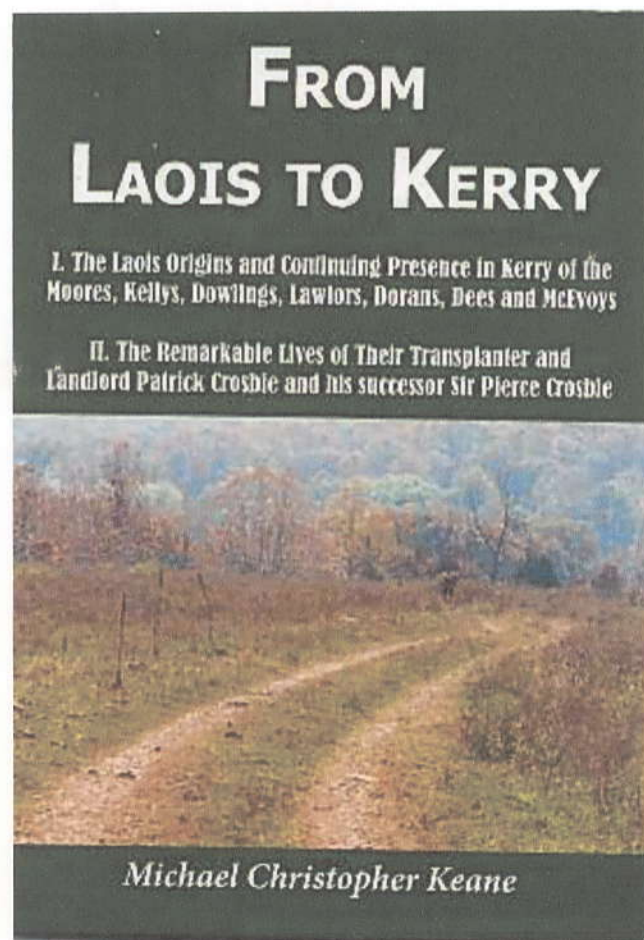


**To:** R DF21 L1402+ members  
**From:** David R Moore, administrator  
**Re:** New book about The Seven Septs of Laois

Nov 8, 2017

This rather long document might be of interest to L1402+ men with Seven Septs of Laois surnames. Since all L1402+ men probably have a connection to County Laois it may be of interest to you as well. If not, just discard it.

The R-L1403 Haplogroup paradigm has been broadened by the publication of *From Laois to Kerry* by Michael Christopher Keane. This book should be of special interest to L1402+ men (and their women) with Seven Septs of Laois surnames that are interested in their deep ancestry and the history of the seven septs. The book also delves into an important slice of Irish history. The book is available from several book sellers in Ireland and as of this week it is available from Amazon.com. It is less expensive if ordered from Amazon.com considering shipping and exchange rates. Contact information for one of the book sellers is below.



**O'MAHONY'S**  
BOOKSELLERS SINCE 1902

**From Laois to Kerry**

(from O'Mahony's web site)

by Michael Christopher Keane

( <http://www.omahonys.ie/v2/from-laois-to-kerry-p-482696.html> )

For many centuries before its plantation by the English and renaming as Queens' County, Laois was under the control of the Seven Septs (Clans), the O'Moores, O'Kellys, O'Lawlors, O'Dowlings, O'Dorans, O'Devoy's or O'Deey's or O'Dees and McEvoy's. Following many bloody battles the surviving Septs were transplanted to Kerry, being under sentence of death if returning to Laois. The land in Kerry was available for transplantation

following the unspeakable horrors of the ethnic cleansing of Munster during the Elizabethan-Desmond war. The Septs were established in Kerry as tenant farmers under their landlord, Patrick Crosbie. These dramatic events are reviewed in Part I as well as a detailed tracing of the continuing strong presence of the Laois Sept descendants in Kerry through the centuries down to the present day. In Part II, the remarkable lives of Patrick Crosbie and his son Sir Pierce Crosbie are discussed in detail. Patrick Crosbie was a leading figure in Irish history during the plantation period, posing as an English imposter while in reality being a MacCrossan, bard to the O'Moores of Laois. Sir Pierce Crosbie, subsequent landlord to the Septs in Kerry, along with leading regiments in various wars, was both Cupholder and Gentleman of the Kings' Bedchamber of successive Kings, James I and Charles I. He lost his estates and was jailed due to his implacable opposition to the Irish Lord Deputy Wentworth, only to regain them when Wentworth was executed for treason. He was also closely associated with what is arguably the most notorious sex scandal in British history in which his stepson the Earl of Castlehaven was executed for sexual depravity. His remarkable career ended in supporting the Irish Catholic Confederacy in the 1640s. Michael Christopher Keane is a retired lecturer from University College, Cork. A native of Tarbert, Co Kerry, he now lives in Farran, Co Cork.

ISBN: 9780992698867

(Foreword by Declan M. Downey, PhD)

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**Professor Keane has shared with us a couple of articles that I have copied and included below. Of considerable interest is the list of seven sept men who were transplanted from Co Laois to Co Kerry. There are some surprises here. Apparently not all "Kelly" men went by the surname Kelly. The same is true for the other septs. DNA may eventually sort out whether our particular lines descend from the Laois bunch or from those transplanted to Kerry.**

**In addition to what Professor Keane shared with us, I have included a couple of other articles and maps. As I said some of you will find all this interesting while others not so much.**



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Upper Farran,  
Ovens,  
Cork  
Ireland  
P31K886  
20<sup>th</sup> October 2017  
353-21-7331406  
353-87-2704586  
mjagkeane@gmail.com  
m.keane@ucc.ie

Dear David,

I was very happy with our recent email exchange and indeed would like to learn more about SSL and DNA. Obviously a lot of work is in progress in the US and elsewhere but it is quite limited in Ireland so far. As I give occasional talks in relation to my book I will try to encourage greater participation, particularly among those with SSL surnames. Also I will now include a slide on SSL DNA in my powerpoint.

I have compiled the enclosed set of items which may be of interest as follows:

- An article by Fitzgerald (1923) which includes the full list of 289 (102 Moores, etc)
- An interesting article by Dowling (1952) which discusses the 289 and the transplantation to Kerry
- - An article by Martin Moore from Kerry. Martin is a good local historian whom I know. His article discusses the SSL Moores of North Kerry from whom he claims

descent and Martin is very knowledgeable on their continuing presence in North Kerry through the generations. The article also lists the 102 Moores as above. Martin has just recently published an interesting book on more recent Kerry history involving our war of independence (1920-22) in which his ancestors played a leading role.

- An article on the siege of Ballingarry fort in North West Kerry in the early 1640s. It just might be of interest in that it lists 100 names who were the defenders of the fort. The list includes 3 Dowlings/Doolins of widely varying spelling, 3 Lawlors of varying spelling, I think one Moore (Meete Moare) and one Kelly who played a key role in ending the prolonged siege. Undoubtedly those attacking the fort included far greater numbers of the SSL in Kerry given the politics of the time but unfortunately no listing exists.
- An outline of my Keane Y-DNA as compiled by a Cork neighbor Margaret Jordan who is knowledgeable about DNA.
- Two articles received from the US from Keane/Kane/Cain folk who seem to know a lot about DNA and my Keane origins. These latter may not be of great interest but show where DNA can take one.

With regard to surnames and spelling I have a little story from Tarbert, Co Kerry where I was born and grew up on a farm. My friends and neighbours there included Dowlings, Kellys, Moores, Dees (Deevys) in the parish (population c 600), with Dorans, Lawlors and McEvoy's in adjoining parishes. My immediate farming neighbours, the Dowlings, with whom I am still friendly, were always pronounced locally as Doolins, not Dow lings. Likewise my own surname was always locally pronounced as Kane/Cain, even though formally at work and in Cork where I live the emphasis is on the e. Just shows why spellings can vary so much, especially when many emigrant Irish were having their names recorded for the first time in



for example Ellis island. Just think the story with regarding to the Dowlings/Doolins above might be of particular interest to Emily D Aulicino and I would be delighted if you could forward it to her. Indeed this whole set of articles may be of interest to her. If unable to forward the articles to her yourself then, if she was interested and I had her postal address, I could forward them myself.

Think this is enough for the present but looking forward to more contact

Very best wishes

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Michael Christopher Keane".

Michael Christopher Keane

(As with names I'm known as Michael in Cork and Christopher in Kerry so I have to use both!)



---

Notes on the Family of Patrick Crosbie of Maryborough, by Whom the Seven Septs of Leix  
Were Transplanted to Tarbert in the County Kerry in 1608-9

Author(s): Walter FitzGerald

Source: *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Sixth Series, Vol. 13, No.  
2 (Dec. 31, 1923), pp. 133-150

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NOTES ON THE FAMILY OF PATRICK CROSBIE OF  
MARYBOROUGH, BY WHOM THE SEVEN SEPTS  
OF LEIX WERE TRANSPLANTED TO TARBERT IN  
THE COUNTY KERRY IN 1608-9.

By the late LORD WALTER FITZGERALD, *Vice-President*.

[Read 3 JULY, 1923.]

THE ancestors of the family of Crosbie of the County Kerry and the Queen's County were two brothers named Patrick and John Crosbie. The former died in 1610, and the latter in 1621. The weight of available evidence tends to prove that they belonged to the family of Mac Crossan, hereditary Bards to the O'More's of Leix, and this remains good in spite of the statement that the younger brother, John, when appointed Bishop of Ardfert in 1600, was described in the patent of his advancement as "a graduate in the schools, of *English race*, yet skilled in the Irish tongue";<sup>1</sup> he appears to have successfully anglicised himself by assuming (as his brother also did) the name of Crosbie, and conforming to the Established Church (which his brother did not).

Patrick Crosbie during his services to the Crown naturally made enemies; among them appears the name of Thomas 10th Earl of Ormond, who, in 1601, enclosed a note to Sir Robert Cecil, the Secretary of State, in which Patrick Crosbie is described by one well acquainted with him, as being a "Mey Crossane, one of the mere Irishry, whose chief ancestor hath been chief rymer to O'More, which he denies, claiming English blood and surname; but this is not so to my knowledge, for his brother was of the O'Mores, and his father's mother of the O'Kellys of Clanmalryrie."<sup>2</sup> This evidence, and the fact that Patrick Crosbie mentions relations with Celtic names in his Will, proves his Irish origin.

Patrick Crosbie is first mentioned in documents dealing with Ireland in the year 1588, when he was granted the wardship and marriage of Thomas, son and heir of William Beard, late of Colt, in the Queen's County, and the custody of his lands in that county. Twelve years later by his Will he leaves to this Thomas Beard "a couple of oxen to help his tillage."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Miss Hickson's *Old Kerry Records*, 2 Series, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1601-3, Addenda, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> Fiant, Elizabeth, No. 5139.

In 1591, on the 14th September, the Lord Deputy, Sir William FitzWilliam, wrote to the Privy Council, requesting that Patrick Crosbie may be despatched at once, as he has only one clerk, and no secretary.<sup>4</sup> This is why, later on, an enemy of Crosbie's described him as "Patrick Crossan alias Crosby," an officer attendant on the State "as a penne man."<sup>5</sup> In spite of accusations of dishonesty and even of treachery, the Government continued to trust Crosbie, and employed him in collecting information as to the state of both Leinster and Munster and to go to England personally to explain events to Sir Robert Cecil, the Secretary of State, during the closing years of the sixteenth century.

In 1601, on the 3rd May, Sir George Carew, President of Munster, wrote from Cork to the Privy Council that the bearer, Patrick Crosbye had been employed in Her Majesty's service for close on twenty years, during which time he had proved himself an honest and faithful subject, who had lost all his goods and profits of his livings by the late rebellion; and that he knew of no man better able or more willing to serve Her Majesty not only in Munster, but in all other parts of Ireland.<sup>6</sup>

In reward for his services, and to recompense him for his losses, Patrick Crosbie was, in 1602, granted by the Crown the Manor,<sup>7</sup> "and old stone bawn of Castlenoe alias Newcastle." The ruins of this castle stand on the townland of Farnans, in the parish of Killaban and barony of Slieve Margy. This manor had been granted in 1563 to Tirlagh Mac Donnell, Captain of Galloglass, but had lapsed to the Crown on the death, without male issue, of his son Farragh or Fergus Mac Donnell. Some years later an Inquisition of Charles I. shows the Lordship of Castlenoe to be in the possession in 1620 of George Hartpole of Monk's Grange, alias Kilmagobbock, who died in 1632; he was the second son of Robert Hartpole of Shrute, in the Queen's County, Constable of Carlow Castle, who died in 1594.

At the same time as Patrick Crosbie received a grant of the above Queen's County lands, he was granted an extensive territory in North County Kerry, which lay in the parishes of Duagh, Finuge, Rattoo, Kilmoyly, Ballyheige, and O'Dorney in the barony of Clanmaurice; and that of Galey in the adjoining barony of Iraghticonnor. These lands had been forfeited by the Fitz-Maurices, Stacks, and MacElligotts for complicity in the Desmond rebellion.

He was in possession also of premises in Maryborough, which may have been his chief residence, as in his Will he styles himself

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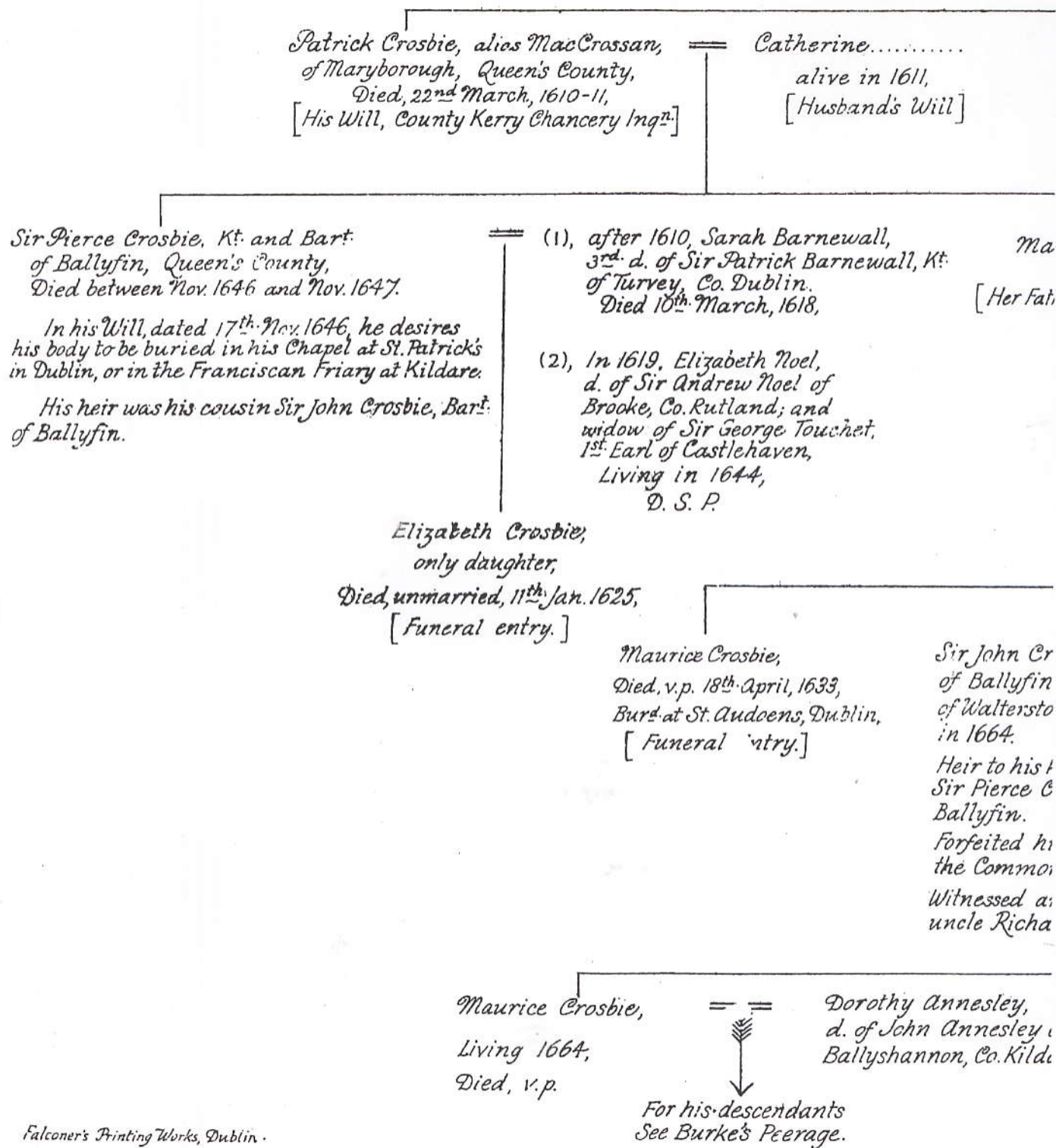
<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1588-92*, p. 419.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1600, p. 294.

<sup>7</sup> The Townlands comprising this Manor are given in our Elizabethan

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1601-3, p. 56.  
Fiant, No. 6593.

