killiny, one of the attornies of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, and (illegible) of the said county's (Kerry) Council", "John Pierce of Ballynallard in said barony (Trughenackmy)", and "John Pierce of Tralee (illegible)", who, apparently, was formerly an English Protestant but since the rebellion turned Catholic. From correlation with a map of this area, it would appear that the correct location of John Pierce's abode was Ballinacourty, Ballinacourty Parish, in Corcaguinney Barony, which, being near to Tralee, would fit the three different places mentioned. Two points about these entries are interesting: one is that from this, it seems as if a Pierce family were undertakers in Co. Kerry at about the same time as the Denny, Blennerhassett, Crosbie, Madden, and other families, and would account for the description "English Protestant" - although the name is not to be found in any of the lists of English undertakers in Co. Kerry; the other point is that Miss Hickson in her transcription from the original depositions (and we have no means of checking this as most of the originals are now no longer extant), carefully differentiates between Pierse and Pierce. This differentiation seems almost too good to be true when it is remembered that in all cases the depositions were verbal and written down by a clerk, and that most of the deponents (as far as Kerry is concerned at least) were illiterate and subscribed their statements with a cross instead of a signature. When pondering on this problem, it must be understood that Miss Hickson had a preference (rightly or wrongly - although the present author thinks rightly) for the spelling Pierse when referring to that branch of the Fitzmaurice family, and used this spelling whenever there was doubt in the original. This can easily be checked by comparing any of the transcriptions in her books relating to members of

the family with the recently published, and more accurately transcribed, works of the Irish Manuscripts Commission.³⁰³

One additional and interesting point before returning to our history of the 1641 Rebellion is that, from a survey carried out in 1925,³⁰⁴ it appears that five members of a Pierce family were still living in the townlands of Ballinacourty and Annacap, Ballinacourty Parish, Corcaguinney Barony, and might well be descendants of the John Pierce mentioned above.

As we saw earlier, while the rebellion was over as far as the majority of Ireland was concerned, and even after the above depositions had been made and recorded, the castle of Ballingarry was still occupied by the Protestants and "besieged" by the rebels. Within the castle, in addition to the garrison, were something like 200 Protestant refugees from Tralee Castle, and from one of the depositions we have seen that, with free intercourse between the two opposing sides, the occupants could hardly have suffered much inconvenience. However, in the year 1643 we find that "Articles of Agreement" were drawn up between Captain David Crosbie on behalf of his nephew Sir John Crosbie from his "Foarte at Ballingarry" on the one hand, and "John Mac James Grier, Richard Cantillon, Morrish Hussey, Thomas Hussey, Garet M^cRobert, Thomas M^cEdmond (Pierse), Patrick Coursey, Gentlemen" on the other.³⁰⁵ In general, the agreement was that the Crosbies were to be allowed to collect rents due to them from lands which they held but which had lapsed during "the present cessation", and that free communication should be allowed then and afterwards for all who were living or who might in future dwell at Ballingarry or in any part of the Crosbie's estate, and that they be permitted to travel to and from any other part of the county. The Thomas M^cEdmond mentioned in this agreement is clearly Thomas the son of Edmond Pierse of Meenogahane; Meenogahane of course, is scarcely two miles northwards along the coast from Ballingarry, and was the nearest inhabited townland at this time. We may be sure that the Meenogahane Piersees were on the rebel side along with their cousins seated at Aghamore, Ballymac-Equim, and Ardfer.

A further interesting record of the stand at Ballingarry is preserved among the "Crosbie Papers", and is a muster roll of the soldiers of "Crosbie's Forte at Ballingarry", dated "the last of October, 1643", and headed "Ballingarry - the only place still holding out against the insurgent Irish within the Countie".³⁰⁶ The list, under the sub-heading "David Crosbie, Capt.", contains the names of 10 officers and non-commissioned officers, 24 pikemen (including many old Kerry names as Stack, Cantillon, Fitzgerald, and Walsh), and 75 musketeers; among the latter we find the name of "Garrett Peerce", and imagine that he was one of the Pierse family who did not see eye to eye with his

³⁰³ Cf. transcriptions of the Books of Survey and Distribution for Kerry (N^o. 11) of 1677 in M.A. Hickson's *Selections from Old Kerry Records*, 2 Vols., in which Miss Hickson uniformly used the spelling *Pierse*, with the original manuscripts in the Public Record Office, Dublin in which the spellings *Peirce*, *Piers*, and others are used. For further examples, see Chapters XI and XII.

³⁰⁴ See copy in *County Kerry, Past and Present*, Jeremiah King, Dublin, 1931.

³⁰⁵ Copy printed in

³⁰⁶ Copy printed in *The Kerry Magazine*, N^o. 10, Vol. 1, Tralee, 1854-6.

relations at Meenogahane and Aghamore. The muster was made by Ulick Fitzmaurice, acting under the direction of his Majesty's Muster-Master General for the Province of Munster.

It was not until the year 1645 - two years after the "Articles of Agreement" were signed - that the castle of Ballingarry finally surrendered, and even then it was only due to treachery. On the 15th February, 1645, three of the defenders under the leadership of James Kelly, senior non-commissioned officer in the Muster Roll just mentioned, betrayed their comrades, and Ballingarry fell to the Irish rebels after a "siege" of three years.

Withdrawing our attention from Co. Kerry for a while, and taking stock of the progress of the rebellion insofar as it affected the whole of Ireland, we find that in 1642 Charles I was still on the English throne, but in the same year civil war had broken out in England as well.

On the 24th October, 1642, a general assembly of representatives from all counties and boroughs in Ireland met at Kilkenny; this meeting was known as the Confederation of Kilkenny. The confederates, earnestly disclaiming the name of rebels, asserted that they were loyal subjects and acting in support of the king, who, they said, "would do them justice if he were not restrained by the Puritans". In all, eleven bishops, fourteen lords, and some two-hundred commoners formed the Confederation which took over the government of the country excluding that part controlled by James Butler, Marquis of Ormond, hater of the "Papist rebels", and champion of the Protestant cause.

In 1643, King Charles tried to come to terms with the Confederates, but Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase who sympathised with the Parliament, prevented any agreement from being brought about. However, in 1644, Lord Justice Borlase was relieved of his appointment and the Marquis of Ormond was provided as Lord Lieutenant in his stead. At long last, a treaty was signed in March, 1646, by Ormond on the one hand - professedly acting for the king, and the Confederates on the other, but the only major concession granted to the Catholics was exemption from the Oath of Supremacy; a further requirement was that ten thousand men were to be raised expressly for the King's service, and a further force for the defence of Ireland itself.

It is beyond the scope of this small chapter to enter into the causes and details of the renewed outbreak which followed; suffice it to say that, after a war lasting for nearly seven years, peace was finally signed between Ormond and the Confederates in January, 1649, on the main condition that the Penal Laws still in force against the Catholics were to be repealed. About two weeks later, on the 30th January, 1649, King Charles I was beheaded at Whitehall, and Ormond was left to act in the name of his exiled son - the future Charles II.

In March, 1649, Oliver Cromwell was appointed by the English Parliament Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Commander General of the forces in Ireland. Cromwell went to work straight away and, on the following 14th August, landed at Dublin with a force of 9,000 foot, 4,000 horse, and ample supplies of stores and equipment, set on the task of suppressing the Catholics or Royalist defenders as they had now become! The wholesale massacres of unarmed men, old people, women

and children which ensued are remembered in Ireland to this day, and it is still not unusual to hear shouted "The curse of Cromwell on you" as the parting shot following a heated argument.

Although the advent of Oliver Cromwell was probably the worst thing that ever happened to Ireland, it is pointless here to go into details of how the ruthless war machine went into action without citing instances of the utmost cruelty and barbarity; knowledge of Cromwell's hatred of the Irish Catholics coupled with remembrance of the foul methods of the time and a little imagination will fill in the blanks as adequately as any history book.

What will be of interest here is a record which, although properly chronicled in this book some forty years later than the period with which we are at present concerned, deals with the names of the "Commissioned Officers who served Charles I or Charles II, in the Wars of Ireland, before the 5th day of June, 1649".³⁰⁷ From this official record, we obtain the names of members of the Pierse family who fought to resist Cromwell although they must have known what little chance of success they had; they are:-

"Captain Garrott Pierce

Ensign Robert Pierce

Captain James Pierce

Captain Garret Pierse

Captain Richard Pierce"

No attempt at this stage will be made to identify the different officers whose names are recorded, although it seems quite certain that Captain Garret Pierse was one of the Kerry family, and the Christian names of the others suggest that they too were of the same clan.

The war continued until 1652 when in May a peace was made at Kilkenny between the Commissioners of the Parliament and the Commander of the Royalist Forces in Leinster. Except for a few isolated defenders in remote districts who held out until the early months of 1653, the conquest of Ireland by the Parliamentarians was completed.

³⁰⁷ Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical of King James's Irish Army List, John d'Alton, London, 1860. See Chapter XIII for entry in correct chronological sequence in this book, and amplifying remarks.

CHAPTER XI - THE CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT

The long terrible struggle over, Ireland was left at the mercy of Lord Protector Cromwell and his English Parliament. In the wake of the ravages of war came the inevitable famine; it has been estimated that of the 1,000,000 persons inhabiting Ireland at that time, over 500,000 perished by the sword, or as the result of the severe privations suffered.³⁰⁸ For the survivors, more was yet to come. Many young folk were shipped by the English to the West Indies and sold there as slaves. Of the few young men remaining, many preferred to leave their native land and seek their fortunes in the service of foreign armies on the Continent. Apart from this, there is no doubt that many folk in Ireland at this time were left without a single relative in the world; husbands, wives, brothers, sisters, children, parents, uncles, aunts, and cousins all having perished under the ruthless Cromwellian onslaught.

It had already been decided that when Ireland had been conquered, Cromwell's soldiers were to be paid in the form of grants of land from forfeited estates. The time had now arrived and all that remained necessary was to dispose of the original Irish owners. To effect this, a scheme was devised to transplant all the so-called "Papist Proprietors" into Connaught - by far the most barren of the four provinces of Ireland. After being transplanted, any Papist found east of the River Shannon, was to suffer the penalty of death by hanging.

As far as the scheme affected Kerry, our best authority again is Miss Mary Hickson who, besides giving Ireland in general the benefit of her years of careful research - particularly relating to this period - was naturally not unmindful of her native county. Also, at the time she was writing,³⁰⁹ Miss Hickson was able to refer to original manuscripts, most of which were so unfortunately destroyed in the fire at the Irish Public Record Office in 1922. Here then, we cannot do better than literally to take a leaf or two out of Miss Hickson's book "Selections from Old Kerry Records",³¹⁰ and see how the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland affected co. Kerry in general and the Pierse family in particular.

"The Act for the Settlement of Ireland passed 12th of August, 1652, after the reduction of the island by Cromwell, divided the forfeiting Royalists or rebels into eight different classes who were each to be dealt with according to their 'qualification', as the Parliamentary phrase went. The first six classes included Primate Bramhall, the Earl of Ormond, and all Irish noblemen and gentlemen who had fought against the Parliament. Sentence of death or banishment was pronounced against these, and their estates became forfeited. The seventh class included swordsmen under the rank of gentlemen, who forfeited two-thirds. All persons who had remained neutral during the civil war came in the eighth class, and if Roman Catholics

³⁰⁸ The English in Ireland, Vol. 1, James Anthony Froude, London, 1886.

³⁰⁹ Late nineteenth century.

³¹⁰ Selections from the Old Kerry Records, Series II, p. 31 et seq., Mary A. Hickson, London 1872 and 1874.

forfeited one-third, if Protestants one-fifth of their lands. Protestants willing to compound for their forfeiture of one-fifth could do so and in some cases were dispensed from transportation. All others within the seventh and eighth qualifications were by an order dated 14th October, 1653, commanded to appear at Loughrea³¹¹ immediately after Christmas, and hand in to the Special Commissioners there sitting, a certified inventory containing their names, the number of persons in their families, their servants, stock of corn, cattle, the quantity of land which they held, etc., in order that an equivalent should be assigned them within the province of Connaught. Four months was allowed each head of a family to prepare a house in his new settlement for his wife, children and retainers, who were all bound to join him before May, 1654. The lands assigned to the Kerry transplanted were in the barony of Boyle, County Roscommon, and the two baronies of Inchiquin and Burren in Clare, the latter of which in old as in modern times was popularly described as 'a place where there was not enough wood to hang a man, water enough to drown him, or earth enough to bury him'. Whether because of the comparative shortness of the journey from one bank of the Shannon to the other (for by Glin and Tarbert was the appointed route of the South Munster Exodus), or whether, as it is most likely, the 'blood and iron' rule of Nelson and Barrington, two of the sternest Cromwellian soldiers, made the Kerry transplanted eager to escape anywhere out of the county even into desolate Burren, they were certainly the earliest to move. Mr. Prendergast says that on their arrival they were scared, like the first beasts too suddenly driven into the slaughter yard, communicating their terrors to the herd behind', and this graphic touch is no over-drawing or exaggeration of the most miserable picture, for there is amongst the Records a petition from the transplanted in Clare, complaining of the 'barren, unfertile, and waste land' in which they were set down, and stating that some of their companions 'have withdrawn themselves and their cattle across the Shannon', and praying that 'as they have returned of late their substance in the book of the fourth part of the said County (i.e. Clare), they may be forthwith forced to return back there, with their stocks, or else that the remaining transplanted may be eased of their proportion of the charge for the future'. It is doubtful that all the persons whose certificates are here given from the original books in the Public Record Office were actually transplanted. In the baronies of Clanmaurice and Irraghticonnor especially I suspect Colonel David Crosbie's³¹² influence with Nelson and with the Protector himself saved not a few, and Lord Braghill (as well as the Knight of Kerry who remained neutral throughout the civil war) may have obtained grace for others in Corcaguiny. All those who went into Connaught returned at the Restoration, and many obtained portions of their old estates and

³¹¹ Loughrea, Loughrea Barony, Co. Galway.

³¹² Colonel David Crosbie was Governor of Kerry at this time; see Chapter X.

leaseholds.³¹³ Others settled down as tenants on the estates of the Cromwellian Godfreys, Sandes, Batemans, etc., and as old feuds and strifes healed quickly in our clannish little county the forfeiting proprietors of 1641 might have regained their own by intelligent enterprise and persevering industry, the only way in which they ever can or will regain it, had not the island been once again before the close of the century made the battle ground of ecclesiastical factions. Each transplanter's certificate was signed by the Commissioners of Judicature for Kerry, Ousely, Hall, Browne and Nelson, and presented to the Special Commissioners at Loughrea. Duplicates of the certificates were transmitted to Dublin and entered into the large volumes, still preserved in the Castle and Record Office, from whence the following are taken.³¹⁴ Three or four leaves are missing in the Kerry collection, but the index supplies us with names. There is a slight difference in the form of the certificates, some of them have a regular formal preamble usual in such documents, others are short inventories, merely stating the number of persons moving with the head of the family whose name only is given, while others again (but I am sorry to say none of this kind relate to Kerry) give an exact description of the personal appearance of the transplanted. As in addition to their military and judicial duties, Ousley, Browne, and Nelson had also the task of surveying forfeited lands in Kerry, it became necessary for them to strike off each certificate as quickly as possible. To a Kerry reader, however, the briefest of these brief records connected with his native county suggests an impressive picture of that sad winter time just two hundred and twenty years ago, when countless, mourning groups of the aged and young, men, women and little children of all ranks and classes in society, were moving across the plains of Clanmaurice to the Shannon. Well may we who live in happier times under the just and merciful rule of Queen Victoria pray and labour that our countrymen may 'follow after the things which make for peace', nor suffer themselves to be mislead by ambitious demagogues into the old well-worn paths of blood and tears and confiscation which our forefathers trod from century to century!"

Here we may conveniently break in on Miss Hickson's account to include a note which she inserted at some other part of her book; she states that "In certain cases (of the Kerry transplanted) where there are no cattle, corn, or other goods named, the transplanted probably was a debtor to some Protestant landowner or merchant who retained what the creditor had possessed, or was recompensed by the State with a grant of lands". As an example, Miss Hickson refers us to the deposition of Captain Edward Vauclier of Tralee, given on the 21st March, 1642, and of which we have already seen an extract from in Chapter X.

³¹³ The Restoration was brought about in May 1660, and from contemporary records we find that members of the Pierse family together with other Kerry families were still in Co. Clare at that time; see Chapter XII.

³¹⁴ i.e. in 1874; now no longer extant.

In the list of transplanted which Miss Hickson gives following the extract given above, the earlier entries are in full, and we may take the authoress's transcriptions as being quite accurate. We are given:-

"No. 963 Patrick Pearse of Aghamore hath on the 14th December, 1653 - 22 persons, 2 acres of summer corne, 5 cowes, 17 garrons, 12 sheep, etc."

Later, probably to ensure giving a complete list, but restricted by space, Miss Hickson gives:-

"The following also obtained certificates on the same date (19th December, 1653) :-

Patrick Pierse of Aghamore and 17 persons

Robert Piers of Ardfert and 124 persons

Gerrot Pierse of Ballyhaungane and 259 persons

Thomas Pearse of Knockenaught and 126 persons"

In tribute to Miss Hickson's accuracy, we are afforded a further reference to the names of the Kerry transplanted. It is that included in John O'Hart's "Irish Landed Gentry" under "Transplanters' Certificates A. D.1653-1654", and appears to have been a *return* containing the "Entries of Persons' names to whom Transplanters' Certificates were granted". That the information was derived by Mr. O'Hart from a different source from that by Miss Hickson, is clearly evident from the order in which the names are given. Whereas in "Selections from Old Kerry Records" the name of Patrick Pierse of Aghamore appears as No. 963 (above), in "Irish Landed Gentry" his name appears at the top of the list as No. 1. In addition, some slight difference in the form of spelling the name Pierse is noticed when comparing the two lists; as we have already observed, throughout her work Miss Hickson adopts the form *Pierse* where doubt in the original occurs. O'Hart's list, of course, is not an extract but a complete list covering the whole of Ireland; from this, we may be assured of impartiality in spelling, and giving probably a more accurate transcription:-

"In County Kerry

(No. 1)	Patrick Pearce,	Aughamore
(No. 7)	Garrott Piers,	Ballyhaungane
	Thomas Pears,	Cnockhmagh
	Robert Pyers,	Ardfert
	Patrick Pyers,	Aghamore"

In all 93 persons from County Kerry obtained certificates including the five members of the Pierse family given above.

Although, as we have seen, Miss Hickson was doubtful that all the persons who obtained certificates from County Kerry were actually transplanted - further remarks concerning which will be given in Chapter XII - as far as Ireland in general was concerned most of the "Papist Proprietors" had moved by the summer of 1653. The laws against the Catholics were applied with merciless severity.

Corruption by the English was rife and many Cromwellian soldiers by bribing officials had good fertile fields described as "barren bog land" in order to obtain highly profitable estates for a low price.

In order to ascertain the actual extents of the confiscated lands, a new survey of Ireland was made. In contra-distinction to a geographical record, this survey - known as the Civil Survey of 1654-1656 - was a literary description. For most of the counties of Ireland, the original manuscripts still exist (in spite of the destruction at the Public Record Office in 1922), and within recent years have been transcribed and published in separate volumes by the Irish Manuscripts Commission. Considering the number of years and the damage done to historical manuscripts in Ireland since 1646, it is surprising that the collection of county surveys is as complete as it is. Amongst those now no longer extant unhappily is that of County Kerry.

