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THE ULSTER PLANTATION
IN THE COUNTIES OF
ARMAGH AND CAVAN,
1608-41

VOLUME II

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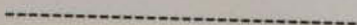
by Prof. T.W. Moody,
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I. Introduction

The systematic survey of the land in Ulster for the
purpose of raising a tax on the land was first
undertaken in 1609. The survey was carried out
by the Surveyors-General of the Kingdom of Ireland
and the Surveyors-General of the Kingdom of Ulster.

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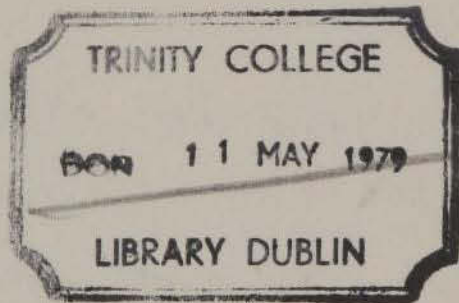
VOLUME II

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THE ULSTER PLANTATION
IN THE COUNTY OF
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1608-41



VOLUME II

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CHAPTER 8 TOWNS

I Introduction

The systematic establishment of towns as focal points for the colony in Ulster formed part of the scheme for plantation from an early stage. As early as 1590 Justice Robert Gardner and Sir Harry Wallopp had pointed to the peculiar difficulty of reforming Ulster in contrast to Munster and Connacht where there were 'some citties, many castles, towns well walled [and] well peopled with great part of th' English nation' whereas in Ulster there were 'very fewe castles, or places of defence, except in Lecale, the Newry and Knockfergus'. They went on to argue that the extension of English authority there could best be achieved by the establishment of fortified settlements on which local government institutions could be based, after the model of Philipstown and Maryborough in Leix and Offaly.¹ In the concluding stages of the nine years' war Mountjoy's strategy had demonstrated the value of erecting forts. The plantation scheme visualised a systematic urbanisation policy for the escheated counties.

These plantation towns were either to be settlements de novo, or else the development of previous centres - forts or places of Gaelic origin. The 'Orders and conditions' of plantation, laid down that in each county 'a convenient number' of market and corporate towns should be established 'for the habitation and settling tradesmen and artificers'.² The 'Project' stated the number of towns in each county which should be incorporated. Land was reserved to be granted to each in fee farm.

1. Cambridge University Library, KK. 1. 15., vol.1, ff.5-8.

2. Hill, Plantation, pp.78-89.

These corporate towns should receive rights to hold fairs and markets and other 'reasonable' liberties, including the power to return burgesses to parliament. To set them up there should be a 'leavy or presse' of tradesmen and artificers out of England. In all twenty-five such corporate towns were projected.¹

The importance of inaugurating town life in Ulster as an integral part of the colonial scheme was thus recognised. A grant of land might in itself offer sufficient incentive to an undertaker to remove to Ulster, but it was clearly accepted that the establishment of towns was only possible through some form of state initiative. However in the spring of 1610 it was found that although many aspects of the plantation had been by then considered in detail, arrangements for the foundation of towns had been neglected. It had, however, become apparent that state assistance either in the erection of houses or in the importation of townsmen had become unlikely. The question arose whether, if tradesmen were not to be 'pressed' from England, corporations should be established at all, and if so in what way the land allotted for that purpose, then estimated as 9,600 acres, should be granted. It was decided that although the original intention of assisted or impressed settlement should be abandoned, nonetheless the projected incorporations should be proceeded with and charters to these places issued, as a means of attracting tradesmen coming over with the undertakers to live in them. Besides, the political value of such incorporations was evident because they would return burgesses to parliament 'which upon the new plantation will

1. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no. 74, in Analecta Hibernica, viii.

1. Col. Rec. Ire. 1609-10, pp. 417-18.

2. Col. Rec. Ire. 1609-10, pp. 36-7; Col. Rec. Ire. 1610-11, pp. 10-11.

consist of protestants and strengthen the lower house very much'.¹

In July 1610 further directives were issued from London. The plantation commissioners should decide how many houses should be erected for the time being in each town, lay out their sites, and assign land for further buildings. They should set out plots for churches and churchyards, and for market places and houses. They should ensure that water was conveniently available. No land was to be enclosed and appropriated to any particular householder until the town had been 'conveniently' peopled. One third of the land allotted to each town might be enclosed at the common charge to make a common meadow, the rest to be left for a common for cattle. In towns where schools were to be founded, sites should be reserved for that purpose. The deputy was to ensure that no lands appointed for towns (or schools) should be granted for other purposes. The deputy and council were to give instructions for the peopling of the towns, and the building of churches and schools 'so far as the means of the country will yield'. When the towns had grown to forty houses they should be incorporated.² While these orders have some interest from a planning viewpoint, on the crucial question of initial investment they embodied no more than a facile transference of responsibility from London to Dublin.

In December, when the plantation commissioners had returned to Dublin from Ulster, further problems were submitted to the privy council in London. To the question whether the corporations, the college, and the schools might plant their lands with Irish tenants it was replied that the latter two might choose their tenants 'best for their profit'

1. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, pp.415-16.

2. Cal. Carew MSS, 1603-24, pp.56-7; Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, p.488.

but the towns were to plant with British. A further more fundamental question revealed that the founding of towns still remained a problem to which no satisfactory solution had been found. The deputy stated his difficulties. The natives were 'indisposed and unapt' to town life. There were only a few merchants amongst them and these were wont to 'wander up and down amongst their creaghts' buying such pieces of yarn as might be for sale. Also he doubted if English or Scottish tradesmen could be brought to any of the places to be incorporated 'in any due time'. His only solution was that some 'principal gentlemen' should be appointed superintendants of the corporations to draw settlers there and to maintain order until the towns had increased to a 'sufficient' size when they should be incorporated and authority transferred to the mayors. The privy council accepted this, laying down that an undertaker or servitor near the site of each proposed town should be appointed to build houses for tradesmen, who should hold of him the fee farm of their tenements in free burgage at easy rents. The land for the town should be granted to the planter in fee farm with a time limited for the performance of his obligations, incorporation to follow subsequently.¹

On the basis of these decisions steps were taken for the granting of the lands assigned for towns to neighbouring planters. A form of warrant for a fiat for granting boroughs was drawn up, presumably in

1. Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MSS, vol 629, ff.68-72 (Cal. Carew MSS, 1603-24, pp.141-2; Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp.36-7. The dating of this document in the Carew calendar is incorrect and misleading. The propositions were sent to England on 11 Dec. 1610 and returned on 19 May 1611. (The instructions in Carew MSS vol 629 ff.16-18^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp.63-7) are in reply to further queries sent over with Bouchier and brought back to Ireland by Carew on 13 July 1611).

mid 1611.¹ Grants were to follow a set pattern 'accordinge to the artickles layd downe for a burrowe towne'. The lands were to be granted in fee farm under defined rents as also markets and fairs. The clerkship of the market should vest in the patentee until the town had been incorporated, when it should then come to the chief officer of the town.² It was thus a year after many of the major problems of inaugurating the colony had been settled, and when almost all the land had already been granted, that a means to establish the towns had been found.

The working out of this arrangement with the prospective patrons of towns was also not, in all cases at any rate, quickly achieved. John Ridgeway, a local servitor grantee, who became patron of the proposed town at Aghanure in Cavan - subsequently Virginia - did not take out his patent of the town lands until August 1612.³ The obligations of patrons in establishing the towns can be seen in his case. He received some five townlands approximately 1297 statute acres.⁴ He undertook to 'plant and settle' on one of these townlands within four years twenty persons, English or Scottish, chiefly artificers, who should be burgesses of the town which within the same time should be incorporated. These

1. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no. 52 in Analecta Hibernica, viii. The document is undated. The suggestion 1610? seems too early. It was probably drawn up following the receipt on 19 May 1611 of the directions from London, and before August 19 when the first grant (for the town of Rathmullan in county Donegal to Sir Ralph Bingley) was authorised. (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Carte MSS vol 62, f.19 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, p.96). For the warrant for a grant of a borough /Mountnorris/ to Sir Francis Annesley, see 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no 58 in Analecta Hibernica, viii.
2. Ibid.
3. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.236.
4. He also received Lough Ramor and its fishing. The total rent of the lands and water was £1. 10. 8 (ibid.).

burgesses were to be 'accomodated' with houses and lands, ten to receive two acres each and ten, one acre, in an area to be called the 'Burgess field' and a further thirty acres was to be allotted as a common to the town. The patron was also to allot 'convenient places' as sites for the town itself, and also for a church and churchyard, a market place and a public school. The patentee was licensed to hold a weekly market and an annual fair, to receive the tolls and profits of a court of pie-powder and he and his heirs to be clerks of the market.¹ One clear outcome of this arrangement whereby landlords rather than the government were made responsible for establishing the towns was that the major part of the land initially assigned as endowment of the corporations now came into private hands.

This initial recession in policy is reflected also in the number of towns eventually incorporated. Only fourteen received charters, thirteen of them in 1613, one, Derry, being a reincorporation, the other, Cavan, for peculiar reasons, having received its charter in November 1610.² The time lag is in itself of significance. As early as November 1610 the holding of a parliament³ was being discussed, the delay in summoning it may have been in part due to the fact that the Ulster boroughs, the political support of whose protestant burgesses was desired, had not been incorporated before 1613.

The charters of these towns had an essential simplicity and

1. For these rights he paid a rent of 13/4 Ir. He might also keep a ferry on Lough Ramor, rent 3/4 Ir. (ibid.).
2. Controversy attended the incorporation of Lifford in Donegal (Carte MSS, vol 62, ff.212-13).
3. T.W. Moody 'The Irish Parliament under Elizabeth and James I: a General Survey' in R.I.A. Proc., vol xiv, section c, p.51.

4. It may be noted that the grants to patentees, as seen above in the case of Virginia, envisaged twenty burgesses.

similarity. That of Cavan, in 1610, was modelled on the charter of Kells,¹ the others by and large followed a pattern contained in a 'paper booke' (not found, but referred to in the warrants for incorporation) drawn up by the privy council in London and sent to Ireland with accompanying royal letter on 26 September 1612,² though the charter of Derry was more complex and elaborate than those granted to the Ulster towns in general.³ Each town area was created 'one entire and free borough' with corporate authority within it granted to a chief officer (called usually sovereign, portreeve or provost), the free burgesses, and the commons. The free burgesses were generally twelve in number.⁴ The chief officers and burgesses were granted the power of 'perpetual succession', that is to say civic government was vested in a small and self-electing body. This exclusive body should elect the two members of parliament each town might return. Each charter contained the names of the first set of incorporators, to hold for life unless removed under exceptional circumstances. The commons (or assembly) was defined as all the inhabitants of the town, and such people as had been admitted freemen. The chief officer was to take the oath of supremacy as well as an oath to fulfill his duties, and was to be elected annually by the sovereign and burgesses. Each corporation could hold a weekly court of record to hear civil actions not exceeding the sum of five marks, before the chief officer. Rights to hold

1. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Carte MSS, vol 61, f.497.
2. See, for example, Carte MSS, vol 62, f.147 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, p.338) Order for incorporation of Charlemont, county Armagh, 20 Ap. 1613.
3. For a study of the charter of Derry see T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, pp.122-38.
4. It may be noted that the grants to patrons, as seen above in the case of Virginia, envisaged twenty burgesses.

markets and fairs were also usual. The corporation might assemble at discretion to make bye-laws, and could impose fines or other punishments should these be disobeyed. The power of the commons was usually limited to participation in such assemblies. They might appoint from amongst themselves two serjeants at mace and such other municipal officers as were necessary.¹

One of the most notable features of these charters is that they, necessarily, did not contain a grant of the fee farm of the town. The process, outlined above, whereby responsibility for town establishment came into private hands ensured their subordination, in varying degree, to outside authority. At best the land originally allotted for towns and subsequently granted to superintendants was leased by them to the corporators as individuals, but it never came to a corporation as a body. The original incorporators would, of course, also have been nominated by the landlord,² and in at least one case, Belturbet, the landlord became chief officer.³

The incomes of the corporations were thus from the start severely limited.⁴ The financial returns from courts and fairs and markets cannot have been great, and these in some cases had to accommodate to the parallel rights of landlords to hold manor courts and fairs and markets in their own name. With a few exceptions, it may be that

1. References to the charters of the towns incorporated in the area under review can be seen below.
2. In the warrant for the incorporation of Duffryn (Bangor), county Down there is the note 'Sr. James Hamilton sent thes names'. (Carte MSS, vol 62, f.208). A similar note is appended to that for Donegal town. (ibid., f.223).
3. Carte MSS, vol 62, f.167 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, p.299).
4. For a recent examination of this problem as it affected Belfast see J.C. Beckett & R.E. Glasscock (ed.), Belfast, the origin and growth of an industrial city (London, 1967), pp.28, 35-6.

corporate development had not proceeded far by 1641. The statement is commonly made that because corporation records are not to hand for the period before the rising they were destroyed in 1641.¹ This need not necessarily be generally true. The size of many of the corporations, their subordination to local landlord authority, and the capacities of their early inhabitants must be considered before it is accepted without question. In some towns, of course, it is clear that this does not apply; Belfast corporation records survive from 1613,² Cavan had a peculiar independence from the start, Londonderry corporation records need not have started in 1673,³ but it is hardly necessary to accept that places like Limavady, controlled by Sir Thomas Phillips and with surviving records from 1659,⁴ or Armagh dominated by the archbishop, or Charlemont with its small population, had formally, regularly, and effectively exercised their privileges of assembly and byelaw making before 1641. Few of the Ulster towns had achieved much sophistication by that date.

The retreat in government policy at the outset, in deciding to entrust the founding of towns to individual settlers, requires special emphasis. Given the resources of the early seventeenth century state this may well have been unavoidable, but in leaving urban development to private competence, the planners incurred some responsibility for the

1. See, for example, E.M. F-G. Boyle, Records of the Town of Limavady (Londonderry 1912), p.xv.
2. R.M. Young, (ed.), Town Book of the Corporation of Belfast, 1613-1816; G. Benn, A History of the Town of Belfast (London, 1877), 188 sqq.
3. Corporation books from this date are preserved in the Guildhall, Londonderry.
4. P.R.O.N.L., D.663.

subsequent slow and fitful growth of town life. Also the Dublin government seems not to have enforced the rules governing the size towns should be before incorporation. The surveys of Carew and Bodley have little to say on the urban aspect of the plantation; it is only with Pynnar and the 1622 report that the towns come at all under notice, and then usually with reference to their difficulties. The establishing of towns, it is suggested, was of little less importance than, and a necessary complement to, the inauguration of a rural colony.

II Corporations in counties Armagh and Cavan.

The 'Project' for the plantation recommended the incorporation of four boroughs in Armagh, and set aside 1,200 acres by the current computation as their endowment, 'to hold in fee ferme as the English and Scottish undertakers'. One of these, Armagh, was long established, two Charlemont and Mountnorris, were the sites of recently erected forts, and the fourth was to be a new town at Tandragee in O'Hanlon territory. For Cavan three incorporations were projected and thirty polls of land

allotted for this purpose. Apart from Cavan and Belturbet a new town was to be erected 'in or neere the mydwaie between Kells and the Cavan', the site to be chosen by the commissioners of plantation.¹ Of these seven, only four - Armagh and Charlemont, Cavan and Belturbet - in fact received charters. The object in this section is to examine the development of these towns, and to attempt to offer suggestions why three were not incorporated. The treatment is necessarily unsatisfactory owing to a dearth of sources from which to draw. The picture presented of each is partial and unsystematic, however it is hoped that an impression will emerge of the nature of some of the small and inceptive urban settlements of Ulster prior to the rising of 1641.

A. ARMAGH

In 1610 Thomas Blenerhasset described the town of Armagh as follows

How exceedingly wel standeth Ardmath, better seate for riche soyle there cannot bee, but so poore, as I doe verily thinke all the household stufte in that citty is not worth twenty pounds, yet it is the Primate of all Ireland, and as they say for antiquitie, one of the most ancient in all Europe: it is also of so small power as forty resolute men may rob, rifle and burne it: were it a defended corporation it woulde soone be rich and religious, and the security would make one acre more worth then now twenty be. At this present time it is a more base and abiect thing, not much better than Strebane,² and not able to restraine no, not the violence of the wolfe.

Contemporaries concurred with his judgements both of its antiquity, ecclesiastical dignity, potential, and present decay. It had suffered a half century of military significance and had only recently been

1. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no 74, in Analecta Hibernica, viii, 294, E.6.
2. Thomas Blenerhasset 'A Direction for the Plantation in Ulster', in J.T. Gilbert, A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland (1879), 1, 1, 321.

de-garrisoned. Furthermore peculiar historical circumstances had for long made it, although the ecclesiastical capital, unattractive for residence to archbishops whose cultural affiliations cut them off from the northern portion of their diocese. As a monastic centre it had had a distinguished record but in the altered circumstances of 1610 it could derive no prominence or prospects from its monastic tradition.

However it had potential as a traditional marketing centre, and with the introduction of a protestant colony and the rebuilding of the cathedral church, as a revived and re-orientated ecclesiastical centre as well. Its most important new function was as county capital and centre of legal sittings. However, the town which was restored and expanded in the thirty years after the plantation had, in some ways, a much greater continuity with its past, if only by reason of the smallness of its immigrant population, than Londonderry, a walled and garrisoned town with an important military role. The pre-plantation settlement fell into three areas, the Trian Sassenach to the north, the Trian Masain to the east, and the Trian Mor to the south. Dispersed throughout these trians or wards though more densely accumulated in the central ring or hill area, were a series of ecclesiastical institutions of which the cathedral church, the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Franciscan abbey, St. Columba's church, the Culdee priory, and the nunnery of Templefartagh were perhaps the most important.¹ There was thus a nucleus

1. G.A. Hayes - McCoy. (ed.), Ulster and Other Irish Maps, c.1600, 111. on the origin of trians see J. Stuart, Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh, (Newry 1819), pp.143-4. The revision of this book by Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P. (Dublin 1900) is less valuable for the plantation period.

of roads, paths, and sites from which the transformed town could develop.

The town for the most part fell within the manor of Armagh and was traditionally the property of the archbishopric. However there were small areas which belonged to the abbey and monasteries, the dean, and the vicars choral.¹ Since this account is based almost exclusively on the see records, allowance must be made for a marginal incompleteness in coverage.

How negligible the impact of the reformation had been was demonstrated to the lord deputy on his visit in 1605. The archbishop, Henry Ussher, was instructed to install a minister in the town and preach and reside there himself each summer.² The state of the town as a civic centre must have been equally unprepossessing.³ It is unlikely that Toby Caulfield the grantee of the abbey had taken any immediate steps to develop the site. In 1609 it was recorded that the archbishop had recently erected a water mill 'standing upon the river of Calleyne' but there is no evidence of further development. There appears to have been only one non-Gaelic inhabitant of any standing in 1609⁴, and there is little evidence for the state of the town before the beginning of the primacy of Christopher Hampton in 1613.⁵

1. In August 1619 the then owner of one of these monasteries, Sir Francis Annesley, was ordered by the king to surrender it, whereupon it should be granted to the archbishop (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, pp.435-6). It was so granted in July 1620 (ibid., pp.477-9).
2. Above, p. 30.
3. Bartlett's map and Bodley's map of 1609 (Maps, Ulster, 1609, 5, 30) give some indication of the size and state of the town on the eve of plantation.
4. A certain Christopher Fleming of Armagh was a juror for the inquisition concerning the escheated lands in 1609.
5. None of the plantation surveys refer to Armagh.

In the re-development of the town the well-known device of the building lease appears to have been used. Thus we find that in November 1615 the archbishop leased an area of the city including 'all and singular the howses, ruynous edifices, creates, and culd walls' as well as plots, and parcels of land in the liberties of the town (in the area known as the 'Bende' an area of 'wast' or common grazing) then occupied by a small number both of Irish and English tenants to Theophilus Buckworth, bishop of Dromore, and Edward Dodington of Dungiven a well-known servitor and builder of the walls of Derry.¹ The object was the 'replanting and re-edifying of the decayed cyttie' and the lease was for sixty years.² No rent is mentioned; the lease appears to have been intended to empower Dodington, who had been the archbishop's land agent and seneschal in Tyrone since the previous year,³ and Buckworth who at this point held the rectory of Armagh in commendam with his bishopric,⁴ to act on the primate's behalf. Dodington and Buckworth proceeded to lay out the land granted to them into plots for houses within the town to each of which twenty acres of land was allotted from the previously common grazing. Lessees holdings were chosen by lot, each being a site of fifty feet in length with land behind fifty feet broad and one hundred and fifty feet in length. The tenant undertook, before 27 September 1618, to build a dwelling house, forty feet long within the walls, sixteen feet broad, the walls to be fifteen feet

1. T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, p.275.
2. Referred to in further lease from Buckworth and Dodington to John Hall, 20 Dec. 1615 (Armagh Public Library, [henceforth Library], in cardboard box 'old leases of primate's')
3. Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry, [henceforth Registry], A. 20 no.28, f.28.
4. J.B. Leslie, Armagh Clergy and Parishes, pp.42, 113, 205.

high with gables of brick or stone, the roofs and floors to be of oak, the house to be of two storeys and built of brick or stone and sawn timber 'according to the form of English howses and buyldings'. The garden plot - and also the twenty acres - was to be enclosed after the English manner with a ditch and hedde of two rows of quicksetts. Allowances of stone and clay for bricks and timber for building and lime burning were to be made from the archbishop's lands, and the tenant, who would hold for fifty-nine years should pay to the archbishop £2 rent per annum, and two fat capons at Christmas, the heriot to be 13/4.¹ Later in 16734, a parcel of land was granted in Scotch street (the first time the name appears) for forty years at 5/- per annum and duties on condition to build within two years an English-type house of brick, face stone, or framed timber at least two storeys high.²

It is not clear how many leases were made under the original scheme. It should be noted that while longer terms were being granted than in similar building leases in London at this time, the objective was similar in both places, the landlord securing, or attempting to secure, the development of property without major investment but forgoing any sizeable income until the determination of the first lease.³

By this tactic if not perhaps under this precise scheme - Dodington soon ceases to be an official of the archbishop - a number of 'plantation' houses were erected in the city. By 1622, apart from an

1. Lease, 20 Dec. 1615, between Buckworth and Dodington, and John Hall of Armagh, (Library, in box 'old leases of primates'). This lease while the only one of its type to survive is quite clearly a standard one drawn up with gaps for the entry of tenants' names.
2. Indenture, 20 Oct. 16734 between James, archbishop of Armagh, and James Judson, bailiff of the manor of Armagh (ibid.).
3. See L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641, pp.357-63.

archiepiscopal residence which had been re-built and extended at a cost of £160, eight 'fair stone' residences had been erected within the town. The costs of these had varied from £500 to £60. All were held under sixty-year leases, six, with twenty acres of land, being held at a rent of £2. 5. 0, the other two lessees holding a townland or more and paying rent accordingly. Three of the houses, including the two most expensive, and with the larger amounts of land, were held by two local clergy. Two others were held by merchants from Drogheda, Andrew Hamlin¹ and Richard Fitzsymonds,² himself a landowner in Cavan, and one by Richard Chappell a substantial leaseholder and agent of the archbishop's. Eight other plots and portions of land were held by three tenants, who had as yet not built their houses, one holding five such sites.³ In 1615 ten people are listed as 'undertakers to build',⁴ and, by 1622 of twenty people who had so undertaken only seven had in fact fulfilled their obligation, and five plots, a speculation in modest scale, were held by Thomas Dawson, a Burgess of the town, who^{later} held land at Moyola (Castledawson) in Londonderry,⁵ and established an iron foundry there.⁶ Four of these twenty were burgesses of the town,⁷ and two of these four, Dawson and Hall, had not fulfilled their building

1. Hamlin was mayor of Drogheda in 1609 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, p.140).
2. See Moody, Londonderry plantation, pp.151, 173.
3. Royal Visitation Book for the province of Ulster, 1622, in Registry, B.lb. no. 193, p.1. (copies or alternate versions in T.C.D. and Marsh's Library, Dublin); Rental, 1622, with amendments by James Ussher c.1627 (Registry, Armagh Rent Rolls, A. 2a. 28/13).
4. Registry, A. 2a. 28/10. p.36.
5. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, pp.239, 372.
6. In Nov. 1632 he was given permission to prospect for iron ore on part of the archiepiscopal estate (Library, lease in box 'old leases of primate's').
7. For a translation of the charter, see Stuart, Armagh, pp.640-46.

obligations by 1622. Most of the delinquents lived in small houses, usually of native type, scattered throughout the town.¹ The commissioners of inquiry in 1622 took cognizance of this building scheme,² though their report in common with that of Carew, Bodley, and Pynnar, made no observations on the state of the town.