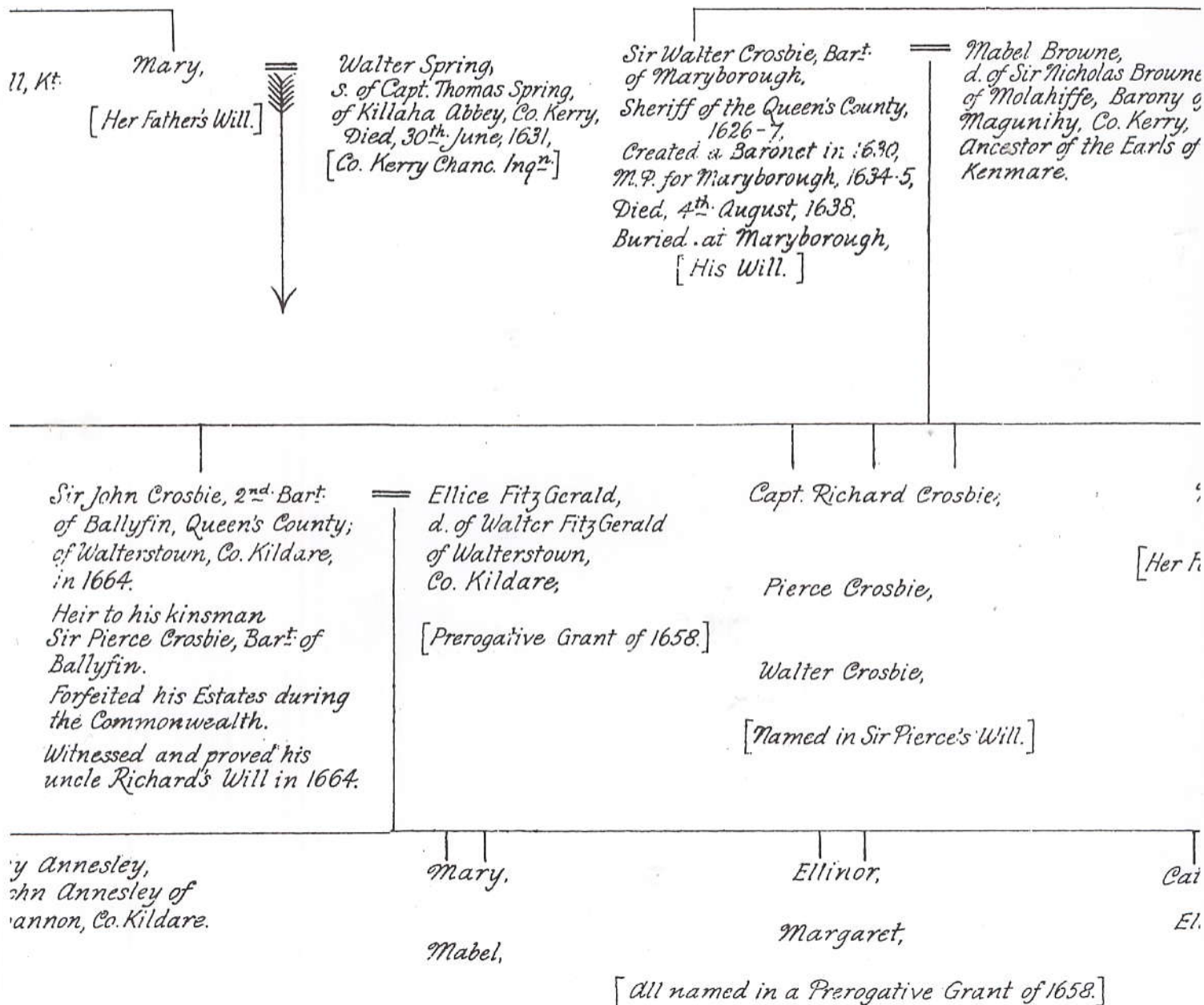




*Falconer's Printing Works, Dublin.*

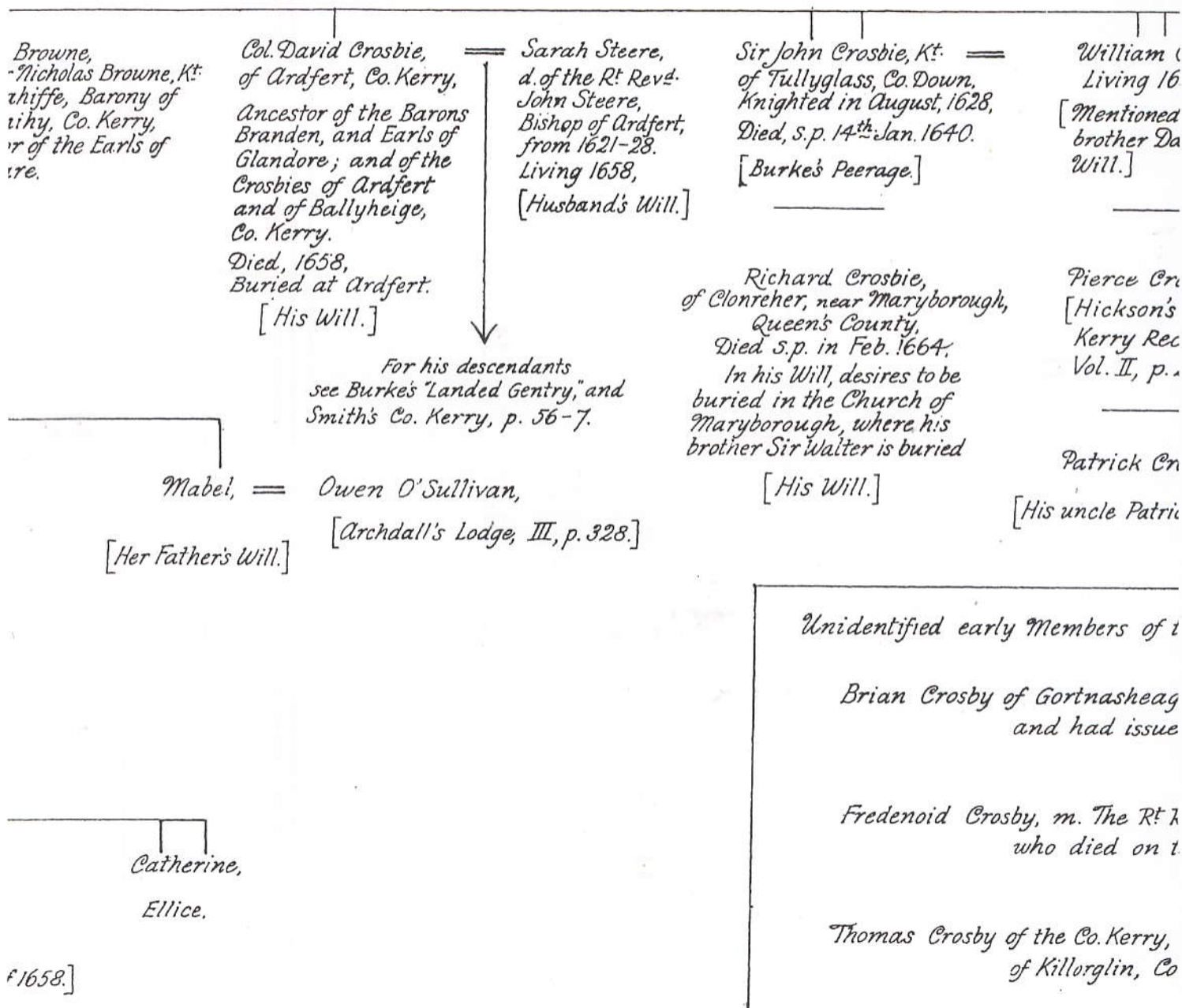
# Ancestors of the Crosbies of the Queens

.....  
611,  
Will]





*the Queen's County and County Kerry.*



The Rt. Rev<sup>d</sup>. John Crosbie, alias Mac Crossan,  
 Prebendary of Dysart-Enos, Queen's County,  
 Bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe, Co. Kerry, 1600-1621,  
 Died, 7<sup>th</sup>. September, 1621, Buried at Ardfert,  
 [Co. Kerry Exchequer Inquisition, No. 21 of James I.]

= Winifred,  
 or Oonah, O'Lalor,  
 of Leix.  
 [Burke.]

William Crosbie,  
 Living 1658,  
 [Mentioned in his  
 brother David's  
 Will.]

Winifred, = ..... McElligott,

Ellen, = Donnell MacConnor  
 McLysaght,  
 of Temoherin, Co. Clare,  
 [Funeral Entry.]

Katherine, = ..... Collum,

Pierce Crosbie,  
 [Hickson's "Old  
 Kerry Records,"  
 Vol. II, p. 2.]

Oonah, = Thomas Stephenson,  
 of Limerick,  
 Died in March, 1633,  
 [Funeral Entry.]

Elizabeth, unrm. in 1610,  
 [Her uncle Patrick's Will.]

Patrick Crosbie,  
 [His uncle Patrick's Will.]

Joan, = Connor, The McGillicuddy,  
 Drowned at Sea in  
 Oct. 1630,  
 [Funeral Entry.]

Note:- These daughters are not  
 in order of Seniority. Five out  
 of six of them are named in  
 Hickson's "Old Kerry Records"  
 II. p. 2, the missing one is  
 Elizabeth.

#### Members of the Family :-

f Gortnasheagh, Co. Kerry, d. circa 1632; he m. Joan Stack,  
 and had issue. [Patrick Crosby of Maryborough's Will.]

by, m. The Rt Rev<sup>d</sup>. John Ryder, Bishop of Killaloe,  
 who died on the 12<sup>th</sup>. Nov. 1632. [Funeral Entry.]

f the Co. Kerry, m. Alson Conway, d. of Captain Jenkin Conway  
 of Killorglin, Co. Kerry. [Funeral Entry.]



of that place; previously he was of Dublin (1594), and of Old Bawn, County Dublin (1602); when visiting his Kerry estates he probably put up with his brother, the Bishop, at Ardfert, near by.

Useful as Patrick Crosbie had been to the Government during his long career in its service, perhaps the most important mission he was entrusted with was the carrying out of the transplantation to Munster of the Seven Septs of Leix in the Queen's County; for this purpose he was promised a grant of the district around Tarbert, containing  $12\frac{1}{2}$  carucates, or ploughlands (which varied in acreage in different parts of the country), in the extreme north of the County Kerry, on which to plant close on 300 members of the leading families of the Seven Septs.

The territory of Leix all lay within the present limits of the Queen's County (which also combined the districts of Upper Ossory of the FitzPatricks, and a portion of Offaly of the O'Conors); it comprised the baronies of East and West Maryborough, Stradbally, Ballyadams, Cullenagh, and Slieve Margy, as well as that portion of the County Kildare barony of Raban lying to the west of the River Barrow.

The Seven Septs occupying this territory were:—

1. The O'Mores (Ua Mordha).
2. The O'Kellys (Ua Ceallaigh).
3. The O'Lalors (Ua Leathlobhair).
4. The O'Dorans (Ua Deorain).
5. The MacEvoys (Mac Fhiodhbhuidh), or Clandeboy.
6. The O'Dowlings (Ua Dunlaing).
7. The O'Deevys (Ua Duibh), or Clan Melaghlin.

The reason for transplanting these Septs was the pacification of the country. For half a century, since planters were first settled in Leix in 1549, Leix was the scene of continual warfare waged by the Septs endeavouring to retain their own. With each rising of the clan, and its eventual suppression, further confiscations of land took place, and more and more planters were settled in this district, so that raids on the planters and "hostings" against the Septs were of frequent occurrence. This state of affairs continued till 1600, when, on the 17th of August, the famous Owny mac Rory oge O'More, Chief of Leix, fell sword in hand, and with his death the cause of the Septs was shattered. and consequently, as stated in the *Annals of the Four Masters*:<sup>8</sup>

"Leix was seized by the English, and they proceeded to repair their mansions of lime and stone, and to settle in the old seats of the race of Conall Cearnach, to whom Leix was the hereditary principality, for there was no heir worthy of it like Owny, to defend it against them."

Thus it was that the Government a few years later decided,

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<sup>8</sup> Vol. vi., p. 2187.



for the good of the planters, and to prevent disorders, that this would be a good opportunity, before the Septs recovered from their overthrow, to persuade or compel their leading families to transplant, on favourable terms, to Munster or Connaught; as long as an O'More was in Leix, it was reported, so long would there be trouble there.

The man selected for this undertaking was Patrick Crosbie, who, as before stated, was himself a native of Leix. Proceedings with this object commenced in 1607, and lasted for a couple of years.

The first reference to the project is in a letter of the 26th January, 1607, from the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, to the Earl of Salisbury, in which he describes how:—"It is now in hand to remove the Moores (O'Mores) and Septs out of Leix, who have been always ringleaders in rebellion, and the notablest disturbers of the peace of the Kingdom, shooting (? aiming) at the recovery of their lands taken from them for their rebellion and bestowed upon the English in the time of Queen Mary; since which grant they have been eighteen several times in rebellion, and suppressed with great charge and loss of men. . . . Their often revolt ministereth good occasion to remove them, and this last hath brought them so low that he (Sir Arthur) conceives they may without disturbance put that design in execution; if they remain there, they will assuredly out again within a few years, and it were better they began with them than let the Moores attack themselves. Will not permit them to settle in Leinster, nor in the counties of Cross and Tipperary; all the rest of the Kingdom is open for them, and, as he understands by them, they will make choice of Munster about Kerry; if they refuse to depart by fair means, he wishes he might have the King's allowance to attempt it by force, for he is no way doubtful of them. When he has done with these, the like course must be held with the O'Connors of Offaly; those countries being disburdened of those Septs, there is great hope of a good settlement in all Leinster; and there is assured disturbance if they be not removed."<sup>9</sup>

The next allusion to the transplantation fixes the locality at Tarbert in the northern extremity of the barony of Iraghticonnor, County Kerry, which the Lord Deputy and Council recommend to the English Privy Council should be granted to Patrick Crosbie, as soon as possible, to carry out the plan; they explain the steps they have taken to remove "the Moores and their followers, the Kellys, the Lalors, the Clan Melaughlins (*i.e.*, the O'Deevys), the Clandeboys (*i.e.*, the Mac Evoyes), the Dorans, and the Dolins, into some remote parts of the other three provinces; wherein they used as an instrument

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<sup>9</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1606-8*, p. 95.



one Patrick Crosbye, who hath a great interest in some of the chief of them, and by whose help they have with less ado wrought; that these Seven Septs and their children and families shall depart and altogether abandon that country and settle themselves as aforesaid, which they doubt not will prove a matter of good consequence, both for prevention of future charge to His Majesty and the perpetual settling of the Queen's County, that is now for the most part planted with English. And as Crosbye hath taken good pains and deserved well, and is besides much hindered in his particular estate,<sup>10</sup> many of those septs inhabiting his lands, which, by their removal, for a good while will lie waste, they are willing in respect thereof to give him some reasonable recompense. But not wishing to permit him to be troublesome to their lordships, or to give him anything that might increase his Majesty's charge, they have thought it best to satisfy him with a parcel of land in Munster called Tarbert, lying upon the mountains of Slewrougher in Kerry, between O'Connor's country and the Knight of the Valley's (*i.e.*, FitzGerald, Knight of Glin), which heretofore was surveyed at £70 per annum, and passed to Sir John Hollis, who was soon weary of it, so that hitherto it hath yielded no benefits to the Crown. In order, therefore, that he may plant some of those who are to be removed there-upon, they have passed it unto him in fee-farm at £5, Irish, per annum, in addition to other small favours, which of themselves they may do for him here. Pray your Lordships, therefore, to procure his Majesty's letters for passing these lands unto him with as much convenient speed as may be, whereby they may accordingly proceed to the finishing of this service which they have long laboured to effect by reason of the good which they undoubtedly hope will ensue thereof, and the earnest solicitation of the English freeholders of the Queen's County. Castle of Dublin, 20th April, 1607." <sup>11</sup>

In the following June Sir Arthur Chichester wrote to the Earl of Salisbury, urging the immediate grant of Tarbert to Patrick Crosbie, as it was delaying the transplanting scheme; and also stated that the Seven Septs had appointed an agent, one Kelly, to go to England to petition against their removal from Leix, which he (Sir Arthur) hoped would have no effect.<sup>12</sup>

The petition was duly presented, and ignored; but the grant of Tarbert to Patrick Crosbie was at last agreed to in this same month of June, 1607.<sup>13</sup> During the next few months the transplanting scheme made little progress, owing to want of unity

<sup>10</sup> In 1602 he had been granted the lordship of Castlenoe, *alias* Newcastle, in the Barony of Slieve Margy, Queen's County.

<sup>11</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1606-8, p. 140.

<sup>12</sup> *Ib.*, p. 190.

<sup>13</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 194, 221.



among the Septs; what took place during the interval is shown in the following letter, dated from Howth on the 29th March, 1608, from Sir Arthur Chichester to the Earl of Salisbury, where he explains that:—

“ He has long endeavoured to remove the Moores and other Septs their followers, out of the Queen’s County into some other remote place, where they might be less able to give offence. For the performance of this service the bearer, Mr. Patrick Crosby, was, in the opinion of the whole country, and by the consent of all the freeholders and inhabitants thereof, recommended to him as the only man able to effect the same by a fair course, and with their own consent; whereupon he dealt with him, and had good hope the business would soon have been brought to an end, when his Majesty was pleased to grant Tarbert, to which place Crosby intended to draw these people. Howbeit, when he required the remove of them, he found much backwardness and perverseness amongst them, in so much that they plainly affirmed they would not depart with Crosby, who alleged that some of the freeholders, envying him the employment, had wrought underhand with some of those Septs to withdraw themselves from him. Being troubled at this stop to the business, and unable to find proof to tax the freeholders as actors therein, he dealt somewhat roundly with Crosby, and told him he conceived it to be an act of his own, in order to make the service more difficult; but it afterwards appeared to proceed merely from the wavering dispositions of those inconsistent people, who indeed are very unwilling to depart unless they be constrained thereunto. He sent for one of the chief of every sept, being six beside the Moores, to appear at the Council board; where after they had seriously debated the matter with them and him, they willed them to depart with Crosby, as they were formerly required, which they absolutely then refused; making suit that they themselves might be made freeholders of Tarbert, for which, where Crosby was to give but £5 to his Majesty per annum, they would give £40, and so would depart without further trouble and coercion.

“ This motion of theirs seemed so reasonable, that the Council quickly gave way thereto, and dismissed them forthwith to make preparations for their remove. But upon their return into the country, when they had imparted their resolution to their friends and followers, and debated the matter jointly amongst themselves in their own factions, the Septs would not yield superiority one to another, but in the end agreed with a general consent to make choice of Mr. Crosby, for whom they sent, and desired him to undertake the business, promising that they would at his pleasure depart with him, some to Tarbert, and others farther into his land in Kerry, where he would dispose of them.

“ This much they have signified unto him (Sir Arthur), and



have besought Sir Henry Power,<sup>14</sup> who is Governor of the Queen's County, and a resident amongst them, to declare the same to him, as a determined course from which they will not alter. Mr. Crosby now bargains to have some of them in his Majesty's entertainment, because there are many loose people among them who have nothing to apply themselves unto, but must be relieved at his charge, until he can win them to some better habit of life."<sup>15</sup>

Eventually on St. Patrick's Day, 1607, terms were arranged between Crosby and the Septs; they are contained in the agreement preserved in the London Public Record Office, from which the following is a verbatim copy (with the contractions expanded):—<sup>16</sup>

"Thaggreem<sup>ts</sup> betweene Mr. Crosbie and the Seven Septs of Leise, at Mollin O Lalour, upon St. Patrick's Daie, being the xvii of Marche, 1607.

"First that Mr. Crosbie shall sweare upon a booke never to revenge upon any of the Septs any anger or controversie that happened betweene them since the beginning of this matter, and that he shall procure his heire to doe the like.

"That he shall give sixe ploughlands of Tarbert of that ten ploughlands there, to theis six persons subscribed and to their heires, paying him and his heires six poundes str. chief rent, with other services and rising oute; and for the rest of the six Septs, he shall place them in the Abbey of O Dorny, Coishcassan, and upon the Mountaine in his other lands,<sup>17</sup> and shall devide amongst them xlii ploughlands, giving them long leases, and suche freedoms, & for such rents, as the L. Bushop of Kierry and John McMortoughe shall sett downe; and they both from tyme to tyme shall end all controversies that shall arrize betwene Mr. Crosbie and any of the Septs, who shall departe with Mr Crosbie at Midsomer daie next.

"That the Septs and their heires for ever shalbe faithfull, loving, and obedient to Mr. Crosbie and his heir Piers, and their heires for ever, and shalbe directed by them in all services of his Ma<sup>ty</sup> and all other lawfull courses.

"That Mr. Crosbie and his heires shall answer all matters for them as well at Dublin as before the President, and in all cessions, they helping to beare his chardges, and yet every of themselves will appeare if need be.

"That Mr. Crosbie and his heires shall disburden & dis-chardge

<sup>14</sup> Sir Henry Power, Kt., Constable of the Fort at Maryborough, belonged to Bersham in Denbighshire. He was created Viscount Valentia, Co. Kerry, in 1620, and died s. p., 25th May, 1642.

<sup>15</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1606-1608*, p. 444.

<sup>16</sup> Copied from the original document in the London Public Record Office, by Miss E. Salisbury, for the author, March, 1923.

<sup>17</sup> In Kerry.



them from giving of meat, drinke, or clothing, to the 289 persons that are not able to live, in this paper annexed subscribed by John McMortough and Teig Lalour, but shall kepe them himself, or dispose of them as he shall think good.

" That Mr. Crosbie shall give to John McMortough the worth of 400<sup>li</sup> lands, either inheritance or mortgadg, as the L. Bushop of Kerry and Teig Laloure shall value it.

" That he and his heires shall maintaine & defend the said Septs and their heires, in all lawfull causes, and shall not suffer them to be wronged or oppressed by any officers or others, and both he and they to (be) sworne to performe their article trustie, and he to bring his son Piers to the countrey before Easter daie to be sworne to performe the same.

" (Signed by) John McMortough.

" Teig Lalour.

" Robert O Dowling.

" Mortough McWilliams marcke.

" Donoghe McEboyes marcke.

" Farre McGerrotts marcke

" Patrick O Dorans marcke."

[It will be noticed that of these seven signatures, three do not give the surname, viz.: John McMortough, Mortogh McWilliam, and Farre McGerrott; taking a signature for each Sept, the missing names are O'More, O'Kelly, and O'Deevy; John McMortough, as being the principal signatory, was probably an O'More, the most powerful of the Seven Septs.]