Owing to most extraordinary circumstances, however, the details of a few lands in Clanmaurice Barony, which were in the original survey, within quite recent years, suddenly came to light. It appears that in 1905, Mr. Mathew J. Byrne, a Listowel solicitor, whilst running through some papers belonging to Mr. William T. J. Gun of Rattoo, discovered an official copy of part of the original Civil Survey of Clanmaurice Barony, certified by the Deputy Surveyor-General about the year 1700. Mr. Byrne arranged for the precious manuscript to be filed in the Public Record Office, and in turn a true copy was taken and later published as an appendix to the Survey of Limerick.³¹⁵

Mr. Robert C. Simington, of the Quit Rent Office, who prepared the manuscript for printing and who wrote the introductory notes says: "On collation with the Book of Survey and Distribution, it would appear that only certain lands of the parishes specified (i.e. Rattoo, Dysert, and Killury) are included in this valuable fragment, the Church and unforfeited lands not being shown".

Now, apart from the fortunate preservation of an *official copy* of a small section of Clanmaurice Barony over the six other baronies of County Kerry, it is tantamount to phenomenal, as far as the present author is concerned, that the small section surviving deals with the area in which the Pierse family were more concentrated than in any other part of the barony! Of the nineteen "denominations of land" mentioned, five quite definitely were held by members of the Pierse family and clearly stated as such, and two others were held by members of the MacShane or FitzJohn family whom some writers assert were from the same branch of the Fitzmaurice family. In the Survey, we are given a most valuable and interesting description of the lands as they were in 1654 - far more than any map could give - besides topographical and valuation details. In addition, we are supplied with the names of ten different members of the Pierse family in a way that conveniently hints at their relationship.

Because of the extraordinary circumstances surrounding it, and for the information it contains, the fragment is given here in full and reads exactly as follows:-

³¹⁵ The Civil Survey, 1654-1656, Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin, 1938.

THE CIVIL SURVEY (1654-1656)

(Entire fragment)

County Kerry - Barony of Clanmaurice

Rathwoe Parish ³¹⁶

Names of Proprietors and their Qualifications	Denominations of Lands	Number of Acres by Estimation	Lands Profitable and the Quality of it	Lands unprofitable and waste	Value of the said lands as they were in 1640
Col Edmond Fitz Morris Irish Papist	Ayle ¼ Plowd -	025: 0: 00	Arable 015 Pasture 010		£03:00s:00d

This land is meared on the North side with the River of Cassane on the East side with a lane and a Ditch dividing the Premises from the Lands of Arcullen (Part of Mr Stoughton's Estate) on the South side with a ditch leading from the said lands unto a well called Tubberboane and on the West with a Gutter strikeing Westward of the said lands of Ayle into the said River of Cassane, There is on the Premises a peece of a Thatched house with a chimney in one end thereof, This Land owes Suite and Service to ye Ld of Keirys Courts --

Idem	Dromarteene 40 acres	090: 0: 00	Arable 050 Pasture 030	Redd Bogg 010	18:00:00
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The said Lands doe meare on the East with a Ditch between it and the Lands of Corrabally & Cnockinkneeneone which Ditch leads along till it comes to a brook called Crompanemarteene Southwards and from thence by a Gutter that Leads on the west side to a spring called Glassi=Vallyfadoigie which runns betwixt it and the lands of Ballyencrossigg, and the lands of Tullaghny, and on the north side with a ditch that leads betixt it & Kilury Pish by a great redd bogg, this Land is Included in Sr David Bourks Mortgage of Col: Edmond Fitz Morris this Proprietors Estate

³¹⁶ For locations of townlands together with earlier, later and original Irish forms of spelling, see Chapter __, Key to Townland maps of North Kerry, with separate index.

John Mc James Piers John Mc Maurice Pierse [Maurice] ³¹⁷ Mc Richd Piers [Irish] Papists	Balleabrenigg one pld	160: 0 : 00	Arable 100 Pasture 0[.]	-	20:00:00
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The said Lands do bound on the East side with a running spring which divides it and the Lands of Rahielly abovesaid and Glannerdallaffe & on the south side with a Lane leading from the said Spring westward betwixt it and the Lands of Corbelly (Part of the Estate of John Peirs) & from thence still westward by a ditch Leading to a great Redd Bogg called Perlaghmore and from thence Northward by a spring between it and the lands of Adergoule abovesaid (Part of Mr Raymonds Estate) and from thence into the abovesaid Spring where it began and ends, there is on this land a good thatched house with two poynant ends and two chimneys valued at 20 li ster the said John Mc James Proprietor of three parts of this land it being Divided into five, and the said three parts is Ingaged to Morice ORyedy Papt Deceased for the sume of £40 (as was Desposed) Weare informed that the other two parts of the Land belonging to John Mc Maurice and Maurice Mc Richard Peirs are Ingaged to the above said John Mc [James] for the sum of [.....]ter Coll [.....] Rent per annum 6s 8d Kings Rent 7s 8d Cheife Rent to Knight of Kerry [.....] and chiefe Rent [to John Peirs]³¹⁸ of Bally McQuin 3s

Nicholas Peirs Irish Papist	Cnockm ^c kneeneene by old measure 20 acres	075: 0 : 00	Arable 035 Pasture 020	Redd Bog 020	£10:00s:00d
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This land is bounded on the East side by a Ditch that leads along between it, and the Lands of Corbally Ballynoe and Clownlogher, (part of John Fitz James Peirs his Estate) in this Parish and this Ditch leads Sowthwards to the above said Brooke on watter called Crompane Marteene which water Divids the Premisses and the Parish of Killtomy at that place and from thence Westward by a Ditch betweene it and the lands of Dromarteene & on the north side by another Ditch that Divides the

³¹⁷ Square brackets "[...]" are shown exactly as they appear in the printed transcription and indicate missing or illegible words in the original; dots indicate the length of the omission, each dot representing one letter approximately. By deduction, some words can be ascertained and, where possible, have been inserted by the Irish Manuscripts Commission; additional insertions hve been made by the present author and indicated as such by footnotes. Curved brackets "()" appear as such in the original.

³¹⁸ Inferred from "List of Papist Proprietors"; see end of this Chapter. J.H.P.

Premises and the lands of Dromarteene aforesaid and Corbally; on this land is an old Thatched house with 2 Chimneys vallued at 06 11:--

Idem	Lissnegouneny by old estimation 40 acres	072: 00 : 00	Arable 050 Pasture 010	Red bogg 012	£15:00s:00d
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This Land does meare and bound on the East side with a gutter or running spring in a vally betwixt it and the Lands of Glannerdallaffe (Part of John FitzGerald Esqr his Estate) in thie Parish which leads into a gutter southward of the same. And on the South with the said Gutter leading to a ditch westward of the said lands of Lissnegonyny beteen it and the lands of Corbally abovesaid which shuites all along to a land northward of the same betweene it and the lands of Ballinbreagig abovesaid being the bounds thereof on the north side there is a small corne mill now in repaire on the Premises valued at 6 li --

Morris Mc Daniell als Mc Daniell of Rathtwoe Irish Papist	Cnockerduffe Tyrenewhy Clowneighbeg Gurtmucke Gurtermonee BallySheane and the 20 acres Old Estima' in and about Rathtwoe 2pds	520 : 0 : 00	Arable 240 Pasture 140	Red Bogg 140	£60:00s:00d
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The Premises doe bound on the Last Side with a River or water called Brooke and Southward by the water untill it comes to a brooke called Crompanemarteene, and on the Southside with the said Companemarteene which Divids that and the lands of Muchenagh (Part of the Lord of Keirys Estate) in the parish of Killury out of which water leads a gutter Northward to a lane called Bohir Cnockduffe and from thence by a running spring which divids the Premises and the lands of Glanerallaffe (belonging to the Knt of Keiry) which lands leads along westward of Knockduffe betwixt it and a parcell of John FitzGeralds Lands aforesaid and on the North partly with a small creeke of water called Lurgaraha leading from the Abby of Rothtwoe and alsoe with a double Quicksett Ditch leading Northwards of the said lands, and likewise with a lane northwards of Garte Mone Part of the premisses and north of Clowneighbeg [.....] Knockduffe by a ditch between it and the comons or pasture called Sleanmore, on the Premises there is two Chimney [h]ouses Thatched to [.....] [or]³¹⁹chard fenced with a Quicksett Ditch the said Houses are Vallued at 10 1 there

³¹⁹ Inferred from Down Survey maps and Books of Survey and Distribution; see Chapter XII. J.H.P.

[.....] out of the [.....] p annum which is Bpp rent Mortgaged to Coll Crosbey since the
[Rebell]³²⁰ion [for]³²¹ [.....]

Morris Mc Daniell als Mc Daniell of Rathtwoe Irish Papist	Gortentample Gortnetony Gortencrehy, Gort Mc Carrollmore Gortlenebegg, Gort Mc Carroll begg with severall gardens & Tenemts in the Towne & Burgery of Rathtwoe with a Proportion of the Comons thereunto belonging	549 : 0 : 00	Arable 009 Pasture 100	Mount hea 200 Redd Bogg 240	10ll:00ss:00d
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The Lands of Gortecrehy and Gortnetony being Arable Land. are bounded and Inclosed with a Double ditch on the North and West side betwixt it and the Lands of Bpps Court on the Last and South sides between it and other Lands of the Burgery of Rattwoe with a Pathway, The said Gortentampnell with a ditch on the East and south sides between it and the Towne of Rathtwoe and on the North and West sides with a pathway between it and Gortensta Gortengeragh and Aureenvolir Percells of Mr Stoughtons Lands, The said Gort Mc Carrollmore Gort Mc Carroll begg with a Double Quicksett Ditch round about it, the said Gortlenebeg, with a ditch on the East between it and Gortlenemore, belonging to the said Mr Anthony Stoughton, on the South by a ditch between it and the towne of Rathtwoe and on the west side with a ditch and lane between it and Toberkerane, the said Garden Plotts and Tenemts with a kind of a ditch round about distinguishing them from other lands of the said towne of Rathtwoe, The said Mountaine is meared and bounded on the east side with a ditch betweene it and the lands of Bishopps Court and the land called Burgesland on the South side with a Ditch between it and the lands of Clowneiagh, Cnockerduffe and Raheilly, on the West side by a gutter leading to a ford called Adayne, and from thence through a great redbogg to a place or Ground marke called Screllaghbaune³²² which Divids this Parish and the Parish of Killury, and [.....]³²³ the northside with a gutter leading from thence to a ditch between it and Memnmore (Part of Mr Stoughtons [l]and) by which the same is bounded in this quarter the said Pasture Marsh and Redd bogg is meered with a creeke called Gehyrahay on the North side on the East with the River of Cassane, to the Island called Insyenenoge to a gutter called Lyerewturatten wch gutter leads southward

³²⁰ Deduced from similar descriptions; see next and subsequent entries. J.H.P.

³²¹ Deduced from similar descriptions; see next and subsequent entries. J.H.P.

³²² Screllaghbaune - Irish _____ i.e.

to another Gutter called Lahaghencurrigg which striks into the River of Brock on the South, And on the South side with a Crompane or Brooke called Crampane Marteene, and a great Ditch leading betwixt it and the lands of Crean and Bishops Court abovesaid, Wee are informed that Gortlenebeg, Gort Mc Carrollbegg are Ingaged to John Mc Daniel Ir Papt for the sume of 20 ll long before the Rebellion, and that the 4th Part of the said Gort Mc Carrollmore Gortenteampnill; Gortency Gortnecrony and the said Gardenplots and Tenements are Ingaged to Thomas Mc Daniel the Eldest Irish Papt before the Warrs for the sume of £10 ster --

Patrick Peirs of Aghamore Irish Papist	Crotta and 4 Parcels within the Burgary of Rattwoe & one Tenemt called ffohoragh Mc Patrick ³²⁴ with Garden Plotts thereto be longing called Garry Patrick ³²⁵ with one more Tenement	04 : 0 : 00	Arable 004	-	£01:00s:00d
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This Land of Crotta is meared with a Ditch round about which Divids it from other lands Vitz Gurtenmore and the aforesaid lands of 20 acres part of Mc Daniells estate the other 4 Parcels are bounded with a ditch on the East side and north east and south with severall Pathways distinguishing it from other lands belonging to Lieut Col Stoughton and Mc Daniell in the said Burgary there is a Thatched cabben, on the said Tenement and the said Plott of Garden hath a ditch round about it Distinguishing that from other Garden plots in the said towne of Rathtwoe, This Proprietor hath two house Roomes nere the west end of the Church of Rathtwoe, These 4 Parcels above said are part of the Burgess land of Rathtwoe and the Inhabitants of the said Parcell from time to time had Libertie of pastureing in the comons of Rathtwoe Proportionable as wee are Informed.

³²³ ? "Bounded on".

³²⁴ ffohoragh Mc Patrick - Irish _____ i.e. _____

³²⁵ Garry Patrick - Irish _____ i.e. _____

Deysart Parish

Names of Proprietors and their Qualifications	Denominations of Lands	Number of Acres by Estimation	Lands Profitable and the Quality of it	Lands unprofitable and waste	Value of the said lands as they were in 1640
Edmond Fitzmorris Irish Papist	Cloncelly Cahirswiny and Killowraine ½ Plowd	059 : 0 : 00	Meadow 004 Arable 040 Pasture 010	Redd Bogg 0005	£20: 00s: 00d

The said Land does meare on the South by Crihenvoggig leading South ward by a pathway to Carraghenfryaghane and Through the same by a little road westward to the Backemeare of Cahirsuny aforesaid and by the said bank on the west northwards to the said Carraghenfryaghane and in the Middle of the same by a Right Line from the said Bank on the North to another called Kiliclulen lane aforesaid which leades Eastward to a gutter called Lahackhanaght and thence by a Crossgutt mearing betwixt Ballighowraghane & Cluencalloe aforesaid till it reaches in the east and meets with a Turfe Pitt called Purtagh Ballyhowraghaune and from thence to the aforesaid Criggenvoggig where it began --- It is alledged that Cluonecally [.....] Mortgaged to the Lady Honora Keiry since the Rebellion for 201 Ster --

Killury Parish

Names of Proprietors and their Qualifications	Denominations of Lands	Number of Acres by Estimation	Lands Profitable and the Quality of it	Lands unprofitable and waste	Value of the said lands as they were in 1640
Col Edmond Fitzmorris Irish Papist	Myneconine ¼ pt plowd	48 : 0 : 00	Arble 018	Barren Mountaine 030	£06: 0s: 00d

This Land does meare on the South by the Mayne Sea on the east by a banke betwixt it & Ardae (belonging to Roe Browne) next to it adjoining, which Bank leads southwards to a place called Aghnahullooe on the South from thence by a Running Spring betwixt it and BallymeSryney untill it meets on the west point a little Valley by which the said Spring doth direct its Course northwards to ye above sea where it began

The said Coll Fitz Morris Irish Papist	Dyrerahabegg 7 Acres	07 : 0 : 00	Arable 003 Pasture 004	-	£01: 10s: 00d
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The said Lands Doe Meare on the east by a little banke betwixt it & Derryrahamore leading southwards to another Banke which on the South meets a Little Brooke which Bank and Brooke divides it & ye Lands of ffarrenencuogg (belonging to Mr Stoughton) on the South and West & leads northwards to the River of Cassane by [wh]³²⁶ich River it mears on the North untill it comes to the above first mentioned Banke where it begann for ye sume for which [.....] Edmond Fitzmorris his estate is Ingaged to Sr David Bourke Ir Papt Wee referr to the book of Claimes

John Browne of Classmoelcon deceased Irish Papist	Clossmoelcon & Arduoghtir 2 plowds	272 : 0 : 00	Arable 140 Pasture 002	Mount Barren 100 Redd Bogg 030	30 : 00 : 00
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The said Lands doe meare on the east by a Banke leading Southwards from the sea betwixt the said lands & Kilmore belonging to Sr John Crosbey untill it reaches a place where is a spring that goes along to another Place called Loblaghlin & from thence by a gutt through a redd bogg to the east end of Curraghnegon and on the south from thence to a stone called Gallenegeare³²⁷ betwixt the premisses and Addergoule in the Parish of Rathoe (belonging to Mr Raymond) and from the said Stone by a gutter leading westward through a Redd Bogg to a lane called Boherbane and another place [ca]lled Cnockanenemalagh on the west till it meets a bank mearing betwixt the Premisses & Mineconyne in this Parish and by the said Banke northwards until it reaches the sea which on the North is the true meare [...] premisses [.....] said bank there is a short Butt of a castle on the premises ---

Roe Browne and William Browne Irish Papists	Ardae 2/3 Plowlds	100 : 0 : 00	Arable 045 Pasture 005	Mount Baron 020 Red Bogg 030	£10: 00s: 00d
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³²⁶ Inferred from context. J.H.P.

The said Lands Doe meare on the east by a Cutt or Trench in the ground betweene it and Ardergoule aforesaid leading to Poulencroe and from thence by a Gutt shuteing southward to a turffe Pitt called Beallscorny and from thence on the south by a bank betwixt the Premisses and Ballingaime belonging to Coll Edmond Fitzmorris called Clynonarke reaching westward to Aghnohullo and from thence to the west by a banke shuteing northwards to a lane called Bohirbainree and by the said lane on the north untill it turns in the east Southwards to the abovesaid Cutt where it began Roe Browns part of the said lands being 25 Acres (by Old estimacon) is Mortgaged to James Peirs Ir Papt for the sume of 40ll This land ows to the above said John Browne as cheife rent yearely (or his heirs) the sume of 13s : 04

Thomas Mc Edmond Peirs Irish Papist	Mineogohane 2 PlowLd & 1/3 parts	265 : : 00	Arable 160	Mount Baren 100 Reddbogg 005	£040: 00s: 00d
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The said Lands Doe meare on the east by a Banke and Pathway mearing betwixt the said Lands and Ballyneskiny and Graigntlea aforesaid & leading southward to an other Bank which on the South side dividis the Premisses Cahirenduffe & Clanderieies belonging to Sr John Crossbey and by the said Banke Shuteing Westward to the [hea]³²⁸pe of Stones called Laghtnegunbaune,³²⁹ on the west by a Banke 'twixt the said lands & Cloghanesene [be]³³⁰longing to Sr John Crossbey and partly by a Little Spring running Northward to the Sea & on the north by [.....] a little spring directing Eastward to the above said Bank where it begann & in that Quarter mearing twixt the Premisses and Menyconine (belonging to Col Edm: Fitzmorris) The said land is Ingaged to John Pe[irs]³³¹ Ballinbreanagh Ir Papist for the sume of 40 li ster and to Thoms Peirs Ir Papt for the sume of £20: ster: there is on ye Premisses an old broaken house with two chimneys two cabbins & an old butt of a castle not valuable; Kings Rent due Yearely out of the Premisses 31l. 3s. 9d.

Capt. Garrett Mc Shane of Licke Irish Papist	Farren Edmond 5 Acres	05 : 00 : 00	Arable 005	-	01: 05: 00
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The said Lands Doe meare and bound on the east with a pathway between it & Bpps Court aforesaid on the southside [.....] a Double Ditch between it & the said lands on the north side with another Ditch between it and the lands of Bpps Court & on ye [....] side with a double Ditch that

³²⁷ Gallengeare - Irish _____ i.e. _____

³²⁸ Inferred from context. J.H.P.

³²⁹ Laghtnegunbaune - Irish _____ i.e. Grave of the White Hounds.

³³⁰ Inferred from context. J.H.P.