Up to 1622, then, less than 50% of those who had undertaken to build in the town had done so. Until 1627, if not later, lands in the liberties and demesne adjacent to the town which it had been decided would be granted in lease to British tenants undertaking to build were being let on a yearly basis to native Irish tenants.³ Within the town the older Gaelic inhabitants retained their houses (presumably being restored privately), on a year to year basis, subject to piecemeal eviction if British tenants offering to build houses arrived.⁴ It will be seen below that a change in policy took place in 1625.⁵

In 1615⁶ there were on the archbishop's rental ninety-six houses within the town of Armagh. The annual rents (where stated) of these houses with their adjacent gardens, varied from 13/4 to 6/8. Fourteen British names occur amongst the tenants. In a very small number of cases more than one house was held in the same tenants' name, though also two tenants, always Irish, occasionally held one house.⁷ From

1. Registry, A. 2a. 28/11, Civitas ac Villa de Armath (Rental of 1618).
2. N.L.I., Rich Papers 8013/9: Provisions in the primate's leases.
3. Registry, A. 2a. 28/13.
4. Ibid., p.5 (rental, 1622, note by Ussher, c.1627).
5. Below, p. 365.
6. The date of the first surviving rental.
7. Registry, A. 2a 28/10, pp.28-31: Liber supervisor de anno 1615 pro ter Primat.

1618 dates the only rental of our period from which a street plan can be derived.¹ The street pattern as it emerges indicates a strong continuity with the pre-plantation town.² The houses are mostly of Irish type, and the tenants while pre-dominantly Irish appear to have been mixed together irrespective of national origin. Most of the British tenants lived in houses not markedly different from those of their Irish neighbours, but the occasional British-occupied stone house on its larger and so more exclusive site must have stood out. The streets either followed the old roads leading from Armagh in various directions, and named appropriately Monaghan Street (now Navan Street), Dundalk Street (now Irish Street), Newry Street (now Scotch Street), or else were a group of lanes roughly following the contours of the original hill nucleus. Many of the street names were as yet in no way formalised, though it is of interest to note that English rather than Irish names are given. Street names implying national areas as Irish and Scotch street did not then formally exist nor is there evidence that the population was tending towards such a segregation. The inhabitants were predominantly Gaelic, but British tenants lived interspersed amongst them. By 1641 regional segregation may well have been appearing, but it would seem wrong to speak, as Stuart does, referring to the 1620s, of the citizens being divided into parties not only by religion, language,

1. Registry A. 2a. 28/11, Civitas ac Villa de Armagh: A general survey of the town of Armagh by Mr. Thomas Crant, Xpfer Bent/ley, William Harris, and Patrick Croly, the 25 Sept. a.d. 1618.
2. I am very grateful to Mr. H.D. McC. Reid, Vice-Principal, Armagh Royal School for allowing me to reproduce a map based on this survey from his unpublished M.A. thesis, The Historical Geography of Armagh, Q.U.B., 1954.

and national prejudices, but by 'local position' as well.¹

In all 123 dwelling houses come to light at this time. In addition various non-dwelling structures are referred to in the survey. Of the houses twenty-seven were held by non-Irish tenants, a small number of whom were old English. On most of the sites there were out-buildings of various types as well. A few of the houses had only recently been erected, and it is also clear that there were many sites awaiting development. In some cases parcels of land adjoining the streets had been newly enclosed. The surveyors indicate that there were further houses on the abbey land, held by Caulfield, 'of which we can get no certain knowledge'. Two 'shops', held by Irish, are referred to.²

We have seen that the building lease as a device to secure the development of the town, was being granted from 1615. Up to the end of Hampton's episcopate in 1624 this had secured the erection of only a modest eight or nine 'plantation' houses, a very partial fulfilment of expectations. The town was not attracting people capable of the financial outlay demanded. As much as 500 acres around the town designed for leasing in twenty-acre units with house sites to 'gentlemen and tradesmen' remained unleased after the succession of James Ussher.³

1. Stuart, Armagh, p.349. Stuart's suggested origin of the name English street as being derived from the old Trian Sassanach is very plausible (ibid., p.144).
2. Registry, A. 2a. 28/11, passim.
3. Registry, A. 2a. 28/13, p.41: The true revenue of the temporalities belonging to the archbishopric of Armagh and the state thereof at the decease of Christopher Hampton. This document is of special value because it contains meticulous notes and observations, including comparisons with earlier rentals now lost, appended by Ussher, c.1627.

In expectation of applicants under the original scheme this land continued to be let piecemeal to both Irish and British on a yearly basis, the claims to a more secure tenure of the traditional occupants being necessarily overlooked.¹ Clearly the implication of such a policy for the gradual re-development of the town was the eviction of those whose house areas might be acquired. Accordingly these people - or many of them: it is not possible to state if the entire town had been in this way 'reserved for English that will build' - had been let their cottages on a year to year basis. However two factors would appear to have led to the leasing of these houses or many of them. The first was simply the abortiveness of the building programme. The second was that the greater part of the British population of the town had acquired individual houses which they had expanded or rebuilt, or sites on which they had built. There may well also have been a clamour on the part of the Irish for a security of tenure, from the refusal of which, especially if it could be coupled with rent increases, it must have appeared that little could be gained.

The decision to grant leases to the sitting tenants, Irish and British, was taken by James Ussher, and the leasing began in 1627, though there are about three instances of British residents in the town (other than those with building leases) having leases from before this date.² The number of unleased houses at this time is not easily established as complications had been introduced with unrecorded sub-tenancies, and the

1. Ibid., passim.

2. Registry, A. 2a 28/13 p.3. See also list of counterparts of leases made by Christopher Hampton (Ibid., pp.43-55).

rentals are not always completely clear. A rental of c.1620 claimed that the potential episcopal income from this source was £80.¹ The submission to the visitors of 1622 re-stated this figure.² However Ussher has preserved a figure of £60. 2. 0 from a lost rental, and at his accession a rental for 55 houses or tenants totalled £39. 10. 0, the range of rents being from £1. 15. 4 to 6/8, the greater number paying either 13/4 or 10/-. Of these 55, 40 were native Irish.³ On 10 September 1627 38 leases were made, each to run for 21 years.⁴ Some indication of the rent increases resulting can be seen from the fact that the primate's income from these 38 tenancies was £34. 1. 4 per annum.⁵ These tenants were also required to provide two fat hens each yearly at Christmas, or in some cases two capons. The leases also required suit of court and use of the lord's mill. One of the thirty-four surviving leases contained a stipulation to build one 'faire coupled house after the English manner' within five years. At this time some familiar street names occur, Irish Street and Gallows Street, but this does not seem to indicate group segregation. On the whole, however, the location of individual tenancies would be difficult to identify, and almost all the leases bear a late seventeenth or early eighteenth century endorsement 'the tenants being dead and the tenement not measured and bounded, not known where it lyes'. Of these 38 tenants, 25 were British. In May 1628 six

1. L.P. Murray, ed., 'A Rent-Roll of all the Houses and Lands belonging to the See of Armagh, in Archivium Hibernicum, viii, p.100.
2. Registry, B. 1b. no 193, p.2.
3. Registry, A. 2a. 28/13, p.5.
4. Thirty-four of the counterparts of these leases have survived, one of which is in Ussher's own hand (Registry, E.1.e).
5. Registry, A. 2a. 28/19 p.3; /20, 5-6.

further houses were leased, one to a British tenant.¹ The total annual rent from these 44 tenancies was £39. 4. 8. In the same year, there are listed 20 'cottages' in the town (6 British) which were unleased, and which appear to have paid similar rents, totalling £5. 16. 8 per annum. Thus while the decision to grant leases was not extended to all inhabitants, it does seem to have been applied to a substantial proportion of them. In 1639 the archbishop adopted a middleman policy, in leasing 'most of the town' for sixty years at £58 per annum to William Hilton², a baron of the exchequer, who was also lessee of the Armagh school lands.

An account of the town based on an examination of rentals has unavoidable limitations. However they do provide valuable information. Some of them list the arrears of tenants as well as the 'charge' due, though to what extent the ratio of arrears to rent payable (in itself difficult to establish, given the accounting system) may be taken to indicate the prosperity of the town is perhaps doubtful. In 1628 a group of tenants whose quarterly rent was £9. 18. 5 paid £9. 0. 9, i.e. were in arrears to the extent of only 17. 8.³ However this does not present a general picture. In 1629 a rental of all or nearly all the houses in Armagh (other than plantation houses) revealed that, of a quarterly sum of £16. 14. 7 due, £11. 14. 3 was paid, and £5. 0. 4 or 29% of the amount due was in arrears. The influence of the wartime situation in causing this should not be wholly discounted, but it may

1. Registry, A. 2a. 28/19, p.3.

2. Registry, A. 1b. 31, Walter Dawson's rental, 1713, p.3.

3. Registry, A. 1b. 29/1, 2-3.

also indicate that many townspeople were not thriving and prosperous. In three cases 'pawnes' were taken from tenants, a kettle, a horsecloth, and a 'cadaw'.¹ Thirteen of these tenants, one of them an Englishman who had in fact left the town, whose rents unpaid came to £1. 16. 2 were designated as 'not able to pay'. Some had been 'forgiven' their rent by the archbishop, two were widows, and most of their houses were decayed.² The surviving rentals for the late 1630's are more difficult to interpret, but the impression is of a somewhat similar situation.³

The population of Armagh at the end of our period is difficult to assess. The muster roll of c.1630 lists ninety British male inhabitants of the town and liberties.⁴ We have seen,⁵ however, that there were more British on the archbishop's estate than were listed on the muster roll. A figure of over 100 British males can therefore fairly be suggested. It must be noted, however, that Hampton's building-lease scheme had had only limited success. There were also, of course, a substantial number of native Irish living in the town. The estimated population of New York in 1630 was 300 (400 in 1640)⁶; if the native element is included Armagh cannot have been much smaller.⁷

The absence of will inventories and corporation records makes analysis of the social and occupational structure of the town impossible, but one does find reference to the expected occupations. Most of the

1. A rough woollen covering (O.E.D.).
2. Registry, A. 1b. 29/2, 1-2.
3. Ibid., A. 1b. 29/5, 6, 7 passim.
4. B.M., Add. MS 4770, ff.41^v-3.
5. Above, p.277.
6. J.P. Greene (ed.), Settlements to society (New York, 1966), p.249.
7. In 1664, 93 householders, British and Irish, with 111 'smokestacks' were assessed for hearth-tax (L.P. Murray (ed.), 'The county Armagh hearth money rolls, A.D. 1664' in Archivium Hibernicum, viii. 121, 150-53).

leaseholders in 1627 are described as yeomen. There were also two maltsters, Matthew Black and William Rastall, one of whom held a malt-house, kiln, and barn as well as a school-house. A further malthouse was leased to one William McGerr. There was one glover, Richard Francis, and a tann house was held by a certain Richard Unddelly. The Irish family of Crawley or Croly appear to have been merchants and shop keepers.¹ Just outside the town, Matthew Ussher, a burgess and relative of the archbishop, held a mill. Roger Russell, who made the leases in 1627 on the archbishop's behalf, was a butcher who had previously moved from Moneymore in Londonderry to Armagh. While in Moneymore, an Irish deponent stated in March 1627, Russell had frequently harboured rebels and received stolen livestock.² Richard Chappell,³ at one time the archbishop's rent-collector, was lessee of 'the brick p[ar]ke'. Such evidence is too slight to suggest that the British inhabitants composed the greater part of the artisans and tradesmen within the town.

Some light on one Armagh merchant comes to hand from his 'answer' in a chancery suit of post 1635. It seems that in August 1634 a certain John Rown, a Scot, came to an agreement with Sir Arthur Graham, who was then going to England, whereby the latter should purchase on his behalf £70 worth of 'stuffs', silks, buttons, and other merchandise. The goods were purchased and Rown sold them 'both in his shopp and in the market place on market days'. However, litigation broke out, at first before the judges of assize at Armagh, and then in chancery, on the terms of the agreement.⁴ An Armagh merchant in 1641 had a shop

1. Registry, bundle of leases, E.1.e.

2. P.R.O., S.P. 63/244, ff.145-6^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.216).

3. Memorial plaque in church of Ireland cathedral.

4. P.R.O.I. Chancery Salvage, U.66 (document damaged).

there and also in Loughgall.¹ There was also an English innkeeper in 1641.²

It was perhaps as a marketing centre that the town had most importance, and much of its life must have had a rural relevance. In 1610 it was noted that Armagh with its markets and courts would be a place of meeting for the colony in the county.³ The right to hold a market in the town on Tuesdays and two fairs annually in March and August was granted to the archbishop in 1615, and a further fair on 29 June in 1634.⁴ The market cross features prominently on Bartlett's map. There was both a 'new' and 'old' market place in 1627.⁵ Being unwalled and with the streets in many cases following the roads leading from the town, Armagh shaded with the countryside from which in various ways most of its inhabitants derived their livelihood. The land in the liberties and 'demesnes' surrounding was let in small units to many of the townsmen. The town itself must have presented a countryfied image with its numerous barns, stables, orchards and gardens, many of them newly enclosed.

Apart from some ecclesiastical restoration, there can have been few buildings or institutions of civic sophistication. A sessions house, jail, and/or house of correction existed, most likely in one building.⁶

In 1619 a king's letter directed that a portion of ground, 80 feet by

1. T.C.D. MS f. 3.7, ff.57-7^v.

2. *Ibid.*, f.100.

3. *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p.406.

4. *Library, John Lodge MSS, G. III. 23*, p.5. The corporation did not receive such rights, additionally, until 1753 (*ibid.*).

5. Referred to in leases, 1627 (Registry, E.1.e).

6. T.C.D. MS F.3.7, f.249. The eighteenth century jail, in a cellar under the sessions house, is described in Stuart, *Armagh*, pp.529-32.

40 feet, should be reserved for a sessions house and jail. This was to be built 'within convenient time' upon the charge of the town and county, with whatever money had been collected already for that purpose, its custody to be committed to the sheriff of the county.¹ The royal school at Armagh can have developed very little prior to 1641.²

As a protestant ecclesiastical centre the town was revived under Christopher Hampton. In 1622 the cathedral was described as follows:

The cathedrall church of Armagh which was ruined and the steeple thrown down by Shane O'Neale, the steeple built the south and northside walls with fair windows, the south and north isles roof'd and platform'd upon both sides of the church, and the great bell cast by the lo: primate.³

The archbishop was non-resident, though he had a house in Armagh, but the dean was not an absentee and a chapter and vicars choral were organised.

However the ruins of the institutions of the old dispensation remained in the town, and Thomas Chambers lived in the abbey.⁴ Possibilities of restoration must have been in mind in 1641, and on the evidence of the 1630 muster book the inhabitants were ill-equipped to meet a military challenge. Although apparently the only group in the county to muster a drummer (one James Moody) no more than forty-nine men were in any way armed.⁵

The role of the corporation remains entirely indistinct. In January 1611 the lord deputy and plantation commissioners ordered the town to be incorporated and 'the Lord Prymate ... dealt with-all to

1. Registry, A. 1b. no 26, pp. 206-7.

2. Below, pp. 629-38.

3. Registry, B. 1b. no 193, 26-7.

4. T.C.D. MS F. 3. 7, ff.42-3. The buildings of the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul are described in a regrant to Caulfield (Stuart, Armagh, pp. 348-9).

5. B.M. Add. MS. 4770, ff 41v-2v.

make estates to certaine burgesses',¹ but incorporation did not come until 1613.² The first sovereign and two of the burgesses were relatives of the archbishop and most of the burgesses were resident in the town. One of them was Thomas Dawson. The corporation did not receive any grant of land. Fairs and markets, normal in plantation charters, were also not included. Its only source of income was from the right to hold a weekly court of record, with power to impose penalties of up to five marks. However, in practice, law and order in the town was maintained, perhaps exclusively, by the archbishop's manor court, held before his seneschal.³ The episcopal landlord had been clearly unwilling to forgo any rights when the corporation was being established. It seems evident that the real source of authority within the town lay in the landlord and not the corporation.

B. CHARLEMONT

Charlemont, also incorporated in 1613, presents a marked contrast to Armagh. On the site, near the confluence of the Blackwater and Callen rivers, there had been no previous Gaelic settlement. The town grew from the fort established by Mountjoy in 1602. A bridge was built across the river, and the fortress, close to the O'Neill headquarters at Dungannon, had a special military importance. The garrison was

1. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no. 27, in Analecta Hibernica, viii.
2. R.I.A., MS 24. Q. 7, Charters of Irish towns, i. 160-72; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.255 (heading only); Stuart, Armagh, pp.640-6 (translation).
3. Library, Armagh Manor Court Rolls.

under the energetic control of Sir Toby Caulfield.¹

In the years after the treaty of Mellifont the fort, rapidly erected, became decayed, and with the flight of the earls, when fear of invasion or insurrection was again a reality, there was a concern to make Charlemont and the other Ulster forts more serviceable. In June 1607 it had been leased, with lands adjacent, for twenty-one years to Caulfield, to be maintained in good repair.² In 1608 Sir Josias Bodley, inspecting the Ulster defences, reported that the fort and bawn were 'much decayed', but that the governor had undertaken to repair it to his requirements, at a cost of £100.³

The original fortress, built in two stages, is represented in Bartlett's map.⁴ Within the defences there were about forty houses, mostly thatched. 'Buildings of round or elliptical ground plan were outnumbered by rectangular ones, some of them perhaps with rounded ends'.⁵ Cage work was conspicuously absent. A wooden bridge with handrails, and also a float on the river, is illustrated. There is no evidence civilian settlement nearby at this point.

The military importance of the place and the value of Sir Toby as a

1. Previous treatments of Charlemont have concerned themselves for the most part with its military vicissitudes and the history of the Caulfield family. See, for example,
 - J.J. Marshall, History of Charlemont fort and borough ... and of Mountjoy fort (Dungannon 1921), 83 pp.
 - J.W. Hanna, Annals of Charlemont, 1846.
 - J.P. Prendergast, 'Charlemont Fort' in Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, Fourth series (1883-4), vi. 319-44.
 - E. O Taut - Ghall, 'The Fort of Charlemont in Tir-Eoghan' in U.J.A. Vol 17, 1911, 47-73.
2. Above, p. 31.
3. J. Buckley, 'Report of Sir Josias Bodley on some Ulster Fortresses in 1608' in U.J.A., vol 16, 1910, p.62.
4. G.A. Hayes - McCoy, (ed.), Ulster and other Irish Maps, c.1600, iv.
5. Ibid., p.7.

servitor did not go unrecognised after the plantation. In 1610, one hundred foot were lodged there. Carew in 1611 described the fort as strongly defended and containing good houses 'buylte after the English fashion'.¹ As the place of detention of Con O'Neill the capture of Charlemont had a special importance in 1615.² The conditions under which Caulfield purchased the fort have been already described.³ In 1641 it was captured by Sir Phelim O'Neill.

However Charlemont did not simply remain a fortress, a symbol of military dominance. The bridge encouraged traffic, and already by the time of Carew's inquiry in 1611 there were indications of civilian activity outside and around the fort. Sir Toby himself had built a timber stable, garden, and impaled haggard outside the rampart. Also both English and Irish inhabitants had come to live there, no doubt drawing much of their livelihood from the necessities of the fort. On Carew's evidence, the 'towne' was 'replenished with many inhabitants of English and Irish who have built them good houses of coples after the best manner of the English'.⁴ In 1613 the settlement was incorporated with Francis Capron as first portreeve.⁵ The corporation received no grant of land. To do this would have involved the breaking of Caulfield's lease of the fort lands. The corporation was empowered to hold a weekly court of record, make bye-laws, have a gild merchant and a common seal, and appoint two serjeants-at-mace. It was also granted a free weekly

1. Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MSS, vol. 630, f.60^v.
2. Above p. 168.
3. Above p. 205.
4. Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MSS, vol 630, f.60^v.
5. R.I.A., MS 24. Q. 10, charters of Irish towns, iv, 104-15; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Carte MS, vol 62 f. 147, Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, p. 338 (warrant for incorporation); Cal. pat rolls Ire., Jas I, p. 255 (heading only); Marshall, Charlemont and Mountjoy, pp.14-15 (translated abstract).

market and a fair on 1 and 2 May with a court of pie powder.