The agreement then goes on to give the names (exclusive of the seven signatories) of the 289 persons alluded to in its fifth paragraph as follows:—

#### THE MOORES.

Keadaghe McJames o Moore,	1.	Cahir McGilpatrick & his son,	2.
Mortoughe McRourie, & his 2 sons,	3.	Shane McBrien,	1.
Patrick McConnell & his 2 sons,	3.	James boy,	1.
Donell McConnell his brothers 2 sons,	2.	Edmond McMortogh & his brother,	2.
Pierce McKedaghe & his son,	2.	Morice McNeile duff,	1.
Lisaghe McMortoughes six sons,	6.	Connell McKedaghe, Shane & Mortogh,	3.
Owney McShanes five sons,	5.	Lisaghe McTirlaghe McRourie,	1.
Brien reoughes five sons,	5.	Tirlagh McOwney McRosse,	1.
Kedaghe McShane,	1.	Donell bracke & his two sons,	3.
Pierce McNeile & his 2 sons,	3.	Teig, alias Eurin, McLisaghe bane,	1.
William McNeile,	1.	Shane ballaghe McEdmond, & his 2 sons,	3.
Lisaghe McNeile,	1.	Fynen McLaghlin McRorie,	1.
Lisaghe McOwney,	1.	Conell & Neile McShane McRory,	2.
Melaghlin McGilpatricke,	1.	Cahir McLisaghe McRourie,	1.
Donoghe McDave, Farduffe,	6.	Laghlin McDonell McOwney,	1.
Darig, and Donell, & Donoghes 2 sons,	6.	Donell McShane McKillie,	1.



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## THE MOORES.—Continued.

Mortogh McDonell o Moore,	1	Davi McCowchoggery & his three	
Laghlin McDonell o Moore,	1	sons,	4.
Shane o Moore, Neil, Teig,		Conell McLisaghes 2 sons,	2.
Laghlin Donogh & Mortogh,		Kedaghe McConell,	1.
the six sons of Patkc.		William McDonells four sons,	4.
McShane of the forte,	6.	Tirlaghe McShanes 3 sons,	3.
Pat McLaghlin & his two sons,	3.	Diermot McShane,	1.
Lisaghe McArts three sons,	3.	Lisaghe McBrien McLisie,	1.
Mortogh McConnell o Moore,	1.	Davie McWilliam & Pat,	2.
Thomas McDavi & his 2 sons,	3.		
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## THE KELLIES.

Tirlaghe o Kellie,	1.	Melaghlin o Cahill,	1.
Cahell McEurin o Kellie,	1.	Hugh McShane,	1.
Hugh McRorie o Kellie,	1.	Mortogh McShane,	1.
Teig McBrassill o Kellie,	1.	Hugh roe o Kellie,	1.
Gerrott McBrien o Kellie,	1.	Brien McGerrott o Kellie,	1.
Gerrald McBrien o Kellie,	1.	Gerrott McGerrott o Kellie,	1.
Edmond McTirlaghe o Kellie,	1.	Donell McNeile o Kellie,	1.
Donoghe McTirlaghe o Kellie,	1.	Patrick duff McTirlagh	1.
Tirlaghe McDavi o Kellie & his		Donogh McEdmond o Kellie,	1.
2 sons,	3.	Donogh oge McEdmond o Kellie,	1.
Gerrott McMelaghlin & his 2 sons,	3.	Diermot McRorie,	1.
Brien McMolaghlin o Kellie,	1.	Teig McDiermot,	1.
Patricke McMolaghlin o Kellie,	1.	Donogh McGerrott,	1.
Rory oge McHughe o Kellie,	1.	Davi o Kellie,	1.
Donoghe McBrassill o Kellie,	1.	Tirlagh McDonells son, & Morice	
Shane McBrassill o Kellie,	1.	o Kellies son	2.
Davy McTeig o Kellie,	1.		
Eurin McTeig o Kellie,	1.		39
Morrrough McDonell o Kellie,	1.		

## THE LALOURS.

Hugh McShane o Lalour,	1.	John McMelaghlin o Lalour,	1.
Donell McShane o Lalour,	1.	John o Lalour of Athy,	1.
Donogh McDiermot o Lalour,	1.	William oge McWilliam o Lalour,	1.
Hugh McDiermot o Lalour,	1.	Diermot McGilpatrick o Lalour,	1.
Donell McTeige o Lalour,	1.	Shane McGilpatrick o Lalour,	1.
Donogh McDonell o Lalour,	1.	William McTeig o Lalour,	1.
Patrick McDonell o Lalour,	1.	Patrick McMortagh o Lalour,	1.
Diermot McTeig o Lalour,	1.	Shane McDonogh o Lalour,	1.
Teig oge McTeig o Lalour,	1.	Mortogh McTeige o Lalour,	1.
Edmond McDavi o Laloure,	1.	Shane McDonell o Lalour,	1.
Donell McTeig o Laloure,	1.	Teig McDonell o Lalour,	1.
Diermot McTeig o Lalour,	1.	Edmond McTeig o Lalour,	1.
Diermot oge o Lalour,	1.	Edmond McShane o Lalour,	1.
Hughe McGilpatrick o Lalour,	1.	Edmond McDavy o Lalour,	1.
Carrull McShane o Lalour,	1.	Davi McDonell o Lalour,	1.
Shane McEdmund o Lalour,	1.	William McEdmond o Lalour,	1.
William McHughe o Lalour,	1.	Connor McGilpatrick o Lalour,	1.
Shane McHughe o Lalour,	1.	Laghlin McDonell o Lalour,	1.
Edmond McHughe o Lalour,	1.	Laghlin McJames o Lalour,	1.
Edmond McDonoghe o Lalour,	1.	Thomas Lalour, John Lalour, Pat	
Donell McEdmond o Lalour,	1.	Lalour & other six brothers,	9.

THE LALOURS.—*Continued.*

Richard Lalour,	1.	Teig McDiermot & his two sons,	3.
Teig McDonell McGillichrist,	1.	Edmond McShane & his five sons,	
Patricke McNeile o Lalour,	1.	& Shane McEdmonds son,	7.
James McDoughe o Lalour,	1.	Donell McShane & his 4 sons,	5.
Patricke Lalour,	1.	Donogh o Lalour McWilliam,	1.
Neile McDonell o Lalour,	1.	Donell o Lalour McPat,	1.
Patricke McDavi o Lalour,	1.	Mortogh McDonogh & Diermot	
Donell McEdmond o Lalour,	1.	and their 3 sons,	5.
Hughe McEdmond o Lalour,	1.	Shane Fyn,	1.
Hughe McDiermot o Lalour,	1.		
Teig McDiermot, Donell, Pat, an			87.
Donoghe, & his son,	5.		

## THE DORANS.

Teig McDiermot o Doran,	1.	Laghlin o Doran, & his son,	2.
Diermot McEdmond, Donnell and		Neile o Doran,	1.
Laughlin,	3.	Donogh guoh o Doran,	1.
Mortagh o Doran, and his 2 sons			
Teigh and Hugh,	3.		13
William o Doran, & his son,	2.		

## THE CLANDEBOYES (MACÉVOY).

Geffree McEboi,	1.	Laghlin McDonogh,	1.
Thomas McMulrony, Mortough,		Donell McDavi,	1.
Edmond Keen, Diermot & Pat,	6.	& Patrick his brother,	1.
Teig McDavi, & his 4 sons,	5.	Teig McDiermot roe,	1.
Laghlin McDonell moyle, Edmond,		Teig oge McTeig & Edmond his	
Arte, Teig, Donell & Neile		brother,	2.
McDonell, brothers,	vi.	Shane grane McLaghlin,	1.
Shane McMortagh, McDiermot,		Carrull McEboi & his son Morough,	2.
Teig, Arte, Diermot, William,		Shane McDiermot roe, & his son	
Edmond, & Shane,	vii.	Donogh,	2.
Shane McPatrick reughe,	1.		
Patricke McPatrick, & Teig his			43.
brother,	2.		

## THE DOWLINS.

Donell McEdmond o Dowlin,	1.	Patrick o Dowlin, & Mortogh his	
		brother,	2.
Donogh McWilliam o Dowlin,	1.		
			5
Teig o Dowlin,	1.		
		Total ...	289

[“ Subscribed by ”]

John McMortagh,  
Teig Lalour.

This is a true copie of the Agrement betweene the 7 Septs of Leix, & Mr. Crosby; and the names of the said Septs.

Exr. p:  
W. Uscher.

It is to be noted that although the agreement is stated to be drawn up between Mr. Crosbie and the *Seven* Septs, only *six* of



them are represented in the above list; the missing Sept is that of the O'Deevys *alias* Clan Melaghlán.

On the 17th June, 1609, Sir Arthur Chichester wrote from Dublin Castle, to the Earl of Salisbury, saying that it was close on three years since he first undertook to transplant the O'Mores and their subsepts, and that now the work was accomplished through the unremitting zeal and labour of Patrick Crosbie, aided by Robert Pigott of Dysart Enos; so that these unruly Septs had been transported some to Thomond (Co. Clare), more to Connaught, but most of them to Kerry. And he strongly recommends that Patrick Crosbie should be further recompensed for all his trouble as well as to defray the heavy expenses he has been put to.<sup>18</sup>

The last notice in connection with the Seven Septs appears to be that contained in a letter written on the 26th May, 1610, by Patrick Fox, Clerk of the Council, to the Earl of Salisbury, in which he states that it is reported by gentlemen of the Queen's County that many members of the Septs, lately deported, are flocking thither again, and some are of the opinion that they would rather die in Leix than live elsewhere.<sup>19</sup>

Though Patrick Crosbie's days were now numbered, he was still very active in the Government's employment, with a keen eye to his own interests.

In February, 1610, he failed in an attempt to obtain a grant of the Castle of Glin (Glencorboy), Co. Limerick, which he, in error, stated had been forfeited by the rebellion of Edmund fitz Thomas FitzGerald, Knight of Glin.<sup>20</sup>

What sounds like an exceedingly shady piece of business on Patrick Crosbie's part occurred about this time; the O'Carroll Country of Ely had been made shire ground and apportioned to the King's County, and Letters Patent had been granted in 1558 to Sir William "owre" (the pale) O'Carroll, Kt., re-granting to him and his heirs his lands to be held from the Crown, and appointing him Chief of Ely. At this time (1610) Sir William's heir was his great-grandson Shane (or John) Mac Mulrony O'Carroll, still a minor (as he was born on the 7th February, 1597), and in the custody of Sir Thomas Ashe. As Ely is described as "a pretty piece of land," Patrick Crosbie made the offer to nullify the Letters Patents granted to Sir William O'Carroll, and so bring this territory into the King's hands. This offer does not seem to have been accepted by Sir Arthur Chichester.<sup>21</sup>

In April, 1610, the King notified that he had accepted the surrender of all the lands which Thomas FitzMaurice, Baron of

<sup>18</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1608-10*, p. 216.

<sup>19</sup> *Ib.*, p. 453.

<sup>20</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 329-384-388.

<sup>21</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 372 and 420.



Lixnaw, inherited from his father, Patrick the late Baron, and a re-grant of them to be made to the former. These lands lay in the barony of ClanMaurice, Co. Kerry. The King adds that he had granted a similar warrant on the 20th October, 1603, but it was ineffective because most of the lands had been previously granted by patent to Patrick Crosbie, who had represented that they had been forfeited to the Crown by the death in rebellion of the said Patrick FitzMaurice, late Baron of Lixnaw; whereas the said Baron was not slain in rebellion, but died a natural death, and his possessions were not forfeited as Crosbie imagined; consequently the said Patrick Crosbie is to be called before the Council, and advised to surrender his patent, unless he can show good cause to the contrary.<sup>22</sup>

Besides the County Kerry possessions, and the lordship of Castlenoe in the Queen's County, Patrick Crosbie had purchased from Martin fitz Matthew Lynt *alias* Skelton, a dwelling-house and its offices in Maryborough, and the following lands:—

19 acres in Siffington lying to the east of the church of Siffington, near Maryborough (not identified).

84 acres in Tyre *alias* Elyre.

And 80 acres in Taughelone *alias* Cloncoghe (Cloncough).<sup>23</sup>

A County Kerry Chancery Inquisition taken at Ardfert in 1611 fixes the death of Patrick Crosbie on the 22nd March, 1610-11 (an Exchequer Inquisition makes it take place on the 22nd October, 1610, which is not correct), and states that Pierce Crosbie is his son and heir, then aged 20 years and 8 months, and unmarried. Where Patrick was buried is unknown.

His Will<sup>24</sup> is dated the 10th March, 1610 (old style), and was proved on the 5th June, 1611. It reads as follows:—

I Patricke Crosby of Mariborough, Esqr., being sicke in body, but hole in mynde, doe make this my last will and testament in manner & forme following.

first. I bequeath my soule to God, & my body 'to be buried at the discrecion of my friends.

I doe give and graunt unto my sonne and heire Pierce Crosby all my lands, tithes, & hereditaments spirituall and temporall, except his mother's thirds, which is to be allotted to her, either together or aparte, as my sonne and she shall agree, wherein I would ever have her to have favour over and above in respect I have ever found her faythfull, loving, & dutyfull.

I doe bequeath unto her thone half of all my goods, cattle, & stocke, moveable and unmoveable, and thother half to my sonne Pierce.

I doe charge my sonne Pierce that he make an estate in fee farme to my daughter Mary Spring, of all the lands which I past in

<sup>22</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1608-10, p. 432.

<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth Fiant, No. 1649.

<sup>24</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1608-10, p. 432.



Desmond uppon Sr. John King's graunt, except such as I past to my brother & Sr. Thomas Roper, which are about eight ploughlands.

I bequeath to my daughter Mary, as a free gift, the twoe and fifty pounds tenn shillings due uppon Mr. Roe, as well that which is receaved, as that which is to be receaved at Christmas next; and the five pounds due uppon the Lady Shily Browne; and four great oxen of five yeeres old, which Richard oge keeps of myne.

I doe give unto my daughter Mary's yong daughter Katherine Spring, twenty nobles str. a yeere, to be paid out of my sonnes living, untill she come to the full adge of fiteene yeeres.

I doe bequeath to my neace Eliabeth Crosby, towards her preferment, one hundreth pounds str., to be paid out of my sonnes mariadg goods.

And I doe bequeath to her two sisters Jone and Una twenty pounds str., to be equally devided, and paid likewise out of my sonnes mariadg goods.

I doe chardg my sonne with the mayntenaunce of my nephew Patricke Crosby, when he shalbe fitt for the Innes of Court, to allow him twenty pounds str. a yeere for seven yeeres, if he shall contynue his stody there so long.

And I doe appoint my sonne to make an estate unto Brian Crosby, and his wife Joane Stacke, and the heires males of their bodys lawfully begotten, of Balliloghnan, Ourly, Knocksnagh, Killmohelance, Gortneskehy, Pollniloly, and Aghemy and all the lands and tenelements now in the possession of Mr. Staughton, late in the tenure of Morice Stacke, on the west side of the Cassan (except Cloghanshe-nane, which I have sold to my brother), reserving to himself and his heires for ever the yeerely rent of thirteene pounds st., currant money of England, with a clause of distresse for non payment of rent, and if there be noe distresse to be found, then to reenter into the whole, and the same to hold as in his former estate. All this shalbe with condition that the said Brian shall restore the bond past to him by me for the payment of forty cowes, and shalbe ever faithfull honest and serviceable to my sonne Pierce and his heires for ever.

I doe chardg my sonne that he shall have a speciall care of marying my neece Joane Moore, and to bestow uppon her accordingly.

I doe bequeath unto the widdowe Joane. ny. Mortaugh twoe incalf cowes.

I doe freely forgive of my owne bounty unto Garrett Kelly all such moneys, rents, and arearages, as are due uppon him for the lordship of Tarbert.

I doe freely forgive unto Thomas Harding the first half yeere's rent of the Eyrye and doe require that all bills and accounts be delivered unto him.

And I doe likewise will that all the corne which Garrott ffarr McGarrot, Willm. McEvy and the rest sowed at Tarbert be presently restored unto them to every man his owne porcion.

I do bequeath unto my kinswoman Anastace. ny. Doran five pounds str., to be layd out in yong cattle for her.

I doe give to my cozen Thomas Cahill my new russett cloake in my great truncke at Dublin.

I doe give unto Thomas Bearde a couple of oxen to help his tilladg.

I doe leave unto Brian Crosby my fustian suite with silver lace, and the cloacke with silver buttons, and my blacke rapier, and my sorrell gelding.

I doe leave to John Hoare my new blacke suite at Dublin.



I doe give to James Knowde my new cloacke with two laces about in my litle truncke at Clonriher.

I doe give unto James Lawrance five pounds str. of the tith to be receaved this next harvest.

I doe freely forgive unto Dermott McShane the first half yeeres rent due upon him for Caneclone.

I doe appoint the executors of this my last Will [*scratched through* :—my sonne Pierce Crosby, and my wife Catherine Crosby] the Rev. father in God, John, lord Byshop of Kerry, and James Knowde, gent.; And doe ordayne and appoint the overseers of my Will [*scratched through* :—my brother the lord Byshop of Kerry, and Thomas, lord Barron of Lixnaw].

Dated the 10th of March 1610.

P. Crosbie.

Being present at the signing hereof, and the interlynynge of the names of the Executors :—

P. Crosbie.

Ja. Knowde.

B. Crosbie.

Keadagh McRosses marke.

The members of his family actually mentioned by Patrick Crosbie are :—

1. His wife, who survived him, "Catherine Crosby." She was at first appointed an executor of the Will, but this was afterwards scratched through. Her maiden name is unknown, but she may have been a member of one of the Seven Septs of Leix; and as Patrick Crosbie mentions his niece "Joan Moore," his wife may have been an O'More.

2. His son and heir, Pierce Crosbie, referred to further on.

3. His daughter, "Mary Spring." Mary married Walter, eldest son of Captain Thomas Spring of Killagh Abbey, County Kerry, by whom she had a son, Edward, and two daughters. For an account of the Spring family, see Smith's *History of Kerry*, p. 57.

Mention is made in the Will of a Brian Crosbie and his wife Joan Stack, but there is nothing to show their relationship with Patrick Crosbie. A County Kerry Chancery Inquisition [No. 80 (78) of Charles I.] states that Brian Crosby of Gortnaskeagh died about the year 1632, leaving a son (whose name is quite illegible) then aged 18.

Pierce Crosbie was of Maryborough, and of Ballyfin in the barony of Maryborough West, Queen's County. On the 17th July, 1616, he was knighted.

His first wife was Sarah, third daughter of Sir Patrick Barnewall, Kt., of Grace Dieu and Turvey, in the County Dublin. She died on the 10th March, 1618, leaving a daughter, Elizabeth, who died unmarried on the 11th January, 1625.

On the 6th March, 1619, Sir Pierce married secondly Elizabeth daughter of Sir Andrew Noel of Dalby in Leicestershire, and of



Brooke in Rutland, and widow of Sir George Touchet (ob. 1616), 1st Earl of Castlehaven; by this marriage there was no issue.

In right of his wife, Lady Castlehaven, Sir Pierce claimed 2,000 acres in the barony of Omagh, County Tyrone, and 2,000 more in the barony of Orior, County Armagh.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to these lands, Sir Pierce was also granted the castle, town, and lands of Clonreher, which lie a short distance to the north of Maryborough; and he had his other possessions confirmed to him in 1628.<sup>26</sup> These latter lands he left by his Will to his cousin, Richard Crosbie, who died in possession of them in 1664.

Previous to the year 1628, Sir Pierce had raised an Irish Regiment of Foot, which had served in the Island of Rhé, off the West Coast of France, opposite to La Rochelle. In August of this year it landed at Waterford, to the great concern of the Lord Deputy and Council, as they could not afford to provide for it, and as the men were all "recusants" they were a danger to the country and it would be perilous to disband them; they prayed that the regiment might be withdrawn. This regiment, however, appears to have been sent to Limerick, where they were quartered for a few months, and then marched to Maryborough. In December the Grand Jury of the King's County reported that the regiment had passed through Fircal and Geashill, committing depredations, levying food and money by force without giving tickets, and that the gentlemen of the county had been abused and assaulted by the soldiers.<sup>27</sup>

What happened to Sir Pierce's regiment after being quartered in Maryborough is not recorded.

On the 24th April, 1630, Sir Pierce was created a Baronet, and in 1634 he was M.P. for the Queen's County, while his first cousin, Sir Walter Crosbie, Bart, eldest son of the Bishop of Ardferf, was M.P. for Maryborough.

Sir Walter had been enfeoffed in certain lands in the Queen's County, to certain uses, by Sir Pierce, as alluded to in the latter's Will. Sir Walter died in 1638, some eight years before Sir Pierce's death took place.