³³¹ Inferred from Survey of "Balleabrennig in Rathwoe Parish", q.v.

divids it & the lands of Minmore pt of Mr Stoughtons Lands there is a freedom of pasturing belonging to [.....] Lands on the Comons of the Burgary of Rathtwoe

Richard Stacke of Cloghane Irish Papist	Cloghane 2/3 pts. PlowLd	40 : 0 : 00	arable 022 pasture 006	Mount Low & Barren 012	£08: 00s: 00d
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The Said Lands doe meare and bound on the East by a Banke & oldway betwixt it & Cnoppoge pt, of the said Lt. Col Stoughtons Estate the said Bank and highway leading southwards to Knallaghane & from thence on the south by a bank & a Gutt through a Redd Bogg mearing betwixt it & Slememore aforesaid & shuteing westward to a parcell of land called Ardoughtir belonging to John Browne, where the said Gutter meets another gutter which on the west leads to a bank shuteing Northwards to a lane called Boghercloghane as abovesd. & on the North by the said lane untill it meets the sd. Banke where it begann there is a broaken chimney house on the p'misses of no value Composition Rent yearly of the lands 3s : 4d Kings Rent in Staffords Time 4s Bpps Rent 9d --

Garrett Fitz John of Luke Irish Papist	Dyrryrahue 12 pte of a Plowld	07½ : 0: 0D	arable 005 Pasture 002½	-	£002: 00s: 00d
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This Land does meare and bound on the North by the River of Cassane and from thence on the east by a banke betwixt it and ffarrenvogie Part of Lieut. Col Stoughton's estate shuteing southwards to a running Spring which on the South leads westward to a bank wh. Divids it & Diryrohybegg part of [.....] Edmond Fitzmorris his estate on the west and by the said Bank northwards to ye Quarter of [.....] aforesaid.

[Ro]bert Fitz Morris Irish Papist	Farren Mc. Lawrus ¼ PlowLd	16 : 0 : 00	Arable 013 Pasture 003	[.....]	[.....]
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The Said Lands doe meare and bound on the east by a banke leading southwards betwixt it & Cloghane belonging to Richard Stacke which lane on the South meets the lane of Cloghane aforesaid directing Westward to a banke which divids the premisee and other lands in that parish called Killmore [belo]³³²nging to Sr John Crossbey and by the said bank northwards to the river of Cassane which on [.....] North is [.....] meares to the first above mentioned Banke.--

³³² Inferred from context. J.H.P.

Col. Edmond Fitz Morris Irish Papist	Colim by old estimacion 2/3 Plowld	037 : 00 : 00	Arable 034 Pasture 003	-	£1022: 00s: 00d
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The SAID LANDS doe meare on the East by a Banke betweene it and ffurrenenruogie (part of Lieut. Coll^{ll} Stoughtons Land) and on the South by the Lane comonly called Boghercloghane on the west by a banke betweene it & farrent Laurence belonging to this proprietr. a parcell of the said Parish and by the said Bank northwards to the River of Cassane which on the north is the True meare untill it meets the above mentioned first bank where it began.

The aforementioned Particulars are a True coppie for so much of the Civill Survey taken of the County & Barony aforesaid Remaining on Record in her Maties Surveyors Generalls Office --

Pet Gueri[n]

(Deputy Surveyor General)

A true copy

JAMES MILLS

D. K. R.

19 Dec. '05

In addition to the Civil Survey, just given, we are fortunate in having transcriptions of another document concerning the names of the forfeiting Catholic proprietors and the lands they held. It appears that in 1655, Cromwell was not satisfied that the transplantation into Connaught was going according to plan. The Government had been informed that the new owners were having difficulty in finding English tenants, as instructed, and were consequently retaining the former owners. To assess the numbers of the reluctant transplanter, Cromwell ordered a list of such persons to be prepared. In compliance with this, a certain Christopher Gough directed a letter from Dublin, dated the 27th January, 1656 as follows:-

"To his Highness the Lord Protector's Council for the Affaires of Ireland. --

May it please yr Lordships,

In pursuance of your Lops Order of the 14th October last, requiring mee forthwith to prepare a List containing the names, surnames, places of abode, and addition of Title of all Proprietors of Lands, or any ways entitled to Lands forfeited to the Commonwealth by the late horrid Rebellion, and returned in the Books of Civil Survey, or otherwise extant upon record, and certify the same unto your Lops. I humbly present the ensuing list containing the names of all the Papist Proprietors within the counties of ... Kerry, ..."

The letter goes on to say that the writer (Gough) suspects that because the places of abode of some persons were not given in the Books of Survey

"it is to be feared one and the same person is several times named in this List."

The fragment of the survey of Co. Kerry just given illustrates the accuracy of this careful observation.

Here again we have at least two printed versions of the list of names (needless to say the original was destroyed in the fire at the Public Record Office of Ireland in 1921); one by Miss Agnes Hickson and another by Mr John O'Hart included, respectively, in the works already mentioned. Of the two versions, that of O'Hart is by far the better; for one thing, Miss Hickson's list, on comparison, is far from complete, and for another, as already mentioned, O'Hart's impartiality for Kerry above other counties ensures greater accuracy with regard to the original spelling. The following, then, is taken from O'Hart's "Irish Landed Gentry" and, apart from item numbers and probable "places of abode" added by the present author in parentheses for identification purposes, is an exact transcription. It will be noticed that the complete list of Barony headings is given together with the total number of forfeiting proprietors in each: besides Pierse, the numbers of proprietors of the Fitzmaurice family are also given for interest and comparison:-

Countie Kerrie:

*A List of the Papist Proprietors' names in the County of Kerrie,
as they are returned in the Civill Survey of the said Countie-*

27th January, 1656

(Extract)

Baronie of Corcagainy:

(Total 123 confiscations - 1 "MacMorris", nil Pierse)

Baronie of Clannoroght:

(Total 21 confiscations - nil Fitzmaurice, nil Pierse)

Baronie of Dunkerron:

(Total 70 confiscations - nil Fitzmaurice, nil Pierse)

Baronie of Magunihy:

(Total 48 confiscations - nil Fitzmaurice, nil Pierse)

Baronie of Clanmorris:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| (1) Joane Hussey, alias Pearsey | (Aghamore) |
| (2) Gerrott Peirse (now Pearse) | (Ballyhaungane) |
| (3) John MacMorris Peirse | (Ballinbreannig) |
| (4) Morrice MacRichard Peirse | (Ballinbreannig) |
| (5) John Peirse | (Ballinbreannig) |
| (6) John MacJames Peirse, deceased | (Malen) |
| (7) Nicholas Peirse | (Knockm ^c neene, Lisanogoneeny,
Bishop's Court) |
| (8) James Peirse | (Killcullimoha) |

(9) John MacMorrice Peirse	(Repetition: same person as 3)
(10) James Peirse, Ballymac Iquin	(Ballymac Equim)
(11) Peirse FitzJames Peirse	(Gortinspidall, Ardfert)
(12) William Peirse	(Not known)
(13) John FitzJames Peirse,	(Ballymac Equim, Ballymellagon, Corrobally, Clonlogher)
(14) John MacMorrice Peirse	(Repetition: same person as 3)
(15) Pattrick Peirse, Aghamore	(Aghamore, Ballincrossig, Crotta, Rattoo)
(16) Thomas MacEdmond Peirse	(Meenogahane)
(17) Pattrick Peirse	(Repetition: same person as 15)
(18) John FitzJames Peirse	(Repetition: same person as 13)
(19) James Peirse	(Repetition: same person as 8)
(20) Willm: Peirse	(Repetition: same person as 12)
(21) Nicholas Peirse	(Repetition: same person as 7)
(22) Patrick Pyers	(Aghamore. <i>Not</i> same person as 15) ³³³

(Total 81 confiscations - 11 "Fitzmorrice", 22 "Peirse")

Baronie of Iraghticonnor:

(23) Thomas Peirse	(Knockenagh)
(24) Nicholas Dall Peirse	(Rattoo)
(25); Bryan MacRobert (Peirse)	(Dooncaha)

(Total 48 confiscations - 8 "Fitzmorrice", 3 "Peirse")

Baronie of Trughanacmy:

(26) John Peirse, deceased	(Not known)
(27) Patrick Peirse	(Not known)
(28) Garrott Peirse	(Not known)

(Total 47 confiscations - nil Fitzmaurice, 3 "Peirse")

Baronie of Iveragh:

(Total 109 confiscations - nil Fitzmaurice, nil Pierse)

³³³ It is perfectly clear from the Transplanters' Certificates and the Government Returns given earlier in this Chapter that there were two persons named Patrick Pierse of Aghamore; one appeared to sign his name "Pearce" and the other "Pyers".

From the above, it will be seen that, ignoring repetitions (which of course cannot be assessed without having *complete* details of the Civil Survey of Co. Kerry - a very remote possibility now that the entire original seems to be lost to us for ever), there were 547 persons mentioned including 20 members of the Fitzmaurice family and 28 of the Pierse family.

In the next Chapter we will trace the result of the Cromwellian Settlement and notice other records of this period which shed further light on the numbers and relationship of the Pierse family in these unhappy times.

CHAPTER XII - RESULTS OF THE CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT

In the year following the exodus of the Irish Papists, and at about the same time as the Civil Survey was commenced, the need for a *topographical* survey of Ireland became apparent, for at that time no detailed maps were in existence. The responsibility for conducting the survey fell upon Sir William Petty who, besides being Physician to the Cromwellian Forces, was also Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and Clerk of the Council. Within a little over three years, Petty completed his enormous task and surveyed the whole of the country, with the exception of Counties Mayo, Galway, and Roscommon, in detail, showing baronies, parishes and townlands. The maps were of great importance to Cromwell in his plan for distributing estates to his soldiers and English adventurers, and, read in conjunction with the descriptive accounts in the Civil Survey, gave a clear view of the extent and value of the confiscated lands. The name of the survey - The Down Survey - is supposed to have been given to his survey by Petty himself because the results of the field work were "laid down" in the form of notes, and plotted out on paper later. The original maps are still extant, although curiously enough, they are not preserved in either Ireland or Great Britain but in France. It appears that at some time or other, the maps were captured by the French, and have since been deposited in the Bibliotheque Nationale, in Paris, where they are to be seen today. By permission of the French Government, copies have been made, and these are available from the British Ordnance Survey Office.

The accompanying illustrations are photographic copies of the maps showing the northern baronies of Co. Kerry. In the original, the maps appear as three separate sheets, but here for the sake of clarity, the two sheets forming the entire barony of Clanmaurice appear firstly as the single sheet showing the western half, and secondly, with the two sheets joined together.

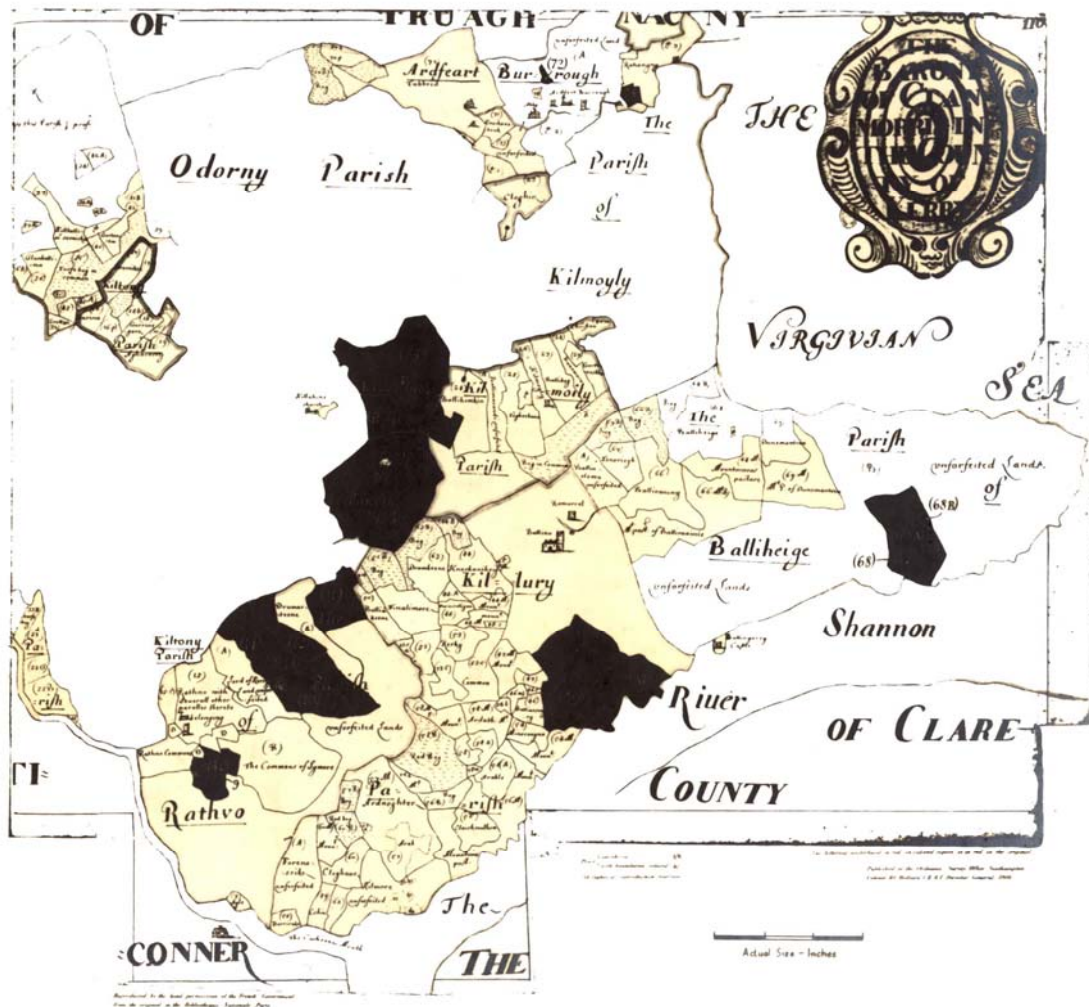
In the first illustration, it will be noticed that certain areas have been blackened in and the written inscriptions changed to white. These areas show lands held at this time by the Pierse family, and have been so indicated by the present author for ease of reference, and of course do not appear as such on the originals. The large map, comprising the two sheets joined together, shows the eastern half of Clanmaurice Barony together with its western half as far as can be conveniently included, but without any tampering whatever. It should be noticed that both maps have an inverted aspect as compared with the modern orientation, and that the scale appears in the bottom left-hand corner of the *eastern* half of the barony "By a scale of 160 Perches in an Inch". It will be seen that this works out to a modern scale of two inches to the mile; a small inch scale drawn on each map by the present author before reduction of the illustrations, indicates the actual size of the original maps.

The map of the barony of Irraghticonnor was originally drawn to be read in the modern sense, and therefore does not require inversion to be correctly interpreted. Here again, land held by members of the Pierse family have been blackened in. Within the parish of Listowel, lying roughly in the north-east corner, will be noticed a townland with its boundary lines drawn slightly thicker than normal; this

townland is shown as "Crossm^cshane", and has thus been indicated by the present author for ease of reference. It will be remembered from Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland" that Crossmacshane was specifically mentioned as being one of the places where their Pierse family owners changed their name from Fitzmaurice to Pierse at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign; the two other places mentioned were Ballymac-Equim and Meenogahane, both of which are clearly shown on the maps of Clanmaurice Barony. From other evidence available, however, while it is clear that both Ballymac-Equim and Meenogahane were still owned by members of the Pierse family at the time these maps were compiled, Crossmacshane had passed into other hands.

It will be noticed, too, that the lands of Patrick fitz Thomas Fitzmaurice, 19th Baron of Lixnaw, at this time are not separately indicated on the maps. The reason for this, as will be remembered from Chapter X, was that Lord Kerry was appointed Governor of Kerry by the President of Munster at the beginning of the 1641 Rebellion, but when his men deserted him, he fled to England, and thus escaped the unenviable decision of either remaining loyal to England or siding with his friends and relations on the rebel side. Thus, Patrick Fitzmaurice did not forfeit his large estates which are shown on the maps as either "Protestant" or "Unforfeited" lands.

In studying the maps, it will be noticed that in all the townlands shown, a number has been inserted irrespective of whether the actual name of the townland is given or not. Now after the forfeited lands had been settled on their new owners, a book - or rather a number of books - were compiled by a certain Thomas Taylor by order of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, showing the former and new owners. Although the "Books of Survey and Distribution", as they were called, were not compiled until the year 1677, it is interesting to compare them with the Down Survey maps of 1655, for the same numbering of lands is used for both. The original books - as were the greater part of Irish historical records - were destroyed when the day of doom came upon the Public Record Office in 1921, but fortunately duplicates or copies had been made and these happily survived at the Quit Rent Office in Dublin. These duplicate copies of the "Books of Survey and Distribution" have since been deposited in the Four Courts at Dublin, and it is from these that the following extracts given in this Chapter have been taken.



**Plate X: Down Survey Map, c. 1654 - The Barony of Clanmaurice
in The County of Kerry
(East Portion showing Pierse Lands in Black)**

The entries in the original "Books of Survey and Distribution" are arranged in seven columns spreading over the two pages at each opening of the book. At the top of each left-hand page appears the first half of the general heading, as "County Kerry Rathvo Parish", while the remainder of the heading "Barony of Clanmorris" appears at the top of the adjacent right-hand page. Each left-hand page is divided into five columns, and each right-hand page into two columns only. The column headings appear once only - at the first two pages of the open book. Since column six, unheaded, in the instance of all the following entries relating to the Pierse family at least, contains only a repetition of the acreage of "profitable lands" shown in column five, it is here omitted. It would appear that the original purpose of this column was to show the sum total of the unprofitable and profitable lands shown in the two preceding columns. The names of the new proprietors, to whom the confiscated lands were granted, are shown in the last column (column seven) in the original books, but here again, because of space limitations, the new owner's name is given at the foot of each entry in the extracts which follow.

It need hardly be stated that, in common with all extracts from official records quoted in this present work, the original spelling for names of persons and places has been preserved throughout. With regard to the columns showing quantities of land, the three figures given indicate, respectively, acres, rods (or perches), and yards; thus, "080 : 2 : 25" indicates 80 acres 2 rods 25 yards.