It may be argued that the development of Charlemount as a civilian centre under Caulfield tutelage was due primarily to the fact that Sir Toby was an extensive landholder in the area. It is known that he imported tenants for his lands,¹ and some of the first burgesses or their descendants feature as Caulfield tenants in the muster roll of c.1630, and in a subsequent list of tenants of Colure which Caulfield held from Trinity College.² Some may also have been ex-servicemen.³

Only a few casual snippets from the history of the town up to 1641 have survived. The muster roll does not have an independent entry,⁴ but the 1664 hearth money roll records 64 names and 72 fireplaces.⁵ The rural context of the town - as well, of course, as its military character - is the most obvious feature. The corporation had a fair in May and a Tuesday market, deriving from the 1613 charter, and the Caulfield landlords had a Wednesday market and a fair in August by patent from 1622.⁶ In 1626 the bridge, from which much of the civilian and military importance of the settlement derived, had become delapidated and its replacement was raised by Caulfield at the privy council. It was decided 'after considerable debate' that because of its local value

1. The humble petition of the English tenants ... of the Colure ... to T.C.D. (T.C.D., M.R., Mahaffy Collection, E.79).
2. B.M., Add. MS 4770, ff 43-44; T.C.D., M.R., Mahaffy Collection, Drawer G, folder 1.
3. Certainly some of the tenants of the archbishop of Armagh belonged to this category.
4. Fifty-six tenants are listed for Caulfield's lands in the county at this time (B.M., Add. MS 4770, ff 43^v-44^v). A later document adds thirteen further names (T.C.D. M.R., Mahaffy Collection, Drawer G, from folder 1).
5. L.P. Murray, (ed.), 'The County Armagh Hearth Money Rolls, A.D. 1664', in *Archivium Hibernicum*, viii, 149-50.
6. Armagh public Library, John Lodge MSS, G. 111. 23, p.5. The volume of business on Wednesdays would probably indicate the superior authority of the Caulfields over the corporation.

the cost should be levied off the two adjacent counties.¹

The relation between property holding in the town and countryside in one case is brought out in a chancery suit of c.1630 between William, Lord Caulfield and a tenant Edward May. The suit concerned terms of rent payment and lease duration and arose in part from William's succession to Sir Toby. May had a sixty-year lease of three townlands formerly part of the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul as well as two acres of land in Charlemont with 'certaine' houses built on it and described as 'subject to fflier and other casualtyes', and parcels of land around the town varying in size from fifty to four acres. In the town he also held a horse mill and another tenement with three acres appertaining acquired from a previous tenant under a twenty-one year lease.² May, as tenant of land, mill, and cottages, was no doubt one of the more substantial inhabitants, but it also seems clear that the land around the town was being leased in small and irregular quantities to its inhabitants.³ There was a tannery in Charlemont in 1641.⁴

Apart from the attraction of the site, the growth of Charlemont as a civilian centre must have depended in large part on the energy of the Caulfields. The pre-1641 community however had hardly acquired the independence, scale, or self-reliance for much corporate development.

1. Elrington, Ussher, xv, p.273; Marshall, Charlemont and Mountjoy, p.16.
2. P.R.O.I. Chancery Salvage, 1.65. (damaged bill).
3. That the adjacent land was being enclosed is also suggested. In 1643 Eoin O'Neill encountered some of Monro's army in a lane leading to Charlemont 'enclosed with quicksetts'. (E. O'Tuat-Ghail, 'The Fort of Charlemont in Tir-Eogan' in U.J.A. Vol 17, 1911, p.56.).
4. T.C.D. MS F. 3. 7, f.215.

C. MOUNTNORRIS AND TANDRAGEE

Armagh and Charlemont did have corporate status: as for Tandragee there is no indication that any steps towards incorporation were taken. Mountnorris, also intended for incorporation, never received a charter. Its origin like that of Charlemont was military. The fort here was established in 1600 by Mountjoy, on the route between Newry and Armagh. The fortress contained fifty-three or fifty-four houses, built in most cases from wood. Thirty-six were of Irish type with a circular or elliptical ground plan, being all thatched. Twelve or thirteen followed the small English cottage style with tiled, gabled roofs, the remainder being hip-roofed.¹

In February 1606 the fort was leased for twenty-one years to captain Henry Adderton,² and in 1608 Bodley reported that defences had been constructed in it at a cost of about 100 marks.³ In 1611 Bodley saw Mountnorris as a place of 'special importe ... and fit to be mayntained and supported'. By then English and Irish inhabitants had 'resorted' there and built 'good' houses 'after the manner of the Pale, w'ch is a great releefe saftie and comfote for passengers between the Newyre and Armagh'.⁴

Its development was thus akin to that of Charlemont, and the question arises as to why it was not incorporated. Incorporation in practice had not been made dependent on size. The answer would appear to lie in the unwillingness of the leaseholder and subsequent owner of the fort and

1. G.A. Hayes - McCoy, Ulster and other Irish Maps, c.1600, 11.

2. Above, p. 31.

3. J. Buckley, 'Report of Sir Josias Bodley on some Ulster Fortresses in 1608' in U.J.A., vol 16, 1910, p.62.

4. Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MSS, vol 630, f.60^v.

its lands, in 1613, to forgo any rights, however slight, to a corporation. It has been already seen that with the death of Adderton in 1611, the fort and, cumulatively, lands in the vicinity, came into the hands of Francis Annesley, later Lord Mountnorris.¹ After that a warrant for incorporation was issued,² but the matter proceeded no further, Annesley, manifestly, being unprepared to pay the fees involved. Lack of incorporation was a triumph of trivial private interest over public policy, involving the loss to the executive of two votes in parliament.

D. CAVAN

Cavan was a place of some standing at the end of the sixteenth century. A map of c.1593³ shows two principal streets, corresponding to the present Main street and Bridge street. It also shows the bridge, the Franciscan monastery, the market cross, the O'Reilly castle, and about fifty houses. An inquisition in July 1601 returned that Mulmory oge O'Reilly was possessed of the castle and town, apart from the castle and land of Walter and Thomas Brady and one water mill.⁴ Walter Brady, a landowner and merchant, had been appointed by the crown constable and jailer of Cavan in December 1584.⁵ The town had had many contacts both with the Pale area and the Dublin administration.

Of the three projected corporations for the county, Cavan was thus a place of some size by Irish standards on the eve of colonisation.⁶

1. Above, p. 163.

2. 'Ulster Plantation Papers', no 58 in Analecta Hibernica, viii.

3. Reproduced in P. O'Connell, The diocese of Kilmore, p.301.

4. P.R.O.I., Calendar to exchequer inquisitions, Ulster, Cavan, (7) Eliz., pp.17-24.

5. Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 4547.

6. Davies in 1607 described it as a 'poor Irish town' (Morley, Ire. under Eliz. & Jas I, p.374).

Its incorporation is of special interest because the process was initiated before the arrival of colonists. In February 1610 Chichester directed the attorney-general to draw up a fiant for a charter for the town, to contain 'such reasonable liberties and franchises as ... shall seem fit and convenient', and to submit it for his consideration.¹ The matter appears to have been neglected by Davies, so that in October the deputy repeated his instructions, this time recommending that the charter should follow that of Kells, and directing that the new corporation should be granted 500 acres of land allotted to it.² The charter was issued on 15 November 1610.³ The land thus granted to the corporation amounted to some 683 statute acres.

The incorporation of Cavan in November 1610 presented it with a governing body distinctively different from James I's other Ulster corporations. The first sovereign, Walter Brady, and the two portreeves, Owen [Mor] Brogan and Farrall M'Eregules, were Gaelic Irish as were most of the corporators, though Brady was thoroughly anglicised, and only two of the twelve burgesses, Hugh Culme and James Murray, were products of the plantation. Walter Talbot, who, like Culme, did not live in the town, represented the old English landed interest. The area of the borough was to be within a one-mile circumference of Walter Brady's house, but the castle of Cavan and two polls of land appertaining was to be exempt from its jurisdiction. The sovereign was to have powers

1. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Carte MSS, vol 61, f. 485 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, p.390).
2. Ibid., f.497 (ibid., p.514).
3. R.I.A., MS 24. Q. 10, Charters of Irish towns, iv, 130-152; Cal. pat rolls Ire., Jas I, p.180; Smyth, Cavan, pp. 18-21 (abstract).

as amply as the sovereign of Kells. The corporation was empowered to appoint a recorder or town clerk with the powers of the recorders of Drogheda or Kells, and might also appoint a serjeant of the mace. The oaths of officers were laid down and recited. There might be a three-weekly court with jurisdiction to the extent of £20. A weekly market and fairs were also included in the charter, though a weekly market had also been granted to a private owner, John Bingle, in 1603, and this caused contention later.¹ In January 1611 the deputy and plantation commissioners directed that the justices of assize on their next circuit - sessions were held in the town - should ensure that the sovereign took the oath of supremacy according to the charter.²

From the fragmentary evidence available it seems that the corporation retained much of its Gaelic Irish character throughout the plantation period.³ In 1627 the sovereign was Patrick Brady,⁴ and in 1628 Nathaniel Dardes, a burgess of old English origin who died c.1630 and who had taken the oath of surpemacy in 1612,⁵ held the office.⁶ It it may be, however, that in the 1630s the colonial interest began to achieve a prominence. In 1633 Allan Cook, lay-chancellor of the diocese of Kilmore, member of parliament for the town in 1634,⁷ and

1. Below, pp. 438-9.
2. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no 27 in Analecta Hibernica, viii.
3. The main source for what follows is a collection of leases and deeds or abstracts of them preserved amongst the Farnham Papers in the National Library of Ireland (D20409-20475, and MS 11,490/3,4.).
4. Indenture, 20 Sept. 1627, between corporation of Cavan and Terence O'Reilly (N.L.I. D20409-20475).
5. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no 69 in Analecta Hibernica, viii. Here he is listed with a group of tenants of Stephen Butler.
6. Indenture, 1 Aug. 1628, between corporation of Cavan and Lawrence Dardes (N.L.I. D20409-20475).
7. H.F. Kearney, Strafford in Ireland, 1633-41, 257-8.

founder of Cookstown features as 'Superior Ville sive Oppid' Cavan',¹ and in the following year Lawrence Moore was sovereign.² In 1628 there was both an English and an Irish portreeve, William Moore,³ who held this office also in 1627, and William O'Brogan respectively.⁴ In 1633 a certain John Dowdall, a palesman in origin, held one of these posts, though at this time the clerk of the court of the town, Edward Foherton (?), belonged to the incoming element.⁵ In 1633 the recorder, William Clifford, was British.⁶ Of eighteen people whose names survive as burgesses or freemen between 1627 and 1634 nine were Irish or old English and nine British. One of these, John Gibson, was a Dublin merchant.⁷ It is difficult to say if the tendency towards British dominance in the town was much further advanced by 1641. However the sovereign then was Stephen Allen, king's attorney in Ulster, who lived in Cavan abbey,⁸ and John Whitman, an English merchant, had also been sovereign.⁹ After the plantation, the castle of Cavan and the abbey had come into British hands. The former was leased to Sir Thomas

1. Indenture, 13 Sept. 1633, between corporation of Cavan on the one hand and William Clifford and James Gray on the other (N.L.I. D20409-20475).
2. Indenture, 28 Aug. 1634, between corporation of Cavan and John Gibson (N.L.I. D20409-20475).
3. Indenture, 20 Sept. 1627 between corporation of Cavan and Terence O'Reilly (N.L.I. D20409-20475). It is possible that Moore may have been Irish. In July 1601 a list of Cavan pardons included one James O'Moore, a butcher in the town (Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no 6559; Cal. pat. rolls. Ire., Eliz., p.591).
4. Indenture, 29 Aug. 1628, between corporation of Cavan and William Moore (N.L.I. D20409-20475).
5. Indenture, 13 Sept. 1633 between corporation of Cavan on the one hand and William Clifford and James Gray on the other (*ibid.*).
6. Indenture, 29 Aug. 1628 between corporation of Cavan and William Moore (*ibid.*).
7. Below, p.
8. T.C.D. MS f. 3. 3, ff.173-4.
9. T.C.D. MS f. 3. 4, ff. 273-4^v.

Rotherham, the overseer of fortifications, in 1616,¹ and subsequently became the property of Sir Oliver Lambert.² The abbey was granted to Sir Thomas Ashe in 1611.³

Certainly in comparison with Belturbet, which appears to have been larger,⁴ Cavan had a special significance for native Irish elements. In 1636 a report on the state of the catholic diocese of Kilmore stated that although there was no city in the diocese there was however one town - 'oppidum ... unicum' -, Cavan, where there had been, while the catholic religion flourished, a Franciscan monastery: yet even now some fathers of the order lodged in private houses.⁵

In its early years the borough was rent by dispute and contention, both internal and external. In 1612 the commissioners for adjudicating disputes decided and 'quieted' differences between the townsmen, as well as four disputes for land between them and Sir Oliver Lambert, Waldron and Taylor.⁶ Internal contention appears to have continued unabated however, and Bodley found 'little show of any purpose'. Two or three houses of lime and stone had been built by the townsmen, who were otherwise 'at a non plus'.⁷ In 1622 it was found that dissention still prevailed, hinging on the use of the town land, and detrimental to the progress of the corporation.⁸

The use of the corporation land remains obscure throughout our

1. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.313.
2. P.R.O.I., Book of survey and distribution.
3. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.199.
4. T.W. Jones (ed.), Life and death of William Bedell (London, 1972), p.62.
5. P.F. Moran (ed.), Spicilegium Ossoriense (Dublin, 1874), 1st series, p.208.
6. T.C.D. MS F.1.20, ff. 16, 17^v, 19.
7. H.M.C. Hastings MSS, iv, p.162.
8. B.M. Add. MS 4756, f.104.

period. A number of freehold grants of small areas of land along with house sites were made by the corporation from September 1611.¹ Smyth conjectures that since there is no reference to the land in the corporation books which begin at 1680 it must have been alienated at an early date possibly to burgesses.² It is clear now that much of the land - about 500 acres - had come into the hands of Walter Brady's family, and Robert and Patrick Brady are recorded as owners of it in 1641.³ How they acquired this land is not clear, but the effect of it was that the Bradys were now to be in a somewhat similar position to the patrons of towns which had not been incorporated and granted land as Cavan was. The way in which the two Bradys had acquired this land was a matter of grievance to the corporators who in March 1635 petitioned the house of commons for redress.⁴ The outcome of the appeal is not known, but in July 1641 Patrick Brady petitioned for redress against the corporation.⁵ It was probably through these acquisitions of the Bradys that most of the corporation land was lost.

In 1610 the town was composed, seemingly, of two streets, Castle Street and Bridge Street. However in September 1611 a 'vicus novus' or 'new street' 'leading from the high crosse unto the Gallows Hill'⁶ features in corporation deeds.⁷ High street also appears, but this may

1. Below, pp. 385-6.
2. T.S. Smyth, Civic history of ... Cavan, pp. 44-5.
3. P.R.O.I., Book of survey and distribution. In my map and acreage figures for 1641 this land has been all accredited to the corporation.
4. Commons in., Ire., 17 March 1635, p.105; 14 April 1635, p.117.
5. Ibid., 15 July 1641, p.257.
6. Indenture, 13 March 1632, between Patrick Brady on the one hand, and Thomas Brady and Nicholas Garnett on the other (N.L.I. D20409-20475).
7. Indenture (in Latin), 1 Sept. 1611, between corporation of Cavan and Mahon O'Brogan (ibid.).

merely be an alternate name.¹ The rate of town expansion appears to have been very slow, but cannot be measured with accuracy. By 1613 only two or three new houses had been built.² Evidence survives of nineteen freehold grants from the corporation of property in the town and its environs between September 1611 and August 1634.³ There is no reason to suspect that these were the only grants, indeed the fact that seventeen of them date between 1624 and 1634 is noteworthy. Seven were to people of British name. These grants do not necessarily imply that new houses were being built, and in some cases at any rate must have been of houses already in existence. The properties in the town were usually defined as 'one house-rome messuage and freehold' with a frontage towards the street usually of seven or thirteen 'ells or Cavan slatts',⁴ with gardens to the rere. The rent payable to the corporation, in three cases where it is known, was 6d. sterling (1628 and 1634) and 8d. Irish (1611) per annum. Grants of land from the corporation in six known instances ranged in size from one to four acres, the rent for two acres to two British grantees being 1/- sterling per annum.⁵ All corporation grants were on condition that no part of the property should be alienated to any person other than a burgess or freeman of the town.

Between March 1632 and March 1639 thirteen Cavan freeholders, one of whom Thomas Newman, lived in Dublin, sold their property to a certain John Gibson, a Dublin merchant, who also in 1634 as a freeman of Cavan

1. Indenture, 30 May 1634, between Lawrence Dardes and John Gibson (*ibid.*).
2. H.M.C., Hastings MSS, iv. 162.
3. N.L.I., Farnham Papers D20409-20475, MS 11,490/4.
4. Slat = yard in modern Irish.
5. Indenture, 13 Sept. 1633, between corporation of Cavan on one hand, and William Clifford and James Gray on the other (N.L.I. D20409-20475).

received a grant of a 'house-roome' in Castle Street from the corporation. An absentee thus appears to have made himself perhaps the largest property owner in the town, buying out both British and Irish proprietors in almost equal numbers. For twelve of these properties he paid sums amounting to £345. 6. 8, in all perhaps £360. The largest component was the property of Patrick McDonagh O'Brogan, a merchant. In all he bought fifteen houses or messuages, and six freeholds in land amounting to sixteen acres.¹

The muster roll of c.1630 enters the names of twenty-seven townsmen.² Two of these lived outside the town and three had old English names. Only three were armed, having three swords, one musket, one snaphance, and one pike between them. However twenty leases and deeds of town property between 1611 and 1639, of which nineteen date from 1627, provide evidence in witnesses' signatures of forty British (of whom only six appear on the muster roll), who must have lived in the town or close by, and of under thirty Irish (including old English) residents. There were thus perhaps some fifty British males in the town by 1641.

The association between town and countryside must have been very close. Cavan was unwallled (though there was a 'town ditch')³ and it was a market centre. William Cole, a miller, present in 1641,⁴ would have served both town and surrounding countryside. The first mayor, Walter Brady, a merchant, also held land, along with two brothers,

1. N.L.I., D20409-20475, MS 11,490/3,4.
2. B.M., Add. MS 4770, F.22^v. In the table for the county the number 18 is mistakenly entered.
3. Indenture, 28 Aug. 1634, between corporation of Cavan and John Gibson (N.L.I. D2049-20475).
4. T.C.D. MS F.3.4, ff.226-6^v.

nearby. Few of the inhabitants have their occupations defined. Apart from Brady, Mahun O'Brogan was a merchant of some standing in 1611. Patrick McOwen O'Brogan and Patrick McDonogh O'Brogan were also merchants. The latter by 1633 owned four 'messuages' in the new street and another in Castle Street which he sold to Gibson for £54.¹ These he had purchased between 1624 and 1632, two being acquired from British settlers who had received them from the corporation.² By 1632 Walter Brady's house, the first sovereign being by then presumably dead, was in the tenure of John Whitman, an English merchant. Between 1631 and 1633 the names of three British merchants occur, one, Nicholas Garnett, living outside the town. Hamnet (or Hamlet) Steele was an innkeeper, whose wife in 1639, previously Brennan, was the widow of another British settler, and who was often appointed to deliver seizin in property transfers. Another establishment the 'Signe of the Bull', along with four acres of land was held by Lawrence Dardes, son of Nathaniel the sovereign, until mortgaged in 1633 for £40 and sold outright in 1636 for a further £48.⁴

Cavan was, then, a county and market town, neither a military nor an ecclesiastical centre. Unlike Londonderry it was not built virtually de novo with the plantation, and its political structure indicates how much of the old remained in the plantation period. However it is clear that both the economic and political balance was changing before 1641.

1. Indenture, 17 Sept. 1632, between Patrick O'Brogan and John Gibson, Indenture, 9 July 1633 between Patrick O'Brogan and John Gibson (N.L.I. D20409-20475).
2. Ibid.
3. Indenture, 13 March 1632, between Patrick Brady, etc. and John Gibson (N.L.I. D20409-20475).
4. Indenture, 25 Feb. 1636, between Lawrence Dardes and John Gibson (ibid.).

The size of the town was not impressive; nevertheless in a list of 'chief gents in Ulster' drawn up about 1625 the sovereign of Cavan was included amongst the fifteen leading people in the county.¹

E. VIRGINIA

In the 'Project' it was propounded that a town should be erected, allotted land, and incorporated in county Cavan about mid way between Kells and Cavan, the precise site to be chosen by the commissioners of plantation.² Five townlands, 619 acres by the Civil Survey 2 (about 1297 statute acres), were allotted for the town. There was also to be a Thursday market and a fair, in June.³ The grantee of the area, with responsibility for establishing the town and procuring its incorporation was Captain John Ridgeway,⁴ a local landowner.

It was not until August 1612 that Ridgeway, as patron, received a patent of the town lands. The conditions contained in it have already been outlined to indicate the obligations these grantees accepted.⁵ He was to 'plant and settle' twenty British, who should be burgesses, within four years, and allot to each small areas of land. He should also provide sites for the town and for various public buildings - a church and church yard, a market place, and school. Apart from the land to be allotted to the burgesses, thirty acres, a further thirty acres should be designated as common. The remainder of the land

1. P.R.O. N.I. T808/15261.

2. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no 74, in Analecta Hibernica, viii. For the original Gaelic name of the site see T.F. O'Rahilly, 'Notes on Irish Place Names' in Hermathena, XLVIII (1953), 197-8.

3. P.R.O.I., Lodge, Records of the rolls, XIV, 18.

4. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1, p.236.

5. Above, p. 351-2.

became the patron's property and he also received the right to hold a weekly market and two fairs. He furthermore received Lough Ramor and its fishing, and on it he might keep a ferry.

By 1611 Ridgeway had imported a number of artisans to his estate,¹ however at the time of Bodley's survey in 1613, coincident, as it happened, with the incorporation of the Ulster boroughs, only the site of the town, and the name Virginia had been chosen, otherwise there was 'nothing done'.² Before 1619 Ridgeway sold his estate to Captain Hugh Culme, the obligation to build the town, and the town lands, being thus transferred.³ From Culme the beginnings of settlement at Virginia can be traced. On Pynnar's evidence Culme had erected eight timber houses and placed in them English tenants. There was also present a minister 'which keepeth school and is a very good preacher'.⁴ At this point Virginia was in no way different from the other modest villages being established under planter tutelage throughout the escheated counties. However size had not been in practice a qualification for incorporation, though the grant of the town lands in trust to Ridgeway in 1612 had stipulated that within four years he should have built twenty English-type houses and placed in them twenty British families.⁵ This stipulation turned out to be too onerous. The failure, however, of the incipient town, in its early stages to receive a charter was due on the one hand to the transfer of responsibility from Ridgeway to Culme, and on the other to government laxity in the detailed supervision of the

1. Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MSS, vol 630, f.69.

2. H.M.C., Hastings MSS, 1v, 160.

3. Hill, Plantation, pp.457-8.

4. Hill, Plantation, pp.457-8.

5. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.236; B.M., Add. Ms 4756, f.101.

plantation scheme.

The commissioners in 1622, Culme being absent at the time, heard complaints from the inhabitants that they had no security of tenure. The 1622 return mentions only five stone and clay houses inhabited with 'poore' families, though it states that two more houses were being built.¹ Another change of ownership came shortly afterwards placing the estate around the town, and Virginia, in the hands of the old English Lucas Plunkett, baron Killeen and subsequently earl of Fingall,² who owned land nearby.