While Sir Pierce was M.P. for the Queen's County in 1634, he was assaulted and seized without a warrant, in the Irish House of Commons, by Sir Philip Mainwaring and Sir Robert Farrer, Knights, and imprisoned in Dublin Castle for several days. The cause of this conduct is not revealed; and strange to relate seven years later the case again crops up, when, in July, 1641, a Committee of the Irish House of Commons crossed to England to

<sup>25</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1625-32*, p. 381.

<sup>26</sup> *Morrison's Calendar of Chancery Rolls*, iii., p. 360.

<sup>27</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1625-32*, pp. 376-385-4-19.



obtain the King's permission to summon the two named Knights before the House. The conclusion of this affair is not recorded.<sup>28</sup> Possibly it was because Sir Pierce opposed in Parliament the violent measures of the Earl of Strafford, the Lord Deputy, and incurred his resentment, to avoid which he had to quit the Kingdom;<sup>29</sup> eventually he returned from abroad to attend Lord Strafford's trial, when he gave evidence against him; in May, 1641, Lord Strafford was beheaded in the Tower of London.

The exact date of Sir Pierce's death is uncertain, but it took place between the months of November, 1646, and November, 1647.<sup>30</sup>

The place of his interment, too, is apparently unknown; in his will he desires to be buried "in my chapell att St. Patrick's in Dublin, if my heaire Sir John Crosbie, Baronett, may conveniently doe it, otherwise to be buried in the ffranciscan Monastery of Kildare."

The following is a copy of Sir Pierce's Will,<sup>31</sup> which was in the Dublin Record Office:—

In the Name of God, Amen.

The last Will and Testament of Sr. Peirce Crosbie, Knight and Baronett, being in perfect sense and memory, made and declared the seventeenth day of November one thousand six hundred fortie and six, as followeth:

Imprimis. I, Sr. Peirce Crosbie, Knight and Baronett, being in perfect sense and memory, doe bequeath my soule to God Almighty, my creator and Redeemer, and my body to be buried in my Chapell att St. Patricks in Dublin (if my heaire Sr. John Crosbie, Baronett, may conveniently doe it), otherwise to be buried in the ffranciscan Monastery of Kildare.

It. I bequeath to my Gostly ffather, fa: Teige Enos, ten pound str., and ten pound more to be paid to the said Monastery of Kildare.

It. I bequeath to my lawfull heaire Sr. John Crosbie, Barronett, all my estate, both personall and reall, as well within the Kingdome of Ireland as ellswhere.

It. I bequeath unto my kinswoman Mable Crosbie three hundred pounds str., and the same to be paid by my said heaire Sr. John Crosbie, Barronett.

It. I comit to the care and trust of my said heaire, my kinsmen Capt Richard Crosbie, Peirce Crosbie, and Walter Crosbie.

It. I bequeath unto my servant Nickolas Cussin one hundred acres of chayne measure, where my said heaire shall thinke fitt and convenient, and the said lands to hould dureinge his naturall life, and immediately after the decease of the said Nickolas, the said hundred acres to fall unto my said heaire, his executors and assigns.

<sup>28</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1633-1647*, p. 313.

<sup>29</sup> *The Complete Baronetage*, by G. E. C., says that "he was condemned by the Star Chamber, and confined in the Fleet Prison."—  
EDITOR.

<sup>30</sup> Information supplied by the late Mr. G. D. Burtchaell, Deputy Ulster King of Arms.

<sup>31</sup> Proved in the Prerogative Court.



It. I bequeath unto my servant Laughlen ffarell, five pounds, st., and one sorell gelding, which the said Laughlen did usually ride.

It. I bequeath unto my servant Cornelius McNamarra five pounds, str.

It. I doe appoint my said heaire Sr. John Crosby, Baronett, to pay unto Mr. benin Cure, an Armorer in Paris, six hundred pounds, for which sume Mr. Dorincure and Mr. Escovill became bound, if in case the said sume bee not allready paid in parte or in the whole.

It. I doc constitute, ordayne, and appoint the foresaid Sir John Crosbie, Baronett, to bee my sole heaire, executor and administrator of this my last Will and Testament, being in pursuance of a feoffment made and delivered by me unto Sr. Terence Dempsy and others to the use of Sr. Walter Crosbie and his heaires males (any former Will to the contrary notwithstanding).

Witness my hand and seale the day and yeare above mencioned.

It. I bequeath unto my cousin Richard Crosbie the town and castell of Clonriher, during his naturall life, hee paying the chiefe rent thereout due; and to my couzin Peirce Crosbie fortie pounds per annum during his naturall life; and that after the decease of the said Richard and Peirce, that the said, town, castle, and annuitie shall revert and fall to Sr. John Crosbie his heaires and assignes, allwayes provided that the said Richard and Peirce shall adhere to the protestant partie.

And lastly it is my Will that my heaire Sr. John Crosbie shall enioy and posses my whole estate to him and his heaires untill my debts bee paid, and that after my debts being paid, the said legacies to bee paid as by this my Will is directed.

P. Crosbie.

Being present at the signeinge, sealing, and delivery hereof, wee whose names ensue :

Thad : Enos p :  
Gerald Fitz Geralde.  
Hugh Dempsy.  
Edmd. Cullen.  
Randel Breerton.

Sir Pierce's heir, Sir John Crosbie, 2nd Baronet, was of Ballyfin, in the Queen's County; he was the second son and heir of Sir Walter Crosbie, Bart., eldest son of the Rt. Rev. John Crosbie, Bishop of Ardfert.

By adhering to the Royalist cause against the Commonwealth he forfeited his estates.

The date of Sir John's death is not known; but he was alive in 1664, as in that year he proved his uncle Richard Crosbie's Will; at this time he was living at Walterstown, in the County Kildare, the home of his wife's people. The Baronetcy is still in existence.

In the South Transept of Ardfert Cathedral, formerly roofed and used as the Protestant church, there is in the east wall a small mural tablet of the seventeenth century, bearing coats of arms. The arms are : " A lion rampant, in chief two dexter hands," for Crosbie; " Impaling three martlets in pale, between two flanches, each charged with a lion passant," for Browne of Ken-

mare; with two lines of inscription cut in " Black-letter " below, all in relief.

This tablet appears to be connected with Sir Walter Crosbie, Bart., of Maryborough (elder brother of Col. David of Ardfert above mentioned), who married Mable, daughter of Sir Nicholas Browne of Molahiffe, County Kerry.

The Black-letter inscription consists of the Crosbie motto:—  
 " Indignante invidia florebit justus " (*i.e.*, To the indignation of envy, the just man will flourish).



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Editor's Foreword

The Editor appeals for the help of the members to make the *Journal* as interesting and informative as possible. Original contributions on subjects of archaeological or historical interest, or reports of "finds" in the County Kildare or its neighbourhood will be welcomed. Members could help by sending in for examination place-names not recorded on the Ordnance Survey Maps, or field-names. These last for the most part are unrecorded, and may enshrine forgotten or half-forgotten facts of history, or may help to prove the positions of many sub-denominations of land the names of which have long passed into oblivion.

Members can help, too, in a most important way by reporting the existence of documentary collections, large or small, whether in danger of destruction or in safe custody. Old deeds, bills, accounts, diaries and letters, perhaps looked upon as of no value, may provide useful illustrations of the social life of our ancestors, and it may be taken for granted that the importance of such documents has greatly increased since the destruction of the Public Record Office in 1922.

Some members have complained that the *Journal* in late years has been "dry" and "stodgy." Well, it is hard to cater for every taste, and what may be dry to some may be quite thrilling to others. Dryness is, to some extent, as inseparable from archaeology as humour is foreign to it, although, indeed, at one of our meetings a lady member suggested that an element of humour introduced into lectures on archaeological subjects would be a considerable improvement.

This is a point of view which may not recommend itself to serious students of archaeology in these, our days, for we live in an era far removed from the period of the "Antiquary" of Scott and of the "Bill Stumps his mark" of Dickens; archaeologists are becoming more and more scientific in their approach to their subject, and have little time for humour save of the sardonic kind which is exhibited in the triumphant exposure of the errors or supposed errors of their colleagues or predecessors.



sidered this an amazing drain on the country, and one which must have a very serious effect on its prosperity.

On present standards food costs and wages were extraordinarily low. On the other hand tythes and some rents were high, and the revenues of the Established Clergy were "very considerable." The annual revenue of the Bishopric of Kildare was valued at £2,600, and of the Deanery, £120.

The following summary shows rates of wages, food costs, etc., in the various localities visited in County Kildare. For comparison, in some cases, I have included present-day figures.

	Celbridge	Kilcock	Furness	Athy / Carlow	Average for County
PRODUCTS, brls.					
Wheat ..	7	7	7	8	7½
Barley ..	14	13	9	15	11½
Oats ..				17½	11½
RENTALS, LAND					
Per acre ..	30/-	21/-	20/-	18/-	10/3
RENTALS					
"Cabbin" and garden ..	40/-	40/-			33/10
WAGES—per day					
Hay & Harvest		1/8	8d.		8½d.
Winter ..	8d.	8d.	7d.		6½d.
Year round ..	13/1	12/8	12/8	12/8	12/10
May, 1932 ..					
PROVISIONS					
Beef, 1lb. ..		2½d.	2½d.		2½d.
Mutton, 1b. ..		3½d.	2½d.		2½d.
Veal, 1b. ..		3½d.	4½d.		3½d.
Pork, 1b. ..		2½d.	2½d.		2½d.
Butter, 1b. ..		6½d.	8d.		5½d.
Chicken, each ..		2½d.	3d.	3/6 1b.*	2½d.
Turkey, each ..				1b.*	
Goose, each ..		1/-	1/-	2/- 1b.*	10½d.
TYTHES					
Wheat ..	7/-	5/-			6/9
Oats ..	5/-	3/-			3/8
Mowing ..	5/-				3/3

\* Athy, 24/4/1952

## THE CROSBIE AGREEMENT OF 1607

By THE EDITOR.

In the Public Record Office, London, there is preserved in State Papers Ireland (S.P. 63) Vol. 223, No. 691, a document which is certified by "W. Uscher" to be a true copy of the agreement between Crosbie and the Seven Septs of Leix regarding the terms of their transplantation to Kerry. This document, which is signed by a representative of each of the Septs, but not by Crosbie, is remarkable not so much for what it reveals as for what it conceals.

It has appeared in print several times. An accurate copy, save for two or three words, is given in a paper by Lord W. FitzGerald in the 1923 volume of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. A very inaccurate copy is given in the second volume of Canon O'Hanlon's *History of the Queen's County*. There is a partial copy, given without comment, in *Constancia Maxwell's Irish History from Contemporary Sources, 1509-1610*. In King's *History of the County Kerry* it is referred to six or seven times, but not quoted.

Canon O'Hanlon and Lord W. FitzGerald and the compilers of King's *History of Kerry*, either state definitely, or take it for granted, that the list of 289 names of men and boys appended to the agreement is a full census of the persons deported. This view is quite incorrect, as even a casual examination of the terms of the document will show; nor is it possible to estimate the numerical strength of the Septs in 1607. The Agreement has never appeared in the *Kildare Journal*, and no apology is offered for its publication now, since the reader will find it so much easier to follow the points to be put forward if he has the terms of the instrument before him:

"The agreements betwene Mr Crosbie and the Seven Septs of Leix at Molin o' Lalour upon St Patricks Daie, being the seventeenth March 1607.

First that Mr Crosbie shall sweare upon a booke never to revenge upon any of the Septs any anger or controuersie that



happened between them since the beginning of this matter, and that he shall procure his heire to doe the like.

2. That he shall give sixe ploughlands of Tarbert of that ten ploughlands there, to theis six persons subscribed and to their heires, paying him and his heires six poundes str. chief rent with other services and rising oute, and for the rest of the six Septs, he shall place them in the Abbey of o Dorney, Coisassan and upon the Mountaine in his other lands, and shall devide amongst them xlii ploughlands, giving them long leases, and suche freedoms & for such rents, as the L. Bishop of Kierry and John Mc Mortoughe shall sett downe, and they both from tyme to tyme shall end all controversies that shall arise between Mr Crosbie and any of the Septs who shall departe with Mr Crosbie at Midsomer date next.
3. That the Septs and their heires for ever shal be faithfull, loving and obedient to Mr Crosbie and his heir Piers and their heires for ever and shalbe directed by them in all services of his Maty and all other lawfull courses.
4. That Mr Crosbie and his heires shall answer all matters for them as well at Dublin as before the President and in all sessions they helping to beare his chardges and yet every of themselves will appear if need be.
5. That Mr Crosbie and his heires shall disburden and discharge them from giving of meat drink or clothing to the 288 persons that are not able to live in this paper annexed subscribed by John mc Mortough and Teig Lalour but shall kepe them himself or dispose of them as he shall think good.
6. That Mr Crosbie shall give to John mc Mortough the worth of £400 lands either inheritance or mortgagd as the L. Bishop of Kierry and Teig Lalour shall value it.
7. That he and his heires shall maintaine and defend the said Septs and their heires in all lawfull causes and shall not suffer them to be wronged or oppressed by any officers or others and both he and they to be sworne to performe theis articles true and he to bring his son Piers to the countrey before Easter date to be sworne to performe the same.

(Signed) John mc Mortough. Teig Lalour. Robert o Dowling. Mortough mc Williams marcke. Donogh mc Eboyes marcke. Fiarre mc Gerrotts marcke. Patrick o Dorans marcke.

Then follows the list of 286 names of men and boys drawn up and signed by John mc Mortough and Teig Lalour. It contains the names of 102 Moores, 39 Kellies, 87 Lalours, 13 Dorans, 43 McEvoyes and 5 Dowlings. The list, therefore, shows only six of the Septs, the missing one being the Clannielaghlen, the O Deevys or O Dees or Devoyes. This name must not be confounded with the Thomond name. O Dea, pronounced o Day, the Irish form of which is o Deaghaidh.

The first article of the Agreement requiring Crosbie to swear not to be revenged upon any of the Septs is explained by the fully authenticated fact that the negotiations between the parties were protracted and acrimonious. Some of the Septs wished to take the matter out of Crosbie's hands and to deal direct with the Council in Dublin. Their seven representatives were actually summoned to appear before the Council, and succeeded in impressing the latter with the reasonableness of their view that the lands at Tarbert should be granted direct to them at a chief rent of £40 rather than to Crosbie at a rent of £5. Their view was simply that they should hold their lands direct from the king and not from Crosbie. This was clearly the considered opinion of far-seeing men, but there appears to have been a want of unanimity amongst them, for they eventually, after much vacillation, decided to adopt the course of allowing Crosbie to be their landlord.

The first item, then, of the actual terms of the settlement is the giving of six ploughlands, apparently one apiece, to the "six persons subscribed." The paper is signed by seven persons, but John, the son of Mortough o Moore, is excluded from the provisions of paragraph 2 for the reason that special provision is made for him in a subsequent paragraph. The six leading men, other than John, that is to say, O Lalour, O Kelly, O Doran, O Dowling, O Deevy (or Dee) and MacEvoy, were to be given feudal tenure of a ploughland apiece (perhaps about 200 acres) at Tarbert. The remainder of the "six Septs" were to be placed as small tenant farmers on 42 ploughlands at Abbeydorney and along the River



Cashen and on the "Mountain" in Crosbie's other lands. Finally the Septs undertake to depart with Crosbie on the ensuing midsummer day.

It will be observed that the principal men, who might, perhaps be called the chiefs, bargained to have their followers placed at a very comfortable distance from themselves, in fact thirty or forty miles away.

Paragraph 6 provides that Crosbie is to give to John mac Mortough o Moore lands to the value of £400, a very large sum for those days, but we are not told whether this sum is to satisfy John and his entire Sept or merely John alone. As elsewhere in the document only six septs are spoken of, it must be presumed that £400 is to satisfy the entire Sept of O Moore. It is not made clear whether John's land is to be at Tarbert where there apparently remained four ploughlands still on Crosbie's hands, or in some other part of his newly-acquired dominions in Kerry.

The agreement requires Crosbie to "disburden and discharge them from giving meat drink and clothing" to the 289 persons referred to in the paragraph numbered 5 above and set out in the list appended to the document. It is perfectly obvious that these people are distinct from "the rest of the six Septs" who are provided for by being placed on forty-two ploughlands south of the Cashen. They are persons who hitherto have been supplied with meat, drink and clothing at the expense of the Septs. Who, then, are these mysterious people?

The State Papers provide the answer to this question. During the negotiations with the Council, Crosbie had insisted on the number of "loose people" among the Septs, people who "had no way to live." He prayed "His Majesty's entertainment for some of them." The expression here used, "who had no way to live," is echoed in the fifth paragraph of the Agreement—"the 288 persons who are not able to live."

This term "loose people" used by Crosbie (and frequently in the State Papers) was a euphemism for fighting men, men who followed a military rather than a "civil" way of life. Their function was primarily defensive, and as defenders of the rights of the Septs they naturally were provided with "meat drink and clothing." This must have been an almost intolerable burden in

times of peace, or in such altered circumstances that the preys of cattle and horses which they had formerly been accustomed to draw into the principality were no longer available.

These 289 men formed the little force which grew up around the remnants of that which accompanied Owney mac Rury up to the time of his overthrow and death in 1600. In the interval of six or seven years their depleted ranks had been steadily growing by the law of natural increase, and it was these men who filled the "freeholders" with foreboding, and not the farmers, carpenters, smiths, tailors, weavers and others who made up the bulk of a quiet and industrious people. The "freeholders" lived cheek by jowl with these people and were, of course, fully cognisant of all that went on among them. No doubt the little army carried out its martial exercises, practising musketry and archery, and such things could not have been done without the cognisance of the neighbours.

It is now impossible to discover how Crosbie disposed of the 289 swordsmen. Some, no doubt, were encouraged to enter the various continental armies which already numbered many Irishmen in their ranks, and indeed this may be readily assumed from hints dropped in the State Papers. It is probable that some of them went to Kerry to be near their kinsmen, but most of them must have been scattered far and wide throughout the country, and it is quite possible that many of them enlisted in the private armies of certain lords in the State Papers Ireland, 1625 to 1632, to this effect is contained in the year 1619) where there is given a page 389 (referring to the year 1619) where there is given a Declaration of one Captain James Tobin, a spy or informer, in which he states that "Lord Thurles told him at Kilkenny, etc., etc., ——— and that he had 90 of the Moores, who were living, disguised under other names, to take command ———." If Tobin's statement be true it would appear that the Moores had not travelled very far from Leix in the nine years which had elapsed from the date of the clearance.

The removal of the Septs was completed in 1610. An interesting colophon in a medical manuscript published by Dr. Winifred Wulff in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, Vol. XVIII, 1930 reads in translation as follows: (this is the

491.6 Special Colln

P. 249v 252



only native reference to the clearance of Leix that now exists so far as is known.) "The 22nd June, 1610 in Eadarguil in the presence of Donnchadh O Conchubhair.— And at that time the final rout and banishment of the inhabitants of Laoighis took place, men, women and young people, small and big. And Sir Henry Power, president of the County of Laoighis and the Sheriff of the County, Piggott, are destroying and plundering everywhere they can find cattle, horses or sheep, or any of their property in their own County, and those people (Power and Piggott) have authority to hang everyone they can catch." That Power and Piggott did not catch all of the members of the Septs is evidenced by the fact that all seven are at this day well represented in the County.

The present distribution of the Septs in Kerry is of interest. All seven are still represented in the extreme north of the County from Tarbert westward along the Shannon estuary, but in small numbers. South of the River Cashen they are again all represented but in much larger numbers. Here, however, the Moores are not so strong as some of the other Septs. According to King's *History of Kerry* there were about fifty-three families of Moore in the County about thirty years ago, i.e., when the compilation was made. Of these there were eighteen families in the barony of Corcaguiney, where their biggest concentration occurred. There were thirteen in Trughanacmy, ten in Iraghticonnor (more or less in the neighbourhood of Tarbert), eight in Clannaurice, two in Iveragh, and one each in Magunihy and Glanarought.

These figures are peculiar. The presence of a concentration of Moores in the peninsula of Corcaguiney is difficult to account for. On the 27th January, 1656, amongst the Papist Proprietors in the Barony of Corcaguiney occurs the name of John mac William Moore (quoted in Miss Hickson's *Old Kerry Records*). One is tempted to believe that this man was a descendant of John mac Morthough, but there is not any documentary evidence now forthcoming to support such a view.