Books of Survey and Distribution (Compiled A.D. 1677)

No. 11 - Kerry and Waterford

(Extracts)

<i>Number</i>	<i>Proprietors Names</i>	<i>Denominacions & ye Pfittable land reduced according to ye value</i>	<i>Unprofitable</i>	<i>Profitable</i>
<u>County Kerry - Forfeited pt of Duagh Parish</u>			<u>Barony of Clanmorris -</u>	
(No person of the name of Pierse mentioned)				
<u>County Kerry - Tronvige Parish</u>			<u>Barony of Clanmorris -</u>	
(No person of the name of Pierse mentioned)				
<u>County Kerry - Rathvo Parish</u>			<u>Barony of Clanmorris -</u>	
10	John mc Peirce John Mc Morris & Morris mc Richd Peirce	Ballynbreanbegg (Dublin Colledge)	.....	130: 0: 30

11	Patrick Peirce	Ballynorossigg (Dublin Colledge)	.....	211: 2: 15
12	Nicholas Peirce	Knocknackeeveene (Lord Collooney)	.....	118: 1:18
13	James Peirce	Corrobally & Clonlogher (Dublin Colledge)	.....	205: 2: 25
14c	Nicholas Peirce	Lissingoneeny Bishopscourt 109: 0: 33 (Lord Colloony)	.....	080: 1: 19
15	Morris McDaniell als m ^c Daniell of Rathvo & Pat. Peirce	Rathvo with sev'all other pcells thereunto belonging (Lord Colloony)	.....	311: 1: 32
15c	The Comons ...	of Rathvo (Lord Colloony)	.....	191: 0: 28
<u>County Kerry - Part of Kiltony Parish</u> (No person of the name of Pierse mentioned)				<u>Barony of Clanmorris -</u>
<u>County Kerry - Part of Kilshannon Parish</u> (No person of the name of Pierse mentioned)				<u>Barony of Clanmorris -</u>
<u>County Kerry - Part of Kilmoyley Parish</u>				<u>Barony of Clanmorris -</u>
30	James Peirce	Killcullimoha (Dublin Colledge)	.....	052: 0: 00
<u>County Kerry - Forfeited. pt, of Killahine Parish</u>				<u>Barony of Clanmorris -</u>
34	John ffitz James	Ballymacquoin & Ballimellagan	.....	420: 0: 09
34B	The same	In the same	073: 1: 39	
34b	The same	In the same	017: 0: 00	
C	Gleab Land	In the same (Dublin Colledg)	.....	009: 1: 30
35	Pat. Pieirce & Joane Hussey als peirce her Jognture	Aghamore	.....	154: 0: 00
35b		In the same (Dublin Colledge)	428: 0: 26	

<u>County Kerry - Killury Parish</u>			<u>Barony of Clanmorris -</u>	
59	Thomas ffitz Edmond Peirce Ir Papist	Meenoghane	.....	222: 0: 30
59M	The same ...	of the same (Lord Colloony)	.....	370: 0: 10
<u>County Kerry - Balliheige Parish</u>			<u>Barony of Clanmorris -</u>	
68	John mcJames Peirce	Malen	.....	006: 0: 00
68M	The Same	In the same	.....	270: 3: 36
68B	The Same	In the same (Colledge Dublin)	016: 0: 00	
<u>County Kerry - The Parish & Burrough of Ardferit</u>			<u>Barony of Clanmorris -</u>	
72	Peirce ffitz James Peirce	Gortinspidall (Chidly Coote)	.....	007: 0: 12
75	James Peirce	2 Gardens 2 Tenements & a parcell of Land called Moyne by Estimation 5 Acres (Pencil note by Quit Rent Office: "Insolvent as far back as the yr. 1798")	.....	012: 0: 06
<u>County Kerry - Listowel Parish</u>			<u>Barony of IraghtIconner-</u>	
1	Thomas fitz Morris	Crossm ^c shane	.....	340: 0: 00
RB	Unprofitable bogg	In the same (Jefford Stoute & als Ld. Kingston)	218: 2: 23	
4	Tho. Piers and John Piers prott since 1625 & in Coll. Ingoldsbys Regimt of Dragoons (Thomas Amory & Ld. Kingston)	Ballagh Idoige	.....	478: 3: 01
4B	Red bogg	In the same	043: 0: 11	
4a		Carrowneitirgh part of ye same In the same (Thomas Amory & Edw'd Cooper)	.....	441: 0: 29

4B	The afores ^d Propriet ^{rs}	Carrowmannagh part of Ballagh Idoige (Thomas Amory)	.....	220: 1: 23
B	Bogg	Cluan mc Teene part of the same (Thomas Amory & Ld. Kingston)	.....	328: 3: 12
4D	The same	Carroghancrushy (Ld. Kingston)	.....	655: 3: 19
<u>County Kerry - Parish of Galley</u>			<u>Barony of IraghtIconner -</u>	
7	Thomas Piers Ir. Pa:	Knockenagh	.....	385: 0: 00
B	Redd Bogg	In the same (Thomas Amory)	099: 0: 00	
<u>County Kerry - Aghavallen Parish</u>			<u>Barony of IraghtIconner -</u>	
11	Garrett ffitz James	Ballynonine (Dublin Colledg)	.....	492: 2: 08
12	John ffitz James	Litter (Dublin Colledg)	.....	694: 2: 08

(Note:- In the above list, for Clanmaurice Barony all parishes mentioned in the Books of Survey and Distribution are given, irrespective of whether members of the Pierse family are mentioned are not. For Irraghticonnor Barony, however, only those parishes have been mentioned in which Pierse family members held lands; in the parishes not included above, there is no mention of the name Pierse whatever.)

As far as the complete extermination of the Catholic population from all provinces of Ireland except Connaught was concerned, and the prohibition of the English from intermarriage with the native Irish, the Cromwellian Settlement was a dismal failure. Not only did the Cromwellian soldiers and planters often retain the former proprietors to assist them with their lands, but also they "took to themselves Irish Catholic wives", and they themselves and their children became completely "Hibernised". We read that some of the children of these Cromwellian settlers could not even speak one word of English. Nevertheless, in spite of this repetition of the invader falling under Erin's charm, once again the face of the countryside had changed. There can be little doubt that the process of digestion of the Cromwellians must have had some effect on the redoubtable Irish character, and from an economic point of view, that the Cromwellian settlers left their mark, a very clear indication is given.

In the year 1659, a census of Ireland was taken by order of Parliament, and of the figures for the original total number of 32 counties, those for 27 are still extant. Entitled "Census of Ireland, 1659 (from the Poll Money Ordinances 1660-1661)", a carefully annotated and indexed publication appeared in 1939 under the editorship of Seamus Pender, M.A., from which the following extracts have been taken.

**Cencus of Ireland, 1659 - from the Poll
Money Ordinances (1660 - 1661) County Kerry**

The Barony of Clanmorice

(Extracts)

<i>Parrishes</i>	<i>Townlands</i>	<i>No of people</i>	<i>Titulados³³⁴ Names</i>	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Irish</i>
Kiltomy	Lixnaw	30	Patrick Ld. Barron of Kerry, Honora Lady Baroness, Wm. Fitzmaurice, Esq.	-	30
	Ballynageragh	12	-	-	12
Ardfertt	Ardfertt Towne	47	Thomas Crosby, Edward Shewell, Patrick Crosby	7	40
Killury	Cloghane	8	-	-	8
	Ardae	4	-	-	4
	Mineogahane	17	-	2	15
	Ballinoe	17	John Heerd, gent. Henry Kinveton in London, gent.	2	15
Kilmoily	Toghirbane	17	-	-	17
	Ballimikine	28	-	-	28
Killahine	Aghamore	4	-	-	4
	Ballim ^c Quine	19	-	3	16
Rathoe	Dromartin	12	-	-	12
	Corbally	4	-	-	4
	Ballinerossig	6	-	-	6
	Burgessland	12	-	-	12
	Lisnegoinny	11	-	2	9
	Ayle	4	-	-	4
	Ballibrenagh	3	-	-	3
	Rathoe	6	-	2	4

Principall Irish names (and) their number:-

Stack,	17;	FitzMorrice & MacMorrice,	17;	McBryen,	6;	Cahane,	6;
O Connor,	7;	Crosby,	6;	O Dulinge,	14;	McDanniell,	8;
McEdmond,	10;	McWilliam,	6;	Lency,	6;	Murphy,	8;
Piers,	8;	Roydy,	6;	McShane,	23;	McTeige,	12.

. Barony of Clanmorrice

English	86	Irish	1040	Totall	1126
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Total Population of County Kerry

English	566	Irish	7824	Totall	8390
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Order of Population in Baronies

Trughanacmy	2383
Iraghticonnor	1220
Corcaguiny	1183
Maguinhy	1164
Clanmorrice	1126
Glanerought	536
Iveragh	421
Dunkerron	357
Total	8390

Since this record was prepared five years after the old Papist Proprietors were ordered to leave their own lands and counties, it will be interesting to see from this same record how many of the original number of five members of the Pierse family who obtained Transplanters' Certificates actually left Kerry to take up the new lands assigned to them in the province of Connaught, or rather, to see if any of them were still there. It will be remembered that the lands assigned to the Kerry transplanted were in the baronies of Inchiquin and desolate Burren in Clare. Upon referring to the returns for these two baronies in the 1659 Census, however, we find in them no mention at all of any "titulado" named Pierse, but, in the extreme south-west corner of the county, lying immediately to the north of the River Shannon (that is, directly facing North Kerry) in the barony of Meyferta, we find:-

³³⁴ Titulado: def. (New Eng. Dict.) "a man of title" - in this return denotes the principal person(s) of standing in

Clare County

Barony of Moyferta

(Extract)

<i>Parishes</i>	<i>Townlands</i>	<i>No of people</i>	<i>Tituladotes Names</i>	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Irish</i>
Killforagh	Kilforagh	48	James Stack., gent. James Pierce, gent. Garrett Fitzmorrish, gent., Thomas Joy., gent.	04	44

Included in other townlands in the same barony, we notice many other old Kerry names as Stack, O'Bryen, Rice, Fitzmorrice, Walsh, Fitzgerald, and so on. Lying immediately to the north of the barony of Moyferta, in the seaboard barony of Ibricane, we find:

Barony of Ibrickane and Burrough of Enish

(Extract)

Killumry	Ballymacken	41	Patrick Pierce, gent.	-	41
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The only other persons bearing any form of the surname Pierse in the whole of the 1659 Census of Ireland (other than the names already given) are found in Co. Cork. Under the Cromwellian Settlement, Co. Cork had been reserved for Government planters as distinct from Co. Kerry where only Cromwellian soldiers had lands assigned to them. At this stage in the history of the Pierse family of Co. Kerry, we do not propose to investigate whether the two persons bearing a form of the name, mentioned below, were members of English families, whether they were scions of other Pierse families long resident in Ireland, or whether, indeed, they were of the Clan-Pierse of Co. Kerry. It will be seen that it is quite possible for some members of the clan, after their lands had been confiscated, to have left Kerry, particularly from Trughanacmy Barony which borders onto Co. Cork, and to have taken themselves off to start a new life after surviving the three full-scale rebellions which they might well have endured in their lifetimes. As already mentioned, all attempts at reconstructions of Pierse families and branches have been left to Chapter XX - Places and Persons, wherein we can amble at leisure, and take full advantage of the correct chronological sequences of events which are the sole purpose of this portion of the book.

From a scrutiny of the list of "Papist Proprietors" given for Co. Cork in 1656, it is clear that no person bearing any form of the name Pierse was established in that county at that time.

the particular locality.

Corke City

The Barrony of Barretts

(Extract)

<i>Parishes</i>	<i>Townelands</i>	<i>No of people</i>	<i>Tituladoes Names</i>	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Irish</i>
Owens	Classhiganiffe	11	Robert Pierce	2	09

Corke Citty and Liberties

North Liberties

(Extract)

<i>Parishes</i>	<i>Townelands</i>	<i>No of people</i>	<i>Tituladoes Names</i>	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Irish</i>
Rathcowney	BallyPhillip	10	Nicholas Pierce & Christo ^r Stephens, gents., & John Gerrald, gent.	04	06

During the latter part of the same year that the Parliamentary Order was passed for the taking of a census of Ireland, that is, on the 3rd September, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died, and his son Richard, who had succeeded to the Protectorship, was forced by the army to resign during May of the following year.

CHAPTER XIII - TROUBLES OF THE RESTORATION

After the deposition of Richard Cromwell, the short-lived Lord Protector, the growing strong Royalist feeling which had been evident in England for some time, now became clearly apparent. In Ireland, too, the hitherto ardent Parliamentarians, sensing the impending restoration of the monarchy, turned upon themselves and, little by little, joined the Royalist Party. Eventually, in May, 1660, Charles II the exiled king was restored to the English throne.

Upon the restoration, the Catholics - that is the old "Papist Proprietors" - after six years of deprivation, hoped that they would be reinstated in their former estates. But, although having suffered terribly in their endeavours to oust out the Cromwellians, they received little sympathy and less compensation.

On the 8th of May, 1661, a Parliament - mostly composed of Protestant members - was convened in Dublin. At this, the first Parliament held in Ireland for 20 years, the Act for the Settlement of Ireland was passed which, by gross misrepresentation of the true facts, put the Irish Catholics in the absurd position of having "rebelled against Charles I" and that, in the "Absence" of the present King, the latter's "loyal Protestant subjects" had repressed them. By this Act, the Cromwellians were confirmed in their grants made under the Cromwellian Settlement, and only those of the dispossessed "Papist Proprietors" who could prove that they had taken no part whatsoever in the 1641 Rebellion, and who were termed "Innocents". were to be reinstated; any of the Cromwellian settlers dispossessed by this latter arrangement were to be allotted lands elsewhere in Ireland. In addition, certain persons nominated by the King - known as "Nominees" - were to be restored their lands; from a scrutiny of the lists of such "Nominees", it is clear that not one of the Pierse family of Co. Kerry was included.

To examine the claims of the growing numbers of "Innocents", a Court of Claims was established, which first sat during February, 1663. Although the requirements of the Court to be met in proving "Innocency" were extremely exacting, yet, of the first 186 cases heard within the first three months, 168 "Innocents" succeeded in their claims and were scheduled to be reinstated in their lands. This result was more that Parliament had bargained for and, although several thousands of claimants had as yet remained unheard, a stop was put to further Court sittings. In all, the scheme was a complete fiasco, and in 1664 a new act - the "Act of Explanation" was passed by Parliament. Under this new act, the Cromwellian adventurers were obliged to part with one-third of their holdings in order to provide the necessary land for the "Nominees" and the few successfully established "Innocents" heard in the Court of Claims.

From the State Papers of 1664,³³⁵ we notice the following which may serve as a typical example of an "Innocent's" claim:-

Petition of Nicholas Pierse to Charles II (1664)

To the Kings Most Excellent Ma^{tie}.

The humble petition of Nicholas Pierse, Gent.

Sheweth,

That yor pe^{rs} Grandfather Nicholas Pierse a blind man from his infancie being 80 yeares of age in ye beginning of ye Rebellion of Ireland died in Ano 1653 Seized of Certaine lande as of his inheritance in ye Countie of Kerry, and John Pierse: eldest sonn to the said Nicholas dyed some tenne years before the said Rebellion and the petitioner Nicholas oge Pierse Grandchild unto ye said Nicholas and Eldest sonn to the said John Pierse was in his minoritie when the Rebellion beganne and after the death of his said Grandfather in Anno 1653, became possessed of the saide lande whereof his said Grandfather dyed siezed and John Pierse Eldest sonn to the said Nicholas dyed tenn yeares before the said Rebellion and your Petit^{er} Nicholas oge Pierse grandchild unto the said Nicholas, Eldest Sonn to the said John Pierse was in this his Minoritie when the Rebellion begann and after the death of his said grandfather in Ano 1653 became possessed of the said lande whereof his Grandfather dyed seized.

That yo Pe^r never accepted of one foote of land in the province of Connaught for the said Estate whereof he was dispossessed in Ano 1655 that he could not through the shortness of time obtain a hearing in the Court of Claimes in Ireland he having Entered his claym as an Innocent.

May it therefor please your E. Ma^{tie} that he be graciouslie pleased to give order that ye Pet^{or} be served of the restitutions of his said Estate by provision of the bill now under consideration.

And hee will ever pray ... etc. ... "

From the previous Chapters, it will be seen that the above applicant was Nicholas, son of John, son of Nicholas Dall Pierse,* the celebrated harpist of Rattoo, Clanmaurice Barony, Co. Kerry.

From the Books of Survey and Distribution, to which we have already referred, it is apparent that the greater part of the confiscated lands originally held by Pierse families of Co. Kerry (i.e. some 1,800 acres out of a total of something like 3,500 acres) were granted to "Dublin College", that is, Trinity College, Dublin. Included in the State Papers of 1670,³³⁶ albeit actually referring to the year

³³⁵ State Papers, Ireland, Charles II, 1664, fol. 52.

* Editor's note. J.H. Pierse later published an article: "Nicholas Dall Pierse of Co. Kerry, Harper", in the Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society, Vol. 6, 1973.

³³⁶ State Papers, Ireland, Charles II, 1670.

1666, we notice the following document by which confirmation of the grants to Trinity College, Dublin, was made:-

**The King to the Lord Lieutenant for the Provost and
Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin**

"Fom Whitehall, 6th July., 1670.

(Extracts)

By letters patent, etc., dated the 18th of November, 1666, the following lands, tenements, and hereditaments were granted to the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, vitz:

In the County of Cork³³⁷ and barony of Trughnackmy:-

...	...
Nohavalls	(Nohoval) ³³⁸
...	...

In the same County and barony of Clanmorris:

Cratta	(Crotta)
Farrenedmond	
One tenement in Ratow -	
Ballincrossig	

Carowbally	(Corbally)
Clowntowgher	(Cloonclogh)
Ballymacowne	(Ballymac-Equim)
Ballemelegan	(Ballyneligan)
Aghamore	
Kilwolekilly	(Kilmoyley or Kilcooly)
Plorisk	(Ploresk)
Ballinglanybegg	(Glanbeg)
Ballyneskreny	(Ballynaskreena)
Gregently	(Graigentlea)
Farren	(Farren)
Evellegan and Mallen	(Mullen)"

Towards the end of this document we find:-

³³⁷ This, of course, is a mistake and should read *Kerry*.

³³⁸ These place-names in brackets actually appear in the Calendar and have been inserted to show the modern spellings for the place-names mentioned.

"Addition to the barony of Clanmorris:-

Ballenebrantig	(Ballinbranig)
Kilcooly, Toaghie	(Kilcooly)"

These total lands were granted "to the Provost and Fellows for ever at a rent of £510 odd".

In the *complete* list of lands in Clanmaurice Barony as here given, it will be seen that, of the 17 total townlands mentioned, at least 13 had originally been held by members of the Pierse family. From this observation, one can reasonably surmise that, by granting their lands to Trinity College - affording absolutely no hope of eventual re-purchasing as others of the "Forfeiting Proprietors" were able to do owing to their lands being granted to *private persons*, a deliberate, and as we shall find later, a successful attempt was made to sever the roots of the Pierse family as land-owners in Co. Kerry.

A further interesting record of this period (albeit slightly out of sequence) is that which names the Commissioned Officers who served either Charles I or Charles II in the wars of Ireland before the 5th June, 1649. The record itself is entitled "Inrolments of the Adjudications (which refer to the Arrears of the Commissioned Officers) in favour of the 1649 Officers (known as the '49 Officers), formerly denominated the '49 lots", and was actually not drawn up until 1689. Officers of the name of Pierce mentioned are:-

"Captain Garrott Pierce	Ensign Robert Pierce
James Pierce	Captain Garret Pierce
Richard Pierce"	

Although it is clear that the last named officer Captain Garret Pierse - at least - was one of the Kerry family, it should be noted that, among lists of names of Cromwellian adventurers, the name Pierce is to be found, although written "Pearce", "Pears", "Peers", "Peirs", etc., and very few in number. One such English Puritan or Quaker family named Pearce settled in Co. Limerick, and references to members of this family are occasionally to be found in domestic records of this and later periods.

The population of Ireland at the time of the Restoration in 1660 is estimated to have been in the region of 1,100,000 persons, made up of about 800,000 Roman Catholics, 200,000 Non-conformist Protestants (or Cromwellian Puritans), and about 100,000 Protestants of the Established Church. The latter two denominations, although separately hostile to one another, joined forces against their common hatred - the Roman Catholic Church.

Immediately upon regaining the throne, Charles II restored the Protestant Established Church to its pre-Parliamentarian era position of authority; once again Protestant bishops filled the vacant sees. But, although the persecuting laws against the Catholics passed during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I were not repealed, their application was not enforced as rigidly at this

time as heretofore; it was against the "Dissenters" that the fury of the Established Church was principally directed. Many Puritans and Presbyterians, unable to withstand the hardships meted out to them, fled from Ireland to join colonies of religious exiles abroad.

As no doubt will have been already anticipated, the lull in the abstention from Catholic persecution was but for a brief period. Again the frequency of isolated attacks against them grew until we read that, in 1670, Lord Ossory boasted that he had ejected all the Catholics from the city of Limerick. Many priests were imprisoned or heavily fined for publicly denying the King's Supremacy.

