

GLANEROUGHT
AND THE
PETTY-
FITZMAURICES

By the
MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE

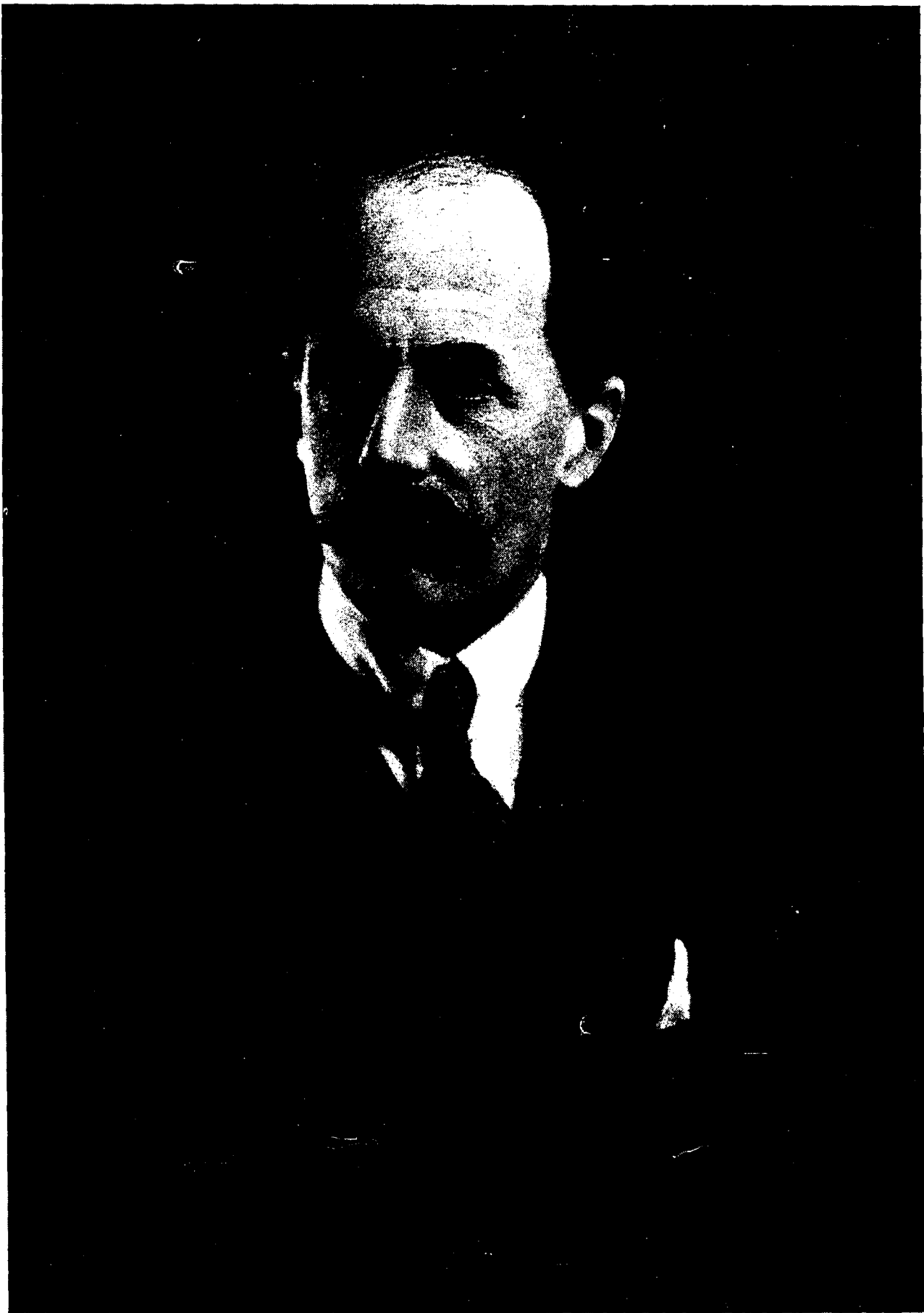
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HENRY WILLIAM EDMUND, 6TH MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE
D.S.O., M.V.O., F.S.A.

Born 14 January 1872. Died 5 March 1936

MEMOIR

HENRY William Edmund Petty-Fitzmaurice, 6th Marquis of Lansdowne, was born on January 14th, 1872. He was educated at Eton and at Balliol College, Oxford. It is remembered that he was happy both at school and college, and especially delighted in his life at Oxford. He had the normal tastes and aptitudes of a youth of wealth and great position; but he did not discover in himself the taste for research and literary narrative which afterwards distinguished him. He was from the first noted by his friends as having great charm; and this charm sprang from two qualities apparent throughout his life, which always make the possessor attractive: he was full of a deep and even excessive personal humility, and he was profoundly unselfish, with that unconscious simplicity which makes unselfishness shine like a jewel in a fine setting. And these qualities had an intellectual as well as a moral value. They made him forget himself in his work, and they lay at the root of the unremitting taking of pains which always gave efficiency to his labours.

He accepted throughout his life, without ostentation but simply and effectually, the rule that a man must be of service to his fellows, not the less because he need not work for a living but has the means to live after his pleasure. All through his life, therefore, he pursued definite work in accordance with the dictates of circumstances or the more obvious calls of duty. On leaving Oxford he went into the Army and received a commission in the Grenadier Guards, and served in the South African War with his battalion until invalided.

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Afterwards he was placed on Lord Roberts's staff. When the Irish Guards were embodied after the war he was transferred to that regiment.

In 1904 he married Elsie, daughter of the late Sir Edward S. Hope, K.C.B.; there were three sons and two daughters of the marriage. In the following year he left the Army. In 1906 he stood for Parliament in North Westmorland but failed to be elected, though only by three votes. He then stood for the London County Council and was successful in West Marylebone. He did not get an opportunity of election to Parliament until 1908, when he was chosen for West Derbyshire at a by-election. He remained in Parliament until 1918, when he lost his seat at the General Election. During the years of the War he was absorbed in military work. He rejoined the Irish Guards and for a time commanded the Reserve battalion, but failed to pass the medical test, and was therefore employed at home, to his keen disappointment. The death of his brother, killed in action in 1914, was a great sorrow to him. In 1922 he was nominated, as Earl of Kerry, a member of the newly formed Irish Senate, and retained his seat until 1929, when he retired for reasons of health.

It was after the War that Lord Lansdowne first turned his attention to Bowood, and to the papers collected there, and he now discovered for the first time where his true vocation and real aptitude lay. The vast mass of material that he found had not seen the light for more than a generation, and it was the work of two years to sort and arrange the papers before there could be any question of publication. First working out how Bowood and its surroundings became the property of his ancestor, Lord Shelburne, he was led on to a variety of local and family history, and for

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treating this he developed a remarkable skill. His pamphlet 'King's Bowood Park', published in the *Wilts. Archaeological Magazine* in 1921, revealed a quantity of local and ancient history. His papers on 'The Customs of the Manors of Calstone and Bremhill', 'A Roman Villa at Nuthills near Bowood', and 'Wiltshire Politicians (cir. 1700)' appeared as valuable contributions to the same magazine. He went on to publish the extremely interesting documents relating to his great-grandfather, the Comte de Flahault, who had acted as aide-de-camp to Napoleon the Great in his Russian Campaign, and who later played a not unimportant part in the *coup d'état* of 1851. *The Secret of the Coup d'État* was published in 1924, and it was followed by a not less interesting volume *The first Napoleon, Some unpublished documents from the Bowood Papers*. Still drawing from the same source, Lord Lansdowne wrote a short Memoir of his ancestor, Sir William Petty, and edited *The Petty Papers* and *The Petty-Southwell Correspondence*. These books compelled the attention of students of seventeenth-century history and political economy. *An Early Rental of the Lord of Lixnaw* was read before the Royal Irish Academy, and was drawn from documents relating to the family property in Ireland. *The Double Bottom or Twin-hulled ship of Sir William Petty* was printed for presentation to the Roxburghe Club, of which he was a member. He was also a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature. Among other papers at Bowood, Lord Lansdowne discovered some valuable letters from Dr. Johnson to Queeney Thrale. His treatment of them is fully described by Dr. Chapman in a note which follows. To these literary enterprises, which, as a whole, constitute an achievement of conspicuous merit, must be added

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Lord Lansdowne's memoir of his father, written for the forthcoming volume of the Dictionary of National Biography.

After the death of his father in 1927, Lord Lansdowne spent the greater part of every year with his family at Bowood, and found that his life there combined a variety of interests. He entered into every detail of estate management, besides giving much time and attention to local government and public service. His literary work was an endless source of interest, and his knowledge of art, which was on a high level, showed itself in the care he bestowed on the works of art in his possession.

As I have already suggested, it is interesting to observe that it was not a little Lord Lansdowne's moral qualities which made him so successful as an investigator and literary editor of papers of historical interest. The unselfish subordination of himself, both to the enterprises on which he was engaged and to other persons, living or historic, whom he was bringing to public notice, gave him a most unusual capacity as an editor. This extreme humility and unselfishness gained both in moral value and in the precious stimulus that it gave to his intellect, from the want of consciousness of the virtues which he possessed or rather which possessed him. The saying of Lord Houghton: 'I can be humble enough but, alas! I always know that I am so'—true of almost every one—was not true of Lord Lansdowne. His humble conviction that all that he could do was after all of little worth, strengthened his notable capacity for taking pains; and the complete withdrawal of his own personality left the stage free for the characters whose letters and doings he presented to the world.

It is hardly necessary to say that these qualities of

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selflessness and humility made him personally delightful to his friends and in his home life, where his influence, unobtrusive though it was, will remain a living thing in the hearts of his devoted family. He was fortunate enough to possess a vivid and sympathetic sense of humour, and was always ready to be amused at anything, including himself and his doings. This reacted favourably on his literary work both by helping to a sense of proportion (on which humour largely depends) and by making him treasure and bring out with prominence all that was laughable and pleasant in the matter with which he had to deal. The only thing to regret is that his humility may have prevented for many years his finding out and using his own notable talents and aptitudes. It may be so; but even such a price would not be too high to pay for the arresting charm of his personality and the atmosphere of effectual goodness which surrounded him.

To complete the picture one must add the constant impression of notable high breeding, not so rare in men of his upbringing as humility and unselfishness, but yet not so common as to be a matter of course. One should add, too, the thorough performance of the duties of a country squire and the active love of the pleasures of a sportsman. In the duties was shown the spirit of service, which was the note of Lord Lansdowne's whole life; and in sport all the keenness and good fellowship which make sport an ornament in old-fashioned country life. The whole presented an example of a vocation thoroughly pursued, altogether without pretension but with an admirable simplicity, as though to serve others and forget oneself were normal and almost inevitable. That such a life should have been in its closing years shadowed by ill health most patiently borne, and by a heart-rending

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bereavement,¹ is very sad. Yet, as always happens with natures of high virtue, these sorrows and sufferings brought forth new graces of patience and submission which further ennobled a temperament not to be depraved.

Lord Lansdowne is dead; but the memory of his life survives; and wherever it is recalled among his friends it will be a stirring summons to the service of others and to forgetfulness of self.

HUGH CECIL

¹ The accidental death in 1933 of his eldest son, to whose memory *The Queeney Letters* was dedicated.

NOTE

LANSDOWNE's interest in Johnsonian studies began with his inheritance, romantically linked with his Napoleonic heritage, of manuscripts and other things which had belonged to Hester Maria Thrale, Johnson's 'Queeney', and her sisters. The story of this inheritance is told in *Johnson and Queeney*. The manuscripts had fallen out of knowledge until they were sent from the Scottish home of Queeney's husband, Lord Keith, to Lansdowne House, where Lansdowne found them. They are now at Bowood.

On 25 June 1930 Lansdowne attended a meeting of the Johnson Club at the Cheshire Cheese, and after supper read to the company Johnson's letters to Queeney, which had been talked of in 1788 but which no Johnsonian had ever seen. He read from a typescript, and allowed me to follow on the originals. My familiarity with the hand enabled me to read one or two hard words. This was the beginning of our acquaintance, which presently embraced Dr. Lawrence F. Powell—labouring then as now on his revision of Birkbeck Hill's *Boswell*—and led to a triple alliance, I will not say against Mrs. Piozzi, though our inquiries were seasoned, if they were not prompted, by a willingness to catch that lady in certain economies of the truth. Mrs. Piozzi, it will be remembered, had in 1788 produced two volumes of *Letters to and from Dr. Samuel Johnson*. These comprised letters from Johnson to herself, with a few to her husband and her younger daughters. But it was known at the time that Miss Thrale had refused to give up hers. Mrs. Piozzi, yielding gracefully to her publisher's importunity, included also some

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letters of her own to Johnson, which have been suspected as fabrications. The plot thickened when the Piozzian manuscript hoard acquired by the John Rylands Library about five years ago was found to contain letters from Mrs. Thrale to Johnson which Mrs. Piozzi did *not* print, as well as rather suspiciously fair copies of those of her letters which she did print. The new letters were edited for the Rylands Library in 1932. The old ones remain in manuscript (since they were printed in 1788), but Lansdowne saw a typescript of them. He was also allowed to read a photograph of *Thraliana*, Mrs. Thrale's commonplace book now in the Huntington Library in California; and copies of the unpublished letters at Bowood were supplied to the researchers at Manchester and in California.

Lansdowne produced two books as the result of these studies. *Johnson and Queeney* (Cassell 1932) is a handsome edition of Johnson's letters to Queeney, with an introduction setting forth the descent of the manuscripts, and illustrations from other relics at Bowood, including Reynolds's portrait of Queeney, the Thrale family Bible, and 'Queeney's Cabinet'.

In *The Queeney Letters*, a cheaper book issued by the same publisher in 1934, Lansdowne included (1) the Johnson-Queeney letters, (2) letters from Fanny Burney to her 'dear Miss Thrale' in 1782 and 1783, (3) letters from Mrs. Piozzi to Queeney, 1784-7; with some extracts from later letters.

Both books are models of careful editing. The editor's most difficult task was that presented by the tangle of conflicting interests and sentiments which arose out of Mrs. Thrale's marriage with Piozzi. This is a quarrel in which almost every one still takes sides; most Johnsonians, being middle-aged gentlemen, take Mrs. Piozzi's. Lansdowne has been called a partisan

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on the other side; and he did not conceal his dislike of Mrs. Piozzi, or his belief that her sense of truth was uncertain and her pursuit of Piozzi undignified. But he was scrupulously fair in presenting the evidence. If he disliked the mother, he was not ensnared by the daughter, who was not his ancestress. He told me that he did not find her attractive.

Like all the Bowood Papers, the Thralian manuscripts were preserved, arranged, copied, and indexed with every care and skill, and were made accessible to every scholarly inquiry. Lansdowne's interest in the Johnson circle widened the circle of his own acquaintance among men of letters. He was made a member, and later (his health not allowing him to attend often) an honorary member of the little Johnson Club, which holds its meetings in the Johnson House in Gough Square, and sups in the garret where the great dictionary was compiled.

R. W. CHAPMAN

FOREWORD

THE author of this book died a few weeks after he had completed it in manuscript. The papers from which it is derived had evoked for him a fascinating picture of the life and manners of the people who had their homes in the 'mountains, woods and fastnesses' of Kerry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; a people whose wayward charm and lawless habits complicated the problems of owning land in so inaccessible a region.

The latter part of the book was written at Derreen, and shows that although in recent times a home in Ireland was not without its difficulties and even its tragedies, the romance of Kerry, with its soft blue hills and gentle breezes, still held its sway for the descendants of Sir William Petty.

The proofs of the book have been corrected, and the references verified, by Dr. R. W. Chapman and Dr. L. F. Powell. It is hard to express sufficient gratitude to them for their skill, patience, and sympathetic interest.

E. L.

March 1937

INTRODUCTION

SOUTH KERRY—in which I would include the mountainous region lying between McGillicuddy's Reeks on the north, Bantry Bay on the south, and the Atlantic seaboard—is by general consent one of the most picturesque parts of Ireland. Its devotees, indeed, would claim that the scenery of this district, with the vegetation and colouring induced by close contact with the Gulf Stream, can nowhere be surpassed. The railway and the motor-car have now thrown this region open to all, but in bygone days it was perhaps the wildest and most inaccessible in the country. The first Norman colonists scarcely attempted to penetrate within its fastnesses, and were content to protect themselves in the north by a chain of castles stretching right across the present county. 'Desmond', as it was then called, thus became an appanage of the earls of that name, under whose somewhat nominal suzerainty the Irish 'Septs' fought out their battles with little or no interference from outside. Even when, in Queen Elizabeth's time, after the suppression of the Desmond rebellion and the death of the last earl of that name, his territory was taken over by the Crown, the 'Undertakers', to whom it was given, do not appear to have attempted to occupy it, and for a time it continued as isolated as before.

It was after the Great Rebellion, and the fresh forfeitures which ensued, that the greater part of this district was granted to Dr. Petty. He had just completed his famous Down Survey of Ireland, though South Kerry proved so impenetrable that its maps were not completed until some time after all the rest had

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been dealt with, and when finally produced bore evidence that parts of it, even then, cannot have been completely explored. Petty lost no time in developing the lands he had obtained, though his work was almost brought to nought soon after his death by the Rebellion of 1689. But in the next generation his male successors died out and the inheritance fell to the second son of his only daughter. She had married the 20th Lord of Kerry (afterwards the 1st Earl of that name), the head of the Fitzmaurices, who had long been established in the northern portion of the county. During the eighteenth century the original Fitzmaurice estates dwindled and finally disappeared. The elder branch of this family died out soon afterwards and the title reverted to the younger, who added 'Petty' to their original patronymic. The Petty-Fitzmaurices thus found themselves still located in the county of their origin, though none of their ancestral lands remained. Their principal interests henceforward centred in the most southerly of the 'baronies' into which Kerry was formerly divided—Glanerought—so called from the Roughty river which runs through it, and, since this volume is principally concerned with that district, I have adopted it as my title.

Of the ancient history of this region curiously little remains. The *Kerry Records*, collected and printed by Miss Hickson, mainly relate to the north of the county and to the Anglo-Irish families therein, but of the southern Irish chieftains—McCarthys and O'Sullivans—scarcely even has the succession been preserved. The ruins of their castles still stand, but no one knows when they were built or when they fell into decay, and the exploits of their owners survive only as traditions of the countryside. Even of later days information is scanty. Nothing has been written of the establishment

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of Petty's industries—the iron works, the timber and the fishery trade—or of their subsequent decline. We know little, moreover, of those who lived in this district, of its development by new roads and communications, of the attempts made towards afforestation, or of the founding of its market-town, Kenmare.

Moved by a desire to learn more about a county in which I had passed many happy days, I began some years ago to explore the papers relating to the Kerry estates which have been preserved amongst our family archives. The notes I then made, together with some stories collected orally or from printed works, are embodied in this volume, to which, in order to bring it up to date, I have now added a final chapter.

My documents, being of family origin throughout, necessarily emphasize the personal reactions of the various Petty-Fitzmaurices who, during the last three centuries, have been called upon to administer their Kerry estate. It is, however, as a story of the district, rather than of those in whose hands its control happened for the time being to rest, that I have compiled these pages. Private records have been less carefully preserved in Ireland than in England, and our public records are now, alas, no more. I therefore make no apology for printing, such as they are, these 'footnotes' to the history of South Kerry.

Most of these notes are purely local, and as such will interest only those who are familiar with the corner of Ireland so delightfully described by Froude in his *Fortnight in Kerry*. But some of the story may have a wider appeal, for few are familiar with the history of Petty's Survey, of his industrial colony at Kenmare, and of the working of an Irish iron and fishing industry in the seventeenth century. Lord Shelburne, the Prime Minister of 1782-3, and his son 'the Nestor of the

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Whigs' appear in these pages for the first time as Irish landlords. Both were perforce absentees, though, as these papers show, fully alive to their responsibilities in this distant region. The true character of Shelburne will no doubt always remain something of a mystery. No one was more abused in his day than 'Malagrida, the Jesuit of Berkeley Square', and though he was not without personal friends, few ventured to take up the cudgels on his behalf. It is curious that the first person to vindicate the character of so prominent a Whig should have been the Tory Disraeli, who in his novel *Sybil* has put it on record that he considered Shelburne as 'the ablest and most accomplished minister of the eighteenth century'. Modern opinion has tended in the same direction, and goes to show that Shelburne's chief disability lay in the fact that his ideas were too much in advance of his time. The autograph documents which I am now publishing for the first time may help to throw some fresh light on these matters. Of Henry Petty, 3rd Lord Lansdowne, it may be recalled that he was one of the first and the most consistent advocates of Catholic Emancipation, and that his chief contributions to the political debates of his day were on Irish affairs. It was perhaps in recognition of these predilections that, towards the end of his life, he was offered the title of 'Duke of Kerry', an honour which was not accepted.

I have given in an Appendix a sketch of the earlier history of the Fitzmaurices, as Lords of Kerry and Lixnaw. Their succession from the thirteenth century onwards is well known and attested, but their origin has long baffled the professional genealogists, for that which had been traditionally assigned was clearly incorrect. It was only within recent years that the late Dr. Goddard Orpen, a past-master of original research,

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discovered the documentary evidence which established this origin. I have restated shortly Dr. Orpen's conclusion on this subject, and have explained, more fully than I have done elsewhere, the circumstances under which the Fitzmaurice family came to be transplanted from the north to the south of the county from which they had sprung.

In my Bibliography I have given the full description of the various works consulted. They are referred to more shortly in the foot-notes. Quotations and statements for which no authority is given are taken from the Bowood Papers.

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¹ When the place of publication is not given it is London.

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The Lansdowne, Petty, and Shelburne papers quoted are at Bowood.

I

SIR WILLIAM PETTY AND THE DOWN SURVEY

THE modern county of Kerry comprises eight 'baronies', divisions which are now obsolete, though they once were the principal units for local administration. Of these the four southern baronies—Magunihy, Iveragh, Dunkerron, and Glanerought—were formerly part of Desmond, which stretched besides over a considerable portion of the present counties of Cork and Limerick. It was not till the seventeenth century, following the Desmond Rebellion of Elizabeth's reign and the fresh rising which occurred after the death of the last McCarthy Mor, that these four baronies were incorporated in the County 'Palatine' of Kerry.

There is little recorded history of the district prior to this period. Before the Norman Conquest it was, we are told, O'Sullivan territory, but the McCarthys of County Cork, driven thence by the early Norman settlers, came to Kerry 'as to a place of security; the southern part of the country being then almost inaccessible, because of its mountains, woods, and fastnesses'.¹ In the inter-tribal warfare which ensued the Normans of the Fitzgerald family became involved, but at the battle of Callan, fought on the slopes of Mount Mangerton near Kenmare in 1261, the McCarthys won a signal triumph over the O'Sullivans and Fitzgeralds combined. Thenceforward for some time they had matters all their own way. Their

¹ Charles Smith, *The Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry* (1756), p. 27.

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chief was distinguished by the title 'McCarthy Mor', while the leaders of the O'Sullivans were the 'OSullivan Mor' and the 'O'Sullivan Bere', the first being paramount to the north and the second to the south of the Kenmare estuary. As time went on the Fitzgeralds regained the upper hand, and both McCarthys and O'Sullivans had to recognize the overlordship of the successive Desmond Earls.

After the defeat and death of the last earl of that name in 1586 his possessions were declared to be forfeited, and a survey or list of all his lands was made by some of the 'Undertakers', as those were called who, receiving the land from the Crown, undertook to govern it according to the Queen's pleasure. The chief rents and tributes in money and in kind which had been payable to Desmond by all concerned are in this survey most carefully set forth, and though the place-names are difficult and often impossible to identify, it gives us for the first time some information as to the Irish families who were living in this land at the time.¹

The elimination of the Desmond Earls had promoted the McCarthy Mor of the day, created Earl of Clancar or Clancarthy, to the position of principal chieftain. But his death in 1596 was the occasion of another outbreak, similarly punished by the forfeiture of the possessions of those who had taken part in it. A fresh survey then made under the auspices of Sir George Carew, who had been instrumental in putting down the rebellion, adds a good deal to the history of the district, and is specially noticeable as including the first maps ever made of South Kerry. The overlords of this

¹ *Desmond Survey Roll* XXVI of Elizabeth. Now destroyed, but the portion relating to Co. Kerry was privately printed c. 1885: there is a copy at Bowood. W. M. Hennessy, 1829-89, Assistant Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office, Dublin, was the translator.

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region having thus disappeared, its destinies appear to have been left for a time in the hands of lesser chieftains who had formerly held under them. But the Great Rebellion of 1641 once more threw everything into the melting-pot. The land of those who had aided and abetted, or, in the phrase then generally used, had not shown 'constant good affection' towards the Government in this emergency were once more forfeited to the State and, since practically all the native Irish had been involved, a wholesale transference of property soon took place. It was during the course of the ensuing Settlement, begun under the Commonwealth and finished under Charles II, that the greater part of the district with which we are concerned came into the possession of Sir William Petty, the author of the Down Survey of Ireland.

Cromwell, like his predecessor Charles I, was constantly in want of money, and the funds required for his Irish expedition were for the most part found by English citizens, whom he undertook to repay by a share in those forfeited lands. These persons became known as 'Adventurers', since they had 'adventured' their money in the enterprise. The pay of the Army was moreover in arrear, and it was decided that this also should be found in forfeited land, the hope being entertained that the rebellious Irish would thus be leavened by the admixture of a number of good Roundhead settlers.

But before either Adventurers or soldiers could receive their share of the spoil, a map of the country had to be made, for there was none in existence. Petty was at the time in Ireland, as physician to the forces, but he held also the posts of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and Clerk of the Council. To these he now added that of cartographer, and though without

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previous experience in the art of surveying, he succeeded in completing his task in a little over three years. He called his work the 'Down Survey,' and it has been known by that name ever since.¹

South Kerry was then almost *terra incognita*, and it is clear that it so remained for some time afterwards. Richard Blome's *Britannia*, which purported to give a full description with maps of the British Isles, was published in 1673. But of Desmond all Blome has to say is that it is 'a mountainous country, and well washed with the sea which thrusteth forth its arms a good way into the land and forms three promontories, viz. first that of Eraugh, lying between Baltimore and Bantre, a bay sufficiently well known for the great store of herrings here taken. Secondly that of Beare, being enclosed between the Bays of Maire and Dingle. It hath for its chief places Donekyran (Dunkerron) defended by a castle, Ardes (Ardea) and Downboy (Dunboy)'. The confusion between the principal inlets of south-west Ireland which is evinced by this account is sufficient to show how much Petty's survey was needed in Desmond.

The mapping of Kerry was found to be no easy task, both on account of its physical configuration and the absence of communications. There was also a difficulty in deciding what land should be classed as 'profitable' and what as 'unprofitable', for only the former was to be surveyed in any detail. The two surveyors,

¹ The term 'down survey' occurs at least three times in the documents connected with Petty's survey—'down admeasurement' is more frequently used—and is not defined, but apparently means, as Major Larcom states, a survey in which the topographical details are laid down on maps, as distinguished from a mere list of areas. According to the same authority the term was in his time still used in Ireland by the country surveyors of the old school. See *History of the Down Survey*, ed. Larcom, 1851, pp. i, vii, 14, 28, 41, 46, 63, 72, 73.

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Lewis Smith and John Humphreys, who were employed by Petty in Kerry, have set forth their troubles in a memorandum which is still extant.¹ It appears that their maps were amongst the last to be handed in, and indeed they cannot have been completed till after 1667, for the Down Survey map of Dunkerron Barony shows the iron works at Kenmare, which were only started about that time.

The Down Survey as a whole is, in all the circumstances, remarkable for its accuracy. It may, however, be remarked in passing that the work of the Kerry surveyors left something to be desired, for we find that in the district with which we are concerned they entirely omitted to notice the River Blackwater on the north, and the chain of large lakes at Cloonee on the south of the Kenmare River, both of which are amongst the most important topographical features of the locality.

There had been three first-class rebellions, besides numerous minor 'troubles' in Kerry, all within a century preceding the Down Survey, and the country was about the most distant and inaccessible in Ireland. It therefore carried a bad reputation, and proved to be, in Petty's quaint phraseology, 'the great scene of this clamour' when the forfeited lands began to be distributed to their new owners, for 'the principall care was to avoid Kerrey by those who possibly might fall there, and to have it swallowed was the designe of others in noe danger of comming neer it'.²

The baronies of Iveragh and Dunkerron were specially objected to, and, indeed, were left out of account in the first distributions made to the Army

¹ Ibid, pp. 93-101. The memorandum is signed by Lewis Smith only. He begins 'Whereas I, Lewis Smith, and one John Humphreys, etc.'

² *History of the Down Survey*, pp. 80, 85.

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and to the Adventurers. Glanerought was almost equally unpopular, and the soldiers petitioned that:

If the barrony of Glanneroughty may not be laid aside, some way of reprizall (i.e. compensation) may be thought uppon for such who shall fall there, and in the rest of Kerrey, they being perswaded that not one fifth of the return in Glanneroughty will be adjudged profitable lands, and not one moyety in the remainder of Kerrey.¹

Petty had considerable difficulty in getting the payment which he had been promised on the completion of his survey, and tells us that he found himself obliged to take 'refuse ends and tayles of lots'² in land instead of in the money which was his due. It was probably in this way that he first became involved in Kerry, and it soon began to exercise on him a peculiar fascination. We find him in 1661 writing to his cousin John Petty:

I would now have you a little to hearken after ye state of this Kerry, for my heart was ever upon it, perhaps too enthusiastically. The seate of designe must be there at last; and a few years later (1666) he remarks almost prophetically that

for a great man that would retire this place would be the most absolute, and the most Interessant place in the world, both for Improvement and Pleasure and Healthfulness.

He was afterwards, it is true, to write of Kerry as a place where 'few Englishmen can endure to live' and where 'the few English there can have no justice executed, for want of hand wherewith to do it'.³ Nevertheless his belief in the possibilities of the country continued unabated till his dying day, though, as we shall see, he was only spared by a few months from

¹ *History of the Down Survey*, p. 93.

² Fitzmaurice, *Life of Petty*, p. 61.

³ *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, p. 44.



Charles II

Wheras certain lands lying in the County of Kerry within our Kingdom of Ireland, amounting in all to 2660. 2. 30. 4. 1/2 in several Townlands Ploughlands and other denominacions within the parish of Kilmart, & the remainder being 2660. 2. 1. in several like denominacions within the parish of Toxall, both which said parishes are in the Barony of Glancroshty & County of Kerry aforesaid) were set unto Doctor William Petty in satisfaction of 889. 15. 10. of Souldiers Armes by an Order of Assignment bearing date the 24th of March 1657. signed & sealed Wm. Godwin. Miles Symonds and by the said Doctor his Tenants or Assignes possidet the 2th of May 1659. It is Our will & pleasure (in respect of the ready & diligent service of the said Doctor for our Service, the good affection he bears to the said his abilities to serve Us) that all the unprofitable lands, that is to say all the course lands lying within all or any of the Townlands Ploughlands or other denominacions wherein any part or parcel of the above-mentioned lands do lie, not worth to be let this present year 4th of acre p ann, be sold at our & above. unto him as Woods, Boggs, & barren mountains as by Act of Parliament in the case of Adventurers; and that the said lands be sold as also the said course lands be sold upon him as other lands are sold upon the souldiers for their Armes. And Our further pleasure is, that the Surveyor General do cause the said several lands to be surveyed for that purpose & give an account as heretofore he has done, 1661. in the thirtieth year of our Reigne.

To Our R^t Trusty & R^t Wellbelov'd Counsellor
Sir Maurice Surtace Knt. Chancellor of Our Kingdom
of Ireland, and to Our R^t Trusty & R^t Wellbelov'd
Cousins & Counsellors Roger Earle of Ormy & Chamber
Earle of Mountath, Justices of Our said Kingdom, &
to Our Chief Governor or Governors thereof for the time
being, & to Our Commission^{ers} for executing our Declaration
for the settling of that Our Kingdom, & to Our Surveyor
General thereof or his Deputy, and to all other Our officers
Ministres whom it may concerne.

By his Ma^{ties} command

Will Morris

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witnessing the temporary downfall of all his projects in this region.

Petty's land transactions, though for the most part recorded either by himself in his *History of the Down Survey*, or in the official records of the day, are by no means easy to follow. So far as County Kerry was concerned his first grant was one of some 3,500 acres in Kenmare and Tuosist, which were directly assigned to him in 1657 by the Commissioners for setting forth lands to the Army. To this another 2,000 acres were added soon afterwards by purchase from the regiment to whom they had been in the first instance allotted. These acquisitions, it must be understood, consisted only of land scheduled in the survey as 'profitable', and such land in South Kerry consisted of small 'surrounds' or blocks (generally on the sea-board) between which there were large areas left out of account as 'unprofitable'. In Kerry the latter were to the former as something like six to one.

Now Petty somehow contrived to be always on good terms with those in supreme authority. Thus, though he had been in the confidence of Cromwell, and was a personal friend of the Protector's son Henry, he was soon in relations with Charles II and was knighted by that monarch within a year of his restoration. He had already received a more tangible mark of royal favour 'In respect of his early endeavours for our Restoration, the good affection he bears unto us and his ability to serve us' in the shape of a grant of all the so-called 'unprofitable' or 'coarse' land which lay outside the profitable 'surrounds' already mentioned. His 5,000 acres thus became at one stroke nearly 35,000 and in fact embraced the whole of the barony of Glanerought. But this was by no means all, for he soon secured a foothold in the neighbouring

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baronies of Dunkerron and Iveragh, and in the year 1668-9 he secured a further grant of all the undisposed forfeited lands therein amounting to nearly 60,000 acres more. It may be noted that these grants were not made in Petty's own name, but in that of Robert Marshall, a mysterious individual said to have been one of the 'Adventurers', with whom Petty seems to have had some kind of partnership. His earlier grants had similarly been registered in the name of Sir George Carteret, the Treasurer of the Navy, sometimes with, but more often without, his own. It is difficult to understand the object of this camouflage. Petty may well have thought that since he had been responsible for the survey and distribution of the land it was not desirable that his name should figure too prominently as a grantee, but at the same time nobody can have been deceived, for it was well known that he was in fact the owner of all the land in question, and indeed he appears to have made no secret of the fact. The precise extent of Carteret's and Marshall's share in Petty's transactions remains in doubt, but it would seem that each of them put a higher value upon it than he did, for lawsuits with both ensued, and twenty years after Petty's death Carteret's family were still unsatisfied that their claims had been properly met. Petty at all events remained in possession. Aubrey had written of him in 1661 that from the top of Mount Mangerton (near Kenmare) he could survey 50,000 acres of his own land. Eleven years later Petty was to write to his friend John Graunt of the 'Three great barronies belonging to me and several others' which he had it in mind to get united into one vast Manor of which Graunt might be 'Judge and Seneschall'. It seems indeed that Petty died possessed of something like 270,000 acres in all in South Kerry.

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The acquisition of so vast an area within a short space of time by an entirely self-made man would at first sight suggest that the transactions by which it was effected cannot have been above suspicion. Petty, however, was throughout insistent that his procedure had been completely correct, that he took no advantage of his position as Surveyor until his duties as such were at an end, and that it was only after he had received express permission from the Government that he engaged in any speculation in land. On the single occasion when he was openly attacked in this connexion he emerged triumphant,¹ nor was his personal probity again publicly questioned. Two years before his death he made a will in which he was at pains to set forth the steps by which his fortune had been obtained, explaining that he did so 'for the better expounding anything which may hereafter seem doubtful therein, and also for justifying on behalf of my children the manner and means of getting and acquiring the estate which I hereby bequeath unto them, exhorting them to improve the same by no worse negotiation'.

It must be remembered that the market value of land in this part of Kerry was then extremely small. Five-sixths of it was literally as well as technically 'unprofitable', in the sense that being mountain or waste land it commanded no rent, while the remaining sixth, to judge by the surviving rentals, produced a very modest return, a large part of which was absorbed in quit rents to the Crown. The value of Petty's lands may be gauged by what took place after his death. His sons were still in their minority, and his

¹ *Proceedings between Sir Hierom Sankey and Dr. William Petty with the state of the Controversie between them. Tendered to all Indifferent Persons* (1659).

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brother-in-law, Colonel Thomas Waller, decided to dispose of the property on their behalf by 'grand leases', to run nominally for ninety-nine years though in effect in perpetuity. The total rent paid under these leases, the woodlands only being retained in the landlord's hands, was no more than £1,300 a year.

This sum no doubt was far from representing the full burden which fell upon the cultivator of the soil. There is evidence that the two 'grand lessees' at once sublet at a higher figure to the principal men on the spot, while they in turn of course saw to it that they secured a profit from their under-tenants. Thus came into being the 'middlemen', who for so long proved a stumbling block in Ireland. But the system was scarcely a new one, for it continued in an altered form that under which the former overlords and their tributary chieftains had each exacted what they could out of those beneath them. It was always those at the bottom of the scale who suffered.

So the changes brought about by the so-called 'Cromwellian Settlement' in this part of Kerry did not perhaps go very deep. A Petty stepped into the shoes of a Desmond or a McCarthy Mor as the overlord or receiver of what we should now call the 'head rents', and a Mahony and an Orpen, as 'grand lessees', took the place of an O'Sullivan Mor and an O'Sullivan Bere, on the north and on the south of the Kenmare River respectively. Orpen it is true was a new-comer and of English blood, but Mahony of Dunloe was a well-known local chieftain, who soon became more powerful than he had ever been before; the little difficulty that as a Catholic he was at the moment debarred from holding so much land, was easily got over by the substitution of Orpen's name for his own in the original lease. As to the sub-lessees, their agree-

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ments are still extant and almost all bear Irish names. The succession of O'Sullivan, McCarthys, Macfinnans, and Lynes thus continued uninterrupted. Even the O'Sullivan Mor and the O'Sullivan Bere appear to have remained in enjoyment of a part of their former proprietary rights, and we find the former in 1675 as a competitor with Petty for the 'custodium' of the lands of Dunkerron.

Thus it would appear that the wholesale expatriation of the native element which is generally associated with Cromwell's policy of 'Hell or Connaught' did not here take place, and one may wonder how far it was actually effective elsewhere. There is (or was) in the national archives a long list of persons, who were in 1653 ordered to transplant into Connaught from various parts of Kerry. It is no doubt impossible to-day to discover how many of them actually went—or remained—there, but it is safe to say that many did neither. Amongst these potential transplantees I find the names of Gyles or Julia, widow of the 18th Lord of Kerry, with several members of her family and numerous dependants. A grant of land in Connaught to one of her sons is actually recorded, but I can find no trace of the establishment of a Fitzmaurice colony in that province, and there seems good reason to believe that the residence of the widow and her family in their native county was never seriously interrupted.

II

PETTY'S IRONWORKS

MINING in Glanerought had been practised even in prehistoric times. In the mid-eighteenth century there was still to be seen not far from Kenmare the remains of

A vast Danish work that had been wrought at great expense of labour and time for at least a quarter of a mile in length, from which vast quantities have been from time to time carried away, but where smelted or manufactured is not at this day known.

The position of this mine, about two miles east of Killowen, is shown on the estate maps of that day. The description continues :

It is a copper vein of a singular nature. The sides, one of which is Lime and the other Brownstone, are about seventy yards asunder, and all between fill'd with mineral soils, ochres of various colours, lumps of Iron stone, and some remains of copper ore in the old heaps. The Danes have probably wrought this vein to a great depth, for in the bottom of the old open cast, the remains of great frames of timber are to be seen. They brought the water from a considerable distance to every part of this work.

The reports from which these extracts are taken were furnished to William Lord Shelburne in the years 1762 and 1764 by two experts whom he had sent out for the purpose of investigating the possibility of reviving the mining industry on his Kerry estate.¹ The origins of the working they describe were evidently already lost in the past—hence its attribution to the Danes.

¹ *Infra*, p. 27.

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The epithet 'Danish' has always been applied to the circular forts or 'raths', with their underground chambers, which are numerous along the Kerry seaboard. Such a provenance seemed, on the face of it, inappropriate, for these forts are generally found in positions commanding the sea approaches and must have been the work of defenders rather than of foreign raiders. It is now indeed accepted that these forts had nothing whatever to do with the Danish incursions of the eighth and ninth centuries, but that their origins must be sought some fifteen hundred years earlier.¹ It was a Pictish race, distinguished by Dr. Macalister as the 'Men of the Halberd', who a good many centuries before the Christian era were driven out by the 'Men of the Sword', invaders probably from England. The evidence goes to show that the circular forts of the west coast, of which one of the most notable specimens (Striagke Fort) is to be found near the mouth of the Kenmare River, were built by these 'Halberd men' as refuges from their oppressors, who were soon in turn to give way to another invasion by the 'Men of Iron'. It must be left to the archaeologists to decide whether it may have been the Men of the halberd, the Men of the sword, or the Men of iron, who were responsible for our 'Danish' Mine, and to suggest how they dealt with the ore which was evidently neither smelted nor worked on the spot.

Perhaps the Carew surveyor of 1600 had heard rumours of this mine, though his statement is non-committal; he says that 'In the Half-Barony of Glenarought and near the portable river of Canmarre there is thought to be a mine of tin or lead.'

It was not at all events till Petty's arrival upon the scene that anything in the nature of an iron industry

¹ R. A. S. Macalister, *Ancient Ireland*, ch. 2.

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began to be developed in these parts.¹ The systematic manufacture of iron was then in its infancy, but although the modern process of steel production had not been dreamt of, some advance had been made on the original system of directly extracting the wrought iron from the ore, and a twofold process had been for some centuries in use by which the metal was first carburized as cast iron and then converted into wrought iron by remelting it in a forge. The melted iron was run into troughs or 'soughs', whence came the term 'sow' iron, and by a natural sequence the little troughs fed from and lying along the parent 'sow' came to be known as 'pig' iron.

Rudimentary ironworks had long existed in many parts of England where surface ironstone was available, but as charcoal, and not coal, was used for smelting they involved a very large consumption of wood, and hence it had been found necessary to pass laws forbidding the erection of ironworks, and the cutting of timber for their use, in many districts where the supply was limited.

It was no doubt partly because there were considerable areas under wood in County Kerry that Petty was tempted first to accept land in this remote county in payment for his Survey of Ireland, and afterwards to increase his stake by further purchases in the same neighbourhood. It can scarcely, however, be true to imply, as has been done by so eminent an authority as Macaulay,² that Petty had found the country a forest and left it, as a result of his activities, a wilderness. That there had once been extensive woodlands is

¹ In his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, written about 1672, Petty states that there were at that time 'not ten Iron Furnaces but above twenty Forges and Bloomeries' in the whole of Ireland.

² *History of England*, 1849, iii. 136.

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shown by the stumps of trees still to be seen in every bog in this part of Ireland; there is, however, abundant evidence that these woods had been ruthlessly destroyed by the native Irish before Petty's advent, and that in spite of all efforts to stop it, the process continued afterwards. Already in 1667 one of his agents wrote that 'the Timber Parke is being daily embeazled', and similar complaints constantly recurred later on. In the Down Survey maps the principal timber grounds are clearly marked with the letter 'T', while their areas are given in the 'Book of Survey'. From these it would appear that in actual fact the forests of that time covered little more ground than the woods of to-day, though, in addition to the woodlands shown, there was no doubt some scattered scrub good enough to provide the 'cord wood' from which the smelting charcoal was made.

In 1671 a naval war against Holland was in prospect. Mr. Pepys and the Navy Board became alarmed by the deficiency of ships, and of timber with which to build them.¹ It was no doubt under these circumstances that an emissary was sent over to inspect the woods in County Kerry. His report was favourable; though he found the place so rocky and bare that 'it would hardly keep a brogue maker employed'.² But Petty with an eye on his ironworks was slow to commit himself:

I am very willing to observe his Majesty's pleasure for parting with the timber of my woods in Kerry, but because I cannot attend the felling, converting and transporting of the same to his Majesty's yards in England, I humbly crave leave to propound either to sell the said timber by the lump

¹ Bryant, *Pepys. The Years of Peril*, p. 62.

² Peter Bronsdon to the Navy Commissioners 17 March 1671.

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or by the akre of woodland, or by the Tree above a certain dimension to be pitched upon by your honours.¹

Nothing more is heard of this proposal, so we may conclude that Petty's oaks did not make their contribution towards the British fleet.

Amongst the Petty Papers at Bowood there is a rough Census Return for the whole of Ireland—the first ever made. It was probably compiled by Petty's map-makers while they were engaged on the Down Survey, between the years 1655 and 1660. The various counties are divided into their respective baronies, parishes, and townlands, the last being a denomination peculiar to Ireland, which may include anything from 20 to 200 acres. The census gives for each of these 'townlands' the name of its 'Tituladoes' (or owners) and the number of its inhabitants, English and Irish.

From this we learn that before Petty's arrival on the scene the population of the barony of Glanerought stood as follows:

<i>Parish</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Irish</i>
Tuosist .	2	158
Kilgarvan .	10	132
Kenmare .	19	215
Total .	31	505

The Kenmare Industrial Colony was founded in 1670 and at one time numbered as many as 815 souls,² but the Glanerought Iron Works must have been in existence a few years earlier, for (as we shall see) they had a coinage of their own in 1667. Other works of the same character were already in existence in the south of Ireland, notably in Cork³ and in Wexford,

¹ Petty to Navy Commissioners, 1671.