There were in 1921 some seventy-seven families of Dowlings in Kerry, according to King. These families were mostly concentrated in the baronies of Iraghticonnor and Clannaurice on Crosbie's former lands.

There were about twenty-six families of Dees, nearly all of whom were in the baronies of Iraghticonnor and Clannaurice. Of the twelve families of Dorans in the county, eleven were living on land which was formerly the property of Crosbie.

There were only four families of MacEvoy in the county, three of which lived on Crosbie land.

King reckons fifty-eight families of Lalors in the county. These were mostly concentrated in the baronies of Clannaurice and Trughanacmy on Crosbie land.

There were 185 families of Kelly. Although they are found in every barony in the county, their greatest concentrations were in Iraghticonnor, Trughanacmy and Clannaurice on Crosbie land.

At the time of King's compilation, about thirty years ago, there were, in Kerry at a rough estimate, about 2,500 persons bearing the names of the seven Septs. The general population of the county fell by nearly 90 % during the period from 1851 to 1911, and it may be taken for granted that the strength of the Septs fell in like proportion. This would mean that in 1851 their numbers were in the neighbourhood of 4,600. They may have reached their peak in 1847 with a total of perhaps 5,000.

In the so-called Census of Ireland, 1659 (Pender), the only Sept name shown in Kerry is O Dowling in the barony of Trughanacmy, while at the same date in the Queen's County all seven Septs are shown in large numbers in every barony. (In the Queen's County the name O Dee is given another form—O Devoy). From these premises it cannot be argued, however, that the disintegration of the oldest "Celtic principality in Europe" was a failure. On the contrary, it was only too successful and the power of the Septs was finally and completely eclipsed in 1610.

The man selected by the Government to carry out the uprooting of the Septs was Patrick Crosbie, a clerk employed at one time by the Council in Dublin. His brother John, first described in the State Papers as a "preacher," and afterwards as Vicar of Dysart Enos, was raised to the dignity of Bishop of Ardert and Aghadoe in 1600. The careers of both are dealt with fully in the *Journal of the R.S.A.I.*, 1923. There is no entry in the Patent and Close Rolls of the grant of English liberty to either brother, but this would have been unnecessary if they had been



born into English liberty. There is, in the Calendar to the Patent and Close Roll of Henry VIII, an entry of such grant to one Hugo McCrossan in 1531-2. Fortunately there is a transcript of this Roll in the Public Record Office, Dublin. It reads as follows: (in translation) "Similar grant (i.e., of English liberty) to Hugh McCrossan, Chaplain, otherwise called Hugh Crossan, Chaplain, otherwise called Hugh Crosbe, Chaplain." This entry shows that eighty years before the death of Patrick Crosbie, the Irish form of the name was already being put aside in favour of the more English sounding Crosbie. If Hugh the Chaplain were the father or grandfather of the brothers Patrick and John, that fact would account for their freedom to hold office under the Government.

## THE INTERPRETATION OF HERALDRY

By ALFRED MAC LOCHLAINN, M.A.

*Note—In the following remarks finer technicalities have been avoided in the interests of clarity, and it is hoped that readers of the Journal will find the article useful for reference when they meet with heraldic displays.*

When the advice of Voltaire was sought on fit subjects for inclusion in the curriculum of a young gentleman, he dismissed heraldry as being useless in an age when every Tom, Dick and Harry could put a coat-of-arms on his carriage door.

Be that as it may it is, nevertheless, a fact that the ability to interpret the significance of heraldic devices is of great assistance to the antiquarian. On gate-pillars, church windows, monuments to the dead and so on, armorial displays are continually met with. Although, in some cases, the coats-of-arms depicted will be found to be quite fictitious, the great majority of them are of the greatest use in identifying individuals, and often in determining details of their marriages, social position, and family history.

\* \* \* \*

In general, it can be said that without a study of the complications of the Norman-French blazoning terminology, the interested amateur can learn to distinguish various important factors in heraldic display.

In the first place the external ornaments of an *achievement* of arms, as it is called, the *coat-of-arms* proper appears on a *shield*, above which appears a *helmet*; from the helmet descends around the shield the *mantling*, which, twisted into a *wreath* at the top, fastens the *crest* to the helmet. Below the shield, in a scroll, appears the *motto*. The coat-of-arms, or the crest or, less frequently, the motto, can be displayed separately.



[TH] Crosbie's Fort at Ballyheigue - Cherry

Kerry Archaeological Magazine

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VI. Crosbie's Fort at Ballingarry (continued)

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Also

Irish Times:

Crosbie's of Ballyheigue 5 Sept 1936  
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## Kerry History and Antiquities.

(continued.)

### VI.

#### CROSBIE'S FORT AT BALLINGARRY.

**P**ASSING to the peninsular district of Ballyheigue as it lies between Tralee Bay and the Shannon Estuary, and keeping the Coast road which runs below Ballyheigue Castle demesne, we round Kerry Head, which on a wild day or the day after presents a magnificent scene; and still following the indentation of this iron coast, we pass up on the Shannon side of the Ballyheigue peninsula, and some miles onward towards Minegahane, where we find a scarped stronghold, which furnishes a subject of historical interest connected with its occupation during the war of 1641.

This rock fortress was completely insulated and effectually fortified by a drawbridge, with regularly built approaches at each side, the whole forming a communication with the mainland which the besieged could at will cut off by raising the bridge. Its solid ~~abutments~~ <sup>attainments</sup> of well-built masonry still stand out from the cliffs at each side of a fearful chasm running sheer down to the sea at a blinding depth below.

Called Ballingarry, or the Fort of the Garden, this little island still shows traces of having been once covered with what Dr. Smith, the historian of Kerry, calls "a small castle," now in turn crumbled and covered over by soil and herbage. The fort was further defended by a curtain-wall and earthworks on the land side, affording room for the encampment of a garrison to the number of 100 men, such as



was mustered there in 1643; and that it also gave temporary refuge to a large body of fugitives was shown in the narrative of the Siege of Tralee Castle (*vide* No. 14 of the *Kerry Archæological Magazine*).

When the troubles of 1641 broke out in the North the flame quickly spread to the South of Ireland, and with exceptions on each side the conflicting parties quickly ranged themselves into Irish and English, Roman Catholic and Protestant. Patrick, the 19th Lord Kerry, was directed by St. Leger, President of Munster, "to array the county," but in the endeavour to do so he found that he was but strengthening the forces of the opposite party; several of his captains, his own half-brother included, went over with the arms entrusted to them and the men under their command to join the Irish; and a general plunder and harassing of the English commenced, while they endeavoured to draw to such places of strength and defence as the county afforded them.

For such disaster Lord Kerry was but little prepared, and as little fitted for his position by nerve or firmness. He had only just completed a stately edifice at Ardfert—a mansionhouse—somewhat to the south-east of the ancient Cathedral there, which replaced the ancient castle built by his ancestors in the year 1311 during the reign of Edward II. Near the new mansion Colonel David Crosbie, second son of Bishop Crosbie, had also a few years before completed in 1635 the mansionhouse, called Gortnaskehy, now Ardfert Abbey, and still the residence of his descendants. Bishop Thomas Fuller had also taken up his residence at Rahanane Castle, about a mile or two to the west of Ardfert—the episcopal dwelling of the Bishops of that See—so that at that time Ardfert village as it now appears had several resident noblemen and gentlemen, and also a considerable population under their influence and employed as their dependants and retainers.

Finding himself helpless, deserted and betrayed, Lord Kerry, with his lady, retired first to Cork, and finally to England, leaving his neighbour, David Crosbie, a man of more action and decision, to take and hold his place as best he could.

Lord Kerry's retreat was the signal for the destruction of his residence, which David Lawlor, a captain of the Irish, set on fire and destroyed. The adjacent Cathedral then shared the same fate. Bishop Fuller also fled to England, and his residence was sacked and ruined, and though David Crosbie's house, Gortnaskehy, escaped for a while longer, it also was sacked and demolished in 1645. In this emergency Captain Crosbie received new forces from the Lord President St. Leger, and retaining his troops faithful to him, and collecting such English families as drew to him for protection, he retired to the small castle or fort described above at Ballin-garry, where he huddled his garrison within the outworks, threw up entrenchments, and determined to stand on his defence until relieved. To have maintained such a position for any time would have been impossible for him if the sea had not been open to him; and Lord Inchiquin, commanding on the English side in Clare, on the opposite side of the Shannon, was therefore able to furnish him with supplies by means of the fleet then on the coast under command of Lord Forbes and other commanders.

This garrison Captain David Crosbie maintained against all assaults for a considerable time; and on the taking of Tralee Castle in 1641-2 Crosbie's Fort was, besides Bally-beggan, the only place still holding out against the insurgent Irish within the Co. Kerry. It would appear that he was able to protect also with more or less effect the estates and territory of himself and his nephew, Sir John Crosbie, son of his elder brother, Sir Walter, the first Baronet.<sup>1</sup>

In 1642 a testimonial from Barnaby Earl of Inchiquin and Alexander Lord Forbes showed that:—

"Captain David Crosbie in virtue of a Commission addressed to him by St. Leger, Lord President of Munster, for executing martial

<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Crosbie married Mabel, daughter of Sir Nicholas Browne of Molahiffe, and his wife, Julia O'Sullivan. He died in 1639, and his monumental slab bearing the Crosbie and Browne arms impaled, is still (1855) fixed over the Crosbie seat in Ardferd Church. In the "Funeral Certificates of Ireland" (Addit. MSS. No. 4,820, British Museum) is found the following:—"Morrish, eldest son of Sir Walter Crosbie of Maryborough, in the Queen's County, Baronet of New Scotland, died 16 April, 1633, and was buried in St. Andrew's Church." Sir John Crosbie therefore was not his eldest son.



law, and raising horse and foote, hath both raised men, executed malefactors, hath defended at his own proper charges two hundred troops in his fort at Ballingary and relieved two hundred refugees from Traly, after the siege there, for the space of one month, until he could send the same to Lord Forbes, his fleet then riding in the Shannon; and we do hereby recommend his good service therein to the notice of Parliament. Dated at Bunratty this 20th October, 1642.

(Signed) Thomond,  
Alex. Forbes,  
John Humphrey, Sergeant Major.  
Thomas Ramsborough, Vice Admiral.  
Nicholas Crispe, Captain.  
Hugh Price, Captain."

This document shows the service he was able to perform.

The subjoined list shows the officers, pikemen and musketeers forming his garrison at the Fort at Ballingarry, as there mustered on the last day of October, 1643, by direction of the Quartermaster-General of Munster:—

"The Muster Roules of Captain David Crosbie's Company, 1643—

"David Crosbie, Capt.	Connor McBrine,	Dannill Quine,
Mathew Wood, Lieutenant.	John McBrine	Brine Laghlor,
Walter Langdon, Ensigne.	Brine Dowlin,	Thomas Gray,
Sargants—	Danill Birine,	John Dinohane,
James Keilly,	John Cahasy,	William Champion,
John Geary.	Francis Carny,	Richard Dynohane,
Corporalls—	Donnogh Drooe,	William Grayne,
M'Laghlin Laghlor,	John McDonnogh,	Brine Canny,
Patrick Sherhy,	Musketeers—	Andrew Dulin,
Henry Nurse.	John Kemine,	John Dannill,
Drummers—	Thomas Westcome,	Teige Sherley,
Carie Spark,	Jespar Moris,	William Palmar,
Jerimiah Masters.	William Westcome,	John Allin,
Pikemen—	Thomas Ginnings,	James Drew,
Thomas Crosby,	John Curlies,	Redmond Dallton,
Callagh FitzPatrick,	Simon Stiles,	David Tito,
William Connory,	William Curtis,	Dannill Reidy,
Thomas Stacke,	Walter Austin,	Cuttbeard Keyes, the
Randall Mannering,	George Curtis,	elder,
Richard Cantillon,	Moris Reidy,	William Raynolds,
Mathew Moris,	William Austine,	Cuttbeard Keyes,
Thomas FitzGarrauld,	Edward Curtis,	Edmund Byrne
Edward Graine,	Garrett Pierce,	Roger Fargus,
Brine Crosby,	Francis Curtiss,	Richard Conny,
John Serily,	Thomas Reddiard,	Roger Healy,
Thomas Wealch,	Thomas Rice,	Edmond McDonogh,
David Serily,	Dermod Sherley,	Thomas Poore,
Moris Dinohane,	Dannill Dashwood,	Garrett Dwyne,
Robert Mannering,	Richard Walker,	John Mamy,
Harte Maddy,	William Marcell,	Mortagh Chahill,
	Richard Williams,	John McJeames,
	David Jones,	Robertt Austin,
		William Taylor,

Ralph Fullard,	Meete Moare,	Richard Hogane,
Donogh McDermod,	Edmond Bryne,	Patrick McJohn,
Nathniell Kenmury,	Owen McBryne,	Markus Ridiard,
Edmond Maly,	William McPatrick,	Dermod Dulen,
Edmond Fitzpatrick,	David Bulligar,	William Laglor,
Brine McHugh,	Danill McDermod,	Connor Licett,
William Gray,	John Reydy,	Connor McRichard.

"By virtue of His Majesties Muster-Master Generall for the province of Monster, as directed unto me, I have mustered this day the above-named officers and souldiers (110 in all). Dated at Crosby's Foarte in the County of Kerrie, the last of October, 1643.

"ULLICK FITZMORRICE."

When a cessation of hostilities was agreed on between the Earl of Ormond and the Council of the Confederate Irish in 1643, we find that David Crosbie concluded on his nephew's part and his own the following treaty with the agents of the Irish Party:—

"Articles of Agreement Agreed, Condescended, Concluded on, At, By, and Between Captain David Crosbie in the behalf of his nephew, Sir John Crosbie and himself on the one part, and John Mac James Grier, Richard Cantillon, Morrish Hussey, Thomas Hussey, Garet M'Robert, Thomas M'Edmund, Patrick Coursy of the other part, Gentlemen.

"Imprimus. It is agreed and concluded upon between the above-named persons that the said Sir John Crosbie and Captain Crosbie shall have, receive and collect by themselves, their assigns or servants, for their proper and particular uses and use, all such rents, raisings, tythes, sheate, and all other dues, duties and customs which are now due, or hereafter fall or growe due during the present cessation which shall be in this Kingdom within the next three following yeares, out of all their landes, tenements, hereditaments, impropriations and leases within the Coun. of Kyerie, whether yielded to them or either of them any profit during the last commiscion, and upon the 19th of September, 1643, at the time of the then cessation, as also such rents and arrears due to them and their tenants that enjoyed any of their landes, and acknowledged to be their tenants of any of them, and being not compelled by authoritie to pay their rents to any other before the said cessation, so that they and every one of them do yield and obey the cessation supposed to be now concluded, or that shall be hereafter agreed upon during the said three years.

"Item. It is agreed and concluded between all the said parties that there shall be free communication between all and every of the inhabitants of the said Countie, and such as now live or hereafter shall live or dwell in the Foart or Island of Ballingarry, as also between the tenants now dwelling or hereafter shall dwell in any part of the said Sir John or Captain Crosbie's lands within the said countie during this supposed cessation or any other cessation or cessations which shall be during the next three years, viz., as many of them as shall obey and yield unto the said cessation, and it shall be lawful for any soldiers or other inhabitants living at Ballingarry aforesaid to travel to and go from any part of the said county, having the said Captain Crosbie's pass, without any danger or hindrance in body or goods during the cessation or cessations aforesaid.



"Item. It is agreed and concluded upon that all Protestants and such others as have sworn to the said Captain Crosbie as his soldiers before the last cessation, and now live around and within the said Countie, being now, or at any time within the three years, desirous to live with him in Ballingarry for their safety, shall be admitted to go thither without any hindrance in body and goods, and in the interior during the said cessation to be admitted to live peaceably and quietly in the County, and all the rest of Sir John and Captain Crosbie's tenants that shall live in the County during the said cessation.

"Item. Whereas the said Sir John Crosby's and Captain Crosby's tenants for their own quietness have yielded, contrary to the said Sir John's and Captain Crosby's directions, to pay County charges before the last cessation, it is now agreed between all the said parties that the said tenants shall receive as much favour concerning all future charges and rates as any of the tenants, as the tenants of the said John McJames, Richard Cantillon, &c., or any other tenants under their power, and shall use as such favour concerning any rates or charges as to be expected out of their landes, especially such as are waste, as they do concerning any other landes in the barony of Clannaurice, and to this part of this article John Mac James hath taken his oath.

"Lastly, we the said John MacJames, Richard Cantillon, &c., have, and by these presents do, in the presence of God and men, take our voluntary oaths on the Holy Evangelists to perform, fulfil, keepe, and accomplish all and every article, and articles above-written, and every condition, clause, sentence and agreement in these and every of them respectively, to the utmost of our strength, power, will, and understanding; and shall neither directly or indirectly, on any pretence whatever, give any waie to the infringing of the said articles or any of them; and in case we should be by strong hand prevented, so that we could not perform and observe the said articles as is prescribed, that then the said John MacJames to surrender his body at Ballingarry unto the said Captain Crosbie, and report his failing, without any further notice Richard Cantillon, Maurice Hussey are upon their oaths to surrender their bodies to the said Captain Crosbye at Ballingarry aforesaid.

"It is further agreed that John FitzJames shall deliver, or cause to be delivered, James FitzJohn, his son and heir, at Ballingarry, into the custody of the said Captain Crosbie to-morrow, and that upon his oath, upon which delivery the aforesaid Thomas McEdmond are to be discharged. It is further agreed that upon the surrender of the body of John FitzJames at Ballingarry, as aforesaid, that then and not before, this article is to be void. In witness whereof we have hereto subscribed the day and year above written.<sup>2</sup>

"Being present—

"Wm. Fell,  
Matthew Flood,  
Walter Langdon,  
John Griers,  
R. Cantillon,

Mor. Hussey,  
Geo. Stack,  
Thomas MacEdmund,  
Pa. Coursey."

<sup>2</sup>These are not given in the "Kerry Magazine." William Fell, the first of the signatories, was the clergyman who had been in Tralee Castle during its siege, and after its surrender had taken refuge at Ballingarry, and would seem to have remained there. Flood and Langdon were the lieutenants and ensigns of David Crosbie's troop.

The foregoing agreement was confirmed by the Commissioners of the Confederate Army for Kerry as follows:—

“Traly, 24th June, 1644.

“By the Commissioners of the King for the County Kerry.

“It is ordered by the said Commissioners that Sir John Crosbie, Bart., and Davied Crosbie, Esq., shall quietly enjoy and possess all the lands, rents, and other possessions whereof they stood possessed at the time of the cessation agreed on in September, 1643, between the Marquis of Ormonde and the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, in as full and ample a manner as any person with the Lord Marquis his quarter doth enjoy or hath received benefit, any former order or grant of the said Commissioners to the contrary notwithstanding; and the same to continue during the present cessation.

“Provided the said David Crosbie do on his part conform himself to the agreements of the said cessation, and release such prisoners with all their engagements as he hath taken, and restore such prayes (preys) and distresses as he hath possessed himself of from our partie, contrary to such articles of cessation.

(Signed) “O’Sullyvane More,  
Teige O’Donoghue,  
Godfrey Darcey,  
Thomas Fitzmaurice,  
Florence McCarthy,  
Don. O’Sullyvane,  
Connor O’Connor,  
Edmd. Hussey.”

The cessation or terms of peace approved by the Irish Commissioners in September, 1644, were but slightly observed in respect to Captain Crosbie’s lands and possessions. Whether it was that he was thought to have had too favourable terms, or that those in power were unable to restrain excesses, or that, most probable of all, friends turned to foes, certain it is that in the course of 1644-5 Captain Crosbie was again obliged to stand on his defence, endure a fresh siege, and complain to the Marquis of Ormonde of infraction of the treaty, followed by more grievous wrong, as the following petition and commission prove:—

“To the Most Honble. the Lord Marquis of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

“The Humble Petition of Capt. David Crosbie of Ballin-garry in the County of Kerry.