With regard to the state of the country at that time (c. 1672), we turn to Sir William Petty's "Political Anatomy of Ireland" which the author (whose daughter Anne was later in 1692 to become the wife of Thomas Fitzmaurice, 21st Baron of Lixnaw and 1st Earl of Kerry) is said to have based on his experiences in Co. Kerry. Petty tells us that over half of the population of Ireland "were very poor, dwelling in wretched cabins, sleeping on straw, and living as a rule on milk and potatoes". Surprisingly, many were well educated although, in spite of the cheapness of the necessities of life, wages were very poor; numbers of people could understand and speak French, and "Latin was very frequent among the poorest Irish and chiefly in Kerry".

In his Report on the State of Co. Kerry in 1673, and probably based upon the conditions in Iveragh, Dunkerron, and Glanerought Baronies in the south of the County, Petty says:-

"The country is so thinly peopled, that there is above 66 acres English of land for every man, woman, and child that is within it; and these so poor, that till very lately, there was not in them ten houses of two chimneys in each, nor one inhabitant in them able at all to bear the office of justice of the peace or sheriff".

Elsewhere in his account of Ireland, Sir William Petty calculated the number of houses with and without "smoakes" (probably based on Co. Kerry) thus:-

"Of smoakes

The single smoak-houses are 184,000

Houses that have an average of four chiminies 66,000"

As we have already noticed, the restrictions upon the Catholics were once again put into force. In the year 1673, a Proclamation was issued whereby all Catholic hierarchy and regular priests were required to leave the country. Although few of the clergy actually complied with the order, those who stayed were forced to lead an under-cover life, living in secret and making visits to their parishioners in an as inconspicuous manner as possible. The ordinary Catholic population was restricted and persons were excluded from taking public office in any manner or form. Even in these circumstances, life would have been tolerable were it not that, in 1678, the infamous Titus Oates in England claimed to have discovered a "Popish Plot" - the alleged object of which was the murder of King Charles II and the instatement of the then Duke of York upon the throne. Strong anti-Catholic feeling ran rife in England, quickly spreading to Ireland where many prominent Protestants, including Ormond the Viceroy, were only too keen to wreak vengeance upon the already restricted Catholics.

The Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were demanded of all serving in the army; Catholic schools and religious houses were closed; all Catholics were required to surrender fire-arms and weapons; and a Proclamation was issued offering substantial rewards to all those who apprehended Catholic clergy.

From records relating to Co. Kerry, although now no longer extant in the original but happily preserved for all time in printed form,³³⁹ we read:-

"At this period the diocese of Ardfert was administered by vicars-apostolic. These too were not overlooked.

Council to John Blennerhassett (a Kerry magistrate), 4th January, 1681

Having received information that one Ambrose Pierce a popish priest now resident in the County Kerry doth exercise popish jurisdiction contrary, etc.... We hereby require you to have him apprehended."

While at this stage we do not propose to investigate the Pierse family of Co. Kerry clan relationship of this Ambrose Pierce,³⁴⁰ this notice gives a clear indication that even in remote country districts, the zealous "priest-hunters" were very active and had not overlooked this chance of a fat reward. Probably the most scandalous of all the horrors perpetrated on the Catholics within the few years following the so-called "Discovery of the Popish Plot", was that conducted against Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh and Head of the Catholic Church in Ireland. Plunkett, a highly educated and devout man, was arrested in July, 1680, on a charge of high treason. During his trial, he was deprived of witnesses to his innocence; on false testimony, he was finally found guilty and was hanged at Tyburn almost a year to the day after his arrest.

Charles II died in 1685, a Catholic, and attended by a Catholic priest. His successor to the throne, in the absence of legitimate children, was his brother the Duke of York who became James II.

³³⁹ The Irish Priests in Penal Times (1660-1760), Rev. William P. Burke, Pub. Waterford, 1914.

³⁴⁰ For full details of the relationship of individual members of the Pierse family, and, where possible, an account of their lives, refer to Chapter XX, either under the townland or parish with which they were connected, or by referring to the separate index to that Chapter.

CHAPTER XIV - JACOBITES AND WILLIAMITES

James II was a Roman Catholic. His accession to the throne gave rise to great alarm in Protestant England and correspondingly equal joy in Catholic Ireland. Of the many tasks he set himself, the first was that of setting his fellow Catholics on a footing at least equal to that of the Protestants of the Established Church. To this end, he started by disarming the entirely Protestant militia and installing Catholics in their place. Catholics were admitted to public office and we find appointments made of Catholic Privy Councillors, judges, lawyers and sheriffs. King James also attempted to have the Act of Settlement of 1661 repealed, but in this he failed. Notwithstanding this latter "victory", however, many of the Irish Cromwellian "Landed Proprietors" and their descendants began to feel insecure in the tenure of their lands and estates; many tried to sell their holdings with the object of returning to England.

Soon after his accession, James selected his own brother-in-law the Earl of Clarendon - a staunch Protestant - to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Richard Talbot, a strict Catholic who was later to become Earl of Tyrconnel, as Lieutenant-General of the Irish forces. Soon after their respective appointments, however, Clarendon complained of Tyrconnel's conduct but, upon investigation, no fault could be found. Early in 1687, Clarendon was dismissed his post and Tyrconnel was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in his place. To the Irish Protestants, this was the last straw; panic arose and terrifying rumours of impending massacres caused some to fly to England. As to be expected, these rumours were of shaky foundation; Tyrconnel in fact appears to have been a just and honourable man and, apart admittedly from showing favour to the Catholics, he imposed no hardships on the Protestants. The latter, no doubt, were really terrified at the thought that the persecution they had so ruthlessly and mercilessly shown in the past was now to be visited upon themselves.

Soon after his appointment, Tyrconnel sent over to England two new regiments consisting of about 3,000 men exclusively Catholics; these were to be trained and then used to strengthen the king's army in England. Considering the majority of Catholics over Protestants in Ireland, they could easily be spared.

In April, 1687, and by a repetition in 1688, James issued "Declarations of Indulgence"; by these he suspended all the laws imposed against the Catholics which up to this time were still in force.

Now James by his first marriage had eight children of whom the four sons had died before the year 1688. Of the surviving daughters, Mary, the eldest, was the heiress apparent, and Anne (later Queen Anne), was the next in line; all the children had been reared strong Protestants. Mary had married her cousin William, Prince of Orange and Stadholder of Holland, who was also a Protestant, and by whom she had a number of children. The general feeling in England then was that although James's actions were "abominable", he was then fifty-five years of age and, since he could not live for ever, it would not be such a very long time before Mary would succeed and restore Protestant well-being. In June, 1688, a bombshell dropped in their midst exploded their comfortable dreams; by his

second wife, Queen Mary of Modena, James was presented with a son! The boy, also baptised James, was to be reared in the Catholic faith and automatically dispossessed the Protestant heiress apparent. The English now visualised a long succession of Catholic monarchs - a prospect which filled them with dismay.

Within a few weeks after the birth, word was sent swiftly to Holland offering the British Crown to William of Orange. For political among other reasons, William accepted, and landed with his forces in England during November, 1688. While William was welcomed everywhere, King James was deserted by his followers and, having sent his wife and infant heir to France, he was obliged to disband his army and fly there himself. He arrived at Paris during December, 1688, and was courteously received by Louis XIV. James's Irish troops, dismayed at the capitulation of their leader, sorrowfully returned to their homes. During February, 1689, William and Mary jointly accepted the throne of England and were crowned in Westminster Abbey.

In Ireland, as soon as the knowledge of the offer to William became known, the tables were again turned and, during the autumn of 1688, alarm began to spread among the Catholics; rumours again were circulating, but this time they were to the effect that a plot was being hatched by the Protestants to massacre the Catholics. In the Province of Ulster in the north, the Protestants were strongest. It will be remembered from earlier Chapters that this part of Ireland was heavily planted with Scottish and English undertakers during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. The plantation by the latter (who of course was also King James VI of Scotland) was perhaps the more intense and, doubtless due to the similarity of country and way of life of the Northern Irish and the Scots, the undertakers had not so completely "fallen under Erin's charm" as had the invaders and planters in the more southerly districts. No doubt, too, learning their lesson from the succumbing of planters of earlier times, those chosen during the reign of James I were probably selected because of their fervent Protestant beliefs. In addition, of course, the more recent Jacobean plantations were then well within living memory.

The Ulster town of Derry (now called Londonderry) at this time was an intensively Protestant saturated town, and was garrisoned by a Protestant Regiment under Lord Mountjoy. In November, 1688, at about the time of William's arrival in England, Mountjoy's Regiment was ordered to transfer to Dublin as part of Tyrconnel's plan to defend the country for King James. The replacement force, Lord Antrim's Catholic Regiment, marched north but, when sighted, the apprentice lads of Derry closed the town gates and prepared for siege. Other towns in Ulster soon followed suit, and messengers from them were sent to England for help.

King James himself, at the court of Louis XIV in France, saw in Ireland an opportunity to regain the United Kingdom throne. Louis, anxious from a political point of view to help James recover his crown, offered to provide him with hundreds of first-class officers for the purpose of training the Irish. He forthwith released several generals including Boisseleau, Rosen and Maumont, as a start, and placed them at James's disposal. The army thus raised consisted of first-class officers,

raw and as yet undisciplined soldiers, and very badly deficient in artillery, medical staff and supplies. With King James himself in command, and accompanied by his illegitimate son, James fitz James, Duke of Berwick, the newly formed army landed at Kinsale, Co. Cork, on the 12th March, 1689. All in all, the Jacobite army consisted of about 60,000 men and, having been welcomed by Lord Lieutenant Tyrconnel and the Irish people, they marched to Dublin without delay.

Within a month, too short a time for the recruits to be properly trained and disciplined, the Jacobites marched north to lay siege to Derry. Although a speedy victory was expected by the Jacobites, inexperience told and Derry refused to yield. James, himself, made a brief visit to the camp, but left soon after to return to Dublin in order to open the Parliament he had summoned. For one hundred and five days Derry lay under siege, surrounded by the Jacobite army on land and cut off from supplies by sea by a boom thrown across the River Foyle. Although provisions in the town ran out and the besieged were reduced to desperate straits, a magnificent resistance was shown throughout. At long last, three small Williamite ships succeeded in crashing the boom and supplies from England saved Derry for the Protestants. At this set back, the Jacobite army struck camp and marched south.

By his Parliament of 1689, among other Acts, James passed two important ones. The first was the Reversal of the Act of Settlement, by which the Cromwellian soldiers and adventurers and the descendants were to be ejected from the lands they had acquired under the Act of 1652 (and empowered to retain by the Act of 1661), and the old Papist Proprietors of 1641 or their heirs were to be re-instated. The second was the Act of Attainder which stated that rebellion against the Sovereign - implying James II himself - entailed forfeiture of estates and life. Lists were compiled of all known and active adherents of William, also all of those who had withdrawn from Ireland since November, 1688, and also all of those who had left before that date. All persons named were ordered to return to stand trial for treason within a specified time; failure to appear would result in liability to suffer as traitors when captured. The total number of persons attainted by this Act amounted to 2,445.

Now up to this point, it has been difficult to determine the attitude of the Pierse families of Co. Kerry towards the rapid changes in political and religious ascendencies. As dispossessed "Papist Proprietors" we cannot doubt that they were pro-Jacobites but, in common with the majority of Catholic ex-landowners oppressed by the Penal Laws, there was little that could result in their names appearing in domestic records. Now, with regard to the first Act, there is certainly no record that they regained their old estates (in fact there is abundant evidence to show that they did not), but for that matter, there is no record that any "Papist Proprietor" in the whole of Ireland regained his lands. Concerning the second Act, the only persons of the name of Pierce entered in the lists of Williamite adherents were John Piers and Turlogh Piers, both described as of Calavennane, Co. Clare. From lists

compiled of King James's Irish Army,³⁴¹ it has been possible to trace the following who fought with the Jacobites in the attempt to save Catholic Ireland from the Williamite invaders:-

Berwick's Regiment under the Duke of Berwick

Lieutenant Patrick Pierse

Lieutenant Gerard Pierse

O'Neill's Regiment of Dragoons under Sir Neill O'Neill

Ensign Robert Pierse

Captain Garret Pierse

Kenmare's Infantry under Lord Kenmare

Lieutenant _____ Pierse

Lieutenant Maurice Pierse

Mountcashel's Infantry under Lord Mountcashel

Ensign Patrick Pierse

It is also of interest here to note that Father Richard Pierse of Ardfert, Co. Kerry, was chaplain to King James's army. This Richard Pierse was later to become Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, and further details of his life will be given in Chapters XVI and XX.

In the year 1689 too, adjudications were made with respect to the arrears of commissioned officers who had served Charles I or Charles II in the Wars of Ireland before the 5th June, 1649. These arrears, formerly known as the '49 Lots, were assessed by Adjudicators among whom we find:--

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"Captain Garrott Pierse

James Pierse

Richard Pierse

Ensign Robert Pierse

Captain Garret Pierse"

In August, 1689, William's forces under the Dutch General Schomberg landed in Ulster and marched south. James soon marshalled his army and marched north to Drogheda, an eastern seaboard town on the southern bank of the River Boyne. The weather at the time was terrible and, due to most unhealthy conditions, disease quickly spread throughout each of the opposing armies. Resulting from this, it has been estimated that of William's army of 14,000 men, some 7,000 died before the following December, and reinforcements from England had to be sent out. The Williamite army as it was consisted of a most cosmopolitan force, and was made up principally of highly trained Continental soldiers among whom French Huguenots, Germans, Danes, and Dutch were strongly

³⁴¹ King James's Irish Army List, John D'Alton, Pub. London, 1860.

represented. William himself landed in Ulster on the 14th June, 1690 and straightway took over command.

On his side, James also lost many soldiers as the result of disease and consequently received reinforcements from France but, for the 7,000 fully trained soldiers he received, he was obliged to exchange 5,800 Irishmen to be trained under Lord Mountcashel for the purpose of serving France for Louis XIV. Once again the supplies sent from France were short of arms and ammunition. Conscious of the unequal strengths of the two opposing armies, his French generals advised retreating to the west, but James decided to fight out the battle at Drogheda. Thus, on the 12th July, 1690, William's army of 34,000 experienced and well supplied troops were arranged on the north bank of the River Boyne facing James's army of 25,000 men, mainly recruits and all poorly armed, on the south bank. The battle which followed lasted but a few hours, and the losses sustained by both sides put together scarcely totaled more than 2,000 men. The defeated Jacobite army retreated to the west, while James himself fled to France, arriving there on the 20th July, 1690.

Now left without their leader, the Jacobites reformed themselves under the command of General Patrick Sarsfield, formerly a captain in Tyrconnel's Irish Army sent out to England. Sarsfield decided to hold the line of the River Bannon but, while Cork, Athlone and Kinsale held out, Waterford surrendered to the Williamites. Limerick City now became the Jacobite's headquarters and the army town was prepared to withstand a siege. On the 18th August, William's arm camped outside the town; heavy guns were sent for, and the siege began. Once again, however, the weather became an impartial foe to both sides. The Williamites were repulsed losing 2,000 men and, with winter approaching, William called his army off and abandoned the siege, while he himself returned to England.

Taking advantage of the lull, Tyrconnel, who "in the king's absence" still represented James II, sailed to France to seek more aid. Louis XIV, while still anxious to help James to regain the English throne, could ill afford to send a large army - as it was he had Mountcashel's much needed Irish Brigade in his service already - but promised officers, money, and supplies. Tyrconnel returned to Ireland during January, 1691, with a supply of money and stores and, in the following May, a French fleet arrived with Lieutenant-General St. Ruth to take over command of the Irish army.

On the 19th June, 1691, the Williamites commenced an attack on Athlone, seated on the River Shannon. Once again they were victorious and by the 30th June, the town had fallen. At about this time, William offered terms to Tyrconnel which were very favourable to the Irish but, mistrusting the good faith, the offer was rejected. Galway and Sligo fell in quick succession and the remains of the Irish army fell back to Limerick.

³⁴² Preserved in the Office of the Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer, Dublin. Irish Landed Gentry, John O'Hart, Pub. Dublin, 1884. Note:- This reference has already been given in Chapter XIII, and is here repeated in order to preserve correct chronological sequence.

Tyrconnel now decided to make Limerick City his strong point and proceeded to fortify the town and prepare it to withstand a prolonged siege. Unhappily, during the course of his plan, Tyrconnel died and the leadership of the Jacobites in the king's absence devolved upon General Sarsfield.

At this stage in our account of the Jacobite and Williamite war, as we are very close to home, we can conveniently break off to see how Co. Kerry was affected by these troublesome times.

In Co. Kerry we find that the general unrest which swept the country immediately preceding the coronation of James II first seemed to be noticed at round about the year 1670. In that year we read that "the Irish by the encouragement of the government, committed divers outrages upon the English Protestants of Co. Kerry, particularly on a colony planted by Sir William Petty at Kilowen". Petty, it will be remembered, was responsible for the Down Survey maps of Ireland prepared to assist Cromwell in his scheme for "planting" his soldiers and English adventurers on the lands forfeited by the luckless "Papist Proprietors". Petty, himself, settled in Co. Kerry and being an industrious man, started an iron works and a fishery at Kenmare, Glanerought Barony, with the object of improving the industry of that uncultivated part of the county.

However, in 1685, the local Irish people, resentful of the intruding and unwanted English settlers, began to carry off cattle, plunder granaries, barns, etc., and to raid the undertakers' houses. Complaints addressed to the Governor of Munster, General Justin M^cCarthy, and to the Lieutenant-Governor of Co. Kerry, Sir Valentine Browne, were of no avail. In the end, the undertakers were obliged to fly for safety to Killowen House, near Kenmare, where a garrison was stationed. On the 25th February, 1689, Captain Phelim M^cCarthy together with 3,000 men of the Irish forces, attacked Killowen house and prepared to besiege it. By this time, the English undertakers, having heard that the Protestants of Cork had been disarmed and that some towns had already been taken by the Jacobites, they immediately surrendered. From the time of this incident, the Jacobites continued to hold complete possession of Co. Kerry.

Returning to our general account of the war, the combined attack and second siege of Limerick began on the 30th August, 1691. Heavy guns and mortars were brought up by the Williamites and, after continuous bombardment, the city was soon on fire in many places. At times the fighting was very intense, but the Jacobite cause was doomed to failure. On the one hand, the Williamites, fearing the coming rainy season and the winter, wanted the war to end quickly: on the other hand, the Jacobites realised that they could not resist much longer without substantial aid.

At last the fighting ended; a truce was called, and a treaty - known as the Treaty of Limerick - was drawn up by the senior officers of the two sides. The war was now over and William and Mary became the acknowledged sovereigns of Ireland.

Before we continue with the sequence of events following the Treaty of Limerick, it will be interesting to return to Co. Kerry to see how the final phases of the war affected them.

As we saw earlier, the Jacobites held complete command in Co. Kerry from February, 1689 and this they continued to do until August, 1691. It was during this month that occurred the only real action that the county saw throughout the entire period covered by the Jacobite-Williamite war. During August, 1691, Brigadier Levison with 700 horse and dragoons of the Williamite army marched from Limerick into North Kerry. Everywhere the Kerry Jacobites were up in arms against him and two of their regiments of horse under Lord Merrion and Lord Brittas, upon Levison's approach, burned down Tralee. Levison straightway sent word to General Ginkle who was then still engaged in besieging Limerick, asking for instructions. The reply received was an order to remain with the detachment in Kerry, and reinforcements in the form of the Prince of Denmark's regiment were sent to assist Levison.