² *An exact relation*, &c., *infra*, p. 41.

³ Charles Smith, *Antient and Present State of the County and City of Cork*, 1750, ii, p. 391.

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where Petty himself appears to have owned one of those near Enniscorthy. The Kenmare works were situated in the townland of Gortamullin, where an 'Iron Furnace' and 'Mill' are shown in the Down Survey map of the barony of Dunkerron. The site of the works can be located by a heap of iron slag or clinkers which may still be found on the right bank of the Finnihy river, about half a mile out on the road which now runs from Kenmare to Killarney.

Petty's Letter Books, which contain copies of the correspondence that passed between him and his agents in Kerry, provide some interesting information on the management of the works and the methods then employed. It appears that the ore used was, in the main, found on the spot, and was not imported, as has sometimes been stated, from England. From time to time, it is true, a cargo of English ore, or 'red mine', was brought to Kenmare, but this was used for the purpose of mixing with the native ore, which was found without it to produce iron too brittle for commercial purposes. There is frequent mention of 'small' as distinguished from 'great mine'. It is possible that the former term may have been used to describe bog iron, a thin layer of which, formed by the precipitation of minute particles of the metal in the decaying vegetation, is always to be found at the bottom of a bog of long standing. But bog iron is small in quantity, and from the fact that it is under the turf it must necessarily have been difficult to get; it cannot therefore have been the main source of supply. Moreover, 'veins' of ore found and worked in the neighbourhood are more than once mentioned: one of these, discovered during the process of making the mill stream for the forge, is described in a letter from John Petty, agent to his cousin Sir William, as 'a brest of mine about 10 foot

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thick, and God knows how deepe, and running east and west without beginning or ending'. He adds that it was 'not full 3 fathoms' down, and it is probable that all the veins then worked were close to the surface. A few of these old mines can still be located in the limestone formation north of the Kenmare River by the help of an eighteenth-century map which marks their positions, but in most cases all traces of them must have long since disappeared.

A list of the workmen employed about the year 1670 includes the following: 10 Hammermen, 6 collyers, 6 woodcutters, 2 keepers of the Furnace, 14 Finers, 3 miners and 9 coal carriers. The Hammermen (who hammered the molten metal into the steel of the day) and the 'Finers' (who were probably what are now called 'puddlers') were the most indispensable and probably, for that reason, the most troublesome of the employees. We find them constantly referred to by their overseers in terms the reverse of complimentary. It may be noted that among the former there were two men of the name of Mayberry, one of whom, William, afterwards married Orpen's sister and became the ancestor of the numerous Mayberrys now living in the neighbourhood of Kenmare.

Wages, it may be gathered, were at piece rates, viz. 12s. to 13s. 8d. per ton of iron produced, or 10s. per ton if grazing rights, 'standing' wages, and 'play' wages were thrown in. This rate applied when the work consisted of cutting hammers and anvils and dressing bellows, but for working 'broken iron' double the amount was paid. One of the principal difficulties was to find the money for these wages, since payment for the iron produced was hard to obtain and was frequently received only in kind. It thus became the practice to pay the wages in the same way, sometimes



COINAGE STRUCK BY PETTY

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in the iron itself. Petty, however, strongly disapproved of such a system, and with his usual resourcefulness instituted a coinage of his own. Several examples of his tokens, bearing the impress of a forge and the legend 'Glanarought Iron Workes' with date 1667 and 1669 are still extant.

The iron ore was first melted down in the furnace, 'coal' (charcoal) and turf being used for smelting. Three baskets of turf to six of coal was said to be the best mixture for this purpose, the iron thus produced being tougher than that made with charcoal only. The 'sow' or cast iron was next remelted, hammered, and worked up in the forge, the product being described as 'fixt iron' (e.g. bloomes and bars, single or double) or 'loose' iron in the form of iron pots, hammers or anvils. Water-power was employed to work the bellows, and for this purpose a mill-dam or pond was constructed on the Finnihy river in order to provide a reserve of water for work in dry weather. Even so the works are more than once reported to have been held up for want of water—an excuse which appears to have met with the incredulity which might be expected from any one conversant with the usual weather conditions in Kerry.

The price obtained for the manufactured iron ranged between £14 and £16 a ton, but it was no easy matter to find a market. Its quality, it seems, was not too good, and compared unfavourably with the Spanish iron of which considerable quantities were brought to Ireland at that time. Sea transport was long and hazardous, for 'the captains' (by which term the local pirates were designated) were always active on the south-west coast of Ireland. Finally there was the difficulty already mentioned of obtaining anything in the shape of ready money, hence the iron had

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frequently to be bartered for food and goods, or for the salt which was indispensable to the Kenmare fishing industry.

The Kerry iron trade was therefore at the best uncertain, and Petty was often in two minds as to whether it should be continued. As early as 1672 he writes to a friend that 'the Iron works in Kerry invented in Hell—which they much resemble—have wipt me cruelly, and the misery is I must go on'.¹ His various agents frequently urge that the difficulties are so great that it is not worth while to continue the struggle. Sometimes, however, they write in a more hopeful strain: 'Why you should not be a gainer by your Iron Works, is a mystery, considering the coale and myne is your owne and your hearth-stones near. It must either be for want of skill or honesty in those you employ, or by their neglect which is a sort of dishonesty.'²

Petty tells us in 1672 in a letter to his friend John Graunt that he made it his practice to visit Kerry twice every year, but as time went on and his enterprises multiplied he found it increasingly difficult to do so. Moreover, he had, as his wife expressed it, become 'unfit to ride in such dangerous places'. In the year 1675, not many months before her son Henry was born, she went in his stead, with the special object of setting in order the iron industry. Three documents concerning this expedition survive: a set of instructions from Petty for his wife's guidance before her departure, a second set sent after her to Ireland, and Lady Petty's account of her proceedings from day to day. The first and last mentioned are in the British Museum and were recently published.³ I here give the second,

¹ Petty to Sir George Rawdon, Jan. 13, 1672.

² Bunworth to Petty, 1674.

³ *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, June 1934.

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which has not yet seen the light. It is completely characteristic of Petty in its attention to detail and throws some rather interesting light on the working of his pet industry.

Sir William Petty's directions to Lady Petty in Co. Kerry (June 29, 1675)

The children are well and to play with them is my great supply of your absence. I promised you a chapter concerning Kerry every post, that sore separation between us may be repaired as best we can. I cannot as yet tell you my thoughts of Heald's and Rutter's accounts, but in the meane time advise again and anew, vizt.

(1) That Heald make up a compleate account to ye 1st of July 1675.

(2) That when the said account closes, a survey be taken of all the stocks of wood, coales, at forge and furnace; mine at bank of furnace, sowes at furnace and forge; fixt and loose Iron in store, and att markt.

(3) That from thenceforth accounts be sent monthly without excuse—for I am not able to unravell with old stays.

(4) That Heald give bond with security to justify his present and future accounts.

(5) That the accounts for rents be settled with all the tenants.

(6) To know what we owe and what is owing to us in all Kerry.

(7) To compare such accounts as have been sent mee with the originall journals.

(8) To know why Bunworth was not admitted to execute his instructions, and to see where all the papers entrusted to him do now lye and in what order.

(9) To enquire how Heald has lived 4 years come May next without wages, and how I am 1st January last above £24 in his debt.

(10) To take security of all sub-collectors of our rents.

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(11) In what quality Orpin, Clamper, Kinaston, Rawlins and others serve.

(12) To ask satisfaction of Bunworth for the iron he sold and disposed of.

(13) To gett money for the iron at Yougall, Corke, Lymericke and Glanerought, which will come to more than £1200.

(14) To see wee have satisfaction for our poundage, and the days worke for men and horses.

Besides these things, my deerest, I desire that we may not rely upon one onely man's account for our information in this great intricate concernment, but that (1) you appoint the wood corders to give a monthly account of the cord of wood, cut, corded, and taken up and payed for—the land whereout and number of accers closed, as near as he can guess it.

(2) Let Kinaston, who I thinke is stocke-taker at the furnace, give us a monthly account of ye coale and mine brought thither and of ye sowes sent thence, with an estimate of the coale spent and in stock, and of all ye accidents which befall them, and of ye quantity and goodness of ye coales and measure.

(3) Let Rawlins, who is the stock-taker at the forge, give us monthly accounts of the coales and sowes brought thither, and of the Barr and Blooms made there, and of the iron sent away, with the quantity of coales, sowes, workmen and their play days, etc.

(4) Let Clamper give monthly accounts of the mine, the quantity and quality, miners names, expence, etc.

(5) Let Wooton, the founder, send a monthly account of all his proceedings at the furnace, viz. of the mine, coales, sowes and other cast ware, accidents, etc.

(6) Lett the chiefe hammerman do the like for the barr iron made at the forge; viz, of ye quantity, sorts, play days, want of water, etc.

(7) Let Mr. Heald without seeing these accounts, send a brief of all these particulars, with an account of receipts and disbursements, disposal and sale of goods and what else is materiall.

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Order all the seven several accounts to be sent by an express to Corke and thence to Dublin from your correspondent in Corke.

Pardon this trouble my deerest; tis my desire that all may doe well which gives you this trouble. I hear nothing of Brother James [Waller], happy is hee that need not care whether wee gett or loose, but he must before his returne to London give better assurance of his assiduity in our and his owne service.

Let Heald believe that unless wee can bring this worke to some certainty and profit we shall dispose it into other hands.

Both the children are gallantly well, the rest I leave to Mrs. Brooke. I am deepe in the consideration of ye Kerry affaire, of which God willing by this day fortnight you shall have the best account that ever was yett given thereof. Wherefore stay till you receive it. For the present I only say this (viz.) that as wee have gotten little so we have lost nothing. . . .

Do what you can and God will blesse us. By ye next I hope to get more light into the matter, for whilst you are upon ye place it shall be my business to suggest all I can. Do you apply it.

In another letter to his wife about the same time, Petty bids her try to let the ironworks 'to responsible undertakers for one ton of bar iron per week, and keep the stock as good as they found it'. Whether she made some such arrangement at the time or later is not revealed, for the letter books from 1675 to 1685 are missing. It is clear, however, that in the interval Petty had divested himself of the direct management of the concern, for in the letters of Thomas Dance, who was principal agent in Ireland during his later years, the ironworks are scarcely referred to.

By this time the control of affairs at Kenmare had

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passed to Richard Orpen, the ancestor of the well-known family of that name, a branch of which continued to reside in the Kenmare neighbourhood until recent years. Orpen is believed to have been the grandson of a Cavalier officer killed at the Battle of Naseby, but was probably himself born and brought up in Ireland.¹ 'Little Orphin'—as he is sometimes called in the correspondence already referred to—apparently first held a minor position in the management of the ironworks. Petty in 1675 writes to Crookshank, another of his agents in Dublin,

I have a good opinion of young Orpin, especially if you can get him for your ordinary servant, for he writes well and I think hath arithmetic enough, and was honest and diligent formerly. This you may do unless he shall be found more useful upon the place.

But Orpen did not go to Dublin, and it seems that he eventually became either the sole or the principal lessee of the ironworks. In his account of the expulsion of the Kenmare colony in 1689, and of the losses which they had sustained,² there is no mention whatever of the Petty family and Orpen speaks of himself and his workmen as the only sufferers by this upheaval.

After the Revolution of 1689, when Orpen returned once more to Kenmare, he is described in the contemporary documents as of 'Gortalinny forge'. It would appear therefore that the works had then been re-established in the townland of that name, on the south side of the Kenmare River, and in close proximity to the Iron Rock already mentioned. Iron slag is still found close to the Ashgrove Mill on the River Sheen, and there can be no doubt that this place, the present English-sounding name of which is believed to be a

¹ *The Orpen Family*, by G. H. Orpen, 1930.

² *Infra*, p. 42.



REMAINS OF PETTY'S IRON FURNACE AT GLENMORE

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corruption of the Irish 'Inchinagar', was the site of the forge in question.

Of the subsequent history of the iron industry in this part of Kerry little detailed information is available. When in 1697 the whole property was leased, the woodlands were reserved to the landlord. It was impossible under these conditions to maintain control, and the documents of this period show how extensive was the pilfering of wood by the natives and how difficult it proved to bring them to book. For this reason, no doubt, Henry Petty determined on sale, and in 1705 he disposed of the whole of the woods on his Kerry estate to one John White for the sum of £9,000.

It seems probable that by this time both iron and fuel in the Kenmare neighbourhood had become exhausted, and that it became necessary to move further afield.

In the following year Lord Shelburne and White entered into a further agreement, which in effect constituted a partnership in the mines. By this instrument White and two partners bound themselves to build one furnace and two forges on Shelburne's land, while White was to receive one-fourth of the profits received. In this way a furnace and a 'double forge' were soon afterwards erected at a cost of £2,000 at Stonyford (now Blackstones) in Glencar, followed by a furnace in Tuosist (i.e. at Glenmore) for £1,000 in 1708, and two single forges, one double forge and two 'aire furnaces' at Blackwater for £2,000 in 1710, the cost in each case being advanced by Shelburne by way of a set-off against the money due to him for the original purchase of his woods. The enterprise, however, does not appear to have prospered. In 1711 White's two partners dropped out and Shelburne took their place, while three years later White, whose liabilities were

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more than he could carry, covenanted to resell to Shelburne one half of the woods which he had bought nine years previously.

Shelburne thus became the principal partner in the concern, and in 1721 a fresh agreement with John White and his son John Jervis White virtually put him in sole control. One Samuel Fox was appointed as manager, and remained in charge till the works ceased to exist. The Blackwater forge was fed in part with iron from Glenmore, where at the time of the Down Survey there had been an oak wood covering over 600 acres, of which some traces still remain. It was, no doubt, the reason for the attendant furnace, whence the sow iron was transported across the water to be worked up into bar and cast iron. This forge continued in operation till 1735, and the one at Glencar nearly twenty years longer, for it only ceased working in 1752 or 1753. Some of Samuel Fox's accounts for the Blackwater works are still extant, and a memorandum prepared for Shelburne in 1731 shows that in the ten years previous, these and Glencar had yielded over £27,000, while the outlay for the same period had been less than £4,000—whence it would seem that the industry was by no means unprofitable.

Charles Smith, writing in 1756, tells us that iron was still 'to be had in great plenty in most of the southern baronies' of Kerry.¹ Two years before a twenty-one years' lease had been made by John Lord Shelburne to one Thomas Wyse, of the coal, copper, lead, and iron in the townland of Killowen 'and any other three denominations' the lessee might choose, the payment to be one-eighth of the mineral product. Nothing more, however, is heard of Thomas Wyse or his lease.

When William Lord Shelburne (afterwards the

¹ *Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry*, p. 407.

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1st Marquis of Lansdowne) succeeded his father in 1761, he lost no time in initiating fresh investigations. The Kerry agent, Godfrey, was discouraging, and asserted that nothing but small quantities of 'bog mine' ever had been found in the locality, but Shelburne nevertheless persevered. In 1762 he sent over one of the leading geologists of the day in the person of the Rev. Joseph Townsend, Rector of Pewsey. Shelburne was in close political alliance with the rector's family, his brother, Alderman Townsend, being subsequently Shelburne's nominee for the representation of the borough of Calne. Townsend's inspection, however, gave little hope, except as regards the old 'Danish' mine which he considered 'the great object of the whole and one of the most promising adventures he had ever seen', and further reports by mining experts, in 1764 and 1770, were of the same tenor. Some lead and copper were, however, found, and to judge by payments to miners which appear in the estate accounts for 1764, they were worked for a time, though on a very small scale.

In 1785 one Barnoff, who was then engaged in working Lord Kenmare's mines on Ross Island, Killarney, asks for a lease of Lord Shelburne's mineral rights for twenty-one years on the same terms as that granted by his neighbour, viz. the payment of one-tenth of the proceeds. The matter was referred to Townsend, who advised closing with the offer, but nothing more seems to have occurred. One more survey was made (for the 3rd Lord Lansdowne) in 1820 by a Mr. John Taylor. He reports the finding at Kenmare of a mineral vein five or six miles in length which contained some lead and a little iron, but added that the latter was of no value since there was no timber on the spot to smelt it.

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By the middle of the century, however, miners were once more at work in Glanerought. Writing in 1854 Prof. S. Haughton,¹ a well-known geological authority, speaks of no less than seven separate lodes which were in course of exploitation at the time by the 'Lansdowne' and the 'Trinity' Mining Companies. Two of these, containing principally copper, were in the townland of Ardtully, and two (with lead) in the neighbourhood of the old Shangarry Castle and the Cleady river. One (with argentiferous lead) a mile in length, was between Killowen House and the old Kenmare Chapel, and two more (with copper and some iron) ran from Greenlane to Kenmare Bridge. One of these last it is stated had been traced for a distance of two and a half miles! All lay roughly east and west along a synclinal fold of lower Carboniferous Limestone, which thrusts itself at this point through the prevailing beds of Old Red Sandstone. Shafts had been sunk both at Cleady and at Greenlane, though it is explained that the minerals had not yet been worked 'on a scale sufficient to develop their resources'. We hear nothing further, and it is to be feared that no dividends were forthcoming for those who may have invested their money in this venture.

In more recent times copper has been worked intermittently at Ardtully, as well as on Ross Island at Killarney, and at Dunboy just over the Cork border. But no other mineral has given any encouragement to the Kerry miner. The only evidence of iron beneath the surface is to be found in some of the mountain streams in which a considerable amount of ferruginous matter may be observed during periods of drought.

The ruins of the old iron forge at Glencar are still

¹ 'Notes on Irish Mines' (*Journal of the Geol. Soc.* vi. 206-17), Dublin, 1854.

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standing, and heaps of vitreous matter nearby bear witness to the calcination of the dross which found its way therein in conjunction with the ore. A curious circular anvil, presumably part of its stock-in-trade, was recently purchased on the spot and is now at Derreen. The Glenmore furnace was in a fairly good state of preservation till the end of last century, but only one of its walls now remains. Its memory, however, is preserved in the name 'Furniss' which has become the distinctive patronymic of the O'Sullivan family now living on the spot.

III

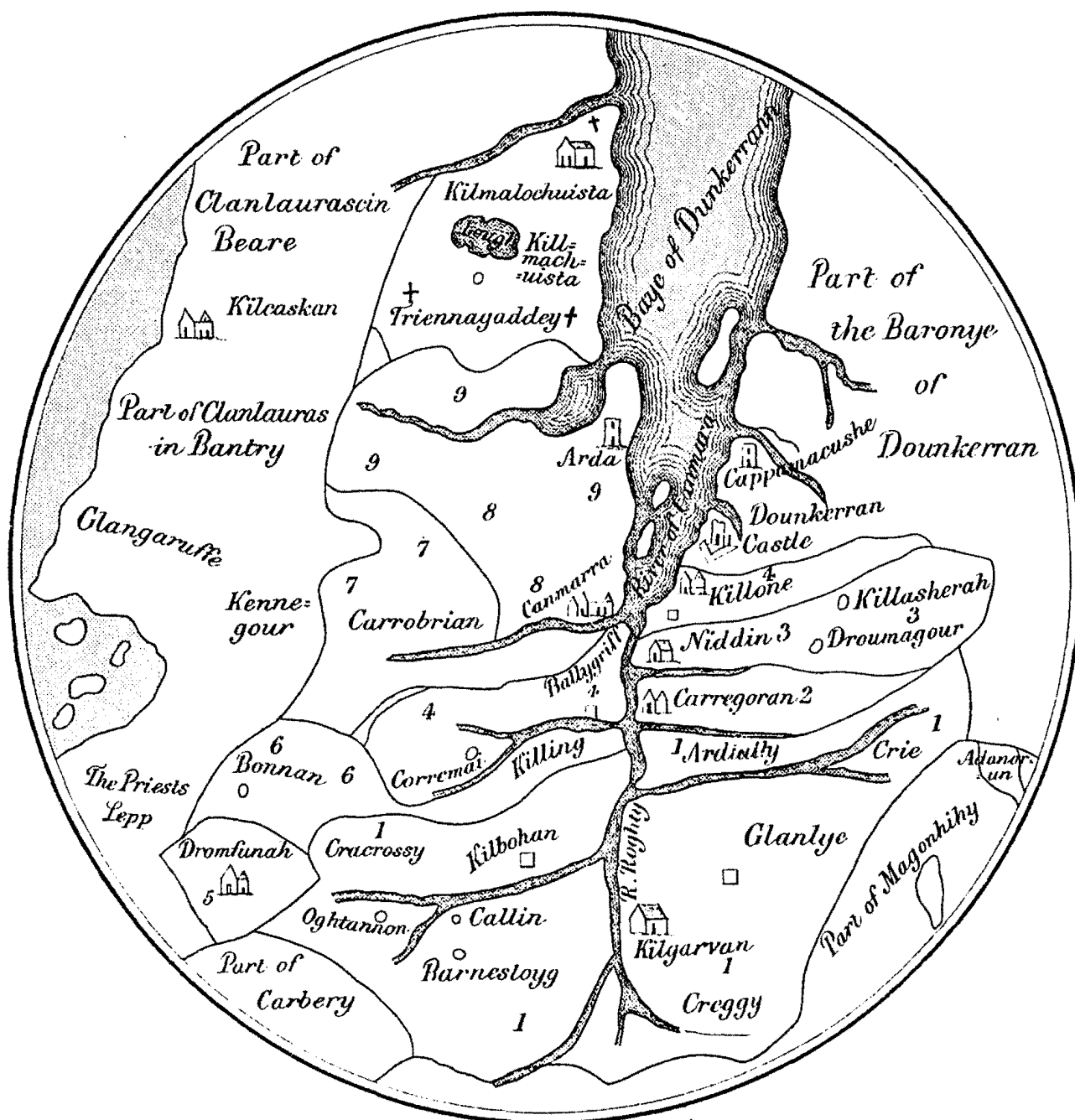
THE KILMACKILLOGE SEA FISHERY

SPANISH 'colonies and factuaries' are recorded at 'Cilemeculogue' and 'Agroom' in the fifteenth century,¹ and net fishing was no doubt practised on this coast even before that time; it would appear, however, that in the sixteenth century no fishery was in existence until Petty restarted one at Kilmackilloge about 1670. His correspondence in the years immediately following shows that his interest in this industry was second only to that which he displayed in the Iron Works.

The nets used then, as now, were 'seines', and the fish when taken were sent away in barrels or salted down and packed in what were then called 'palices'. A 'palice' or 'palace', was a dialect word peculiar to the south-west of England, and probably originally connoted something enclosed with stakes (Lat. *palus*).² But, though it is sometimes found as a place-name in Ireland, it meant in the present connexion 'a cellar for the bulking or storing of pilchard'. Petty's palices had very thick walls, in order to keep out both heat and cold; they were packed from the top until they were full, when their contents were pressed down by means of weights, and finally covered over with a roof of thatch. The fish would thus keep fit for food (possibly not in a very appetizing form!) for a year or more. A palice was still in existence though not in use at Bunaw in recent times, and (like the 'Iron Furnace' mentioned above) has left its name with the

¹ Friar O'Sullivan, *Ancient History of the Kingdom of Kerry* in *Journal of the Cork Hist. Arch. Soc.*, 1900, vi. 16.

² *Oxford Dictionary*.



Carew MSS. Lambeth Library.

MAP OF GLANEROUGHT, A.D. 1600

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nearest family of O'Sullivans—a tribe so numerous in Kilmackilloge that some additional cognomen is almost a necessity for the purpose of distinction between them. This was no doubt a direct successor of Petty's palice which we are told stood 'on a sandy peninsula' with 16 acres of arable land near it. Bunaw is the only place which would fit this description, for it stands on a huge terminal moraine, a relic of the glacial period, jutting out into the bay. It is believed that this moraine once extended almost across the harbour's mouth and formed one with 'Spanish' (or, as it was formerly called, 'Dutch') Island. This does not seem beyond the bounds of possibility, for erosion of these sandy points is a comparatively rapid process and it is worth noting that Spanish Island was according to Smith's History a 'high' island in the eighteenth century, and though to-day it is merely a heap of shingle, the last remains of its superstructure have only disappeared within the present century.

Herring and pilchard were the fish taken by Petty's seines; mackerel, which form the staple product of the present-day fishery, are scarcely mentioned; and herring are to-day very rarely seen in the Kenmare River. It is clear therefore that the habits of these migratory fish must have undergone considerable changes in the last two centuries. Sometimes the fish are described as being 'made fumado', a term which suggests a smoking process, and was probably a legacy from the Spaniards.¹ It survives in the name 'fair maids' by which a certain sort of herring is still called on parts of the British coast. The barrels in which the fish were packed were classed as 'hogshead', 'pickle', or 'fumado', according

¹ 'Cornish Pilchards, otherwise called Fumados, taken on the shore of Cornwall, from Iuly to Nouember.' Nashe, *Lenten Stuffe*, 1599, p. 38. See the *Oxford Dictionary*, s. vv. *Fair Maid* and *Fumade*.

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to their size, and were made from 'staves' (i.e. slats) from the woods of Glanerought. We find in the correspondence frequent allusion to the disposal of 'the trayne'. This was the oil extracted by pressure from the fish stored in the palices, and it appears to have been a valuable by-product of the fishery. The term survives in the more modern 'train oil'. There was much difficulty in obtaining salt, and in keeping it, when obtained, from the weather and from the thieving propensities of the inhabitants. It was frequently found necessary to barter some of the iron from Kenmare for this very necessary adjunct to the fishing industry. Some attempts were made from time to time to catch fish by hook and line, but these seem, from the agents' reports, to have met with small success.

The fishing industry appears to have been first seriously undertaken by Petty in the summer of 1672, when he sent down to Glanerought from Dublin seine nets and other necessities, and obtained at the same time through a Mr. Beecher of Aghadown the services of one Adam Goold as 'Clerk of the Palice'.

Progress during the next few years can be closely followed from Petty's letters. In September 1672 he writes to his agent, John Rutter, 'The work of the day is about our fish and salt and cask. You cannot but hear that the Caps (Pirates) are very bussie abroad, therefore take heed how you trade by sea.' A month later he writes, 'I understand you have 102 hogsheads and 20 in Bulk and 28 of last year's, in all 150. I am to have 55/- per (?hogshead) for Pilchard and 50/- for herrings.' There was another fishery in the neighbouring harbour of Ardgroom, and in 1673 Petty is doubtful whether he has the right 'to exclude anybody that would fish in Kilmackillogue'. This year he

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recommends the agent to send the 'old fish' in a small vessel to France or Portugal and to bring back salt in exchange. At the end of that season Rutter furnishes the following account of the 'charges for the sayne fishing for the summer':

Sayner's wages	40	9	0	}	Total
Woemen's wages	2	14	2½		
Hewers, Carpenters, Coopers Clerk	46	10	8		
Building a new sayne boat, raising cellar, making a defence for the palices against the sea	15	4	9		
					104 18 7½

He adds that 'besides the salt and goods bought at Kinsale, all things are very carefully secured, and the boates drawn into the Lynnies', and ends by asking for a 'Drift sayne' for next season, but Petty replies, 'As for ye Drift Sayne I am much discouraged for that I receive nothing from Kerry, no not soe much as my rent, nor see when I shall. Yett will try againe if you advise and if times cleare up. Wee seem safer from ye Irish than wee have been this 7 yeare.'

In May 1674 Petty again complains of the 'bad success in the fishing and in disposing of the fish when taken'.

I am indifferent [he continues] whether to proceed or not. Nevertheless I am contented to trust him [Goold] one yeare more in ye matter, if you think fit, forasmuch as it will be an employment to ye people, who otherwise will be troubled to pay their rent. Wherefore I say again, buy those things which Mr. Goold wrote for as necessary to carry on this season, as ye others were, without any new tackling or Drift netts etc. till I am neerer ye place.

But the season was again disappointing; high hopes were raised by a take of some 40 barrels of herring, 'the largest ever seen in those parts', but nothing more was secured, while Sir Francis Brewster, who had a

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rival fishery in Dingle Bay, was reported to have got no less than 2,400 barrels! Petty is despondent and says he has 'lost since the beginning about £500, but fishing is a meere lottery, so as two hours may repayre us when God please'.

Adam Goold, the 'Clerk of the Palice', next writes at length on the whole question, and advises that the fishery must be either put on a new basis or else disposed of. He suggests the introducing of 'foreigners, . . . able sayners from our southern coast, who might breede imitative emulation of industry, the country people being generally addicted to idlenesse'. He proposes that the men employed should be given farms at Ardea or Lehud, that they may not, as hitherto, 'be obnoxious unto the oppression of grand tenants or second landlords, who already have reduced them to a dead low ebb'. 'The poor people in this county,' he adds, 'are wracked, ruined and reduced to nothing, and to speak truth it is pittie that your disposition to forward publique weale and get pore labourers in a condition to gaine their livelihood, should be discouraged and interrupted by the delucive dealing of self ended and griping persons'.

It must have been with this letter before him that Petty wrote to Dublin in the following March:

As for ye Fishing, have the Pallice and craft viewed and inventoried. Try whether those who have Argroome will take Kilmacaloge also, or sett Argroome to us. Now the letting of Argroome is in the power of one Mr. John Davis under the Earl of Anglesey. McGwin, my lord Anglesey's agent in Dublin, can tell you all concerning it, and will upon my account if you speak with him. If you let the Pallice, make provision for employing the tenants of Toysiste and take care for introducing new fishermen to be tenants. If the chief tenant McFinin Duffe oppose it, be you very exact

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with him for his rent and the punctual performance of all other covenants.

Not long afterwards, as we have seen, Lady Petty visited Kerry with a general commission to put all her husband's affairs in order. She was told to 'try if you can to lett the fishing pallice, craft and salt at a rent perhaps of £50 or £60 per annum, the taker to leave all as good as he found it', but she did not do so, and we find that the next season was more satisfactory, while Petty hopes 'we shall get money for the fish and not wast it as sometimes before'. At the same time he approves that 'a small Bark about 30 tuns be built provided you can secure yourselves from being abused in it. Philip Hease has built severall and can if he will do for you as he hath done for himself.'

IV

WEARIES IN KERRY

PETTY's visits to Kerry, sometimes referred to by him as his 'Wearies', were frequent, in spite of its distance and inaccessibility. Writing to John Graunt in 1672 he speaks of it as 'an obscure corner of the world but such where I am forced to go twice a year thro thick and thin'. Occasionally, as we have seen, he sent his wife in his stead, and once (in 1679) he took with him his son Charles, then aged seven, for a tour which extended over the whole of South Ireland and lasted forty-seven days! Thereafter his health became precarious and his expeditions were rarer. We hear of him in Glanerought in 1683 as, in his wife's words, 'gone upon the unlucky place' once more though 'unfit to ride in such dangerous places'. He was again in Ireland in the year following, but he did not go to Kerry, and during the last three years of his life the management of his affairs appears to have been left to those on the spot. His chief agent for many years was his brother-in-law, Thomas Waller; most of the local information given above is derived from the office books in which Waller kept copies of all his Kerry letters, but Petty afterwards became dissatisfied with Thomas's conduct of affairs and installed in his place a younger brother James who continued to act for some years after his death. Colonel James Waller subsequently served in the Army of the Prince of Orange, and became a member of Parliament¹ for Tralee and Kinsale, where he held the office of Governor of

¹ He was member for Tralee, 1692-3, for Kinsale, 1695-9. *Parl. Return of Members of Parl.*, 1878, ii. 618, 641.



SIR WILLIAM AND LADY PETTY
After miniatures by Samuel Cooper

WEARIES IN KERRY

Charlesfort. The principal man at Kenmare, however, was Richard Orpen, of whom mention has already been made. His salary as local agent was only £20 (Waller's being £100) for Petty's agents seem to have found their remuneration in a system of profit sharing or poundage on the money they transmitted to their employer.

Reference has already been made to Lady Petty. She was the daughter of Sir Hardress Waller, one of the regicides (whose subsequent escape from death seems to have been largely due to Petty's good offices) and widow of Sir Maurice Fenton. Aubrey describes her as 'a very beautiful and ingenious lady, brown with glorious eyes'. Through his marriage to her in 1667 Petty became connected with Robert Southwell, with whom he thenceforward kept up a correspondence which continued to the day of his death. From these letters, a selection of which was published a few years ago,¹ and from Petty's notes and memoranda we can see that his Kerry ventures were a source of continual anxiety and trouble. It was in 1679 that he wrote to Southwell 'I thought to have lain down and dyed under my Kerry calamities, but you, cousin, would needs wrench open my fallen chaps, and force in strong spirits to revive me', or, when things were looking a little better, with a love of nautical metaphor, 'I hope wee shall at last find the North East or the North West Passage into the Indies of Kerry, although all this while I continue sailing about the Cape of the Law, and it is the Cape of Good Hope that I am now doubling.'² His disputes are not easy to follow, but must be briefly noticed. They were

¹ *The Petty-Southwell Correspondence*, 1928, p. 78.

² *Ibid*, p. 76. Both the North-East and the North-West passages to 'the Indies' had recently been attempted, the first by Capt. Wood and the second by Capt. Baker.

WEARIES IN KERRY

no doubt typical of those which fell to the share of other grantees under the Act of Settlement of 1663.

There was in the first place a constant uncertainty as to the land actually available for distribution under this Act, and the original grants made were always liable to be subsequently altered or revoked in favour of persons who could establish a claim that they had not been involved in the Rebellion. Thus in Kerry the territory formerly controlled by the McGillicuddy had been included in Petty's grant, but it turned out that this chieftain had shown 'good affection' towards the exiled Monarch, who after his Restoration specifically decreed that McGillicuddy was to be reinstated in all his former possessions. The affair seems to have been further complicated by the fact that most of the ground in question was what was called 'Concealed land'. It lay in the mountainous and inaccessible valleys surrounding the Reeks and having never been properly surveyed its boundaries remained in dispute. There was another large tract between the valleys of the Roughty and the Sheen, which had been similarly promised to Petty, but was found to have been the subject of an earlier grant by Queen Elizabeth to the College at Dublin. This likewise had to be surrendered. Petty was also for some time at grips with the Duke of Ormonde, thrice Viceroy of Ireland, and the most powerful man in that country at the time. He too had been expressly restored to all his former possessions, and since he had married a descendant of the Earls of Desmond, it appeared that these included the so-called 'Desmond Chieferies'. The Chieferies constituted a nominal overlordship over all the territory once under Desmond suzerainty and a large part of this had been included in the grants made to Petty. The Duke eventually waived his claim, but the friendship which

WEARIES IN KERRY

had long existed between him and Petty came very near to breaking-point before the difficulty was adjusted.¹ Petty had besides long-drawn-out disputes both with Sir George Carteret and Robert Marshall, the partners in whose names his original grants were, as we have seen, made out: both died somewhat opportunely while lawsuits were still depending, and the prize remained with Petty, though the matters in dispute were not settled till many years afterwards.

But Petty's principal quarrel was one with the 'Farmers', i.e. the men who farmed or contracted for the collection of the King's Revenue in Ireland. The practice was for these persons to recoup themselves for their contract by the imposition of quit rents on all land demised by the Crown. Petty complained that the quit rents he was asked to pay were often more than the annual value of the lands on which they were imposed, and it was only by constant appeals to friends in high places that he was able to get them reduced to reasonable proportions.²

It was the habit of Petty and his friends to exchange pleasantries on subjects of the day in verse, English or Latin. A collection of these squibs has been preserved among his unpublished manuscripts; one of them concerns County Kerry and seems worthy of reproduction both as a curiosity and for the sake of the local allusions. It is from the pen of his friend Richard Cox, who afterwards became Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and from the mention of Tyrconnel as in the ascendant it seems to have been written not long before Petty's death. Translation of the original Latin doggerel is wellnigh impossible, but a very rough paraphrase may be attempted:

Festinat Pettoee tibi Kerrigia tristis
Tyrconnellaei territa praesidio

¹ *Petty-Southwell Correspondence*, p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, *passim*.

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Nec Gulicuddaei minus est trepidata furore
 Posse tenet regni ille, hic Comitatus habet
Inter utrosque tuum reputatur inutile Roughty
 Et columna in sexta debet habere locum
Num perhibere potes, dum montes ima gubernant
 Kilmarias Mangerton Brehonabit aquas
Reekas quas flocci pendens Pettoee negabas
 Vidisti elatas pre meliore solo :
Quicquid Parnassus, quicquid prebet Acrocorinthus
 Pro Imperio aut studio, Reekae habuere quoque.
Quid si non gramen, si non habuere Tulippas
 Non perturbat eas, clamor et Hutesium.
Hic lupus, hicque miles, latro, trepidusque sacerdos
 Confugium inveniunt, incolumemque sedem.
Hic satis ingentes lapidum fodiuntur ad arces
 Arboris ad furcas, cespitis adque focos.
Et si forte suis duris foderetur in alvis
 Pulvis abundanti ferreus atque modo.
Quid vetat ut faceres magnum Pettoee fabrile
 Atque ibi Vulcano major adesse queas.
Tunc poteris mundum melius fabricare vel uno
 Follis ad ignifocum flammigerare flatu.

Poor Kerry flies to you, Petty, terrified by the domination of Tyrconell and the rage of Gillicuddy. Tyrconell has the 'power of the county', Gillycuddy has the county. Between the two, your Roughty is reckoned worthless and should be in the sixth column.¹ You cannot possibly prevail, so long as the hills rule the plain; Mangerton will lord it over the waters of Kilmare. You rejected the Reeks as of no value, but you see them raised above better land. The Reeks have everything that Parnassus or Acrocorinth afford for rule or faction. There may be neither grass nor tulips, but noise and hue and cry do not vex them. The wolf, the soldier, the Tory, the hunted priest find refuge there and a safe repose. Stones enough are

¹ The 'Sixth column' of 'The Book of Survey' (which accompanied Petty's maps) was reserved for land classed as 'unprofitable'.

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quarried there for forts, timber enough for stakes, turf enough for fires, and also, if one were to dig in their hard belly, iron ore in abundance. Why should you not make a big foundry, Petty, and beat Vulcan at his own game? Then you could make the world better, or blow it all to ashes with a blast of the bellows.

The correspondence shows that during Petty's last years the situation in County Kerry was rapidly getting out of hand. Under the Catholic rule of James II the dispossessed proprietors began once more to take heart of grace and the 'Tories' emerged from their hiding-places. Rents there were none, and the very existence of the Kenmare Colony was soon threatened. The climax, however, was not reached until after Petty's death in 1687, when the state of the country became so disturbed that Orpen deemed it advisable to collect his Protestant followers and their families in a house which had been built some fourteen years before on a rocky promontory at Killowen just outside Nedeen. The enemy soon closed round them and the devoted band were besieged from November 1688 to March 1689. When they were at last forced to surrender they did so under a promise that they should keep their arms and be allowed to proceed without further molestation to England. The undertaking, however, was not kept, all their property was plundered, the sails of the boats in which they were to depart were stolen, and it was with the utmost difficulty that a proportion of the garrison eventually reached Bristol, several dying on the way from the effects of exposure. The story of the siege has been vividly told by Orpen in a pamphlet¹ published immediately

¹ This pamphlet is of great rarity. It was reprinted in the *Kerry Magazine* of 1856 (vol. ii, p. 21), and the salient facts are recounted in Charles Smith, *The Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry* (pp. 317 ff.), and in Macaulay's *History*.

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after his return to England in 1689—with the following title:

An exact relation of the Persecutions, Robberies, and Losses, sustained by the Protestants of Killmare in Ireland. With an account of their erecting a fortress to defend themselves against the Bloody Insolencies of the Papists. Also the way and manner of their Happy Escape into England: Together with the reasons why the Protestants there did not Regiment themselves, and take the Field, or make their Flight sooner. As likewise some natural conclusions that Plague and Famine will arise forthwith in that Kingdom. By a Principal Manager in that action.

The outer walls of the 'White House', as the extemporized fortress came afterwards to be called, still stand as evidence of the excellence of the work done by Petty's masons more than 250 years ago, and the outline of the earthworks with which Orpen tells us it was surrounded may be dimly perceived. An inspection of the ground gives some idea of the discomforts which the garrison must have suffered, when to the number of 180 they were cooped up in a small area for nearly four months of a Kerry winter. Orpen tells us that his principal assistant in the defence was 'the Rev. T. P.' This was the Rev. Thomas Palmer who in 1670 had been appointed to the living of the five parishes of Kilmare, Kilgarvin, Templenoe, Kilcroghan and Cahirciveen. Though the fact is not mentioned in Orpen's account, it is interesting to note that their co-operation was sealed by the marriage of Orpen to Palmer's daughter, an event which appears to have taken place during the progress of the siege. The wedding ceremony was no doubt much simplified by the fact that bride and bridegroom with their respective families and the officiating parson were all at the time forcibly detained under one roof. Orpen for the time

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being lost all his possessions, which he enumerates as follows: His iron works and store of coal, £170 a year from his estate, £1,500 in bar and sow iron, £1,200 in cattle, horses, and debts. The losses of the colony he states to have been about £1,850. Eight Protestant families he tells us were retained at Kenmare by the rebels as 'slaves' to work the iron mines.

For the next two years Ireland was given over to the forces of disorder. It was not till after the battle of the Boyne (June 1691) that King William was able to turn his attention to the south and that the whole country was subdued. Orpen himself took service under the King. He appears to have been at Limerick at the time of the capitulation and to have got back to Kerry soon afterwards. Captain Robert Topham, an agent formerly employed and dismissed by Petty, returned about the same time, and made a determined effort to oust Orpen from the management of the estate. Orpen, however, proved himself a match for the Captain. He drew up, in a letter to Lady Petty, a formidable indictment against him, supported by a number of sworn depositions,¹ which are well worth reading, if only for the light they throw on local conditions. But one of them deserves special mention. It is by Thomas Crumpe, a member of a much respected Kerry family and the 'Coast officer' of the district. His complaint, duly sworn before a magistrate, was that Topham had refused to allow him to run smuggled goods into Kenmare for the benefit of the Protestant colony! Crumpe's attitude towards the King's revenue, which he was supposed to collect, is perhaps partly explained by the fact that he happened to be Orpen's brother-in-law. Topham was at all events dismissed and Orpen remained in possession of the field.

¹ *The Orpen Family*, p. 87; *Kerry Records*, ii. 119.

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Orpen had not, however, done with his enemies. An account of the next episode in his career is contained in another very rare pamphlet of his own composition, of which there is a copy in the British Museum.

THE LONDON-MASTER: OR THE JEW DETECTED.

Containing

- I. A True Discovery by what Tricks and Devices the Ship *Laurel* of London, with a rich Cargo, worth several thousand pounds, was cast away in a most horrible manner in the River of Killmare in Ireland.
- II. The evil Motives of Lucre that instigated them to that Wickedness.
- III. Their bloody Designs to have Sixteen Innocent Persons question'd for their Lives, for pretended Felony and Treason.
- IV. A brief Apology to the Clergy, the Army, and the London-Masters.
- V. An Appendix to prove every Allegation, directed by the Margent.

Qui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo.

Printed at Dublin, and are to be sold at the Treasury Coffee House in Crane-Lane, at Mr. Norman's in Dames-Street, Dublin; at Mr. Jones's in Cork, and at Mr. Letcher's in Tralee. And the Original Vouchers are to be seen at the said Coffee-House. 1694.

The story is briefly as follows: in January 1694 the ship *Laurel*, with a cargo of wine and treasure, was forced by contrary winds into the Kenmare estuary and ran aground near Cappancuish, where she was scuttled, and her cargo mysteriously 'lifted' by the neighbouring population. It seems that Orpen was forthwith accused, tried, and imprisoned as being

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responsible for the robbery. Orpen's account explains how the *Laurel*, after being deliberately driven aground by its master—the 'Jew' of the title—was then robbed by the crew in collusion with the populace, the whole affair being a plot designed for the express purpose of incriminating him and obtaining his removal from the country. He gives a series of testimonials to his own work and character, from persons who had been associated with him in his Kerry ventures. These show that his energy in maintaining the law had been the cause of all the machinations against him. One of his witnesses tells us that

Tories amounting in all to the number of four score and two had been wounded, taken and brought to the gaols by . . . Orpen and his English friends in the years 1685 and 1686 to the great terror of malefactors and the general quiet of that part of the Kingdom—there being not a Tory left thereabouts until the troubles began.

Orpen himself says,

Ever since the last war, 20, 30, and sometimes 100 at a time of Toryes have marched openly in arms up and down that country, and upon the approach of any considerable body of the army, have disperst themselves into small companies, and are concealed among the glins and fastnesses; where if any of the inhabitants are suspected as Discoverers, they and their friends are immediately destroyed, by burning their houses, cropping their ears, and cutting out their tongues, and sometimes keeping them prisoners whole nights stark naked in the open fields.

The tale in its main outlines bears a curious similarity to the story, told by Froude,¹ of the robbery of Danish silver from a wreck at Ballyheige near Tralee some forty years later. The conclusion of

¹ *English in Ireland*, i. 534, and 'A Fortnight in Kerry', *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, second series.