“Humbly Showeth—That the petitioner is and hath been always since the beginning of the late commotion of the English Party, and under the command of your Excellencie, and since the cessation hath maintained his said Fort of



Ballingarry at his own charge, with the lands thereunto belonging, free from paying any contribution or county charges to the Confederate Roman Catholics, and lived peaceably among them according to the articles of cessation, until the Commissioners of the Irish Army for the said county, having entered on certain lands belonging to the petitioner and his nephew, Sir John Crosbie, Baronet, contrary to the articles of cessation as your petitioner conceiveth; the petitioner humbly supplicated your Excellency for your defence of him and his said nephew in their lawful possession. Whereupon your Excellency being graciously pleased in June, 1645 (1644?), to demand justice for them at the hands of those trusted with managing the affairs of the Confederate Catholics, the petitioner attended with his trained council at their Supream Council, yet after long and chargeable processe, could receive no satisfaction as by the articles of cessation was due to him as he conceiveth.

“Whereupon he entered upon some of the said landes in August last, and enjoyed the same and the profits thereof by virtue of an order of the said Commissioners dated 14th Sept. After until January last, some ill-affected to the petitioner obtained order from the said Council to besiege him in the said Forte, and have since continued the same; now forasmuch as the petitioner is ready to answer any breach of cessation by him committed, if such shall be layed to his charge, he most humbly praies that your Excellency will now be graciously pleased to cause the said siege to be raised; and the petitioner will both render the Forte into the hands of such, as your Excellency shall deposit the same, and give good condition to appear before your Excellency to answer whatsoever can be objected against him.”

Ormonde promptly sent this petition to the Confederates, who issued a Commission of Inquiry to parties not the best qualified to do justice in the cases, as at least one of them was most active in the aggression of which David Crosbie complained. John FitzGerald of Ennismore and Colonel Edmund FitzMaurice, brother of Lord Kerry, acting with the Confederates, were those to whom was directed the following Commission:—

"By the Supream Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland.  
 "Whereas, upon petition of Captain David Crosbie unto the Lord Marquis of Ormond, whereof the annexed (that above given) is a copy, the said Captain obtained his Excellency's letter to our Commission appointed for the new treaty of peace, desiring that the siege now laid to the foarte of Ballingarry, in the said petition mentioned, should be raised, and inasmuch as we are most ready to comply with his lordship's desire therein in case the said Captain shall be found to have justice on his side by making it appear that he, the said David Crosbie, was, since the beginning of the first cessation concluded at Jegginstown, in the County of Kildare, 15th September, 1643, of the said Lord Marquis his partie, and so continued ever since, without breaking the articles of the said cessation. We, therefore, reposing especial trust and confidence in the care and diligent circumspection of you, our well-beloved Edmund FitzMaurice and John FitzGerald, Esqrs., do hereby give you full power and authority to hear and examine such witnesses on oath as shall be produced before you on the parte of the said Captain David Crosbie; upon the interrogations thereto annexed by him, the said Captain or such as he shall appoint; and likewise to examine on the part of the publique, such as shall by you be thought or known to have any knowledge of the said Captain David Crosbie, his being or not of the said Lord Marquis his party, and of his breach or not breach of said cessation, and those examinations and depositions soe taken, you are to return unto us, together with your own particular knowledge in the said matter with all convenient speede, close sealed under your hands, to the ende we may give further order therein as we shall think most agreeable to justice. Given at Kilkenny, 16th August, 1645.

"Mountgarrett,  
 Netterville,  
 Muskerry,

H. Preston,  
 M. Plunkett,  
 Pat. D'Arcy,  
 Turl. O'Neill,  
 Geo. Comen."

Intr. .... Officio Secreta,  
 Robt. Buggott.

This reached the Commissioners on the 9th September following, but Colonel FitzMaurice had already issued his warrant for the destruction of David Crosbie's house in Ardferf in the following terms:—

"By virtue of the directions by me received for demolishing of David Crosbie's house in Ardferf, I doe hereby require the inhabitants of the said town towards the breaking down of the said house and premises, as is and they shall be directed. Whereunto the Portriff (Portreeve) of said towne is prayed to give his best furtherance, as he and the rest of the inhabitants of such towne shall answer for his and their defaults. Dated the 9th day of 7mo., 1645.

"Edmund FitzMaurice."

That this order did not fail through default of the inhabitants is evident from a "Restitution" order issued by Lord Inchiquin some years after, when David Crosbie's party were in the ascendant:—

"Whereas it appears Lieut.-Colonel David Crosbie complained to me that all or the greater part of the timber, tiles, shingle, and other



materials of his house pulled down in the towne of Ardfert is now in the hands of several persons without using the same in anye other buildinge. These are therefore to authorise the said Colonel to seize and convert to his own particular use, all such timber and other materials which heretofore were used or did belonge to the house aforesaid, provided the same be not in any other building disposed or set up, and for so doing this shall be his warrant. Given under my hand, 5th July, 1648.

"Inchiquin."

The Commission of Inquiry under these circumstances fell to the ground, and the siege of Ballingarry was continued and pressed more closely. The stout captain of the fort still held out, though with strength reducing daily, and though also disabled by illness, seems to have had no thought of surrender, if a treacherous hand within the fort had not loosened the chains and let down the drawbridge for the enemy.

In the muster roll of Captain Crosbie's company above given we find the name of James Kelly, sergeant. No other person of the name appears in the muster roll, and it was he, with Callogh Fitzpatrick, the second on the list of pikemen in the same company, and another not named, who, while their commander lay disabled by gout, betrayed the fortress to the Irish.

They were already within the fort when Miss McGillicuddy,<sup>3</sup> Captain Crosbie's niece, gave him notice of his danger, and he attempted, though disabled, a defence in his own room.

But he was unable to do more than obtain his life, and that intelligence of his capture should be sent to his nephews, Colonels MacElligott and MacGillicuddy, then serving with the Irish Confederates in the siege of Ballybeggan near Tralee, which still held out against them. By a hasty march and their influence with the captors of Ballingarry,

<sup>3</sup> Connor MacGillicuddy, of Castle Carrick, Co. Kerry, gent., married Jane, daughter of Right Rev. Father in God John Crosbie, Archbishop(?) of Ardfert, by whom he had issue three sons and two daughters, viz., Donogh, Daniel, Connor, Katherine and Ellen. The said Connor married secondly, Shelly, daughter of Daniel Oge Carthy of Dungull, Co. Kerry, gent., by whom he had issue one son named Niel. The said Connor died Oct. 1630, by shipwreck. The truth of the premises is testified by the subscription of Charles Sughrue of Ardfert, Co. Kerry, gent. Taken for me, Albert Leveret, Athlone, to be recorded in the Office, Feb. 9, 1636 (Funeral Certificates, Ireland, Brit. Mus., and Addit. MRS. 4,820).

these young men were able to rescue their uncle from the peril in which he stood. He was brought to the Irish camp, and after a confinement of some duration and severity made his escape, and was received as a skilful commander and loyal subject by Lord Inchiquin, who made him Governor of Kinsale—a position which we afterwards find him surrendering on conditions to Lord Broghill, who was at that time serving with the Parliamentary Army.

The following testimonial from Lord Inchiquin fully sets forth the services and suffering of Captain David Crosbie up to the period of his capture:—

“By the Lord Provost of Munster.

“These are to certify to all manner of persons whom it may concern, that Captain David Crosbie, by virtue of a Commission from Sir William St. Leger, Knt., late Lord President of this Province, about the beginning of this rebellion, in the month of January, 1641, raised a foote company and some horse for the service of the King and Parliament, and the same maintained as a ward for the Forte and Island of Ballingarry in the County of Kerry, at his proper costs and charges, until the 15th of February, 1645, during which time the same was strongly besieged several times, one of the said sieges continuing for the space of fourteen months, with about 600 men and two battering pieces, as I am credibly informed. In which siege all the warders there except five died or became unserviceable; and yet, notwithstanding, the said Forte was valiantly defended by the said Captain Crosby against the besiegers until the same was betrayed by three of the said warders, who assaulted and killed one of the other two in the night time; and brought in the other rebels into the said Forte, where also the said Captain and the others obtained quarter as they said, yet contrary thereto they were detained eighteen months in restraynt, where they endured much misery, until of late they made an escape and came, not without much danger, into the City of Cork, the 28th of June last; and that during all the time of the said Captain his continuing in the said Forte, he did at his own costs and charges, provide all manner of arms, ammunition, and all other necessaries there, unless some small and inconsiderable proportion sent him from hence, and also bestowed on fortifying said Fort and island near £100; and that he hath there relieved many protestants, especially about 200 who endured a long and hard siege in Tralee, and were received by him and there kept one month at his own charge until he had opportunity to send them to Lord Forbes, his fleete then riding in the Shannon, as doth appear by the said Lord Forbes his own certificate, and of the testimony of many others; and that the said captain, besides the spoiling of his house, hath lost an estate of about £800 per annum, which ever since the beginning of this rebellion hath been detained from him by the said rebels; so hath his endeavour been very faithful and accompanied with good success in many services performed on the rebels, whom he hath often preyed, killed, spoiled, and taken away many of them, by which means he did divert the most considerable part of the County of Kerry from giving assistance to the Irish army, all of which appears to me to be undoubtedly true, there being no part here of which I do not perfectly know or have been well informed



of the truth of the same by very credible testimony. As witness my hand this Vith of July, 1647.

"Inchequin."

Later on Colonel Crosbie came to terms with Cromwell, took service with the Ascendant Parliament, and obtained full indemnity against his enemies.

With respect to Ballingarry little more is to be said, except that Colonel Edmund FitzMaurice, who was so active in preying on his neighbour Crosbie, seems to have endeavoured to maintain a garrison in that fort after it had been gotten from its defenders by treachery. On October 3rd, 1648, his brother, Lord Kerry, wrote to David Crosbie, now advanced to be Colonel and Governor of Kerry, with very full powers:—

"I cannot understand why Edmund should offer to hold a garrison in Ballingarry, except for a dishonest end; and I like not it nor the pranks of the O'Sullyvanes." The latter were his brothers-in-law.

That the betrayal of Ballingarry was considered an offence sufficiently important as to be the subject of inquiry as a military offence many years afterwards appears from the following document:—

"By Courtmartial held at Tralee, the 21st of April, 1653.

"Colonel David Crosbie and Colonel Edmund FitzMaurice are hereby required and desired to appear before us at Traly on Saturday next in the morning, being the 23rd instant, and to bring along with you, by this, our warrant, all the proof and evidence that you can get concerning the delivery of Ballingarry to the Irish party; and upon what terms and hour, so that we may proceed in the tryal of one Calough FitzPatricke, who is accused before us for the betraying of the said garrison to the enemy, whereof you and all others concerned may not fail. Given at Traly, the day and year abovesaid. Signed by order from said Court,

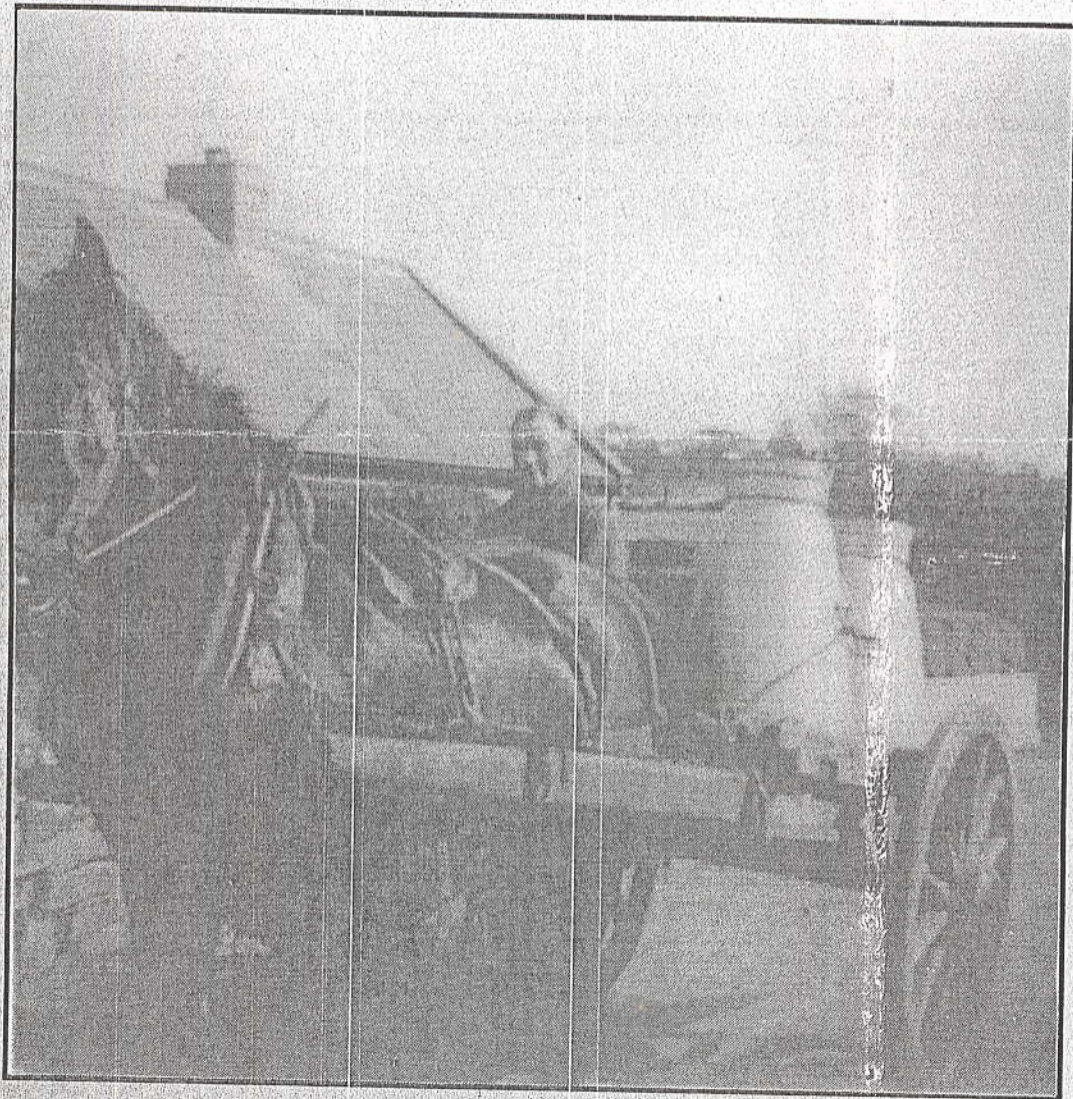
"Richard de Lanne, Cler: Cour."

Of the issue of this trial we have no account. The other traitor, Kelly, was then probably dead; and the Fort of Ballingarry, once held of much importance, has since become a crumbled and neglected ruin. The last Earl of Glendore, we were informed, was very fond of making excursions to this wild spot, so intimately connected with the fortunes of his house during the vicissitudes of the Civil Wars of 1641.



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# THE MOORES of North Kerry & West Limerick.

Part 1  
of a  
3 part  
series

by Martin Moore, Tralee.

Moore, as a surname, is very numerous and prevalent in Ireland. Many of the name are of Gaelic origin and would be descended from the old County Laois clan. However, as Moore is indigenous in England, many more would have their origins in that country. This is especially so of the Moores of Ulster. This article, the first of a three part series, however will concentrate on various references to the Moores of North Kerry and West Limerick areas and their origins.

Gaelic society evolved around the clan system. Hundreds of clan, independent of each other, coexisted, not always in harmony, in Ireland of the 15th and 16th centuries. The word clan derives from the Irish word for family and meant that the people in the district were loyal to the ruling clan. Thus, at this time the O'Connor dynasty was the ruling clan in the present area now occupied by the Barony of Irachiconnor in North Kerry. Similarly, the present midland county of Laois was then ruled by seven clans. The Moore clan were recognised as the principal of these clans.

The 15th and 16th centuries saw a period of English expansion under the Tudors in Ireland. The present county of Dublin was then loyal and outside this area the crown had little effective jurisdiction. The 1530's saw the estates of the Earls of Kildare being forfeited to Henry VIII. In the 1550's saw an attempt to enlarge the area of English dominance with the proposed plantations of Laois and Offaly. What was intended was to clear these counties of the native Irish and replace them with loyal English farmers. The plantation was strongly resisted, not surprisingly, and was not a success. The resilient clans remained. In this they became a thorn in the side of the Tudors. In 1577 Rory Og O'Moore, "the head of the plunderers and insurgents of the men of Ireland", led an attack on Naas. This was a revenge attack for a great massacre of the Moores which took place at Mullaghmast earlier that year. Rory followed this up with an audacious ambush in September in which he captured the lieutenant of Kings County who was a nephew of the English Lord Deputy. In fact in the period 1560 to 1600 saw almost continuous combat between the Midland clans and the Elisabethan armies. Most of this was guerilla warfare which involved attacks by the Irish on towns and skirmishes with the militia who would be sent on raids of reprisal.

Rory was killed in 1578 and was succeeded as chief of his people by his son Owney. Owney, was even more of a warlike chief than his father. His reign coincided with 9 Years War in Ulster by Hugh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell. Owney inflicted the heavy defeat of the Queens troops, under the Earl of Essex at the pass of the Plumes in 1599. During this campaign he extended the campaign, with Richard Tyrell into Munster. Owney led the Irish forces which captured Tralee, Castlemaine and Killarney. In 1600 he captured the Earl of Ormond in April but was himself killed during a raid by Lord Mountjoy's forces on Laois in August. At that stage at least five of his brothers had been killed during the incessant fighting of previous decades. By 1600 Gaelic resistance collapsed and the English sought to assert their dominance by wholesale clearances of the natives from the midland counties.

In the early 1600's the O'Connor lands of North Kerry were forfeited to the Crown and the landowners were dispossessed. This was their punishment for aiding Hugh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell in the 9 Years War. Parts of the lands around Ballylongford were granted to Trinity College, while Patrick Crosby, and Irish loyalists, was given extensive lands in the Tarbert area. The government then arranged for Crosby to grant leases on these lands to certain of the midland clansmen.

Accordingly, in 1609, members of the Moores, Dowlings, Kellys, Lawlors, McEvoy's, Dorans and Deevys were transplanted to North Kerry. An agreement was drawn up between the two parties to this arrangement and it lists 289 male persons that were to go to Kerry. This, in effect is the earliest surviving census for this area. Thus five sons of Brian Roe O'Moore who would be nephews of the infamous Owney are listed. Some of the names of the transplanted are still used by the present generation of Moores eg James, William, Edmond and Patrick. Other names such as Laghlin McDonnell, McOwney, O'Moore have an inbuilt genealogical element, this chap being Laughlin O'Moore, the son of Daniel, the son of Owney!

In the Royal Irish Academy a manuscript is preserved, believed to have been written by one of the Moores exiled in North Kerry. It is dated June 1610 and it states that the banishment of his clan from Laois was by then complete. For one week the Governor of Laois had been employed in killing any natives, seizing all cattle and



burning the old clan homesteads. Presumably the same treatment was meted out to the North Kerry natives who seem to have been expelled to an area south of the River Feale around the Ballyduff region. Many of the Moores do not seem to have stayed too long in North Kerry as the State Papers for 1622 claim than "an extraordinary" number of them had returned to Laois. One that did remain was hung as an accomplice to a highwayman named Callaghan in Limerick for an attempted robbery near Knockanure in 1621.