At this time, Brigadier Levison was encamped at Lixnaw, and curiously enough, the message from General Ginkle was delivered by Captain William Fitzmaurice of the Williamite Earl of Drogheda's Regiment, who was attended by a party of 20-30 horsemen from Co. Kerry who were also in the Williamite army. This Captain William Fitzmaurice was born at Gallane, Co. Kerry, and was the second son to William, 20th Lord of Kerry. He left the army at Limerick on the 7th September, 1691, in order to deliver Ginkle's message. On arrival at Listowel on the next day, one of the Kerry Jacobite dragoons on reconnaissance there, mistook Captain Fitzmaurice and his party for a Jacobite detachment and informed him that the dragoons of Lord Merrion's, Lord Brittas's, Sir Maurice Eustace's and Sir John Cotter's Regiments, together with a body of between 3,000 and 4,000 Irish "lay behind the hill". The luckless Jacobite dragoon was immediately shot after delivering his message, and warning was sent to Levison at Lixnaw. The unfortunate Jacobites were thereupon ambushed, and after a brief skirmish in which about 30 Jacobites were killed, the rest were put to flight. With Limerick now fallen, the entire country was in the hands of the Williamites.

Back in Limerick, a few days after the signing of the Treaty of Limerick, the long-awaited help from France in the form of a fleet of ships sailed up the River Shannon comprising 18 battleships and 20 transports carrying 3,000 troops, 200 officers, and arms and ammunition for 10,000 men. Help had arrived just too late and General Sarsfield, honouring the treaty, refused to allow them to land.

By the Treaty of Limerick, the more important civil articles were:-

- (a) The Irish Catholics were to have the same liberty of worship as they enjoyed in the reign of Charles II.
- (b) Those who took arms in support of James II were to be allowed to retain the estates they had in the time of Charles II, and to be free to practise their callings and professions.
- (c) The oath to be taken by the Roman Catholics who submitted, to be the Oath of Allegiance only and *not* the Oath of Supremacy.

and some of the military articles stated that:-

(a) Those Jacobite officers and men who so wished were to be permitted to go to any foreign country; passage being provided by the English Government.

(b) Those who so desired could join the English (Williamite) army.

Note:- Only 1,000 men out of the total of more than 20,000 elected for this grant; about 2,000 obtained passes to return to their homes.

(c) The Limerick garrison army to be granted military honours in their defeat.

Thus, on the 5th October, 1691, the defeated garrison army marched out of Limerick City in full military fashion with drums beating and colours flying. While most were still to see active service - albeit in foreign armies - few were ever to see Ireland again. Well over 20,000 men - Sarsfield among them - went to Brest and entered the French Service; these afterwards formed the nucleus of the famous Irish Brigade. Thousands more went to Spain, Austria, Sweden and Russia to join the services there.

As has been stated many times before, this was the very exodus of the flower of the Irish people. It has been estimated that during the time between the fall of Limerick in 1691 and the year 1745 - merely fifty-four years - 450,000 Irishmen died in the service of France alone. No attempt has been made to estimate the numbers in other countries where Irish soldiers poured out their life blood for causes which little concerned them or their motherland. Patrick Sarsfield himself, commanding the left wing of the French army at the Battle of Landen in 1693, fell mortally wounded and, seeing his hand covered with his own blood cried out "Oh, that this were for Ireland".

CHAPTER XXII - MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS FROM RECORDS*

DOMESDAY BOOK A. D. 1086

(Extracts)

SURREY

I. THE LAND OF THE KING

IN WOKING HUNDRED

... King William holds in demesne WOKING. It was part of the land which was farmed out by King Edward. It was then assessed for 15½ hides. They have never paid geld ...Of this land, Walter fitz Other holds 3 virgates. A certain forester held this (land) in the time of King Edward, and it was then put out of the manor by King Edward. There is nothing there now. In the time of King Edward, and afterwards, it was worth 15 pounds by tale; now, 15 pounds by weight, and 25 shillings to the Sheriff.

THE LAND OF WALTER FITZ OTHER

IN WOKING HUNDRED

Walter fitz Other holds HORSLEY (now WEST HORSLEY). Brixi held it of King Edward. It was then assessed for 10 hides; now for 8 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, and there are 14 villeins and 5 bordars with 5 ploughs. There is a church, and 8 serfs. Wood for 20 hogs. In the time of King Edward it was worth 8 pounds; afterwards 100 shillings; now 6 pounds. Of this land, an Englishman holds one hide, and he has one plough there with one bordar. It is worth 20 shillings.

IN GODALMING HUNDRED

XXII Walter fitz Other holds COMPTON. Brixi held it from King Edward. Then it was assessed for 14 hides, now for 11 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 ploughs, and there are 21 villeins and 8 cottars with 6 ploughs. There are 7 serfs, and 7 acres of meadow. There is a church. In the time of King Edward it was worth 8 pounds; afterwards, 6 pounds; now 9 pounds.

Tezelin holds of Walter (fitz Other) HURTMORE. Alwin held it of King Edward. It was then assessed for 15 hides; now for 3 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2

* Editor's note. These extracts from the Domesday Book, listing lands owned by Walter Fitz Otho, were inserted into the typescript in the middle of Chapter III. However, it is probable that they were intended for this Chapter.

ploughs, and (there are) 3 villeins and 2 cottars with 1½ ploughs. There is one mill worth 11 shillings, and 6 acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward it was worth 50 shillings; afterwards, 30 shillings; now 100 shillings.

The same Walter (fitz Other) and Girard under him, holds PEPERHAROW. Alward held it of King Edward. It was then assessed for 5 hides; now for 3 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs, a mill worth 7 shillings, and 15 acres of meadow. There are 4 villeins and 3 cottars with one plough. In the time of King Edward, and afterwards, it was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 100 shillings.

IN KINGSTON HUNDRED

Walter (fitz Other) himself holds one man of the soke of KINGSTON, to whom he has committed the charge of the King's brood of stud mares, but we know not on what terms. This man holds 2 hides, but he has no right in the land itself. It was assessed for 2 hides; now for nothing. There is one plough in demesne, with 3 serfs, and one fishery worth 125 eels, and one acre of meadow. It is, and always has been, worth 30 shillings

HAMPSHIRE

THE LAND OF CHERTSEY ABBEY

IN HEFEDELE (now ODIHAM) HUNDRED

- IX. The Abbey of Chertsey holds WINCHFIELD and Walter fitz Other holds it of the Abbey. Alwin held it of King Edward as an alod, and it was never (formerly) belonged to the abbey. It was then, as now, assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. There are 10 villeins and 7 bordars with 1½ ploughs. In the time of King Edward it was worth 100 shillings; afterwards, 60 shillings; now, 30 shillings.

THE LAND OF WALTER FITZ OTHER

IN NETEHAM (now ALTON AND SELBOURNE) HUNDRED

- XLVI. Walter fitz Other holds WILLHALL. Ocsen held it of King Edward as an alod. It was then, as now, assessed at one hide. There is land for 1½ ploughs. There is one plough in demesne, and (there are) 6 bordars with half a plough. There is a church, and (there are) 1½ acres of meadow. It is worth 40 shillings.

IN CHUTELY HUNDRED

The same Walter (fitz Other) holds GERLEI. Ocsen held it of King Edward as an alod. It was then, as now, assessed at 3 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 ploughs; and (there are) 5 villeins and 6 bordars with one plough and one serf. There is wood(land) for the fences. In the time of King Edward and afterwards, it was worth 30 shillings; now (it is worth) 40 shillings.

This place-name is now lost, but Gerlei must have been close to Deane and Church Oakley.

BERKSHIRE

IN THE BOROUGH OF WALLINGFORD

... Walter fitz Other has 6 hagas (closes) worth 4 pence less one halfpenny ...

THE LAND OF THE KING

- I. King William holds WINDSOR in demesne. King Edward held it Of the land of this manor ... Walter fitz Other holds 1½ hides and one virgate, and as much woodland as renders 5 swine as dues for pannage.

THE LAND OF WALTER FITZ OTHER

IN RIPPLESMERE HUNDRED

- XXXI. Walter fitz Other holds ORTONE. Godric held it of King Edward. It was then assessed, as now, at 1½ hides. There is land for (...). In demesne there 2 ploughs and 3 bordars and one acre of meadow. Woodland is there to render swine. It was formerly worth 40 shillings; now, 30 shillings.

IN NACHEDEDORNE HUNDRED

This same Walter (fitz Other) holds CHILTON (now in COMPTON HUNDRED). Wenesi held it of King Edward. Then, as now, it was assessed at 5 hides. There is land for (...). In demesne there are 2 ploughs; and there are 7 villeins and 9 bordars with 1½ ploughs. There are 4 serfs and 6 closes (hagas) in WALLINGFORD worth 2 shillings.

IN BUCKLEBURY HUNDRED

The same Walter (fitz Other) holds BUCKLEBURY, one hide; and a certain man of his holds it of him. It belongs to the forest and never paid geld, so the shire-moot testifies. Alvila Dese held it of King Edward. There is one plough on the demesne. It is, and was, worth 7 shillings and 6 pence.

IN KINTBURY HUNDRED

The same Walter (fitz Other) holds half a hide, which King Edward gave to his predecessor out of the royal farm, freed from all dues in consideration of wardenship of the forest - except such forfeiture to the King as is due from theft, manslaughter, housebreaking and breach of the peace. It is worth 5 shillings.

IN BLEWBURY HUNDRED

The same Walter (fitz Other) holds HAGBOURNE (now WEST HAGBOURNE). Alwin, a freeman, held it (before him). Then, as now, were 10 hides there, but it is assessed at 6½. There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 ploughs; and there are 14 villeins and 10 cottars with 5 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and one mill worth 12 shillings and 24 acres of meadow. Of this land, Robert holds one hide of Walter (fitz Other), and on it he has one plough with one cottar and 4 acres of meadow. In the time of King Edward, the whole (estate) was worth 13 pounds; and is now (worth) 13 pounds.

IN READING HUNDRED

The same Walter (fitz Other) holds OFFELLE (now WAKEFIELD), and a certain knight holds it of him. Wicstrik held it of King Edward. Then; as now, it was assessed at 1½ hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne is one (plough); and there are 6 bordars with one plough. There are 4 acres of meadow and woodland to render 15 pigs. It was formerly worth 20 shillings; now 30 shillings.

MIDDLESEX

XI.

THE LAND OF WALTER FITZ OTHER

IN SPELETORNE HUNDRED

Walter fitz Other holds of the King STANWELL. It is assessed at 15 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 hides and 15 ploughs. There are 10 ploughs among the freemen and villeins. There is one villein with one hide, and 8 villeins with half a hide each, and 10 villeins with one virgate each, and 8 villeins with half a virgate each, and 4 bordars with 28 acres, and 2 cottars and 8 serfs, and 2 knights have 2 hides and a half, and 6 bordars live under them. There are 4 mills worth 70 shillings and 400 eels save 25 (i.e. 375 eels). From 3 weirs come 1,000 eels. There is meadow for 12 plough (teams). There is pasture for the cattle of the village. There is woodland for 100 hogs. In all, it is worth 14 pounds; when received (it was worth) 6 pounds; in the time of King Edward, it was worth 14 pounds. This manor was held by Azor, a housecarl (domestic servant) of King Edward, and he could do with it as he wished.

In BEDEFUND Richard holds of Walter fitz Other 10 hides as one manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne there is one plough, and there are 4 ploughs among the freemen and villeins. There are 4 villeins with one hide, and 4 others with half a virgate each, and 3 bordars with 13 acres, a certain knight has 2 hides. There is meadow for 2 oxen. There is pasture for the cattle of the village. All in all, it is worth 4 pounds; when received, (it was worth) 20 shillings; in the time of King Edward, 6 pounds. Of this manor, Azor holds 8 hides and a half, and it was a berewick in STANWELL; and 3 sokemen had one hide and a half. One of these men was a vassal of King Edward's; another was a vassal of Leuvin's; and the third a vassal of Azor's. Each had half a hide, and could sell or give it if he wished, and they did not belong to the manor in King Edward's time.

In WEST BEDEFUND, Walter de Mucedent holds of Walter fitz Other 8 hides for one manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne there is one plough, and the villeins have 3 ploughs. There are 2 villeins with 4 hides and 2 villeins with 2 virgates, and 2 villeins with one virgate, and one bordar with 5 acres. A priest has one virgate; and one cottar with 5 acres, and 2 serfs. There is meadow for 2 oxen. There is pasture for the cattle of the village. In all, it is worth 3 pounds; when received, the same; in the time of King Edward, 6 pounds. Of this manor, Brithmar holds 4 hides; he was a vassal of Earl Harold's; he could sell it to whom he wished; and 2 sokemen held 4 hides; they were vassals of Azor's, and they could not sell without his leave.

In HAITON, Walter de Mucedent holds of Walter fitz Other one hide and 3 virgates, and the third part of one virgate. There is land for one plough. Here there is half a plough and half a plough may be made. There is one villein with one virgate; and 2 villeins with one virgate; and one bordar with 5 acres. There is meadow for one plough (team). There is pasture for the cattle. This land is worth 20 shillings; when received, the same; in the time of King Edward, 30 shillings. This land was held by 2 sokemen; they were vassals of Azor's, and could not sell without his leave.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

XXX. THE LAND OF WALTER FITZ OTHER IN STOKE HUNDRED

M. Walter fitz Other holds HORTON. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 9 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 hides; and on it are 2 ploughs; and 15 villeins with 5 bordars have 6 ploughs, and there could be a Seventh. There are 4 serfs, and one mill worth 20 shillings, and meadow (sufficient) for 3 plough (teams). In all, it is worth 6 pounds; when received 50

shillings; in the time of King Edward, 6 pounds. This manor Eldred, a man of Archbishop Stig(and), held and could sell if he wished.

IN BURNHAM HUNDRED

M. Walter (fitz Other) himself holds ETON. It is assessed at 12 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 hides, and on it are 2 ploughs; and 15 villains with 4 bordars have 6 ploughs. There are 4 serfs, and 2 mills worth 20 shillings, 'meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), and woodland (to feed) 200 swine. From fisheries come 1,000 eels. In all, it is worth 6 pounds; when received 100 shillings; in the time of King Edward, 6 pounds. This manor was held by Queen Eddid.

M. Walter (fitz Other) himself holds BURNHAM. It is assessed at 18 hides. There is land for 15 ploughs. In demesne there are 3 hides, and on it are 3 ploughs; and 28 villeins with 7 bordars have 12 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow sufficient for 3 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 600 swine and for supplying iron shares for the ploughs. In all, it is worth 10 pounds; when received 6 pounds; in the time of King Edward, 10 pounds. This manor was held by Elmar, a thegn of King Edward's.

IN MOSELAI (probably MULSLOE) HUNDRED

M. Ralf holds of Walter (fitz Other) 4 hides as one manor. There is land for 6 ploughs. On the demesne are 2 (ploughs); and 9 villeins with 7 bordars have 4 ploughs. There are 2 serfs, meadow (sufficient) for 2 plough (teams), woodland (to feed) 100 swine. All in all, it is worth 60 shillings; when received 100 shillings; in the time of King Edward, 4 pounds. This manor Oswic, a man of Alric, held and could sell if he wished.

The name of this manor is not given but almost certainly was at HARDMEAD in MOULSOE HUNDRED.

APPENDIX - THE ENGLISH BRANCH OF THE PIERSE FAMILY*

There can be little doubt that, from the earliest times when a branch of the FitzMaurices, barons of Lixnaw, chose to distinguish themselves by the assumption of the surname Pierse (from the eponymous ancestor Piers fitz Maurice plus Elizabethan 'e'), members of the clan chose to leave their native Kerry and settle abroad. This could be from Elizabethan times (16th C) onwards and besides enlisting in foreign armies, they settled in England, on the European continent and, more recently, emigrated to America and Australia. Evidence of this is shown in the perpetuation of their distinctive form of spelling their surname and in the perpetuation of certain favourite forenames.

No doubt England and Wales were early chosen places for emigration but while in these countries the surname Pierse is by no means uncommon, variations in spelling tend to confuse separate identification and 'blurring' of family's genealogies results.

The only family derived from a North Kerry ancestor whose descendants have continuously been domiciled in England for more than seven generations (say 250 years) is the lineage of 'John Fitzmaurice Pierse of Listowel'. The reason for the quotation marks is that this is the cognomen by which he is known in the records but, in the view of the present writer, is hardly likely to have been used by the man himself.

John Fitzmaurice Pierse was evidently born in North Kerry and his distinctive name may have come about: (1) because he was thus baptismally named (unlikely), (2) because he was John the son of Maurice (possibly, but the later use of Maurice as a personal family name may have been due to other reasons - see below), (3) because he (or others) wanted - probably for snobbish reasons - to assert their relationship to the Barons of Lixnaw who, by this time, were also Earls of Kerry and Marquises of Lansdowne. Because this distinctive appellation appears throughout his records, it is used consistently throughout this article, but for the reasons given it is highly unlikely that this form will appear in contemporary records later to be discovered.

From later records, it is evident that John Fitzmaurice Pierse was born in the year 1763 and probably in the Listowel area of north Kerry. A more precise location of his birthplace is at present not possible: he was described as 'of Listowel' in 1843 and his death certificate shows that he was a saddler by trade. At this period (mid 18th C), there were ___ Catholic parishes in Co. Kerry north of Tralee, with ___ adjacent to the small town of Listowel located on the river Feale. Protestant families were in the leading positions and the Catholics were suppressed not to be liberated until the repeal of

* Editor's note. This incomplete manuscript on the English Branch of the Pierse family dates from a later period than the book. From the acknowledgment to John and Peter Hill and the information included about the Australian descendants of William Fitzmaurice Pierse, it must post-date the article by J. H. Pierse published in Issue 7 of the East London Record in 1984: "Rescue of the Crown Jewels in 1841: the true facts". My father made a photocopy of this document in 1995 and a copy was later sent to Peter Hill who made some comments and corrections, in a letter of 7/9/00. I have included his comments as endnotes to the document. The manuscript contains many gaps, mainly missing dates or first names. In some cases, I have been able to fill these gaps using other sources of information. The major gap, however, on the outcome of the de Lacy court case remains.

the Penal Laws in 1829. The Catholic parish registers for some of these parishes exist but few contain entries earlier than 1795, thus there is not much likelihood of establishing his precise date of birth and parentage. From other contemporary records, however, we can trace branches of the family settled at Doon (John Pierse, Kidlekerry par: will 1815), Aulane (Garret Pierse, Killahan par: will 1726), Meenogahane (Garret, Thomas, Richard and Ellen Pierse, __ par: wills __), Rathkerry (John Pierse, Odorney par: will __), Parkbee (Maurice Garret Pierse, Rattoo par. will 1806), Ballynegeragh (Richard, Edmund, Jane and James Pierse, par. wills 1772), Doon (John Pierse, par: will 1815), Tralee (Richard Pierse, Tralee par: will 1789), Patrick Pierse and William Pierse (mentioned in law suit of *Anderson v Crosbee* 1731) and Desrico (Garret Pierse, __ parish.)

The population of Co. Kerry at this time was about 66,557 comprising __ Protestants and __ Roman Catholics. The population of Listowel was about __. Among the list of names of merchants and tradesmen in Listowel towards the end of the 18th C, we note one saddler - a Mr. Healy and three leather merchants - Edmund Calahan, Edward Hogan and Oliver Stokes.

Listowel at this time (1750-1800) was described as ‘a poor little village, there are here the ruins of a castle and a dwelling-house conjoined in one ... it is remarkably strong and in great preservation its base washed by the river Feale ... and with a very fine new bridge of eleven arches...’ (1797). In 1841, figures from the Census return show that while 75 per cent of the people in the rural part of Listowel parish lived in one-room mud cabins, the corresponding figure for the town part of the parish was only 31 per cent. The staple diet in the area was potatoes and milk.