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the affair was much the same, for though the whole countryside had obviously been involved, nobody suffered in the end for the outrage. Orpen, at all events, must have soon obtained his release from imprisonment, whether by his own unaided efforts or through the influence of the Petty family. He continued to reside in the district until his death in 1716, and his descendants have since earned distinction in many walks of life.¹

The correspondence after 1675 is no longer extant, so we have no means of knowing what measure of success attended the 'small bark'. The fishery, however, continued, for in 1686 we find Orpen, who had then become principal agent at Kenmare, specifically directed by Petty to go on with it, and the following year he reports the capture of fifty-five hogsheads of herring and pilchard, though he adds that he 'cannot get anything for them; it is the first year that fish was ever known to want a market'. But Petty was dying when this report was written, and troublous times were ahead. The Kenmare Colony, as we shall see, was soon for a time to disappear, and when after the battle of the Boyne some of its members drifted back to County Kerry, everything had to be started afresh.

Eighteenth-century records and maps show that fisheries, with their attendant palices or 'fish houses' continued in the Kenmare River, but they were no longer under any kind of central management. The industry was evidently an uncertain one. We learn from Arthur Young² that at the time of his visit the Kenmare fishery was employing no one, though twelve boats had previously been kept at work. He adds that pilchards, which had been very plentiful formerly, had not been seen in the bay for thirty-three years.

¹ *The Orpen Family.*

² *A Tour in Ireland*, 1780.

V

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SIR WILLIAM, in the year 1667, had received through the Bishop of Killaloe the offer of a peerage, evidently conditional on the payment of a considerable *quid pro quo*. His reply, in which as given in the *Life*¹ there are some mistakes of transcription, deserves repeating. It might indeed serve as a model for any one similarly importuned by a 'broker of honours':

I will not tell y^r Lordship what opinion I have of people who make use of Titles as of Tooles, nor would I fall into the Temptation of doing the like. The end of these things will be that of the Dublin Tokens. I had rather be a copper farthing of intrinsick value than a brass half-crown, how gaudily soever it be stamped and guilted. I might have had these things a long time ago, for a third part of what your Lordship propounds. Besides if ever a thirst of that kind should take me, I hope to quench it at the very fountaine where these matters are most clear and wholesome. Nevertheless I thank your Lordship for the honor you intended me, and if I can serve y^r Lordshipp's friend by being his Broker in ye market of Ambition, lett him give me his Selling Price and employ your Lordshipp's most Humble servant.

The offer was renewed after Petty's death to his widow. History does not relate what, if any, was the consideration demanded. We only know that in 1688 by a simultaneous creation Lady Petty and her son Charles, who was then only sixteen years of age, became Baroness and Baron Shelburne. The title chosen was taken from a Barony in County Wexford, not far from

¹ Fitzmaurice, *Life of Petty*, 1895, p. 155.

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Waterford, which then formed part of the Petty estate in that part of Ireland.

In common with other Protestant landowners, Charles Lord Shelburne was attainted in 1689 by the Irish Parliament, and his estates were for the time being 'sequestered'. We hear of him soon afterwards as a volunteer with his uncle James Waller in the Duke of Schomberg's army, and in the midst of his brief military career he came over to England and married. The lady of his choice was Mary, the daughter of Sir John Williams, 2nd Baronet, of Minster; her letters, of which a few are preserved, appear to be those of a child sadly deficient in education. Charles Petty, like the rest of the temporarily dispossessed proprietors, was restored to his property after the successful termination of the war, and, as we have seen, most of the Kenmare 'colonists' found their way back to County Kerry during the years which succeeded. A few years later (1696) Charles died, leaving no son, and his brother Henry, who was destined to control the Petty estates for more than half a century, succeeded him.

Henry Petty was then only just of age. He had nevertheless already represented for four years the borough of Middleton in the Irish Parliament, while he now sat for the city of Waterford. He can have had little or no knowledge of the estates to which he unexpectedly succeeded. Waller, however, was on the spot, and had been for some years concerned in their administration. It was under these circumstances that in 1697 Waller obtained from his nephew a Letter of Attorney giving him full powers to deal with the Irish estates as he might think fit. He lost no time in acting on this authority, and on March 22, 1696/7, conveyed the whole of the Kerry property by two leases renew-

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able for ever to Richard Orpen and John Mahony of Dunloe, the last named, like the first, having for some years been concerned as one of Petty's numerous representatives in the management of the estate. The greater part of Shelburne's life was taken up with attempts to nullify these 'Grand Leases' which he afterwards asserted to have been collusive agreements between the agents concerned, who had taken advantage of his youth and inexperience. It must, however, be said in justice to Waller that, in the circumstances of the time, the bargain he made on his nephew's behalf may not have been a bad one. A fixed rental of some £1,300 a year was secured, and in addition certain 'fines' were payable on the deaths of those whose names figured in the leases. The property thus no doubt produced as much as it had yielded in Sir William's time, while by the terms of the arrangement the owner was relieved from all responsibility in the collection of rents and from the constant litigation which was inseparable from the ownership of Irish land. Henry Petty, moreover, had not acted without advice, for his Letter of Attorney, which is still extant, is countersigned by his mother, Lady Shelburne, and by Thomas Fitzmaurice (afterwards 1st Earl of Kerry), who had just become his brother-in-law by marriage with his only sister, Anne. That he was not himself dissatisfied at the time with the arrangement made may be seen from the following extracts from letters to 'his dearest uncle':

The estate in Kerry is sett and I do not doubt to ye best advantage as matters now stand, but do not you thinke that a peace would have made that country yield a great deal more than Orpen is ever to pay for it and everybody expects that it will be very soon concluded.¹

¹ Henry Petty to Waller, May 8, 1697.

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As for ye estate in Kerry I am satisfyed with what you tell me in relation to ye letting of it, now I would desire you to putt me in a method how I should apply to procure the scraps you mencon and what are ye severall denominations they contain. When you are pleased to do this I will not want diligence to obtain them.¹

Thomas Dance, the agent in Dublin, seems to have been much of the same opinion, for he writes to Waller soon afterwards,

Mr. Petty tells me that by the agreement you made with Mr. Orpen and Mr. Mahony they are to be at the charges of defending all manner of lawsuits concerning the title or otherwise of the lands you set to them. If they have made such a bargain I would not for a £1000 and their lease, be obliged to perform it, but I believe they are only obliged to be at the expense of recovering and redeeming the withheld lands at Dunkerron etc., and if it be so I desire the favour of you to let him know so much in your next, for there will be som lawsuits now and then.

Swift, who in after years was on intimate terms with most of the Petty-Fitzmaurice family, says of Lord Shelburne, 'He is a man of good sense enough, but argues so violently that he will some day or other put himself into a consumption.'² Petty's subsequent suspicions, and his action in regard to the Waller leases, may perhaps be in part explained by the combative instinct here indicated.

There were two Grand Leases: one for Dunkerron and Iveragh at £866, and another for Glanerought at £433 a year. They were both, as we have seen, ostensibly made to Orpen, for John Mahony of Dunloe was a Roman Catholic, and so debarred at the time from being a party to a transaction of this nature. The conditions were much the same in both cases; the leases

¹ The same to the same, June 9, 1697.

² Swift's *Works*, 1814, ii. 433.

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were nominally for ninety-nine years or three lives, viz. those of Mary Orpen (Orpen's daughter), William Bowen, his nephew, and Daniel Mahony (the son of John Mahony), but they were so worded that fresh 'lives' could be inserted after the deaths of the above, and were in effect perpetuities.¹ The lessees were in each case to build 'several good stone-wall houses with double chimneys', and near each house so built to plant half an acre with good fruit trees and ash trees (whence no doubt the ash trees which now surround some of the more substantial houses in the district). Within the first ten years of the lease thirty-four Protestant families were to be brought 'to plant and inhabit' in Glanerought. The lessees were given 'liberty of coard wood' for the making of iron, as also 'House Boote, Plow Boote and Car Boote' (i.e. timber for their houses, their ploughs, and their carts), for themselves and their under-tenants. Forty thousand young oaks were always to be 'preserved on the premises', &c. Both Orpen and Mahony at once proceeded to sublet to various middlemen by leases similar in form to those by which they themselves held, and it is noticeable that in all these leases there is no mention whatever of the superior Landlord, Henry Petty, except as regards the principal woodlands, the control of which would appear to have been reserved to him. Most of the tenants bear Irish names still familiar in the district, but a few in the neighbourhood of Kenmare are English, members no doubt of the original Kenmare colony, who had found their way back with Orpen after the war of 1689-90.

¹ 'Perpetuity (in Ireland) is but forty years long, as within which time some ugly disturbance hath hitherto happened, almost ever since the first coming of the English thither.' Petty in the *Treatise of Taxes*, etc., iv.

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No questions appear to have been raised at the outset by the Petty family with regard to these transactions, but before many years had passed, Henry, in whose favour the Shelburne title had been revived, realized that his property was increasing in value and began to make attempts to recover control by the 'setting aside' or 'avoiding' of Waller's lease to Orpen. The allegations on his side were, first, that the lease was *ultra vires* on Waller's part, and, secondly, that it was invalid by reason that lands had been included in it, in the neighbourhood of Kenmare, which were the property of Trinity College, Dublin, and as such could not be disposed of by Waller, with or without a power of attorney. The point remained unsettled until after Richard Orpen's death, but his widow got into difficulties with her rent, and in 1721 the matter was compounded with her son, the Reverend Thomas Orpen of Killowen. An arrangement was then made whereby the original grand lease was surrendered in exchange for a new one for the balance of the ninety-nine years, but not, like the first, renewable for ever. The family received Killowen House with several townlands in its immediate neighbourhood at a peppercorn rent, while Mrs. Orpen at the same time covenanted to give her assistance to Lord Shelburne in 'avoiding' the other grand lease to Mahony, for which assistance, should it prove successful, Shelburne promised to pay her £50 a year!

Matters, however, were not so easily arranged with the Mahonys. John Mahony had died in 1706 and his son Daniel, who, as we have seen, was himself one of the 'lives' in the lease, had succeeded him. 'Donell of Dunlow' as he was popularly called, had obtained by marriage the land round the castle of that name, which had been originally awarded to Captain James Naper,

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Petty's brother-in-law. He was also tenant to Colonel George Evans, Colonel Henry Pritty, and Captain James Stopford, all military grantees of forfeited lands north of the Kenmare River. He controlled, we are told, some 3,000 to 4,000 tenants, and the exploits of his retainers or 'fairesses', who dressed up as women, and with their faces blackened, terrorized the district and were 'ready both by day and night to answer his expectations', have passed into history. 'He paid such annuities to counsellors at Law and attorneys that, be it right or wrong, he carries all before him and suppresses all his adjacent neighbours, especially those that will not humble themselves before him.'¹ He was no doubt a man not to be lightly meddled with, especially by a landlord living at a distance.

But the Mahony family quarrelled amongst themselves, and wasted their substance in litigation, as a result of which their grand lease came in 1713 to be mortgaged to Arthur Herbert. This mortgage subsequently fell into the hands of the Orpens, whose rent was at the time in arrear to Shelburne, and the latter, through the personal intercession of his sister Anne, Lady Kerry, who seems to have worked hard to keep the peace amongst her Kerry neighbours, consented in 1731 to take it over in part payment of the money due to him. The proceedings which ensued are somewhat difficult to follow from the incomplete records which survive, but it would appear that unsuccessful efforts were made to obtain the interest due, first through Mr. John Pratt, the Irish Paymaster General and a close friend of Shelburne's, and later through one Phepoe, a person who belonged to the class known as 'Protestant Discoverers'. These gentry were paid to 'discover' articles in leases made to Roman

¹ *Kerry Records*, p. 159, 1st Series. Froude, *English in Ireland*, i. 505.

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Catholics which contravened the 'No Popery' Act. It was accordingly discovered that the Mahonys were Papists and that both their original lease under which they held, and the subleases which they had since made, were invalid, as being in excess of the maximum period of thirty-one years then permitted to Roman Catholics for such transactions. The mortgage interest was, at any rate, not forthcoming, and eventually in 1743 the lease was put up for sale, and Arthur Crosbie, having been declared the 'best purchaser', secured it for £1,600. He was a brother of Raymond Crosbie, who had married Mary Orpen (one of the 'lives' in the grand lease already mentioned) and was notorious for his connexion with the robbery of Danish silver at Ballyheige to which reference has already been made.¹ Associated with him in his bargain was James Pierse, brother to the then Mrs. Mahony of Dromore. By a private arrangement Pierse, after the purchase, handed over to his sister the Dromore property, which has remained in the Mahony family ever since.

It is not clear why Shelburne did not take the opportunity which appears to have been presented by these events of buying the lease and thus recovering his control. The redoubtable Donell was, however, still alive, so it may be surmised that Shelburne did not consider it politic to insist on his rights, though much subsequent trouble would have been avoided if he had done so. After the purchase Arthur Crosbie endeavoured to obtain a renewal of the lease from Shelburne, but this was refused on the ground that the original contract was void in equity and that its terms had not been fulfilled. Protracted and intricate litigation ensued, and the question remained unsettled during the remainder of the life of Henry Lord Shel-

¹ *Supra*, p. 45.

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burne, as also during that of his nephew and successor, John. The matter appears to have been eventually compromised by William Lord Shelburne (afterwards 1st Marquis of Lansdowne), who in 1763 purchased the lease from Arthur Crosbie and soon afterwards (in 1767) granted a renewal to the tenants. A sum of £4,200 was paid in 1776 to Elizabeth Rowley, Crosbie's granddaughter, apparently in completion of the arrangement made thirteen years before.

The first Lord Lansdowne's account of these transactions is contained in a letter to his aunt, Lady Arabella Denny, written in 1790, and it may be given in his own words :

The leases were made by Colonel Waller acting without authority from very corrupt motives. Henry Lord Shelburne denied their validity but he was drawn in most unaccountably to be an umpire in a case, which involved some circumstances relative to his own case, without his knowing it, when he was on a visit to his sister. This was the only ground upon which these fraudulent leases were supported. Mr. Orpen however conscious of the roguery in which he was a principal instrument, surrendered his lease of Glanerought 70 years ago. Mahony, who had the Iveragh lot, stood out, and came by different accidents to stand under very different circumstances, till it was bought by me soon after my father's death of Mr. Arthur Crosbie for a small sum. After taking the best advice I could, to avoid litigation and disturbance, I renewed for the Iveragh tenants on account of the difference of circumstances, and as to the Glanerought tenants, though their title had been surrendered upwards of 40 years, I gave them leases first of 21 years and then made them an addition of 10 years voluntarily much under their value.

Under date 1772-3 we find in the office files printed advertisements for the sale by private treaty of the whole of the Iveragh and Dunkerron lands, totalling

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some 15,000 Irish acres or over 20,000 statute acres—no sales, however, appear to have taken place. But on Shelburne's death the Kerry property passed to his second son Henry, and either he or the trustees of the settlement must have disposed of the greater part of land north of the Kenmare River in order to clear the estate of debt. Only a few detached blocks, in the form of fee-simple or fee-farm rents, scattered through Iveragh and Dunkerron, remained, and all these were ultimately transferred to the sitting tenants under the Land Purchase Acts. Glanerought, however, less the parish of Kilgarvan (which had not formed part of the original grant) and that part of the Kenmare parish which constituted the Trinity College lands, remained in the hands of Petty's descendants till the end of the nineteenth century.

It seems that the Kerry property had brought in little to its owners at the outset, for Lady Petty in her will (dated 1708) states that she had been obliged to contribute considerable sums out of her jointure and dower to her son Henry's maintenance; in 1696, however, the quit rents were reduced, and after the grand lease had been made Henry Petty must have been assured of a regular, if small, income from this source. In 1699 he became a peer and in 1719 he was advanced to an earldom. Two years later he contrived to get his three Kerry baronies 'erected into a Manor' by patent in order that 'being in a coarse and mountainous county and for the most part inhabited by papists who living very remote from all courts of law or justice, have hitherto acted without regard for either . . . a legal form of justice might be established in that part of the country'. He can have had little or no power over his two principal tenants, and still less over their numerous sub-tenants, while the grand leases

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remained in operation. The woods and ironworks, however, remained wholly or partly in his control, and such correspondence as still remains relates principally to the difficulty in preserving the first from the depredations of the inhabitants, and to the diminishing returns of the second, which as we have seen, finally disappeared about 1750.

Henry Lord Shelburne always had a house in Dublin, though of his life in that capital we know little or nothing. It would seem, however, that in his early years he was something of a sportsman. From the Ormonde correspondence we learn of a race between him and Lord Grandison on the Strand at Ringsend which 'drew the whole town together' in the year 1704.¹ He lived at first at Nos. 22-3 on the north side of St. Stephen's Green—the fashionable quarter known as 'Beaux Walk'—only a few doors away from Kerry House, the site of which is now occupied by the Shelburne Hotel. Shelburne, however, appears to have gradually forsaken Ireland in favour of a house at High Wycombe, in Buckinghamshire, which he had bought in 1700, and about 1712 he sold his Dublin house to his friend John Pratt of Cabragh Castle, Co. Cavan,² who afterwards became Vice-Treasurer and Paymaster General for Ireland. He moved then, or a little later, to South Great George Street, where he died in 1751, having been predeceased by his wife, as also by his son Lord Dunkerron, by a grandson who died in infancy, and by several daughters. His body was conveyed for burial to High Wycombe, where an elaborate memorial by Scheemakers in the parish church with life-size effigies of himself, his wife, and all the departed members of his family, marks his last

¹ Edward Southwell to Ormonde, Jan. 2, 1703-4.

² Georgian Society Records, 1909, ii, 48.

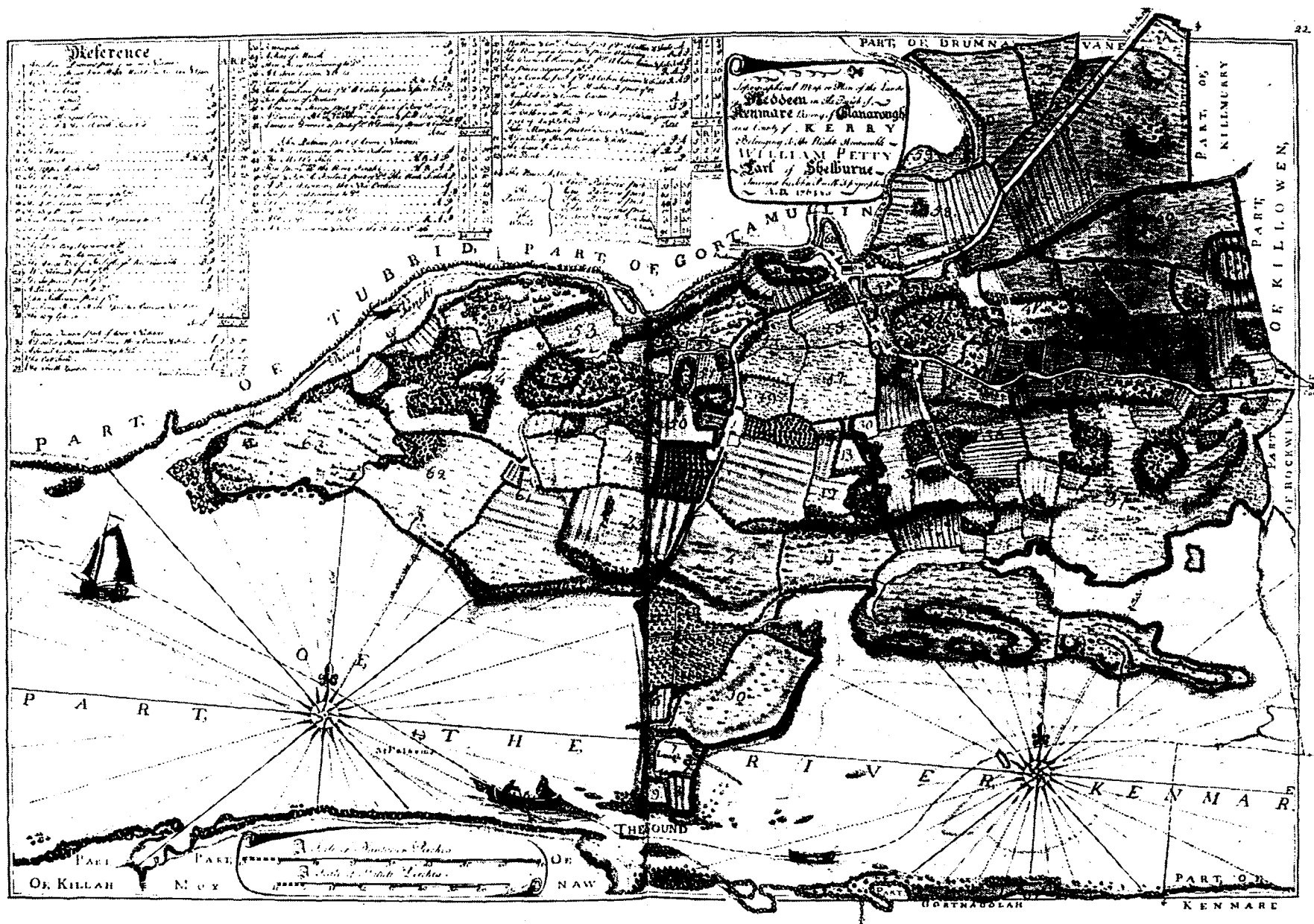
HENRY PETTY AND THE GRAND LEASES

resting-place. A daughter, Anne, married to a Judge Bernard, appears to have survived him, but it was his nephew John Fitzmaurice, second son of Thomas Earl of Kerry and Anne Petty, who succeeded to the Estate.

John Fitzmaurice, described by Swift, who was at the time soliciting an office for him, as 'a young gentleman of great regularity . . . lately married very honestly and indisputably',¹ had for some time previously been entrusted with the management of his uncle's Irish affairs. He was also active on his own account in County Kerry, where his father had in 1726 conveyed to him the principal woodlands on his Lixnaw estate.² He was High Sheriff of Kerry in 1733, and Member of Parliament for the county from 1743 till he succeeded in 1751. It is said that his wife, although born and bred in Ireland (she was the daughter of William Fitzmaurice of Gallane in County Kerry, and first cousin to her husband), did not wish to live there, and urged on him the purchase of a residence in England. Bowood at all events was bought soon after John Fitzmaurice had succeeded, and like his uncle before him, he seems thenceforward to have spent most of his time in England.

¹ Swift, Letter to Lady Betty Germain, May 5, 1735. Elrington Ball, 1913, v, 171.

² Josiah Brown, *Reports of Cases*, 1785, v. 58 ff.



MAP OF NEDEEN, A.D. 1764

VI

SOME KERRY DIARIES

JOHN LORD SHELBURNE died somewhat suddenly in 1761 and was succeeded by his eldest son, William, later created Marquis of Lansdowne, who continued in possession of the family estates for the best part of half a century. During this time many and great changes took place in Irish administration, and Shelburne, as a member of the Government, a protagonist in Opposition, and one of the largest Irish landlords, was closely concerned in that country's affairs. The campaign against the all-powerful 'Undertakers', the rise and fall of Grattan's Parliament, the abolition of the Penal Laws, the beginnings of Catholic enfranchisement, and finally the Union, all came to pass within his lifetime. Townshend was his personal friend, having in earlier years served with him in the continental wars. It was to Shelburne as Secretary of State in 1767-9 that the Viceroy had recourse for advice and assistance when he was endeavouring to break the power of the aristocratic faction which had for so long usurped the functions of government in Dublin. Soon afterwards (1770) Shelburne in his turn appeals to Townshend that troops may be quartered in Kenmare for the better enforcement of the law;¹ though his request seems, for the time being at all events, to have fallen upon deaf ears. It was while he was for the second time Secretary of State in the Rockingham Government, and during the short period of his Prime Ministership which followed, that Grattan succeeded

¹ *Infra*, p. 61.

SOME KERRY DIARIES

in securing the complete independence of the Irish Parliament from British direction.

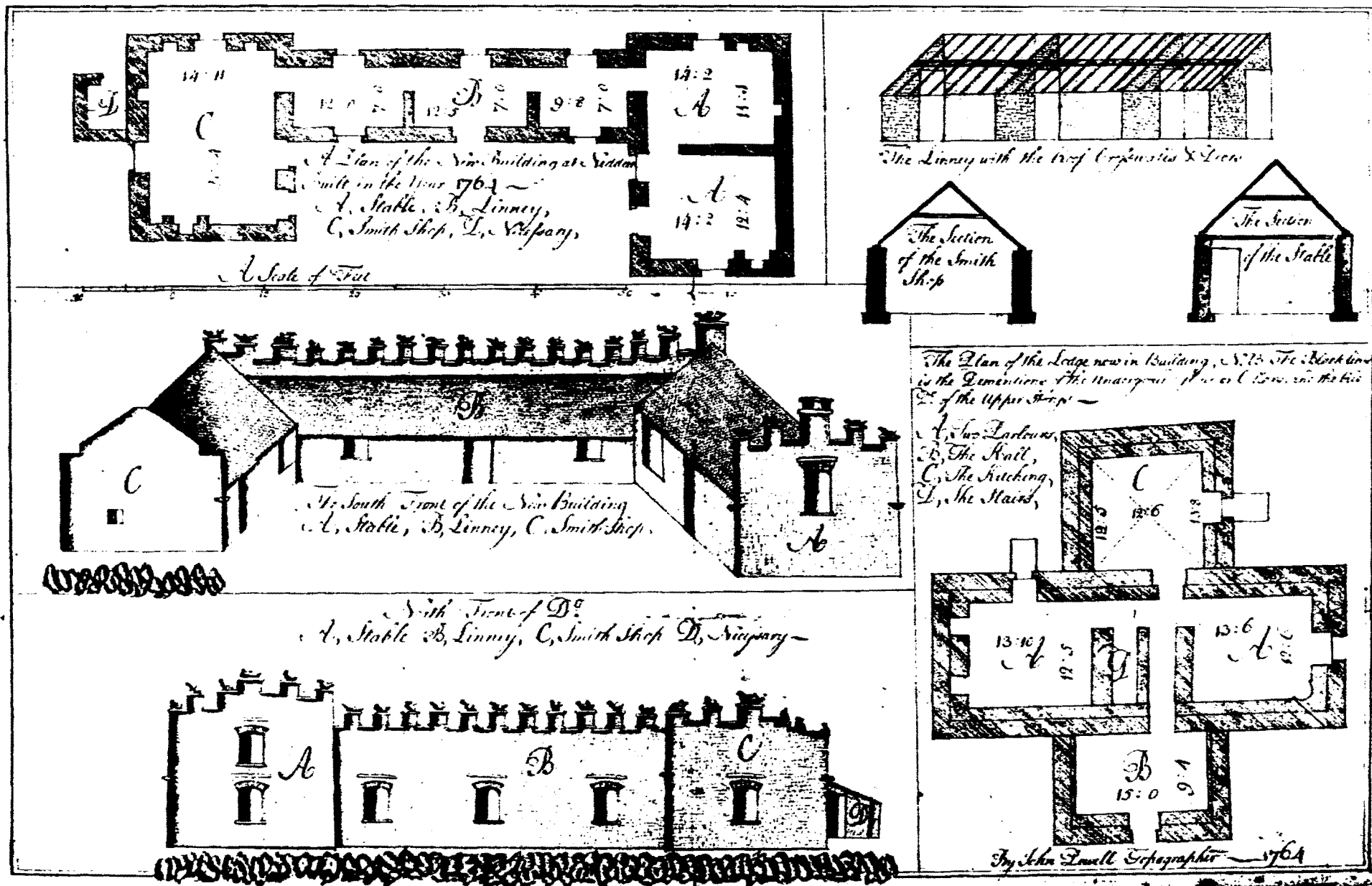
But all these great events affected little, if at all, the remote regions with which we are concerned. County Kerry paid little attention to current politics. Its middlemen were fully occupied in rack-renting their under-tenants and in quarrelling amongst themselves, while even its 'gentry' took little part and were content so long as they could drink their wine and fight their duels without interference—indeed a prominent country gentleman in Cork wrote to Shelburne in 1777 that he 'considered the state of Ireland secure' so long as claret could be imported for two shillings a bottle.¹ It was not for another generation that local politics were to be enlivened by the appearance on the stage of a native Kerry politician in the person of Daniel O'Connell.

Soon after his succession Lord Shelburne sent over John Powell, a surveyor, who had worked for him both in Wiltshire and at High Wycombe, to map his Kerry property, and a very elaborate survey of Kenmare and its environs remains on record as a result of his labours. Powell's maps are interesting as showing, *inter alia*, the schemes which were already on foot for the replanning of the town of Nedeem. The Lodge at Kenmare, substantially the same building as that which still exists, had then just been commenced, and is duly shown as a cruciform structure flanked by some outbuildings which have since disappeared. Its construction appears to have occupied a long period. In 1773 the agent reports that: 'It has lain nine years at sixes and sevens, labouring against nature, through cragged rocks, where she never intended there should be a habitation but for goats.' It was not completed

¹ Sir John Colthurst to Lord Shelburne, Feb. 1777.



LANSDOWNE LODGE



PLANS AND ELEVATIONS FOR LANSDOWNE LODGE

SOME KERRY DIARIES

and inhabited until two years later. Some curious plans and elevations for a forge and 'linney',¹ and for a labourer's cottage (both of which are plotted in Powell's maps) are still in existence, and many of the pay sheets for the labourers and others employed in their construction have also survived. The wages paid are not large, but none seems quite so inadequate as the fee of two shillings paid to a messenger from Kenmare 'for walking to Tralee with a letter to the collector and back again—two days'! The principal tenants continued as before, but their new leases were in the first instance granted only for ten, though they were subsequently renewed for a further period of twenty-one years.

Shelburne first went to County Kerry in the year 1764. Of this journey no record remains, but the impressions he gathered may be judged from the Memorial addressed to Lord Townshend to which reference has already been made. It is worth giving *in extenso*:

A MEMORIAL of the Right Honourable William Earl of Shelburne to his Excellency George Lord Viscount Townshend Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland. (August 1770.)

That your Memorialist is possest of a very extensive Estate comprehending the greater part of the three Baronies of Iveragh, Dunkerron and Glanerough in the County of Kerry.

That the Country is wild and unimproved either by Tillage, Manufactures or Arts; and abounds with Mountains and Morasses which afford a secure retreat to numbers of the Inhabitants who frequently disturb the Peace and transgress the Laws of their Country.

¹ 'Linney' or 'linhay', a shed or farm building open in front and usually with a lean-to roof (*Oxford Dictionary*).

SOME KERRY DIARIES

That most of the Inhabitants are Roman Catholicks of fierce and uncultivated manners; accustomed to hate and despise Civil Government; and from many of them having been in the French and Spanish Services, and other circumstances, inured to Arms.

That they frequently meet in large Associations and Cabals under different Leaders, and swearing fidelity to each other, and threatening instant Death to those who refuse to unite with them, they commit the most violent outrages, in defiance of law and Government, and to the prevention of all improvement and reformation, by terrifying Men of different principles (who might introduce the Protestant Religion, attachment to Government, obedience to the Laws, Arts and industry) from settling among them, or by ruining such as have attempted it.

That the Country though wild is very capable of improvement, to the great benefit of the publick, as well as of Individuals; but that this is impossible so long as Men are not secure in their property, as well as in the exercise of every legal right in common with the Rest of his Majesty's Subjects: Whereas could proper Tenants be brought in and protected by the Laws from violence, their example would in time diffuse such a Spirit of industry, good order and allegiance as must raise this to an equally useful state with other parts of the Kingdom.

That your Memorialist having introduced such Tenants on a part of his Estate, in consequence thereof the late violent disturbances arose; several Informations relative to which having been laid before your Excellency in Council, a Proclamation was issued, which hitherto has not had the desired effect, and frequent Felonies are still committed; by means whereof your Memorialist and his protestant tenants have suffered a loss of £2,000 and upwards (as can be made appear to your Excellency) besides the impossibility (under the present circumstances) of letting such lands as now are or may from time to time be out of lease in such manner as might be most for the advantage of himself and the Publick, in the several respects already mentioned.

SOME KERRY DIARIES

That a vast number of French Vessels fish every year along that Coast, even in the very harbours, regulated and protected by France, and not only abetted, but encouraged by the Irish Natives, on account of the illicit trade which it produces as well for Tobacco, as for Brandy and other French Commodities: Which not only deprives this Kingdom of the Fishery that inexhaustible source of Riches, which of right belongs to it, and which a spirit of Industry might appropriate to our own advantage were Foreigners excluded; but it also encreases the habitual tendency of the Natives to idleness and rioting, promotes smuggling to a very great degree, and highly prejudices the Revenue (of which Government have had recent proofs, as appears from several late Proclamations).

That this Country has always been notoriously the place of refuge and concealment for Soldiers who are constantly raising in this Kingdom for the French and other foreign Services, until they can be transported with secrecy and safety.

That there is a certainty of several Persons in this Country having a Connexion and Correspondence with France and Spain, many of whom in point both of abilities and principles are capable of conducting and executing any Scheme: As well as several Officers who have been, and it may be still are, in the French and other foreign Services; to whose practices this whole Country, in its present situation, stands exposed.

That it may be therefore highly expedient and useful for Government to receive from time to time particular accounts of that Country from Military Officers who may become acquainted with the Characters of the Inhabitants, and discover their Intrigues, as well as the nature of the Country for the purposes of Offence and Defence.

That Troops must necessarily be stationed to most publick advantage in such parts of the Kingdom as are least civilized and improved: As has been notoriously evinced by the practice for many years in Scotland; from which every benefit that could be expected has been derived, as

SOME KERRY DIARIES

well by the improvement of the Country, as the support of the Civil Power.

That considering the little progress which hath been made in Civilization and Improvement, the publick and private losses which have been for such a length of time already sustained, and may be still continued, from the riotous disposition and conduct of the Inhabitants, the violation of the Revenue Laws, and the destruction of private property; as well as the additional mischiefs which must happen in case of Invasion or Insurrection should this Country be longer left without Defence: It is hoped that this matter will be deemed an object worthy of the immediate attention of Government; and that it will be judged of essential importance to the whole Kingdom, as well as an Act of Justice due to Individuals, that a proper military force should be stationed ready and at hand to assist and support the Civil Magistrates, who without such aid and protection are not always able, in a Country so circumstanced, to execute their Duty with effect, or make the Laws operate with the necessary vigours; as well as counteract and restrain the illegal practices of foreign Nations.

That your Memorialist, the better to promote a service of so much consequence, is willing to give the land necessary for erecting Barracks, and will take care by his Agents in that Country that whatever Troops Government shall think fit to station there shall be properly supplied with all necessaries at reasonable prices.

That a map of the Country is hereunto annexed, submitting to the wisdom of Government three different Situations, one (Milltown) for a troop of light Dragoons, and the other two (Needeen and Imilaghmore) for a Regiment of Infantry; all which places can be conveniently supplied with Firing, Forage, Provisions, and every other requisite, and may easily communicate, in case of exigence, with the other parts of the Kingdom where Troops are and have been usually stationed.

Shelburne visited Kerry again in 1772 and in 1775,

SOME KERRY DIARIES

and on each occasion he left his impressions. They are in the form of a Journal sent home for the benefit of 'the College', as he called the little coterie at Bowood which included his two sons, their tutors, and Miss Caroline Fox, sister to Charles James, who had become almost a permanent inmate of his household.

In September 1772 he stayed with Lord Kenmare at Killarney, where he says he spent a week 'very dully and much teized'. He found the lakes

the most beautiful thing in nature, but everything else disgusting to the highest pitch. The People are Highlanders in manner and character, without the only virtue in Highlanders—attachment to a chief. Lord Kenmare gives away £800 a year and yet meets with no mercy—he is plundered, cheated and teized just as another. . . . Justice and money are two difficult things to be had in this country. . . . I find no man is worse look'd upon for being a scoundrel and cunning adds to a man's character. . . . I doubt about Killarney flourishing so much as Lord Kenmare's pains merit. It is ill situated for Trade and more calculated for idleness and luxury. I observe nobody gets rich in water drinking places, whoever brings money, brings that example of idleness and dissipation which shortly carries it away again.

From Killarney he went for one day to Nedeem, of which he finds the situation 'wonderfully calculated for trade'; he talks of a plan for establishing a town which was being made at his direction by an enterprising merchant named Trant, though nothing he says can be done 'till the present litigious spirit subsides by due course of law or some other means'. He seems, however, to have been principally taken up on this occasion with 'a dreadful scene of ingratitude' which he found in the person of the Rev. Luke Godfrey, a son of John Godfrey of Bushfield, who

SOME KERRY DIARIES

had been for many years the principal agent in these parts. The Rev. Luke Godfrey had been given the living of Kenmare some years previously, under a strict engagement to reside and to take an interest in the place. He had not only failed to carry out his promise in this respect, but according to Shelburne he had set every one in Kenmare by the ears and had succeeded in robbing his patron of a large sum of money. Godfrey's conduct provokes from Shelburne a reflection on 'the absurdity of ever gaining men by favours. It's contrary to nature. God has made men by nature independent to have a will of his own. Similar views and similar tempers will ever move together; reciprocal services may follow but can rarely lead and when they do it's a violence to nature.'

The next visit, in August 1775, was of longer duration, and Shelburne's account is worth giving in his own words:

August 19, Saturday. I came to Lord Kenmare's, and went from thence:

20. Sunday. To Nedeem upon the River Kenmare, where my presence was very much wanting, for Mr. Taylor, the Agent, had been entirely taken up with his own Affairs, and not with ours, which were going to ruin very fast. This is a Country full of Mountains, and the character of the people like the Welch, which I mention'd before. Besides Laziness is a general disorder thro' Ireland, and is here in the extreme, as well as other vices, owing to the Impunity which has prevail'd on account of it's remoteness. The Poor people are oppress'd to the greatest degree, and are become in consequence timid and lying, as well as crafty and Lazy.

I directed immediately the Name of Nedeem, which I found signified in Irish a Nest of Thieves, to be chang'd for that of Kenmare.¹ I order'd the Land out of Lease to be

¹ 'Nedeem' is the Irish for 'little nest', the suggestion that it meant

SOME KERRY DIARIES

divided into 4 Sorts; the 1st which was *fit for Building*, I directed to be divided into small lots, and given for ever Rent free, to incline wealthy people to come into the Country, and build, and employ the natives; the 2^d which was *the Improv'd Land* I directed to be divided into Lots of 20 acres each to accomodate those which should build in the Town, and to be let to them at a reasonable Rent; the 3^d which is *the Improveable Ground* or ground which is not, but may be with tolerable perseverance made good, I directed to be divided into Lots of 8 acres each, and to be given to the poor Tenants, upon condition of their living upon it & improving it, Rent free for 21 years—the 4th which is *the Bog & Rock* I reserve to myself, that it may be always kept in common.

21st Monday. I was wet thro' & thro' the weather being very bad, & got two Tumbles in a Bog.

22nd Tuesday. I was on horseback 13 Hours to get this Plan properly explain'd & prepared for execution.

23^d Wednesday. I return'd from Kenmare, late Nedeem, and going to call upon Mr. Herbert, a gentleman of the Country, for some Information, I stumbl'd upon a great company of fine Ladys, friends of Col. Barré's, and was obliged to Dine with them. I therefore took my part, according to the College Rule, to talk to them in a complimentary stile, and to forget my good Works, which was quite out of their way, while they pass'd the day one moment in ecstasy at the beauty of the Lake, and another in despair at the Flies which tormented them. I however got back to Ld Kenmare's at night, where I prevail'd upon an *Honest Quaker*¹ to come & build a House at Kenmare, & employ

a 'nest of thieves' must have been made to please Shelburne! Thomas Trant, a Cork merchant, had suggested a few years before that the name should be changed to Shelburnstown, Kenmare, Bell Port, or 'some Englified name in order to engage foreigners'. The parish had long been known by the name of Kilmare or Kenmare, but this had nothing to do with the title of the Browne family, which came from Kenmare Castle, near Bruff in County Limerick.

¹ This was one George Peet who had been for some years at Killarney. He established himself at Kenmare serving out raw cotton

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the Poor there in spinning Cotton for Manchester & Norwich, he being sent here by some merchants on account of the cheapness of the Country¹ which will make a beginning of Industry and a little circulation of money, upon our uncultivated Lands.

24th Thursday. I set out early in the morning and rid 50 miles to another property of ours, opposite the Island of Valentia which lies if possible in a worse Situation than the former.

25th Fryday. Tho' it was a bad day, I spent the whole of it, in endeavouring to set forward the same Plan as at Kenmare, excepting that of a Town, which I did not care to do, till I saw how the other succeeded. Out of 10,000 acres coarse Land out of Lease, I directed 1000 to be divided amongst the Poor, Rent free for 21 years, upon condition of their Improving it, & of their good Behaviour. I found both the Men & the Lands in a State of Nature. One Set had been fighting another, for no other reason, than that their chief should go first up to the Altar on a Sunday at Mass, & yet these chiefs oppress them to a degree, which excites Indignation as well as compassion, allowing them nothing but Potatoes & Water to subsist upon. Their chearfullness & Drollery is astonishing in the midst of their oppression. I was very angry with some of them for telling me Lies, when one of the crowd told me, that he was sure I was not angry; that I lov'd them & they lov'd me so much, that they would all come & live with me in London; in which they all join'd and laugh'd incessantly. They have refin'd so far in oppressing the Poor, that the Head Tenants have a method of letting out the Land in *ounces*² to the Poor.

and Manchester wheels of the latest pattern to the people for spinning and ten years later built there a water-mill for carding the cotton.

¹ The pay for cotton spinning was only 1½d. to 2d. *per diem* (Orpen to Shelburne, Dec. 15, 1797).

² Irish land denominations are always confusing in their variety and indefiniteness. An 'ounce' of land signified as much as could be sown with one ounce of seed. This according to Arthur Young was one sixteenth of a *gineve* or gneeve, which was a twelfth part of a

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I ask'd one of these Head Tenants about it, who could not deny the Fact, but could not be prevail'd upon to shew me how much an ounce was, when one of the crowd, half Naked without Shoes or Stockings, leap'd out like a Deer from behind his cover, and said 'Sir, I can shew you, I am a Tenant of that Gentleman's, and Rent just an Ounce', for which, tho' not more I suppose than half a Rood, he is obliged to pay heavy Rent, and do other oppressive Services.

The Clergy are still more oppressive than these head Tenants, and what vexes more is, that the Lands, which I give to the Poor for nothing, will be oblig'd to pay enormously to the Parson.

26 Saturday. I saw two more Farms, and rid back the same road to Ld Kenmare's, where I found the Fine Ladys again at Dinner, who were all shock'd at my way of Life.

27 Sunday. I rested for the first day since I left Bowood, and offer'd my Thanks to God for his care and Direction. I then wrote this Diary, which took up much more time than I expected, and will make me I am afraid late for Dinner. However I am happy as long as it can contribute to the happiness of those I love. Part of it is so ill wrote, owing to frequent Interruptions, that I hope the College will not take example of it. I desire my kind Compliments to Dr. & Mrs Priestley¹ Mr. Bull, & Mrs. John.

Immediately after this visit Shelburne put down his ideas for the benefit of his agent:

Memorandums about Kenmare. Sept. 1775.

Glanerough Lands out of Lease to be divided into 4 classes:

1. Ground for building; to be let on proposals, which when perfected shall be changed for perpetual leases on the same terms granted by Lord Kenmare.

2. Improved ground; to be let in lots from 5 to 20 acres ploughland. An ounce of land commanded a rent of £1. 1. 0. There were also 'gallons' and 'pottles' of land.

¹ Dr. Priestley was at this time Librarian at Bowood, where he had twelve months before made the discovery of oxygen.

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each for the accommodation of the principal Inhabitants, on leases of 21 years, with clauses of improvement.

3. Improvable land, to be divided in small lots none of them exceeding 8 acres each for the poor tenants, who can be well recommended and are capable of work: who may hold them for 21 years on condition of good behaviour and of cultivating them as they shall be directed.

4. Bog and rock, to be reserved to Lord Shelburne as much as possible.

5. That in future no land shall be suffered to remain on verbal agreements or proposals. No agent shall have power to conclude either, and all leases whatever shall have maps annexed to them.

6. To get a plan formed for promoting the Fishery, sea and wire [? weir] Fishery.

7. To get another plan for preserving the woods and planting fit ground. N.B. All the back mountains should be thoroughly examined and a further report made to me on them.

8. To bring the several tenants to agree to make over the best of their under-tenants for the payment of the principal rent: Protestants and industrious men should be encouraged to take and settle under these people, upon a promise from Lord Shelburne that upon the expiration of these leases, they shall derive immediately under him, when they shall have proved honest and industrious.

9. The Town may be begun by laying out two capital streets 50 feet wide, at right angles, one by continuing the present road from Killarney in a direct line from the Lodge to the second Hill on the Dunkerron road. This is the best place for the bridge. The county has given £70 which is amply sufficient to build the bridge and make the fences the whole length on both sides. I am willing to pay the expense of the road at 2s. 2d. per perch, which will as measured amount to £12. 12. 0. Mem. Another street may run down to the sand from the Lodge.

10. The priest wants a Mass House or leave to build one, which requires consideration.

SOME KERRY DIARIES

Mem. No ground should be let, except for buildings or from year to year, from the foot of the hill on the Killarney road down to the sand.

11. The Lodge park or Demesne should be always bounded by the River and the stone wall which bounds Killowen. The most rocky part should be planted with beech and Firs; all the bottoms should be cleanz'd and handsomely laid down.

Mem. To enquire about the Barrack Board, if there is a lease there of the Barrack¹ at Neddeen; and if there is to purchase it, provided it can be had for a trifle.