It was under Plunkett that the inhabitants (or some of them) received grants of title to their houses and pieces of land in the area. Thus on 25 January 1625 the Rev. George Creighton of Virginia and his wife received a fee-farm grant of their house and three roods of land 'inclosed and market forth' at a rent of 5/4 per annum.³ Later, on 30 June 1626, Plunkett leased to Creighton and seven other residents of the town, jointly, two of the townlands which were to have been allotted to the corporation as well as the profits of the fairs and markets for 61 years, at £17 per annum rent.⁴ One of these was a weaver, another a mason, and a third a 'brasior'. Another, David Kellett, was subsequently a landholder in the area.⁵ The granting of leasehold security to the residents had thus awaited the end of James's reign and after.

The fact that Virginia had not been incorporated became an issue

1. *Ibid.*
2. Date of sale is not known, but Fingall held the property in January 1625 (Indenture, 25 Jan. 1625, between Plunkett and George Creighton, in Fingall Papers, N.L.I., MS 8026).
3. Indenture, 25 January 1625 ... (as above)
4. Indenture, 30 June 1626, between Plunkett and Creighton, etc. (N.L.I., MS 8026).
5. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (51) Chas I.

when the commissioners for defective titles transferred their attention to Ulster. An inquiry into the extent of Plunkett land in county Cavan was held in September 1637.¹ In March 1638 Creighton on behalf of the townsmen petitioned Wentworth to cause Christopher Plunkett, Lucas's successor, to procure the incorporation of the town. The matter was referred to Lord Dillon and Sir Gerald Lowther, chief justice, and heard by them in the presence of both parties in July. They advised that Fingall should surrender the five polls of town land and receive a regrant for the purpose of incorporating the town. The corporation was to include a provost and nineteen burgesses, listed by name and presumably the total of the British inhabitants. The corporation should also receive the right to hold two fairs and a weekly market, under rent to the crown, as well as the lands and the fishing of Lough Ramor at an annual crown rent of £2. 6. 3. They went on to order that after land had been reserved for public buildings - a church, a minister's house, a school, a schoolmaster's house, a market place, and a town hall - the remainder, divided into equal proportions, should be granted to the twenty burgesses, to be held of the earl of Fingall in free burgage at the yearly rent of twenty shillings. To effect this it was ordered that a commission should be issued to the bishop of Kilmore and others to lay out the town and lands on these principles and define places for 'convenient lanes and ways' in and about the town. The earl of Fingall should himself build the church before 9 February 1640 [?-41], and enter into a bond of £4,000 to perform the stipulations of the order as it concerned him.² On August 7 this adjudication was

1. Ibid., (54) Chas I.

2. '1637. Proceedings at Council Table when Wentworth was Lord Deputie' (N.L.I., Fingall Papers, 8032/1.).

ratified in the council, and the bishop of Kilmore, Luke Dillon, Sir James Craig, and Thomas Fleming were appointed planning commissioners. The rent for the market and fairs, which were slightly adjusted, was to be £2.¹

The commission was accordingly issued to the bishop, and emphasis was placed on defining the dimensions of the church, the thickness of its walls, and that it should be built of lime and stone and slate-roofed. Upon the return of the commission Fingall, on 7 December 1639 by order of the lords justices and council, was directed to enter into bond to fulfill his obligations. However, although the lands had thus been laid out to the inhabitants, various difficulties arose and the earl attempted to defer fulfilment of certain parts of the order. The problem was further discussed at the council in the spring. The outcome was that it was decided that Fingall should be given three years from that date (13 February 1640) for erecting the church, that he should receive all arrears and rents up to 1638 due on those parts of the town lands which had not then been leased to the inhabitants of the town, and that the grant of a market and fairs to be made to the corporation should not terminate his rights to hold those fairs and markets which had been contained in Ridgeway's patent.²

In achieving the postponement of his building obligation until the spring of 1643, Fingall had unwittingly achieved a much longer exemption. The 1641 rising broke out, too, before the town was incorporated. Although the townsmen pressed their case in both the first and second courts of claims at the restoration settlement, they were unsuccessful.

1. Ibid.

2. Order of Lord Justices and Council, 13 Feb. 1640 (N.L.I., MS 8032/1).

They then sought redress in the court of chancery, 1668-70, and being there unsuccessful presented a petition to the house of commons with the same result.¹

By an interesting combination of circumstances Virginia thus did not achieve corporate status. The 1622 visitation return stated that the church for that parish was ruinous, and the recommended place in which to build was Virginia.² It is now clear that no such building had been erected over twenty and perhaps over forty years later. Up to 1641 Virginia was a simple dwelling centre, like many other plantation villages, though it was somewhat strange that a projected corporation came to have an old English landlord.

F. BELTURBET

Belturbet, unlike Virginia a place of previous Gaelic settlement, was also projected for incorporation. The grantee responsible for establishing the town, and who in August 1610 received some five polls of land allocated for this purpose, was Stephen Butler. The town received its charter on 30 March 1613,³ Stephen Butler himself being the first chief officer.⁴

Evidence of settlement, albeit on a small scale, emerges quickly. By the time of Carew's enquiry both Butler and Sir Hugh Wirrall had built houses there. Belturbet was also a centre of boat construction, and Butler, Wirrall, and Ridgeway had had boats built there, one of

1. N.L.I., Fingall Papers, 8032/1,2,3.
2. Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry, B. 1b. no 193, pp.146-7.
3. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I., p.255 (heading only).
4. See the order for the fiant for incorporation in Carte MSS, vol 62, f.167 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, p.299: inaccurate).

which could carry 'twelve or fourteen' tons. Bodley stated that the town 'goeth well forward'. Both Wirrall, who was living temporarily in an 'English thatched house' in the town pending the erection of his stronghold, and Butler, on Bodley's evidence, had appointed their freeholders for the town, many of whom had already built their houses there.¹ Pynnar stated that Butler and the other undertakers of the barony of Loughtee had responsibility for planting the town and building a church. In the town he found

houses built of cage-work all inhabited with British tenants, and most of them tradesmen, each of these having a house and garden plott, with four acres of land, and commons for certain numbers of cows and garrans.²

However that the inhabitants were dissatisfied in their relations with Butler is evident. They appealed to the deputy and council for redress, and received an order in their favour.³ On 20 May 1618, following on this order, Butler granted the town lands, with the exception of one acre called the 'Tile-Kill Yard', to the corporation at a rent of £1. 10. 0, and also a Saturday market and two fairs on Ash Wednesday and St. Bartholemew's day, and a court of records every Saturday.⁴

The effect of this agreement, however, does not seem to have been satisfying. In 1622 the commissioners found that although there were thirty-four houses all with British inhabitants, there was complaint that allocations of land had not been made. Many of the corporation claimed that they had never heard of the council order. With this

1. H.M.C., Hastings MSS, iv, 163; i.e. Butler, the patron, had not built the houses.
2. Hill, Plantation, pp.465-6.
3. Referred to in B.M., Add. MS. 4756, f 102v.
4. P.R.O.I., MS Co. 1822; Lodge, Records of the rolls, vi, 169 (appended to Butler's patent under commission for defective titles).

knowledge at their disposal, however, they seemed more satisfied and Sir Stephen and they 'promised future love and amitie one towards another'. The commissioners hoped that this would encourage 'that well begune corporac'on which is fitt to be cherished' and stated that there was a 'great store' of protestants in and about the town. They recommended that a church should be built there.¹ The ecclesiastical visitation return embodied a similar recommendation.²

How the relations of the townsmen and landlord continued is not clear. However that reasonably sized areas of land as well as common rights were associated in some way with houses in the town is clear from a conveyance of 15 July 1641. This was a fine to John Madden levied by Charles Waterhouse, one of the original incorporators. By it Waterhouse conveyed to Madden six messuages, six cottages, six gardens, ten acres of arable, ten acres of meadow, ten acres of pasture, six barns, six stables, ten acres of wood and underwood, ten acres of bog and moor, and common of pasture for all kinds of beasts, in Belturbet.³ It seems from an inquisition post mortem on Sir Stephen Butler, taken on 6 September 1639, that the Butlers exercised market and fair rights in the town.⁴ The claims of the provost and burgesses over the town lands are referred to in a later inquisition of 22 Aug. 1640.⁵ There were certainly further difficulties and litigation about Belturbet corporation in the 1670s.⁶

1. B.M., Add. MS 4756, f.102^v.

2. Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry, B. 1b. no. 193, pp.144-5.

3. N.L.I., MS D. 10025 (in Latin).

4. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan, (62) Chas I.

5. Ibid., (67) Chas I.

6. N.L.I., MS D. 7340.

There is little evidence for the development of the town. Wirrall lived there for a time, but had sold his estate by 1619.¹ In September 1613 a certain Richard Alsopp, merchant, of Lisduff, county Cavan, and Margaret Smith of Dublin, received licenses to keep taverns in Belturbet and Cavan.² In 1622 the parish minister was resident in the town, though there was no church there at that time.³ Nicholas Higginson, M.A., who had been master of the Royal School, was living in Belturbet at the outbreak of the insurrection in 1641.⁴ In 1624 during an insurrection scare when Belturbet was threatened, it emerges that the town had constables and a watch.⁵

However by 1641 Belturbet was a place of some size and substance. It was larger and certainly more protestant in character than Cavan, the county town. Bishop Bedell's son, William, writing after the restoration, described Belturbet in his father's time as being 'the only considerable town in the whole county', but which 'yet was but as one of our ordinary market-towns here in England, having only but one church in it'. However, Cavan was 'not so big by one-half' as Belturbet.⁶ A rapid examination of the 1641 depositions reveals that these were living in the town in 1641 at least five merchants⁷ one baker,⁸ two two carriers,⁹ one gunsmith,¹⁰ one feltmaker,¹¹ one shoemaker,¹² and

1. Hill, Plantation, pp.464-5.
2. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I., p.261.
3. Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry B. 1b. no 193. pp.144-5.
4. H.M.C., Report 5, App. (1876), p.39. 5. Above, p.
6. T.W. Jones (ed.), Life and death of William Bedell, p.62.
7. T.C.D. MS F.3.3, ff.63^v, 222; 66^v-8; 131^v-2; 226; F.3.4, f.189.
8. *Ibid.*, F.3.4, f.283.
9. *Ibid.*, F.3.4, ff.125-5^v; F.3.4, f.75.
10. *Ibid.*, F.3.3, ff.141^v-3, F.3.4, ff.265-6^v.
11. *Ibid.*, F.3.3, f.66^v, F.3.4, f.148.
12. *Ibid.*, F.3.3, f.101^v.

one innkeeper who also had a tannhouse,¹ all of English name. Some of these also held land. Indeed some substantial leaseholders and proprietors lived in the town. One of these, Thomas Tailor was a freeholder and leaseholder on a number of Loughtee estates.² John Pyman and Edward Phillipott, both proprietors of land, the latter the husband of Sir Stephen Butler's widow, were also resident.³

III Some other towns and villages.

It has been decided to present here a discussion of other towns and villages for which some detailed evidence has survived.

A. LURGAN

Brownlow's village of Lurgan has already been mentioned in discussion of government surveys, and we have seen that it contained a church and a mill and had grown up close to the landlord's house. A document associated with the 1622 survey⁴ provides a list of inhabitants and their occupations. The village then consisted of forty-seven houses, two occupied by Irishmen, one a cooper, and another who was stated to be 'conformeable'. Of the remaining and British tenants there were one each of masons, butchers, carpenters, tanners, smiths, weavers, and tailors. There were two coopers, four joiners, three turners, and two shoemakers. Each had a house in the town and usually small areas of land. The other residents apart from a labourer who held two acres,

1. *Ibid.*, F.3.3, ff.100^v-101, F.3.4, ff.6-6^v.

2. *Ibid.*, F.3.3, ff.97-7^v.

3. *Ibid.*, F.3.3, ff.71^v-2, F.3.4, ff.182-2^v; F.3.3, ff.97-7^v.

4. P.R.O., Manchester Papers, 30/15/2/183.

were on the whole defined as yeomen or husbandmen. It is perhaps surprising that no merchant could be listed. Brownlow's Lurgan was thus a sizeable planter village, larger than Grandison's Tandragee which consisted of thirty-five 'English-lyke houses' at this time.¹

B. MARKETHILL

For his village of Clancarny or Markethill, Sir Archibald Acheson listed thirty-six resident householders for the commissioners in 1622.² These included three shoemakers, three weavers, one baker, and one carpenter. The occupations of the others were not defined, the commissioners noting against one, Patrick Sherry, that he was 'an Irish man and goes not to church'. That the town had some arrangement for the maintenance of order can be seen from the fact that one resident, Edward Johnson, is listed as constable. There was an inkeeper there in 1641.³

Information on other towns and villages is too slight to afford each a separate treatment and has been placed throughout this thesis. However a few general points can be made. While it is not clear that each town appointed constables or watchmen to maintain order we have seen that Belturbet and Markethill did, and in 1641 there was a constable for Tandragee.⁴ While the towns and villages were probably mostly inhabited by craftsmen or artisans and small tenants, most, as we have seen, also had some substantial residents. This was also the case in some of the small villages in Cavan. Thus for example,

1. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Armagh (7) Jas 1.

2. N.L.I., Rich papers, MS 8014/9: Archibald Acheson's certificate.

3. T.C.D., MS F.3.7, f.112.

4. ibid., f.246.

Richard Cliffe, living in Killashandra in 1641, was a leaseholder of some substance.¹

IV Conclusion

Perhaps the most obvious common characteristic of the towns in Armagh and Cavan prior to 1641 is their limited size and slow development. Much of the physical fabric of these Ulster towns, especially those which originated as forts, was of obvious British character, their alien purpose in some cases symbolised by the presence of garrisons however small. But not all of them had such an origin, Cavan and Armagh having considerable Gaelic antiquity and retaining much of their native character, and all attracting Irish as well as immigrant inhabitants. Fundamentally they were market centres, and, with the partial exception of Cavan, each was controlled by the local landlord. Many of the boroughs were not markedly different in size, character, or independence from the unincorporated landlord towns or villages.

In 1610 Blenerhasset stated that the security of the plantation would depend in large part on the establishment of 'many goodly strong corporations'. A 'scattered plantation', he argued, could never guarantee its own permanence, and it would be essential to build well fortified towns with organised watches, 'able at any time, at an hours warning, with five hundred men well armed, to encounter all occasions'.² It is clear that these expectations had not been realised thirty years later. If to the Irish the new Ulster corporations symbolised an altered dispensation, the flimsiness of that symbolism, their pregnability, was in most instances demonstrated in 1641.

1. *Ibid.*, F.3.3, f.203.

2. Thomas Blenerhasset, 'A direction for the plantation in Ulster', in J.T. Gilbert (ed), A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland (1670), p. 1, esp. x, 317-26.

CHAPTER 9 RURAL CONDITIONS

1 Rents, land values, incomes, and produce.

The evidence for how rents and land values varied up to 1641 is very tentative. Government surveyors were not concerned with landlords' incomes, and legal and estate sources are very incomplete. An attempt is made here, however, to show what returns from land were and that they were rising in our period.

At the first leasing the rents of Trinity College lands in Armagh were £5 per townland. The rents of the archbishopric at this stage ranged from £4 to £7, Irish tenants paying the higher charges. In 1611 the plantation commissioners ordered that the Armagh school lands should be let at £3 per townland.¹ In some cases where a tenants' bargaining power was high the early rents were even lower. Thus much of the Stanhowe estate was leased in 1613 to a tenant at £1 and £2 per townland.² Two townlands in Oneilland were leased at £5. 10. 0. each in c.1611.³ On the Rolleston estate many townlands were leased in small portions which makes calculation difficult. However three were leased to Sir Francis Annesley at £1. 10. 8. each and another was leased at £5 yearly. A townland held by an Irish tenant for twenty-one years returned £30 per annum, though from what date is not clear.⁴ On the John Dillon estate the rents of eight townlands in 1622 ranged from £4. 3. 4. to £17. 0. 8. The tenants all held for three lives. Here, as was fairly general, there were more than one tenant per townland except in one

1. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no 27 in Analecta Hibernica, viii.
2. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, 2B. 80. 121, no. 92.
3. *Ibid.*, Chancery salvage, X.20.
4. N.L.I., Rolleston papers, Packing case 112, folder 1.

case where the rent was £5. Otherwise there were from two to eleven tenants per townland; where there were eleven the total rent was £17. 0. 8.¹

The evidence for Cavan is somewhat similar, some rents being lower than in Armagh. Most of the land of the bishopric was leased initially for £1 per poll, though this may have been relative to the size of an entry fine.² Other evidence is fragmentary. Two townlands were let by Mulmory oge O'Reilly before 1618 at £6 each.³ The income from four townlands the property of Edmund Nugent before c.1630 was £5 each per annum.⁴ In both counties rents may have been somewhat higher than in Londonderry.⁵

A general upward movement of rent is detected by the 1630s. The rents of the archbishop and bishops were approximately doubled, admittedly following government intervention.⁶ From 1635 a small portion of Trinity College's Armagh lands was leased at £10. 2. 0. per townland, the original rate being £5.⁷ By 1638 the college land in Colure returned four times its original rent.⁸ From the middle 1630s the annual income of T.C.D. from all its lands in Ulster was £1,333. 9. 6, over twice the initial figure of £632. 8. 6.⁹ The rents of eight townlands of the Cope estate in May 1633 ranged from £9 to £18. For a townland occupied by Irish £30 was paid.¹⁰ Although there is a good

1. N.L.I., Rich papers, 8014/8: John Dillon's certificate.
2. Below, p. 464.
3. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, B.435.
4. Ibid., H. 149.
5. T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, p.333.
6. Below, pp. 489-93.
7. Below, pp. 519-20.
8. Below, p. 526.
9. Below, p. 522.
10. P.R.O.I., Deeds, wills and instruments ... post mortem, vol. 25, pp.129-46; P.R.O.N.I., T808/14941.

survival of rentals for the Brownlow estate in the 1630s rents are rarely entered by townland, however one, held by British tenants returned £26. 8. 8. in 1635, though a small number of townlands particularly named returned from £6 to £10.¹

The upward movement of rents was not limited to Armagh, for which most evidence survives. One townland in Cavan was leased in 1627 for £10.² Another, at Butler's Bridge, with a corn-mill was leased by Sir Stephen Butler for £26 per annum, before 1626.³ Another townland on this estate was declared in 1637 to be held for £8 per annum.⁴ Two townlands and a mill on the Acheson estate were leased in 1638 at £34 per annum.⁵ The absence of the Civil Survey for both counties prohibits any general statement. Only one small fragment, for the Rolleston estate in Armagh, has been found. Here one townland was valued at £20 in 1640, and eight and a half at £100, or about £11. 15. 0. each.⁶

Although many estates changed hands there is only meagre record of the sale values. Early sales, however numerous, were ill-recorded. Only the cost of one estate before 1620 has come to light, and this was in Fermanagh though acquired by a Cavan landowner. In 1617 Sir Stephen Butler bought the middle proportion of Kilspinan from Michael Balfour for £550.⁷ In February 1614 Walter Talbot sold also to Butler, three townlands acquired from Wony McThomas McKiernan and Donell

1. Armagh Museum, Brownlow rental, 1635.
2. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, K.68 (very damaged).
3. *Ibid.*, V.61.
4. P.R.O.I., Ferguson MSS, xii. 329.
5. P.R.O.I., Deeds, wills, and instruments ... post mortem, vol. 25, pp. 254-65.
6. 'Fragments of the Civil Survey of counties Kerry, Longford, and Armagh' (presented by R.J. Hunter) in Analecta Hibernica, xxiv. p. 231.
7. N.L.I. Butler Deeds, D 8896-8926, Indenture 2 March 1617 between Michael Balfour ... and Sir Stephen Butler.

Backagh McShane O'Reilly for £50.¹ The sale in 1621 of the estate - a great and a small proportion - originally granted to Aubigny in Clankee to Sir Henry Perse for £2,300² appears to indicate a rise in values between Butler's purchase in 1617 for £550 of an area theoretically half the size. Of smaller areas, eight townlands in Castlerahan were sold in 1633 by Shane McPhillip O'Reilly to a fellow Irishman for £300,³ and four, also in Cavan, were sold in 1639 for £100.⁴ In 1622 four townlands and a water mill near Belturbet were sold to Butler for £400.⁵ The sums that could be raised on the sale of leases are, however also instructive. Two townlands in Toaghy, Armagh, belonging to the archbishop, and leased in 1615 for sixty years were sold in 1622 for £40, resold in 1627 for £50 and again in 1629 for £60.⁶ This would indicate rising land values.

The only other evidence is from the amounts for which property was mortgaged. In 1618 Rolleston mortgaged his entire estate in Armagh to Annesley for £420. The rental there was £140. 2. 0.⁷ A townland in Orior was mortgaged about 1616 for £30,⁸ and another in Cavan in 1616 for £34.⁹ Brownlow in 1628 mortgaged a townland for £40.¹⁰ Some nine townlands on the Cope estate in Armagh were apparently mortgaged in May 1633 to Mountnorris for £1,000,¹¹ though somewhat smaller sums

1. P.R.O.I., Deeds, wills and instruments ... post mortem, vol.25, pp.239-54.
2. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan, (19) Chas I.
3. Ibid., (45) Chas I.
4. P.R.O.I., Deeds, wills and instruments ... post mortem, vol.25, pp.317-27.
5. N.L.I., Deeds of sale between Charles Waterhouse and Etheldred his wife, and Sir Stephen Butler 4 May 1622, (uncatalogued).
6. Below, p. A lease of a townland in Cavan acquired in April 1613 by Sir Thomas Ashe was sold in May for £22 (N.L.I., Farnham papers, MS D20409-20475).
7. N.L.I., Rolleston Papers, Packing case no. 112, folder 1 and 2.
8. Above, p. 326.
9. Above, p.325.
10. P.R.O. N.I., T808/14964.
11. P.R.O.I., Deeds, wills and instruments ... post mortem, vol.25, pp.129-46.

were raised from parts of the Sacheverall estate at this time.¹ About eight townlands of the Castledillon estate in Armagh were mortgaged to William, lord Caulfield in 1636 for £2,000.² In August 1637 Patrick Acheson mortgaged his small proportion in Cavan (where land may have had less value) for £2,000.³ The willingness of a substantial London citizen, Sir Robert Parkhurst,⁴ to lend money on the security of Ulster land in the 1630s is itself an indication of its current value. Parkhurst entered into a mortgage with Sir William Brownlow for his entire estate in 1635.⁵ He also in 1633 lent £2,000 to Sir Phelim O'Neill.⁶

The scant survival of rentals makes it possible to provide landlords' incomes in only a few cases. Incomes would, of course, vary with size of estates, and the vigour of the owners. In 1635 Sir William Brownlow's annual rental was £773. 4. 6.⁷ His estate was some 13,000 acres. Sir Archibald Acheson was said to have had an estate of 'some four hundred pounds sterling',⁸ which was in both counties. The Rolleston rental in 1618, when the estate was mortgaged, was some £140. 2. 0.⁹ The rent John Dillon received from three-quarters of his estate (the rest was demesne) in 1622 was £90. 16. 0.¹⁰ Undertakers' incomes thus seem to have ranged from about £100 to about £800 in

1. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Armagh (25) Chas I.
2. Above, p.291.
3. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (69) Chas I.
4. Above, p.289.
5. P.R.O. N.I., T808/14964.
6. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Tyrone (3) Chas II.
7. Above, p.289. See also P.R.O.N.I., T.808/14964, a chancery decree of 1654, where it is stated that the estate was worth £1,000 yearly in 1635.
8. J. Scott, The staggering state of the Scots statesmen...from 1550 to 1650 (Edinburgh, 1754), p.74. This work was written before the end of the seventeenth century. See above, p.292.
9. Above, p.403.
10. Above, p.226.

perhaps a few cases, per annum.