In this environment, John Fitzmaurice Pierse grew up, probably earning his living as a saddler, but towards the end of the 18th C., he removed to Newcastle West in Co. Limerick, where he met and later married Miss Johanna O’Brien, eldest daughter of Pierce O’Brien and his wife Johanna, née de Lacy of nearby Templeglantin. He was then in his early 30s and Johanna O’Brien was probably a few years his junior.

Newcastle West at this time (1786) was described thus: ‘Newcastle was formerly a place of consequence, and there yet remains a considerable part of a noble castle and house belonging to the Knights templars. So late as 25 years ago (i.e. in 1761) it was a grand mart between Kerry and Limerick, and very many of the inhabitants were wealthy’. Here then on the 27th August 1795, John Fitzmaurice Pierse married Johanna O’Brien. Father Morgan O’Brien, described as a kinsman of the bride, performed the ceremony at Newcastle West. The bride’s father, Pierce O’Brien, is stated to be of the Dromoland, Co. Clare family, Dromoland castle being the historic seat of the senior branch of the O’Brien family - Earls of Inchiquin. The grave of Fr. Morgan O’Brien (1732-1796) can still be seen in Newcastle West graveyard. These O’Briens of West Limerick appear to have been highly respected and in press and official notices are credited with the title Esquire.

The mother of the newly wed Mrs. Pierse, also baptised Johanna, was the daughter of Patrick de Lacy (17__-18__) of Rathcahill, a townland in West Limerick a mile or so from Templeglantin, and Lady Mary, daughter of Henry Herbert of Templeglantin. Patrick and Mary de Lacy of Rathcahill

had a number of children: Maurice, the eldest (1739-1820) later to become the famous General in the Russian service of Augustovik Palace near Grodno, and Henry (17__-18__) - who 'conformed' (to the Protestant religion in ____) and who lived in Dublin, Johanna (1750-1795) who married Pierce O'Brien (above), Mary (1752-1795) who eloped with a certain William Terence (later 'Patrick') O'Brien of Tullig and Drumtrasna, Frances (17__-) who married a certain Mr. Joyce but had no family, and Benedicta (17__-____).

Looking back now, it is difficult to imagine that the newlywed John and Johanna Pierse could have foreseen events resulting from their marriage alliance which, to this day, have still not satisfactorily been resolved. The date of their marriage is known for a certainty because it became an important factor during a Chancery Court action opened nearly a half-century later but at that time, 1841, well within living memory. Today, no entry in the local parish registers (at least those which have survived, Newcastle-West and Moregay) for the wedding can be found, although doubtless, in those times of the Penal Laws, many weddings must have been celebrated privately by the parish priest. Fr. Morgan O'Brien, parish priest of St. ____'s Newcastle West, was a popular figure and is well documented.

At the time of the wedding in 1795, John Fitzmaurice Pierse was 32 years of age and his bride, Johanna was 25 years old. As already stated, details of the bridegroom's family are not known, but both of the parents of Johanna were then deceased, her mother having died the same year and her father some time before 1794. Her uncle, General Maurice de Lacy of the Russian service, was in Ireland in 1792 to visit his ageing mother living in a state of poverty at Rathcahill, but returned the next year. Her aunt Benedicta, who had married James Murphy Esq. of Newcastle West and Killarney, and had two daughters Mary and Lucy, had died before 1792. Her uncle, Henry de Lacy, as already stated, had (as a new Protestant convert) taken an eviction order out in 1770 against his relative Mrs. Evans, and himself was deceased before 1791. Her aunt Fanny (Frances) had married a Mr. Joy but had no children and died before 1792. Her youngest aunt Mary who had eloped with a Terence or Dennis O'Brien of Tallig and Drumtrasna and had had at least five children (all allegedly illegitimate) the youngest of whom was named Patrick, who was born in 1790, married a Miss Egan at Bath, England and was later divorced; he later became known as Patrick O'Brien de Lacy of Grodno. At the time of John and Johanna Pierse's wedding Mary de Lacy (or Mrs. Mary O'Brien) was dead and her youngest child Patrick O'Brien was 5 years old.

The first recorded birth of a child to John and Johanna Pierse was Maurice in 1804 and who was known as Maurice de Lacy Pierse. The couple had been married for nine years and we cannot tell if there had been previously other children who might not have lived very long. It is possible that Maurice was one of a twin as another son, William Fitzmaurice Pierse appears to have been born the same year. So far no parish record of any of the children born to John and Johanna Pierse has so far come to light and, in the light of non-survival or destruction of so many parish registers in Ireland,

this is perhaps not surprising. In fact it is by no means certain that they were all born in Newcastle West, Templeglantin or Rathcahill. For at least two, subsequent records state Co. Kerry as their place of birth. The next children born were Mary (de Lacy) Pierse born in 1807, in Co. Kerry, according to her son's birth certificate, John (Patrick) Pierse, born in 1811, in Co. Kerry, according to the Census Returns of 18___, and George, born in 1816. It is probable that other children were born to John and Johanna, including Patrick John Pierse, born around 18___, and also possibly a number of daughters as well.

In 1819, the eldest son Maurice, at the tender age of 15, left Ireland to visit his grand-uncle General Maurice de Lacy, then aged 79, at his palace home at Augustovik near Grodno in Russian Lithuania. He was apparently well received there and stayed on together with his friend Dr. Condon during the time of the General's final illness and death in January 1820. His aunt's son, Patrick O'Brien, whose legitimacy was a matter of dispute among the de Lacy family, had also left Ireland first in 1811, at the age of ___ where he married Miss ___ Egan at Bath, and later travelled to Russia to introduce himself to the general, and who also remarked that he had been well-received at Grodno. Immediately prior to 1815, Patrick O'Brien, then aged 24 or 25, had become a Lieutenant of Militia in the Russian service. Between 1815 and 1819, Patrick O'Brien spent half a year in Russia and half in England because of his poor health. In 1819, at the request of General Maurice de Lacy, he took up permanent residence in Russia and, upon the General's recommendation, applied for and obtained a commission in the Guards of the Russian Emperor. Thus, when General Maurice died at Grodno in December 1819, these three, Dr. Condon, Lieutenant Patrick O'Brien (de Lacy) and Maurice de Lacy Pierse, were in attendance at the funeral. Immediately after the funeral, Maurice de Lacy Pierse was persuaded by Patrick O'Brien (de Lacy) to go to London from Poland, where he arranged to meet him regarding the contents of the General's will which, O'Brien declared, would not be made available until twelve months time.

About this time, 1820-1, Johanna Pierse died (it is not certain whether in Ireland or in England) at the age of about 50 years, and shortly afterwards the Pierse family emigrated to England. The family would have been: John Fitzmaurice Pierse, widower, aged 59, William Fitzmaurice, aged 18, Mary de Lacy, aged 15, John Patrick, aged 11, Patrick John, aged about 9, George, aged 6, and any other children not yet traced. Their mode and line of travel is also not yet known, but they most likely sailed from Limerick or Cork to London, where Maurice, aged 18, was already in residence.

The fortunes of the motherless Pierse family as just described from the time of their departure from Ireland to their emergence from obscurity around the year 1824 are as yet not known. Emigration from Ireland was common at this time and colonies of Irish men and women were to be found in clusters around the main line London railway stations at King's Cross and St. Pancras, Islington and the Gray's Inn Road area - besides groups in the East End of London and elsewhere. In the Gray's Inn Road area of Holborn in particular, all accommodation in whole streets was occupied by Irish people. In one street, Wilson Place, entire houses were occupied all by Co. Kerry emigrants

and names like 'Patrick FitzGerald, born Co. Kerry', 'Bridget Hogan from Co. Kerry', 'John Carnoy of Dingle, Co. Kerry', etc. abound. It is probably in one of these areas that the depleted Pierse family existed. When in London, son Maurice seems to have been located in the Islington St. John Street Road area.

From later records made available by the law suit of Reed v. O'Brien (1841-46), it is evident that Maurice de Lacy Pierse returned to Russia and there joined the Russian Service. Letters sent by him, dated November 1823 (when he was 19) from Petrosky in Russia to his sister Mary (aged 16) in London, written up to Autumn 1829 addressed from Chumetry just before he died in the siege of Adrianople in September, 1829 outline his career and give some indication of the simple-hearted, good humoured personality that he had. The earliest London address employed by the family at this time appears to be an accommodation address: 'De Lacy Pierse Esq., 138 St. John Street Road, Islington': this address seems to have been shared with William and Henry Hind, printers.

About this time, the first notices appear in the Court and Commercial London Directories in respect of Charles Nash, who later married Maurice's sister Mary Pierse. Not much so far has come to light regarding this shadowy figure: in some directories he is listed as a solicitor with addresses in Cheapside and St. John Street. Nash is a fairly common Limerick name and so he might well have been an Irishman - even a Limerick or a Kerryman. He was certainly in the legal / parliamentary / literary field, as his productions and business references make clear. His age is so far not known but when they married in 1836, Mary was 29 and it is presumed that he would have been about 32. From 1829 onwards, literary productions on all sorts of topics ranging from 'The Russian War in Turkey', to 'History of the War in Afghanistan', 'Railway and Land Taxations', 'Railway Robberies' etc. were published.

Taking a cynical view, it would appear to the present writer that, given they had much in common intellectually (and possibly socially), Mary used her family relationship with the sparkling de Lacy family (as well as her own family connections) and with the promise of a fortune to come by way of her marriage settlement to attract and secure in matrimony the besotted Charles Nash. They were married on the 5th April, 1836 at the (C. of E.) parish church of St. Pancras, then newly built. Their addresses at the time of marriage were stated to be 7 Brunswick Terrace, Islington West, a fashionable address in a community of literary and artistic intellectuals. Not surprisingly, Mary's father John Fitzmaurice Pierse, of course a Roman Catholic, is not mentioned in the marriage records. Three years after the marriage, on the 1st January 1839, a son, later to be christened Maurice FitzGerald de Lacy Nash, was born to them: there is no doubt that Mary was well versed in her family genealogy. From this time onwards, all members of the family used the surname form 'de Lacy Nash'.

The anticipated fortune referred to above, which Mary Pierse intended to be her marriage settlement, came about, briefly, as follows. When in 1792 General Maurice de Lacy of Grodno (then aged 52) together with his kinsman General Count George de Lacy Browne, Governor of Riga, made

a visit to Ireland to see their relatives, they were appalled to see the state of poverty into which the family had fallen. They stayed with Maurice's mother (then quite elderly) at Rothcahill (where the pathetic ruins of the family cabin still stand) and returned to Russia the following year. Upon their return, Maurice made arrangements for sums of money (in silver roubles) to be paid through agencies to his mother for as long as she should live and thenceafter to his sisters or their descendants. The total sum of money, paid over a number of years, amounted to £___. His mother did not live long to enjoy her fortune and died in 1795 (the year in which John Fitzmaurice Pierse and Johanna O'Brien were married) leaving future gifts to pass to her daughters and their descendants: these were John Fitzmaurice and Johanna Pierse (daughter of Johanna O'Brien, née de Lacy who also died in 1795), Mary Condon, née O'Brien, whose husband Richard Condon had died before 1792 and whose eldest son Dr. Maurice John Condon joined General Maurice in the Russian service, Kathleen or Kitty O'Brien (otherwise Mrs. Fitton or Mrs. McGrath of Cork) - later all daughters of Johanna O'Brien née de Lacy. Other equal beneficiaries were: James Morphy of Newcastle West and Killarney (widower of Benedicta née de Lacy, who died before 1792) and their children Miss Mary Morphy who died in March, 1819 and her sister Lucy Morphy (otherwise Berry) who had married another James Morphy and who was still living in 1830. Other possible beneficiaries were the daughters of Mary de Lacy (otherwise O'Brien) who was the youngest of General Maurice de Lacy's sisters, who was alleged to have eloped with a certain Terence or Dennis O'Brien of Tullig and Drumtrasna, and who had an illegitimate son, Patrick. Another sister, Frances (or Fanny) had married a certain Mr. Joy but died before 1792 without issue.

All evidence suggests that Mary Pierse (now Mrs. Charles de Lacy Nash) schemed that by claiming the entire share of the fortune due to her mother and father, she could offer a substantial dowry to her intended husband, Charles Nash. The fact that he was a lawyer would assist in contriving the necessary procedures and steps to be taken. There had been some hold-up in making the necessary payments to the beneficiaries occasioned by conniving by Patrick O'Brien de Lacy who it will be recalled wormed his way into General Maurice de Lacy's affection and trust. It was he who was entrusted by his 'uncle' to transmit the sums of money to England and Ireland, but who dismally failed. He accepted the moneys on trust but withheld payment in the UK and arranged for his own personal banking account to be credited with the monies while assuring the General at the same time that his duties had been correctly and fully discharged. With no money arriving, Mary de Lacy took matters into her own hands.

She wrote repeatedly to Patrick O'Brien who, upon the death of General Maurice in 1819/20 had taken up residence and possession of the estate at Augustovik Palace, near Grodno. Her husband Charles Nash had an interview in September 1836 with Sir Matthew John Tierney who was Patrick O'Brien's agent in London and a Trustee of the beneficiaries money, apparently with no positive results. On the 5th April, 1837, the marriage settlement between Mary de Lacy (née Pierse) and Charles Nash was drawn up and signed by John Fitzmaurice Pierse (her father), Mary de Lacy Nash,

Charles Nash, George Pierse (her youngest brother) and a certain Thomas O'Conner. In 1839, she obtained government interference to procure copies of General Maurice de Lacy's will and the circumstances of Patrick O'Brien's inheritance were laid before the British Government who obtained aid of the Russian Government in calling for an explanation of General de Lacy's documents and Maurice de Lacy Pierse's effects who had died in 1829 and Patrick O'Brien had failed to get them dispatched to his family in London.

During 1841, several advertisements were inserted in the Limerick Chronicle inviting applications from claimants to the 'de Lacy fortune' to be sent to solicitors acting for beneficiaries. Further letters were exchanged between Mary de Lacy Nash, her husband, and Patrick O'Brien and Sir Matthew John Tierney. In April 1842, a deed was drawn up and signed by George Pierse, John Fitzmaurice Pierse, Charles Nash and Mary de Lacy Nash and Thomas O'Conner, relieving George Pierse of the obligations as 'he was about to leave London'. His interest was transferred to Thomas O'Connor. On the 6th April, 1842, Letters of Administration of his late wife's estate (including her interest in the trust monies) were granted to John Fitzmaurice Pierse in London. In November, 1842, a letter appeared in The Times presenting John Fitzmaurice Pierse as the representative of the de Lacy and Browne families and their interests. On the 19th June 1843, another deed was drawn up and signed by Charles Nash, Mary de Lacy Nash, and Thomas O'Connor appointing John Reed as trustee. Doubtless, all this was orchestrated by Mary de Lacy Nash in her determined resolve to claim the families' dues.

The stage was now set and on the 25th July, 1843 a Bill of Complaint was filed by which Patrick O'Brien and other defendants were required to answer charges of misadministration of Trust monies due to the prosecutors. As might be expected, charges and allegations were made and denied, letters were produced and quoted, and acrimony flowed free. The original Bill was amended and represented four times between the 20th July, 1843 and the 7th April, 1845. Each time, answers were required to be given delays and evasion inevitably followed. A general impression gained is of truth and a sense of being deceived on the part of the prosecution and outright lying, deception and foot-dragging evasion in the form of denial of all charges on the part of the defence. Clearly, Patrick O'Brien was in a very strong position and, now a Russian subject, refused to give satisfactory explanations.

The case dragged on until July, 1847 when it came to an abrupt end. The final judgement by Lord Langdale was [...]*

The cost of the suit must have been enormous and undoubtedly affected the relationship between members of the family. Having read all through the court documents and proceedings, it is incredible to the present writer that the final judgement went the way it did. In the first place it is not likely that Mary de Lacy Nash would have pursued the prosecution's case as vigorously as she did if

* Editor's note. There is a gap in the manuscript at this point.

she was not sure of her ground. None of her accusations as far as failure to correctly administer the trust was refuted by Patrick O'Brien. It is highly unlikely that she would have evoked Government interference unless she was sure of her ground. Most of the evidence she presented could have been checked at the time. If Patrick O'Brien really did feel that he was wronged, why did he delay so much in answering the charges. Why did he not refute legally the charges made against him regarding the alleged illegitimacy of his own birth. Why did he not produce written evidence to substantiate his statements. No. He was sitting pretty and he knew it. He had managed to dupe his aged and feeble-minded great-uncle, he had succeeded in getting recognition by the Russian authorities, and he had possession of the late General's palace, estate and effects. Possession is nine-tenths of the law.

What the present writer finds particularly galling is that 'de Lacy-Bellingare' (pseudonym of the Rev. Edy Harnett) informs us in *The Roll of the House of Lacy*, that 'the case was revived in some manner less formal some twenty years later (i.e. around 1868): at all events the Fitzgeralds of Limerick City, de Lacy-Brownes, and others were concerned with it at that time'. Elsewhere in the same publication we read that a certain 'Mrs. de Lacy-Browne was claimant to the disputed bequests of Count Maurice de Lacy of Augustovik, Grodno ... on this occasion (she) was generally reported, on good grounds, to be on the eve of benefiting to the extent of some \$5,000,000 from the various funds of her kinsman. These monies had been tied up under the jurisdiction of the English Courts of Chancery'.

Now Jeannie ('de Lacy') Norton was born at La Ganthe, Co. Limerick in 1816 and by 1826 both of her parents were deceased. She married in 1833 Thomas Browne of Drome and had a number of children including a daughter, also named Jennie who married a certain Edward Harnett of Knockfierna and Effen, Co. Limerick. They had, among other children, a son named Edy, who turns out to be the author of *The Roll of the House of Lacy*. So Jeannie 'de Lacy' Browne, who died later than 1868 and became the beneficiary of the disputed trust monies was 'de Lacy Bellingare's grandmother. We are told elsewhere that 'most of that family sought later the more congenial shores of America, where, especially in the neighbourhood of Boston, their descendants should still be found'.

But to return to our account of the Pierse family, there can be no doubt that the failure of the case must have been devastating. Instead of enjoying a substantial marriage settlement, Charles Nash must have found himself impoverished by the substantial costs of the prolonged Chancery Court action. Although keeping in touch with his wife's relatives, there seems to have developed a rift between husband and wife. He himself seems to have dropped the use of 'de Lacy' coupled with his surname - although his wife still maintained the usage. He still kept on writing and publishing and the name of the printers 'George Peirce, 310 Strand', 'Pearce and Nephews', 'Pierse and Nash, Publishers', appear on printed publications and in Court and Trade directories up until 1875/6 when they cease. They corresponded with Maurice Lenihan when he was compiling his *History of Limerick* in 1866 and a large advertisement for Pierse and Nash's compilations appears at the end of this work.

The couple always lived at fashionable addresses and they were to be found at 7 Brunswick Terrace, Islington West (1836-1839), 61 Cheapside (1839), 66 Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square, St. Marylebone (1842-46), 74 Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square (1846-1847), 20 Montague Street, Portman Square (1847-1851), 18 Bridge Street, Westminster (1851-?) and finally at 7 St. Adelphi Chambers, John Street, W.C. This latter address seems to have been the haunt of artistic and professional people as well as intellectuals and service men. It is here that the trail ends. What is curious, however, is that while their addresses can be followed in the London Directories, official records, etc., in no single instance can they be located on the night of the National Censuses taken in 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871, or 1881. when they would have been elderly and in their seventies. On these dates no reference to a Mary de Lacy Nash or Charles (de Lacy) Nash appears. This is a pity because the later returns would have revealed more detail regarding the age, place of birth, relationships, etc.