Mem. Mr. Franks will make Lord Kenmare and Lord Shelburne's compliments to the College² and acquaint them that they are willing to give 70 guineas each, and Mr. White will probably give as much; provided the College, who are the most immediate gainers, will join to make the road from Bantry to Kenmare.

A year after the above memorandum was written that indefatigable inquirer, Arthur Young, commenced his Tour of Ireland. He left little of the country unexplored and in course of time came to Neddeen. Some idea of the difficulties of travel may be formed from the fact that although his host had thoughtfully provided him with half a dozen labourers to help him on his way from County Cork, they were not enough, for he had to engage the services of two passing strangers and his servant before he could 'get his chaise up the mountain side'. He was evidently shocked to find that there was not a plough in the whole parish of Tuosist, 'all the tillage being done by the Irish loy.'³

¹ The barrack had been built in 1735 for a half company of soldiers and was used intermittently as such throughout the eighteenth century. In the early part of the nineteenth century it became the Revenue office—and finally the Court-house. It was burnt in 1920.

² Trinity College, Dublin, who owned a considerable tract of country south of Kenmare.

³ *Tour in Ireland*, 1780, i. 286. A loy is an Irish spade, with a

SOME KERRY DIARIES

Young speaks of Shelburne's scheme for dealing with the various classes of land, and amongst other items of information he tells us that: 'Ten men dig an acre a day that has been stirred before' and 'It will take forty men to put in an acre of potatoes in a day.' 'Great numbers of swine are reared on the mountains by the Tormentile root, which abounds there, and from which they will come down good pork.'¹ The squatters or under-tenants, who were to provide so difficult a problem in the future, were already becoming numerous. 'Cottars are assigned a cabbin, and a garden, and the running of two collops on the mountain, for which he pays a rent—He is bound to work with his master for 3d a day and two meals'—while to show how great already was the land hunger he gives the following conversation. 'Suppose five acres of those mountains to be cleared of stones, a stone cabbin built at £7 expence, and a wall raised round the whole, and to be let at a reasonable rent, would a tenant be found?'—'That moment'—'Suppose six of them or twelve'—'You would have tenants for all, if there were an hundred.' Finally we are informed of the strange fact that although salmon were plentiful the natives at that time never ate them.²

much narrower edge than an English garden spade. See the *Oxford Dictionary*.

¹ The plant referred to is probably *Potentilla erecta*, or tormentil.

² *Tour in Ireland*, i. 285-7.

VII

AN IMPROVING LANDLORD

THE successful administration of a large property in a remote part of Ireland by an absentee landlord has at no time been an easy matter, and in the eighteenth century, when communications with England were almost non-existent, it was perhaps impossible.

Though I have the misfortune to be an absentee, my tenants are so much the more an object of protection; and you can testify that I have never refused subscribing to any public work which you have proposed to me, and have before you were connected with me expended very considerable sums both in Dunkerron and Iveragh at least with the intention of doing good.

So wrote Shelburne to his agent Pelham in 1792, and the estate correspondence shows that his claim was fully justified. He was continually revolving schemes for the improvement of his estate and the betterment of the lot of those whose fate it was to live upon it, but he appears to have been badly served by his representatives. His many plans were seldom carried out to his satisfaction; nor did they produce the results expected of them.

So long as the Grand Leases remained in force, there was little for an agent to do except to collect the chief rent from the representatives of the two original lessees. The leases, however, as already explained, had fallen in, and Shelburne assumed such control as was possible for an owner living at so great a distance. His advisers were numerous, as were also his agents on the spot, and it is not easy to discover from their letters what

AN IMPROVING LANDLORD

were their respective functions and who was at any one time actually responsible for his affairs. Almost all the estate correspondence has been preserved, and from this it has been possible to piece together a good deal of unrecorded local history and to get a picture of the manners and customs prevalent in Kerry at the time.

John Godfrey, ancestor of the family of that name still living in the county, had succeeded a Mr. Dumas in 1758, and was in charge at the time of Shelburne's succession; his salary, as was the custom in those days, consisting of a moiety of the poundage on rents received. He lived at Bushfield, near Castlemaine, and only occasionally visited Kenmare, where he was represented by various subordinates, who acted respectively as 'Seneschal of the manor', collectors of rent, or accountants. Godfrey appears to have been for some time in failing health, which is betrayed by a handwriting progressively more shaky until it becomes almost illegible. 'Whiteboys' and cattle-houghers were active in his time, several murders being committed in Dunkerron, while an unfortunate tenant of the name of Fuller, who had for some reason become unpopular amongst his neighbours, had nearly all his cattle destroyed by the last-named gentry.

Godfrey resigned about 1774, Joseph Taylor taking his place and becoming resident agent and 'Seneschal of the Manor of Dunkerron'. He lived at first at Dunkerron, which, though it had originally formed part of the estate granted to Sir William Petty and afterwards confirmed to his son, appears to have belonged at this time to Taylor's family. In 1775 he moved into the Lodge, which, as we have seen, had then just been completed at Kenmare. Taylor was a native of Kerry, although he had been away for some

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years before he became agent. He is nevertheless extremely outspoken in his criticisms of the people under his charge. He writes to Shelburne, soon after taking up his duties: 'It is really shocking and ridiculously absurd to see how these poor wretches spend their time—parents sauntering about the roads doing nothing, and their sons and daughters going to a dancing school at three shillings a quarter, when they ought to be spinning or carding, digging or plowing or sowing.' He had much to say about the middlemen tenants—'jobbers' he calls them—for many of them did not even occupy the farms that they held. 'I believe everyone has a profit by his farm, but it is in such a way that I wish I could alter it, for most of them are petty tyrants to the poor under-tenants and rack them to death.' 'They are', he states on another occasion, 'neither gentlemen nor farmers, but wild, head-strong, barbarous rabble, proud, impudent, idle beggars, lawless in their dealings and ever wrangling....'

Shelburne, as we have seen, had already begun to try to improve the position of the under-tenants by setting aside land to be let directly to them; at the same time expert cotton and worsted spinners were introduced into Kenmare in order to give employment to those who were landless. It was subsequently claimed that the number of those who held directly from the landlord had been increased by the year 1798 from 29 to 103, but, as we shall see, subdivision of farms recommenced in the nineteenth century and the last of the big middlemen did not disappear till near its end.

Taylor did not enjoy a long innings. He was quarrelsome, and fell out, amongst others, with Samuel Nelmes, a man who had been in Shelburne's service in England and who appears to have been sent over to Kerry to act as a watch dog over the numerous

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persons employed by him. Both Taylor and Nelmes, however, left in 1775.

Shelburne was then on very friendly terms with a nephew in County Cork, John Colthurst, the son of his elder sister who had married Sir John Conway Colthurst of Ardrum. Colthurst appears to have been given almost plenary powers in regard to the Kerry estate, and it is clear that for a time Shelburne was entirely guided by his opinion. Acting no doubt on Colthurst's recommendation, Shelburne appointed as agent a man named Douglas, who had formerly held the post of Quartermaster in the regiment to which Colthurst belonged. But Douglas was soon found to be even less satisfactory than his predecessor. He would neither collect the rents in time, nor remit them when received, and scarcely any one had a good word to say for him. He was eventually dismissed in 1787. Meanwhile his patron, Colthurst, who had long been noted as one of the foremost 'fire eaters' in the south of Ireland, had fought his last duel, being shot dead in an encounter with one Dominic Trant. Curiously enough Trant was also amongst Shelburne's advisers, and the following extract shows that he had considerable knowledge of the country:

Smuggling in open day and in defiance of the revenue officers is hourly practised to a very great extent, particularly of Tobacco. . . . This coast is little known; there are some good harbours but the greater part of the bays and inlets are rocky, or otherwise exceedingly dangerous. Wrecks are therefore frequent and the savages of the neighbouring cliffs plunder without mercy . . . one cause is the want of lighthouses . . . there is no Lighthouse from the Shannon to the Old Head of Kinsale, an extent of 50 or 60 leagues of coast, the great landfall of our Hudson's Bay, Quebec, Newfoundland, North American and West Indian Trade and

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frequently made by our East Indian, African and other ships. A prodigious in-draft and western swell throws them on the coast, outrunning their reckoning. They get into our bays frequently in dark winter nights, when they imagine themselves 50 leagues from land and almost always perish. Within my memory of 25 years above 30 valuable vessels, mostly West Indiamen, have been totally lost on one spot—the peninsula of Inch stretching across the head of Dingle Bay.¹

In the same year John Beresford, the famous ‘Commissioner’ who was already all powerful in Irish Administration, writes to Shelburne on this subject. Cloughnakilty, he says, had been the principal landing-place, but when there were Government cruisers about, the smugglers would run for Sneem and Kilmackilloge, where they had ‘Factors who for a certain consideration landed, stored and secured the goods’ until a suitable opportunity presented itself for transmitting them to Cork or to some other centre. An inspector of the River Kenmare was appointed, with a boat and a salary of £200 a year, but all to no purpose, for

notwithstanding all precautions the smugglers eluded our schemes. If our vessel lay at the mouth of the river, they slipt past her in the night, and run for Sneem, Kilmackalogue or Neddeen, if she lay high up, they landed in Ballinaskeligs Bay or in Ballydonaghan or Quiloge Bays, or sometimes they run for the Road of Valentia, and landed either on the Island or the Main as convenient. To prevent this we made a station at a pass called Corrane, the only pass over that river which runs into Ballinaskelligs Bay.² This party acted by sea as well as by land, having a large decked boat in the bay, in which they could as occasion required run across the Bay and River Kenmare. This annoyed the smugglers very much, and obliged them to make new alliances in the country, and upon all occasions to defend their goods by

¹ Trant to Shelburne, Oct. 17, 1782.

² i.e. near the present Waterville.

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force. In consequence we have had several battles in every one of which we have been defeated except one, which was actually a siege, when our people landed their guns and brought them to bear on Mr. Connel's house,¹ before they would give up the goods. We have been twice beaten at Nedeem, where they now land most of their goods; on one occasion they took our two principal officers prisoners, and were going to hang them; in the other they killed one of our officers, and rescued a whole cargo of tobacco out of the house of a Mr Basil Aldwell either in or near Neddeen.²

Neither Trant nor Beresford mentions a fact which was well known to others, if not to them, namely that the agent Douglas was himself closely involved in the trade, as were almost without exception all the local gentry and those serving under them. It is therefore small wonder that the business continued to flourish. In 1787 one of the Orpen family informs Shelburne that no less than ten vessels in the Kenmare River were employed solely in smuggling, and that 'the inhabitants almost to a man were deeply engaged'. From the same informant we learn that the French at that time would take nothing but gold in payment for their goods, and there was in consequence a serious drain of this metal from the vicinity; brandy, however, was cheap and the local population took advantage of the fact by getting constantly drunk.

It was in these circumstances that a new agent, Henry Pelham, entered upon his office, and it is not surprising to find that Thomas Orde, who had succeeded Beresford at the Revenue Office and was soon to become Irish Secretary, thought it desirable to see him on his way from London to Kenmare, and to give him a special commission from the Government for

¹ Derrynane. The Mr. 'Connel' concerned must have been the father of 'the Liberator'.

² Hon. John Beresford to Shelburne, July 10, 1782.

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the suppression of illegal trade—which, ten years later, Pelham claimed to have ‘annihilated’.

Henry Pelham was the son of Peter Pelham, an engraver, of Boston, U.S.A., his mother being the widow Mary Copley. John Singleton Copley, the artist, was her son by her first husband, and we find his name attached to the fidelity guarantee which Pelham signed on his appointment. In his youth Pelham had been trained as a ‘limner’ by his half-brother, though he does not appear to have practised the art after his return to England. As a loyalist he had to leave Boston, and he appears in ‘a list of American sufferers who now receive annual allowances from the Treasury’¹ as the recipient of £50. He was first employed by the Government to make a survey of County Clare, whence he was transferred through the instrumentality of Dominic Trant to County Kerry. The survey of Kerry appears to have been carried on by him while acting as Shelburne’s agent; but the work progressed slowly, and from Pelham’s letters it is clear that it was not even completed in the year 1796, and no trace of it now remains. Pelham was evidently a man of education and ability, and the period of his administration passed off very quietly when it is considered how troublous were the times elsewhere. The memorandum which follows shows that he did not lack instructions from his employer:

DIRECTIONS RESPECTING THE BARONY OF GLANERAGHT AND THE TOWN OF KENMARE IN THE COUNTY OF KERRY.

General principles

All the old tenants to be continued upon a reasonable rise.

Where there are many relations who may claim a preference, the farms to be divided between them.

¹ Shelburne MSS., June 3, 1782.

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Disputes to be referred to arbitration and where a question arises about any person's character, I should think it might have a good effect, to be in the habit of referring to the two Clergymen, whose interest must be the same as ours to maintain good order & good morals thro' their respective parishes.

Reservation to be made of all situations for Mills, and of all Bog, which should be kept in my own power as much as possible for the general benefit of the constant supply of the Lime Kiln, and to be certain of their being cut in drains, and to make it one particular man's business to oversee the supply of turf &c and draining of Bog thro' the two parishes.

All respectable persons I should be glad to make freeholders.

Care to be taken to vary the terms of the Leases as much as possible. No alteration to be made just now relative to any of the lands which have hitherto been set at Will.

To reserve such tracts of land as may do for planting wherever the tenants can be engaged by any means to answer for their preservation.

The under-tenantry should be divided into two descriptions—the better sort to be made over to me in lieu of rise of rent, the others should become workmen instead of tenants to the principal tenants.

Villages should be begun wherever a situation can be found calculated for one. Killmackaloge appears remarkably well calculated for one—another large Village may be made between the Lake of Clonee & Ardea; some more situations it is to be hoped upon examination may be found. A great number of Ten-acre lots to be laid out at both the above places, and I am ready to give them the same assistance in all respects as I do the Ten Acre men at Kenmare.

Quere; whether a Village might not be established in some part of Bunnane on the river Sheen, suppose about Milleen or Delis.

To consider how the fishery might be improved in different parts, and about removing rocks or other cir-

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cumstances that can hinder the salmon coming up, and to whom it is proper to let the respective fisheries and upon what terms.

Mr Pelham will lose no time to employ John Doud to compleat the whole survey of Tuosist & Bunnane, the survey to be made with a view to—

- 1st. Dividing the whole into as many farms as possible.
- 2nd. Distinguishing such tracts of land as may be fit for planting and may be best preserved.
- 3rd. To distinguish the Bog, which I mean to keep in my own hands for the benefit of the Country, and to have it every where cut in drains.
- 4th. To point out proper places for Ten Acre Lots with a view to the establishment of Villages; these should be very extensive.
- 5th. To take particular notice of all sites for Mills.
- 6th. To accompany the survey with all such other observations as may occur in executing it and may be of use hereafter.

A Map of the Lands to be annexed to all Leases.

Improvements of the Town (Kenmare)

Mr Pelham to make a general plan for all the peninsula west from the Lodge ground, which whenever it is approved must be considered as unalterable, subject to the following limitations—

- 1st. A very considerable breadth to be left quite vacant round all the Sea Coast and up the river Finney as far as the Smith's Forge.
- 2nd. The plan when settled should be traced upon the ground if Mr Mayberry can be settled with, if not as far as can be done without him, and the size of the several lots determined so that one lot may not break in upon another.
- 3rd. I would have the Town continued from where it now is, leaving no vacancies except from the proposed Market place to the present Town, which should be first filled up.

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- 4th. The Centre Lot opposite each street must be reserved for myself, as well as all the Main Street running West from the Chapel, and all the space from thence to the Sea.

Immediate objects of Improvement:

- 1st. To build as good a Lime Kiln as possible.
- 2nd. A good strong boat to carry lime wherever it may be wanted.
- 3rd. Twenty pounds a mile to the new roads.
- 4th. A Mill: Mr. Pelham will consider between a Tide Mill, and a River Mill, and whether a Tide Mill will not be sufficient to answer all the present purposes.
- 5th. To get a good supply of Cabbin timber, enough to meet the demand from the two Parishes.
- 6th. A Nursery: Mr. Pelham will pitch upon a proper place for a Nursery, and to consider this matter with Peter Duckett.
- 7th. An Inn: Mr. Pelham will consider a plan, which may be begun upon, half of it to be built for the present.
- 8th. A Bridewell; which it is hoped Mr. Pelham will get aided by a presentment.
- 9th. A Market House; Mr. Pelham will consider of a proper plan.
- 10th. A Bell.
- 11th. A School house.
- 12th. To order in the first instance a Ship load of timber from Norway or America for Kenmare.

Culture of Flax, &c. To consider how to introduce the culture of flax by letting the Tenants have the seed at prime cost, and the manufactory of linen by procuring the best models of Looms, wheels, &c. also about giving premiums of Looms, &c.

Lintseed & Rape. To procure the seed and let the tenants have it at prime cost.

Ship. To bring Timber, Culm &c. and carry the Country produce to the best market.

Courthouse.

Lime Kilns. Two more to be erected.

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Mill & Tucking Mill. I will get a plan for one without delay and bespeak the machinery at Bristol against the ship is procured.

Butter Market. To be opened and encouraged by premiums if necessary.

Malt House. To be erected as soon as there is any prospect of a sufficient consumption.

School. I intend to institute a respectable Agricultural School in Tuosist as soon as objects still more pressing are accomplished; in the mean time a small School may be established in Kenmare, John Connor to be appointed a Master at £—— per annum and £—— to be given in premiums; to teach all children that come, £—— to be given to the best spinners.

Planting. To reserve such tracts of land as may answer for planting; to establish Nurseries everywhere and to give plants to all tenants who apply for them, encouraging them by every possible means to preserve them as the best way of recommending them to notice.

Stores of Tools. To have stores of all sorts of Tools &c &c which shall be sold to the poor people at the first cost, to leave them no excuse for stealing and plundering—practices which disgrace the Country.

Price of Labour. To raise the price of labour in proportion to the price of provisions.

Arrears.

1st. No indulgence to be shewn to the Tenants to perpetuities. Where they do not pay one half year before the other becomes due, ejectments must without further directions be served upon them.

2nd. Tenants who have good interests in the lands must understand that I expect them to set an example of punctuality to others, and if they do not pay the year's rent within 3 months after the whole year becomes due they must be ejected.

3rd. Those who have undertaken more than they can perform must be converted into Ten Acre men.

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Churchyard in Kenmare. To be extended and the Priest accommodated.

Merchant. You must endeavour as soon as possible to get some honest responsible man to set up as a Merchant.

Cottages in Iveragh. Must be built in some central situation, like the Swiss Cottage at Bowood.

New Chapel in Kenmare, to be further assisted if wanted.

Road from Kenmare to the Cottage in Iveragh must be planned and estimated.

Remittances & Accounts. The perpetual rents must be remitted in May & November, the rest together with the accounts must be returned before the 1st of September & the 1st of March. You must remember that this will never be dispensed with nor any excuse of arrears, accidents, &c. admitted: If they ever go a day beyond the above, I shall be most excessively out of humour.

The Woods in Iveragh must be ascertained & considered.

The Lodge &c. The Lodge Demesne to be continued down to the River, the Island to be entirely planted.

The Eastern part of the Lodge Ground between the River and the road to be let to Mrs Sullivan at will, but no Lease ever to be given of it, as I mean it an appendage to the Inn, and to secure by that means the good & reasonable accommodation of the publick.

Mr Pelham will give a distinct Memorandum upon which I can found an application to Government either for making Kenmare a Port, or for erecting it with the neighbouring Baronies in the Countys of Kerry & Cork into a separate collection; and also to consider the utility of a Lighthouse at the mouth of the River Kenmare.

If Mr. Pelham will send two boys to Bowood of 14 years of age or under who are descended from honest parents, and tolerably well brought up, they will be taken care of for 7 years provided they behave well.

The principal incident during Pelham's term of office was the threatened landing of the French in Bantry Bay in December 1796. His own and other

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letters directed to Shelburne from the south of Ireland at that time are eloquent of the state of trepidation produced in the district, though contrary to expectation there was no sign of a local rising on the appearance of the French fleet. The agent summoned a general meeting of magistrates and principal inhabitants at Kenmare, loyal resolutions were passed, and shortly afterwards the landholders in Glanerought met under the chairmanship of one of the principal tenants and decided to offer their services to the Government as a force to be known as the 'Glanerought Infantry'. The local force, however, subsequently emerged as 'The Kenmare Yeoman Cavalry', under the command of John Mahony of Dromore, with John Bland as his lieutenant and Pelham as secretary, and later on when the United Irishmen hoisted the standard of revolt, the services of this corps were called in aid. So far as the French were concerned, their expeditionary force of 15,000 men under General Hoche and Wolfe Tone never made even an attempt to land. They had selected for their enterprise the worst period of the year, and, as was to be expected, met with continuous gales. After one ship had been driven ashore in Bantry Bay the remainder were glad to make good their escape from these inhospitable coasts, and a few days later Pelham was able to report the appearance of a British squadron in their place. It was not till later that it was discovered that the military plan had been to allow the enemy to land, and to retire the defending forces beyond the Blackwater. All that part of Kerry with which we are concerned would thus have been given over to the tender mercies of the invader.

On receiving the news of the failure of the expedition, Shelburne hastened to write to Pelham:

I am impatient to congratulate you and the county, not

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so much on the failure of the French expedition, as upon the opportunity which all descriptions in Ireland have had of proving their attachment to their country and their unanimity in its defence. I date the commencement of its prosperity from the present moment. The people must be pleased with themselves and consequently with each other, and a foundation is laid for a degree of confidence between all ranks which has never hitherto existed. I hope that landlords will not be wanting on their part. You know very well that I did not want this spur to do all I could for the improvement of the country and you may convince the tenantry of it by communicating the instructions which I gave you in October.¹ If they are not carried into execution it will be your fault not mine—neither expense nor forethought shall be wanting on my part, at the same time I shall expect *punctuality* and *confidence* on theirs.

I have sent my second son² to Edinburgh, on account of the wonderful improvements of every kind going on in Scotland, that he may hereafter adopt such as are fit and practicable in Kerry. There is nothing I think of with more pleasure than of laying the foundation of our corner—remote and obscure as it is—making itself known by its industry and order.

I was much flattered by hearing the Grenadier Company of the Kerry militia highly commended, and particularly so as to hear that they were mostly from Glenarought (Jan. 1797).

Shelburne was at this time in correspondence with William Roscoe of Liverpool, and the banker-historian, after consultation with his friend Gilbert Wakefield, favoured him with a complete scheme, extending to sixteen closely written pages, for the improvement of his Irish estates. He was eloquent on the importance of drainage, of uniting the interest of the landlord and tenant, and of giving to the latter (especially in Ireland)

¹ See *supra*, p. 79 ff.

² Henry Petty, afterwards 3rd Marquis of Lansdowne.

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a stimulus to exertion. With these objects he recommended short leases of seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years at a progressive rent, the landlord finding the outgoings for improvement, in place of the twenty-one year leases, at a lower but fixed rent as then in vogue.

But all these plans came to naught, for signs of the coming rebellion soon began to manifest themselves throughout the country. In South Kerry for a time things remained quiet; Pelham attributed this to the considerate treatment which the people had received, and reminded his employer that this was the only estate in the neighbourhood of which it could be said that 'no four-footed beast had been sold for rent' during the previous ten years.¹ In January 1798, however, he reports that some of his drovers in Tuosist had been beaten and the cattle which they had collected in lieu of rent had been taken from them. About this time, too, there appeared on the chapel doors in Kenmare and Tuosist a succession of notices of which the following is a specimen:

Whereas we are these many years labouring under the heavy weight of taxes and oppression and our fathers, grandfathers and ourselves, supporting two Churches and two Religions and perhaps hardly able to support one Religion, Now we humbly and peacefully desire the public in general from this day forward, that no man in this parish will pay any money relative to County charges only for Roads for the benefit of the Parish. We also forbid the public in future to pay any money for their tythes, and warn the Constables and Bailiffs not to serve any processes for tythe money, and if any person or persons be found guilty in trespassing the above rules he will be severely punished according to our law.

John Justice

¹ Pelham to Shelburne, June 13, 1797.

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Pelham now put in a strong application for a military force to be sent to Kenmare, while the Yeomanry Corps became much in evidence, and arms were imported for the defence of the Lodge if need be. But though there was in March 1798 a proposal to 'proclaim' the parish of Tuosist, where most of the disturbances had taken place, this was resisted by Pelham, and so far as the neighbourhood was concerned the year of rebellion passed without serious trouble.

Shelburne, however, now seems to have begun to get impatient because better results had not been achieved. The directions which he had given to Pelham at various times were produced, and the agent was required to show in detail how these had been carried out. In justice to him it must be said that he had in almost every case a good answer to Shelburne's complaints, but the latter was not easily satisfied, and Pelham was in 1798 superseded by Charles Spread. He remained, however, in the district and busied himself in making a new map of the county for which in 1800 he received public thanks. He appears also to have embarked on a History of Kerry, but this was never completed, for a few years later he was accidentally drowned in Bantry Bay.¹

¹ Record Office MS. T. 30/20.

VIII

IRISH EDUCATION

EDUCATION in the modern sense was practically unknown in western Ireland in the eighteenth century. Of schools it is true there were plenty, and even in Kenmare Greek as well as Latin was taught to the children of an almost illiterate peasantry. The type of scholarship produced by these seminaries may perhaps be judged by the effusion of which I print a part below. It must be understood that this document was intended in all seriousness to show the erudition of the writer, who had held the position of 'Seneschal' of the Manor of Dunkerron, in which he had only recently been superseded.

THE HUMBLE PETITION of Den^s. McCarthy of Needeem Humbly Sheweth—

Most worthy gentlemen, I Den^s. McCarthy of Needeem a poor Indigent Deplorable lamentable Needy distressed misfortunate Unfortunate Friendless Scholor Follower and lover and Admirer of and friend to the tunefull Nine and Haliconian Choir, do hereby Expostulate Invoke Beg Pray Observate and Besceech your Worships lordships highnesses Grandeours Excellencies & Majistical powers to Com-meserate pittty and take Compassion and Bemon and Be Touched with the state case and condition of me Mr McCarthy of Needeem, Extracted and descended and derived and sprung and come from the most powerfull most mighty most wise most witty most learned most Exquisite most Eminent most honourable most liberal most free most gracious most glorious Most splendid most noble most Bright most heroick most Illustrious most polite most Established and Consumate most deserving most Magnanimous Most warlike most Brave most Renowed most

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Couragious Race stock family Lienage pedgree genealogy and generation of the Princely Regal Royal Warlike martial grand McCarthy of Muskerry, whos noble Actions Atcheivments Transactions labours performances and works will never be defamed disannaed Anihilated Antiquated Oblivated Obliterated by fame tradition or time Antiquity or Even Eternity but Raised and made big Agranddized Eternized Epitomized Advanced Promoted Exalted and Elevated by following and Ensuing After Posterity and succeeding and future times and Recorded And Related and Repeated and Recited and Reiterated and Rehearsed in the histories Registeries Annals Memoirs Compendum and libels of fame and glory and Character and Reputation.

Mr. McCarthy then proceeds to give his genealogy in detail and finally laments that while in his former post he 'Used to wear Broad Cloath and Ruffles and three leged wig with fringe of gold and Brussels Lace Cravat and fine Beaver with gold lace and Cockade', henceforth he

is and will Be and shall be and may be and must be Banished famished and Perished and Deprived of his Vital spirits by Cold and frigated by Famine unless you Consider his State and Condition want and Necessity Indigency and Calamity by Aiding and Confering Upon him something or nothing or any thing or every thing or some way or no Way to Buy him Beer Bread Brandy Coat waistcoat Breeches nor Tobacco.

Well might the Kenmare agent write 'as to schoolmasters we have too many, and too many mere schollars, for we abound with schools and schoolboys, and it would be better that our youth should be hammering at the anvil than at bog Latin'.¹

About the middle of the century there had been a scheme for a 'Charter school' at Kenmare. The site, on the slopes of Kilmurry just above the town, is

¹ Taylor to Shelburne, 2 Sept. 1773.

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marked on the survey made by Powell in 1764, and the correspondence shows that 50 acres had been given by the landlord to the 'Incorporated Society' for the purpose at a peppercorn rent, with a subscription of £100. The school was to contain 30 boys and 30 girls. In view of the shocking reputation which these Charter schools afterwards earned it was perhaps fortunate that the project, for some reason unknown, never materialized at Kenmare.

But Shelburne did not give up hopes of improving Irish education, and his breadth of vision is nowhere more apparent than in this relation. The memorandum which follows bears no date but appears to have been written about 1780.

EDUCATION

Why should not Education in Ireland be made the cheapest and best in Europe?

Besides the good effects of it in regard to the People of Ireland, the Americans would naturally resort to it, and it would augment the natural intercourse between Ireland and America.

Schools

Let there be 8 Schools, two in each Province. Let them be near the Sea for the sake of health, cleanliness, & recreation, and to promote the Study of Navigation, and Shipbuilding and a Spirit of Enterprise. Let there be Seven Professors and as many Assistants.

1. Latin and Greek.
2. English. With a view more to Composition than Oratory, and to Reasoning more than Ornament.
3. French.
4. German.
5. Arithmetick & Mathematicks.
6. Mechanicks and Shipbuilding and natural Phylosophy.
7. Chymistry Agriculture and Botany.

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Let there be no particular course prescribed to these Professors, who will naturally adapt their course of Instruction to the progress of Learning & of the Times, but let them be paid in proportion to the number of Scholars, so much for each, and after 20, or 25 or 30 years Service Let them be entitled to a Proportionable Pension in return.

Let every Student chuse his Course.

Let there be four Publick examinations in the year accompanied with rewards and Thanks—Let the Judges be present twice, or at least once, a year.

The Professors to elect one among themselves to regulate the Police and Oeconomy of the whole which should be done with a view to equality; to exclude all means of expence and above all to maintain strict Morals and to promote Manliness of Conduct.

The Boys may be made in great measure to regulate themselves—Youth can Judge for each other much sooner than they can Judge for themselves. It will give them early habits of Justice, Order and Forethought, the most important points of Education. (See the Plan and Ideas of the Chevalier Paulett¹ before the Revolution in France.)

Let there be but one Vacation and a Professor paid extra for attending then, in case any Boy should remain.

Choice of Professors & Assistants

Let the Germans come alternatively from Leipsigk and Gottingen and be elected there.

Let the French be taken electively from any two Bodies of Men in France or Switzerland.

Let the other Professors be nominated in the first Instance by Government, and afterwards chose by each other at a general meeting to be held in Dublin, where the Professors shall first take a Solemn Oath in Public to decide to the best

¹ The Chevalier was an Irishman who settled in France. ('Il conçut, en 1772, le plan d'un établissement spécial où les fils des militaires morts ou blessés au service de l'État devaient être admis sans distinction et être préparés pour la profession de leur choix.') Louis XVI was his patron. See *Biographie Universelle* (Michaud), xxxii. 298.

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of their Judgement; & afterwards shall proceed to three days Publick Examination in the Particular Branch which is vacant, and then proceed to the Election, each man giving his Vote Publickly. It might excite Emulation to chuse the Professors among the Assistants *de novo*, but the proceedings to be the same in both cases.

These Schools should be open to all Religions, and the School Prayers should be carefully guarded in this Respect.

There should be a foundation attached to each School, large enough to Educate upon the whole One Boy, to be chosen annually from each Barony by Gentlemen of 100£ per annum.

Parochial Schools

Nothing is said about these because it is a subject necessarily connected with the Clergy and with the Roman Catholick System, which certainly requires to be considered anew after the repeal of the Penal Laws and the change throughout Europe, and does not properly admit of any delay in regard to Ireland.

Plenty of inferior Schoolmasters may be had from Scotland and very good Subjects, who would make a very good mixture throughout the Kingdom.

If every Parochial Schoolmaster knew more or less of Mechanics, it might be of great use.

These Schools should be calculated for Winter Time, as is practiced in Scotland and Switzerland.

Farming

Suppose an Agricultural Society in every County.

The Members to be chosen by all Persons renting 20£ per Annum in each Barony, in every two Years.

The Members to be sworn Publickly to do Justice.

To purchase a Farm in each County.

Two of the Members to be employed to engage the best English Farmer who can be procured to manage it, and to instruct a Boy from each Barony to be chosen annually from among the Farmers renting not more than 20£ a Year.

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Parliament to entrust 1000£ Annually to be distributed among Farmers not renting more than 20£ a Year equally among the Baronys, and to improve the breed of every sort of cattle.

Instead of applying the produce of the Sinking Fund to the purchase of Stock, to lend the produce of it in equal portions among the several Baronys, who shall elect proper Persons, who will see to lending the same among the poorest Farmers at a low Interest repayable by Installments, provided they can get good personal Security for the Money; the Barony to make good the same in Failure.

These Societies to report to Parliament every seven Years the progress of Agriculture and any observations which occur to them upon the State of each County.

Another Society may be allowed to form itself in each County by Voluntary Subscription to give what Premiums they please; Government to give 100£ a year Subscription as an encouragement.

All these Propositions turn on the idea that Ireland wants nothing so much as intercourse and mutual dependance, which under the Term of Franckpledge contributed so essentially to form the Character of the English Nation; and next to that, Capital, which will make itself after it has been once set a going.

A few years later a full-blown scheme for National Education in Ireland was launched in the Dublin Parliament¹ by Thomas Orde (afterwards Lord Bolton), who had been closely associated with Shelburne, first as his Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1782, and then as Secretary to the Treasury under Shelburne's premiership. On Shelburne's resignation Orde had refused Pitt's offer of a continuance of his post in the English Government, and had soon afterwards gone to Ireland as Chief Secretary to the new Viceroy, the Duke of Rutland. His correspondence shows that he

¹ This was printed in Dublin, 1787.

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remained in close touch with his former chief, and there is reason to believe that both his scheme of 1785 for a Commercial Union with Ireland, and his educational proposals of 1787 owed much to Shelburne's inspiration. However this may be, it is clear that Shelburne was greatly interested in the matter, and amongst his papers has been found a voluminous autograph document, in which Orde's printed proposals are minutely criticized, though in a markedly sympathetic manner. It seems that these notes must have been intended for publication or possibly for a speech in the House of Lords—an oration which would have certainly vied in length with the three hours occupied by Orde in introducing the measure! But the resolutions, though passed unanimously in Dublin, appear to have got no further, and the speech remained undelivered.

The scheme proposed would have provided a complete system of National Education beginning with Parish schools and culminating in a New University with a college of Inspectors—the last proposal being the only one which excited any opposition, mainly from Trinity College. How curiously Shelburne anticipated our modern education theories is shown in the note which follows—written about a half century before either Cowper or Temple was born:

Let *all* the children of the Parish whose parents cannot afford to educate them be admitted. . . . Let them be obliged to attend their respective churches or chapels or meeting houses on Sunday. Let nothing but the plainest general doctrine be inculcated in these schools, points in which all sects agree, without the idea of making a convert of them. . . . Very little writing or arithmetic wanted. . . . Habits particularly of honesty, labour, decent language, appearance most wanting. They should be kept as much as possible

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in the open air and taught in a shed. The Master should be a man of some enthusiasm and order. If its indispensable that he must be a Protestant, he ought to be chosen by the Catholics or some mode fallen upon which may command their confidence. Let the children be cloath'd to accustom them to the want of shoes &c after. Let some method be contriv'd to pay the Master in proportion to his success. Let there be an Anniversary, besides days fixed for Inspectors and Judges on the Circuits, else it will be neglected. As for the expenditure, it need be no object, for frugality both in diet and dress should be taught in these schools by example as well as precept, and cleanliness the only luxury admitted. If any person withhold their children from this institution, complaint should be made to the parents, to the clergymen of the sect, and to the respective Landlords, and the Parents finally publicly marked and exposed.

In the matter of female education we may note that Shelburne did not feel the same confidence. In girls' schools he says:

Various sorts of spinning may be the object besides orderly behaviour and moral habits. I own they appear to be rather speculative, doubtful as to good, and difficult in the execution. Women are domestick animals, and should never be taught to go from home; but I am no judge.

Under date 1796 we find an estimate for the clothing and maintenance of a school for 100 children at Kenmare:

{ Cap, coat, waistcoat & pantaloons of stout gray						
{ Connaught frieze—						
is made up for	.	.	.	.	.	12.0
2 shoes	.	.	.	.	.	7.0
2 shirts	.	.	.	.	.	4.0
2 stockings	.	.	.	.	.	2.0
2 handkerchiefs	.	.	.	.	.	1.0

but it is added, that after a time the children would learn to make their own clothes and shoes, and that the

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cost would then be reduced. The Master was to receive £20 and the Mistress £15 per annum, while a sum of £55 was estimated to cover all other expenses!

Shelburne's educational schemes must have been much hindered by the disturbed state of the country before and after the rebellion of 1798. It would seem, however, that a school was actually started at Kenmare, and 'Shelburne' National school on the road from Kenmare to Glengarriff may owe its name to a similar foundation.

IX

FORESTRY AND ROADS

SHELBURNE was always deeply interested in Forestry. He had carried out a considerable amount of planting at Bowood, and later he extended his silvicultural activities to County Kerry. In a memorandum to his agent in Ireland he states that his object is 'to plant not so much for beauty, as large tracts which can be thoroughly secured at a small expense, and let the seed grow', and he adds that he does not wish to buy trees, but will send over beech mast and Scotch fir seed from England, while poplars must be obtained from Cork and birch on the spot.

The earliest plantations made at Kenmare were on the land close to the present Lodge; where as the estate papers tell us there had been planted in 1775-6: '400 Scotch Firs, 100 Witch Elms, 60 Lombardian Poplar, 60 Chester Poplar, 60 Fireproof Poplar, 100 Beech, 6000 Wildings Quick, 150 Birch, 21 English Elms, 22 Aspin Poplars, 100 Sycamore, 104 Ash and 111 Apple Trees—besides two horse loads of Trees, being a present from Sir John Colthurst consisting of Fir, Ash, and Elm.'

The clumps close to the present railway station and the trees in the Lodge demesne are no doubt composed of the survivors of this consignment.

Towards the end of his life Shelburne developed a larger scheme, and in 1799 a Scotchman from Forfarshire, William Irvine by name, was engaged as 'gardener' at Kenmare on the recommendation of George Dempster, M.P., of Dunnichen, the well-known Scottish agriculturalist.

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These were Shelburne's directions:

You will look out for a piece of ground not less than 10 acres, proper for a nursery, and get it in a state fit for seeds or seedling plants. You will then find out what seeds you can collect in Kerry. Lord Kenmare has large woods at no great distance and he will allow you to employ persons to collect such seeds as his woods afford. . . . The Trees which you will attend to in the first place are oak, ash, larch, Scotch fir, elm, sycamore, black poplar, willow and birch. You will also endeavour to raise a very large quantity of quick and holly, not only for your own use but for every tenant who may apply and will undertake to preserve it. You will next look out for land proper to plant, and in this you will observe that such persons as have leases in Glanarought are bound to join in half the expense of making bounds round whatever parts of their ground, not being meadow or arable, as are fit for rearing of timber; in consideration of which they are to be allowed, at the expiration of their respective tenures, one half of the woods and timber trees. N.B. After the ground is planted the Tenants are bound to preserve it from trespass. You will observe it is intended to give plants to every tenant who applies for them and who will undertake to preserve them, and should you find any disposition in the tenantry to plant you are to encourage it by all the means in your power.

The enclosure at Kenmare, which still goes by the name of the 'Shrubberies', though it has long since ceased to be used as a nursery, was the first fruit of the scheme; it is a remarkable testimony to the excellence of the masonry work of those days that its original walls have survived, little the worse for wear, until the present day.

After a few years trees were planted on an extensive scale. As many as twenty different varieties of hardwood trees were used, besides the conifers (Scotch, larch, spruce, and 'wild pine'), but oak and Scotch fir

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predominated. Seed for the latter appears to have been obtained at first from Scotland. The first planting took place in and around Kenmare, but it was afterwards extended to more distant parts of the estate, including Muxna, Ardea, Derrylough, Lehid, Drumbo-hilly, the Sheen valley, and Glencar. The work continued after Shelburne's death, and by 1809 over 850,000 trees had been planted, the cost working out at about £13 10s. per English acre.

In 1815 the 3rd Lord Lansdowne seems to have become anxious about the expense involved, and wrote personally to Irvine for details of the acreage dealt with and that in contemplation for planting, the state of the young trees, produce of thinnings, &c. From Irvine's answers it appears that nearly 200 acres had by then been planted on Dromnavan Mountain, close to Kenmare, and about 140 acres on other parts of the estate, and he has to admit that only £39 19s. 11½d. had so far been received for thinnings! In July of that year Lord Lansdowne directs that until he has an opportunity of inspecting the woods, further planting should be restricted to 'what may be done for about £100 a year', but the nursery is to be kept up. Irvine's reports, however, for 1816 and 1817 show that 250,000 more trees were planted during those years. Thus about a million and a half trees in all had been put into the ground since 1805. And though the Government seem to have sometimes assisted with a small premium, practically all the expense, without any return, had fallen upon the landlord.

After 1817 planting seems to have continued for a while, though on a much reduced scale. Most of Irvine's work has now disappeared owing to trespass of men and cattle, for in Kerry no tree has a chance unless it is continuously protected from both, but the

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woods at Muxna and the remnants of others in the vicinity of Kenmare remain as evidence of the very considerable efforts made at this period to restore some part of the ancient forests which had once covered this part of Ireland.

ROADS AND BRIDGES

The improvement of communications provided another congenial field for Shelburne's reforming proclivities, and in this work he found an enthusiastic coadjutor in his friend the 4th Lord Kenmare. Roads, as may be seen by the published diaries of travellers in South Kerry, were both few and bad, and those who attempted to travel over them on wheels were generally obliged to rely on human assistance when it became a question of getting their conveyances up and down the hills in safety. As late as the year 1798, when on account of recent disturbances it was suggested to send the newly raised Kenmare Yeomanry into Tuosist, this was declared to be impossible, since there 'was not a mile of road' in that parish.

Shelburne tried to move the local authorities to greater effort by contributing £20 per mile for any road made through his estate, but progress was slow and the money was often diverted to uses other than that for which it had been given. Near the end of his life he was contemplating the employment of Charles Abercromby, of Scotch road-making fame, in County Kerry, but the negotiations on foot were cut short by his death.

The correspondence on this subject chiefly concerns the making of two new arterial roads, one between Killarney and Kenmare and the other from Kenmare to Bantry. These were to replace the tracks

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whose traces may still be followed over the precipitous declivities of the intervening mountains.

The first Bantry road, though talked of as early as 1775,¹ was not finished till ten years later. This crossed the 'Priest's Leap' Mountain and may still be travelled, though it has since been superseded by the modern highway long known as the 'Prince of Wales's route' because King Edward VII when a young man passed that way soon after it had been completed. The Killarney road did not take shape till the following century.

Bridges over the numerous rivers in the Kenmare neighbourhood were much required, and several were built in Shelburne's time. Powell, in a note attached to the survey of 1764 already referred to, tells us that there had been a stone bridge over the Roughty 'some years ago', but that this had been

destroyed by the great floods falling from the Boggs and Mountains and it has never been thought necessary to build another at or near this place, although people of all degrees, both horse and foot, are often in danger of losing their lives in fording the river at this and several other fords. At the Stay Bank there is a very good ford and in the main road from Killarney to Bantry, but as the tide rises and flows high there, people are often obliged to go farther to the East to another ford called Anagerah, and when there are floods, which often happens in the winter time, people are often obliged to wait for a day or so before they can get over.

The 'Stay Bank' was at the mouth of the river. It was no doubt so called from the attempt—of which traces still remain, though there is no record of when it was made—to reclaim from the sea, by means of a dyke, the low-lying marshes at the head of the Kenmare estuary. The Rev. Thomas Orpen, the son of Petty's

¹ Lord Shelburne's memorandum, p. 71 *supra*.



From an original picture by T. Mulvaney.

Engraved by P. J. Jones.

To the most Noble Marquis of Lincolnton, &c. &c.
 THIS VIEW OF SHEEN BRIDGE, CO. OF KERRY, IRELAND
 is with great respect presented by his obedient Servants T. Mulvaney and P. J. Jones.
 Published by T. Mulvaney at Appleby, and P. J. Jones at the end of the Strand.

Plate 5th

SHEEN BRIDGE, 1800

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agent, about this time, suggested this 'fine strand containing about an hundred acres' as 'a fine situation for the town of Kenmare if banked in from the sea'!

Anagerah (or, according to the earlier Down Survey maps, Anaginry) was about half a mile above the present bridge, while the site of the original one was still further up the Roughty in the townland of Cahir. A new bridge must have been made before 1790, for it figures in several aquatint engravings of the end of the century. These show a four-arch structure, not without architectural pretensions, which must in its turn have been swept away by the floods, to be replaced by the existing two-arch bridge.

The Sheen was likewise bridgeless until the latter part of the eighteenth century. In Petty's time it was crossed by a ford, which old maps show as crossing the 'Inches' a few hundred yards above the Falls. A bridge, we learn from contemporary papers, was built in 1777, and an engraving published a few years later proves this to be the structure still standing immediately above the Falls. The second bridge three miles up the river at Dromonassig is modern and was commenced in 1869.