As can be imagined, the surviving records for the 17th century Kerry do not contain a great detail about the native Irish. However we can glean the following references:-

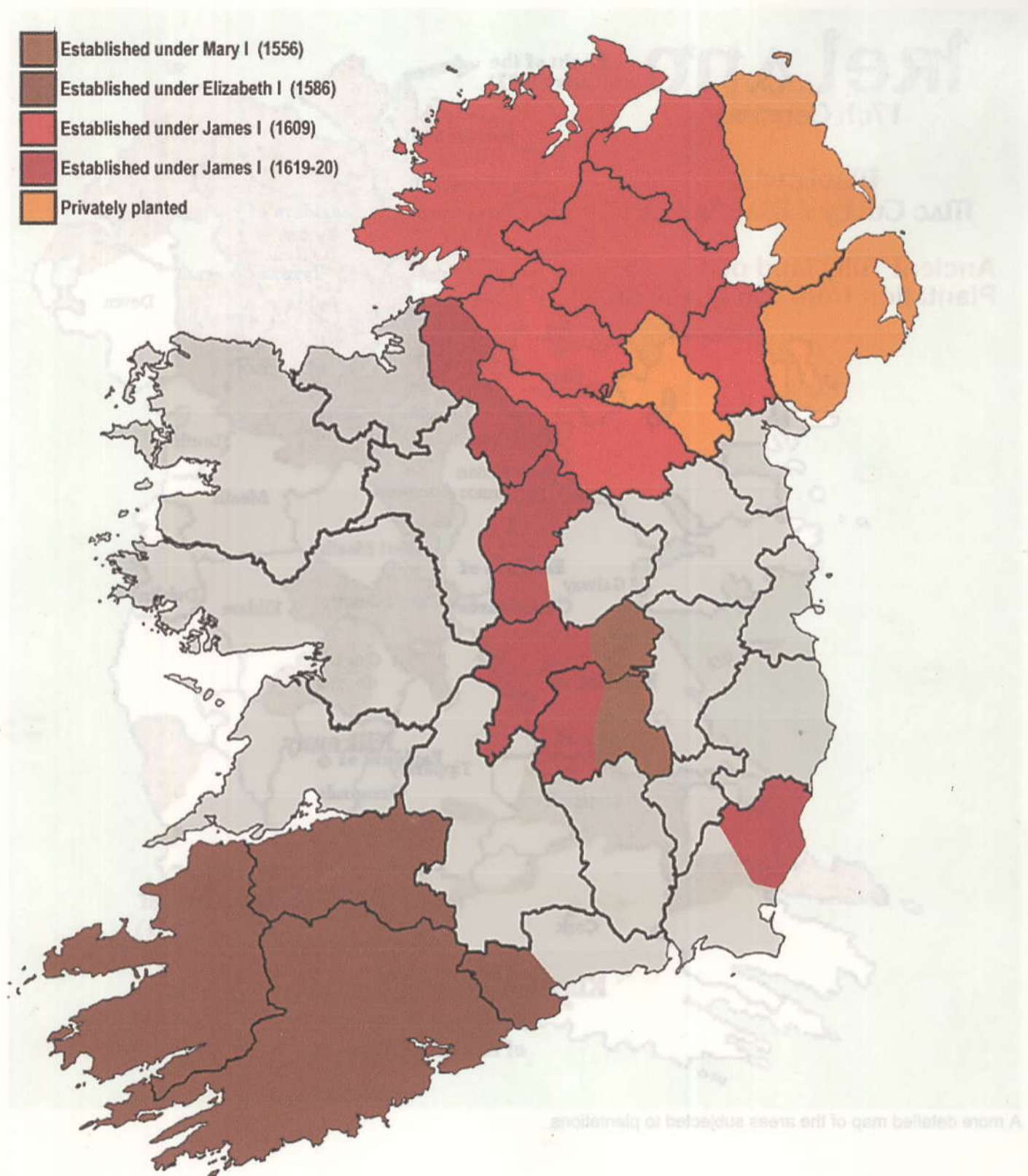
In 1631 Henry O'Moore of Moorestown, Dunquin was one of a number of Kerry men who petitioned Rome to have a Bishop appointed to the See of Ardfert. Henry, together with Garret O'Moore of Ballymore, Richard, John and Shane McRourie forfeited their lands in Kerry for complicity in the 1641 uprising. These Moores of West Kerry seem to have been part of an earlier transplantation to that district. The roll book for Captain David Crosby's Company for 1643 includes a Muskateer Meate Moore. There are a number of references to the Moores of Kerry also during the Williamite conflict of the 1690's. Ambrose Moore of Killgubbin was the provost marshal. One of the Moores was responsible for burning a church in the Ardfert district. A lease still survives dated 1697 from Trinity College Dublin for lands at Gortdromagowna, Moyvane to Roger Moore. He was a grandson of John McMortagh O'Moore who signed the agreement of transplantation with Patrick Crosbie in 1607. Griffiths Valuations of the 1850's lists a Michael Moore and a William Moore at Gortdromagowna. It is interesting to speculate that these lands remained within that one family throughout that time.

This was the era of the penal laws when the natives, as Catholics, were oppressed. The people of North Kerry however clung to the remnants of their old culture and language. Society was then a rural agrarian based economy with little exposure to outside influences. Very little is officially recorded for the period from 1600 to about 1750 for the ordinary people. However from the latter date forward we can pick up further references. These will be explored in future articles where we will look at some members of the Moores who came to prominence from the North Kerry and West Limerick area.

Below are listed the 102 Moores who were transplanted to Tarbert in the years 1607 to 1609. As all those listed are male, it can be assumed that they were the heads of their respective families and that all told at least 300 Moores were transplanted.

1	Kedagh McJames
2 - 4	Mortoughe McRourie & his two sons.
5 - 7	Patrick McConnell & his two sons.
8 - 9	Donnell McConnell's two sons.
10 - 11	Pierce McKedaghe & his son.
12 - 17	six sons of Lisaghe McMurtoughes.
18 - 22	five sons of Brian Reoughes.
23	Kedaghe McShane.
24 - 26	Pierce McNeile & his two sons.
27 - 30	Davi McCowchoggery and his three sons.
31 - 36	Donaghe McDave and his two sons, Farduffe, Darig and Donnell.
37 - 38	Cahir McGillapattrick and his son
39	Shane McBrien.
40 - 42	Thomas McDavi and his two sons.
43 - 44	Edmond McMurtogh and his brother.
45	Morice McNeile Duff
46 - 50	Owney McShanes five sons.
51 - 53	Connell McKedaghe, Shane and Mortogh.
54	Lisaghe McTitlaghe McRourie.
55 - 57	Donnell Bracke and his two sons.
58	Tirlagh McOwney McRosse.
59 - 61	Pat McLaghlin and his two sons.
62 - 64	Shane Ballaghe-McEdmond and his two sons.
65 - 67	Lisaghe McArts three sons.
68 - 69	Connell and Neile McShane McRory.
70	Cahir McLisaghe McRourie
71	Laghlin McDonnell McOwney
72	Donnell McShane McKillie
73 - 78	Shane OMore, Neil, Teig, Laghlin, Donogh and Mortogh (the six sons of Patrick McShane of the Forte.)
79	Mortogh McDonell.
80	Laghlin McDonell
81	Teig McLisaghe bane.
82	Fynen McLaghlin McRorie.
83	Mortogh McConnell
84	Kedaghe McConell
85	Lisaghe McBrien McLisie
86	James Boy
87	William McNeile
88	Lisaghe McNeile
89	Lisaghe McOwney
90	Melaghlin McGillapattrick.
91 - 92	Conell McLisaghes two sons
93 - 96	William McDonells four sons
97 - 99	Tirlaghe McShanes three sons.
100	Diermot McShane
101 - 102	Davie McWilliam and Pat



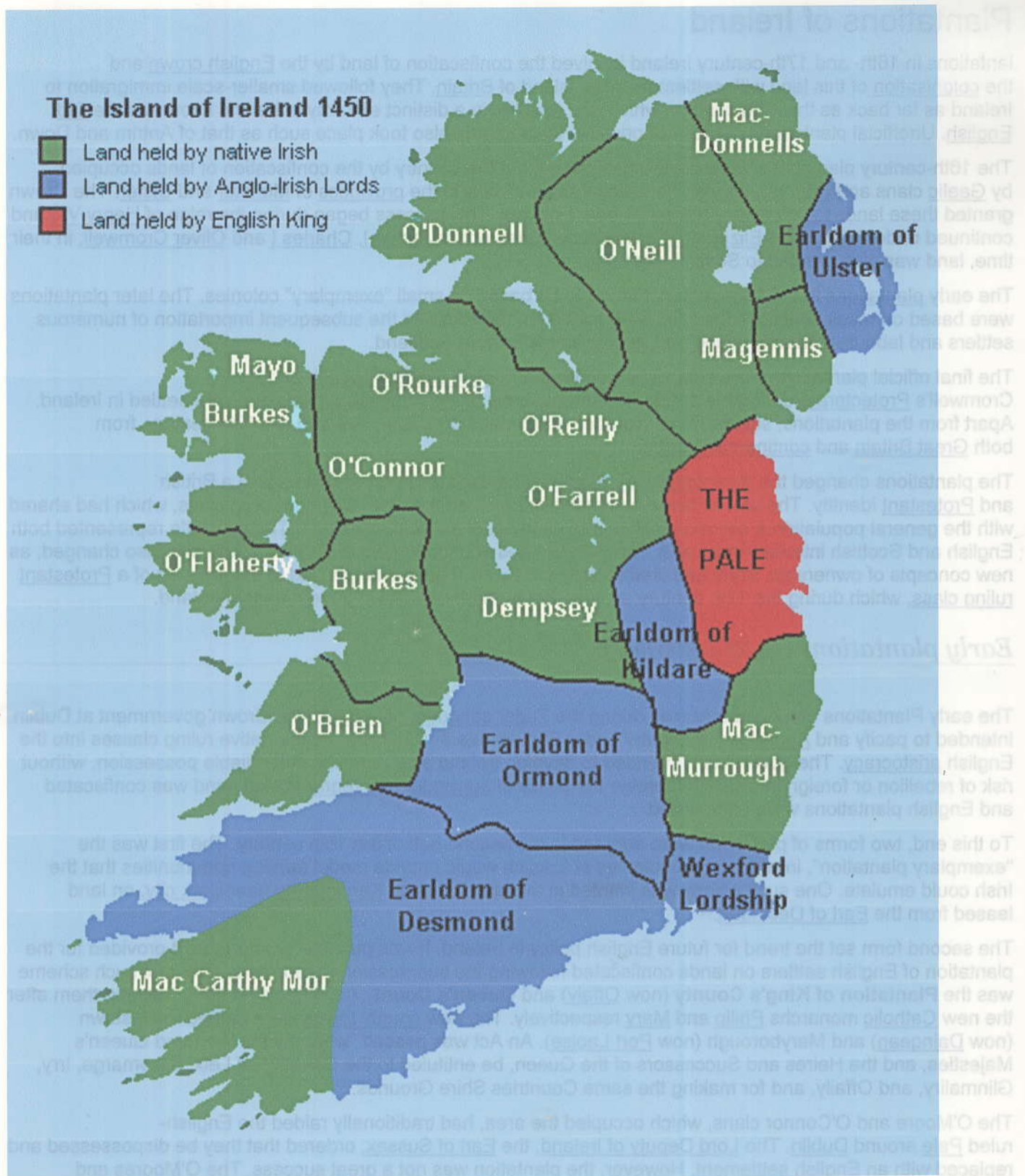


The traditional [counties of Ireland](#) subjected to plantations (1556 to 1620). This map is a simplified one, as in the case of some counties the area of land colonised did not cover the whole of the area coloured.

## Plantations of Ireland







Political boundaries in Ireland in 1450, before the plantations



# Plantations of Ireland

Plantations in 16th- and 17th-century Ireland involved the confiscation of land by the [English crown](#) and the [colonisation](#) of this land with settlers from the island of [Britain](#). They followed smaller-scale immigration to Ireland as far back as the 12th century, which had resulted in a distinct ethnicity in Ireland known as the [Old English](#). Unofficial plantations carried out privately by landlords also took place such as that of Antrim and Down.

The 16th-century plantations were established throughout the country by the confiscation of lands occupied by [Gaelic](#) clans and [Hiberno-Norman](#) dynasties, but principally in the [provinces](#) of [Munster](#) and [Ulster](#). The Crown granted these lands to colonists ("planters") from [England](#). This process began during the reign of [Henry VIII](#) and continued under [Mary I](#) and [Elizabeth I](#). It was accelerated under [James I](#), [Charles I](#) and [Oliver Cromwell](#); in their time, land was also granted to Scottish planters.

The early [plantations](#) in the 16th century tended to be based on small "exemplary" colonies. The later plantations were based on mass confiscations of land from Irish landowners and the subsequent importation of numerous settlers and labourers from [England and Wales](#), and later from Scotland.

The final official plantations were established under the [English Commonwealth](#) and Cromwell's [Protectorate](#) during the 1650s, when thousands of [Parliamentarian](#) soldiers were settled in Ireland. Apart from the plantations, significant immigration into Ireland continued well into the 18th century, from both [Great Britain](#) and [continental Europe](#).

The plantations changed the [demography of Ireland](#) by creating large communities with a British and [Protestant](#) identity. The elite of these communities replaced the older [Catholic](#) ruling class, which had shared with the general population a common Irish identity and set of political attitudes.<sup>[1]</sup> The new elite represented both English and Scottish interests in Ireland. The physical and economic nature of Irish society was also changed, as new concepts of ownership, trade and credit were introduced. These changes led to the creation of a [Protestant ruling class](#), which during the 17th century secured the authority of Crown government in Ireland.

## *Early plantations (1556–1576)*<sup>[edit]</sup>

The early Plantations of Ireland occurred during the [Tudor conquest of Ireland](#). The Crown government at Dublin intended to pacify and [Anglicise](#) the country under English rule and incorporate the native ruling classes into the English [aristocracy](#). The government intended to develop Ireland as a peaceful and reliable possession, without risk of rebellion or foreign invasion. Wherever the policy of [surrender and regrant](#) failed, land was confiscated and English plantations were established.

To this end, two forms of plantation were adopted in the second half of the 16th century. The first was the "exemplary plantation", in which small colonies of English would provide model farming communities that the Irish could emulate. One such colony was planted in the late 1560s, at [Kerrycurrihy](#) near [Cork city](#), on land leased from the [Earl of Desmond](#).<sup>[2]</sup>

The second form set the trend for future English policy in Ireland. It was punitive in nature, as it provided for the plantation of English settlers on lands confiscated following the suppression of rebellions. The first such scheme was the **Plantation of King's County** (now [Offaly](#)) and **Queen's County** (now [Laois](#)) in 1556, naming them after the new [Catholic](#) monarchs [Philip](#) and [Mary](#) respectively. The new [county towns](#) were named Philipstown (now [Daingean](#)) and Maryborough (now [Port Laoise](#)). An Act was passed "whereby the King and Queen's Majesties, and the Heires and Successors of the Queen, be entituled to the Counties of Leix, Slewmerge, Irry, Glinmaliry, and Offaily, and for making the same Countries Shire Grounds."<sup>[3]</sup>

The O'Moore and O'Connor clans, which occupied the area, had traditionally raided the English-ruled [Pale](#) around [Dublin](#). The [Lord Deputy of Ireland](#), the [Earl of Sussex](#), ordered that they be dispossessed and replaced with an English settlement. However, the plantation was not a great success. The O'Moores and O'Connors retreated to the hills and [bogs](#) and fought a local insurgency against the settlement for much of the following 40 years. In 1578, the English finally subdued the displaced O'Moore clan by [massacring](#) most of their *fine* (or ruling families) at [Mullaghmast](#) in Laois, having invited them there for peace talks. [Rory Óg Ó Moore](#), the leader of rebellion in the area, was hunted down and killed later that year. The ongoing violence meant that the authorities had difficulty in attracting people to settle in their new plantation. Settlement ended up clustered around a series of military fortifications.<sup>[4][5]</sup>



## **Leix/Laois**

### *Laoighis*

The name Leix is the Anglicised form of Laoighis which is said to be derived from the name of the Ulster champion Laoiseach, great grandson of Conall Cearnach. To him was granted a fairly large territory which roughly comprised the present county area, secluding that portion now the Barony of Slieve Margy. Originally included in Laoighis was the tract of land between the Nore and the Slieve Bloom Mountains, which covers Kyle, Castletown, Camross and part of Borris-in-Ossory. There is a record of one Berach, King of Laoighis, making a grant to St. Molua for his church at Clonfert Molua, now called Kyle. But, in or about the tenth century, this part of the territory of Laoighis was annexed to Ossory to make up for the loss of Southern Ossory territory, owing to the incursions of the Déise of Waterford.

Genealogists trace the descent of the Laoighis men from the Ulidian (Ulster) hero Conall Cearnach, which means that the Laoighis men claim a separate origin from the people of Leinster in general.

# The Plantations of Laois & Offaly - The Rebellion of Rory O'G Moore

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Around the time that the Fitzpatricks were establishing their control of the area around Camross, the O'Moores of Laois and the O'Connors of Offaly were becoming a thorn in the side of the English in Dublin and the surrounding 'Pale'. Their intransigence eventually led to the establishment of the plantations of Laois and Offaly. As we will see, the impact of these plantations did not make much difference to the region around Camross and the Slieve Blooms. However, in



order to continue on with the story of Camross, the context in which the dominant Irish clans of the rest of Laois were destroyed must be established.

When Mary succeeded her brother Edward to the English throne in 1553 she set about re-establishing English control of Ireland by 'planting' English settlers upon Irish land which she intended to seize from disloyal subjects. The seeds for the plantation of Laois and Offaly were planted with the rebellion of Silken Thomas Fitzgerald which began 20 summers earlier when Mary's father, Henry VIII was King.

Traditionally, the loyal Earls of Kildare had protected the Pale from the rebellious O'Moores and O'Connors in return for the freedom to administer their own lands. But after the execution of Silken Thomas in 1537, English authorities were faced with the prospect of hordes of armed Irish launching sustained attacks on the Pale and exacting black rents, or what we might term today as protection money, from beleaguered settlers. Met with this grim likelihood, the English entered into protracted negotiations with the O'Moores and the O'Connors. A surrender and re-grant arrangement was agreed between the parties. This meant that the Irish would surrender their lands freely and would have them granted back to them on certain conditions. One of these conditions was that they adopt a system of inheritance based on primogeniture (the automatic inheritance of an eldest son to his father's land) as opposed to older Gaelic traditions of inheritance.

Ruaidhrí Caoch mac Conaill O'Moore was the chieftain of Laois at the time. The new inheritance structures which would have emerged had the O'Moores continued to respect the law of primogeniture annoyed the chieftain's brother, Giolla Pádraig. Giolla Pádraig would have inherited O'Moore territory had his brother died but the new arrangement would have meant he would never inherit anything. As a consequence, a bloody conflict erupted between the brothers. It was this conflict which spurred the English into action. Forts were constructed in the modern towns of Portlaoise (Fort Protector) and Daingean (Fort Governor). And with the necessary garrisons in place the lands of O'Moore and O'Connor were seized in June 1557.

The Irish in Laois and Offaly were given the option of becoming loyal citizens or be forced off their lands altogether. Initially the lands assigned for planting comprised of the modern baronies of Warrenstown, Coolestown, Upper and Lower Philipstown in Offaly, and of Portnahinch, Maryborough East and West, Stradbally, Cullenagh, and Ballyadams in Laois.[1] The barony of Upperwoods, of which Camross was a part, was not included in the planted area.

Whatever land that was vacated or forcibly taken from the native Irish would then be offered to any loyal Englishmen that wanted to move to the Irish midlands and live there. The conditions attached to being granted land included the provision that no assignment should be made without the



approval of the lord deputy; that the leasee should not cause any of the lands to be inhabited by any person with a surname of O'Moore or O'Connor; and that every person inhabiting should have sufficient weapons to serve the king and for his own defence.[2] They also had to farm in the English manner, build stone houses and maintain the roads and infrastructure of their lands. The towns around Fort Governor and Protector were named Maryborough and Philipstown after Queen Mary and her Spanish husband Philip. The counties themselves were named Queen's County and King's County.

However, despite the large investment of English funds into the venture, the plantations were doomed to failure. There was a distinct lack of interest amongst English people to leave their stable homes and move to the volatile midlands of Ireland. Their settled way of life in England bore little resemblance to the danger that they would have faced in Ireland. The promise of vast swathes of land only enticed some to make the move across the Irish Sea. Those who settled lived in constant fear of raids from the O'Connors and the O'Moores. Indeed many of the planters that were granted land were English soldiers who had served in the area already. These same soldiers were deeply mistrusted by the local Irish and they had gained a reputation for brutality and greed.

Once it became apparent that it would not be practical to populate all the planted regions with English planters, loyal natives were also given lands. But these arrangements often ended with the natives coming into conflict with both their Irish and English neighbours. For instance, one of the most prominent native planters, Callough O'Connor, fled his lands and took up arms against the English. By the time O'Connor was caught and killed, the English claimed that they had killed ninety prominent members of the O'Connor clan and thirty-five O'Moores.[3] This grim statistic shows the extent of the bloodshed that was concurrent with the establishment of the plantations in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century.