Estates in difficulties could return lower sums. The condition of the property of Peter Ameas who owned an estate in Loughtee for about ten years from 1618 can be inferred from the answer of Sir Stephen Butler to the bill of Sir Hugh Culme in a chancery suit concerning the estate.¹ Butler had acted as guarantor to Ameas for debts to Culme. He stated that the estate was worth £80 per annum, and it appears that Ameas owned no more than seven horses, four cows, six young heifers and twenty sheep.² At the other end of the scale there were a number of British proprietors in our area who had outside interests, and so substantial additional sources of income. Butler, for example, had land in Fermanagh. Toby Caulfield had land in Tyrone, was a military commander, indulged in various speculative enterprises, and had a house in Dublin.³ The incomes of Trinity College and the archbishopric are discussed elsewhere.⁴

Incomes from estates ranging from about £100 to under £800 in our area may be compared with the incomes of the London companies and also with the returns from land in England. The London companies received in rent from their farmers sums ranging from £106 to £350. 10. 0. per annum.⁵ The average income of 135 landowning families in Kent, including six peers and thirteen baronets, for the period 1640 - 1660 was £656 per annum. Of these, families of Stuart origin, had on average, £602 a year, and untitled gentry, accounting for nearly one-third of this sample of 135 averaged £270. Hundreds however had an

1. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, Q.9.

2. Ibid.

3. Below, pp. 584.

4. Below, pp. 498-575.

5. T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, p.336.

income of under £250 per annum.¹ The sizes of estates in Kent are not available, but land was probably used more profitably than in Ulster.

We can assume that resident landlords administered their own estates. The methods devised by institutions - T.C.D. and the archbishopric of Armagh - are examined elsewhere. Initially the undertakers were empowered to appoint deputies and we have seen that many did. Absentees employed agents whose backgrounds are in some cases known.

In 1613 Bodley was informed, for example, that lord Killeen, a prominent old English landowner in Cavan and outside, had undertaken responsibility for the lands in Cavan acquired by Sir James Hamilton from lord Aubigny.² Grandison's estates in Armagh were in 1622 administered by Richard Atherton,³ a relative of Henry, who had been constable of Mountnorris fort. Lord Moore employed an agent Townley, presumably of the family subsequently in Louth, at this time.⁴ Poyntz, an energetic servitor grantee in Orior, himself undertook the agenting of Arthur Bagnal's estate in county Down.⁵ However it was probably most common for absentee landlords to make arrangements with one of their own tenants (as indeed Atherton was to Grandison) for the supervision of their estates. This broke down, as has been seen,⁶ on the Lambert estate in the 1630s where the agenting was in native Irish hands.

The importation of livestock in certain quantities free of restriction was allowed to the undertakers in 1611. For the first year the undertaker of 2,000 acres (and proportionably) might import 20 cows,

1. A. Everitt, The community of Kent and the great rebellion, 1640-60, pp.41, 329. The author states that the figure for Stuart families might be as low as £438 if certain families of uncertain origin are classified as Stuart (ibid., p.329).
2. H.M.C., Hastings MSS, iv. 160.
3. P.R.O., Manchester papers, 30/15/2/184. Atherton's small grant of land had been acquired by Grandison.
4. B.M., Add. MS 4756, f.109v.
5. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, .388. 6. Above, pp.295-6.

20 store cattle, 2 bulls, 100 ewes, 6 rams, 20 horses and up to 10 pigs.¹ It is clear that some grantees did introduce British breeds, but government surveyors, not writing for posterity, recorded little of the agricultural pursuits of the colonists.

Carew found 52 English cows and 15 horses on John Dillon's land in Oneilland, 4 English cows and 8 horses on Rolleston's, and English carts and horses on Cope's, Sacheverall's, and Matchett's. In Loughtee, two undertakers, Fishe and Waldron, had each two teams of English horses with English carts, but there is no reference to other imported livestock. The Scots in the Fews, except Douglas and Craig, had cattle and horses in considerable quantities, three having between them 170 cows and 47 horses and mares. For the Cavan Scots, however, there is only a reference to four horses and mares on the Auchmooty estates.²

Bodley refers to cattle on the estates of Dillon, Matchett, and Rolleston, though not elsewhere in Armagh. In Loughtee Butler, Tailor, Waldron, and Fishe all had livestock in quantity as had their tenants, Waldron, for example, having 'stocked his ground with English and Irish cattle'.³ In Tullyhunco Claud Hamilton had 'above eighty head' and Craig 'a good stock of cattle'.

Pynnar makes no reference to livestock in either county, and even the 1622 report is not very forthcoming. The commissioners, however, noted that, in Loughtee, Fishe had 'a great store of English cattle' as also had Waldron. In Clankee Bailie had 'stock of cattle' and William Hamilton 'some'. While not all these animals were necessarily of

1. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, p.43.
 2. Lambeth Palace Library, London, Carew MSS, vol. 630, ff.58-63v, 103-105.
 3. H.M.C., Hastings MSS, iv, 162.

imported breed, it is evident that many were, and also that livestock production was a major component of the rural economy. Some of the Scots in the Fews, and some of the English in Oneilland and Loughtee emerge in the early years as particularly active in this respect.

Corn production was, of course, the other major source of income. At the end of the first year it was noted of Craig in the Fews, perhaps characteristic of the Scots, that he had 'sowme and reapte oats and barley' and begun to build a mill.¹ Bodley's survey tells us no more than that wind or water or horse mills were being erected throughout both counties. Pynnar found 'good store of tillage', two watermills, and one windmill 'all for corn' on Brownlow's estate. On Henry Acheson's in the Fews there was 'great store of tillage'. In Loughtee he found 'a little' tillage on the Waldron estate.² On Taylor's lands there was a water-mill 'but no great store of tillage'.³ Sir Stephen Butler had two corn-mills.⁴ As to all four Scots estates in Clankee he noted categorically 'I find upon these lands good tillage and husbandry according to the English manner'.⁵ In his general conclusions he stated that 'were it not for the Scottish tenants which do plough in many parts of the country, those parts may starve'.⁶ Against any national propensity to produce a particular product, however, must be weighed the suitability of the soil in the area to such production.

1. Lambeth Palace Library, London, Carew MSS, vol. 630, f.103^v.
2. The 1622 survey otherwise unhelpful, found 'very good' tillage and 'inclosures' upon his land (B.M. Add. MS 4756, ff.101^v-2).
3. Hill, Plantation, p.461.
4. Ibid., p.465.
5. Ibid., pp.453-7.
6. Ibid., p.589. It is clear that at this time the Hamiltons were producing oats in Ulster for sale in Dublin (T.K. Lowry (ed), Hamilton Manuscripts, p.12).

The best available source for the rural economy is the 1641 depositions. In these, deponents usually specified their losses in terms of types of property and value. The values and quantities must be treated with caution, but, at the least, they afford evidence of the types of commodity produced, and it would seem likely also that the proportions of types of produce to each other may be taken as having some reliability. If this is the case a very rough estimate of the kind of farming practiced can be worked out. When, for example, an Oneilland farmer, John Grey, deposed that he had lost corn to the value of £100 and cattle to the same value,¹ we can assume that in October 1641 he owned these goods in equal proportions. Other goods are also usually listed and both cattle and corn frequently broken down more specifically. There is, however, the further point that corn or hay in October would be predominantly that year's crop whereas livestock could be one, two, or more years old, hence to have corn and cattle in equal proportions would imply more tillage than grazeing.

Many of the depositions do not allow this kind of treatment, however from an examination of fifteen which do for Armagh,² and it is found that the proportions of corn to livestock were as two to three. For Cavan an examination of twenty-four depositions³ reveals a greater concentration on grazeing with the proportions of corn (with which hay is sometimes included) to livestock being as three to seven.

In the depositions there are references to English cattle, sheep,

1. T.C.D. MS F. 3. 7, ff.4-4^v.
2. T.C.D. MS F.3.7, ff.2-3, 4-4^v, 7, 11, 13, 42-3, 44-5, 46-6^v, 50-51, 53-3^v, 57-7^v, 60-61, 69-72, 75-6^v, 77-8.
3. T.C.D. MS F.3.3, ff.55-5^v, 58^v, 59 (2 depositions), 59^v, 60-60^v, 65, 69^v-70, 70-71, 84-4^v, 93^v-4, 96-6^v, 98-8^v, 101-1^v, 106-7, 122-5, 172, 203. F.3.4, ff.6-6^v, 44, 73, 124-5^v, 204-6, 252.

and horses in both counties.¹ One Cavan deponent claimed, amongst other animals, for the loss of twenty milch goats.² Pigs are listed regularly. Corn produced included oats, barley, wheat and rye. 'Garden roots and hearbes' were specified by one Cavan deponent³ and peas and beans by another.⁴ There is no reference to the growth of flax in either county though the widow of an Oneilland linen weaver was a deponent.⁵

Much of the rural produce must have been used or processed locally. The use of corn for beer was prevalent. One Armagh deponent was claimed corn - wheat, barley, oats, rye, and 'bear barley' - to the value of £550 stated that he had also lost his maltheuses and barns.⁶ A miller played an important role in rural society. The tanning of leather was also a rural industry.⁷ An Oneilland tanner, for example, claimed £150 in losses of 'leather tanned and untanned'.⁸ Cavan tanners made similar claims. One Cavan weaver claimed for the loss of yarn,⁹ another for the loss of his weavers tools.¹⁰ A feltmaker in Belturbet claimed that he had lost wool to the value of £20.¹¹ The widow of Richard Chappell who had been a tenant to the archbishop and lived in Armagh,¹² claimed

1. See, for example, F.3.3, ff.66^v, 96-6^v, F.3.4, ff.124-5^v, 176, 204-6, 252 (Cavan); F.3.7, ff.46-6^v, 75-6^v (Armagh).
2. F.3.4, ff.204-6.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, ff. 6-6^v.
5. F.3.7, ff.66-6^v. C. Gill, The rise of the Irish linen industry, (reprinted 1964) says little specific about the industry before 1700.
6. F.3.7, ff.69-72.
7. Up to 1628 tanning could only be done under license. This was removed by article nine of the Graces (A. Clarke, The Graces (Dundalk, 1968), p.19), and grants of the right to keep tanneries were made to many Ulster settlers in their patents under the 1628 arrangement.
8. *Ibid.*, ff.2-3.
9. F.3.3, ff.49-9^v.
10. *Ibid.*, ff.99^v-100^v.
11. *Ibid.*, f.66^v.
12. Memorial tablet in St. Patrick's church of Ireland cathedral, Armagh.

wool to the value of £100.¹ From our examination of the occupations of village residents and tenants it has already emerged that weaving was an important activity in Armagh.² We have seen already that by 1619 Sir Stephen Butler had set up a fulling mill on his Cavan estate.³ After the rising John Wheelwright, of Kilconny - on the Butler estate, near Belturbet - who defined himself as clothier, claimed that he had lost the profits of his tuck mill, worth £20 per annum.⁴

Butter, cheese, beef, bacon, and tallow were other goods which feature in the depositions. One farmer from near Belturbet claimed £54 for butter, beef, and bacon.⁵ Another from near Ballyhaise claimed £40 for '3,000 (sic) of butter'.⁶ These, however, were the larger sums. An Armagh farmer stated that he had lost £2 worth of butter and cheese,⁷ and a Cavan landholder £6 worth of butter, salt, and cheese.⁸ Occasional river fishing losses indicate another form of activity. Oliver Smith, a tenant on the Butler estate in Cavan, held fishing wears for eels from Butler and Edward Philpott on the river Erne and claimed to have lost fresh and salt eels to the value of £50 owing to the outbreak of the rising.⁹ In Tullyhaw on Sir Charles Coote's lands an ironworks was in operation.¹⁰

Doubtless surplus produce was disposed of at local fairs and markets.

1. F.3.7, ff.44-5.
2. Above, pp. 225, 397.
3. Above, p.190.
4. T.C.D. MS F.3.4, f.272.
5. F.3.3, ff.84-4^v.
6. F.3.4, f.73.
7. F.3.7, f.11.
8. F.3.4, ff.124-5^v.
9. F.3.3, ff.111-2^v, F.3.4, f.188.
10. F.3.4, ff.223-4.

There is evidence, too, that a carrying trade of some sort was in operation linking county Cavan with Dublin. One carrier, Thomas Poke, operated from Belturbet.¹ Another carrier, John Dewsbury of Castleterra, claimed that he had lost due to the rebellion six 'cars' and horses laden with butter 'which he was bringing towards Dublin' and one horse laden with tallow.²

II Tenants

Two types of tenants can broadly be found: substantial middlemen as on the estates of Trinity College, the bishops' lands to a lesser extent, and occasionally elsewhere, and occupying tenants of smaller areas. The former group can be compared with the farmers of the companies lands in Londonderry.³

It was on the lands of Trinity College that middlemen were most prominent, and these, of whom Sir James Hamilton, Sir Toby Caulfield, Rev. Robert Maxwell, John Temple, Sir George Wentworth, and Dr. John Harding are representative, have been discussed elsewhere.⁴ They all had other Irish interests. The tenantry of the archbishopric of Armagh was more varied, but the more substantial tenants in Armagh included Caulfield and Maxwell, Sir Edward Dodington and others who had Londonderry connexions, Sir Maurice Williams, and Robert Bysse, many of them nonresident.⁵ The bishops of Kilmore favoured a middleman policy more than the archbishops of Armagh, local servitors, Sir Oliver Lambert and

1. F.3.3, ff.125-5^v.

2. F.3.3, f.135, F.3.4, f.144.

3. T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, pp.311-14.

4. Below, chapter 11.

5. Below, chapter 12.

Sir Hugh Culme featuring prominently as their tenants.¹

Even an individual settlers' estates substantial middleman tenants can sometimes be found. These were usually neighbouring landowners. Sir John Burchier, servitor grantee, for example, was tenant to Richard Rolleston from 1613 of lands subsequently held by Sir Francis Annesley.² Sir Archibald Acheson was tenant, in 1622, to part of Sacheverall's lands in Oneilland.³ In Cavan Sir Hugh Culme held lands from Fishe from 1617.⁴ Some of these subsequently acquired the ownership of some of this land.

Tenants of this substance could sometimes hold their lands under very favourable terms. About one great tenant, John Wrench, on the Stanhowe estate who was not a landowner, some information has survived from pleadings in a chancery suit.⁵ It emerges that six townlands of the estate were leased to Wrench by Edward Stanhowe, the son of the grantee, in June 1613 at £2 per townland for twenty-one years, and a further six in September for forty-one years at £1 per townland. Wrench had come from England at that time with a following of five families, and met Stanhowe on the journey. In the first lease he covenanted to build six English houses and plant six English families, who should be armed. The suit, initiated by Stanhowe, concerned non-payment of rent, and a claim that he had been 'allured' to live with Wrench and promised his daughter in marriage. The outcome is unknown. Wrench certainly did not introduce a colony of any size, and in 1633 he was living at Mountnorris and was then at law with lord Mountnorris.⁶

1. Below, p. 464. The school lands in both counties were also leased to middlemen.

2. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Armagh (6) Chas I.

3. B.M., Add. MS 4756, ff.108^v-9.

4. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (26) Chas I.

5. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, 2B. 80. 121, nos 92, 163.

6. P.R.O.I., Ferguson MSS, xii. 215. Stanhowe who had lived with Wrench, had apparently paid £8 yearly for his 'diet'. Wrench claimed that on some occasions he had brought clothing for Stanhowe from England.

The other category of tenants were the normal on the estates of British grantees. They can be seen as falling into three groups, freeholders, leaseholders, and cottagers.

The estating of freeholders - two per thousand acres - was a condition of plantation, the performance of which was on the whole a slow one. In Oneilland Carew found three freeholders on the estates of the Brownlow's and Matchett. By 1613 Bodley found freeholders on three other estates, and inquisitions confirm that Rolleston created three freeholders in February-March 1612 and John Heron one in October.¹ However it was not until the time of Pynnar that more or less the required number were found on all estates except that of Stanhowe.² By 1622 Stanhowe was still delinquent, but in the barony otherwise there were fifty freeholders, one an absentee. In the corresponding English barony of Loughtee in Cavan Carew found thirteen freeholders on four estates out of seven, Bodley found twenty-eight on five estates (including the previous four), but it was not until Pynnar's time that freeholders forty-one in all, were found on all estates. For six estates about which information was forthcoming the 1622 commissioners reported that there were thirty-four freeholders. However ten of these, on Taylor's estate were non-resident, and on Mainwaring's estate one had assigned his lands to another.³

1. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Armagh (5, 6) Chas I.
2. The existence of three freeholders on the estate of John Dillon recorded by Pynnar and the commissioners is confirmed by estate papers (Armagh Public Library, Dillon papers).
3. Three inquisitions suggest that the effectively smaller figure of 1622 is the more probable. Sir Nicholas Lusher created three freeholders between October 1612 and July 1615 (which confirms Pynnar) and his successor Mainwaring created one in April 1622, who in fact assigned his lands to Sir Hugh Culme (which confirms the 1622 report). On the Fishe estate there is evidence for the creation of no more than two (one in 1615) before 1622, as the commissioners found, and one in 1626. Waldron created one in 1612 (Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (23, 26) Chas I; P.R.O.I., Cal. exchequer inquisitions, Ulster, Cavan (3) Chas I, pp.4-22).

The Scots were more dilatory in the estating of freeholders than the English. In the Fews neither Carew nor Bodley refer to them. Pynnar found nine on the estates of Archibald Acheson and John Hamilton,¹ but on Henry Acheson's all the tenants petitioned him to secure them their leases. The 1622 report accredited him with two freeholders and accorded eight to his brother and John Hamilton, but the minute inspection of Sir Nathaniel Rich cast doubt on the status of most of them.²

In Clankee Pynnar was also the first to record freeholders. He found eight on Sir James Hamilton's lands and two on each of the remaining three estates. The 1622 commissioners found two on three estates (including Sir James Hamilton's now owned by Perse), and none on William Hamilton's. For these three estates the evidence of inquisitions must also be considered. Bailie created two freeholders, members of his family, one in November 1618 (just before Pynnar's survey), the other in 1627. The dates of John Hamilton's freehold grants are not given. On the Aubigny estate, acquired by Sir James Hamilton, four freeholds, between Dec. 1616 and June 1621 are recorded, which contrast with Pynnar's eight, and Perse created two on it in 1627 and 1629 respectively.³

In Tullyhunco, also, Carew and Bodley record no freeholders, but Pynnar found thirteen on three of the four estates. The 1622 commissioners again provide a lower and more likely figure of nine, of which two were non-resident.⁴ The Tullyhunco freeholders petitioned the commiss-

1. An inquisition shows that on two of the proportions then owned by Hamilton four freeholders had been created by previous owners, Craig (three in 1614) and Claud Hamilton (one in 1612). One of these had been given a further freehold by Hamilton in April 1618 (Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Armagh (4) Chas I). 2. Above, pp.227-8.

3. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (17-19) Chas I.

4. Inquisition evidence provides some confirmation. Sir Alexander Hamilton created four freeholds, Feb.-Aug. 1615, as the commissioners found, and on Sir Claude's estate one was created in 1623 (Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (24) Chas I).

ioners, 'as in all other places they did the like by worde of mouth', to be relieved from jury service because their freeholds were 'soe smale' and their rents 'so greate'.¹

A reason why government surveyors figure's, especially Pynnar's, for numbers of freeholders are sometimes higher than those provided by the surviving Inquisitions may perhaps be found in a report on Brownlow's tenants in 1622.² Here five people are defined as 'liber tenens' and two as 'liber tenens for three lives'.³ It can only be conjectured that these latter held their lands under leases for three lives renewable. Such a convention would guarantee a continuity of occupation somewhat equivalent perhaps to freehold status, and it may be that surveyors listed these as freeholders.

Some freeholds were certainly smaller than the plantation conditions required. As to rents, the only evidence of these comes from the estate of John Dillon in Armagh where in 1631 three freeholders each of a townland paid £10, £12, and £13. 12. 0. respectively per annum.⁴ Some freeholders were unorthodox in terms of the plantation conditions. Sir Hugh Wirrall was a freeholder to his fellow undertaker, Fishe, in Loughtee.⁵ Sir Hugh Culme purchased a freehold created by Sir George Mainwaring.⁶ One man, Richard Lighterfoote, was freeholder to both Sir Alexander Hamilton and Sir Henry Perse.⁷ Richard Hadsor who was created a freeholder on the Aubigny estate in 1616 was a lawyer and public servant

1. B.M., Add. MS 4756, f.103^v.

2. P.R.O., Manchester papers, 30/15/2/183.

3. Pynnar records five freeholders, the commissioners eight.

4. Armagh Public Library, Castle-Dillon MSS, pp. 74-5.

5. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (26) Chas I.

6. Ibid., (23) Chas I.

7. Ibid., (19, 24) Chas I.

who had been proposed as an undertaker in Armagh in 1609.¹ He was clearly an absentee on this Scots-held estate and in 1621 he was bought out by the new owner Sir Henry Perse.² Sir William Anderson, an important member of the 1634 parliament,³ was a freeholder to Perse, sub-let his lands to Irish, and had a local Irish agent, William Kernan.⁴ The scale of freeholds featured particularly on this estate. John Kennedy, estated in 1618, sold to John Crowe, who in turn sold to Robert Madden. Madden, presumably of the Fermanagh family, leased most of his land to native Irish tenants.⁵ On at least two estates, those of Bailie in Cavan and John Dillon in Armagh, relatives of the undertakers were made freeholders. It would seem then that the freeholder section of the colony in both counties did not materialise strictly according to plan.