Lastly there was the Finnihy. The curious little-noticed footbridge over this river just outside Kenmare, which appears to lead nowhere, was the only crossing existing in the middle of the eighteenth century. It seems to be of the same type as the 'Rainbow' bridge, over the Inny river, which Smith deemed worthy of a full-page illustration in his History of the county. The Inny Bridge, Friar O'Sullivan tells us, was traditionally reputed to have been built in a single night by a saint.¹ Though there is unfortunately no ground for claiming a similar origin for that at

¹ *Infra*, p. 148.

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Kenmare, it is obviously of some antiquity. The Protestant immigrants of 1670 were located to the east of this little river, while one of the iron works which they operated was, as has been seen, on the western side. Communication uninterrupted by floods would therefore have been a first necessity for these men in pursuit of their daily work, and this no doubt was provided by the Kenmare 'Rainbow' bridge, though its origin is in all probability anterior to the seventeenth century.

It seems most improbable that Cromwell, whose name has been affixed to this as well as to several other bridges in the neighbourhood, can have had anything to do with their construction. Cromwell himself during the six months which he spent in Ireland never came farther west than Kinsale, and his army paid no more than a flying visit to these parts. Cromwell's name was likewise wrongly given to the so-called 'Cromwell's Fort', which formerly stood on the rocky promontory at the northern end of the present Kenmare bridge, though there is evidence that this point was fortified and held by English troops during the suppression of the Great Rebellion.

The road bridge over the Finnihy formed part of Shelburne's town-planning scheme of 1775 and was actually built in that year, though not as Shelburne had intended at the end of Bridge Street. A comparison with the engraving of 1800, after a sketch by Laporte, however, shows that the present structure is more modern, though probably on the same ground as its predecessor.

In the town of Kenmare itself various other works were undertaken towards the close of the eighteenth century. Amongst these may be mentioned a new

¹ *Op. cit.* vi. 149.

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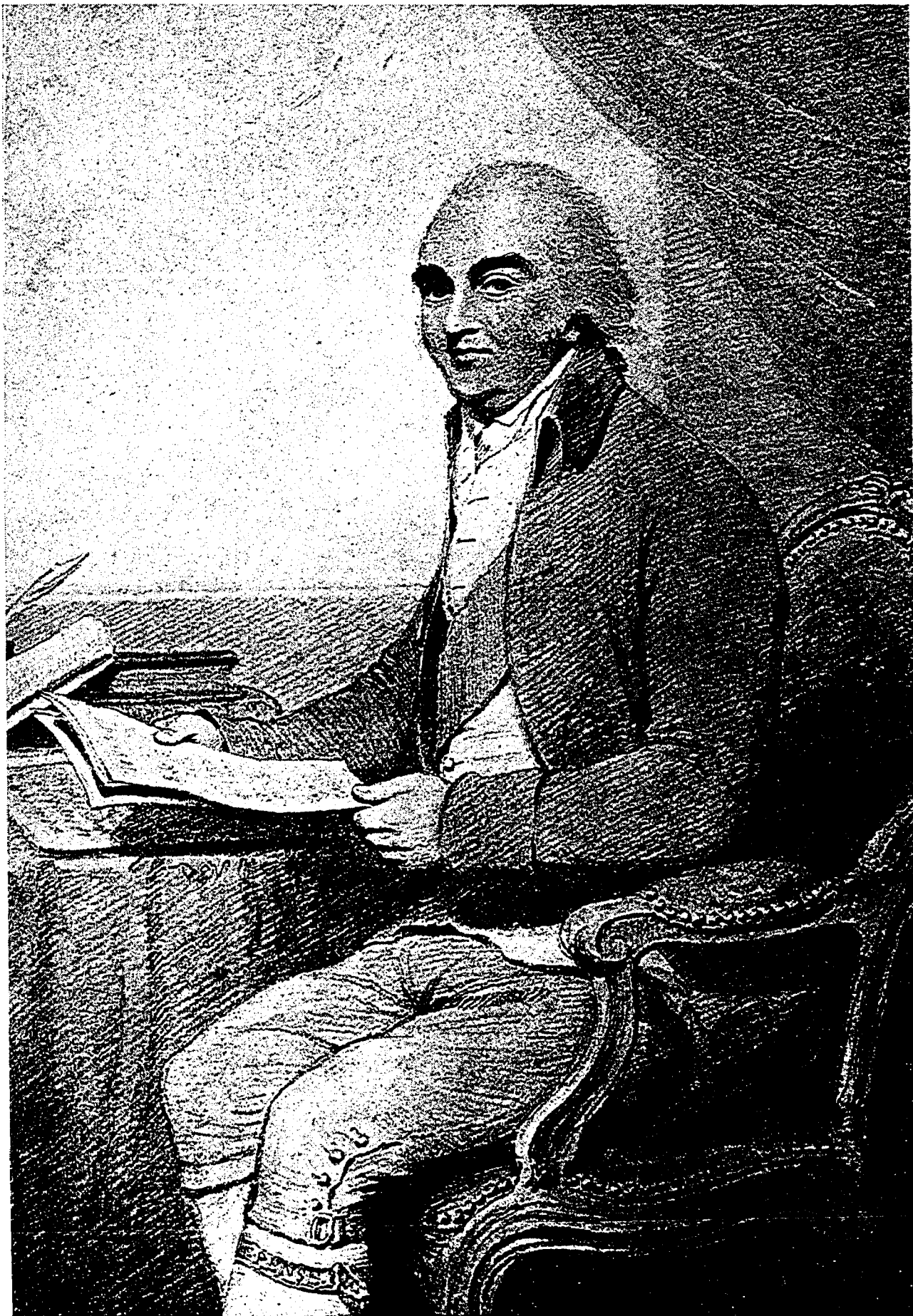
Roman Catholic chapel, built in 1799, a quay, a new inn, a Market House, and a Court House and Bridewell; the two last apparently were not completed till after Shelburne's death, and they have all, except the inn (the present Lansdowne Arms), given place to more modern buildings.

X

SHELBURNE'S VIEWS ON IRELAND

ABOUT the year 1791 Shelburne set down on paper a Memorandum of his experiences of men and things. It includes the following reflections under the heading of Ireland:

The History of Ireland may be read to considerable advantage, and more than the history of most countries, for as every other country had always more or less of a settled government, their history consists of little more than an account of sieges and battles, except now and then some civil wars; whereas the History of Ireland is in fact a history of the policy of England in regard to Ireland, and will be found to give the best idea of the principles, knowledge and passions, which prevailed in each reign and characterized the times. It will be found to have always been the shame of England, as Sicily was of Rome and is now of Naples, and Corsica was of Genoa. God never intended one country to govern another, but that each country should govern itself. Ireland has since its independence made considerable progress, and I imagine its independence would more likely secure its dependence on England. The circumstance of so many absentees residing in England is become a general complaint in Ireland, and it certainly is a grievance, but not for the reason which is generally given, that it draws so much money out of the country; for this is certainly more than balanced by the great saving in the expenses of Government, by the nature of its connection with Great Britain, the loan of capital, and many other advantages. But the real evil is, that the absence of the rich proprietors retards civilisation, the progress of manners, and many liberal improvements; for though the rich may in some respects set a bad example, yet upon the whole they soften and liberalise, excite industry, and make society by



WILLIAM, 2ND EARL OF SHELBURNE

Afterwards 1st Marquis of Lansdowne

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bringing men together, who polish themselves, enforce a due administration of justice, and keep down the professions, whose employment is to rob every country, and if left to themselves naturally produce upstart manners and a total want of principle. But in fact, nothing as yet has taken its value in Ireland; agriculture itself is a century behindhand. The circumstance of middlemen, that is a landlord under a landlord, so much complained of and so justly and universally condemned, has been one stage in the progress of agriculture in all countries (as may be seen in several Acts of Parliament, which passed in England in Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth's reigns), and is the natural consequence of want of capital; but when land takes its value, and when sufficient capital is either introduced or created to answer all the purposes of circulation, and estates become a marketable commodity, property must in its nature follow residence, and this evil must cease.

In the management of property in Ireland, after thirty years' experience,¹ I have found three rules proper to be observed. 1st: To be continually on your guard against the encroachment of agents. There is no gentleman in Ireland, let his fortune be what it will, who is above accepting and even soliciting the care of an absentee's affairs, except it be perhaps persons of the very first rank, and that only lately; which sufficiently explains the advantage which has been taken. There is no one whom you can employ, let his origin be ever so obscure, except it be a man in trade, who will not sooner or later take upon himself the pretensions of a gentleman; and as to sending over some one from England, Sir Robert Wilmot used to say, that no one went to Ireland who did not lose his understanding in six months. After trying many experiments, I have found that the best and indeed only method of avoiding imposition is to employ two agents, one resident upon each estate, and the other to go over from six months to six months; which you may always have at two guineas a day, and will be found

¹ This dates the document, since Shelburne succeeded his father in 1761.

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productive of various advantages to the tenants, as well as the landlord, and to the estate itself. But above all, care must be taken never to let any estate, without the opinion of at least two persons, and one a stranger unconnected with the country; and not to admit for a moment in any conversation or letter the common jargon about confidence, in opposition to this system. An honest man never desires it.

2ndly. To be always on your guard against law, as the spirit of litigiousness is not to be described. In all poor countries, the people are litigious; but in Ireland the several laws of Settlement and the Popery laws have left the country scarcely a habit of anything else; and law is in all respects more expensive, more confused, and more prolific in Ireland than in England. For this reason never take a gentleman for tenant, and never suffer any land to be let to a tenant who rents land adjoining, as it always produces disputes about the boundaries.

Suffer no tenant to take possession till both parts of his lease are executed, and suffer no agent to keep possession of any lease. For all the ordinary purposes, a memorandum, which he will keep of course, will suffice. If it is wanted in case of any lawsuit to be produced in court, it is always enough to produce it when the trial comes on, and it may be immediately returned to your depot of papers. There is a general persuasion in Ireland that there is no Englishman who may not be bribed or duped.

3rdly. To grant no long tenures.—There are not only all the reasons against it in Ireland that have been already stated against it in England, but this strong additional one; that in Ireland nothing has taken its value, and everything is necessarily in a more progressive state than in England. In looking back, it will be found that our family have lost not less than £15,000 a year by Sir William Petty's sons or their agents being drawn into acts of which they were not aware, the extent of which they never comprehended, and which after several expensive lawsuits commenced by themselves, as soon as they saw, terminated in establishing against them the several perpetuities in Dublin, Meath,

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King's County, Limerick, and Kerry, which appear distinctly upon the rental to exceed the above-mentioned sum; a sufficient warning to the family (especially if you take the trouble to examine the several proceedings now remaining in the office) to take care how they give anything under their hand, or make any profession or assurance which can be converted into a promise.¹

After dealing more particularly with his other properties in Meath, Queen's Co., Limerick, &c., Shelburne goes on to say:

Kerry (is) just the reverse of Limerick—Poor, barbarous, unwieldy and uncultivated—yet it should not be parted with.

1st. Because Sir William Petty always desired it might remain in the family, as he was sure more would be found underground, than would be found on any other estate above ground: and there is every reason to believe there are in it some considerable mines, all of which are reserved even under the perpetual leases.

2ndly. As the title of Kerry will probably devolve upon our family it will be becoming to retain some possession in lieu of the very large possessions which the present Lord Kerry has dissipated and sold, after having passed from father to son for so many hundred years, since the conquest of Ireland under Henry 2nd.

3rdly. It will make a proper portion for some younger branch (taking care to make it always revertible to the elder in case of failure of issue) and they may make it their principal object and turn it to considerable account. Wild as the country is, the inhabitants do not want for some good qualities. The old familys especially are sensible to kindness, and still retain the principles of gentlemen, and in case of any public disturbance would I am confident show their attachment to our family upon their appearance amongst those mountains.

¹ The above, with some interpolations taken from another source, was printed in Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*, 1912, ii. 360 ff.

SHELBURNE'S VIEWS ON IRELAND

In the major sphere of Irish politics Shelburne, though sometimes compelled to take a part, was never a protagonist; his views, however, may be sufficiently gleaned from the correspondence and memoranda which are to be found amongst his papers. An Irish landlord with extensive English connexions, he no doubt found, as others similarly situated have done before and since, the problem with its numerous cross currents a baffling one, and it seems that in his earlier days he was averse to take sides.

In 1772 an organization called the Ossory Club, which apparently consisted of the more prominent freeholders in the Queen's County (where Shelburne owned a considerable property) approached him with a view to obtaining his political interest; how non-committal he could be will be seen from the following reply:

To the Ossory Club in Queen's County

London March 10th 1772.

Gentlemen

I have had the honour to receive your letter thro' the hands of Col Fitzgerald. I can have no hesitation in communicating my sentiments regarding the interests of Ireland to you or to any Body of Freeholders professing the same Principles. I declar'd in Ireland that my inclination does not go to influence any tenants of mine directly or indirectly in the choice of Representatives to serve them in Parliament. I recommended to them to take time, to examine the characters and declarations of *all* those who shall offer them their services, & to exercise their own judgements with that attention and independency of spirit, which the frequent exercise of the right will I hope produce among the freeholders of Ireland. I am satisfied myself that neither the liberty of G. Britain nor the property of Ireland is safe until some Bounds are put by Act of Parliament to the unlimited

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Power assum'd by the Crown of granting Pensions on your Revenue. The Creation of new unnecessary Offices appears to me an evil of still greater extent. These are points which appear to me highly worthy the attention of the Electors of Ireland; Others perhaps of equal importance may arise from a more particular knowledge of your own situation. But upon these grounds proper tests may be form'd & held forth to the Candidates who solicit your favour—and if they are the terms upon which you bestow your confidence, I have no doubt of your precision being such as will prevent your being deceiv'd by vague or plausible expressions which may answer occasional purposes, and in the end turn the honest zeal of the Electors to answer the interested views of their Deputys.

I write freely and naturally upon these subjects, for I have no view to the nomination of any man living. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the conduct of your present Members or with the characters of Candidates to insinuate the smallest approbation or disapprobation of any individual, and it is if possible still less my object to procure to myself any momentary eclat. I feel with real regret the impossibility from the nature of a divided property & a very distant Residence of my being of that immediate use to Ireland which I wish—I lament the state of distraction & misgovernment under which Ireland suffers in common with this Kingdom—I am concern'd for my own property which together with every other interest I see grows daily more precarious, & diminish'd in security, independent of every generous feeling which more or less might take place in the breast of every man—and certainly shall feel most happy when, in private as well as publick capacity, I can contribute to the general cause of liberty and security of property in both Kingdoms, whose interests are inseparable whatever factious men may insinuate to the contrary.

I have the honour to be Gentlemen

Your most obedient

& most humble servant

SHELBURNE.

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Ten years after this was written Shelburne, as Secretary of State in Rockingham's administration, was instrumental in the repeal of the Act of George I (1719) under which the English Parliament had for more than half a century enacted all Irish legislation. Grattan's famous Parliament was thus launched on its short and stormy career. Shelburne, however, afterwards maintained that the 'adjustments' made in 1782 were put forward only as an interim measure, and that the necessity of further legislation to 'prevent any clashing of imperial interests' was fully recognized by the government of the day, whose intention it had been to proceed with it forthwith.

We next find a long dissertation in Shelburne's hand on the Irish Church, in the form of a letter addressed to some person unnamed, who it seems had in a recent debate in the Irish House of Lords asserted that all the troubles in Ireland were primarily due to the shortcomings of the Church and to the anomalies under which tithes were collected. I have been unable to discover whether this letter was published at the time, though a part of it has since been printed in Shelburne's *Life*. Shelburne, at all events, expressed his whole-hearted concurrence with the thesis adopted by the peer in question, while recommending the immediate abolishment of all dispensations, pluralities, and sinecures, the enforcement of residence by the clergy, the building of churches, and a general commutation of tithes. The true remedy for the present discontents he considered was to be found in the promotion of agriculture and morals.

It was no doubt in order to inculcate these ideas that Shelburne instituted an Irish Agricultural Society through which medals were to be presented to those who showed the greatest industry in the cultivation

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of their farms. The design for the prize medals is in his own hand, but unfortunately none of them appear to have survived.

Three medals of three different sizes, which when struck in gold the first shall be worth four guineas, the second three, and the third two guineas.

The Obverse and the Reverse to be the strongest contrast possible. One to represent the difference between Poverty and Wealth—suppose, one side, a miserable Cabbin with *smoke* coming out of the door, barefooted children and every emblem of misery—Reverse, a comfortable Farm House with harvest, that is sheaths (sic) of corn and emblems of affluence.

One to distinguish between Commerce and Dead life; suppose the obverse a barren scene from Salvator Rosa—the Reverse, Port and Shipping from Claude Lorraine.

One to distinguish between Riot and Drunkenness, and Peace and Innocent Recreation viz. a Drunken Fair with Fighting and Village Dance—The Figures must be few, distinct, and simple.

The breakdown of the Dublin parliament and the rise of a 'Directory' in Ireland, culminating in the Rebellion of 1798, once more focused attention on Irish affairs, and the project of a Union began to be mooted. Shelburne though now, in so far as he took any part in general politics, in opposition, felt compelled to support the Government in its Irish policy.

Some manuscript notes, set down as it would seem at this time, show that he had already made up his mind in favour of a Union in all the essentials connoted by that term.

The strength, energy, activity and force of any government consists in that of the executive. It cannot be too strong as long as it is accountable. Legislative ought to be slow—an active legislative is the worst of all tyrannys—If

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Ireland were a sheet of white paper, it would be expedient to institute an executive. . . .

An union of the executive power in all its branches, I look upon as indispensable—This once settled I consider as of little comparative importance where the legislative may reside or how it may be composed—Not only the opinions but the prejudices of all sects and of all descriptions should be consulted, and such a legislative formed or left as may command the confidence of a very great majority of the sensible people of all descriptions.

In March 1799 the Bill for the Union was introduced in the House of Lords. Shelburne's speech can be read in the Parliamentary History.¹ It may here be conveniently summarized in the form of some crumpled notes which he had no doubt held in his hand on the occasion of its delivery.

Separation impossible—Ireland cannot be governed as it is or has been—speedy arrangements indispensable—none possible but a *union*—Orange & green—Catholic Dissenter and Protestant all call for *Union* in their turn against any common opponent—No difficulty to be apprehended with regard to Army, Fleet, Alliances, Commerce, Finance, Common Law, System of Imposition—all the above any honest man may safely offer and accept—almost all of them have been imperceptibly adopted.

He was not, however, in favour of 'Parliamentary Incorporation' since this would not be supported by either Protestants, Catholics, or Dissenters in Ireland and might lead to civil war. He would rather abandon this part of the proposal altogether than see it passed by force or corruption, by giving or taking away places. The notes go on:

Unite and invigorate the Executive, this once done you cannot go wrong about the Legislative, wherever it

¹ xxxiv. 672.

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assembles or however it may be composed—a little more or a little less is not material. The War which already over-spreads Europe is at the door—a subsisting Treaty between France and United Irishmen—an invisible Directory governing Ireland—war impending not a common war, but Civil War; with a war between rich and poor possible to be superadded, in which both will suffer, the poor most, which unluckily cannot be explained to them—more epidemical in its nature than the Plague or Yellow Fever—The choice lies between the preservation of our King, our Laws, our Constitution, our Liberties, on two rocks which it depends on ourselves to make inaccessible against the whole world by superior navy, and the risking of a scene of devastation such as has been or is taking place over the Continent of Europe.

XI

HENRY PETTY-FITZMAURICE THIRD LORD LANSDOWNE

WILLIAM LORD LANSDOWNE died on the 7th of May 1805, when his Irish estates which were not entailed passed to his second son Lord Henry Petty, within a few months to become Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Ministry of all the Talents. He lost no time in making himself acquainted with the condition of affairs in Kerry. His first impressions as contained in a letter to one of his closest friends may best be given in his own words :

Lord Henry Petty to Francis Horner, M.P.

Kenmare, Sept. 30, 1805.

We are here in a mountainous district where the system of middlemen to which you allude has prevailed very universally, and I think very slight observation on the spot would convince you that the evils attributed to this system are not without foundation. The only instance in which a middleman (in this or any other trade) can contribute to improvement, is by being enabled from situation, industry, or capital, to do that which neither the proprietor nor the immediate holder of the land can do, or can do without inconvenience. This is not the case with the Irish middleman, he is generally a sort of small needy gentleman, who finding his means inadequate to his expenses, takes the lease or in other words the agency, of a district from the great proprietor, collects the rents and puts a part of them in his pocket. In this district he expends neither capital nor industry, unless that activity can be called industry which he exerts driving for rents, and goading the tenantry to overwork the land and overwork themselves. It is more easy

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to do the former than the latter, and the farm, in which he has of course no permanent interest, comes out of his hands with a diminished value.

I am inclined however to think with you that the subdivision of land among the peasantry is too minute, and the country consequently overstocked with population. In that case the same change must gradually take place as in Scotland. I am at this moment struggling with a difficulty of this nature, in making a large plantation, where it is absolutely necessary to dispose of several cottage tenants, though the task is distressing from the predilection they have for the situations to which they are accustomed, and the reluctance one naturally feels in dispossessing them so much against their inclination.

The great want of Ireland is not middlemen but a middling class in society—something to fill up the chasm and soften the asperity that now exists between the nominal gentleman and the dependant drudge who tills the soil for his daily subsistence—that is between those who have property enough to live without labour and those to whom labour does not afford the means of acquiring property. This new class which I am persuaded contributes more than anything to the effective strength and power, as well as happiness of a country, can be supplied only by the progress of commercial industry and manufacture and consequent diffusion and division of wealth.

Leaving Kenmare he proceeded through the Iveragh portion of his estate north of the Kenmare River, and a few days later we get an amusing account of this part of the expedition from another letter.

Lord Henry Petty to Lady Holland

Killarney Oct. 9, 1805

I should have thanked you before this for your very kind letter which I found upon my arrival at Kenmare, if our residence at that place could have afforded anything worth

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communicating but I have been occupied during the last fortnight in acting the part of an Irish country gentleman, the recital of which would be still less interesting than the performance. It is however a fact of some consequence to me at least to have ascertained that trees will grow even in the wildest of our mountains, and I am not without the hope of seeing a considerable district of my property covered with plantations. The unpleasant task of receiving and rejecting petitions forms no inconsiderable part of the business of an Irish landlord just come to his Estate, and as everyone is strongly impressed with an opinion that he ought to get something, they are renewed under every possible variety of form, so that the dissatisfied tenant who is refused a lease or an allowance one day, comes back the next and asks for a place at court, or a commission in the army.

We are just returned from the Iveragh Mountains, where we have been spending a day with a gentleman remarkable for having fought seven duels at one contested election. He received us in an uninhabited house which he borrowed for our reception, and the better to provide for our entertainment, hung up some prints in it the night before, for us to feast our eyes upon, but neglected to send towels to wash our hands or curtains to warm our beds. A more alarming incident was that in the morning the door was discovered to be shut and the key to be lost, tho' the inconvenience was speedily removed by opening a way for ingress and egress through the dining room window.

From another letter we learn that he nearly became at this time an Irish member of Parliament:

Your letter . . . found me in Munster . . . meditating upon the means of converting bogs into fields, rocks into quarries and (not the least difficult of metamorphoses) Irish peasants into efficient labourers. I have been strongly solicited by a number of freeholders of the county of Kerry to offer myself at the General Election, nor should I have the least doubt of success, if I had not other views and could bring

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myself to face the tumult of an Irish contest, which would not be I think, the most amusing of recreations.

Lord Henry Petty's Irish journal contains much that is interesting, but one is almost forced to believe that the Kerry men sometimes took advantage of the fact that he was new to the country. He tells us that there were in Kenmare both a Latin and a Greek school, and that the people of Iveragh were so fond of the game of backgammon that they cut up their bogs into backgammon boards, that it was not an uncommon thing for a pair of eagles, which were then plentiful on the mountains, to drive a horse with their talons over a precipice, and then to fall on him and eat him! He mentions McFinin Duff as one of the three remaining families of 'native princes' still extant.

An anecdote recounted in *The Stranger in Ireland*¹ refers to the young Chancellor of the Exchequer during this first visit to Ireland. He had taken his seat on the bench at Killarney during the sitting of the Court and a culprit who had been sentenced by the 'barrister' or presiding official to three months imprisonment was heard to observe: 'By Jasus, it is all owing to his lordship, long life to him! If he had not been there I know the barrister, as worthy a gentleman as ever lived, would only have sentenced me for a fortnight, but he thought as the young lord was there if he had let me off more aisy he would not have been thought to have done his duty. So there it is!'

Four years later (in 1809) Henry Petty, then Marquis of Lansdowne, again visited Ireland. On this occasion he brought with him the wife whom he had married in the previous year. Louisa Lady Lansdowne has left her impressions both in the form of a journal and in a book of sketches made during her tour. She of course

¹ By John Carr, 1806.

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greatly admired the scenery, while the eagles, the seals, the sea-birds, and the large flocks of goats, which were apparently more extensively kept then than now, all attracted her attention. She attended and was impressed by a fair at Kenmare—

a large concourse of people, in general well dressed, and with more animation and apparent enjoyment of life, than in any set of people I ever saw. The women have quite a costume—long blue cloth cloaks which reach their feet¹ and white caps, which when clean have a remarkably neat and tidy appearance. The fair lasts two days, the first is for cattle, principally cows, which are of a very small kind, but very pretty, their colour is in general black and they are delicately shaped. Poneys, pigs and sheep are also sold. The second day flannels, brogues, apples and a coarse sort of linnen were the principal articles on sale, there was also some booths with linnen and silk handkerchiefs, &c.

With her husband she rode to all the most accessible places in the immediate neighbourhood, while points of interest on the seaboard such as Derreen, Dunkerron, Blackwater Bridge, Ardea, and Cloonee were visited by water. After a fortnight thus spent at Kenmare the party moved on to Killarney, this, as well as the return journey over the mountains to Bantry, being performed on horseback.

Lord Lansdowne's views on the Catholic question at the time are not without interest:

Lord Lansdowne to Lord Holland

Kenmare. Oct. 4. 1809.

I can have no doubt that after the experience of the past, a distinct explanation will take place with regard to this part of the Kingdom and the Catholics. I am much inclined

¹ Cloaks of this sort were still to be seen at the beginning of the present century.

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to think that the more reasonable and even the greater number of the latter, would be satisfied by a distinct pledge of a new Government sanctioned by the P. [Prince Regent], accompanied by administration of the laws avowedly favourable to them. I do not mean that there is the slightest chance that this, or any immediate concession would satisfy the popular leaders at Dublin, whose interest it is never to be satisfied, and who have raised to themselves a sort of political existence out of Catholic grievances; but by what I have learned since I have been in this part of the country, which is the *most* Catholic of any, their influence does not extend much beyond the Capital and certainly does not include the persons of property. Some commutation of the tythe system is of more immediate urgency, both for the peace and prosperity of the country. Some Protestant clergy have spoken to me with great earnestness about it, and assured me that they would be satisfied with two thirds of their present demands, if procured upon less troublesome and odious terms. So general is this sentiment becoming amongst the *resident* clergy, that I am convinced they would, if countenanced by govt, come forward themselves with petitions upon the subject. . . . At this moment the collectors are *driving the cattle* of the poor for taxes in many parts of this country, but are frequently resisted and obliged to desist. You may judge what effect this has upon the temper and political sentiments of the peasantry, and although the pressure may not be so great elsewhere I am persuaded the irritation caused by it, is daily increasing throughout the Empire.

Mr. Spread had, as we have already seen, succeeded Henry Pelham about 1799 as resident agent. His letters call for no special comment, but serve to show that the new landlord, though only an occasional visitor, was, like his predecessor, keenly interested in all that was going on, and ready to assist in any schemes proposed for the improvement of the neighbourhood.

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The new inn and market house were finished, but were badly damaged by a fire which occurred soon after their completion in 1811. A Protestant church, as already noticed, had been built at Killowen in the previous century. It was the 'new' church in Powell's map of 1764, but was replaced by another on the same site in 1812. The plans for improved communications were continued, and the present Kenmare-Killarney road was at length completed in 1823. Other projects were discussed, notably one for a 'Marine School' which Spread was anxious to establish at Kenmare, but this for some reason was not approved, and was never carried out.

In 1813 the Reverend Thomas Radcliffe visited Kenmare and other places to inspect agricultural conditions on behalf of the Farming Society of Ireland. His published report contains a good deal that is interesting about the Lansdowne estate. He informs us that the first Lord Lansdowne used to allow in his leases 20 per cent. of the rent to be expended by the tenants in improvements, but in most cases, he says, 'his good intentions have been frustrated by the extreme indolence of the tenantry', and bogus claims had been made even by the largest farmers. Radcliffe deals at some length with the system of planting followed on the estate, and is eloquent on the subject of the possibilities of cultivating 'Fiorin grass', though this—apparently the same as that now called 'Finane'—is generally considered useless except for the bedding of cattle. He laments the decay of 'the old breed of Kerry cattle', which then was, as it since has been, in danger of being lost.¹ In this connexion it may be noted that as far back as 1777 Kerries had been tried at Bowood,

¹ *Report on the agriculture and live stock of the County of Kerry.* Rev. T. Radcliffe, 1814.

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where it was suggested that the light sandy soil would suit them. A further consignment 'of the pure and unadulterated Kerry breed' was sent over for Lady Lansdowne in 1814.

Lord Lansdowne appears to have visited his Kerry property at frequent intervals during the middle period of his life. He was again at Kenmare in August 1823, whence he writes to Lord Holland:

It is curious to see the struggle going on here between the natural tendency of the country to improve and the artificial combination of causes which keeps it back. I am just returned from church where there were some 30 or 40 opulent persons in pews, in a parish the population of which is 10,000—and a collection made after the sermon for the *Protestant poor*! Your 'caterpillar' with all its heads¹ will do a great deal of mischief if he gets to work here, for two of the adjoining parishes have no churches.

On this occasion Lady Lansdowne was once more of the party, and after spending a few days at the Lodge they went on to Killarney, to join Tom Moore, then living close to Bowood and on very intimate terms with its owner. A house at Kenmare occupied by the District Nurse figures to-day on the ordnance map as 'Tom Moore's cottage', but this appears to be mistaken association, for Moore can never have lived there. The explanation probably lies in the fact that the house in question had been built to the plans of another Moore who was clerk of the works at Bowood! We are indebted to Moore's *Journal* for an account of the subsequent proceedings of the party, which included an expedition to North Kerry where the ruined 'court' at Lixnaw and the Fitzmaurice Mausoleum which Lord Lansdowne had inherited a

¹ The allusion appears to be to an expression used by Lord Holland in connexion with the Catholic question.

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few years before were duly inspected. From a local paper of August 1826 we learn that Lord Lansdowne's visit was repeated, though without Moore, three years later. The occasion of this expedition was no doubt the opening of the Kenmare pier, which had just been built at Lord Lansdowne's instance, half the cost (£648) being found by him and half by the Board of Fisheries.

Another visitor who has left his impressions of the district was Henry David Inglis.

He tells us that he had previously heard 'very indifferent accounts' of the Lansdowne estate, but from 'minute personal observation and enquiry' he found them to be 'utterly without foundation'.

Formerly the greater part of this property was held in large farms by lessees who sublet these lands in small portions and therefore became middle-men. As these leases have dropped by death or otherwise, the estates so held have been divided into farms of equal size, and let to tenants holding immediately under Lord Lansdowne, who has erected upon each farm, a comfortable dwelling house, the whole expense of which, excepting labour, has been defrayed by his lordship. . . . I counted 57 farm houses of the description I have mentioned, and I was informed by the farmers that I had not seen a third part of the number. Throughout the whole tract there are not any of those mud cabins with a small patch of potato land which are so numerous in most parts of Ireland. No tenant holds a less quantity of land than about eight acres.¹

He goes on to speak of the new road then projected between Glengarriff and Kenmare and of the intention to throw a bridge over the Sound at Kenmare in connexion therewith. This last project, however, was not carried out till some years later. It had at first been intended to make a ferry at Muxna, across which, as

¹ *Ireland in 1834*, Henry D. Inglis, ch. 8, pp. 209 ff.

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the name suggests, pigs¹ (and other animals) destined for the Kenmare market had hitherto been obliged to swim. The advantages of a bridge were, however, evident, though the span was too great for one of stone. Lord Lansdowne undertook to find half the cost, and after much discussion it was decided to build a suspension-bridge, at that time a new invention and one untried in Ireland. The foundation-stone was laid about the year 1840 by Lord Lansdowne, who appears to have been accompanied on this occasion by Tom Moore. The following account of their visit is contained in a letter written soon afterwards to his daughter Louisa :

Everything in Ireland is visibly improving, and everybody admits it except Moore, who would discover further signs of decay in Dublin, though he could not explain in what they consisted. . . . My last day was devoted to Kilmackiloge, and being fine I got further into the mountains there and up Glenmore lake than I ever did before. I was enchanted with their beauty and am inclined to think them fully equal to Killarney. We have built a school upon a little eminence which is discoverable from several miles distance on the water, and I hope shews itself the harbinger of future civilization. The new Inspector of the National school joined me there and we examined the young Kilmakilogites together, who considering that they had only been caught up and tamed for six months acquitted themselves very well. The next morning, I laid the first stone of the new bridge in town, all the population of Kenmare turning out to witness the grand ceremony, and a seat in my boat, which wafted us from the pier to the rock, was as much prized by the Aristocracy of Kenmare as a Coronation ticket—indeed so much so that at one time I thought the cargo would have swamped it altogether. Old Mr. Godfrey bareheaded, christened and prayed, standing upon one rock, whilst I

¹ *Muc*, a pig.

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handled the trowel and pronounced an eloquent discourse of three sentences on the utility of bridges from another, all of which excited such admiration that even Irish voices were silent and nothing heard but the sound of the waves till all was over.

The difficulties of construction in iron in such a remote spot were considerable, but they were eventually surmounted. Sir Samuel Brown, the engineer who had first acquired fame by building the chain-pier at Brighton, was entrusted with the work, which was completed in 1842, the bridge being subsequently (in 1861) floored with iron. The architect presented to Lord Lansdowne a picture in oils of his work, executed by the Scotch landscape painter David Hill, which now hangs at Bowood. The suspension-bridge survived until 1932 when it was declared no longer safe for traffic, and the present concrete bridge was built in its place. The new road to Glengarriff was completed shortly after 1842, half the cost of this also being found by Lord Lansdowne, who took a lively interest in the scheme and frequently visited Kenmare, sometimes accompanied by his wife, while the work was in progress.

Lord Lansdowne died in 1863. Six years before he had been offered a dukedom. His refusal of the proffered honour provoked the following lines in *Punch*:

Lord Lansdowne won't be Duke of Kerry.
Lord Lansdowne is a wise man, very.
Punch drinks his health in port and sherry.



SUSPENSION BRIDGE AT KENMARE

XII

THE FAMINE AND THE TRENCHES

IT was before the middle of the century that the first signs of the potato blight had begun to appear in Ireland, and no part of the country suffered more in the Famine, which continued intermittently from 1845 to 1850, than Kenmare and its neighbourhood. Every effort was made to cope with the distress, both by the importation of meal for the starving population and by relief works to give the people the means to buy the necessaries of life. The agent, Hickson, who had succeeded Spread some thirty years before, was then an old man, and the lead in the work of relief seems to have been taken by Father John O'Sullivan, the Catholic Archdeacon of Kenmare, acting with the support of, and in close consultation with, Lord Lansdowne, who supplied all the money that was asked for. Amongst other consignments, £1,250 worth of meal was sent in 1847 in a steamer specially chartered for the purpose, while at a later date, according to Trench, his employer gave him a cheque for £8,000 to defray further charges in connexion with the famine. The relief given was, however, at best merely a palliative, calculated to tide over the emergency, and the continuance of the potato disease soon destroyed all hope that the country could in future support its population on a home-grown food supply. If it was 'overstocked', as Lord Henry Petty had stated, in 1805, it had become much more so in the forty years which had intervened. The estate rentals show that between the years 1836 and 1846 the number of holdings on the Lansdowne estate in Glanerought had increased

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from 755 to 1,038; but this was not the whole story, for, in spite of estate rules to the contrary, numerous 'squatters' had established themselves on the farms of recognized tenants, and the total number of families must therefore have largely exceeded that which figured in the rent roll. Emigration to America had scarcely begun and without outside assistance was well-nigh impossible. The potato, then as now, was the staple food of the people and would grow wherever there was soil enough to form a 'lazy-bed'. Cattle, sheep, and goats could pick what they required on the 'mountainy' pastures, year in and year out. Fuel was available for the digging in the nearest turf bog, and for those living on the seaboard fish were plentiful and could be salted down for winter consumption.

Thus when a young couple married there was no difficulty in starting them in life. With the assistance of their friends they would build a 'dry stone' cabin and thatch it with rushes; a piece of the mountain side would be drained, manured with seaweed, and converted into a potato garden. Their more affluent relatives might present them with a cow, a sheep, a pig, or even an ass; they used no boots and could spin their own wool and weave it into 'flannel' for their clothing. Small wonder then that the population increased by leaps and bounds.

At the end of the year 1849 William Steuart Trench was appointed by Lord Lansdowne to succeed Hickson. According to Trench's account,¹ over 5,000 persons had died within the Union of Kenmare before he arrived on the scene, and he found the workhouse full to overflowing with those who were receiving indoor relief. He at once adopted the only possible permanent remedy for the situation by arranging for the emigra-

¹ *Realities of Irish Life.*

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tion of the surplus population to America. That many of these emigrants when they left Ireland after four years of semi-starvation were in a bad state of health, is beyond question, but that they were transported against their will, as was afterwards alleged, is clearly untrue. Nor was there the slightest foundation in fact for a story which afterwards went the rounds: namely that in New York there had been a certain hospital in which a ward was known as the 'Lansdowne Ward' from the numbers of Lansdowne tenants who had died within its walls. This tale appears to have first gained publicity many years after the alleged event. In the year 1880 the late Lord Lansdowne had disagreed with and resigned from Mr. Gladstone's Government on the 'Compensation for Disturbance' Bill. Shortly after this a rising young liberal member of Parliament, Mr. Charles Russell (afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen), was sent over to inquire into the management of Lord Lansdowne's Kerry estate, and wrote a series of letters thereon to the daily papers in a sense unfavourable to the landlord. The substance of these letters he afterwards embodied in a pamphlet *New Views on Ireland*,¹ which he published without waiting for Lord Lansdowne's answers to his charges. These included a statement from Mr. Standish Haly, who had been intimately concerned with Irish Famine Relief at the time and who had since made special inquiry into the allegations in New York, to the effect that the whole story of the Lansdowne Ward had been an impudent fabrication.

The origin of such tales is no doubt to be traced to the resentment excited by the overbearing ways

¹ Macmillan, 1880. Lord Lansdowne's answers were reprinted in a pamphlet entitled *Mr. Charles Russell and the Lansdowne estates in Kerry*. 1881.

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of Steuart Trench. His *Realities of Irish Life*, first published in 1869, at once produced a storm of protest, for with characteristic vanity he represented all the efforts made to meet the distress before he arrived on the scene as absolutely futile, and took to himself the sole credit for having solved the difficulties of the situation. This infuriated Father John O'Sullivan of Kenmare and others, who had been fighting the famine for some years before Trench's advent, and led to an acrimonious newspaper correspondence between the parties concerned. The accusations made against Trench were produced again nearly seventy years later in order to discredit as an Irish landlord the late Lord Lansdowne, who at the time these things had happened was a child of three years old.

Under Trench's directions some 4,600 persons were emigrated (at Lord Lansdowne's expense) in a period of three to four years. The workhouse—which with the Court House and the old brewery, near the Sound, had been used to accommodate the famine paupers—was relieved of its burden. Farms which had been subdivided and covered with squatters could now be enlarged, and holdings for the time being became once more 'economic', in the sense that they were large enough to provide those who lived upon them with the necessities of life and at the same time to enable them to pay the rent.

There can be no question that, as a result of Trench's administration, the last state of affairs was better than the first for all concerned, but that there was much suffering in the process of readjustment here, as elsewhere in the west of Ireland, cannot be denied. How much this could have been avoided by better organization may remain a matter of doubt, but enough has been said to show that the landlord, though by force

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of circumstances an absentee, was neither then nor at any other time indifferent to the welfare of his Kerry tenants, and that he was always ready to adopt any means which offered for the improvement of their condition.

Throughout this period the state of Ireland was of course closely occupying the attention of the Government of the day, of which, in 1846, Lord John Russell had become the head, while Lord Lansdowne, 'the Nestor of the Whigs', took office as President of the Council. It must have been shortly before the dissolution of 1847 that the following letter was written. Lord John Russell's paper on 'the future of Ireland', to which it is a reply, may possibly be extant elsewhere, but is not among the papers at Bowood.

Lord Lansdowne to Lord John Russell

Bowood. Nov. 30th (?1847)

Private & confidential.

My dear J. Russell,

I was on the point of writing to state to you what occurred to me on considering your first paper on the 'future' of Ireland, when I received your second, with its enclosure, & altho' the alterations (I am afraid I cannot call them amendments) are few, I am glad to have seen them before I replied to the first.

It will be most convenient that I should take your heads seriatim in the same order—stating in the first place that I fully concur in the general spirit of your preliminary observations.

1st. Loans to Proprietors, single or associated (according I presume with the terms of the minute, which has already been drawn by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and approved by the Cabinet) will I do not doubt, if care is taken not to encumber them with any technicalities that can be avoided, & the act is drawn by a Lawyer very different from the one who drew the last on that subject,

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prove extensively and I should be sanguine enough to hope, rapidly beneficial. The only check will be the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of efficient superintendants for so many undertakings which will in the first instance be only shifted from the Board of Works, by whom it is now experienced, to the landowners.

2nd. It is certainly right that public works should be executed by a public Board with a view to their effectual execution, rather than to the number of persons to be employed on them; but still they cannot fail to become schools of Industry, & I believe it fortunately happens, that there is the greatest opening for them in Ireland, in those districts where a spur to industry is most required. The most important of these, harbours, are a perfectly legitimate object of public expenditure; it is quite as reasonable that some hundred thousand pounds should be spent in providing places of refuge for shipping on the exposed coasts of Ireland, as some millions, which you contemplate in making them at Portland Island or Beachy head.

3rd. The question of relief, both as to its amount & principle the most difficult. A great burthen has been recently thrown upon the country, in the erection of workhouses, upon the principle that no relief was to be given out of them. Still in the urgency arising out of the present state of things, I think it may be expedient to admit of relieving the aged & infirm by rate, out of the Workhouse when they cannot be admitted into it: taking care to define age & infirmity so as to prevent abuse, and that the authority by which it is administered should be more assimilated to the Scotch law, as some security to the proprietor. Of course I understand the latter part of your paragraph 'provide for persons who have lived five years in the Union' to apply from the context to the aged & infirm only. This limitation is right to prevent an influx, tho' I fear unless great care is taken to provide for the object without creating 'a right' it may introduce some of the litigation attendant upon the law of settlement, one of the curses which is as yet spared to Ireland.

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So far you will perceive I nearly agree with your paper, but I regret very much to see that you have entertained the idea of extending the income tax to Ireland, this is a very grave question, & one which all considerations of policy, appear to me to determine in the negative.

1st. I have on various occasions stated & so have you more forcibly than I could, all the objections to the income tax when it can be avoided, & I believe you consider it as I do, as a tax upon improvement, & I hope we shall not change our minds as quickly as Peel has on this or other subjects.

2nd. But even Peel felt when he introduced it, that all these objections applied, as it cannot be doubted, much more strongly to Ireland than to England, the same machinery cannot be equally good there; frauds and attempts at fraud would be universal & successful, without an extent of inquisitions which would be found intolerable in a country, where it is every mans object for one reason or another to conceal the real state of his affairs.

3rd. You already derive some of the fruit of it in the shape of income transmitted from Ireland to England & thus you have an absentee tax most popular there, in the only way that can be justified.

4th. Add to this that if proposed before the dissolution, it will be debated with reference to the renewal of the English Income tax, the provisions will be discussed under the most awkward circumstances.

To conclude, my test as to all Irish remedies, is what will most attract capital and encourage exertion from the greatest proprietor down to the cottier-tenant, & charges must not be so far heaped upon them as to sink them deeper than they now are in the slough of despond.

You have not in considering the evils of Ireland touched upon one of the greatest, that of combinations by which one part of the community is constantly & successfully engaged in arresting the enterprize and robbing the industry of the rest, perhaps you have omitted it because you see no remedy for it, but if I remember right, there are some very

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practical suggestions as to the means of counteracting them in the hand-loom weavers report, which have never been carried into effect, which I think should be fearlessly done.

It has frequently occurred to me, that Govt. might, independantly of foreign emigration beyond Sea, lend itself usefully to facilitate the transmission of labor from parts of the country where it is too abundant to other places & without having recourse to any other sort of compulsion, tender facility as a test of destitution with the able bodied; but I am not prepared with a formal plan for it & will not add to the length of this letter.

Yours truly,

LANSDOWNE.

Many new roads were made throughout the country in order to provide relief for those who were in distress, and though some of these were superfluous and others remain to this day only partly finished, the famine period left one good result in a general improvement of communications. Amongst these was the new coast road from Kenmare to Cloonee. The old road, which can still be seen, ran further in from the shore, but the roughness of the ground over which it had to pass made it impossible for any but country traffic. It was probably after the completion of the new road that Lord Lansdowne, during one of his visits to Kerry, came to Ardea and there entertained the assembled tenants of Tuosist at an al fresco luncheon, over which he himself presided, within the walls of the historic castle.