By 1571, there remained merely one dominant member of the O'Moore clan; Rory Óg O'Moore. Rory Óg orchestrated a successful guerrilla war campaign against the English. His in-depth knowledge of the rough boggy terrain gave him a huge advantage when evading Crown Forces. Displaced and angered members of the O'Moore and O'Connor clans, along with the other septs of Laois and Offaly, joined Rory Óg in terrorising the English.

Facing the imminent disintegration of their midland colonies, English authorities began to look at their options. Prominent English official, Sir William Fitzgerald, believed that nothing short of the annihilation of the O'Moore clan would suffice and he supported the idea of re-granting lands to a bitter enemy of the O'Moores; the O'Dempseys. In late 1575, Sir Henry Sidney became the Lord Deputy of Ireland for a second time. Through the Earl of Ormonde, Sidney made contact with Rory



Óg and a meeting between the two took place in St. Canice's Cathedral in Kilkenny. Rory Óg made the surprise gesture of repenting his earlier faults and promised Sidney 'to live in better sorts'. [4] Initially sceptical at Rory Óg's humility Sidney was encouraged by a largely peaceful year in the midlands throughout 1576. Sidney optimistically ordered that the garrisons in Offaly be downsized and troops relocated to elsewhere.

But this was a naive and disastrous move on Sidney's part, a move which Rory Óg dramatically took advantage of. On Christmas Eve 1576, the O'Moores dramatically picked up where they left off a year prior. About a hundred men led raids deep into Offaly, burning houses and farmyards before moving into Kildare where they led a devastating surprise attack on Naas. Sidney wrote the following on the rebels' attack on the Kildare town;

They ran through the town, [the gates being] open, like hags and furies of hell, with flakes of fire fastened on poles ends, and so fired the low thatched houses ... and it being a great windy night one house took fire of another in a moment. They tarried not half an hour in the town... [5]

From Naas, the Irish moved south to Leighlinbridge in Carlow. Rory Óg and his men set about the destruction of yet another town on their rampage but were impeded by the resistance of George Carew and a handful of English soldiers. They fought the rebels back but half the town was ablaze regardless of their efforts. Indeed, as we will see later, the young Carew would not forget the barbarism of the rampaging O'Moores.

English forces began a massive manhunt for Rory Óg and his men and they succeeded in picking off several of O'Moore's band of followers. But the situation became far more personal for Sidney when his own nephew, Captain Harrington, was taken prisoner by Rory Óg, along with Alexander Cosby of Stradbally, after they had foolishly tried to discuss terms with Rory Óg. Sidney wrote of the brutality that Rory Óg allegedly meted out to his nephew whilst under his guard;

The villanous rebell fell upon my most dear nephue, being tyed in chaynes and him most shamefully hacked with my nephue's own sword, to the effusion of such a quantity of blood as was incredible to be tould. He brake his arm with that blunt sword, and cut off the little finger of one of his hand. [6]

Sidney was more determined than ever to permanently solve his O'Moore problem and the other rebellious hordes of Laois and Offaly. There are numerous accounts of the circumstances that led to the culmination of treachery that Sidney employed to eradicate his enemies, many of which are contradictory. The official silence from Sidney and all Dublin Castle authorities ensure that official state documents on the planning of one of the most infamous events in early modern Irish history is non-existent. However, from sources such as the *Annals of the Four Masters*, personal



correspondences of high ranking English officials and oral histories and traditions, one can piece together a chain of events in the confidence that it likely closely resembles the truth.

The concept of negotiating with the Irish was not alien to Sidney. After all, he had gained a year's respite from Rory Óg through a face to face meeting in Kilkenny. So when the suggestion was made that the best course of action might be to discuss terms with Rory Óg it is very likely that he would have entertained the idea. The man who made the suggestion was Thomas Lee, a young English officer based in Philipstown, who had been summoned to Dublin Castle to discuss the rebellion in the midlands with Sidney. Lee had gained the respect of Sidney and the personal gratitude of Queen Elizabeth after he had led a very successful attack deep into the Slieve Blooms in 1574.[7] From his experience of dealing with the Irish in Laois and Offaly, Lee suggested to Sidney that the only way to find peace was to begin talks with the leaders of the disaffected clans of Laois and Offaly.

Sidney agreed and a meeting was called for Mullaghmast, Co. Kildare. To the meeting were invited Rory Óg and the leaders of the other six of the seven septs of Laois; the O'Devoys, O'Dorans, O'Dowlings, McEvoys, O'Kellys and O'Lalors. Several clans from Offaly also came, including the O'Connors.[8] They travelled from all directions to the conference of leaders under the protection of a senior officer of the administration of Queen's County, Francis Cosby. As they were escorted through the heart of the planted lands of Laois, the Irish were no doubt nervous of what might happen once they arrived in Mullaghmast but they could hardly have expected the bloodshed that awaited them.

The *Annals of the Four Masters* described what happened on that fateful day in 1577 as follows; A horrible and abominable act of treachery was committed by the English ... upon that part of the people of Offally and Leix ... under their protection. It was effected thus: they were all summoned to shew themselves, with the greatest number they could be able to bring with them, at the great rath of Mullach-Maistean (Mullaghmast) and on their arrival at that place they were surrounded on every side by four lines of soldiers and cavalry, who proceeded to shoot and slaughter them without mercy, so that not a single individual escaped, by flight or force.[9]

Another medieval Irish text, the *Annals of Loch Cé*, states that no uglier deed than what happened in Mullaghmast was ever committed by the English in Ireland.[10]

Many were left with blood on their hands following the massacre. Aside from Cosby, whose men escorted the Irish to their deaths, Robert Walpole was accredited with planning the treachery and the O'Dempseys and other Gaelic clans were blamed for aiding the murders. It is highly likely that Sidney was also complicit in the massacre. Thomas Lee, in his memoirs of his services in Ireland,



confirmed as much. He wrote that the authorities drew 'unto them by protection three or four hundred of those country people ... and brought them to a place of meeting, where ... garrison soldiers ... dishonourably put them all to the sword; and this hath been by the consent and practice of the lord deputy (Sidney)'. [11]

The Annals of the Four Masters clearly state that no one escaped the violence in Mullaghmast. [12] But Rory Óg O'Moore was not among the dead. It is likely that blind luck or skilful evasion allowed him to escape. In any case, as news spread of the horror that had befallen a generation of clan leaders, Rory Óg easily tapped into the growing anger and brought together a small force of men. They attacked Carlow town but faced English forces that had now redoubled their efforts to capture him. He was forced to flee to the bogs and mountains around Slieve Bloom for cover. However, he had other foes in the area to deal with also, and not all of them were English.

By this time, the first Lord Baron of Upper Ossory, Brian Fitzpatrick had died. He was succeeded by his son Brian Óg, or as he was known by then, Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick. Barnaby had an extraordinary upbringing which shaped his loyalty to the English crown for all his life. His father had sent him to the Pale to be raised in the English manner and he was subsequently sent to England to be educated. Whilst there, the young Barnaby became best friends with the young Prince of Wales, Edward, who would go on to become, albeit briefly, King Edward VI. Barnaby maintained this friendship throughout Edward's short reign as King of England and Ireland. Edward had Barnaby sent to France where he served King Henry II of France during his war against the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. He returned to England in 1552 and was knighted shortly afterwards. He became the Second Lord Baron of Upper Ossory in 1575.

Barnaby was as determined as any member of the English establishment in Dublin to capture Rory Óg. Rory Óg had done a great deal of damage to his stock and lands over the years and he was eager to maintain his high standing amongst his peers in Dublin. But in the end, despite being in hiding, it was Rory Óg who made the first move. He told some of his men to spread a rumour that he was nearby to Barnaby's stronghold and that he was in possession of 'pots, pans, pewter, nappery, linen, and other household stuff and implements'. The rumour also suggested that he could be easily captured if he was surprised by a small band of troops sneaking upon his position. [13] Rory Óg wanted to continue his campaign and felt that if he could lure out small bands of Barnaby's men he could claim some valuable heads with little fuss. Barnaby took the bait, but not in the manner that Rory Óg would have hoped. Barnaby sent out a great number of cavalry and soldiers to search for the rebel and when they found him and his men they easily killed them



all. Barnaby showed no mercy or remorse for the death of Rory Óg even though they were related through Barnaby's mother.

A delighted Henry Sidney commented upon how the local people had helped Rory Óg to evade capture for so long;

And this was the end of this rank rebel, the last day of June in the morning, who by the maintenance of his neighbours and supply of aid and relief of some of his friendly borderers, which he wanted not in the time of his necessities, had so long continuance to the charge of her Majesty and disquiet of the State.

[1] R. Dunlop, 'The Plantation of Leix and Offaly' in *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 6, No. 21 (Jan., 1891), pp. 61-96.

[2] Dunlop, 'The Plantation of Leix and Offaly', p. 65.

[3] Vincent P. Carey, 'John Derricke's "Image of Ireland", Sir Henry Sidney, and the Massacre at Mullaghmast, 1578' in *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 123 (May, 1999), pp. 305-327.

[4] Dunlop, 'The Plantation of Leix and Offaly', p. 81.

[5] Dunlop, 'The Plantation of Leix and Offaly', p. 81.

[6] Carey, 'John Derricke's "Image of Ireland", Sir Henry Sidney, and the Massacre at Mullaghmast, 1578', p. 318.

[7] Taken from Turtle Bunbury's exciting article on Mullaghmast: [http://www.turtlebunbury.com/history/history\\_irish/history\\_irish\\_mullaghmast.htm](http://www.turtlebunbury.com/history/history_irish/history_irish_mullaghmast.htm)

[8] Taken from <http://www.libraryireland.com/Atlas/XXXVII-Massacre-Mullaghmast.php>

[9] Taken from University College Cork's online Annals of the Four Masters archive: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/T100005E/text008.html>

[10] Taken from University College Cork's online Annals of Lough Cé archive: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100010B/text011.html>

[11] Carey, 'John Derricke's "Image of Ireland", Sir Henry Sidney, and the Massacre at Mullaghmast, 1578', p. 324.

[12] The encyclopedia of Ireland describes the heroism of Henry O'Lalor in his escape from Mullaghmast also. Indeed, the only certainty that emerges from the various accounts is that there was a very bloody and likely treacherous event that took place in Mullaghmast, which may have had two or more escapees.

[13] Dunlop, 'The Plantation of Leix and Offaly', p. 83.



## Revenge for Mullaghmast – The Rebellion of Owny O'Moore

After the death of Rory Óg various smaller bands of O'Moores and O'Connors attacked the settled English but they were disorganised and lacked the inspiration, or luck, of Rory Óg. Even Barnaby Fitzpatrick's illegitimate brother, Callough, was in rebellion in the Camross area, albeit to little effect[1]

War weary O'Connor chieftains in Offaly approached English officials and sought to have some lands granted to the displaced Irish in return for peace. By this stage, Queen Elizabeth was in power and she was growing very frustrated at the huge cost of keeping the Irish in Laois and Offaly under control. Therefore she gave the Privy Council the authority to sanction a plan to give some O'Moores and O'Connors land in the 'outward parts of Leix and Offaly'. [2] One can only surmise that such outward parts would have included the heavily wooded and thoroughly 'outward' Slieve Blooms. However, just as a settlement was about to be reached, a settlement which could have changed the course of Anglo-Irish relations, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald landed with a small force of continental troops in Dingle under the patronage of Pope Gregory XIII. A second, so called, Desmond rebellion had begun.[3]

Although this rebellion was as unsuccessful as the First Desmond Rebellion, it ended whatever chance there had been for peaceful co-existence between the native Irish and English settlers in Laois. The tumult caused by the rebellion made the prospect of negotiations very unlikely. The English planters finally began to benefit from a sustained period of peace to reaffirm their holdings in the area. It was not until the 1590s when a post-Mullaghmast generation of Irish launched another wave of rebellion.

Rory Óg O'Moore, the rebel of the 1570s, was married to the sister of Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne of Wicklow. When Rory Óg was killed by Barnaby Fitzpatrick's soldiers, his son, Owny, was sent to his uncle. Owny was trained by his uncle in swordsmanship in Ballinacor, near Tinahely. He grew up hearing tales of the heroism of his father and the butchery and barbarism of the perpetrators of the massacre at Mullaghmast. Owny became chieftain of Laois in 1593 and sought to continue his father's legacy in terrorising the English planters and their supporters.[4] In 1596 he attacked the Cosbys of Stradbally and succeeded in killing Alexander Crosby, the same man Owny's father had held prisoner years previously and the son of one of the main organisers of Mullaghmast.

However, Owny's forces suffered great losses shortly after the Battle of Stradbally Bridge and there followed a short period of calm as Owny went into hiding to regroup.[5]



But the calm was short-lived. The conflict which historians would one day call the Nine Years' War was spreading southward from Ulster. Owny mustered as many men as he could as he sought to induce the Baron Fitzpatrick to join Irish forces against English rule. By this stage the title had passed from Barnaby, who had died young, to his younger brother Florence. Florence was resolute in his refusal not to join Owny in aiding the O'Neills and O'Donnells of Ulster. However, Florence's loyalty to the crown was not shared by his eldest son and heir, Teige, who welcomed Owny and was eager to assist in any way that he could.[6]

Two of the most prominent castles in Laois and Offaly, at Stradbally and Croghan, fell to the rebels and hundreds of innocents were slaughtered as the maelstrom of violence escalated. In 1600 an old adversary of Rory Óg O'Moore was appointed President of Munster, the now knighted Sir George Carew. In April of that year Carew arrived at the residence of the 'Black' Earl of Ormonde, Thomas Butler. Butler, the commander-in-chief of English forces in Ireland and cousin of Queen Elizabeth, intended on meeting Owny O'Moore in the countryside near Ballyragget to discuss a peace. Carew, who had held off the forces of Owny's father in Leighlinbridge decades earlier, was determined to accompany Butler.

So they set off the following morning, along with the Earl of Thomond, from Kilkenny city to the meeting place. They were only protected by a small body of cavalry. As they approached the place they could see an army of 520 men awaiting them. Carew remarked later that they were 'the best furnished men for the war and the best apparelled' soldiers he had ever seen in Ireland.[7] Owny emerged from the crowd and approached alone to speak with Butler. An hour's worth of talking yielded little headway. As the two continued to speak, Carew noticed movement in the shrubbery, that somewhat surrounded the area of the meeting. Owny's men had managed to surround the area unbeknownst to the English. Carew immediately raised the alarm but Owny's men soon swept upon them and captured Butler. Carew and the Earl of Thomond somehow managed to make their escape.[8] The capture of such a prominent figure was an extraordinary coup for Owny. Teige Fitzpatrick offered the castle of Gortnaclea as a place to hold the prisoner, showing that the divisions between Teige and his father were deepening.

Owny's achievement was somewhat tempered by Hugh O'Neill's insistence that Butler be released.[9] However, in return for Butler's release Owny 'received in his place sixteen hostages, consisting of the eldest sons and heirs of the most honourable gentlemen who were subject to Butler'.[10] Despite the Earl's release, the Lord Deputy, Baron Mountjoy, was livid. Mountjoy became determined to crush the O'Moores once and for all as part of a coordinated effort to bring about an end to the ongoing war. Mountjoy led a large army that marched towards the main



residence of Teige Fitzpatrick in Castletown. On the way they employed scorched earth tactics, destroying the growing corn in every direction on their way towards a showdown with Owny.[11] On 21 August, as Mountjoy's forces approached, Teige deliberately set fire to Castletown and fled.[12] When Mountjoy eventually engaged Owny's forces, the battle was brutal and the more organised and better armed combined forces of Mountjoy and Butler defeated the O'Moores. Owny, fearful that his head would be severed from his body and be paraded all over the kingdom, willed his men to bury his head should he die in battle, a fate he duly met at the hands of Mountjoy's soldiers.[13]

Owny's death was the end of the resistance of the Gaels of Laois. The Annals of the Four Masters sum up the great loss that Gaelic Ireland had suffered;

Owny, son of Rury Oge, son of Rury Caech O'Moore, who had been for some time an illustrious, renowned, and celebrated gentleman, was slain by the Queen's people in an overwhelming and fierce battle which was fought between them on the borders of Leix, in the month of August of 1600. His death was a great check to the valour, prowess, and heroism of the Irish of Leinster and of all Ireland. He was, by right, the sole heir to his territory of Leix, and had wrested the government of his patrimony, by the prowess of his hand and the resoluteness of his heart, from the hands of foreigners and adventurers, who had its fee-simple possession passing into a prescribed right for some time before, and until he brought it under his own sway and jurisdiction, and under the government of his stewards and bonnaghts, according to the Irish usage; so that there was not one village, from one extremity of his patrimony to the other, which he had not in his possession, except Maryborough alone. After the fall of Owny ... Leix was seized by the English; and they proceeded to repair their mansions of lime and stone, and to settle in the old seats of the race of Conall Cearnach, to whom Leix was the hereditary principality, for there was no heir worthy of it like Owny, to defend it against them.[14]

An end to centuries of dominance in Laois by the old Gaelic order was brought about soon afterwards when the leading families of all seven septs of Laois were transplanted to Tarbert in Kerry by Sir George Carew a few years later.

As for Teige Fitzpatrick, his support for Owny and the Earls of Ulster seemed to cost him his inheritance. His father travelled to Queen Elizabeth in a show of loyalty and he was regranted all of his land including strongholds in Gortnaclea, Castletown and Ballaghmore. His next eldest son, John, was to inherit all of Upper Ossory upon Florence's death. However, as time passed on Teige's son, Barnaby, successfully brought the matter to the King's Council in Ireland. An arrangement allowing Teige to inherit half of Upper Ossory was made in 1618. This arrangement



effectively split the area in two. The area around Camross and Castletown was inherited by John. He became the Baron of the Manor of Castletown-Offerland. Teige and John's younger brother, Edmund, lived in Derrynaseera. He oversaw much of the land in that area of the present parish of Camross.[15]

In an attempt to ease tensions in the area the Crown also granted pardons to a host of families in Upper Ossory. The descendants of this pardon populate much of Camross and Castletown to this day; Fitzpatricks, O'Brophys, O'Phelans, McKeenins, O'Dorans, O'Delanys, O'Bergins and MacCostigans amongst others.[16]

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[1] Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, Vol. 1, p. 83.

[2] Dunlop, 'The Plantation of Leix and Offaly', p. 84.

[3] The head of the Fitzgerald dynasty in Munster was known as the Earl of Desmond.

[4] Feehan, *Slieve Bloom*, p. 106.

[5] Dunlop, 'The Plantation of Leix and Offaly', p. 88.

[6] Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, Vol. 1, p. 88

[7] Dunlop, 'The Plantation of Leix and Offaly', p. 90.

[8] The Annals of the Four Masters describe this meeting as follows: 'A day of meeting was appointed between the Earl of Ormond and Owny, the son of Rury Oge O'Mooreach, to have an equal number of men in arms and armour, to hold a conference; and the Earl of Ormond brought the President and the Earl of Thomond to be present, at his own side, at that conference. When they arrived at the appointed place, which was in the neighbourhood of Bel-atha-Raghat, they began to state their mutual covenants, and to argue their claims on each other, until a gentleman of Owny's people placed his hand on the reins of the bridle of the Earl of Ormond's horse, and finally determined to take him prisoner. When the President and the Earl of Thomond perceived this, they turned their horses back, and did not halt until they arrived at Kilkenny. The Earl of Thomond, however, was wounded in that encounter. Owny, the son of Rury, then took the Earl of Ormond with him into the fastnesses of his territory; and it was a wonderful news all over Ireland that the Earl of Ormond should be detained in that manner'.

[9] Taken from Thomas Butler's entry

on <http://www.libraryireland.com/biography/ThomasButler.php>

[10] Taken from University College Cork's online Annals of the Four Masters

archive: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/T100005F/text012.html>



[11] Feehan, *Slieve Bloom*, p. 106.

[12] Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, Vol. 1, p. 88.

[13] Dunlop, 'The Plantation of Leix and Offaly', pp 90-91.

[14] Taken from University College Cork's online Annals of the Four

Masters: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/T100005F/text012.html>

[15] Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, Vol. 1, p. 92.

[16] Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, Vol. 1, p. 90.