The second group, leaseholders, held under more diversified tenures, indeed it has been seen that there were many complaints that tenants had not been given documentary evidence of title at all.⁶ Sizes of holdings were often very much smaller than one townland. The most common terms of leasehold were for twenty-one years, or three lives. However it is clear that numbers of tenants held for shorter periods. On John Hamilton's Scottish estate in Armagh many held for periods of one to ten years.⁷ William Bailie in Cavan also gave a number of short leases.⁸

It may be that some of the Scots gave tenancies for shorter periods than

1. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, p.180. In 1615 he was associated with the reorganisation of the court of wards in Ireland (H. Kearney, 'The court of wards and liveries in Ireland, 1622-41', in R.I.A. Proc., section c, vol. 57, p.33).
2. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (19) Chas I.
3. H. Kearney, Strafford in Ireland, p.247.
4. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (38) Chas I.
5. Ibid., (41) Chas I. One other freeholder on this estate sold his lands to a second tenant who in turn was brought out by the new owner (ibid.).
6. Above, pp.228, 233, 236.
7. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Armagh (4) Chas I.
8. Ibid., Cavan (17) Chas I.

the English. There were also tenancies for periods of years longer than twenty-one. John Hamilton granted four such (two per townland) in 1626 for twenty-five years and thirty-one years respectively.¹ Most of the tenants of the archbishopric of Armagh held for sixty years. Rolleston in Onelliland granted a forty-one year lease in 1612.² On the estate of Sir Nicholas Lusher in Loughtee, acquired by Mainwaring in 1616, there were generally long leases for periods of twenty-five, thirty-one, or forty-one years.³ On the Butler estate in Loughtee a tenancy for eighty-seven years was granted in May 1640.⁴ The balance of advantages between particular landlords and particular tenants must regularly have affected the terms of leases.

Only a small number of leases have survived but they serve to indicate the conditions under which land was demised. A lease made by Richard Waldron in 1613 of two polls of land in Cavan required the tenant to take the oath of supremacy within six months, and to have there three British men besides himself who would also take the oath.⁵ Wrench, Stanhowe's middleman, covenanted to build houses and install tenants, who should be armed.⁶ The archbishop of Armagh's leases in 1615 required the building of 'Englishlike' houses, and military attendance, amongst other stipulations.⁷ In 1614 Sir James Hamilton, middleman to Trinity College, undertook in his lease that he and his tenants would not build 'dispersedly or scatteringly' on the College estate.⁸ John

1. Ibid., Armagh, (4) Chas I.
2. Ibid., Armagh (6) Chas I.
3. Ibid., Cavan (23) Chas I.
4. Ibid., Cavan (67) Chas I.
5. Indenture dated 18 March 1613, between Richard Waldron and Clement Cottrell (N.L.I., Farnham papers, MSS D 20409 - 20475).
6. Above, p. 413.
7. For a fuller treatment of these leases, see below, p. 419.
8. See below, pp. 505.

Dillon of Oneilland stated in 1622 that all his tenants were 'enjoyed by lease to finde a muskett, a pike, and sworde and dagger'.¹ Rights of distraint and re-entry for non-payment of rent, and the requirement of suit of court from tenants, featured generally in leases.

A lease made in C.1635 by Sir Patrick Acheson of two townlands and a mill in Cavan for twenty-one years is probably typical of leases of this period.² The landlord reserved all woods with free liberty to 'hawke, hunt, fish, and foule' but the tenant might cut timber for building and repairs, and underwood for 'carteboote and ploughboote'. The tenant should pay the king's rent, and £2. 10. 0. as a heriot was stipulated. The tenant should appear at all musters and outrisings and contribute, with the rest of the tenants, to a group of ten able men well armed with pike and musket for the king's service and the defence of the landlord when required. Precise enclosure stipulations were included,³ and all houses and fences to be maintained in good repair. He was within seven years to build three 'Englishlike' houses and have three British families to dwell there, and he should forfeit his lands if any were demised to Irish sub-tenants. If rent were unpaid for ten days distraint or re-entry would ensue. The landlord would support the tenant in penalising other tenants refusing, in breach of their covenants, to have their corn ground at his mill.

Two of the most important obligations placed on the undertakers by the articles of plantation were the building of houses for tenants in village groupings near the settlers bawns, and the provision of arms for defence. Both of these were only partly fulfilled, with

1. N.L.I., MS 8014/8.

2. P.R.O.I., Deeds, wills and instruments...post mortem, vol.25, pp.254-65.

3. Below, p. 431.

implications for the security and physical development of the colony.

An examination of the government surveys between 1611 and 1622 shows that most of the undertakers built small clusters of houses or villages which were occupied by their tenants, especially the cottager element. Landlord building was slow to start. Carew found few instances and these only on a small scale. Thus Sacheverall in Armagh, like Wirrall in Cavan, had built only three houses for tenants.¹ Already some tenants were deciding to build for themselves,² and landlords were also at about this time transferring building responsibilities to them. Thus, as we have seen, Wrench, Stanhowe's middleman, was required to build houses by his lease.³ At the time of Bodley's survey more landlord building was taking place. In Cneilland, for example, three out of ten undertakers were engaged in building framed houses. Rolleston, on Powells estate, had erected eight 'tenements' and had the frames of four others 'ready to be erected'.⁴ Brownlow had two houses erected and other frames set up 'where his town shall be'.⁵ John Dillon had built 'divers tenements' by this stage but had also devolved responsibility in this to his tenants who were 'for the most part ... enjoined to convenient building'.⁶ Even in Belturbet, which was just then incorporated and where, as a town to be incorporated, the landlord - patron was required to build houses,⁷ the building-lease device was used. Thus Bodley reported that Butler, Wirrall and other undertakers had appointed

1. Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MSS, vol. 630, ff.59, 61.

2. Ibid., ff. 60, 104.

3. Above, p.413.

4. H.M.C., Hastings MSS, iv. 174.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p. 175.

7. Above, pp. 351-2.

their 'freeholders' for the town, 'of which divers have built already and others are preparing to build'.¹

It was only by Pynnar's time, as we have seen,² that village nuclei, often very small, had been founded on most undertakers' estates in both counties, and Pynnar's report is not conclusive on whether these were built by the landlords, though it would seem that they were and that they were generally occupied by cottager elements. Many of these took root and expanded in size.³

It is clear, then, that there was landlord building, but also that it was inadequate to the housing needs of the colony, and that the landlords also generally succeeded in transferring much of the responsibility here to their tenants. This, in effect, gave rein to centrifugal tendencies, tenants preferring to build in dispersed fashion on their holdings rather than in central villages as the conditions of plantation required. Also, although the undertakers' estates were not as large as the companies proportions in Londonderry,⁴ they were substantially larger than the planners of the colony had projected, and so it would have been very inconvenient for all the settlers on each estate to live in one village.

The outcome was a compromise, the quality of which varied from estate to estate, between village and dispersed settlement. Fishe in Loughree had by Pynnar's time, built two villages 'consisting of ten houses the peece'.⁵ The tenants also did not always build in dispersed

1. H.M.C., Hastings MSS, iv. 163. It has been seen, above, pp.360-3, 365-6, that the archbishop of Armagh used the building-lease device in Armagh with limited success.

2. Above, pp.179-198.

3. Above, pp. 397-9, for example.

4. T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, pp.310, 455.

5. Hill, Plantation, pp.462-4.

fashion. On John Dillon's estate in Oneilland Pynnar states that the tenants had made two villages and dwelled together.¹ On St. John's Oneilland estate at this time there was a small village nucleus of five houses, the rest of the tenants living 'dispersedly on the land, three or four families together'.² However dispersed settlement combined with small villages became the general pattern in both counties.

This kind of pattern had implications for the security of the colony. The undertakers were required to keep arms in their strongholds for defence. Government surveyors generally pronounced themselves satisfied as we have seen with the amount of arms on most estates. Pynnar, though, criticised Adwick in Loughtee for having no arms nor 'any place to keep them in'.³ However the logic of dispersed as well as centralised settlement was that arms should be dispersed amongst the tenantry, and we have seen that Sir Stephen Butler, on Pynnar's evidence had 'very good' arms for 200 men in his castle, 'besides others which are dispersed to his tenants for their safeguard'.⁴ Some undertakers passed on the responsibility to their tenants. Thus John Dillon of Oneilland stated in 1622 that his tenants were 'enjoyed by lease to finde a musket, a pike, a sworde and dagger'.⁵ The muster of c.1630 produced disquieting evidence about the military preparedness of the colonists at large⁶ (which runs somewhat counter to the statements of surveyors up to 1622), and Wentworth observed that the Ulster colony was but 'a company of naked men'.⁷

1. Ibid., pp. 563-4.

2. Ibid., pp.557-8; Above, p.184.

3. Hill, Plantation, pp.464-5.

4. Ibid., p.465; above, p.190.

5. N.L.I., Rich papers, MS 8014/8.

6. Above, p.275.

7. Above, p.282.

One of the most common sources of tension within the colony rested in disputes between landlords and tenants.¹ A number of these were brought to the court of chancery for adjudication. One damaged bill, c.1635, rehearses the complaints of tenants on the Stanhowe estate whose lease apparently was not renewed and who received no compensation for improvements which had included the conversion of 'unprofitable underwoods' to pasture.²

From the answer of an Oneilland landlord³ to a suit brought by two tenants after 1615 some of the details of a complicated problem emerge. It seems that in 1611 two townlands had been leased to two tenants at £11 per annum. One proved to be a concealment and was granted to Trevor⁴ and another area was in compensation assigned to the tenants. The two tenants subsequently, with the consent of the landlord, reached an agreement with a third, whereby they should hold one-third of the area each, and all three occupied the lands as 'tenants in common'. They did not receive individual leases. The two original tenants were in debt to the third. The partnership led to tension - 'barrattings and fallings out in very uncivil and unchristian manner' - because agreement on their respective rights was not arrived at. About 1613 one of the original tenants left the estate, moving some twenty miles. The case hinged on disagreement as to the amount of compensation the landlord should give for his part of the entry fine and improvements. The landlord argued that he had offered a reasonable sum agreed to by 'indifferent men', in order 'to be able to let the same to some other'.

1. Tension between servitors and undertakers in Armagh at an early stage in the plantation has been examined, above, pp. 117-20.
2. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, B.377.
3. Ibid., X.20.
4. Above, p. 128-29, 136, 158.

He claimed that the affair was a bad example of his other tenants, two of whom had also left the estate, and feared that it would be noted against him in the next government survey. He stated too that since the departure of the tenant the land had been occupied by an Irishman, Murtagh McCann, allegedly by assignment, and contrary to the plantation regulations. Only the landlords case has been located by the surviving details are illuminating, if perhaps an extreme case, of the kind of problems which could arise at this early and unsettled stage of the plantation. Clearly tenants could move from one estate to another in search of better conditions.

There is considerable evidence, particularly in the years before 1622, for the sale of leaseholds and tenant mobility. The fate of John Brownlow, most of whose tenants had left him by 1613 'by reason of the hardness of the country',¹ was exceptional in our area as was the movement of many tenants from Sir James Hamilton's estate in Cavan when he sold it, who returned to 'dwell in the Clandeboyes from whence they came',² but the movement of individual tenants was not. On Fishe's estate in Loughtee, for example, it was noted in 1622 that 'many of the first leases had been passed over from one party to another' with covenants of building and planting not performed.³ There is a case of a Cavan tenant moving to the new Leitrim plantation in 1623.⁴ It seems that movement westward from Armagh was not uncommon. Two tenants of Sir John Davies in Orior had by 1622 'gone to Fermanagh'.⁵ Two of Stanhowe's tenants had by this time moved to Dungannon and Benburb.⁶

1. H.M.C., Hastings MSS, iv. 174.

2. B.M., Add. MS 4756, f.100.

3. *Ibid.*, f.102.

4. Above, p.208.

5. N.L.I., MS 8014/9.

6. *Ibid.*, MS 8014/8: commissioners' notes on Obbyns, Stanhowe, and Annesley.

Alternately Matthew Russell moved from county Londonderry to Armagh.¹ There was doubtless some competition for tenants in the earlier years of the colony.

The British tenants on English proportions were predominantly English, those on Scottish lands predominantly Scots, however, as in Londonderry, occasional Welsh names and occasional ex-soldiers also appear. There were Scots and English on the servitors lands in Armagh. There were also clerical tenants in both counties.² In 1617 Sir Hugh Culme, servitor, became a tenant for twenty-one years, to John Fishe in Loughtee.³ He along with other tenants on this estate, who were, however, not originally landowners, subsequently acquired the ownership of parts of it. Rev. James Matchett, who sold his proportion in Oneilland, was for a time a tenant to Richard Rolleston in the same barony.⁴ There were also absentee tenants holding speculative leases, for example Andrew Hamlin, Richard Fitzsimons, and John Tench who held under the archbishop of Armagh.⁵ Tench, who was from Drogheda, acquired a lease of a townland on Rolleston's estate in August 1615 leased by Rolleston in February 1612 to a tenant who three years later sold it to another who in turn had sold it to Tench.⁶ Rolleston in 1621 lost a suit against Tench for possession of the land, on which there was a mill.⁷ Tench let the land to Irish occupiers of the O'Quinn family.⁸

1. Above, p. 370.

2. Below, p.

3. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (26) Chas I.

4. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, 2.23.

5. Below, p. 549.

6. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Armagh, (7) Chas I.

7. P.R.O.I., Repertories to the decrees of chancery, vol. 1, p.329.

8. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Armagh (7) Chas I.

As in Londonderry the smaller occupants, cottagers and tradesmen, were a very numerous group found on all estates. A wide variety of occupations were represented and they usually also had small areas of land. In Brownlow's village of Lurgan, for example, there were butchers, coopers, joiners, carpenters, turners, masons, shoemakers, tanners, blacksmiths, weavers, tailors as well as those defined as labourers, yeomen, and husbandmen.¹ Such people were also found living in the countryside, as on the Brownlow estate also,² but they were more generally village dwelling. Akin to these were the British sub-tenants or undertenants and servants to whom many freeholders and leaseholders sub-let pieces of land or who were employed by them in manual capacities.

The existence of native Irish tenants holding either directly from British landlords or as sub-tenants and being more numerous than the settler population was quite general. These were, willing or obliged to pay rents approximately twice as large as the British, who resented their competition. The British tenants on Butler's estate in Cavan, for example, protested in 1622 that they could get 'noe reasonable bargains till the Irish be removed'.³ Conversely, if more casuistically, the servitors, who were empowered to take Irish tenants, complained in 1611 that they had suffered through the retention of the natives on undertakers' land.

The retention of the Irish as tenants on undertakers' lands (subject in theory to regulation after 1628) was largely of economic necessity. Their presence posed a threat to the colony which perhaps became

1. P.R.O., Manchester papers, 30/15/2/183.

2. Ibid.

3. B.M., Add. MS 4756, f.102v.

exacerbated as their status declined. However it is also clear that relationship grew up, however ambiguously based, between some British and Irish residents.¹

The operation of the manorial system remains one of the more elusive topics in this period. It is clear however that manor courts functioned regularly on the estates of Trinity College and the archbishopric,² for both of which competent seneschals were appointed. Their general existence can be suggested from the requirement in leases that tenants should do suit of court. Evidence for the existence of courts for a number of manors in Cavan and Armagh comes from the deposition of March 1642³ of Stephen Allen, king's attorney in Ulster since 1617,⁴ and who in 1641 lived in Cavan of which he was sovereign and recorder. Amongst his losses claimed - he did not assess their values - were the seneschalships of four manors in Cavan, those of Butler, Taylor, Greenham and Moynes, and of four in Armagh, those of Brownlow, Henry Cope, Sacheverall and lord Mountnorris.⁵

Presumably conventions in the relations of landlords and tenants were also being built up or had been imported from England and Scotland. Evidence for these, however, can only be gleaned from specific instances. A rather interesting dispute involving Trinity College in which tenant right was pleaded has been examined elsewhere.⁶ As has been seen above, appeal to the courts by both tenants and landlords was not uncommon

1. Above, p.346.
2. Below, pp. 530-31, 568-71.
3. T.C.D., MS F.3.3, ff. 173-4, 175-7.
4. Hughes, Patentee officers, p.2. He was involved in a protracted and it would seem discreditable suit about lands in Fermanagh (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, pp.464, 533, 578, 612).
5. Ibid. In a catalogue of books and papers in the State Paper Room, Dublin Castle, published in 1819 six manor courts in Armagh and thirteen in Cavan are referred to (Ir. rec. comm. rep., 1816-20, p.235).
6. Below, pp. 523-4.

when infringement of conditions was claimed.

III The effect on the landscape.

The physical impact of the settlers on the landscape through enclosure, drainage, timber destruction and the like remains largely obscure. The physical boundaries of property in the pre-plantation period owed little or nothing to modern enclosure. Boundaries were established in terms of traditional landmarks, physical features and the like, and boundaries were a recurring preoccupation. The absence of quantitative recordings of areas, acreage surveys and estate maps with a practical and legal application, exacerbated the problem. The maintenance of the traditional boundaries, and, where new ones had to be established, the using of traditional techniques, thus had a special importance. Before the plantation the demarkation of land for forts followed such methods. In 1605, for example, an inquiry was carried out into the names and bounds of the lands for the fort at Mountnorris, with reference to the intention of having the lands measured.¹ The plantation maps of 1609 had little or no value as a quantitative survey, hence the importance of local inquiries, perambulations, and inquisitions throughout our period.

As to enclosure, there was some government interest in this, but it was not stipulated in the conditions of plantation. In 1608 Chichester expected the colonists to be 'tied ... to enclose and manure the land in a civil fashion',² and in 1610 it was thought they should be given four years to perform, inter alia, the enclosure 'with strong ditches

1. Marsh's Library, Dublin, Z4. 2. 6, p.4.

2. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, p.64.

and quickset a meet proportion of their land after the manner of England'.¹

The problem for incoming settlers was complicated by unfamiliarity with Gaelic place names,² and must have made for a dependence on the co-operation of the native inhabitants. A British tenant to the archbishop of Armagh finding difficulty about the size of his tenancy was advised to 'learne of the natives the confines of the territories and sesriages in every ballebo'.³ It is not surprising that there was much altercation about ownership of small areas in the early years of the plantation: small areas could easily become absorbed into neighbouring estates.

Indistinctness of boundaries, facilitating dispute and encroachment, was only progressively removed by successive regrants based on the evidence of inquisition and increasing familiarity with the terrain. From this viewpoint the value of the new patents lies in the increasing definition of ownership they embodied. The later patents usually included a listing of sub-denominational as well as townland names. In the almost general absence of maps⁴ the sworn recording and defining

1. Ibid., p.356.

2. It may seem at first sight surprising that there was no massive re-naming of places with more appropriate British titles. However when it is considered that most of the Gaelic names were recorded by inquisition and map before the plantation and afterwards listed in the settlers' patents, to change them would have involved considerable trouble and uncertainty.

3. Below, p. 567.

4. This is not to say that there was not some estate-mapping and land-surveying done in Armagh and Cavan in our period, though there was nothing to compare at all with Raven's work in Londonderry. It will be seen below that Raven did some work for the archbishop of Armagh in the 1620s and that Trinity College required surveys to be made by its seneschal, Woodhouse. Individual owners probably felt less need for land surveys, though there is reference to a 'surveyor' being employed with regard to disputed lands near Killasandra in our period (P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, D.9).

of meares and bounds by written description had a special importance.¹ Concern with the erection and maintenance of boundaries with marks and otherwise is not easily documented but we see from a settlement made of the Castledillon estate in Armagh in 1631 that it was a matter of lively interest.²

At government level in the 1630s the need was felt to give the traditional boundaries a more permanent definition. In 1637 Wentworth issued a proclamation 'for the avoyding of law suites concerning ... meares and bounds'.³ It stated that through lack of enclosures encroachments took place, and facilitated the issuing of commissions of perambulation to mark out bounds. This done, a ditch four feet deep and five broad with two rows of quicksets should be made, and kept in repair on penalty of punishment.

1. One revealing instance comes to light from Armagh in 1617 when there was a dispute about the ownership of a townland and other parcels in Orior between captain Smith and lord Moore. They appealed to the lord deputy who appointed Sir Toby Caulfield and Sir Dudley Norton, a long-standing government official, to adjudicate. They decided that the land should be divided and the division was made under Caulfield's supervision in the presence of Smith and Moore's agent and with the assistance of 'divers of the country' including Art McBaron O'Neill. The manner of mearing and bounding is instructive of the condition of the countryside and the methods of the time: 'Beginning at the usual foord where now a bridge is over the river in the tradeway to the Newry from Dundalke called the fower Myle Walter, about two stones cast from the river, did drive a stake into the ground upon a ridge of a hill and soe drivinge another stake upon a right line by comerture from the first stake to a heap of stones called Firrbreage, and soe as a man's ele will direct upon a right line through a corner of a wood every eight or tenn score (sic) or thereabouts driving stakes till you come to a rocky mountain called the ffadd to the height of the mountain which seemeth lyke a saddle from the first rocke called Firrbreage, to w^hch all parties agreed' (Marsh's Library, Dublin, Z4. 2. 6, pp.537-8).
2. Armagh Public Library, Castledillon papers.
3. Steele, Tudor & Stuart proclam., ; P.R.I. rep. D.K. 22, p.36.

There is some evidence that this kind of enclosure of the outward bounds of estates or farms was taking place in our area even before 1637. On the archbishop of Armagh's estate some such boundary enclosure was carried out by the archbishop himself.¹ It is apparent also from the manor court rolls of the archbishopric that it was the policy of the estate that boundaries of holdings should be so defined, and it is evident from other sources that some were being so defined.² So far as the proclamation of 1637 is concerned, there is only one instance of its effect in our area. In a chancery suit involving lands in Cavan it was pleaded that an old English tenant had not 'enclosed, fenced, ditched, or quicksett the outward bounds and mears of the said lands' as required by the act of state.³

Enclosure stipulations for tenants appear in some-though not all - of the small number of surviving leases. A lease of Sir Patrick Acheson, c. 1635, of lands in Cavan⁴ embodied specific instructions which may also have featured in Acheson leases in Armagh. The tenant undertook to make every year:

forty perches of good and sufficient ditches sett with the like quicksetts ... upon the firme ground and upon the bogge ... with shallowe and such other quicksetts as will thereupon best prosper ... according to the manner ... used in England until the [lands] be fully enclosed and ditched about and divided into convenient closes and closures.

He should also plant forty young oaks or ashe trees on the lands and ditches each year, and plant within seven years two gardens and orchards enclosed with a ditch 'sett with quickegetts of white thorn and oake,

1. Below, p. 572.

2. Below, p. 571-2.

3. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, K.68.

4. P.R.O.I., Deeds, wills and instrumentals ... post mortem, vol. 25, pp. 254-65.

ashe and crabbtress'. The enclosure stipulations of the archbishopric of Armagh and of Trinity College have been examined elsewhere¹ and an attempt made to assess their effect.