The road from Cloonee to the Cork boundary by the Carriganine pass had been finished a few years earlier (in 1843). Thus for the first time Derreen was put in regular communication with the outer world, for, as we have seen, the place had hitherto been approachable only by water or by the precipitous track

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which still runs over Knockatee Mountain. The coast road from Cloonee to Derreen was a later project, commenced about 1862 and not finished till several years afterwards.

In 1857 the present Protestant church was erected at Kenmare, Lord Lansdowne providing the site and £450 towards the building fund. The old graveyard at Killowen continued, however, to be used, and Protestant burials still take place there.

In 1858 Nassau Senior, the economist, one of Lord Lansdowne's most constant and voluminous correspondents on Irish affairs, paid a visit to Kenmare. His experiences were afterwards published¹ and we are indebted to his book for the earliest versions of some old stories about Derreen and its neighbourhood. The same year was made memorable by the so-called 'Phoenix Conspiracy', a plot which at one time bade fair to rank amongst the greater Irish risings. It was fortunately stamped out before much harm had been done, but the correspondence shows that it caused considerable anxiety, in Kerry as elsewhere, to those who were concerned in maintaining law and order.

The 3rd Lord Lansdowne died in 1863, and in the following year his son and successor, accompanied by his wife and his two sons (the 5th Lord Lansdowne and Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) paid their first visit to Kenmare and Derreen. The new owner was much taken with Derreen, which was at the moment vacant; several days were spent there, and the idea of making it a family residence seems to have been in contemplation. Some additions were made soon afterwards to the house with this object, but in 1866 Lord Lansdowne died somewhat suddenly and nothing came of the project.

¹ Nassau W. Senior, *Journals, conversations and essays relating to Ireland*, 1868, ii. 84 ff.

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It was in the same year that the Fenian rising took place, though this again did not come to much in Kerry. The estate correspondence, however, shows that it gave occasion for great activity on the part of the Trenches, who at once put the Lodge in a state of siege and prepared for any desperate measures that might be needed in Kenmare.

It may be of interest to anglers to know that at this time also a salmon hatchery was started at Muxna, in which 20,000 salmon were turned out the following year. The hatchery continued for some years, but it seems that it produced no marked benefit to either river or net fisheries. Amongst other piscatorial activities, the estate correspondence speaks of a salmon ladder as being made to help the fish up the fall at the mouth of the Cloonee river, which previously had been considered almost impracticable for them.

There was talk also of a railway from Headfort to Kenmare, but this did not materialize till nearly thirty years afterwards.

From 1860 onwards the management of the Lansdowne estate in Kerry devolved on Steuart Trench's son, Townsend, who had hitherto acted as assistant to his father. Both the Trenches were of an extremely masterful disposition, and, with an absentee landlord, they completely 'ruled the roast' in Kenmare. They lived at the Lodge in considerable state, with a yacht in the harbour ready to carry them down the bay, or if the wind did not serve, a whale-boat with a picked crew of stalwart oarsmen always at their service. They were impatient of opposition and the period of their agency was not without some stormy incidents.

Father John O'Sullivan was usually the leader of the opposition, backed from behind the walls of her cloister by Miss Cusack, well known in her day as



KENMARE BOATMEN, 1865

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'the Nun of Kenmare'. After the question of Trench's famine policy had been exhausted, the alleged raising of the rents on the estate, the building of a new convent, and even so seemingly innocuous a proposal as the making of a 'ball alley' at Kenmare, each in its turn provided matter for dispute, and the columns of the local press were constantly enlivened by speeches and letters from both sides on these weighty matters. Then there was a row royal over the new Protestant church. The Trenches had at once annexed three or four pews in this building in the name of their (absent) employer. This was said to leave no room for the rest of the congregation, though it is hard to believe that the accommodation then, as now, was not amply sufficient for the somewhat sparse Protestant community of the neighbourhood. It was perhaps because of this dispute that Townsend Trench embraced the doctrines of the Plymouth Brethren, of which he became so successful a missionary in the district that any possible pressure on seating of the church must have been soon removed. A quarrel with the Protestant parson, quite as bitter as that which he had previously had with the Catholic priest, at all events ensued and was never composed.

The management of the estate was, as may well be imagined, not made smoother by such recriminations, and though in South Kerry the land question did not become acute, it was largely owing to Townsend Trench's unconciliatory methods that at a later date my father, while absent in Canada, found himself involved in one of the 'classic' disputes of the Irish 'land wars'. This was at Luggacurren in the Queen's County. The tenants on this estate held some of the richest land in Ireland, and had never been in arrear with their rents. Hearing, however, that a reduction

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of 25 per cent. had been given by Lord Lansdowne in County Kerry, they applied for a similar favour. A deputation waited upon the agent, but their leader, an unusually fat man, had hardly begun to state his case, when Trench interrupted him by a dig in the ribs and some heavy chaff as to the absurdity of a claim from one so well nourished as he that the rent could not be paid. The meeting broke up in disorder and the whole body of tenants forthwith joined the Land League and withheld any payment. After a couple of years there was nothing for it but to take possession of the holdings; no sooner, however, had this been accomplished, than the evicted tenants established themselves in a temporary settlement on a piece of ground given many years before to the priest for church purposes. This happened to be in the centre of the property, and so long as they remained there, no one dared to come forward to take up the vacant farms. The case had ultimately to be taken to the House of Lords, and in the end authority was obtained to remove the inhabitants of 'Campaign Square'. That the tenants could have had no substantial grievance was proved by the fact that all the farms were then again readily let at the original rentals, and the only result of this unfortunate dispute was that a large body of previously well-disposed farmers found themselves homeless, while for a period of about seven years the landlord received nothing for the best property in his possession.

'Towny' Trench was none the less an attractive personality and a pleasant companion. His talents were considerable. He was no mean artist, and would dash off in a few minutes an attractive sketch of Kerry scenery wherever he might find himself. On one occasion my father, returning to Derreen for his

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summer holidays, found the white walls of his room decorated throughout by representations of conger eels, skates, and other monsters of the deep, in appropriate under-sea surroundings. This little surprise had been the work of his land-agent during his absence. Trench's conversation was always amusing and his energy amazing. He was the hero of the 'seal hunt' described and illustrated in his father's book¹—perhaps it is unkind to question whether this incident, and others in his father's volume, were indeed 'realities', but they are at all events vividly recounted.

He was an ardent bicyclist. I can remember an occasion at Derreen when the question arose how to dispose of a wasp's nest which was inconveniently near the house. It hung on the branch of a small tree and could not therefore be 'taken' by the methods usual in such cases. Towny was not for a moment at a loss. He called for a sharp hatchet and for his bicycle. He severed the branch with one stroke, and holding it in his hand he leapt on the bicycle and set off down the road as hard as he could go. He returned in about half an hour with the nest innocent of wasps, and explained to us that as they had emerged from their comb one by one, he had left them all behind him, and he had gone so fast that none had been able to catch him up and sting him!

Every year he used to organize a regatta at Kenmare, and with equal regularity he himself won the sculling race in a canvas-covered canoe of his own design, guaranteed to live in any sea which might be running. He was a good shot with a revolver. He would sometimes have a number of plates set up along the roadside near his house and, riding on his bicycle at full speed, would blow them to pieces, as he passed. To this

¹ W. Steuart Trench, *Realities of Irish Life*, 1869.

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practice, no doubt, he owed immunity from personal attack during the 'bad times' of the early '80's.

It was about that time that a Frenchman in search of 'copy' visited Kenmare, and stayed a night at the Lodge. He has told us¹ how, when they were sitting in the drawing-room after dinner Towny, who had been enlarging on the dangerous nature of the times, suddenly produced his revolver and began some target practice at the candle standing on the mantel-piece. His guest must have felt that he had indeed discovered 'the truth about Ireland'.

Trench too knew something of medicine. He kept in his study a veritable 'drug store' and did not hesitate to administer mixtures of his own manufacture, generally seasoned with a little alcohol, to all who might come along, usually prescribing before the patient had had time to explain his or her symptoms. On one occasion a guest at Derreen after a fall on the rocks found he could not put foot to the ground. Towny at once insisted that his special ointment would effect an immediate cure. His patient, however, continued to suffer, and when after some days the doctor was called in, it was discovered that he had broken his leg.² A complete male skeleton was found in one of the cupboards at the Lodge after his departure. Its origin was never explained, though Towny was suspected of having dug it up by night in the nearest graveyard, for the purpose of perfecting his knowledge of human anatomy.

In later days he became entirely absorbed in a non-puncturable bicycle tyre of his own invention for which he took out a patent, and in his 'Cure for

¹ *Chez Paddy*, Baron E. de Mandat-Grancey. Plon Nourrit, 1887.

² The patient was my father-in-law, the late Sir Edward Stanley Hope.

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Epilepsy'. The T.T.T. (Trench's Tubeless Tyre), however, proved his ruin, for the expenses of his patent and the litigation it involved, consumed all his own money, as well as a considerable amount of his employer's, while a rival device eventually won the day.

'Trench's Cure for Epilepsy' was, however, for some time an immense success. If its advertisements were to be believed, many had been completely cured through its means from this fell disease. When its inventor finally left Kenmare, the stables at the Lodge were found to be full of cases containing this sovereign remedy, and for some time Trench's successor, fearing to meddle with so potent a drug, left them severely alone. He was, however, at length compelled by exigencies of space to clear out the building. As a preliminary step he took out a bottle of the mixture, handled it with care, and sent it, carefully packed, to Dublin for examination. His fears were groundless. The analyst's report stated that it was completely harmless and consisted of nothing worse than coloured water!

XIII

KENMARE OLD

WE have seen that the application of the name 'Kenmare' to the town now so called is of comparatively recent origin, and due apparently to a passing whim of William Earl of Shelburne. The arm of the sea on which this town stands has, however, been known from time immemorial as the 'River of Canmarra' or the 'Kenmare River'—a designation which sometimes perplexes those who are unfamiliar with the local hydrography. 'Ceann Mara' means in Irish 'the head of the sea'¹, and it is no doubt from a very ancient site, which answers this description, that the bay and the parish which surrounds it first received their names. This place, to distinguish it from the town which has usurped its title, is now called 'Kenmare Old' and is situated at the mouth of the River Sheen and at the extreme end of the Kenmare estuary.

Kenmare Old boasts a Holy Well which has long enjoyed a great reputation for the healing quality of its waters. Hard by, and connected with the well by a well-worn path, stands the ruin of a tiny church, of unknown antiquity, of which little but the eastern lancet window now remains. The Well is called 'St. Finan's Well', and it seems reasonable to suppose that both it and the church owed their origin to that Saint. To distinguish him from others of the same name, he is known as St. Finan 'Lobhar'—the Leper, for he is said to have suffered from leprosy which he had 'taken upon himself' in order to save the life of

¹ P. W. Joyce, *Irish Names of Places*, 1869, p. 464.



HOLY WELL, SEEN FROM KENMARE.

2436 P.W.

HOLY WELL AT KENMARE OLD

KENMARE OLD

another. The story goes on that he was ultimately cured by drinking the water of a well to which he had been divinely directed and that in gratitude for this miracle he founded the Religious House on the island of Inisfallen at Killarney. The records show that up to the Dissolution, the church and well of Kenmare Old were an appurtenance of the abbey in question, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it must have been the Holy Well of Kenmare which cured St. Finan Lobhar.

But, however this may be, the properties of this spring continued, and indeed went from strength to strength, long after St. Finan's day. Writing in 1750 Friar O'Sullivan tells us how by its waters sores were healed, the blind restored to sight and the lame enabled to walk—all of which 'can be certified by several persons now living and some of good repute'.¹ Half a century later the tenant of the adjacent land complains of 'the daily wastes and trespass committed thereon by who, from their belief in the effect of the well, commit great waste and that at a time very injurious to the place'. Even to-day its virtues have not in popular estimation ceased to exist, and votaries still come there to say a paternoster and to drink of its waters.

It is worth while trying to piece together from the scanty records which survive something of the history of Kenmare Old and its parent abbey. Inisfallen, it seems, like the neighbouring abbey of Muckross, survived the Dissolution for a time. In 1584 it was 'not yet dissolved but in good condition of repair and in use by Canons', while there was still 'a certain Irishman, a priest called a Prior'² living there. But its fate must soon afterwards have been sealed, for the Inquisitions of 1592 and 1595 speak of Inisfallen with its

Op. cit. vi. 153.

² Desmond Survey.

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‘Advowsons of Killalie¹ and Kenmare’ as granted to (Captain) Robert Collam and valued at only forty shillings! Curiously enough, however, the Carew Survey map, dated 1600, still shows Kenmare Old as ‘part of the Prior of Innisfallen’s land’.² Possibly the Captain may have considered himself entitled in reversion to the official designation of the ecclesiastic whom he had supplanted! It is worthy of note that in this map, which marks all the churches, some are shown with roofs, but most without. Amongst the former is Kilmackilloge and amongst the latter Kenmare. We know from other sources that Kilmackilloge was still in use at this date; we may no doubt therefore conclude that Kenmare was not, and had already become derelict.

Our next date is 1615 when it is stated³ that ‘the parsonadges of Killely and Kenmare belonge to the Abbey of Innisfallen and are kept by Mr. Jenkyn Conway, Curatus of Killely, Roger Davys, Cu[ratus, and] Henry Reade’. ‘Curatus’ Conway was like Collam a Captain, and one of the principal grantees of forfeited land in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. We do not know what happened to these two officers who seem to have masqueraded as parsons.

After the Rebellion of 1641, all ecclesiastical possessions were declared to be forfeited to the State, though at the Restoration it was decreed that they should be restored to spiritual uses. It may be doubted whether this restitution was effective as regards the unreformed Church. It seems more probable that Church land, such as Kenmare Old, was made over to the Protestant parsons of the day. We have seen⁴

¹ Perhaps Killaghie, near Killarney.

² Map, p. 31.

³ ‘Book of the Clergy of the Diocese of Ardfert’, Hickson, *Old Kerry Records*, ii. 29.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 42.

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that there was such a one at Kenmare in Petty's day—the Rev. Thomas Palmer—whose living consisted of no less than five parishes, though it is hard to believe that his ministrations can have extended beyond the Colony of Kenmare. A church must have been built about that time at Rockwell just outside Kenmare; it figures as the 'old Church' in our map of 1764, having already been replaced by a 'new church', the walls of which are still standing, a few hundred yards to the east. This was in turn replaced by the existing Protestant church between the town and the bridge at Muxna, some seventy years ago. The land of Kenmare Old was no doubt farmed by the Rev. Thomas Palmer and his successors in office. It remained 'Glebe Land' until the year 1806, when it was surrendered by the incumbent of the day in exchange for a house in the town.

The Bay of Kenmare constituted, as we have seen, in Petty's time an important fishery, having its principal emporium at Kilmackilloge. Kenmare Old, however, seems to have been the head-quarters of a separate industry. It is not improbable that it was once used as a fishing station for the abbey to which it belonged, just as Dinish Island a few miles further down the bay was used by the monks of Muckross. Salmon and trout must always have been plentiful at Killarney during the summer months, but it would have been necessary to have recourse to the sea in order to ensure a supply for fast days throughout the year.

Friar O'Sullivan informs us¹ that 'where the river Shine discharges itself into the sea, the seal, salmon, trout, cod, haak, herring, pilcher (pilchards) and spratt were taken in one haul'. But during twenty-five years'

¹ Op. cit. vi. 149.

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residence on the very spot I have waited in vain to see a repetition of this miraculous draught! Salmon and trout are still caught at Sheen Falls, and the seals sometimes hunt them right up into the fresh water. Sprats too come up on the tide with mackerel after them, and these were perhaps formerly accompanied by herrings (though they now no longer visit this coast). But the cod and hake have their habitat in the deeper waters and must, I think, be taken 'with a grain of salt', as also the pearls which the Friar assures us elsewhere were plentiful in all the Kerry rivers.

The Kenmare fishery, however, extended pretty far afield, as may be seen from a document of 1771, by which Richard Orpen conveyed it by lease to William Duckett of Gortalinny—one of the original members of the Kenmare Colony. This lease defines it as extending:

from Bunnleadagh to Carrigacappeen and from thence to Riaenafeigh on the south side of the River of Kilmare, and from Bunnleadagh to Bunfinny on the north side, together with ground convenient for a fish house at the Iron Rock, or the land commonly called Kilmare, with all the libertie of drawing and drying of netts to and on the shores thereunto belonging.

Bunnleadagh and Bunnfinny must be respectively the 'Bunns' or mouths of the Cleady and Finnihy rivers. Reenavere is the name of a townland some miles down the bay, but Carrig-a-cappeen (the capped rock) presents a difficulty, since the rock to-day so called is on the north and not on the south side of the river. The 'Iron Rock', so called either because it was close to Richard Orpen's forge or ironworks at Gortalinny, or because it was thought that the sandstone in the vicinity contained this mineral, still survives in the name of a farm on the left bank of the Sheen, and the 'fish house

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on the land commonly called Kilmare', no doubt one of the 'Palices' mentioned above, is shown on Powell's map (1764) on the site of the present building at the Falls, in the older portion of which its walls may have been incorporated.

The fishery is thus seen to have covered the whole of the eastern end of the Kenmare estuary, and to have included in addition two or three miles of the river Roughty. William Duckett obtained with it 'the wood of Gurtaliny, the Iron Rock land and the half plowland of Muxnaw', denominations which together seem to have included most of the ground between the present Roughty and Muxna bridges—though some of this appears to have formed part of another holding belonging to William Mayberry of Greenlane whose family has been continuously represented in this district from Petty's time until the present day.

The Ducketts continued to hold this land for a hundred years or more. To William succeeded his eldest son Abraham, and afterwards his second son Samuel. In 1772 Samuel Duckett of Gortalinny complains to Shelburne, during one of his visits to Kenmare, that for want of a separate lease of the fishery the land 'has gone in common' amongst his neighbours, and asks that it may be reserved to him. Shelburne promises to inquire into the matter, and gives him in 1775 a fresh lease for twenty-five years of Kenmare Old in which it is expressly stipulated that the fishery should be his for £12 10s. a year. The last of the family was another William Duckett, son of Samuel, whom we find in 1783 soliciting his landlord's assistance. He ingenuously writes to Lord Shelburne that he is 'discouraged of thinking to stay any longer in this country where I cannot find any employment with the least prospect of turning to my advantage, except the

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smuggling trade which I have now a great dislike to, being attended with so great hazard, having a revenue officer and a party of the army now settled at Neddeen'. He states that he had carried out a little forestry on his own account on the lands of Kenmare Old and Muxna, but had been forced to give it up on account of the difficulty of preserving the young trees from depredations. Later on Shelburne sought his advice with regard to his own planting schemes, but it would seem that in spite of these courtesies, and a personal visit to Shelburne in England, Duckett failed to obtain a renewal of his lease. In 1803 John Mayberry was established in the home of the Ducketts at Greenlane, and three years later we find an advertisement in the columns of Chute's *Western Herald* announcing that the Duckett lands are for sale. Possibly the disgruntled ex-smuggler ended by going over to the forces of revolt, for a William Duckett, born in 1768 at Killarney, figured prominently amongst the United Irishmen of the early nineteenth century, and died eventually on the Continent.¹

There was a small house or cabin at the Falls in 1765, as may be seen by Powell's Survey carried out for Lord Shelburne in that year. Its position on the map corresponds with that of the southern portion of the present house, the walls of which have every appearance of early origin.

Contemporary documents show that the bridge hard by was constructed in 1777. A sketch engraved in aquatint by Walmisley and dedicated to Lord Lansdowne, was published not many years afterwards, and proves that the original structure still survives. There had previously been a road ford a little higher up the river called Agharathry. This, as Professor Fraser

¹ D.N.B.

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suggests, represents 'Achadh an ruathair', 'the field of the onset', but I have been unable to identify any recorded engagement with this locality.

Samuel Nelves, the sub-agent already mentioned, in a report prepared for Shelburne in this year gives the following account of Kenmare Old:

The Land is now in part well improved, the tenant having made 117 perches of good Double Ditch and planted them with Timber and ornamental Trees, and about one half is now quick'd which has entirely separated the Glebe from Lord Shelburne's freehold, so that no contest can come from that Quarter for the future, which was the case in the year 1764. The Land is naturally very good, it supports 3 Dairy Cows with moderate sowings of wheat, oats and Potatoes. This land lies on the south side and at the head of the river Kenmare, as at this place the River Sheen falls in a remarkable manner over Rocks in to Said River & ye River Roughty here loses its name. On this land stands the ruin of an old church called Kenmare, from this it may be supposed the River and the Parish takes its name & Lord Kenmare his title.

On the disappearance of the Ducketts, the widow Aldwell appears as tenant of Kenmare Old. She was no doubt the relict of one Bazil Aldwell, a worsted spinner, imported in 1776 by Shelburne to instruct the natives in his art, though he unfortunately disappointed expectations by becoming both a drunkard and a smuggler. A house called 'Sheen Cottage', which figures in the earliest ordnance maps, appears to have been built overlooking the Falls in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Greenlane and 'Waterview Lodge'—the latter now represented only by a tumble-down cottage on the southern end of Roughty Bridge—were the only other residences on the south side of the water at this time.

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But after the construction of the suspension-bridge at Muxna the south side of the bay became more accessible, and a series of ninety-nine-year building leases were given, under which Riversdale, Muxna, and Clarendon Lodge were built. A similar lease was in 1848 made of Sheen Cottage, to Mr. George Woodhouse, who was responsible for the plantation on the sea-front opposite the Falls. Woodhouse sold his lease six years later to Lord Ashtown, a cousin of Steuart Trench's, who added to the original cottage the principal portion of the present house. He, however, only resided for a short time, and sublet to a number of different tenants. Amongst these was the Rev. Mr. Musters, son of the famous amateur pugilist, Jack Musters, and Rector of Kenmare, the beauty of whose daughters appears to have been the cause of many broken hearts in the vicinity.

In 1879 the late Lord Lansdowne, in order to recover control of the property, bought the residue of the lease from Lord Ashtown and the house was once more let.

Mrs. Warden became tenant in 1882 and lived there with her son, Colonel Warden, till 1891 when they moved to Derryquin, which had been bought from the Bland family. The stables were added and the retaining wall forming the terrace on the sea-front was erected during this period. Mr. R. C. Dobbs afterwards took the place and was there till 1902. After lying vacant for a short time Sheen Falls was occupied for nearly thirty years, and subsequently added to, by the present writer.

XIV

KILMACKILLOGE AND THE MCFININ DUFFS

WRITING in 1750 our Kerry historian describes the peninsula or promontory between the Kenmare River and Bantry Bay as a part of the country 'mostly incumbered with mountains and coarse pasture grounds, the greatest part of which is almost one continued rock, terminated with bog, affording very indifferent food for cattle, and justly esteemed the least profitable and most irreclaimable land in the whole county'.¹

Kilmackilloge (or as it is variously called in ancient maps and documents, Cilemucloge, Kilmalockashista, or Kilmy-Colle) is the principal inlet on the northern side of this peninsula. Froude² suggests that the name derives from the lesser St. Michael, but other writers have no doubt that the Saint responsible was Matalogus, Mochelloc, Mokilogue or Killian³ whose 'Kill' or church stands on the high ground commanding the entrance to this harbour and whose 'name day' (July 8) is always honoured on the spot. St. Mochelloc was one of the earliest Irish Christian missionaries. He left his native country for Germany—resting, as it is said, at Kilmackilloge before taking ship from South Kerry—and became the first Bishop of Würzburg, at which place he eventually (in 689) found a martyr's grave. His relics and his Bible are still to be seen at Würzburg, and there is a town called St. Killian in the United States which owes its name to the fact that its founders were German emigrants from Würzburg.

¹ C. Smith, p. 80.

² *Fortnight in Kerry*.

³ Cusack, p. 412.

KILMACKILLOGE AND THE MCFININ DUFFS

St. Killian's Church survived somewhat longer than the majority of the sacred edifices of the Middle Ages in that district. In the Book of the Clergy of the Diocese of Ardfert (1615) there appears the entry, 'Vicaragge of Kilmalochiusta, valor 20s., sequestred by me to Henry Reade, minister, Church in good repayre', and we learn from another note that one Edward Spring was its patron.¹ Little now remains except the outer wall, with a narrow lancet east window and traces of some dog-tooth ornamentation.

Not far from the ruined church is a lake which has from time immemorial enjoyed a reputation for great sanctity. It is variously called Lough Quinlan or Makinlaun, names which are locally supposed to be other forms of Mackilloge. The prefix 'Mo' is merely expressive of reverence or affection, and the termination 'oge' is a diminutive or token of endearment. Thus Mo-kill-ogue means literally 'my dear little Killian', Quinlan and Kinlaun being regarded as forms of the same word. The supernatural attributes of Lough Quinlan were formerly evidenced by the appearance of tussocks or 'floating islands, with grass and other vegetables growing upon them'² which came and went upon the surface of its waters. Friar O'Sullivan tells us³ that he had himself observed them displaying remarkable activity when there was not a breath of wind to move them; one, he convincingly adds, was 'lame', by reason that an irreverent soldier had recently transfixed it with his spear. This impious act, however, met with due reward, for the soldier was drowned soon afterwards. Some forty years ago a deep drain was made by the Board of Works in

¹ Hickson, *Old Kerry Records*, ii. 29-30.

² Charles Smith, *The Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry*, p. 82.

³ *Op. cit.* vi. 151.

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order to improve the cultivation of the little valley in which the lake lies, and this, unfortunately, had the unpremeditated result of lowering its waters, since when no more floating islands have been seen. The sanctity of the spot, however, does not appear to have suffered in common estimation, and the Saint's 'Pattern' or anniversary is still kept with all due solemnity.

This festival is on the 8th July, when thousands assemble round the shores of the little lake to be cured of their ailments, to say a paternoster, and to pray for the soul of the departed St. Killian, after which the 'name day' is duly celebrated at the adjacent public house. On a small mound near by can still be seen the traces of a hut or cell measuring some $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 9 feet, of which the original occupier is said to have been the saint himself. It is on record that as late as the middle of the last century this cell was still tenanted by a hermit or holy man, and until recent years pilgrims of the 'Pattern' have been wont to approach it on hands and knees. A well-worn serpentine track leading up to its few remaining stones bears witness to their devotion.

The whole peninsula between the Kenmare River and Bantry Bay had from early times been controlled by part of the Clan O'Sullivan. Throughout the Middle Ages their head-quarters were at Dunboy, near Bere Island, and gave the name of O'Sullivan Bere to the head of the family. Kilmackilloge had at a somewhat later date become the home of a branch of the same clan, whose chief was known by the title of McFinin Dubh or Duff—'the son of Black Florence'.

The O'Sullivans figure prominently in the State Papers of the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. They had just become released from their vassalage to the Desmonds by the suppression and death of

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the rebellious Earl Gerald, and the survey of the latter's land and revenues made at this time¹ shows in detail the tributes which had formerly been payable to him by O'Sullivan Bere as well as by the minor chieftains of the locality. One Owen O'Sullivan Bere had, under the custom of Tanistry, recently succeeded his elder brother Donnell, receiving a patent from the Queen, and an additional mark of the royal approbation in the form of a knighthood. There was, however, a young Donnell, son of the elder Donnell, who considered himself unjustly excluded from the succession, and made strong, but for some time ineffectual, representations to the Privy Council to support his cause. Each party to the dispute furnished the Government with pedigrees and documents, which interpreted the laws of O'Sullivan succession in a sense favourable to their respective claims.² It is worthy of remark that many of these documents are annotated by Burghley, who, as chief minister to the Queen, would no doubt have been called upon to give a final decision in the case. It is in these papers that we find the first mention of the Macfinin Duffs. They describe in detail 'the Ancient custom of division of lands, time beyond the memory of man, amongst the O'Sullivans of Bere and Bantry' and explain that half their possessions always passed 'to the Lord of the Country for the time being' while the other half fell to his 'Cousin or Kinsman viz.—the Tanist'. After reciting the possessions of O'Sullivan Bere the document goes on to give a list of other lands held under, though independently of, this chieftain. Amongst these are the territories of Finin Duff whose 'issues' are stated to be amongst O'Sullivan's 'cousins and kinsmen' and we are told that the lands in question were allotted to them 'as their share of old ancient

¹ *Supra*, p. 2.

² State Papers, cxxx. 1587. See also *infra* p. 185.

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custom to live upon, paying rent to the Lord'; it is added, however, that they were 'but little worth nowadays'.

The last McFinin Duff, who died in 1809, was traditionally reputed to be the twenty-first of his line. It would seem therefore that the founder of the house must have been established at Derreen before the fifteenth century. It may be guessed that he and his posterity received the cognomen 'Duff' (dark, swarthy) to distinguish them from the descendants of another clan of McFinins who were of McCarthy descent, and controlled the district round Kenmare at the same period. The 'sliocht' or tribe of Finin Duff are again mentioned towards the close of the sixteenth century, as 'Lords of Cuntries' and 'dangerous men' on account of their connexion with the rebellious Florence McCarthy.¹

Not far from Kilmackilloge was the castle of Ardea, which as we learn from the same source was 'the Manor or house allotted ever to the Tanist for the time being'.² This Tanist was in Elizabeth's time Philip O'Sullivan, the younger brother of Sir Owen already mentioned, whose name survives in 'Philip's Island' on the Cloonee Lough. Trade between Spain and the south coast of Ireland had for a long time, especially before the discovery of America, flourished, and it continued well into the sixteenth century.³ Philip is said to have been the fortunate recipient of a yearly tribute of £1,900 paid by the Spaniards in consideration of the facilities granted to them in the neighbourhood. Ardea Castle therefore became a regular Spanish port of call,⁴ and it was one of the centres of rebellion at the end of the sixteenth century

¹ *Life of Florence McCarthy More*, p. 153. ² State Papers, cxxx. 363.

³ O'Sullivan, *op. cit.* vi. 16.

⁴ *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 553, 660.

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before it fell (in 1602) to Sir Charles Wilmot. By one of the arrangements not uncommon in those days it was then given to Sir Owen O'Sullivan More, who had kept himself clear of the rebellion and had married his daughter Ellen to Philip of Ardea's eldest son. Thus, although Philip lost the actual proprietorship, he did not lose his home, and the estate was still kept in the family.

The O'Sullivan family, however, did not come out of the 1641 rebellion so well, for we find Ellen as forfeiting proprietor of a number of townlands in the Cloonee valley¹, nearly the whole of which she appears to have previously controlled, though the Castle had passed into other hands. Its owner at this time was a Colonel Donogh McFinin, but it was already a thing of the past. Cromwell is generally credited with its destruction, but as we saw in connexion with the bridge and fort at Kenmare, he was never within a hundred miles of the place. The demolition, however, was perhaps carried out by his orders, and the solid masses of masonry which have been blown far from their original position show how thoroughly the work was done. Since then the process of erosion has gradually undermined the moraine on which the castle stands, and a considerable portion of it has fallen into the sea. Some idea of its original proportions may be formed from some eighteenth-century engravings which survive, though such pictures—probably worked up in London from slight sketches made on the spot—cannot be relied upon for accuracy of detail.

The lands of Ardea subsequently passed through various hands. We find them leased in 1697 for 99 years to one Thomas Gill, a member of Petty's Protestant Colony, but his successors, a family named

¹ Book of Survey.

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Coote, belonged to the Catholic faith, and were ousted from their lease on this account about the middle of the following century, though a 'Widow Coote' continued in possession for some years longer. Finally in 1793 the rent-rolls show a collection of different claimants, including one Darby O'Sullivan, who states in his application that he is 102 years old, but able to write and walk. History does not relate whether the centenarian or one of his younger rivals was successful in his petition for reinstatement.

The estate of the McFinin Duffs in Elizabethan times is said to have been 'near a third part' of that of their titular chief O'Sullivan Bere, and this is borne out by the first known map of the district, which under the designation of the 'Half Barony of Glenarought' is amongst the Carew papers. Here we find a large tract round Kilmackilloge shown as McFinin's land, and a place called Deriwinhy, which was evidently the predecessor of the modern Derreen. The church appears as 'Killmallockoshista' and the holy lake as 'Kilmallocke'.

The O'Sullivans of Derreen appear to have been left in peace until the cataclysm of 1641 involved the papist chieftains of the country in a general proscription. The Down Survey shows McFinin Duff as forfeiting 'Derrinianvetick', with all the glens round Kilmackilloge. The name of the proprietor appears as Owen O'Sullivan, and perhaps this was the 'loose gentleman' who 'ran Mr. Orpen through the body behind his back, for presuming to recover a debt due to him from O'Sullivan's friend'.¹

Petty's small-scale maps, though not affording much detailed information, show with sufficient clearness the

¹ C. Smith, *The Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry*, p. 319 (note).

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general lie of the country, as regards areas under wood, tillage, and pasture. There was formerly also in the Irish Record Office a volume of his large-scale townland maps, including one of Tuosist parish, but this of course disappeared with the rest in the holocaust of the Four Courts. The townlands of that time, as a rule, covered considerably more ground than their modern equivalents, for most of them have been since sub-divided into lesser denominations. Thus Derrinianvetick then included, besides Derreen, the present townlands of Dereenatlooig, Derryconnery, and Knockanaglen. It had an area of 9 gneeves or 560 plantation acres, and it was bounded by the townlands of Kilmackilloge, Creveen, Curracreen, and Shronebirane, which latter included everything up to the Owenshagh river. The old oak-wood of Derryconnery is not shown, but the promontory on which Derreen House now stands is described as 'Woody pasture: 12 acres' this being the only woodland marked in the immediate vicinity.

We have already seen that the whole district fell into the possession of Sir William Petty, the small patches of so-called 'profitable' land being first given to him as part-payment for his work in connexion with the Down Survey, and the 'unprofitable' or waste land (which included Derreen) being subsequently thrown in in consideration of his good offices to Charles II. The woods formed part of the former grant, and were, no doubt, considered by him as the most valuable part of his property. We find him as early as 1658 sending injunctions through his cousin, John, to one Dillon to 'have an eye to the Kilmacalogue men, that they do not supply themselves with barrels from our woods'.¹

¹ W. Petty to John Petty, Dec. 21, 1658. Petty MSS.

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The next mention of Derreen is in a rental of the Petty estates dated 1684. By this it appears that 'Dermot Sullivan alias Finin Duffe' had been tenant of 5 plough-lands from 1672 to 1683 at a rental of £46 a year. From 1683 'Captain McFinin Duff' takes his place at the same rental for the principal portion of these lands, while he gets the balance as 'Patent Lands' for £12 15s. by a separate instrument—the two categories here indicated being respectively the lands granted by patent to Petty and Carteret in 1667, and those passed by 'certificate' to Marshall for which a patent was not given till a later date. It would thus appear that Owen 'the loose gentleman' was succeeded (or superseded) by the Captain, who had possibly earned preferential treatment by joining the local military forces for the preservation of law and order.

It has already been explained how in 1697, the local agent, Orpen, having obtained from his principal, Waller, the lease of Glanerought in perpetuity, sublet the various sub-denominations in that barony, on terms similar to the 'Grand Lease' by which he himself held them. 'Dermot McOwen Sullivaine of Derina-vorick, alias McFinin Duff', thus obtained for 99 years or the longest life of three named individuals, for a rent of £43, 4½ plough-lands comprising Derina-vorick, and seven other townlands.

The original of this lease is now at Derreen, and the following are some of its more interesting features: The tenant undertakes within 10 years 'to build one good stone-wall house with double chimney'—from which it may be inferred that the McFinin Duffs of that time were still amongst the 160,000 families classified by Petty as 'such as have no fix'd Hearths'.¹ Contiguous to this house two enclosures of 20 acres

¹ *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, p. 8.

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‘with double ditch and quicksett of white thorne and ash trees about them’ are to be fenced in, while 10 acres are to be planted ‘with aple, peare, or plumb trees’ and 7,000 oak plants are to be planted within 5 years. Six Protestant families are to be brought in and kept on the premises. McFinin Duff, in addition to his rent, binds himself to pay ‘poundages of 12d in the £ namely a good beefe, or 20s. in lieu thereof; a good mutton or 2s.; a fat capon or 4d.; a barrel of good oates or 6s. For every £2 of rent he undertakes to find one day’s labour of a man and a horse, or 8d. in lieu thereof’. There is a curious provision that he must at all times keep 7 iron ‘krows’ (crow-bars) in good repair upon the premises. On his side he is given ‘Liberty of House boot, plow boot, and carr boot, in the wood of the Hon. Henry Petty Esquire, to be expended on the premises’, i.e. permission to cut wood for his own household and agricultural requirements. He promises to do ‘suit and service unto the Manner Courts and Court Leets’ of Henry Petty, as also to Orpen’s Corn Mill and Tucking Mill, when built by the latter. How far all these conditions were observed must remain a matter of speculation, but it is probable that so long as the stipulated rent was paid to Orpen no questions were asked.

The Manor Court at all events was not established until 1720 and the Court Leet not till 1760, nor is there any record of the erection of either Corn Mill or Tucking Mill in Tuosist.

XV

DERREEN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

WE do not know much of events at Derreen during the first half of the eighteenth century, for so long as the Grand Lease remained in being, Orpen's under-tenants had little to do with their superior landlord, and the estate papers of this period relate only to the woods and mines which had been retained in the latter's hands. The McFinin Duffs no doubt had matters all their own way, for nobody would or could interfere with them. They were deeply engaged, like their friends and neighbours, in the smuggling trade. Wool went out and brandy came in; every one had a share of the profits and all were leagued together to defeat the officials of the Government.¹

On the island lying just off Derreen there are some underground chambers connected one with the other, with an opening at either end carefully screened from view. The ground no doubt has settled since these were first excavated and it is difficult to-day to crawl within, though still possible to sit up when inside. The place is popularly reputed to be a 'Fort',² tenanted by 'the Fairies' whom it is unlucky to disturb. It may of course be of prehistoric origin, but the 'souterrains' have none of the structural characteristics usually associated with those found in the so-called (but probably miscalled) 'Danish Forts', common in the district. It seems much more likely that they were made and used by the McFinin Duffs for the contraband which they handled. A better entrepôt could scarcely

¹ Froude, *English in Ireland*, i. 497: 'The Smugglers'.

² *Supra*, p. 13.

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be conceived; for the 'stuff', run into the harbour by night, could here be readily unloaded, and kept without risk of detection, until such time as the way was clear for its distribution in the neighbourhood.

There were opportunities, too, other than those presented by the smuggling trade, of securing useful plunder. Wrecks were common, but in the ordinary course of things they can seldom have occurred in the land-locked waters of Kilmackilloge; sometimes, however, the 'Act of God' could be supplemented by human effort, to the great advantage of the locality. In the year 1775 a West Indian merchantman called *The Planter*, laden with silver and tea, reached Balinskelligs Bay in great distress, and finding no safe anchorage there, asked for assistance from the locality. A member of the Sullivan family, who happened to be an illegitimate son of the McFinin Duff of Derreen and lived in that region, offered his services, and was taken on board. By excellent seamanship he brought the half-disabled ship into Kilmackilloge harbour, where he ran her aground at a spot 'convenient to' the paternal residence. Everything was soon 'robbed out of her' and as no one was interested to set her afloat she quickly became a total wreck; it is said that pieces of this ship have been found even in recent times on the strand at Derreen, which until recently was known as 'Corrig-na-planter'.

The country was still but thinly populated, and nature was bountiful. There can have been little difficulty in maintaining the customary standard of living, nor was there much incentive to improve it. When Petty described the habits of the Irish, he must have had in mind the people of the west coast with whom he was best acquainted, and the following passage, although written in the seventeenth century,

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applied perhaps with equal force to that which followed:

Their Lazing seems to me to proceed rather from want of Employment and Encouragement to work, than from the natural abundance of Flegm in their Bowels and Blood; for what need they to Work, who can content themselves with Potato's, whereof the Labour of one Man can feed Forty; and with Milk, whereof one Cow will, in Summer time, give meat and drink enough for three Men, when they can every where gather Cockles, Oysters, Muscles, Crabs &c. with Boats, Nets, Angles, or the Art of Fishing; and can build an House in three days? And why should they desire to fare better, tho with more Labour, when they are taught, that this way of living is more like the Patriarchs of old, and the Saints of later times, by whose Prayers and Merits they are to be reliev'd, and whose Examples they are therefore to follow? And why should they breed more cattel since 'tis Penal to import them into England? And why should they raise more Commodities, since there are not Merchants sufficiently Stock'd to take them of them, nor provided with other more pleasing sovereign Commodities to give in Exchange for them?¹

It was not till the year 1763 that the tenants of Derreen came once more into close relations with their superior landlord in the person of William Lord Shelburne, who had just succeeded to the estate. Mary Orpen, afterwards Mrs. Crosbie, had just died, and she was the last survivor of the three 'lives' inserted in the grand lease which had been granted to her father, nearly seventy years before. All the under-tenants in Glanerought had thus to surrender the long leases under which they held their lands.

Amongst these was Sylvester O'Sullivan, the McFinin Duff of Derreen, son of Darby O'Sullivan, and presumably the grandson of the Dermot who took

¹ *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, p. 98.

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the original lease from Richard Orpen in 1697. He obtained in 1764 a renewal for 21 years of '4 plowlands and 6 gneeves' at a rent of £80 a year, but he must have died soon afterwards for in the early 70's the rentals show Mortogh O'Sullivan as in possession.

This was the famous 'Morty' of Froude's essay. With considerable licence the author places his hero in the nineteenth century and even states that he met him in the flesh in Kenmare, when, as a young man, he first visited the district; but historical accuracy compels the statement that the last of the McFinin Duffs (who in point of fact was Morty's grandson) had then already been for nearly fifty years in his grave. Froude calls him 'Morty the good', the 'King of the golden age of Kerry'—titles which to judge by the contemporary correspondence few would have applied to this or indeed to any other McFinin Duff, though they may have been posthumously conferred by popular estimation.

Morty was at all events a power in the land of Kilmackilloge and, with one or two near relations, controlled the whole of the western end of Glanerought—at that time a wild region, into which the representatives of the landlord and officers of the law seldom ventured with impunity. In 1769 the standing timber of Glanerought was sold by Lord Shelburne to John Mayberry of Greenlane, but the purchaser soon found that the whole country-side was in league to prevent him from felling or removing any trees until the goodwill of the local chieftain had been obtained. Mayberry reports himself confronted 'by 160 men armed with guns, pistols, blunderbusses and other instruments of death; besides 4 men appointed with blunderbusses to lye in ambush, to kill us on the spot if we attempted taking one Rhine off a tree'; they wore oak leaves as

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cockades in their hats and had a 'Bloody Flag hung up in the wood in Defiance'. A judicious expenditure in 'backsheesh' seems, however, to have solved the difficulty. Morty received £30 and a like sum was given to the leading tenant in Bonane, after which there was no further difficulty about the timber. Morty soon afterwards got into financial difficulties. He would neither pay his rent nor surrender his lease. An attempt was made to serve an ejectment on him, but the persons charged with this delicate mission were forced to fly for their lives by a large body of men disguised in women's clothes and with difficulty secured their retreat by taking to their boats.

A few years later Samuel Nelmes reports that:

McFinnin Duff has for some time been confined to his bed. He takes but very little nourishment of any kind of food, but has the same relish for spirits. Chance has furnished him with a supply by a ship from Pensivlee [*sic*]¹ bound to London, that put into that harbour in distress and by the violence of the storm came on shore below his house. I was present and stayed two days, saw a great desire in the common people for plunder. The cargo was then secured but tis a doubt if it will remain so until the ship is repaired.

Taylor of Dunkerron who, as we have seen, had become agent this year tried conciliatory methods with no better success:

I went [he states] to McFinin Duff, but to little purpose. He is an obstinate old man and his sons not better. One time he would sign and again he would not, and yet pretended he would do anything your Lordship desired. . . . They are of the old Miletian breed who are full of law and wrangles. They live in the remotest part of Tuosist, the wildest and most villanous country I ever saw and scarcely

¹ This was perhaps *The Planter*, mentioned above, p. 162; if so the doubts expressed by Nelmes were fully justified.

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worth a contest. Indeed I think its punishment enough to confine them to it for ever. It is absolutely nothing but rocks and mountains, and only fit to be inhabited by barbarians.

John Lyne of Cashel-Keelty was also in debt. He was a cousin of Morty's and held, besides the region round his home on the southern side of the harbour, the town-lands of Kilmackilloge, Lehid, and Canfie. According to Taylor he was

an idle drunken stupid sot, so surrounded by a clan that he fears nothing. I have sent ten stout fellows to try what they can do, and if they are foyled, I will march all the Protestants in the country against him and call in a military force to subdue him and all such Papist clans who act in defiance of law and reason. I see very plainly that nothing else will do with them. They are still as uncivilised as in the days of Oliver and must be handled in the same way. . . . I don't think there is such another sett of ungovernable clamourous, left-handed people in the universe, and they are all wranglers and Lawyers.

Another near relation, McRoger Sullivan of Creveen, was, like McFinin, unable or unwilling to discharge his obligations. An expedition consisting of thirty-three 'well armed men' was dispatched against him from Kenmare, but the agent was forced to report their discomfiture by 'superior numbers' of the Sullivans—'a desperate and dangerous gang—so connected and related that there is no breaking them without a military force'.