Also, incredibly for a lawyer and genealogist, neither appears to have left a will, and so far all attempts to trace the death certificates of Charles Nash, Mary de Lacy Nash and their son Maurice FitzGerald de Lacy Nash have been fruitless. They appear to have just disappeared. Possibly they emigrated.

Now Mary's brother William Fitzmaurice Pierse, born also in 1807 and therefore possibly a twin (although this has never been remarked upon) was also unlikely to have been christened 'Fitzmaurice' but the appellation remained with him all his life. He, too, may have been born in either Limerick or Kerry, although according to one authority he was a native of Newcastle West. He was about 18 years of age when he arrived in England with his father and his brothers and sisters. Nothing is known of his early life except that the Duke of Wellingtonⁱ was his patron and he entered Sir Robert Peel's newly formed Metropolitan Police Force in 1829. He was dismissed from the Police Force on the 22nd September, 1829 (apparently the normal procedure immediately prior to promotion), and later promoted to Inspector (as from the 28th April, 1830).

On the 6th September 1831, he married Elizabeth, the daughter of James Dede, head of a well known Huguenot family of silk manufacturersⁱⁱ of 17 Spital Square, Spitalfields, London. William was then 27 years of age and Elizabeth was just 16;ⁱⁱⁱ they were married at St. Botolph's Without (C. of E.), Bishopsgate Street Without, London. The Dedes were a long established firm in the area and the London Court and Commercial directories give notices back to at least 1822. The couple set up home at first No. 1 and later No. 17 Princess (now Princelet) Street, then a tiny little road of Georgian houses leading to^{iv} the parish church of Christchurch, an elegant structure designed and built by Hawksmoor. Their neighbours were solicitors, and similar professional residents, most of whom, including the Pierses, employed live-in domestic staff. During their time there the couple had the following children, all of whom were baptised in Christchurch: Maurice de Lacy (b. 3 October, 1832), Elizabeth (b. 25 December 1833), Amelia (b. 16 September, 1836), Florence Johanna (b. 14 March, 1838), Marion O'Brien (b. 22 November, 1839), Kathleen (b. ____, 1841), William Fitzmaurice (b. September 1843), and Alice Emma (b. 22 February, 1845).

William Fitzmaurice Pierse was promoted to Superintendent of H Division of the Metropolitan Police about 1840 and on the 30 October, 1841 risked his life in his successful rescue of the Crown Jewels from the burning Tower of London. The anxiety associated with his very responsible position in an area noted for its social problems at that time ^v probably contributed to his early death on the 1st February, 1846, from inflammation of the brain and peritonitis.^{vi} His brother-in-law Charles Nash was with him when he died: his body was interred in Christchurch graveyard.^{vii}

After the death, Charles Nash did a 'lot in writing' to Sir Robert Peel with a view to obtaining a pension for the young widow (then only 31 years of age)^{viii} with seven or eight children, all under the age of 15 years. This was eventually secured ^{ix} and this, together with a relief appeal collection raised by the Rector of Christchurch and local business people, enabled Elizabeth and the children to carry on living in the area.

In 1847, the family removed round the corner to No. 100 Bishopsgate Street Without, and here in May 1847, their second eldest son William Fitzmaurice Pierse died at the age of 3¾ years.^x It is noticed from the Court and Commercial directories of London that Elizabeth's father, James Dede, is listed as a stationer from about 1836 onwards and was then living at 58 Bishopsgate Street Without.^{xi}

Until recently, nothing further was known about the family - they completely disappeared from the scene. The only clue to their survival is that, about the year 1870 when she was a young girl, the great aunt of the present writer Clara Kennett, née Pierse and grandniece to Spt. William Fitzmaurice Pierse, related that her family was visited by an elderly lady (evidently a lace worker) accompanied by her son and daughter who had 'come over from the Continent on a visit'. The mother would have been aged about 55 and the son and daughter about ___ and ___ respectively. Nothing further was known.^{xii}

Within the last year or so, it has now come to light through the good offices of descendants living in Australia, John and Peter Hill, that in 1853, the survivors of William Fitzmaurice Pierse's family emigrated to Australia. The party consisted of widow Elizabeth (then aged 43)^{xiii} and surviving children Maurice, aged 21, Elizabeth, 20, Amelia, aged 17, Florence Johanna, 15, Marion O'Brien, 14, Kathleen, 12, and a certain 'Diana' ^{xiv} - the latter not registered as a daughter of William Fitzmaurice Pierse in the R. G. registers. They sailed on the 18th October, 1853 from London on the barque 'Quito', apparently travelling steerage as no cabin passengers of the name Pierse are recorded,^{xv} and they disembarked at Hobart on the 25th February 1853/4 (O.S. calendar). They stayed in Tasmania for a few years and then settled in mainland Melbourne, Australia in 1866.^{xvi}

Maurice evidently was a rover and is believed to have died - appropriately enough - in Mauritius.^{xvii} Amelia ^{xviii} married John George Masters originally of Stratford le Bow, who was born about 1839 and who died on the 23 September 1907, and had descendants still living in Australia.

Amelia died there in 1911. The fates of Florence Johanna, Kathleen and Diana are not known, but Marion O'Brien married Walter Duxby and also had descendants still living in Australia.^{xix}

Elizabeth Pierse took out with her painted portraits of her husband and herself, which are still to be seen in Australia.^{xx} She died on the 13th May, 1893 at Aberdeen Road, Prahran, Melbourne in her 81st year.

George Pierse (b. 1816), a younger brother to Supt. William Fitzmaurice Pierse, emerges as a shadowy figure in this history of the family. As already mentioned, George was about six years old when the family arrived in England and would have been one of the last to remain with his father. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the early settlement of the Pierse family in London is as yet not known so for the present this must remain a mystery. Unlike other members of his family, George was mentioned in the Reed v. O'Brien case of 1843-6. His name appears as a signatory to the marriage settlement deed of his sister dated 5th April, 1837 when he was about 20 years of age. He signed a further deed on the same account on the 16th April, 1842 when it was stated that 'he was about to leave London' and he renounced his claim of assignment and John Reed was nominated in his place.

Apparently George worked as a watchman in the London Docks, probably the Old and New Docks near the Ratcliffe Highway, Whitechapel in London's East End, where he lived. The census return of 1841 for the area gives no mention of him but that for 1851 shows that he was living at 5 Clark Street, Stepney Old Town, St. Thomas's, as a lodger. He died the same year on the 24th November, 1851 of pulmonary consumption, a bachelor aged 35, with his sister Mary de Lacy Nash present at the death.

Another shadowy member of the family was Patrick John Pierse (probably b. 1830) about whom also little is known. His name first appears on the birth certificate of his son James Lacy Pierse by his wife Charlotte née Newman, on the 26th March, 1860. Patrick's trade or profession was recorded as a Civil Engineer and his address at the time as 2 Tavistock Row, Covent Garden, St. Mary le Strand. A later child, another son, named Charles Lacy Pierse was born to the couple on 21st November 1861, this time the address given was 7 John Street, Charing Cross.

This family is difficult to fit in as so little information is known. Were it not for the references to 'Lacy', 'Charles' (not a Pierse family name) and the address at 7 John Street, it might have been thought that these were members of another branch of the Pierse family. But the John Street address is conclusive. The area between the Hungerford Bridge end of the Strand between the Strand itself and the River Thames at this time was the site of a building enterprise known as The Adelphi. Intended by the developers to be a socialite desirable block of apartment residences, it was a dismal failure and finished up as post restantes for middle class professionals. Mary and Charles de Lacy Nash had an address here for a number of years dating from 1865-1871 as Pierse and Nash, Publishers, 7 John Street, Adelphi, W.C. After 1871, there is no further reference to Pierse or Nashes at the Adelphi.

The last known child of John Fitzmaurice and Johanna Pierse was John Patrick Pierse (b. 1811) who was not the youngest of the family, but was the only one whose descendants still live on in

London. John Patrick appears to be the son whom the rest of the family ignored or ostracised. He would have been aged about 9 or 10 when his mother died and about 12 when his father emigrated to England. He was about 32 years old when the Reed v. O'Brien case was on and his name is consistently missing in all family genealogical charts, articles, papers etc. He was aged about 30 when the Tower of London was on fire and about 42 when his sister-in-law Elizabeth, widow of the superintendent of police sailed for Australia.

John Patrick appears to have spent his childhood and early life in the Clerkenwell, Finsbury area of North London, and it is likely that he undertook an apprenticeship in watchmaking or engineering in this industrial area. We first hear of him on the 16th September, 1833 when, aged 22, he married Charlotte Fry, then aged about 19, at St. James's (C. of E.) parish church, at Clerkenwell, Finsbury. Not much is known about Charlotte. She was literate but from subsequent birth certificates seems to have been fond of using various Christian names. On one occasion she gave her name as 'Charlotte Rebecca Horton Pierse formerly Fry' - 'x the mark of'. Perhaps Horton was her mother's maiden name and Charlotte used this in emulation of her 'posh' in-laws. It is not certain if she was literate: in the banns papers produced before the wedding, her fiancé's name appears as 'John Pearse' - and this could be a spelling error on the part of either the bride-to-be or the vicar. On the marriage certificate itself the groom's name is shown as 'John Pearse' but the actual signature of the bridegroom is clearly written as 'John Pierse'.

The couple had a number of children, the eldest, George, baptised on the 15th March 1835 at St. Leonard's (C. of E.) parish church, Shoreditch: the father's name is entered as 'John Pearse' and the mother as 'Charlotte'. evidently their first home must have been in the Bromley by Bow area of the East End of London adjacent to his brother William. They had 12 children in all, in birth order George (b. 1835), above, John (b. 1836) who was born in the same area but died young, Maurice (b. 1838), a female (b. 1840) who also died young, William (b. 1842), but who also died young, Charlotte (b. 1844), who also died young, William Fitzmaurice (b. 1846), Elizabeth (b. 1848), Thomas (b. 1849), Henry (b. 1851), Amelia (b. 1853) and Henry de Lacy (b. 1856) - the last.

The family consisting of John, his wife Charlotte and children George (aged 2) and John (aged 1) removed about the year 1837 across the river to Greenwich, Kent. Their first home there was a cottage in Ship and Billett Row, a row of about ten cottages on Marsh lane, adjacent to the public house of the same name. At this period, this area consisting of a northerly projecting loop in the Thames close to the royal palace of Greenwich and its park was market gardening territory and the area of settlement of a number of Irish families. Here Maurice was born on the 11th August 1838 and a daughter, unnamed born and died the same year 1840. By the time of the 1841 (8 June) Census, the family had removed across the road to Woolwich Road: John's trade or profession was recorded as 'Engineer' and his place of birth not in the same county (i.e. Kent). At this time the family were living on their own but before the time of the next census, ten years hence, John's father John Fitzmaurice Pierse came to live with them and here he died 'of old age', formerly a saddler, on the 4th September,

1843, his address being given as Marsh Lane, Greenwich, and with his son John in attendance at the death.

Here in March, 1842 son William was born (probably named after his famous uncle) but who died the following September 1843. From then on, the birth of children to John and Charlotte Pierse is somewhat erratic - possibly an effect of the numerous deaths in the family around this time. Daughter Charlotte, doubtless named after her mother, was born on the 30th September 1844 but at 19 Michton Street, St. Giles Cripplegate, which could have been a relative's address. This was when she first used the form 'Horton Pierse' and she signed the register with a 'x' the mark of. The little girl died the following June, 1845. On the 10th February, 1846, a son William Fitzmaurice was born, this time at 39 Baldwin Street, St. Lukes, in roughly the same area. On the 3rd December, 1848, another daughter was born, named Elizabeth, and she was born at 65 Brunswick Street, Christchurch, St. Saviour, which was a poor district in the South of London. The following year Charlotte seems to have had her children at home for on the ___th June, 1849, a son Thomas was born at Greenwich.

In the Census return of 1851 (7th April), the family consisted of John Pierse, described as an Engineer Turner, b. Ireland, 39 years of age, wife Charlotte, aged 35, son George, aged 16, an Engineer's Apprentice, William, 5, a scholar, Thomas, 1, also a scholar, Elizabeth, aged 3, and Elizabeth Lyons, who was aged 79 and born in Ireland. Lyons is a Kerry name and she could have been a compatriot. Two years after the Census, Amelia Pierse was born on the ___ 1853 at ___ and on the 29th January, 1856 was born Henry de Lacy Pierse at 4 George Street North, Greenwich, Kent, the family having removed from 3 Chester Street a few streets away between 1851 and 1856.

At the time of the Census Return in 1861, the Pierse family at Greenwich consisted of John Pierse, Engineer, aged 50, born in Co. Kerry, Ireland,, Charlotte, aged 45, and children William, aged 15, unmarried, moulder, Elizabeth, aged 13, unmarried, 'servant at a place', Thomas, aged 11, Emily, aged 7, and Henry, aged 5, all scholars. They were then living at 24 Talbot Buildings, Woolwich Road, East Greenwich. Later the family removed to No. 1 Whitworth Street, Greenwich, where on the 2nd November 1869, John Pierse died, aged 58. Here widow Charlotte lived on together with her remaining son living at home, Thomas, aged 21 at the time of the 1871 Census, by trade a painter, also Emma, granddaughter (dau. of ___) aged 9 months. Charlotte herself died at the same address on the 16th March 1878, aged 64.

With the death of Charlotte Pierse in 1878, we come to the end of the lives of the immediate descendants or their spouses of John Fitzmaurice and Johanna Pierse of Newcastle West. For some of the descendants from these members of the English branch of the Pierse family, no further information has come to light, e.g. Patrick John Pierse and his wife Charlotte Newman and their two children James Lacy and Charles Lacy, who disappeared from the records after 1861, and perhaps emigrated abroad. For others, e.g. William Fitzmaurice Pierse, Superintendent of H Division of the Metropolitan Police, the history of his widow Elizabeth and their surviving children has only recently

come to light: through the good offices of John W. Hill and his cousin Peter Hill of Australia, we can now reveal their fortune and descent as members of the Hill family.

The only known male descent now traceable is that of the children of John Patrick and Charlotte Pierse, above.

ⁱ The Australian "de Lacy Pierces" had two rival silver snuffboxes, each claiming to have been presented to William Fitzmaurice Pierse by the Duke of Wellington; but I have yet to see documentary demonstration of the nature of the relationship between the two men. The Wellington archives (and specifically the Duke's "patronage file") appear to contain no reference to WFP.

ⁱⁱ Was James Dede the head of the whole Dede family? Professionally, was he a silk manufacturer or a bookseller/stationer or a scientific writer?

ⁱⁱⁱ Elizabeth was aged 18 at the time of her marriage.

^{iv} Princess Street is near, not "leading to", Christ Church.

^v Stress occasioned by the long-running, unproductive and expensive Reed vs. O'Brien lawsuit could have been another factor.

^{vi} Was there peritonitis? The death certificate does not mention it.

^{vii} Presumably WFP was buried in the graveyard rather than the crypt; but I have seen no proof.

^{viii} Elizabeth was then aged 34.

^{ix} All the evidence I have seen points firmly towards Elizabeth *not* having been awarded a pension.

^x Might it not be prudent to say only that when the little boy died, they were living at 105 (not 100) Bishopsgate Street Without?

^{xi} The Dede family, evidently excluding the son James, emigrated to New South Wales in 1838-9, and settled at Parramatta, inland from Sydney. Papa James Dede died there just two months after landing in the colony. (His widow survived until 1862.) Their children produced numerous descendants.

^{xii} It is conceivable that Elizabeth, with her son Maurice and his wife Alicia, could have revisited England, but there is no evidence at this point; nor can a likely date be surmised.

^{xiii} All that can be said with certainty is that Elizabeth (aged 41) emigrated to Van Dieman's Land in 1853-54 accompanied by *Amelia* and two children whose names are not recorded. All of the Pierse daughters surfaced in Australia eventually, but at this point there is no evidence of when and whither and in what groupings they travelled.

^{xiv} Diana was the pet name of Alice Emma.

^{xv} Elizabeth and Amelia and the two un-named children travelled in intermediate class.

^{xvi} There is no evidence of what Elizabeth did in the early years after arriving in Hobart Town, or of where she did it. She comes to the surface in 1859, running a small school for girls. In 1867 she opens a "fancy goods" store, which runs until 1876 when she sells out (helped by Alice Emma) and moves to Melbourne, where again she drops out of sight. In 1881 she is recorded as living in a modest cottage in an upper working class suburb, where she dies of old age in 1893, aged 80½.

^{xvii} After a false start in 1846, Maurice de Lacy Pierse went to sea as an apprentice in 1847, aboard a 180 ton schooner which was based in Mauritius and which traded between there and Cape Town and Tasmanian ports. The apprenticeship's expiry roughly coincided with the Victorian gold rushes and a lengthy stay in the port of Melbourne. Maurice comes back into view in 1856, as a storekeeper in Melbourne, marrying an illiterate Irish Catholic servant girl. He becomes a public Servant in the Victorian Department of Mines in 1871, and rises to the rank of "number two" in the Department. He retires in 1893 and dies in Melbourne in 1903. The marriage emphatically had "no issue", but there were two sons, perhaps fostered. One died early, and the other lived in Sydney until the 1940's, without marrying.

^{xviii} The eldest daughter, *Elizabeth junior* ("Bess") was a rural governess in Victoria and in 1854 made the best marriage of the sisters: to a son of the legendary "village smith" - theatrically inclined, a vet., a poet, a suburban mayor and a member of parliament. Her health was poor, and she died in 1874 leaving no surviving children. *Amelia* (who preferred to be known as "Minnie") is the only daughter who we *know* accompanied her mother aboard "Quito" in 1853-4. At some point she moved to Melbourne and lived with "Bess" and her husband. In 1866 she married a hairdresser-chiropodist and lived in genteel suburban comfort. She had two daughters, from the elder of whom the Australian "de Lacy Pierces" are descended.

^{xix} *Florence Joanna* married a draper at an outpost of the terrible convict settlement at Port Arthur in 1856. They moved to New Zealand and thence to Victoria. Their elder daughter died on her 11th birthday at Maurice de Lacy Pierse's house. Her younger sister survived and married a carpenter; they had numerous descendants. Florence Joanna herself died in Melbourne in 1911; she was then possibly living with her sister Kathleen. *Marion O'Brien* first comes to sight in Melbourne in 1867, when she marries Walter Dudley, a prosperous wholesale butcher who, however, dies young, leaving her with three children. The family appears to have

migrated back to London. The son returned to Melbourne, where he married his cousin, Amelia's younger daughter, without issue. His two sisters married in England, with issue.

Kathleen ("Kitty" or "Kate") graduated as a trainee teacher in Hobart in 1860. At some point she moved to Auckland in New Zealand where, in 1864, she married a rabbit from Devon who was a friend of Marion's husband-to-be. She died, a widow, in Melbourne in 1914. There was one daughter who pre-deceased her mother.

Alice Emma (familiarily known as "Diana") made a Roman Catholic marriage, 1877, to a surveyor, without surviving issue. She and her husband both died in 1924, and are buried alongside Elizabeth senior in the same cemetery plot in Melbourne. There is no gravestone.

^{xx} Oil portraits of William Fitzmaurice Pierse and Elizabeth Pierse (née Dede) are in the possession of descendants of Amelia in Australia. Neither portrait has any artist's signature or date or other information. It is arguable that both portraits were painted by a convict artist in Tasmania - Elizabeth's from life and WFP's copied from a miniature whose whereabouts are now unknown, although one of Amelia's descendants living in England has a photograph of it.

Peter Hill 07.09.00.