Apart from such instances it is very difficult to present a general picture. There were even enclosed fragments before the plantation. Thus some land attached to Cavan castle was described as '14 acres enclosed by a ditch'.² The most that can be said is that there is some evidence of both estate and farm enclosure and also of field enclosure near settlements³, but that clearly it has to be stressed that there was no widespread enclosure movement.⁴

The depletion of woods in Londonderry has been examined by Professor Moody.⁵ Evidence for this in Armagh and Cavan is not generally forthcoming, though an attempt has been made elsewhere to examine it with regard to the estates of the archbishopric of Armagh and of Trinity College.⁶ However that the cutting of timber was fairly widespread in north Armagh would emerge from an interesting proposal put forward by an Onelland undertaker, then in financial difficulties, in 1618.

1. Below, pp. 503, 522, 550, 571-2.
2. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.313.
3. A number of instances have been noted in the discussion of government surveys (see above, pp.218-19,230). Some of these references are not very specific, as in the case of Sir Thomas Waldron of Loughtee who was stated in 1622 to have 'very good tillage, inclosures, and store of English cattle' (B.M. Add. MS 4756, ff. 101^v-2). Henry Hickfield or Hecklefield, a Cavan landowner, in a deposition concerning the 1641 rising referred to the loss of land held in lease, 'being ditched and built on' (T.C.D., MS F. 3. 4, ff. 9-9^v).
4. The only reference from official sources at the end of our period comes from the book of survey and distribution for Cavan (p.230), where, in Clanmahon barony, an area of almost five profitable acres is referred to as 'Calves close', and this is also marked on the Down survey map.
5. T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, pp. 113-14, 143, 146, 344, 362.
6. Below, pp. 530, 533-4, 572-4.

In 1618 Rev. Richard Rolleston presented the king with a scheme for setting up sawmills in Ulster, which was received enthusiastically. It was stated that he had

latelie found out a readye waye ... to furnish as well the undertakers as all others desirous to buyld in that kingdom with Sawen boards and tymber in more plenefull manner and att a more easye rate than heretofore hath been used, by erectinge of sawemilnes for that purpose going with winde or water, a thinge not put in practise before in anye of our kingdoms yet seeming to bee verye necessary to that plantation in generall and hurtfull to none in particular.¹

Accordingly the king directed that Rolleston should receive by patent for twenty-one years the sole right to set up such mills in any part of Ireland, provided he began to do so within two years, at a yearly rent of £20 Ir., to be remitted for the first two years. He took out his patent on 17 January 1619.² Such an application of power to timber processing was quite revolutionary for the British isles, although saw mills had been in use on the continent since the fifteenth century.³ There is, however, no evidence that Rolleston exploited his grant. However it was probably in their building and in the mobilisation of building skills that the settlers made the greatest visible effect on the landscape.

IV Fairs and markets

On the eve of the plantation a government-recognised network of fairs and markets did not exist in Ulster. A tuesday market to be

1. James I to St. John, 21 September 1618 (B.M. Add. MS 4756, ff.446^v-7).
2. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.412.
3. E. McCracken, 'The Irish timber, trade in the seventeenth century' in Irish Forestry, vol xxi, no 1, p.6.

held at Armagh was granted to Hugh O'Neill in 1587¹ and in 1603 a grant of a weekly market at Cavan was made to John Bingley, a member of a well-known servitor family,² but these were the only strictly recognised facilities of this kind in either county. However there were fairs and markets in Cavan at any rate dating, no doubt, from far back in the Gaelic tradition, and these were recorded in the Ulster survey of 1608.³ There was an annual fair and a weekly market at Cavan and six other annual fairs throughout the county.⁴

In a predominantly rural environment such facilities assume a special importance, enabling the exchange or sale of commodities in a competitive environment. At the same time the fair, if not the market which was held after very short intervals, provided scope for peripheral activities, entertainment and the like. Furthermore a market or fair with its temporary courts - courts of pie-powder - and public character may well have made for a more orderly or honourable transacting of business. To the person or institution possessing the privilege a fair or market could be a valuable asset, providing income from dues. By Stuart times such institutions in England had a long background of use and development.⁵

Fairs also with their various social facets were deeply rooted in the Irish tradition.⁶ To English government in Ireland such gatherings

1. Armagh Public Library, John Lodge MSS, g. 111. 23, p.5.
2. Marsh's Library Dublin, Z4.2.6, p.188.
3. Analecta Hibernica, iii, 151-213.
4. Ibid., pp. 205-8.
5. Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Report on Markets and Fairs in England and Wales, Part 1, General Review, London, H.M.S.O., 1927.
6. E. O'Curry, On the manners and customs of the ancient Irish (1873), i. ccliii-cclxi; E.E. Evans, Irish Folk Ways, p.254.

unsupervised and unregulated constituted a threat of disorder and the attempt was made to establish a network of fairs and markets in corporate towns or under the eye of planters settlements. Edmund Spenser pointed to the 'many mischiefs that have been both practiced and wrought' as a result of the traditional public assemblies, and urged the establishing of market towns 'by reason that people repairing often thither for their needs will daily see and learn civil manners of the better sort'. Private sales - 'secret bargains amongst themselves' - should be prohibited, buying and selling only to take place in

some open market ... for now when anyone hath stolen a cow or garran he may secretly sell it in the county without privity of any, whereas if he brought it to a market town it would perhaps be known and the thief discovered.¹

The establishment of fairs and markets would thus not only serve to curb Irish unrest but also make for the security of property. A network of fairs and markets not unexpectedly accompanied the plantation in Ulster, which was expanded and adjusted in ensuing years.

In Armagh by the 1630's thirteen centres for fairs and markets² had been established. The markets were weekly and the fairs varied from being quarterly to annual, usually to continue for two or three days. They were more densely distributed in the areas of British occupation, there being only one centre, created in 1629, for the whole area under Sir Turlogh McHenry O'Neill's control. It was usual for fairs to be held on saints' days but grants always provided that they should not take place on sundays. The patentee might hold a court of pie-powder and collect the 'usual tolls'. At Tandragee the date of a

1. Morley, Ire. under Eliz. & Jas I, pp. 116, 206-7.

2. P.R.O.I., Lodge, Records of the rolls, xiv. 7-9.

market was rearranged to a more suitable day. In May 1612 Sir Oliver St. John acquired the right to hold a Thursday market (as well as fairs) there.¹ This was surrendered in October, a new patent altering the day to Wednesday being granted in the following January.²

These markets and fairs were held in free and common soccage the rents varying from 5/- lr. to £1 lr., depending on the number that might be held in any year. The archbishop of Armagh who had the right to hold fairs and markets in Armagh paid no rent for the privilege, though for a grant of a market and annual fair at Tynan which he received in 1616 13/4 lr. in rent was required.³ The corporation of Charlemont received a Tuesday market and a fair on May 1 and 2 by charter in 1613 without rent,⁴ though Toby Caulfield who was empowered in 1622 to hold a fair there on August 5 and a Wednesday market paid a rent of £1.⁵ Annesley was the only individual landowner in the county to acquire a fair free of rent. This was in 1618 in addition to the facilities already granted to him in 1612, with a rent charge, to be held at Mountnorris.⁶ In 1622 it was found that the archbishop - who held his lands in free alms - had been in arrears with his rent for the fair at Tynan.⁷ The volume of business attracted by any of these fairs and markets up to 1641 remains obscure. Surviving landlords' rentals make no reference to income from market dues or courts. It is only in 1659 that we find that the market and fairs of Lurgan, granted to the

1. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.226.

2. Ibid. p.240.

3. Armagh Public Library, John Lodge MSS, g.111. 23, pp. 5, 7.

4. Ibid., p.5.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p.7; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, pp.234, 407.

7. N.L.I., Rich Papers, 8013/4: doubtful rents and arrears, 1620, Ulster.

Brownlow family, were let to a middleman at £4 rent per annum.¹

The provision of market facilities in Cavan was similar to Armagh. By 1631 11 places had been designated as market centres in the county.² As in Armagh these grants were made almost exclusively to British settlers or to corporate towns. However two old English landowners Gerald Fleming in Clankee and Edward Dowdall, and one Irishman also received the privilege. The Irish grantee was Brian McConnell of Dromdoon. McConnell was a footman in the royal army on whose behalf in a dispute over land with the bishop of Kilmore a king's letter was written to Falkland in 1629.³ In February 1630 he was granted a patent for fairs and markets at Dromdoon.⁴ Rents in Cavan ranged from 10/- to £2 1r. No grant was made to the bishop in this county where church lands were less extensive than in Armagh.

The inquiries held in Cavan in 1629 as a result of the scheme for the regrating of undertakers' estates made in some cases recommendations about fairs and markets. Thus for the Hamilton estate in Tullyhunco it was recommended that 'It is and wilbe verie fitt and convenient for the inhabitants thereabouts and also to the great furtherance of the plantation' that the dates of fairs and markets at Killashandra should be altered. Scrabby in the same estate was recommended as a market centre,

there not being anie fayres or marketts kept upon anie of these days or times at anie towne or place within eight

1. Armagh Museum, Brownlow Estate Rental, 1659.
2. P.R.O.I., Lodge, Records of the rolls, xiv. 18-21. In the case of Killashandra, Lodge entered as a different place a grant under an alternative name.
3. P.R.O.I., Connell Papers, D.19498.
4. Ibid., D.19499.

mylls distance [the estimated distance of Killashandra] of the said town of Screbagh.¹

The new patent to Sir Francis Hamilton in 1631 embodied recognition of both recommendations.² A similar recommendation for a new market centre on the Moynes estate in Loughtee³ was not, however, given effect. A change of date for one of the fairs held at Hansborough on the estate of John Hamilton in Clankee, also recommended in 1629⁴ was made in his patent of that year.⁵ Such local concern with marketing facilities reflects the extent to which the plantation was becoming established.

With regard to the town of Cavan a dispute arose between the claimant under Bingley's patent of 1603 and the corporation which also received by charter in 1610 the right to hold a weekly market as well as fairs. The dispute came to a head with a chancery suit in 1624.⁶ In 1622 it had been found that the burgesses had failed to pay one year's rent of 10/- for a market and two fairs.⁷ The suit in 1624 offers some explanation, though the evidence surviving is only the answer of the portrieves of the town to a bill of Sir Gerald Moore, viscount Drogheda. It seems that after 1603 Bingley had conveyed his patent to Moore, then seneschal of the county, and that he claimed the tolls of the weekly market to the exclusion of the rights of the corporation. The portrieves asserted that in 1616 Moore had sent ten soldiers of his command to the town to collect 'in forcible manner' market tolls.⁸

1. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., 11, Cavan (24) Chas I.
2. P.R.O.I., Lodge, Records of the rolls, xiv. 18-21.
3. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., 11, Cavan (23) Chas I.
4. Ibid., (18) Chas I.
5. P.R.O.I., Lodge, Records of the rolls, xiv. 18-21.
6. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, 2B. 30. 120, no. 96.
7. N.L.I., Rich Papers, 8013/4: doubtful rents and arrears, 1620, Ulster.
8. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, 2B. 30. 120, no. 96.

The dispute appears to have been unresolved - Bingley's patent being presumably overlooked when the charter was drafted - and members of the Moore family reasserted their claim as late as 1640.¹ Another dispute, also brought into chancery, concerned the fairs and markets at Killashandra, which dragged on from 1614 to 1625 or later, but it was principally concerned with the ownership of the townland in which the fairs took place.² Fairs and markets had thus become a valuable privilege before the end of the first generation of plantation.

The plantation thus brought a system of fairs and markets. These served the needs of the British population but were also designed to bring the native inhabitants into civilising contact with British-conducted institutions. That they should be conducted under planter supervision had thus a special importance and may account for why so few were granted to native landowners. As early as 1612 Sir John Davies reported enthusiastically about

the care and course that hath been taken to make civil commerce and intercourse between the subjects newly reformed and brought under obedience by granting markets and fairs to be holden in their countries.³

Although at the time of the commission for defective titles during Wentworth's administration the resumption of these privileges was considered,⁴ they remained in private or institutional ownership as originally granted.

1. inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (68) Chas I.
2. P.R.O.I. Chancery salvage, D.9; 2B. 80. 120, no. 126; Rep. Chancery Decrees, p.30.
3. Morley, Ire. under Eliz. & Jas I, p. 341.
4. P.R.O., S.P. 63/257, f.144 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, p.228).

CHAPTER 10 THE CHURCH

1 Initial problems and reorganisation

The close relation between the establishing of a protestant colony in Ulster and the effective inauguration of protestantism there was evident from the planning stage of the colony. The aim of this chapter is to examine the setting up and operation of the church structure in Armagh and Cavan. Particular reference is made to financial aspects, and to the relationship between clergy and lay proprietors.

One of the five general principles of the Project was that every proportion should be made a parish, and a parish church erected. Incumbents should be endowed with glebe proportionate to the size of the estate, and at the rate of sixty acres in every 1,000, and also receive the tithes.¹ A complete re-drawing of parish boundaries on logical principles was thus envisaged. Some of the settlers were also to have an influence in the choice of clergy in the church thus newly constituted. The revised Articles of plantation stated that the principal undertaker within each precinct or barony should be granted one advowson.²

In March 1609 the plantation commissioners were required to investigate whether one or more proportions were fit to be made a parish, and empowered to establish parish boundaries accordingly, retaining the old limits 'as far forth as it may stand with the plantation'.³ They should also ensure that glebe assignments were close to the parish churches, and that a clause be inserted in the patents granting glebe land to

1. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no. 74 in Analecta Hibernica, viii.
2. T.W. Moody, 'The Revised Articles of the Ulster Plantation, 1610' in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xii, 178-83.
3. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, p.182.

forbid any alienation for longer than an incumbency.¹ At the end of June the commissioners indicated that they would prefer not to retain the old parochial system; however in the reorganisation of the ecclesiastical geography difficulties and delays were encountered.²

The impact of the reformation in Ulster had previously been slight. Some protestant appointments had been made in the sixteenth century, but they can hardly have been rewarding in jurisdictional or financial terms. Thus Adam Loftus, appointed in 1562 archbishop of Armagh, a see only partly in Ulster, accepted translation to Dublin in 1567.³ Owen Wood, a Welshman appointed dean of Armagh c. 1588, quickly acquired the archdeaconry of Meath and other benefices, and in 1601 was presented to a rectory in Wiltshire.⁴ In 1605 the lord deputy and council, after a journey to Ulster, reported that the cathedral church in Armagh was 'much ruined and fallen into decay', and that there were a number of priests there 'all ordained by foreign authority'. To redress such 'enormities' they instructed the negligent archbishop, Henry Ussher, a man, it was noted, capable of speaking Irish, to install a minister there forthwith, and to reside and preach in Armagh 'every summer season'.⁵

A similar situation pertained in Kilmore. After the death of the government-supporting bishop, Edmund Nugent, c.1550, the bishopric remained vacant until the appointment of John Garvey under Perrott in 1585. Garvey retained his archdeaconry of Meath and deanery of

1. Cal. Carew MSS, 1603-24, pp. 45-6; Marsh's Library, Dublin, Z4.2. 6, p.130.
2. The sponsorship of towns and schools should be compared.
3. J.B. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes (Dundalk 1911), p.5.
4. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
5. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6, p.317.

Christchurch, Dublin in commendam, becoming primate in 1590.¹ A further vacancy occurred until in 1604 the rector of Trim, Robert Draper, reputedly knowing the district, the people, and the Irish language, was appointed to both Kilmore and Ardagh, retaining his rectory in commendam.² In 1607 Sir John Davies reported that there was no 'divine service or sermon' to be heard within either of his dioceses, that the churches were in disrepair, his clergy 'barbarous' and he willing 'to make benefit out of their insufficiency, according to the proverb ... that an Irish priest is better than a milch cow'.³ There was however some slight tradition of clerical conformity in Kilmore, and in this Cavan may have been unique among the six subsequently escheated counties.⁴

However any regularised network of protestant incumbents succeeded rather than preceded the advent of colonists.⁵ In 1608 Chichester stated that the churches throughout Ulster generally were

so defaced, and the glebe and bishops' lands so obscured, that all is confused and out of order, as if it were in a wilderness where neither Christianity nor Religion was ever heard of,

and urged that immediate attention should be paid to the re-ordering and settling of the church and clergy.⁶ The planning of the colony

1. N.L.I., MS 2685, J.B. Leslie, Biographical succession list of Kilmore (typescript), p.7.
2. *Ibid.*, p.8.
3. Morley, Ire. under Eliz. & Jas I, pp.377-8.
4. Clerical members of the families of O'Gowan or Smith, and Brady appear as accepting English authority from the mid-sixteenth century (Cal. fiants Ire., Edw. vi, no. 15; Eliz., nos. 544, 4812; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Eliz., pp. 277-8; P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, H.65; N.L.I., MS 2685, p.198.
5. We have seen already that the effective dissolution of the monasteries in plantation Ulster (with the exception of those in Cavan) had also to await the seventeenth century.
6. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no 75, in Analecta Hibernica, viii; Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, p.64.

and the re-organisation of the church thus went hand in hand,¹ though many problems which arose in the succeeding thirty years sprang from the fact that no thoroughly radical re-construction was effected.

Some brief outline of the parochial system in Armagh and Cavan on the eve of plantation must be given. In the general enquiry of 1608,² and again in 1609³ the names of the traditional parishes and how they were appropriated were recorded. The origins of these parishes in many cases appear to have been associated with the distribution of termon and errenach lands.⁴ How confused the parochial system had become is evident from the divergence of the evidence of 1608 and 1609. For County Armagh the former source lists 12 parish churches and 4 chapels of ease.⁵ The 1609 inquisition reveals 15 parishes.⁶ The book of survey and distribution shows Armagh as falling into 17 parishes, some of which were only partly in the county, and 2, Segoe and Shankill, were in the diocese of Dromore.⁷ The same difficulty exists for Cavan. The inquisition of 1608 lists 24 parish churches and 10 chapels.⁸ From the 1609 inquisition the names of 28 parishes, and 4 chapels are derived.⁹ The book of survey and distribution shows the county as

1. For Hill the treatment of the church was a 'complicated question' given only passing attention (Plantation, p.88).
2. Analecta Hibernica, iii, pp. 151-218.
3. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii. Spp.
4. An examination of the maps of 1609 shows many of the parish churches as located within these lands. On the origins of parishes in Ireland, see J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial Development in the Rural Deanery of Skreen' in R.S.A.I. Jn., vol. 94, part 2 (1964), pp. 111-22.
5. Analecta Hibernica, iii, pp.213-18.
6. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, App.
7. P.R.O.I., Book of survey and distribution.
8. Analecta Hibernica, iii, pp.204-13.
9. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, App.

comprising 34 parishes in whole or in part.¹ Since the evidence of visitation returns, especially that of 1622, is discussed in this chapter, consideration is confined to those parishes or unions of parishes reported on in these returns : fifteen in Armagh and twenty-three in Cavan.²

With the plantation, four advowsons, two in Armagh and two in Cavan, were granted to leading settlers. Sir Anthony Cope received the advowson of Shankill rectory³ and Sir James Douglas the advowson of the vicarage of Loughgilly.⁴ In Cavan lord Aubigny received the advowson of the rectory of Drumgoon or Drumdoon,⁵ and Sir Alexander Hamilton received that of the vicarage of Killashandra.⁶

Douglas did not receive the advowson of Loughgilly rectory because it was already impropriate. The problem of impropriations was, of course, one in no way confined to Ulster.⁷ These could be held by both clergy and laity - by the latter as the result of monastic dissolutions. Problems arising from impropriations will be discussed below. It is here necessary to outline the state of impropriations in our area. In Armagh more impropriations were in clerical hands than in lay, while in Cavan the reverse obtained.

In Armagh the prior of the vicars choral or Culdees was rector of five parishes and vicar of one. The dean was traditional rector or

1. P.R.O.I., Book of survey and distribution.
2. Below, pp. 461, 465.
3. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.167. This advowson might more appropriately have been granted to Brownlow.
4. Ibid., p.164.
5. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (19) Chas I.
6. Ibid., (24) Chas I.
7. For a discussion of this and other problems affecting the reformation church in England at this time see C.Hill, Economic problems of the church (Oxford, 1956), passim.

parson of four parishes (including Loughgilly) and vicar of two, as well as having also rights of titles from some smaller areas.¹ These were the two largest ecclesiastical impropriators. The archbishop was also rector of the parish of Armagh.² Lay-held impropriations were less numerous. The grantee of the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, Caulfield, had a number of impropriations, and the grantee of the monastery of Killeavy appears also to have had such rights.³

In Cavan the impropriations were predominantly in lay hands, and also predominantly in the hands of old English catholics. Eleven rectories improprate to the abbey of Fore had been in Nugent hands since 1567 in leasehold⁴; in 1613 Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin received an outright grant of the monastery and its rectories.⁵ To the monastery at Kells, county Meath, some seven rectories in Cavan had belonged. These were leased to Gerald Fleming under Elizabeth⁶, and he received an outright grant in 1608.⁷ The monastery of Drumlahan, which we have seen in speculators' hands at the end of the sixteenth century,⁸ was owned by Sir James Dillon in this period. Although in the earliest lease of it, made in 1571, two rectories, Drumlahan and Killashandra, were granted,⁹ and although the latest patent, in 1604, does not refer, as calendared, to rectories specifically,¹⁰ the 1609 inquisition ascribes

1. This is based on the inquisition of 1609 regarding the escheated land in Armagh (Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii. App.).
2. 'Chichester Letter-Book', no. 14, in Analecta Hibernica, viii. The chancellor and treasurer of the diocese also had some impropriations.
3. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp.280-81.
4. Above, pp.58-9; Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 1089.
5. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.238.
6. Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 4956.
7. Above, p.58
8. Above, pp. 57-9.
9. Cal. fiants Ire., Eliz., no. 1681; above, p.57.
10. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.2-3.

416.

three rectories, including the two above mentioned, to it,¹ and this is confirmed by the 1622 visitation return.² Hence at the time of plantation, Hamilton, like Douglas in Armagh, could receive only the advowson of the vicarage of Killashandra. Clearly almost all the Cavan rectories at this time were in lay hands. Almost all the vicarages, however, were collative by the bishop. Ecclesiastical impropriations in Cavan were few. The bishop of Kilmore was rector of the parish of Tomregan; he also had the collation of (or right of presentation to) the rectory and vicarage of Drumgoon.³ The presentation to this parish was granted to a settler at the plantation.⁴ We will examine below the government's subsequent attitude to impropriations, but we must now examine how the church was endowed with land, as the plan stipulated.

Here the government was presented with a quandary. It was important that the clergy should be resident close to their churches, i.e. that their glebe land and their churches should be in close proximity. The task would probably have been simplified had the parish clergy already had glebe land because they would doubtless have retained it as the bishops did their mensal land. But it is clear that in Armagh and Cavan, at any rate, glebe was non-existent or negligible. In an abstract of the state of landownership in Armagh in 1610, thirteen parishes are listed of which ten were without glebe, and the remaining three had only very small portions.⁵ An inquiry in 1588 into the values of church

1. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii. App.