The recalcitrant Sullivans were somehow prevailed upon to come to terms, possibly by Shelburne's personal intervention, for about the time of his visit to Kerry in 1775 we find Morty's signature to a document by which he agrees to hold for nineteen years at a rental of £98 Derinavorick, with seven adjacent town-

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lands. The extent of his holding according to the rentals of that day was 2,000 Irish or 3,230 'Plantation', that is to say, statute acres. At the same time he stands security for a lease to his cousin of Creveen and Cummers while John Lyne continues in possession of Shronbirane, &c. The clan were thus left strongly entrenched round Kilmackilloge harbour.

Two years later Nelves prepared for Shelburne a very full report of his Kenmare property. Derreen house, he tells us, had been put in good repair, and a new building, 60 feet long, had been erected near it. But he goes on to say :

There is not on the whole concerns but a few acres where a plow can work, so it is necessary to have the command of many men to raise provisions for a large family; and by feeding those workmen which is the custom of the country, they will eat and destroy near a sixth part of the product of their labour. On several parts of this land was formerly a well preserved wood, full grown, cut down in the year 1769 in a very unfair manner by cutting high and stripping the bark from the roots which lay exposed growing in the cliffs of the rocks, so that a fourth part did never show a green leaf afterwards, and no care was taken to preserve what did grow from the bite of cattle. The present appearance is no way promising to expect much benefit for the future, and the part where the principal wood did grow, cannot be converted to any other use but some poor feeding for cattle.

The story goes that Morty had a family of no less than eleven daughters. Shelburne was anxious to know what he was going to do with all these young ladies. Morty said that he would 'set them all spinning'. Soon after Shelburne's return to England a present of eleven mahogany spinning-wheels arrived at Derreen—of the fate of the 'spinsters' there is unfortunately no record. His eldest son is said to have been done to

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death when a boy by relatives who were interested in the succession. The child was playing in a narrow 'bohireen' and a herd of wild colts from the Cahal Mountains were driven down upon him. The prints of the child's feet and the horses' hoofs, still to be seen on a rock in the vicinity, are called in aid as corroborative evidence to the truth of this tale.

Shelburne was once the guest of Morty at Derreen House. There were festivities appropriate to so great an occasion, and Shelburne retired to rest. Feeling thirsty during the night he poured himself out a drink from the jug at his bedside, and to his consternation found the liquid to be neat whisky. The next morning he laughingly recounted what he thought to have been the mistake of a servant, but his story was received without a smile, his host gravely remarking 'God forbid that your Lordship should drink water in my house'.¹

Readers of the *Fortnight in Kerry* will recall the story of the present of claret sent by Shelburne to Morty, and of the reception met with by this peace-offering: Froude tells how the old man dragged himself from bed and had the wine brought out to him on the big rock which stands in front of Derreen, and how with the most dreadful imprecations on the donor he solemnly broke it bottle by bottle until all was gone. The story is no doubt true, but there is some discrepancy amongst our authorities as to the precise motive of the crime. Some say that Morty was in fear that his lease was about to be taken from him, others that he was enraged by the news that some bacon he had sent to Shelburne (which had been somewhat long on the road) had been thrown into the Liffey,² but most agree that anything except undiluted spirits would

¹ Nassau Senior, *op. cit.* ii, 84.

² *Ibid.*

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have always been treated thus by the old chieftains of the Clan O'Sullivan.

Sylvester, Morty's second son, was a man of a very different type from his predecessor. On succeeding his father in 1776 he at once applied for the agency of the estate and he seems to have enjoyed the entire confidence of Taylor, who describes him to Shelburne as 'one of the best and most respectable of your tenants'. Armed with this recommendation, and a similar one from Lord Kenmare, Sylvester in 1791 visited his landlord in London. He created a most favourable impression, and Lord Lansdowne writes :

I am in truth very much pleased with him, and am surprised to see so amiable a character come from such an unimproved state of Society. I wish you could find out such another in Iveragh, and I should look upon our Kerry property with more satisfaction if I could have one honest family as a bulwark in each, who would assist in civilising the country and continue honestly attached to my family.

A few years later Sylvester was placed on the Commission of the Peace and made assistant agent. He died, however, suddenly in the following year. He had married a Miss Anketell, a lady who was doubtless connected with a family of that name long established at Newmarket in County Cork. She was reputed to have 'royal blood in her veins', and displayed an appropriately haughty spirit which was long remembered in the district. On her husband's death she built for herself a sort of dower-house close to Derreen, whose ruins can still be seen amongst the woods which now cover the ground near the old 'Danish' fort.

Her son Sylvester O'Sullivan (the younger), the last of the McFinin Duffs, was at the time of his father's

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death aged thirty-six. He held the rank of Captain in the Kerry Militia, a force just raised in order to cope with the unrest prevalent throughout Ireland in the closing years of the century. Tuosist was not immune, and narrowly escaped being proclaimed as a disaffected district in the spring of 1798. Spread had succeeded Pelham as agent, and in his correspondence with Lord Lansdowne there are frequent references to McFinin, whose attitude and actions were closely canvassed, great hopes being entertained that he would follow in his father's footsteps. He continued to live for a few years at home, but tiring of Derreen, soon took a house at Kenmare, where it seems he developed habits of intemperance; he 'muddled away his money paying small debts' and got into heavy arrears with his rent. He was according to Spread both 'timid and indolent, two very bad ingredients in a man who will have to deal with the Kenmare and Tuosist people'.

In 1809 he became engaged to be married, and hopes were raised that he would settle down and turn over a new leaf, but at this critical moment he went on a visit to his sister, a Mrs. Browne at Rathcahill in Limerick, whence he never returned. He was found dead on the road, under circumstances which were never explained.

McFinin Duff was buried in the tomb of his ancestors at Kilmackilloge, and the size and splendour of his obsequies are talked of to this day. Froude's description of the funeral,¹ though placed at an earlier date, is no doubt founded on stories still current at Derreen.

The lamentations did not cease with his death. Some weeks later, as already related, Lord and Lady Lansdowne came to County Kerry, and making their headquarters at Kenmare explored the neighbourhood.

¹ *Two Chiefs of Dunboy.*



VIEW FROM DERREEN

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Lady Lansdowne gives an account of their visit to Kilmackilloge:

It is a beautiful bay surrounded by high mountains whose broken summits make a magnificent boundary, many of them run into the bay forming bold headlands whose forms and tints vary every step you take. There is some natural wood on one side of the bay and in it, at the bottom of a conical hill, was McFinninduff's house. He was the representative of the O'Sullivan Mores (who were Princes of this part of Ireland), and had not long been dead. The moment our boat reached the land, all the inhabitants of the bay, who had assembled themselves on some high ground near the shore, began to howl and lament McFinnin and continued to bewail him the whole time we staid and till our boat was well out of sight. The howl is a most wild and melancholy sound and impresses one with the idea of real sorrow in the people, and as we heard it at Kilmacalogue echoed by the rocks and softened by the distance nothing could be more striking and affecting.¹

It would appear that the protracted mourning for the last of the McFinin Duffs prevented the party from accomplishing their object, for the following day the writer and her husband went on to Killarney and they never saw Derreen.

On Sylvester's death a fierce quarrel arose amongst his relatives—than whom, according to the agent, 'there never existed a more savage set'—as to who should succeed him. His sister, Mrs. Browne, became his administrator, and the claimants were Peter McSweeny, her son-in-law, and the O'Sullivan of Collorus who was a cousin. While the dispute between the principals went on gaily in the law-courts, the adherents of the rival parties carried on a free fight on the spot for the physical possession of Derreen. Both sides appear to have captured and held the house in

¹ Louisa Lady Lansdowne's diary, Oct. 4, 1809.

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turn, with results, as may be imagined, disastrous to the bone of contention.

No settlement was reached for some years, and in 1815 another cousin, encouraged by these dissensions amongst the next of kin, put in a claim on his own account. This was Morty Sullivan of Coulagh—perhaps a son of the Morty Oge whose tragic end at Eyries in the year 1754 is so vividly narrated in Froude's history.¹ He offered Lord Lansdowne £800 a year for Sylvester's former holding, and at the same time announced his intention of residing at Derreen and making the house, 'which is now a complete ruin, comfortable and fit for your Lordship's reception should you at any time wish to visit that part of your estate'.

Peter McSweeny, however, proved the stronger man, and eventually obtained Derreen with six 'gneeves' of land, which included the Demesne and 'the Inch called Cahaross'. Though his territory was not so large as that which his maternal ancestors had controlled, he was popularly accepted as their lineal successor in the Chieftainship of Derreen, and for the next forty years he lorded it over the neighbourhood, almost as effectually as the McFinin Duffs had done before him.

¹ *English in Ireland*, i. 515.



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XVI

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PADDY BRIEN was for some forty years the guide, philosopher and friend of all who came to Derreen. He stroked the whale-boat, gaffed the salmon, planted the trees and superintended the woodcock shooting; nothing indeed could be undertaken without his advice and approval. He had a great fund of stories, some of them personal recollections and some of local tradition relating to remoter days. On a fine summer's evening when he was nearing his end, he used often to sit talking with my father on the top of the big rock in front of the house. Lord Lansdowne's private secretary, Marcus Dawkins, was generally about, and it is from some notes made by him at the time that I have culled most of the fragments which follow.

Paddy never knew his age, but cannot have been less than eighty when he died in 1910. His father had been an under-tenant of Peter McSweeny, and had kept a ferry at the point where the Coppul bridge now spans the estuary of the Glenmore river. He was paid for his services in kind, his normal remuneration consisting of a yearly dole of potatoes from each house in the district. Some of Paddy's most vivid recollections related to the power of the middlemen in the days of his youth, and the oppressive lot of those who had to serve them. 'They crushed the under-tenants very hard. They grew like the ash, strong and sturdy, but they fell like the ferns.' If a man was unable to pay his rent, his holding was at once absorbed by his stronger neighbour, and the agent found it more

convenient to collect the rents from a few than from many. The people had few wants, they ground their own oats and meal, grew their own potatoes, and caught their own hake, which they salted and dried. Little money was made, but little was required. There was no going to the shops. 'A man would live on one pound a year.' In some parts there were five or six times as many houses as there are now, and of their inhabitants the vast proportion had no direct relation to the landlord, but were entirely at the mercy of the middlemen. Fixity of tenure for the under-tenants was unknown; they could be, and often were, turned out at a moment's notice. They were also subject to forced labour. Kit Lyne, who held a large farm at Dourus just opposite Derreen, used to blow a horn when he required the services of his under-tenants to till his land or to haul his net, and woe betide the man who did not instantly respond to the call.

'Cattle driving' is no modern invention; if the under-tenant failed to pay the rack-rent to which his master considered himself entitled, his cattle were seized. This was known as the 'cragh' (raid)¹; when asked to explain the term Paddy could only say that it was 'a deep Irish word' meaning that 'those who were deprived of their cattle had nothing to do'. 'The cragh' was also sometimes brought into play by the landlord against the middlemen, when other means of obtaining the chief rents had failed. When Kit Lyne got married, 'he got someway run down in means', so he adopted the simple expedient of taking without payment one or two cows from each of his under-tenants, and no one was in a position to say him nay. 'But he did not have much luck or his family afterwards', and his son eventually

¹ The Irish word is *creaċ* (creach), and it means both the raid and the booty carried off, which was normally cattle. See *infra*, p. 180.

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broke down and had to emigrate to America after selling his holding. He was the last of the Kilmackilloge middlemen.

McSweeney's quarrels and his lawsuits, added to the cost of supporting a numerous family, 'let Derreen into arrears'. It was seldom that any money was forthcoming to pay the rent, but Hickson, the agent, was an easy-going man who 'would take £1 when £5 was owing', and was on the best of terms with McSweeney; an amicable arrangement seems to have been in force between them by which McSweeney was not disturbed and the rent was paid in cattle annexed (perhaps with the necessary show of force) by the agent.

Peter, it appears, had a passion for lawsuits, which in the end proved his undoing. He was able to indulge this bent to the full with his sworn enemies, the O'Sullivans of Cowlawnig and Collorus, with whom he carried on the feud which had started with their rival claim to Derreen in 1809. The island of Sherky, which stands out in the Kenmare estuary nearly opposite to Kilmackilloge harbour, provided a never-ending source of dispute between them. It had apparently once formed part of the McFinin Duff's territory, and owing no doubt to the fact that it was almost wholly barren and only accessible in calm weather, it escaped being specifically classed as 'forfeited land' at the time of the Cromwellian settlement. Both McSweeney and the O'Sullivans therefore advanced a claim to its possession, in virtue of their descent from the former lords of Derreen. The quarrel went on for years, but in the end 'the law was not able to give Sherky to any of them. It was only made two halves of'. In other words, the big island was secured by McSweeney while his rivals obtained two smaller ones close by. Both sides had meanwhile wellnigh

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ruined themselves in litigation over the land which was not worth more than a few pounds a year.

At this time there lived upon the shores of Kilmackilloge a merchant named Creagh Fineen. He was reputed passing rich with a tan-yard and two hookers of his own. He traded with County Cork, and kept in his house a firkin of gold. His wife was a notorious whisky-drinker, and quarrelsome to boot. Further up the glen dwelt a poet of great repute, Teigue McGullagh Bwee. One fine summer's evening the poet was walking over the mountains from Bantry Bay to Kilmackilloge, when his steps were arrested by sounds of singing, so wonderful that it appeared to him divine, in the valley beneath him. He proceeded on his way and found the music came from an old couple who had come from afar, homeless, clothed in rags, but contented with their lot. But soon he heard sounds of another sort, angry shouts and screams from the merchant's abode; here he found 'perfect war' was going on between the wealthy couple whose riches were unable to buy them happiness. Teigue is said to have made this incident the subject of a ballad (with no doubt a suitable moral), and Paddy was always convinced that the poem, with others of Teigue's works, had been collected and enshrined in Trinity College by some 'Dublin professor' who had passed through the district. Whisky in those days, when illicit stills were rather the rule than the exception, was cheap, and Mrs. Fineen consumed so many pints that her husband was compelled first to put her on a daily allowance, and when this proved ineffectual, to lock her up. A windowless cell specially constructed for her convenience was only recently pulled down. Creagh continued unfortunate to the end. The existence of the 'firkin of gold' became too widely known, and the

Collorus O'Sullivans claimed its assistance in the matter of their lawsuits. Creagh 'stood them with the money' which went in payment of these 'from time to time', till all the gold had disappeared. Finally the merchant 'in some way got entangled, so that the law came against himself'—one of his hookers was 'taken by the law', the other he had to sink 'for fear the law would take her'; and so the story closes.

Peter McSweeny had a farm in Ardgroom harbour and the O'Sullivans had a playful way of shooting at him when he was making his way there by sea. On one occasion indeed they 'put a bullet into the helm of his boat'. But Peter was not to be terrorized by these demonstrations, he was adjured by a mutual friend, Morty Oge, to 'forgive these gentlemen'. 'By God I won't,' he answered. 'Well, let the best horse leap the ditch,' said Morty. This somewhat cryptic retort was taken to mean that Morty intended henceforth to side with Peter's enemies, as indeed he did.

Old McSweeny was a handy man with a gun; he fought several duels, and on one such meeting with a man named Coghlan he had a narrow escape. He got a bullet in the hip and the blood ran down his leg and filled his boots; though faint from loss of blood he was still anxious to go on. 'Load again,' he shouted to his adversary, but thinking him done for the latter generously retorted that 'he would not fire at a dead man'. Peter, however, recovered, though the bullet was in him to his dying day.

He was the hero of another exploit which, if not creditable to himself, redounded none the less to his local fame. Like many others in Ireland he objected to the payment of tithes, and being pressed by the official responsible for their collection in the harbour of Ardgroom, he shot him dead with the pistol he

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always carried. There was great excitement in the neighbourhood, and Peter was duly 'brought to law' in Bantry, but his godfather was all-powerful in the district, and somehow 'brought him free'. 'At that time Lord Bantry and the like of him could do anything with the law—they could influence juries, and when a trial was going on the big men were in the gallery, and no one would go against the big men for their influence in the country.'

The Irish have always been keen sportsmen, and all forms of sport were popular at this time in Kerry. The following advertisement is taken from the pages of *Chute's Chronicle* or *Kerry Advertiser* for the year 1824:

A sporting doe will be enlarged before the Laune Beagles on Patrick's Day at Kiltalle at half past ten o'clock. Should she not give a good run, a brace of foxes will be shook before them. After, the Club dine at Gorham; such gentlemen as will to join them are requested to leave their names at the Bar on or before Monday next. Dinner on the table at 6 o'clock.

John O'Connell—President
Arthur Blenerhasset—Vice

Killarney 11 March 1824.

There were, however, no red deer south of the Kenmare River, though smaller game, according to Paddy, was much more abundant than it is to-day. There was probably little attempt to 'preserve' game in the modern sense, but occasionally such notices as the following are to be found in the columns of the same newspaper:

It is requested that no person will shoot upon the estate of Lord Lansdowne, his Lordship's mountains being strictly poisoned.

Lansdowne Lodge Aug. 18, 1824.

James Hickson.



MOURLIN BRIDGE FROM DERREEN

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Peter McSweeny no doubt did not allow such restrictions to interfere with his activities, and large bags of grouse, snipe, and woodcock are said to have been obtained in the Derreen neighbourhood in his day. He would go out 'with other gentlemen from the Cool Mountains', and would leave them all the shooting until the day was well advanced, but such was his prowess with the gun that he would often in the last hour shoot more game than the rest of the party had secured throughout the day!

Eagles at that time were numerous. There were always eagles' nests in the cliffs of Glenrastel and of Cummeengeera, and the young birds were fed by their parents on lambs and hares collected in the glen. A young eagle was sometimes taken from the nest and tied up by the leg in some more accessible spot, and the people were thus able to secure for themselves some of the plunder which the old birds would continue to bring in for the sustenance of their offspring. They continued to breed in the district till about 1870, for my father remembered seeing four young eagles in one day while shooting grouse in Glenrastel, but eventually they were all destroyed by means of torches tied to the end of long poles which were thrust into their nests. Con Healy of Glenrastel had the unenviable notoriety of having destroyed the last brood in that valley.

Salmon, too, were then very plentiful. There was little rod-fishing, but McSweeny and the other tenants were always ready with their nets when the fish were running, and each watched the other 'to see who should be the first' to make a haul. The fish were caught in the bay as well as in the rivers, one of the pools in the 'Big River' (Owenshagh) was, until recent times, still known as the 'Hauling Pool'.

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Some of Paddy's tales went back to earlier days: Sylvester O'Sullivan, he told us, was, like Daniel O'Connell, called 'the father of his country', but no one was so unkind as to suggest the comment made at the expense of the Liberator's moral character—'And Bedad, he had a fine family of them'. He travelled all over the district, no wedding or christening was considered complete without his presence. He was reputed to have the power 'to free a man from the gallows'. He once held a small boy by the big toe head downwards from the bridge spanning the deep gorge of the Blackwater river—a display of strength in which the child must have been an unwilling participant. The mystery of his death was never solved. He had set out on his journey from Limerick alone and 'the gillie who was with him did not overtake him till he found him dead in the bohireen'. Some thought he had merely been thrown from his horse, but the prevalent opinion at the time was that his enemies had killed him with 'dumb powder'.

Other stories were concerned with exploits in the dim past and are remarkable as showing how faithfully in western Ireland some of these have been handed down by oral tradition. Paddy used to tell of a famous O'Sullivan who lived first at Eyeries and later at Dunboy. He was 'a young tall strapping fellow', but of an indolent nature—'He never did anything at all.' So when his neighbours invaded his territory and carried off his cattle, he lay abed until adjured by his nurse: 'Get up out of that!—you have no value here, the fellows have brought the *cragh* away!' He rose, 'stretched himself', took down an old sword which hung on the wall, shook it and started in pursuit of the raiders. They were by this time some miles on their homeward journey with the stolen herds. He

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overtook some of them near Mill Cove to the east of Castletown, and inquiring for 'the Captain' was told that he was ahead. He went on and encountered his foe single-handed, cut off his head with the sword, left it hanging on a tree and returned home with the cattle. After this incident he was always called 'Donel Koum'.

Donel Koum had friends in Spain as well as in Kerry, and was often an honoured guest in that country. On one occasion when staying with distinguished company at a 'big house' in Spain, he noticed that a large piece of lead had been set down in the room in which they were assembled. Unsuspecting, he inquired its purpose. 'Take your sword and put a cut into that' was the answer he received. Upon this 'a scared wild look came over him', but after a moment's hesitation he drew his sword, and, to the amazement of the company, 'made two halves of the lead' with a single blow. 'The other gentlemen' then asked him why he had looked so frightened, and he gravely replied that 'if he had not made two halves of it, he would have had the head of every man in the room off him'. The implication no doubt being that, had he failed, nothing less would have maintained his reputation as a swash-buckler. Anyhow Paddy went on to assure us that: 'From that off they were afraid of him in Spain—there was not a braver man in the world!' It was in this way that he came to have great possessions in Spain as well as in Ireland, for his fame having reached the ears of the reigning Queen, he was summoned into her presence. She straightway asked him how much land he owned in Ireland, and though he told her 'three times too much', she took his word for it, and at once insisted on his accepting a like amount in Spanish territory.

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There can be no doubt that Paddy's hero was the O'Sullivan Bere of Queen Elizabeth's day, known to History as 'Donel Cam' who achieved undying fame by killing one Dermot McTeige, a Carberry chieftain, in the neighbourhood of Berehaven. It is on record that he had extensive Spanish connexions. These indeed were his undoing, for they led him to support the Spaniards in the abortive invasion of 1602. And after their failure Donel Cam was forced to fly the country with those who had survived the expedition. We know that he was well received in Spain, that the king gave him a pension of 300 gold pieces per month, that he was made a Knight of St. Iago and (perhaps somewhat ironically) 'Count of Beare and Bantry'. He never returned to Ireland, but he evidently did not neglect to inform his friends at home of his successes in the country of his enforced adoption, and the story with its picturesque details has been handed down from father to son in Beare and Bantry. Paddy at all events knew nothing of history and could not read.

There is another bit of local lore which fits in curiously with the known facts. It is officially recorded that in the year 1549 Donel Cam's grandfather, the reigning O'Sullivan Bere, was blown up with his castle of Dunboy. His younger brother Aulif O'Sullivan at once possessed himself of the Beare and Bantry estates, to which under the law of Tanistry he had a prescriptive right. But Donell O'Sullivan, the son of the deceased, viewing the matter otherwise, arose and killed his uncle. Now Friar O'Sullivan¹ tells us that an O'Sullivan Bere had (at some date unspecified) slain 'another Milesian nobleman' in single combat at Knockanti in Tuosist, and he adds that 'from the said battle and hill the said O'Sullivan Bere in all histories

¹ Op. cit. vi. 102-3.

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and books of genealogy speaking of him was called Donall Cnocan Tih'. The conical hill overlooking Derreen is called Knockatee, and there is a well established local tradition that near by, where the road runs through the pass of Carriganine, a notable murder once took place. The jarveys in old days never failed to point out the exact spot. Indeed there could be no doubt about it, for there was still a red streak on a rock overhanging the road, and the word 'Carriganine' means 'the rock of the murder'! It must surely have been here that Donel Knockanti got rid of his inconvenient relative.

Tenure of life and property amongst the O'Sullivan Beres was in those days peculiarly precarious. Donel Cnockanti's father met a violent end at Dunboy; his uncle was killed a few months after he had seized the family estates; Donel himself was murdered (according to the *Four Masters*) by a 'bad man' called McGillycuddy, and his son, Donal Cam, after succeeding to the property, lost it by the usurpation of his uncle, regained it for a space through the intervention of the English Government, and lost it once more for good by participating in rebellion. He fell himself later on at Madrid by the hand of an Irish assassin.

I have printed below a pedigree of the O'Sullivan Beres. Their descent is taken from the State Papers at the British Museum, but I have amplified it by some notes and dates from other sources. The pedigree is an instructive example of the working of the Irish practice of Tanistry. Under this custom the succession passed, upon the death of the ruling chieftain, not to his son, but to the brother next in seniority, though it was deemed to revert eventually to the elder branch. Tanistry no doubt owed its origin to the desirability of securing a leader able to rule with a strong arm, and

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the consequent necessity of eliminating for the time being a child from the succession. But the inevitable result was to cause constant feuds between the uncles and the nephews who considered that they had been supplanted in their inheritance. Hence the murders of uncles by nephews, and of nephews by uncles, which were of frequent occurrence in Glanerought as well as elsewhere. The English Government, whose efforts throughout the centuries were directed towards the maintenance of law and order, strongly discountenanced this relic of the Brehon law as subversive of the peace, but Tanistry none the less persisted amongst the native Irish up to the seventeenth century. Its disallowance was one of the earliest of the many 'injustices' which Ireland has suffered at the hands of the brutal Saxon.

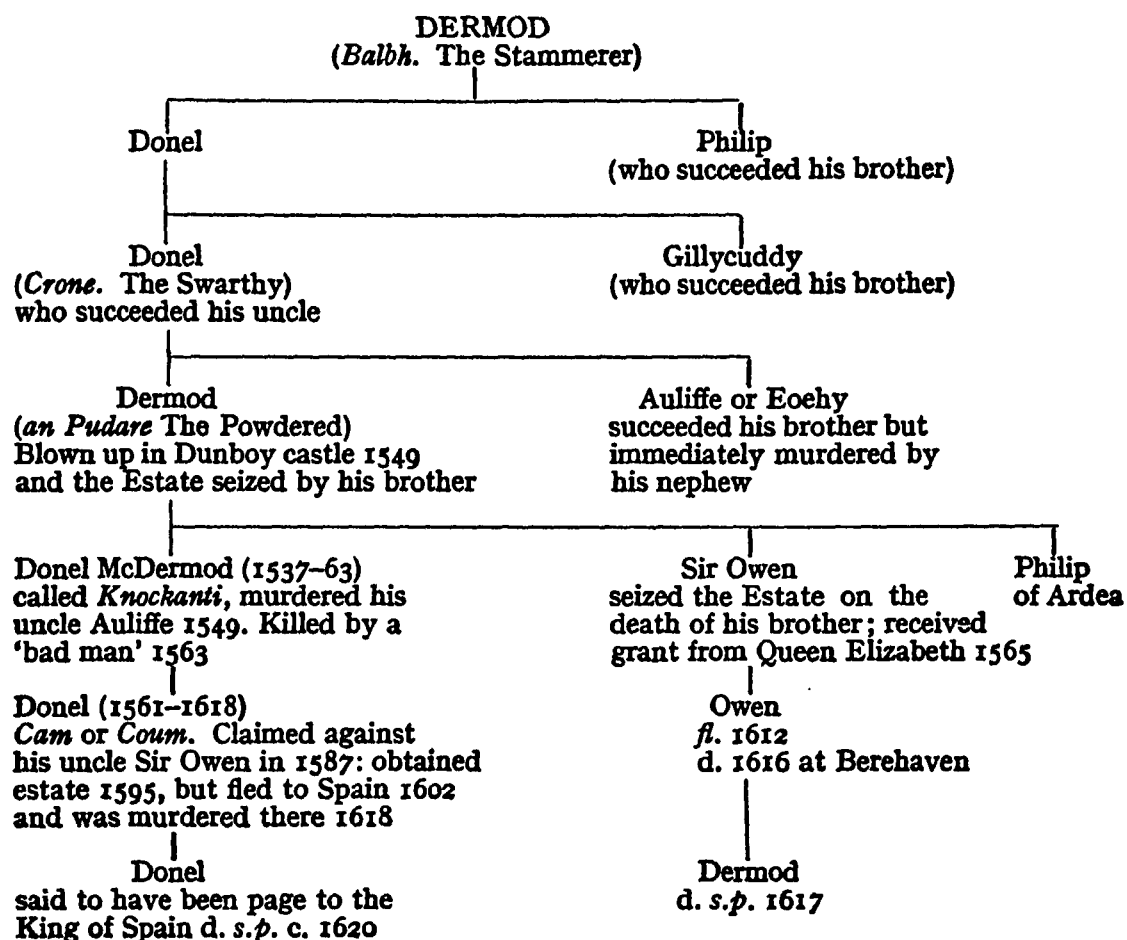
Paddy died in 1910. He had been for some time in failing health, and not long before had consented, though with considerable reluctance, to go to Cork for clinical examination. He afterwards insisted that this was his undoing. For the first time in his life he had suffered total immersion in a bath and he never felt the same again. He was buried with his parents in the old cemetery at Kilmackilloge. When we arrived at the graveside, we found the coffins of his father and his mother, who had predeceased him by some fifty years, lying on the ground. In accordance with custom they had been taken out in order that Paddy should have the privilege of occupying the 'ground floor'. In this instance it was no doubt a wise precaution, for, whether owing to the nature of the ground or to the laziness of the grave-digger, the depth of the grave was wholly insufficient for three coffins, and when all had been replaced only the thinnest covering of earth protected the remains of Paddy's

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mother, who was now uppermost, from the fury of the elements.

THE O'SULLIVAN BERE PEDIGREE

(*Irish State Papers*, vol. cxxx, 1587)



XVII

DERREEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE first Ordnance Survey, printed in 1842, shows Derreen as it was in Peter McSweeney's time.

The house then consisted only of the rectangular portion which forms the centre of the present building, all the rest having been added since. It was surrounded by a kitchen-garden, the peninsula on which it stands being for the most part thickly wooded, as it had been in Petty's time, right down to the sea. This wood, we are told, was specially renowned for its blackthorns. The only access to the house was by the old road over Knockatee, from which branched the avenue, now closed, running through the Fort Plantation. The Carriganine road was not yet made; there was a bohireen (parts of which may still be seen) from Lehid to Lauragh, but the 'Lansdowne road', as the coast-road from Ardea used to be called, was not finished till 1870. Indeed it was only in McSweeney's time that wheeled vehicles were first used in Kilmackilloge, all traffic having previously been conducted by pack-horse or by boat.

Old Peter as we have seen was of the improvident type, and when Steuart Trench took over the Kenmare agency he found his rent much in arrear, while Derreen was so heavily mortgaged that there was no prospect of recovery. It was therefore arranged that McSweeney should sell his interest to the landlord, all arrears of rent being forgiven. This was in 1856. The price paid was £1,200, and with this money Peter bought a house at Bantry where for some years longer he lived under the wing of the last Lord of that name, who happened



JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE WITH FRIENDS AT DERREEN

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to be his godfather. 'Young Peter', McSweeney's son, who had married against his father's consent, had been living for some time at Ardea, but when the old man went the son was installed as tenant of a farm close by, which had formed part of his father's holding—Derreen itself being kept thenceforward in estate control.

After McSweeney's departure the place was put in order under Trench's directions and made ready for possible tenants, of which there appear to have been no lack: Major Bellew, Lord Clarina, Major Hugh Barton, Mr. Woods, and Colonel (afterwards General Sir Percy) Fielding followed each other in close succession. The last-named is credited with a record woodcock day—30 couple in Derreen alone. Paddy, who had assisted on this occasion, used to tell us how 'they drove them out like hens out of a garden'. This was in 1863. In the year following, as already mentioned, the 4th Lord Lansdowne came over. It was his only visit during three years of ownership. He stayed a few days at Derreen, and was so much taken with the place, that he decided to add a new wing with a view to making it his residence. The wing was built, but he died in 1866, and never saw it.

In 1867 James Anthony Froude, the historian, took Derreen. He was engaged at the time upon his book, *The English in Ireland*. Not far from the house, at a spot commanding an extensive view over the harbour of Kilmackilloge, there is one of those curious erect stones which are said to mark the grave of some pre-historic chieftain, or to have been the meeting-place of the local council of wise men. They are known in Ireland as 'gallauns' and are almost always to be found in prominent positions, while some of them show traces of Runic inscriptions. Froude, it is said, did most

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of his writing at this spot, and it has been known as 'Froude's Seat' ever since. His *Fortnight in Kerry* made its first appearance in 1870 as an anonymous contribution to *Fraser's Magazine*, of which he was then the editor. It was afterwards republished in his *Short Studies on Great Subjects*. Some of the local gentry fell foul of the writer by whom they considered themselves to have been maligned in this essay, but if it was somewhat critical of persons it did full justice to the place, the romance and beauty of which had clearly made the strongest appeal to the writer. I can myself testify that, when I first met Froude more than twenty years afterwards, when he was Regius Professor of History at Oxford, the lapse of time had in no wise diminished his affection for Derreen.

In the autumn of 1868 the late Lord Lansdowne, accompanied by an uncle, the Hon. James Howard, paid a visit of ceremony to the various Irish estates to which he had recently succeeded. After inspecting his property in other parts of Ireland, he came in the month of October to Kerry, travelling via Cahirciveen and Killarney to Kenmare and finally to Derreen. There were processions, addresses, triumphal arches, fireworks, and banquets. The utmost harmony prevailed except for a dispute between the Catholic tenants headed by Father John O'Sullivan, and the Protestants under Dr. Mayberry, as to which should have priority in receiving and entertaining their landlord.

After a week thus spent at Kenmare the party went on for a night to Derreen where Froude was enjoying the second summer of his tenancy. There was another address of welcome presented by 'young' Peter McSweeny on behalf of the assembled tenantry, who according to the account which he afterwards trans-



TENANTS ASSEMBLED AT DERREEN TO WELCOME LORD LANSDOWNE ON HIS RETURN FROM
CANADA, 1888

DERREEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

mitted to the agent, greeted Lord Lansdowne 'with such a shout of gladness that it reached through the wild glen of Glenmore and would even be heard on the summit of towering Hungry Hill'.

It was not long after this that Lord Lansdowne became engaged to Lady Maud Hamilton, the youngest daughter of the Duke of Abercorn. He soon determined to make Derreen his summer residence and came over in 1870 to superintend the necessary alterations. In the following year he spent several months with his wife in their new home. Thenceforward a visit to Derreen became an annual affair, looked forward to with eager anticipation by all concerned. But from 1883 to 1894 he was abroad, first in Canada and afterwards in India, as Viceroy, and he was only able to snatch a few weeks in Kerry in 1888 during his few months at home between the two appointments. During his absence in India the place was let to the late Duke of Leeds, for whom as a gardener, a keen fisherman, and a good shot, it held a strong appeal. Meanwhile the new line from Headford to Kenmare had been completed and the drive of forty miles over the mountains from Killarney was shortened to one of seventeen miles on the flat, while the train service had been improved: after 1895 more frequent visits thus became possible.

Derreen had by this time greatly changed from what it was when Froude spent his 'Fortnight in Kerry'. The clearing and planting, which had been systematically carried on for twenty-five years, had borne fruit. The scrub of hollies and brambles with which the ground had been for the most part covered had given place to green lawns and winding paths through groves of bamboos, tree-ferns, and shrubs of all kinds. The peat-bank, from which McSweeny used

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to draw his household turf, had become a bog garden, and the existence of the numerous small inclosures which constituted the former farm was only betrayed here and there by traces of a bank or ditch amidst the sub-tropical vegetation. Indeed the principal gardening difficulty in Kerry is the rapidity and luxuriance of growth. Shrubs, which in England would take years to make a show, here under the influence of the Gulf Stream soon develop into trees, and many have to be sacrificed if the rest are to have room. When my father first came over, he put in about a hundred plants of hybrid 'arboreum' rhododendrons. They grew to such a size that it became apparent they would soon exclude all light and air from the narrow walks. One by one they have almost all had to go; of those remaining there are to-day one or two specimens quite fifty feet in height.

But perhaps the most remarkable change in the aspect of the place is due to the modern plantations. Fifty years ago, with the exception of the old oak-wood near the house, there was scarcely a tree to be seen in the place; to-day Kilmackilloge harbour presents the appearance of a well-wooded estuary. The first plantation was commenced under the 4th Lord Lansdowne in 1863, when the Reenkill promontory immediately opposite Derreen was taken in hand. All the rest, however, are the work of his successor; by 1875 most of the bare points which jut out into the bay had been similarly dealt with. About 400 acres had been planted in all by 1884 and some afforestation continued for a time thereafter, though the various land acts of modern days soon rendered further efforts in silviculture impossible. Hardwoods develop but slowly on such a wind-swept coast, but the conditions in the more sheltered spots are favourable to the growth of the

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conifer tribe, and if the ground is well drained even the 70 or 80 inches of rain which annually fall in South Kerry do not come amiss to the young plants. Astonishing rapidity of growth has been frequently recorded.

The year 1903 was made memorable at Derreen by a visit from King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra. Their Majesties made in that summer a tour of Ireland partly in the Royal Yacht and partly overland. The original intention had been that they should come to Derreen by water from County Clare, but weather conditions made this inadvisable, and the journey was eventually made by motor-car. They arrived on the afternoon of July 31. A Union Jack had been floated on the top of Knockatee and a triumphal arch was erected outside the Derryconnery Gate, where an address of welcome was presented by the assembled tenantry. On the lawn in front of the house the children of Lauragh school had been marshalled, and they presented a bouquet to the Queen. Then there was a walk round the grounds where two commemorative bamboos were duly planted in the glade now called 'the King's Oozy'. After tea in the new dining-room, which had been added to the house that year, the party went down to the pier, where Queen Alexandra was initiated into the mysteries of prawn-fishing. The ground had been lavishly baited in advance and the fishing was such a success that, in spite of the obvious impatience of His Majesty, she could scarcely be persuaded to relinquish her net when the hour came for departure.

Sport has always figured prominently amongst the attractions of Derreen, and if modest in point of results, it gains a peculiar attraction from its variety and the beauty of the surroundings in which it is pursued.

DERREEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The rivers and lakes of the district all hold salmon and sea-trout, besides providing the best of natural spawning grounds. The streams are small and in the absence of rain quickly run out. Indeed in dry weather the salmon in most of the pools can often be seen and even counted; they thus become peculiarly vulnerable to 'snatching' with gaff or stroke-haul, in the use of which the native Irish have always been unduly proficient. The greatest foe to the preservation of salmon is, however, to be found in the spurge (*euphorbia tenax*), a plant rare elsewhere, but indigenous in Kerry. Its stalks contain a milky juice, which when liberated in close waters is deadly to all fish therein, though it does not render their flesh unfit for food. Even a small quantity of spurge, when cut up and thrown into the stream will kill everything within a considerable radius. The poison is usually put in by the poachers under cover of darkness, when there is not much fear of detection, and the fish, dead and dying, will be collected at the first streak of dawn by a party large enough in numbers to defy any attempt at interruption on the part of the local bailiff. The smolts or young salmon suffer together with their full-grown brethren, and the river thus loses its future as well as its present population. If the process is repeated it will take years to recover, while the damage to all the neighbouring net-fisheries from the depletion of the breeding-stock is wellnigh incalculable. The deadly properties of this weed appear to have been a comparatively recent discovery. I have at all events found no mention of its use amongst public or private records of earlier days. The Free State Government has done much to strengthen the law against this and other forms of illicit fishing, and it is encouraging to note that in recent years there has been a marked diminution of

DERREEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

such offences, with a corresponding improvement in the takes of salmon both by rod and net.

The seals, of which numbers infest the western coasts of Ireland, are another deadly foe to fish of every kind. In winter they are seldom noticeable, for their habitat and breeding-ground is amongst the caves of the Atlantic seaboard, but in the summer months they invade the narrower waters, where they may be seen resting at low water on the rocks which they only leave when the flood-tide brings with it their anticipated prey. The sea-fish of course can keep out of their way, but the salmon must run the gauntlet if they are to attain the river of their choice, and since every seal requires some pounds of food for his daily sustenance the havoc they work in these narrow estuaries may be imagined. The late Lord Lansdowne always had a weakness for these picturesque marauders, and for years would not allow them to be interfered with in spite of entreaties to the contrary. Kilmackilloge thus became their 'sanctuary', and they grew so tame that they could be approached with impunity. I have somewhere an excellent photograph of them, taken, some fifty years ago, by myself with an old-fashioned time-exposure camera (lens, cap, covering cloth and all) at only a few yards distance, and I remember they were not in the least alarmed by my efforts. But an object-lesson was one day received. My father was busy fishing his favourite run. He had risen a salmon, and was in the act of presenting the fly to him a second time, in the exciting anticipation which every fisherman feels at such a crucial moment. There was a sudden swirl and a splash in the pool below him, but the salmon instead of being at the end of his line, emerged from the water in the mouth of a large seal. Thereafter the whole tribe were condemned and

DERREEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

pursued whenever opportunity offered, and a reward is now given for every head brought in.

Turning to feathered fowl, there were once a few partridges, but they have long since totally disappeared. I believe I shot the last survivor, the toughest old bird I have ever tried to eat, some forty years ago. The spraying of potatoes had then become the fashion, and it seems that the chemicals used for this purpose proved fatal to all the young birds.

Grouse used to be somewhat more numerous, though there were never more than two or three coveys (in Ireland they are always called 'packs') on any one beat. Their habits were curious. A pack would always keep to the ground on which it had been reared, and though, being constantly disturbed by sheep and cattle, they might have been expected to be wild, the birds would lie 'like stones' until they were forced to fly. The pursuit was conducted on special and often exhausting lines. There would be, before the 12th of August, a preliminary survey of the ground by the man who kept the dogs, the location of each covey being carefully noted and reported. The attack was organized on the information thus received, and it was a point of honour to search for each pack until it was found. The birds for some reason eschew the heather-covered slopes of the lower ground and were mostly to be found on the mountain tops. The shoot therefore began with a 2,000-foot climb, and this was often followed by several hours of patient dog work before anything was found. It was often a question whether the dogs or the guns would last the day. A full day's walking seldom yielded more than a few brace, though there was once a red-letter day when twenty-four birds were killed. The guns on this famous occasion were my brother and Freddy Roberts,



WOODCOCK SHOOTING AT DERREEN, 1913

Mr H. P. Maxwell
Lord Lansdowne

Sir Edward Hope
Lord Kerry

DERREEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

the gallant son of the Field-Marshal, who a few years later lost his life in saving the guns at Colenso, a supremely gallant act for which he was posthumously awarded the V.C. The Kerry mountains appear to be the best possible grouse-ground, and such birds as there were were strong and heavy. I have often wondered why they were never more numerous. Perhaps the climate is too warm and damp, and this also may account for their strange lethargy. There are scarcely any left now, for the shooting-rights which we formerly enjoyed are a thing of the past, and birds of such sedentary habit fall easy victims to local sportsmen.

Woodcock in the winter months still provide a form of sport which, for those who do not mind scrambling over rough country with only an occasional shot, has a peculiar fascination. This lies rather in the chase of the bird, with a knowledge of his habits and probable line of flight, than in the actual shot. As every one knows, woodcock are generally up all night in search of food. During the day therefore they tuck themselves away in some warm and secluded corner and go into a profound sleep. Thus, unless they are roused betimes, the birds will allow the beaters to walk over them, when, instead of flying forward to the waiting guns, they will go back unshot at and be seen no more. It is for this reason that it is necessary for the men, when beating for cock, to shout, for the bird is peculiarly susceptible to the sound of the human voice. Their cries, rising to frantic yells when a cock is on the wing, always enliven the scene. The joy of all concerned when a bird has been successfully circumvented, and the business of retrieving his corpse from the impenetrable brakes which are characteristic of the ground, afford an added interest to the proceedings. Derreen can almost always be relied on for its

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complement of woodcock, and though their numbers are never sensational, a day's shooting with four guns can generally be counted on to produce from 10 to 15 couple. The annual migration of the birds across the British Isles is no doubt sometimes expedited by hard weather in the east, but it seems that once arrived in Kerry they do not retrace their flight and remain there until after the breeding-season. There is, moreover, no doubt that many more nest at Derreen now than formerly.

About forty years ago the late Lord Lansdowne sent over to Derreen from a property in Scotland, which he owned at the time, seven Japanese deer. These deer are handsome little animals, carrying when full grown a head of eight points, and their venison is the best in the world. But their introduction, like that of the rabbits in Australia, proved somewhat disastrous. They lie up during the day, and feed almost entirely by night; they are thus seldom seen, and still more seldom shot. But they multiply amazingly, and though they were originally enlarged on a peninsula across the water, where it seemed they could do no harm in Derreen, they very soon acquired the habit of swimming across the bay and browsing on the most cherished plants and shrubs in the demesne. They made constant inroads also on the crops of the neighbouring tenants. It was soon found, moreover, that they disturbed the woodcock, who esteem privacy above all things, and caused them to forsake some of their favourite haunts, while they destroyed many of the young trees by barking them with their horns. Efforts have ever since been made to get rid of them, but without success, for they are difficult to drive and can only be killed at very close range by a shot-gun. The local sportsmen are now encouraged to shoot them at sight and one or

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two are killed each year when beating the coverts for woodcock. It is to be feared, however, that they will never be exterminated. One of the two original bucks grew to a remarkable size and became so well known in the district that he earned the title of 'the General'. He was constantly pursued, and several times missed, before he eventually met his fate, when his weight was found to be no less than 12 stone 'clean'. Numbers of these deer are killed annually on the Killarney deer-forest, but they have been seldom known to exceed 10 stone in weight. 'The General' must, I think, have beaten all records. His head still adorns the walls of Derreen. It was one of the few trophies saved from the great loot in 1922.

XVIII

'THE TROUBLES'

IT is more than fifteen years since I collected the notes which form the material of the foregoing pages. I had had some idea of printing them, but the signs of coming trouble were at that time so manifest that thoughts of the past gave place to anxiety for the future, and the work was laid aside. Most of us would like to forget the events of the years which followed. In Ireland they are now generally referred to as 'The Troubles'—a pardonable euphemism, for one does not desire to emphasize unduly the darker side of the picture—but to make my story complete, I must now say something of these 'Troubles', as they affected that part of County Kerry with which we have been concerned.

There had of course been much unrest before and during the Great War, but County Kerry seemed to be less affected than elsewhere. Even the landing of Roger Casement at Ballybunnion and the abortive 'Easter Rebellion' provoked little local repercussion. It was not till the spring of 1920, after almost all the police barracks in the country had been burnt, that an intensive campaign against the Royal Irish Constabulary spread to every corner of the country. It was a strange vendetta, since the force was drawn entirely from the very class by which it was attacked. The R.I.C. had hitherto lived in small detached posts all over the country and in complete amity with its inhabitants. It had been the ambition of almost every young Irishman, irrespective of religion or politics, to join the Royal Irish Constabulary. Residents like

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myself were continually being asked to make interest for local candidates; though the competition was so great that comparatively few were successful. There can have been scarcely any who participated in the business who had not kith and kin in its ranks. The Police were none the less pursued so relentlessly that they had to live thenceforward virtually behind closed doors, and were unable to execute any of their duties without the assistance of the military.

British troops came to Kenmare that summer, but there was of course thenceforward no pretence of maintaining 'law and order' in the country districts, nor did subsequent incursions by the military or reprisals by the 'Black and Tans' serve to mend matters. The Government forces none the less succeeded by degrees in tightening their grip in the more accessible parts of the country, and this had the effect of causing some of the more noted 'gunmen' to seek safety in remoter places. It was said that in 1921-2 that part of Kerry with which we are concerned became one of their most favoured retreats. It could be approached only from one direction, and not easily from that, since many of the bridges had been destroyed and the moving of small forces along a single coast-road was both difficult and dangerous. It afforded hiding-places innumerable, in the homes of sympathizers, on the mountains and in the woods, while nothing was easier for a 'wanted' man than to slip over the watershed between the Kenmare River and Bantry Bay, from whichever side the danger might be apprehended. We afterwards heard that in the summer of 1922 many of these men took up their abode in the Derreen plantations, making use of the big open drains which ran through them (and were at that time dry) as their bivouac. Security from discovery was complete, and the accom-

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modation no doubt compared not unfavourably with that afforded by many of the dug-outs in the Great War.

Acting presumably on information received, the military authorities organized an elaborate tactical operation in this district. This consisted in a converging descent on Kilmackilloge by night from three different directions, followed by a house-to-house search. One party was to come from Kenmare, another from Berehaven and a third across the Kenmare River from the Sneem side. But the plan, if ingenious in conception, completely failed in execution. The projected landing was somehow broadcast days (if not weeks) before, and since the shingle beach at Ardea was the only possible landing-place for a party coming by water, a bugler had been stationed near the old Castle to give the alarm, which he did as soon as the first boat touched the shore. The landing was, however, not disputed, and the troops then broke up into small parties for the purpose of domiciliary visits. These were so badly co-ordinated that no less than three of them visited the house of the parish priest close by, who was not unnaturally angry when he was pulled out of bed for the third time in the same night. Another party went off to Derreen, where they found Lord Lansdowne’s English gardener, and having duly arrested him, kept him, in spite of his explanations and protestations, under guard for some hours before they became convinced of their mistake. Finally the troops spread out and marched across country. An innocent lad, who was minding cattle on the mountain in Glenmore and took to his heels on their approach, was mortally wounded, but any ‘gunmen’ who may have been in the vicinity had of course made themselves scarce some hours before. The incident serves to show by what untoward results this kind of ‘warfare’

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may be attended, when troops have to be employed who do not know their way about.

Meanwhile, though many houses up and down the country had already gone up in flames, there had been few burnings in the immediate vicinity. It was not till after Peace had been officially declared, and the Treaty concluded, that the real trouble commenced in the Derreen district.

Derryquin Castle, just across the bay, was the first to go. Colonel Warden, who had bought the place some forty years before and had seldom left it in the interval, was in residence with his wife. They had been subjected during the earlier part of 1922 to constant raids by parties of armed men. But the climax came towards the end of August, when in the middle of the night they were turned out of bed and forced to look on for some hours while the house was ransacked under their very eyes. Mrs. Warden had been for some time in delicate health and was so much shaken by this occurrence that her husband determined to take her away. They sheltered for a week or two at the Lodge, and ultimately left in a small steamer which had called in with some much-needed provisions for the town of Kenmare and took them away to Cork. Derryquin was burnt on August 28 and with it disappeared all the Colonel's worldly goods. He subsequently established himself in Devonshire, but his wife never recovered from the shock of those experiences. She died in the year following.

Rosdohan with its famous garden, the creation of Dr. Heard the well-known horticulturist, stood on the sea-shore only a mile from Derryquin. It suffered the same fate, and no one being in residence at the time, the incendiaries were able to carry out their work without opposition.

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Nearer to Kenmare, Dromore Castle was for months almost in a state of siege. The experiences of its inmates were such as to cow the stoutest hearts. Indeed, on one occasion Colonel Hood narrowly escaped with his life, a charge of buck-shot being fired through a closed door, from the inside of which he was at the moment trying to parley with the gunmen. He succeeded, however, in keeping the enemy at bay, and at long last, when the reign of terror came to an end, had the satisfaction of seeing his home emerge intact.

The turn of Derreen was not long in coming. The course of events there was graphically described in a letter which my father sent to *The Times* a few weeks later.

Bowood,
September 22, 1922.

Sir,

Writing on the 20th inst. your correspondent informed us that ‘such reports as the postal strike permits to reach Dublin show that guerrilla warfare still rages in many districts’. My Irish home is, unfortunately, situated in one of the districts within which a kind of warfare, so called, has been raging for some time past, but, although there have in some places been collisions in the open between the forces of the Irish Free State and those of the Republic, it would be a misuse of the word to describe what has happened in many parts of the South-West of Ireland as in any sense ‘warfare’.

What is happening, and has happened, is not a conflict in the open between enemies, but the relentless and persistent persecution of a helpless minority, which is obnoxious because it is regarded as of alien origin, because it stands for law and order, because its possessions are coveted, and because it is the settled policy of the conspirators to oust it from the country. For some weeks, for the reason given by your correspondent, no news has leaked through from

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the south-western corner of Ireland, but on the 20th a series of reports reached me, and I have seen a person upon whose accuracy I can absolutely depend, and who has been an eyewitness of the events which I shall describe. I will sum up the story as briefly as I can.

Let me premise by saying that Derreen is a small house, added to at various times by my predecessor and myself, and standing in grounds of unrivalled natural beauty. It became mine fifty-six years ago, and during that time the garden has become one of the most attractive in the United Kingdom and contains a collection of rare shrubs and plants to which every year has brought some addition. The mountain slopes adjoining it have been clothed with thriving plantations, the success of which has shown how land of no agricultural value can be turned to good account under the favourable climatic conditions which prevail in the West of Ireland. The beauties of Derreen were immortalised by Froude, who rented it at one time and described it with delightful appreciation in *A Fortnight in Kerry*, published amongst his miscellaneous writings.

The house was (I am obliged to use the past tense) well furnished and completely equipped. It contained a number of books and pictures, a quantity of excellent furniture and linen, and innumerable odds and ends possessing a value which cannot be expressed in terms of money. There were boat-houses on the sea and on the inland lakes and quite a small fleet of excellent boats. During the last few months Derreen has been subject to intermittent molestation and much wanton injury. The plantations had been plundered wholesale, the timber being cut and carted away in broad daylight for sale or use, the fences thrown down and cattle turned in to graze. A recent visitor reported that the woods reminded him unpleasantly of a shell-swept area in Belgium. The boat-houses had been broken into and many of the boats removed. On various occasions the house had been ‘raided’ and clothes, bedding, harness etc., carried away.

The climax was reached on the 2nd inst., when at one a.m., the house was broken into by a gang of masked men, who

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first locked the gardener and his family into their cottage, which immediately adjoins the main building. The house was then utterly wrecked, doors and windows torn down, floors torn up, and the staircase destroyed. Only the mere shell of the house now remains. The whole of the furniture has been destroyed or stolen. On the Sunday the cellar was broken into and a horrible orgy followed; the crowd was described as ‘half drunk, fighting with revolver shots going off’. A so-called Republican commander from Castletown came over to see what was happening, and could do nothing; he promised to bring relief, but did not do so.

Writing on Sept. 5, a correspondent gives the following account of what he saw :

‘I went down early on a car to see what could be done. On arrival at Derreen the scene that met our eyes beggars description. Crowds of every description round the house; men, women, and children pulling, hauling, fighting for what they could take. The house is absolutely destroyed; doors all smashed; every particle of furniture taken. X. tried to save a few things, but as fast as he and his men got them out they were seized and carried off.’

The gardener’s house was burnt to the ground, the laundry wrecked, a small labourer’s house adjoining it gutted, the greenhouse smashed. Inside Derreen House everything was taken or destroyed. Nothing was spared. Some despatch-boxes, in which smaller articles had been carefully put away, were smashed open, and the contents scattered about. China, linen, bedding, carpets, have disappeared. Even an invalid pony chaise was stolen. The gardener and his wife have lost everything they possessed, including a number of much cherished wedding presents. All this has been done in cold blood, and without any pretence that it forms part of a military operation. I do not even know whether the criminals called themselves Free Staters or Republicans. There was no enemy for them to dislodge, unless it were possible so to describe an aged housekeeper, who remained gallantly at her post to the last,



DERREEN AFTER THE BURNING, 1922

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and has since been removed in a state of complete collapse, all her belongings, and some money which was in her box, about £30, having been stolen.

It should be understood that these occurrences have nothing to do with a dispute between landlord and tenant. The rents on this estate, all of them judicial, as well as interest in the case of those tenants who bought their holdings, have been withheld since the end of 1920, and, owing to the collapse of judicial and administrative machinery, no steps are at this moment being taken to enforce payment. One more observation. This has not been by any means a solitary incident. The steamer which bore away some of the refugees from Derreen bore also the owner of Derryquin Castle, a beautiful residence on the opposite side of the bay, which, after innumerable raidings, has been burnt to the ground. There is probably not a gentleman's house in the whole district which has not been destroyed or threatened with destruction.

I gladly add a final remark. It is this: I have every reason to believe that, in the opinion of the majority of the people of the district, this outrage is regarded as utterly detestable and humiliating, but they are powerless, and there is no one to whom they can turn.

I remain,

Sir, your obedient servant,

LANSDOWNE.

It was afterwards generally agreed that the broaching of the wine-cellar by the raiders proved the crucial factor in the situation. It contained some excellent whisky of the more potent pre-war variety and the news of this find travelled quickly. The next day was a Sunday. Visitors began to come at an early hour, though at midday all duly went off to attend Mass in the chapel close by, and a respite was thus afforded, during which the gardener managed to remove and conceal in the neighbouring bushes a few small articles

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which were afterwards salved. But that afternoon pandemonium supervened and continued for thirty-six hours. It was curious that when Mr. Maxwell, Lord Lansdowne's agent, came over, so intent were the crowd on their own business that his presence was hardly noticed, and he was allowed to load up his car with all that it could carry, taking his chance with the rest. The gardener also collected some of his more precious possessions, but the cart, in which he had hoped to save them, never succeeded in 'making port', for it was held up and robbed on the road to Kenmare.

Derreen House, however, still stood, though now entirely innocent of contents. Its ultimate fate was apparently due to subsequent developments rather than to a predetermined plan. The parish priest and his curate, though politically in sympathy with the Republican movement, made no secret of their disapproval of the looting. They let it be known that those who had stolen goods from Derreen in their possession would in future receive no spiritual consolation or assistance from the Church. Since almost every house in the parish had its share, this pronouncement produced considerable searchings of heart. Stray bits of furniture and crockery thenceforward began to reappear, being deposited by night in the porch of the now empty house. Such weakening of purpose was no doubt deplored by the more forward spirits, and the burning of the house seems to have presented itself as the easiest means of stopping it. The final act was duly completed on September 22. There was not very much left to burn, but with the help of a few cans of petrol the remaining woodwork and roof were soon alight, though the walls survived apparently little the worse.

The restoration of the loot nevertheless continued

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for some time afterwards, and since overhead cover was no longer available, cupboards, tables, chairs, &c., were promiscuously dumped by night in the drive leading to the house, whence they were afterwards removed to an empty cottage near by. In the end somewhere near half the original contents, showing considerable signs of wear and tear, were thus recovered.

Studied malevolence had none the less been manifested by attempts to destroy many favourite objects about the place. Some time before the loot, men had come round the house with long bamboos for the express purpose of thrashing off all the roses round the house! Clumps of bamboos, which in this climate grow with luxuriance, were fired. Incidentally this almost created a panic in the neighbourhood, for the loud reports which they made in burning were at first mistaken for the rattling of hostile machine-guns! Bamboos, however, are not easily killed in winter, when the sap is down, and most of them shot forth much as usual the following spring. An unsuccessful attempt was also made to burn a curiosity which had long lain opposite the hall door. This was an unusually large piece of prehistoric ‘bog’ oak, but this defied the flames. Some stone querns of almost equal antiquity, which used to rest against it, were, however, all too effectively broken up with sledges.

Rhododendrons have always been one of the principal features at Derreen. Their flowers might perhaps have attracted unfortunate ‘reprisals’, and they no doubt owed their escape to the fact that they were systematically disbudded by the only remaining gardener. Their preservation had an indirect and curious result. Most of the species are poisonous and some of the rarer kinds (notably *R. campilocarpum*) quite deadly to cattle. In ignorance of this fact, cattle,

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were turned into the deserted demesne to graze, with the result that several began to sicken and a few died. The real cause was never suspected, but the herds were forthwith removed to their legitimate pastures, for it was thought there must be something ‘unlucky’ about the place. Indeed it was afterwards said that the whole affair had proved ‘unlucky’, and that several of those who took a leading part in it had subsequently met with unexpected accidents and misfortunes.

The destruction of Derreen was a bitter blow to the late Lord Lansdowne, then in his 78th year. It had been the ‘child of his creation’. He had found it a wilderness and had made it one of the most beautiful sub-tropical gardens in Ireland. Every clearing had been made and almost every bush planted under his personal supervision. The house, originally little more than a ‘shack’, had been converted by him into a pleasant if unassuming residence. Except when kept by duty overseas he had visited the place with regularity three months each year. He looked forward to these visits as a boy looks forward to his holidays, and all cares of state and business seemed at once to leave him when he got there. He liked the people, most of whom were personally known to him, and he had been by no means niggardly in helping them in time of sickness or trouble. He had of course never agreed with the political aspirations of the majority, but relations with his tenantry had none the less always been friendly. If he was not a ‘model’ landlord, he had been, I think, by general admission, a lenient one and not unmindful of his tenants’ welfare. He had assisted all local enterprises, relief works had been instituted when times were bad, flowers and shrubs were freely distributed to those who might wish to improve their gardens, prizes were given for the best

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kept and cleanest houses, while he had just completed at considerable expense, and without any obligation to do so, a mile or two of roadway to enable farmers in the vicinity to bring down turf from the mountains by cart instead of on donkey-back. In earlier days many of the tenants had been rehoused entirely at his expense; it is to be remembered that in Ireland this is not (as it is in England) the landlord's responsibility, for the dwelling-house is the property of the occupier and commands a considerable price as part of his goodwill or tenant right.

The rents moreover on the Lansdowne estate had always been moderate as compared with those ruling in the neighbourhood. Previous to the time when they became ‘Statutory’ rents, remissions were frequent, and the ‘arrears’ constantly carried forward proved that they had not been harshly exacted. Evictions had been unknown. The institution of Land Courts gave the right to every tenant to have his rent fixed by law at stated intervals, and they were thus ultimately reduced throughout to little more than half their original figures; so there can have been little hardship in this direction. My father had therefore no reason to think that he was the object of any special antipathy amongst his neighbours at Derreen. Perhaps he was not—but it was cold comfort to be told, as we frequently were after the place had been wrecked, that ‘nothing personal had been intended’.

But in the midst of these rather tragic events there were not wanting occasional streaks of comedy. Miss B. was the sister of a distinguished Irish Peer and ex-Secretary of State. In former days she had presided with decorum and dignity at the board of a bachelor uncle, then the head of an historic Oxford college. After his death she transferred herself from Oxford to

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County Kerry, and—reacting perhaps from the narrowness of academic life—she soon identified herself with the more extreme section of Irish politics. Though notoriously active in that direction, she was not interfered with by the British authorities, but after the Treaty the Free State troops lost no time in arresting her, and for want of a more suitable place of detention they locked her up in an upper chamber in the Kenmare Hotel. It was too far to jump out, but she achieved publicity if not revenge. In a very short time she had thrown out of her window and broken into smithereens every scrap of furniture in the room, finishing up with a feather bed which she had previously ripped open. There was a wind blowing at the time, and for some days afterwards Kenmare had all the appearance of being under a considerable fall of snow! She was soon released.

Strangely enough my own residence at Sheen Falls had escaped. This seemed the more curious since I was a member of the new Irish Senate, against which a dead-set was being made at this time. It is pleasant indeed to be able to record that personally I had little to complain of.

In the early days of the troubles some of my cattle had been commandeered, a note being left to explain that they had been taken in the cause of Irish freedom in which it was expected that I should ‘take my share’. Later on some blankets were requisitioned for the same purpose and a wood close by was cut down and removed; my goods and chattels, however, remained almost inviolate. But there was in the stables an invaluable jennet of our own breeding, who for many years past had done all the fetching and carrying about the place, and one morning she was found to be missing, with the cart in which she was habitually

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driven. Twenty-four hours later she reappeared in the yard ‘on her own’ and was duly reinstated in her stable. Twice again she was removed and twice again she returned. Thereafter she was left alone—the republicans must have thought the occasional services of an animal with such a pronounced homing instinct scarcely worth while. The cart, I believe, was also recovered at a later date.

Soon after the burning of Derreen the use of Sheen Falls was demanded as a barrack for the Irregulars. The procedure was completely correct. Due notice was given, and it was thoughtfully suggested that a room should be set aside where anything which we desired to put away would be secure under lock and key. This having been arranged, some seventy men came in the next day, bringing with them their own beds and bedding. Everything was done in the best military style, beds being duly alined at the correct distance from each other. The detachment remained for about a fortnight and left the house spotless. Nothing was afterwards missed, nor was there a scratch upon the walls. Some months later, however, the flooring suddenly began to give way, and investigation revealed that the planks under their linoleum covering were sodden with water. It seems that there had been amongst the garrison some old soldiers, who in their anxiety to vacate their quarters ‘clean and in good order’ had indulged in what in military parlance is called ‘general swabbing’. This (as every soldier knows) involves a copious use of water, and however well suited to a barrack room is scarcely adapted to residential premises. The intention had been excellent, but the ultimate results were somewhat unfortunate, for all my floors had to be renewed.

It was about this time that a friend of mine living

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in County Tipperary had a curious experience. He had also been invited to provide quarters for a party of the Irregular Forces, who were duly installed in his house, sufficient room being reserved for his own occupation. After a time, on the news of the approach of the Free State army, the Irregulars departed and retired into the country. A few weeks later the Free State army came along, and were in their turn accommodated in the same house. On the day of their arrival one of them was seen in conversation with the cook, with whom he seemed to be *persona grata*. It transpired that this man had been in the recent party of Irregulars, and having found his former room much to his liking, he had been making interest with the household in order that he might occupy the same quarters! Irish loyalties were at this time confused—and sometimes confusing.

There had been Free State troops in Kenmare in September 1922, but the Republicans were about in force, and before long some of them came into the town by night and killed (it was said in their beds) the officers in command of the detachment. These happened to be two young men belonging to the place, whose loss was deeply and generally deplored. Following this unfortunate incident there was some desultory fighting between the two forces; the Irregulars, who had taken possession of the Carnegie Free Library, attacking from the outside, while the Free Staters replied from within the town. Lansdowne Lodge thus found itself in 'no man's land' between the belligerents, and for some hours its inmates were in a most uncomfortable position, having to seek safety from the cross-fire by lying down on the floor. However, except for the breaking of a few windows, no damage was done, and though there was a great expenditure of ammunition



LORD LANSDOWNE (*aged 80*) IN THE GARDEN AT DERREEN, 1925

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on both sides, there were no further casualties in the ‘battle of Kenmare’. The Free State forces subsequently retired for a time from Kenmare, but a considerable amount of scrapping still went on in the neighbourhood. At the battle of Killorglin a prominent republican was killed. His followers were determined that he should have as good a funeral as the two Connors whom they had murdered ten days before, but flowers were wanting, and could obviously not be obtained from Free State sources. The Lodge was perhaps regarded as neutral; its inmates had at all events become inured to requisitions in kind. It was Mrs. Maxwell therefore who supplied from her garden the necessary floral tribute.

Lord Lansdowne was determined to re-build Derrreen as soon as it might be possible to do so, and he was encouraged in his project by the sympathetic attitude of the new Government in the persons of Mr. Tim Healy, the Governor-General, and Mr. Cosgrave, its President. But though law and order had been re-established, it was some time before the state of communications permitted any thought of building operations in so remote a corner of the country. Meanwhile a small detachment of Free State troops had been placed in the ‘Fort Cottage’ close by to guard the ruins and to prevent the chance of any further depredations.

In September 1923, just a year after the catastrophe, Lady Lansdowne accompanied by her daughter Lady Osborne Beauclerk came over from England to see the place, spending a night at the keeper’s cottage. Their report as to what remained of the house was encouraging, and a Dublin architect soon afterwards pronounced the walls of the building to be reasonably sound. The services of a contractor were obtained

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and early in 1924 the work was put in hand. It was practically completed by the end of that year, and the house was once more occupied for a few months in the summer following, but it soon became evident that something was wrong, for flooring and woodwork started falling to pieces. It was discovered that the house was infested with dry-rot, which no doubt was in existence before the building had been burnt, but had not asserted itself until new woodwork was put in. Neither architect nor contractor had discovered its presence, though the walls were found to be permeated with the fatal fungus. It had thrown out its spores with extraordinary rapidity into the new and not too well seasoned wood which had been used. All the work had now to be done again, and the winter of 1925 and beginning of 1926 was occupied with a second reconstruction, this time so far as was possible in the form of concrete. Lord Lansdowne came there again in the autumn months of 1926, but this proved to be his last visit. He was on his way to Derreen in 1927 when he died at Newtown Anner.

It was at one time fondly believed that if landlords could be eliminated in Ireland all trouble would immediately cease. To achieve that object the Land Purchase Acts, under which tenanted land was transferred by sale from owner to occupier, were initiated towards the close of last century. Some two-thirds of the tenanted land in Ireland was thus disposed of, the remainder being dealt with on a compulsory basis after the formation of the Free State Government in 1923. Part of the Lansdowne Estate in South Kerry had thus passed under the Wyndham Act to the tenant, but the negotiations which were on foot with regard to the Derreen and Kilmackilloge side of the property were not completed when the operation of this Act



DERREEN, 1935

‘THE TROUBLES’

was suspended in 1903. This portion was transferred under the new act and only the demesne and the woods which surround it now remain in the landlord's hands. There are of course to-day in Ireland no 'landlords' in the old sense of the word, though it is remarkable how few people outside the country seem to be aware of this fundamental fact. The farmers own the land and the annuities they pay to the Government are probably on the average less than half the rents formerly paid to the landlord. But the annuities, though their ultimate destination may be a matter of dispute, have to be paid. There is now no one 'behind' the farmer when times are bad and the money is not there, while at the moment his produce is almost unsalable. It seems open to question therefore whether his material position has in effect been improved by all the recent changes. Nor does the Government of Ireland by the Irish seem to have brought that unity in aim and action which it was so confidently expected to produce.

It was once said of France after one of the many upheavals through which that country passed in the last century: 'Plus cela change, plus c'est la même chose.' Perhaps in the long run this may prove true of Ireland also. Those who are more particularly concerned with the events recorded in this book will cling to the hope that, other changes apart, Derreen itself may continue the same as they have known it, 'a thing of beauty' and 'a joy for ever'.

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THE LORDS OF KERRY AND LIXNAW

It is generally supposed that the practice of parliamentary 'obstruction' was an invention of the Irish members in the Gladstone era. History, however, shows that the Dublin Legislature of King James I had little to learn of this art.¹

King James was constantly at loggerheads with his Irish Parliament, and in the year 1614 he found it necessary to summon some of its leading members to London, in order that they might be personally reminded of their duties. After being suitably admonished they were sent back to Dublin with orders that a Parliament should be assembled forthwith and should proceed with its appointed business. But in the words of the chronicler they 'found a very simple pretence' by which these directions could be set at nought.

Two peers, the Lord of Kerry and the Lord of Slane, happened at the time to be rival claimants for the position of Premier Baron of Ireland, and stoutly refused to sit until their precedence had been determined. Their fellow peers, who no doubt cared little or not at all which of them might prevail, decided nevertheless that the matter was one of such supreme importance, that nothing could be done until it had been heard with full ceremony before the whole house. The inquiry of course involved the examination of numerous witnesses and other lengthy formalities, and its hearing lasted in the first instance for more than thirty days. A verdict was at length given in favour of the Lord of Kerry; but still the 'recusants' (as the opposition for the time being was called) professed themselves unsatisfied. They asked that all the evidence should be gone through a second time, and when this had been done they insisted that the finding should be confirmed by a Royal Commission. Before the King received the subsidy for which he was anxiously

¹ Sir Richard Cox, *History of Ireland*, part ii, 1690, pp. 22 ff.

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waiting, three whole months of parliamentary time had been thus successfully consumed.

It seems to be only through this curious accident that any authenticated genealogy of the Fitzmaurices, Lords of Kerry and Lixnaw, has come down to posterity. There are few Irish or Anglo-Irish families which cannot boast a lengthy descent, but the details transmitted by their 'shanachies' are for the most part founded on purely oral tradition. In this instance, however, the descent had to be proved to the satisfaction of the tribunal, and a pedigree put in in evidence. The necessary pedigree appears to have been compiled by the Garter King-at-Arms of the day, Sir William Segar. It was afterwards used by Archdall for his well-known edition of Lodge's Peerage, and by those who followed him. A copy is amongst the Bowood Papers, and it may no doubt be accepted as generally correct.

The claimant of 1614, Thomas Fitzmaurice, generally reckoned as the 18th Lord, had only ten years before been in arms against King James and had suffered the penalty of forfeiture. His father and his grandfather before him had also been continuously in rebellion during the reign of Elizabeth. The record of the family was thus by no means a good one. The claimant, however, had been officially pardoned and had received a fresh grant of his property, while he was fortified by the connexions of his ancestors, if not by the loyalty of their latest descendants. His principle plea for precedence was that his lands had originally been a direct grant from the Crown, and that these ancestors had since constantly obeyed the royal summons to attend Parliament—and thus he won his case against his rival of Slane.

The Fitzmaurices, as the prefix of the name suggests, are of Norman origin. They were a branch of the 'Geraldines', so called from Gerald, the Castellan of Windsor under William I, whose son Maurice came to Ireland in the twelfth century and whose descendants virtually ruled that country for some centuries afterwards. The Fitzmaurices were from the start located in County Kerry, which gave

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the name of 'Lord of Kerry' to the head of the family, while the region under their immediate control became known as Clanmaurice, and formed one of the four baronies into which the county was soon officially divided. The 'Lord of Kerry', however, was as often called 'Lord of Lixnaw', from the castle and manor of that name which became the headquarters of the clan, while other variants of his title were 'Lord Fitzmaurice' or, in its Irish form, 'MacMorris' of Kerry. The inquiry of 1614 seems to have established the fact that a Lord of Kerry sat in Parliament in the fourteenth century, but later research made it clear that one of his predecessors had both sat in Parliament as such and attended the King on his Scotch wars in the closing years of the thirteenth century. It is the father of this Lord who has generally been accepted as the first of the family.

Beyond this point the earlier genealogists were baffled, for there was still a gap between Gerald of Windsor and this 1st Lord of Kerry which had been bridged by some obviously fallacious descents. The late Dr. Goddard Orpen was the first to discover the authenticated existence of an earlier progenitor.¹

It was well known that Gerald of Windsor had a son Maurice, a grandson Thomas, and a great-grandson John, the last named being the ancestor of the Earls of Desmond. But Dr. Orpen's researches disclosed for the first time the existence of a Maurice, younger brother to this John, who is proved by contemporary records to have been the father of the 1st Lord of Kerry and the eponymous ancestor of the Fitzmaurice family. Both these brothers were, according to the custom of the time, kept during their minority as hostages, for the good behaviour of their father Thomas, at the court of King John. Two years after Thomas's death (1213) we find them sent back to Ireland, under surveillance, in order to take up their inheritance. The elder brother's history is well known, but we now find

¹ 'The Origin of the Fitzmaurices, Barons of Kerry and Lixnaw', *English Historical Review*, 1914, and *Genealogists Magazine*, 1925, by G. H. Orpen.

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the younger as 'Maurice, the son of Thomas, the son of Maurice' building a series of castles to protect his territory in Kerry, while he is chronicled as the holder of a 'cantred' or district called Altry, which the 2nd Lord of Kerry afterwards controlled, while Altry or Altraighe can roughly be equated with the district round Lixnaw, for the next 500 years the head-quarters of the Fitzmaurices. There can be no doubt therefore that Thomas Fitzmaurice the 1st Lord, who founded the convent of Ardfert and died about 1280, was the son of Maurice the hostage, and the chain thus becomes complete.

This circumstantial evidence is corroborated by an early MS. Rental of the Lord of Lixnaw, which is now at Bowood, while the place-names mentioned therein support the tradition that Maurice the hostage had, after settling in Kerry, consolidated his position by a marriage with the heiress of the McElligotts of Galey.¹

This Rental was given to my great-grandfather, the 3rd Lord Lansdowne, by Sir William Betham, Ulster King-at-Arms, in 1827, and is the only pre-Elizabethan document concerning the family extant.

For about three centuries (1300-1600) the Lords of Kerry appear to have been in constant rivalry with their neighbours, the Earls of Desmond, for the supremacy in Kerry, the balance inclining sometimes to one and sometimes to the other. It was only when resisting the English that they acted together. But there was not much interference from that quarter. The home Government was no doubt content with the nominal allegiance of these distant lords whom it was unable effectively to control, and it had perforce to rely on them to keep some sort of order in their own territory. That they were a law unto themselves is shown by the story of Maurice, the 4th Lord. He had a quarrel we are told with another chieftain, Dermot Oge McCarthy, and settled it by killing his rival on the bench at Tralee in the presence of the Judge of Assize! The ends of justice

¹ 'An Early Rental of the Lord of Lixnaw', Marquis of Lansdowne, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Aug. 1931.

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were apparently held to be satisfied by the attainting of the murderer and the temporary forfeiture of his estate. He was nevertheless soon afterwards appointed sheriff, and after his death all his lands were restored to his brother and successor!

Passing over a few generations we come to Edmund, the 10th Lord, who, wearying of a wicked world, surrendered his estates to his son and retired into a neighbouring monastery. Perhaps this sacrifice was felt to call for reciprocity in kind from ecclesiastical sources, for his successor appears as grantee of 'several abbeys' dissolved by order of Henry VIII. But the Church seems to have had its revenge. Edmund died childless not long afterwards. His brother succumbed to a cold caught while hunting, leaving two boys 'in ward' with his relative, Desmond. Both died within the year in circumstances which were not a little suspicious. Their uncle Patrick, 'the Red-haired', who was next in succession, was killed in Desmond—it is not explained by whom. Thus five successive holders of the Kerry title had died within the space of seven years and the reversion fell to a fourth brother, Thomas. But Thomas had long since sought his fortunes abroad and was at the time serving in Italy under the Duke of Milan. His remaining relatives showed no anxiety to find him, and one of them quickly possessed himself of the estate. But the heir had one faithful friend in the person of his old nurse, one Joan Harman. In spite of her years she did not hesitate to take ship from Dingle to France and to travel thence to Italy in order to tell her foster-son of his good fortune. She had hardly delivered her message when she died from her unwonted exertions. All went well with the 16th Lord after his return. In 1551 he was formally recognized by King Edward VI as 'Lord of Kerry and Captain of his Nation'. Two years later he received from Queen Mary a confirmation of his estates and sat in Parliament as 'Baron de Lacksnawy vulgariter vocatus Baron de Kerry'. He was 'the most beautiful man of that age', so strong that 'there were not three men in Kerry who could bend his bow' and,

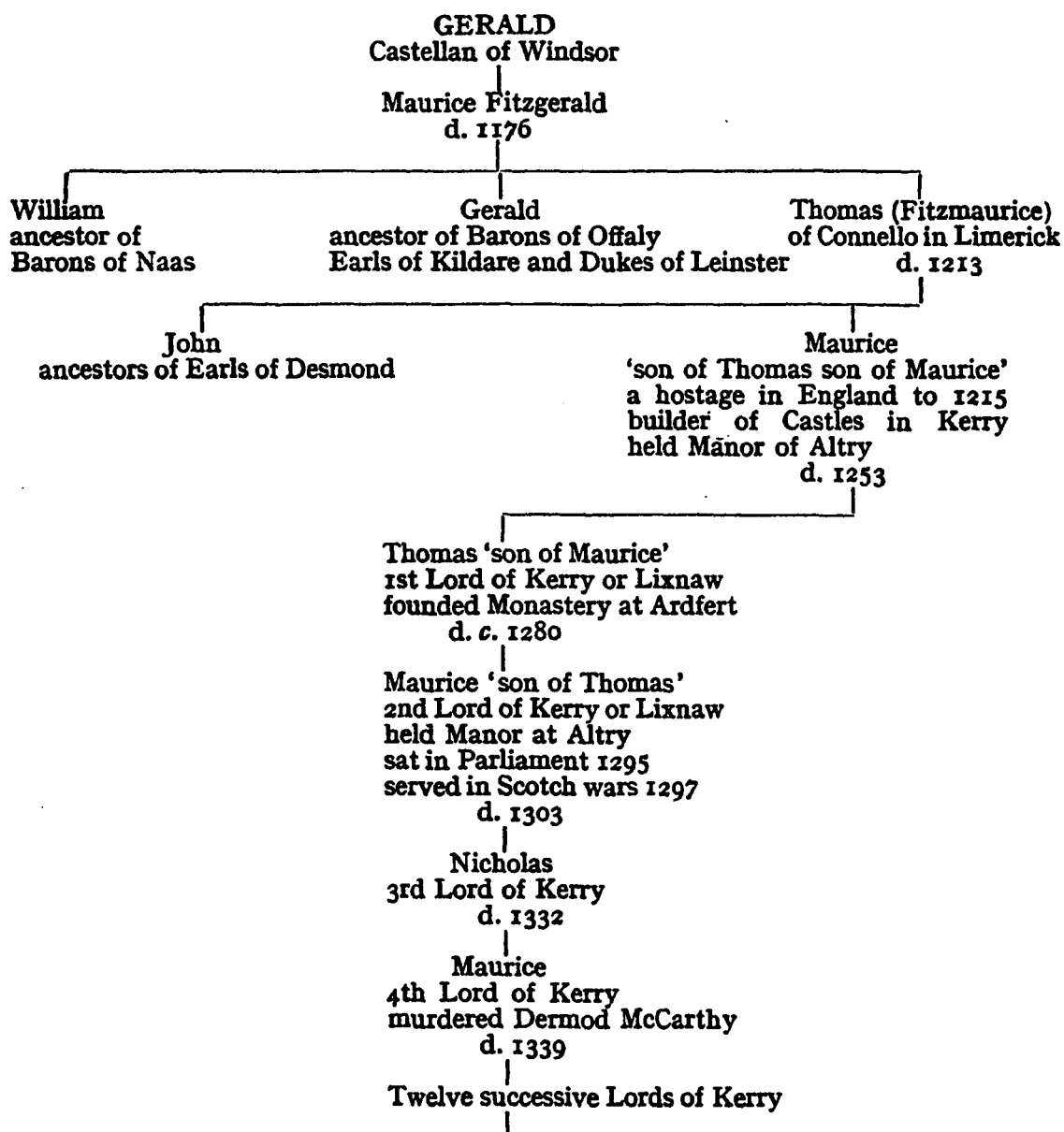
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in the quaint phraseology of the *Four Masters*, 'the best purchaser of wine, horses, and literary works of any of his wealth or patrimony in the greater part of Leath Moghe'. But, alas, he became involved in the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond, whose sister he had married, and for the greater part of his life he remained at feud with the Government. He was officially pardoned a few years before his death, but meanwhile his son, Patrick, the 17th Lord, had hoisted the standard of revolt, and soon proved himself every bit as troublesome as his father had been before him. For some time Patrick was imprisoned in Dublin castle, and no sooner was he released than he joined in another rising. Finally when this at length had been suppressed and Lixnaw had been taken by the enemy, 'he took such an inward grief that he died'. His broken heart thus saved him from a more ignominious death, for there was a price upon his head. His son Thomas was the successful claimant of 1614 mentioned above.

That the Fitzmaurices were up to this point *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores* is sufficiently evident. Of eighteen Lords of Kerry we are informed that only one had married an English wife, and he had left no children. There can be no doubt in this case of the matriarchal tendency in the Irish race. But Patrick, the 19th Lord, had fallen when young under English influences, and had adopted the Protestant faith. It was perhaps for this reason that he was constantly at loggerheads with his father Thomas, who systematically refused to provide him with the means of livelihood. The family quarrel seems to have been taken up by the Government, for the State Papers of the time are full of the son's petitions to the Privy Council for redress, and of the father's attempts to evade responsibility for his maintenance. It was not until Thomas had been incarcerated for a time by order of the Council in the Fleet prison that he became more amenable. His life, however, was stormy until the end, for before he died in 1630 he was again imprisoned, this time in the Tower of London, under suspicion of plotting with the Spaniards against the Government.

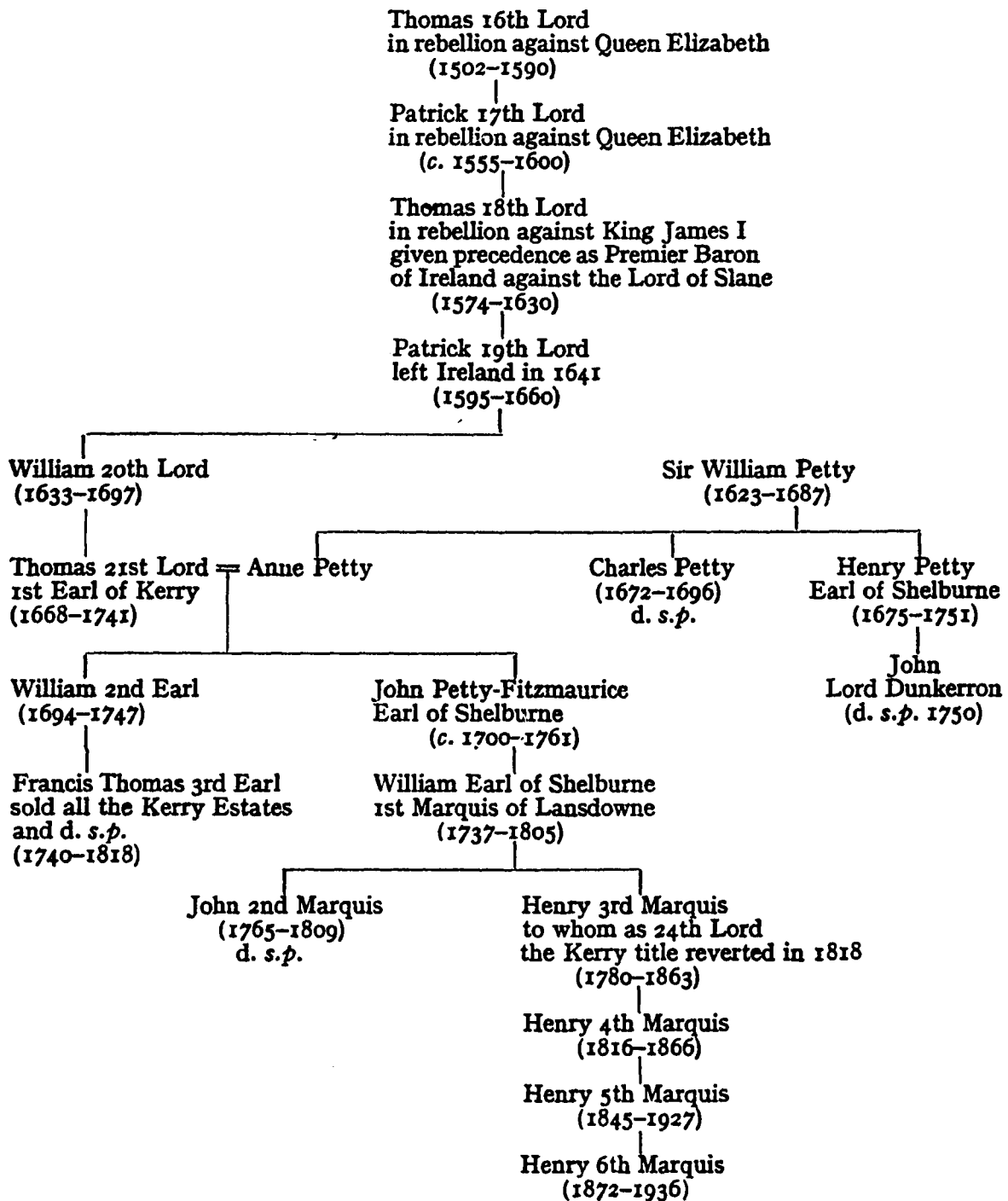
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GENEALOGY OF THE LORDS OF KERRY AND LIXNAW



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(LORDS OF KERRY, *cont.*)



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Patrick, as was to be expected from his upbringing, kept clear of the 1641 rebellion, indeed he removed from Lixnaw to England and never returned to his native country. We hear of him raising a regiment of foot which was called by his name. It was intended to assist the Crown against the rebels in Ireland, but in the event it was used for service under the Earl of Essex against the Royalists! The estates of the 19th Lord thus escaped forfeiture, though he can have exercised no rights of proprietorship during the nineteen years in which he was a refugee in England. Patrick was succeeded in 1660 by William, the 20th Lord, who in 1689 took the side of King James and, with his eldest son Thomas, accompanied the exiled monarch to France in the following year. Both father and son appear to have been on this account attainted and outlawed. It seems that the former was never forgiven; he died in France in 1697, but Thomas must have seized this opportunity to submit, and the formal reversal of his outlawry is recorded under date 9 William III. Meanwhile (in 1692) he had married Anne the only daughter of Sir William Petty, an alliance which was later to unite the two families in the person of a single representative.

Amongst the Petty MSS. at Bowood there is a sheet of paper with the following lines, endorsed in Sir William's own hand, March 1678/9:

My pretty little Pusling and my daughter An
That shall be a countesse, if her pappa can.
If her pappa cannot, then I make no doubt
But my little Pusling will bee content without.
If my little Pusling prove an ugly carron,
Then it will be well enough
If she gett but a barron.
But if her fortune should bee so
As to get but a Knight,
Then I trow her cake is dough
and hopes are all beshite.

This doggerel was written when Anne was only six years

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old. But Petty had a strange capacity for getting what he wanted, and curiously enough thirty-five years after his death his son-in-law, the 21st Lord, was advanced to an earldom and the 'little Pusling' thus became a countess just as 'her pappa' had hoped! She was intimate with Swift, who constantly refers to her in his *Journal to Stella*—'We have struck up a mighty friendship and she has much better sense than any other lady of your country. We are almost in love with one another, but she is most egregiously ugly but perfectly well bred and governable as I please' (May 4, 1711). A fortnight later he tells us how he and Lady Kerry had gone together to hear the nightingales at Vauxhall (*ibid.*, May 17). Her grandson corroborates the Dean, for he tells us that she was 'a very ugly woman who brought into our family whatever degree of sense may have appeared in it, and whatever wealth is likely to remain in it'.

Anne had two sons, the elder of whom succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Kerry, while the younger, John, on the death of his uncle (Petty's only surviving son) became the owner of the Petty estates. In due course he was followed by a son, William Petty-Fitzmaurice, best known as Earl of Shelburne—the title which his father and his great-uncle had held before him—though he was later created 1st Marquis of Lansdowne. It was to Lord Lansdowne's son (Henry, the 3rd Marquis) that on the death without issue of his first cousin, the 3rd Earl of Kerry, that title reverted in the year 1818.

Some thirty years before this the 3rd Earl had left his home at Lixnaw. He afterwards sold his entire property and established himself in Paris; but his stay was soon cut short by the Revolution, and after he had fled all his worldly goods were seized by the Jacobins. He ended his days at Prior Park in Bath, leaving only to his successor a bundle of 'Assignats' and a claim against the French Government for the compensation to which, as a British 'national' who had suffered under the Republic, he was entitled under the terms of the Peace of 1815.

So the 3rd Lord Lansdowne found himself, as the 24th

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successive Lord of Kerry and Lixnaw, head of the Fitzmaurices, and a large landowner in the county with which his ancestors had been identified for some 600 years. But the Kerry lands and all that remained of Lixnaw Court, the home of his forefathers, had been sold. Nothing was left but the family mausoleum, and even this was empty. The crypt had been broken into and rifled twenty years before, for ammunition was short amongst the rebels of '98 and leaden coffins were in great demand!

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