2. T.C.D., MS E.3.6, pp. 134-65; Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry, B.1b. no. 193, pp. 136-51.

3. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii. App. (1609 inquisition concerning escheated lands in Cavan).

4. Above, p. 444.

5. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, p. 407.

livings in Cavan also suggests that they cannot have had much glebe. Most livings returned sums varying from £6 to £10 per annum, two had £12, and six ranged from £1 to £3.¹

The problem the Dublin government had to resolve at the beginning of 1610 was whether to accept the administrative obligation of the Project and re-draw parish boundaries and allocate glebe as there instructed, or else to allow the existing parochial boundaries, irrational though they might now be, to continue. By January 29 Chichester had concluded that a re-structuring was hardly practicable. He approached the problem in a mood which was an apparent blend of realism and confusion. It would be difficult.

to erect new parishes before the country is better peopled and settled, for ... they [would] not get the old churches rebuilt in any convenient time ...²

Clearly he did not appreciate that if new parishes were to be created to coincide with settlers estates new churches should be built³ and the old ones deserted.

He had, however, an alternative plan. The bishops were at this time pressing their claims to the termon and errenach lands, claims to which, as we have seen,⁴ Chichester was not wildly sympathetic. On January 27 he recommended to the privy council that the bishops should be granted these lands on condition that out of them glebe land should be allocated to the parish churches.⁵ This he felt would be

but a small deduction out of the bishops great scopes; for the parishes are very large and few and without

1. P.R.O.I., Cal. exchequer inquisitions, Ulster, Cavan, (2) Eliz., pp.4-6.
2. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, p.368.
3. Above, p.440.
4. Above, pp. 10-11, 13-14, 17-18.
5. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, pp.358-9.

this provision the parsons and vicars cannot for the most part have any land within two or three miles of the church, and in some places further off; which is a great inconvenience.

We have seen that many of the old parish churches lay in the termon and errenach lands. In this way the desideratum that the clergy should be able to reside close to their churches could be fulfilled, and land could also be saved to gratify lay interests. If the bishops would not accept this, or the king were inclined to grant them the termon lands in toto, then, he suggested, they should exchange amounts of termon land close to the churches for compensatory areas of forfeited lay property.¹ By March when a decision on the termon lands had been reached in England no stipulation about glebe allocations appears to have been made.²

The result was that glebe was allocated according to the Project, but the old parish boundaries and church locations were retained. In the 1630s bishop Bramhall is said to have told Sir William Parsons, who was surveyor-general in 1610,

that if all the Jesuits of the church of Rome had conspired together to hinder the propagation of the gospel in Ulster they could not have contrived it more effectually than had been done in these so inconvenient assignments.³

However although the land allotted as glebe was non-ecclesiastical, and so, often located at a distance from the parish churches, these endowments enormously increased incumbents incomes. In Armagh the land so allocated was some 6,561 acres or 2.1% of the total acreage. In Cavan almost 14,000 acres were allotted, or about 2.9% of the total

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., pp. 409-11. It was however considered proper that some part of the 'great scope of land' allotted to the bishops should be granted to deans and chapters (ibid., pp. 415-6).

3. W.W. Wilkins (ed.), Memoir of the life and episcopate of Dr. William Bedell (London, 1862), p.52.

acreage.¹ It may be noted that the archbishop received almost 48,000 acres, some 15%, in Armagh, and the bishop of Kilmore some 31,785 acres, almost 7%, in Cavan.²

Grants of these lands were not, however, immediately made. As in the establishment of towns and schools the administration faltered.³ Also most parishes in Armagh and Kilmore, and it seems in Ulster generally, had not received incumbents before 1612 or 1613, and so the issuing of patents would have been difficult. In many cases, however, this land was being used by neighbouring landowners; indeed some of it may have been permanently lost.⁴

In March 1615 one Armagh minister received a king's letter in his favour for the possession of glebe land and impropriate tithes which had been detained from him.⁵ On 21 April 1615 a king's letter recommended without effect the granting of glebe lands there to the archbishop of Armagh, to be assigned by him to the parishes.⁶ In 1617 the government was obliged to take up the problem when a Donegal minister, whose glebe should have been assigned by Trinity College, appealed both to London and Dublin on behalf of himself and the other incumbents on college lands.⁷ The consequent allocation of glebe from the college

1. Above, pp.92-3. See also N.L.I., Rich papers, 8014/7: Sir William Parsons certificate of glebes in Ulster, 16 September 1622, also B.M., Add. MS 4756, f.19^v. In Londonderry Professor Moody has shown that incumbents received 2.8% of the land (T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, p.455).
2. Above, pp.92-3.
3. In 1611 the Dublin government was instructed by London to effect exchanges of land between the bishops and the clergy, to which, it was stated, some of the bishops had agreed. This was afterwards to be confirmed by act of parliament (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, p.43).
4. The report of the commissioners on the revenues and conditions of the established church (Ireland) (Dublin, 1868) which provides a parochial survey appears to indicate this. W. Reeves, Memoirs of Tynan, MS volume, unfoliated, in Armagh Public Library indicates this clearly for the parish of Tynan, in Armagh.
5. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, p.18.
6. Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh [Lodge transcripts], p.204; B.M., Add. MS 4794, ff.317-7^v.
7. Below pp.

estate in Armagh resulted in prolonged litigation between the college and its tenant, Sir James Carroll.¹ No general conveyance of the glebe was made, though in August 1617 Parsons drew up a list of all the glebe lands throughout the northern counties.² In August 1619 a king's letter³ repeated the instructions of April 1615, again without effect.

The government inquiry in 1622 revealed the kind of problems which could arise for incumbents as a result of unclarified titles. The rector of Ballymore in Armagh stated that he had brought a suit before the council for the recovery of glebe land from neighbouring planters, including Lord Moore and Sir Henry Burchier, and had been ordered to pay them £20 in compensation.⁴ The commissioners in their report noted the king's bounty in assigning a considerable area from his 'own escheated lands' for glebe, and noting that some of this seemed already to have been misappropriated, recommended him to grant letters patent to the incumbents or their successors. The Londoners and the college should also surrender land for glebe. A clause should be inserted in the patents forbidding alienations of 60 acres of glebe nearest to churches for longer than the length of incumbencies, and of the remainder for longer than 21 years.⁵

The 1622 commissioners also recommended that exchanges of glebe

1. Below pp. 513-16.
2. Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry, B. 3A. no. 382: large roll in Parsons's hand.
3. *Ibid.*, Evidences of the see of Armagh, pp.206-7.
4. P.R.O., Manchester papers, 30/15/2/182; Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry, B. 1B. no. 193, pp.29-30. The intricacies of this case have been examined, above, pp.125-7.
5. These twenty-one year leases to be to British tenants or such Irish as were church-going and the leasings to be made with the advice of the appropriate bishop. A rent of at least 1/- sterling per profitable Irish acre should be required.

be made between the bishops and the incumbents, some of the parishes being

five or six miles in length whereby the ministers and the people cannot without great difficulty come to church especially in winter time and in foule weather.

However their recommendation was not for total exchanges, but for exchanges of twenty-acre areas whereby the clergy could erect parsonage houses close to their churches.¹ In June 1623 orders based on these recommendations were submitted to the king for approval and implementation.²

The reign of James I ended, however, before any patents of glebe were taken out. In May 1626, twenty-one grants of glebe in Tyrone were made.³ In July the king wrote to Falkland ordering that patents be granted of all Ulster glebe, all the incumbents in each diocese to be allowed take out a joint patent.⁴ Grants then followed fairly swiftly, that to Kilmore clergy in January 1627⁵ and to Armagh clergy in June 1628⁶. The 1622 suggestion about exchanges was not followed through, and incumbents were required to build a 'sufficient mansion' of stone, thirty feet long, twenty feet high, and eighteen feet in breadth, upon their glebe.⁷

1. B.M., Add. MS 4756, ff. 19^v-20, 64.
2. P.R.O., S.P. 63/237, ff.65-9^v, fairer copy: 70-75^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, pp.416-9).
3. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, pp.176-8. All were in one patent.
4. Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh, pp.109-11; Marsh's Library, Dublin, Z4. 2. 6, pp.588-92.
5. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, pp.186-8; P.R.O.I., Lodge, records of the rolls, v. 32-6: dated inaccurately as 1626.
6. Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry, A.1A. no. 11: original patent; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, pp.322-5. The Clogher patent was not taken out until February 1632 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, pp.592-3). Similar delays took place with regard to glebes in Londonderry (T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, pp.292, 362).
7. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, pp.176-8.

The Government also did not give effect to the recommendation of the Project regarding impropriations. It was there laid down that the 'whole tiethes ... of euerie parish' should be allotted to each incumbent.¹ However, impropriations would not have been surrendered without compensation. It is clear from a letter of the privy council to Chichester in August 1611 that the general recovery of impropriations in Ireland was not considered immediately practicable. He was instructed, though, to ensure that impropiators provided for the payment of ministers, 'until the convocation of parliament, which will no doubt take measures to reform all great abuses'.²

The surrender of impropriations episcopally - held was, however, made conditional to the granting of the termon and errenach lands to the bishops. Thus, in the archbishop of Armagh's patent of 9 September 1610 his impropriations in plantation Ulster were excepted in return for the grant of the termon lands.³ The bishops were also required to surrender their tertiam episcopalem, a right of tithes from all parishes, though the archbishop of Armagh and also the bishop of Kilmore had not enjoyed this right.⁴ The excepting of episcopal impropriations was one thing; their surrender was another. It was only as a result of lay pressures in 1612 that episcopal impropriations in Armagh were surrendered. In Cavan, where no such pressures were brought to bear,

1. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no. 74, in Analecta Hibernica, viii.
2. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp.96-7.
3. Abstract in Representative Church Body Library, Dublin, Libr./32, p.29. In August 1610 the privy council instructed Chichester to arrange with the archbishop for the surrender of all his impropriations, and to inform them of the amount of compensation to be given (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, pp.489-90). This, however, probably referred to impropriations in the Pale area of the archbishopric as well.
4. 'Chichester Letter-Book' nos 14 & 15, in Analecta Hibernica, viii.

the bishop appears to have retained the privilege. Thus the 1622 visitation described Tomregan rectory as 'the bishop's mensal'.¹ Furthermore, the Ulster bishops appear to have received the collation or presentation to, i.e. the advowsons, of very many of the available appointments. We have seen that a few of these were granted to prominent undertakers. Chichester in January 1610 suggested that the bishops should have the 'donation of benefices generally throughout their dioceses', except for a 'convenient number' to be granted to Trinity College,² and some 'principal' benefices in each diocese to be in the patronage of the lord deputy.³ The distribution of patronage was important because it would be reflected in the kinds of incumbents appointed. Bramhall was subsequently very critical of these decisions which allowed the state little influence in clerical appointments.⁴ No surrenders were required in 1610 from other ecclesiastical impropiators, such as the dean or vicars choral of Armagh.

The whole question of impropiations in Armagh, especially ecclesiastical, came into prominence in 1612 as a result of lay pressures. In March 1612 the king, on the petition of Sir James Douglas and the Scots undertakers in the Fews, instructed Chichester to arrange a comprehensive series of surrenders.⁵ The archbishop of Armagh and the 'rest of the bishops in the plantation' were to surrender all tithes and impropiations to the king to be disposed of 'according to the project of

1. Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry, B. 1B. no. 193, pp.150-51.

2. None of these were in Armagh. See below, p.498.

3. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, p.359.

4. Below, p. 493.

5. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp.256-8. At the same time these Scottish undertakers in the Fews had sought royal support for their claim that the Armagh servitors were neglectful of obligations of defence (see above, pp.117-20).

plantation¹ to the incumbents. The dean of Armagh and also the prior of the vicars choral or culdees and the prebendaries of Armagh were also to surrender their impropriations and receive compensation from the archbishop out of the termon lands. Particularly the dean was to surrender the impropriate rectory of Loughgilly, the patronage of which was to be granted to Douglas, and the incumbent vicar of that parish, James Shaw, B.D., who, it was noted, had been there since the previous July, was to be put in possession of the rectorial and vicarial tithes. When it is remembered that Douglas had been granted the advowson of the vicarage of Loughgilly at the plantation it becomes clear that the whole matter of impropriations in Armagh had been made an issue as a result of a struggle between a lay Scottish planter, Douglas, and the dean, Robert Maxwell, who was also a Scot.¹

The archbishop's surrender of impropriations took place on 20 June 1612.² Writing to Humphrey May on July 8 Chichester stated that these were 'but two small things', the rectory of Armagh and a rectory in Tyrone. He felt this a small return for such a large grant of land. The other Ulster-plantation bishops either had, or would be required to, resign their impropriations as well, which would, however, be more rewarding as they would involve the surrender of tertiam episcopalem. As to Armagh, he stated that those numerous benefices which were in the hands of the dean and other dignitaries of Armagh would not be surrendered 'without valuable considerations'. He had, though, possessed Shaw of

1. The dean was also in dispute at this time with Henry Acheson about the ownership of part of the land granted to Acheson. The dean vindicated his claim (see above, p.127-8).
2. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.256.

the parsonage of Loughgilly. This was done in the absence of the dean, who was at court, Chichester adding his fear as to 'how he [would] digest this either at his return hither or the report of it there'.¹ He had been deprived of one rectory, and there had been no general discussion of compensation for the surrender of all his impropriations.

The dean, however, soon secured an advantage. At the end of September Chichester informed the archbishop of Canterbury that Maxwell had returned to Ireland with royal letters instructing him to maintain him in possession of all his rights 'until certain mutual surrenders be first made of things' between the primate, the dean, and the vicars choral.² The new king's letter was one of July 31,³ which required, indeed, a complicated series of surrenders.

The archbishop was to surrender the territory of Derrynoose, almost 6,000 acres, which was to be conveyed to the dean,⁴ who in turn was to surrender all impropriate rectories and vicarages to the crown. The parsonage and vicarage of Armagh were to be united - the archbishop had been rector and the dean vicar - and the patronage granted to the archbishop. The prior and vicars choral should surrender their impropriations in return for reasonable compensation to be allotted by

1. 'Chichester Letter-Book' no 14, in Analecta Hibernica, viii. No. 15, lord deputy to archbishop of Canterbury, 9 July 1612. has also been used.
2. 'Chichester Letter-Book' no. 29, in Analecta Hibernica, viii. Chichester, sandwiched uncomfortably between the contestants, could only note that he had and should 'incurr displeasure and obloquy of the partys in this as it is my condition to suffer unworthily in many other things besides' (ibid.).
3. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp.280-81; Cal. pat. rollis Ire., Jas I, pp. 248-9; Armagh Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh, p.41; R.C.B. Library, Dublin, Libr./32, p.5.
4. The dean was also to receive a patent of the deanery land, which should include the land in dispute (ibid.).

the lord chancellor.

The surrenders by the archbishop, of Derrynoose,¹ and presumably of the dean, took place accordingly. In February 1613 Chichester informed the archbishop of Canterbury of the dean's surrender of tithes and livings 'to the use of the several ministers and churches to be supplied'.² The dean received his patent of lands in the same month.³ Attention to the position of the vicars choral was, however, deferred to a later date.⁴

The outcome was clearly a satisfactory reorganisation of benefit to parish clergy concerned. However the precipitating circumstances - the struggle between the dean and the Scottish undertakers - should not be overlooked. Douglas held the advowson of the vicarage of Loughgilly, and was manifestly determined to procure that of the rectory as well.⁵ It is with this in mind that the limitations of the reorganisation, in that nothing was done about the vicars choral, should be considered.

The king's letter of 31 July 1612⁶ also instructed Chichester to investigate the claims of lay impropiators in Armagh, and if they were valid to compound with them 'that [the tithes] may be laid to the parochial ministers, according to the rules of the plantation'. There were only two such, holding dissolved monastic land, in Armagh, Sir Toby Caulfield and Marmaduke Whitechurch,⁷ however their interests were

1. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1, p.252.

2. 'Chichester Letter-Book' no. 46, in Analecta Hibernica, viii.

3. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1, pp.245-6; Armagh Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh, pp.45-8.

4. Below, pp. 473-6.

5. In October 1612 the deputy and plantation commissioners worked out an arrangement between the incumbent of Loughgilly, and two Irishmen, Manus and John O'Fynan, to whom the dean had disposed the tithes of the rectory ('Ulster Plantation Papers' no. 59/d, in Analecta Hibernica, viii).

6. Above, p.455.

7. Above, pp.32-3, 445.

probably emotionally the stronger because of the recency of their grants and their commitment to the regime.

In the case of Caulfield the order coincided with a further requirement - subsequently enforced - that he should surrender that portion of his abbey land which lay in county Londonderry for the benefit of the London companies plantation.¹ In September Caulfield went to London supported by a strong letter of commendation from the deputy² to argue his case in its various aspects.³ The outcome for Caulfield in that he was obliged to surrender the lands in Londonderry is well known,⁴ but he retained possession of the tithes, and he returned from England bearing a letter requiring his appointment to the Irish privy council.⁵ There is no evidence of any negotiations with Marmaduke Whitechurch.

There was no concern with impropriations in Cavan at this time. In fact in January 1613 Richard Nugent, baron of Delvin, received a new and outright of his Cavan rectories.⁶ The ending of impropriations was thus not an energetically pursued policy at this stage, but rather, where it happened in specific instances, it had resulted from local circumstances.

This is not to say that the king and the London government were not issuing general instructions and advice in these years to the Ulster bishops and their clergy, in hopes that

1. T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, pp.117-8.
2. 'Chichester Letter-Book' no. 28, in Analecta Hibernica, viii. This can be interpreted in terms of Chichester's reaction, at this same time, to the complaints of the Scots in the Fews also against the Armagh servitors (above, pp.117-20).
3. Caulfield himself stated his case in a letter to the earl of Northampton, 18 September 1612 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, p.550).
4. T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, p.117.
5. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, p.324.
6. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.238.

the place from which heretofore the rest of the kingdom has received infection shall now become such a store ... of faithful and religious hearts, that [the king] may at all times make use of them against those that shall presume to spurn against his religious and just government.¹

These were to a large extent pious gestures, if taken in contrast to the failure to deal fully and completely with impropriations, as the plantation project had required. In November 1613 it was reported plainly by commissioners that the lack of clergy and the ruined state of churches - in the country at large - arose from the want of livings to sustain them as a result of impropriations.²

How soon did a systematic network of parish clergy appear in our area? An inquiry for Cavan in 1619, which limited itself to the period up to 9 July 1617 produced much relevant evidence.³ Ten vicarages and three rectories had been without incumbents from the start of James's reign until 24 March 1611, and the bishop, Draper, had received the profits of them during that period. He had received the profits of four additional vicarages and one rectory from 24 March 1607 to 24 March 1611. The bishop was patron of all except two of these. Garret Fleming and his son Thomas had received the profits of one rectory, Lurgan, from 24 March 1612 until 9 July 1617. Sir James Dillon had received the profits of the vacant vicarage of Drumlahan from 24 March 1608 until 24 March 1611. The vicarage of Killashandra had been vacant from 24 March 1613 until 9 July 1617, and Claud Hamilton, its patron, had enjoyed the profits in that period. The names of only two parish clergy emerge from the inquiry. One, Nicholas O'Goven or Smith the

1. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp.96-7, see also pp.26-7, 31-3, 142-3; Cal. Carew MSS, 1603-24, pp.127-9, 142-3.
2. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, p.446.
3. P.R.O.I., Cal. exchequer inquisitions, Ulster, Cavan, (3) Jas 1, pp.14-19.

younger had been admitted, prior to 1617,¹ to the vicarage of Kildrumfertan, and received the emoluments of office; he had also held Castlerahan and received its profits for two years before 1617. The other, Robert Whiskens, seemingly a Cambridge graduate,² had held the vicarages of Annageliffe (modern Cavan) and Denn, of which the bishop was patron, for four years before 1617. Such a report suggests the unhealthy state of protestantism in Kilmore.

It is difficult to establish accurately the dates of appointment of many of the early seventeenth-century Kilmore clergy. Leslie's succession list³ incorporates most of the available material, yet leaves much to be desired. However apart from a number of Irish clergy officially appointed, there seem to have been few appointments before about 1615. Killashandra was, in fact, vacant until 1618.⁴ There appear to have been just two appointments of English clergy in 1612. Both were Cambridge graduates, one having had previous parochial experience in England.⁵ In 1612 the parish of Drumgoon also had a native Irish rector, Hugh McComyn.⁶ It does not seem likely that in the lands of Irish clergy protestantism would prosper, and the value of livings offered little inducement to energetic outsiders, themselves, of course, likely to be unsuitable as proselytisers.

The situation in Armagh was less complicated by massive lay-held impropriations, and it may also be Henry Ussher and Hampton were more

1. The date is blank in the transcription. Leslie (N.L.I., MS 2685, p.189) is unhelpful.
2. N.L.I., MS 2685, p.114.
3. N.L.I., MS 2685 (typescript).
4. *Ibid.*, p.
5. Nathaniel Hollington, vicar of Drumlane (*ibid.*, p.143) and John Bockock, vicar of Drumlease (*ibid.*, p.151).
6. *Ibid.*, p.132.

active than bishops Draper and Moynes of Kilmore. In April 1610 a dean Robert Maxwell, was presented by the crown.¹ However it was June 1612 before a rector, James Matchett, an Englishman who had disposed of his estate in Oneilland was appointed - to Armagh parish.² Apart from the controversial Loughgilly, where there was a vicar from 1611, no further appointments were made before 1613.³

II The inquiry of 1622.

The first systematic examination of the plantation church took place at the time of the inquiry of 1622. The bishops were required to conduct a visitation and present reports,⁴ and the commissioners' report incorporated general recommendations.⁵

Dealing with the archbishopric of Armagh the diocesan report indicates that the archbishop, Christopher Hampton, lived at Drogheda, i.e. inter anglicos following medieval precedent. However he had done much to restore his cathedral,⁶ he had laid out land near Armagh for demesne, and erected buildings at Drogheda. The income of the archbishopric was stated to be £1935. 9. 9.⁷ The deanery, vacant through the death of Robert Maxwell,⁸ was valued at £120 per annum. This income was from lands only and the dean had a 'poore house' in Armagh. The chapter consisted of an archdeaconry, precentorship, and treasurership.

1. Armagh Registry, A. 1b. no. 209 (original patent); Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.168. J.B. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes, p.13.
2. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.234.
3. J.B. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes, passim.
4. Armagh Registry, B. 1b. no 193; T.C.D., MS E.3.6 and T. 5. 22.
5. B.M., Add. MS 4756, ff. 18-25^v, 64-5.
6. Above, p.372.
7. For discussion of this, and the amount of it due from Armagh see below chapter 12.
8. He is stated as having been previously resident in Armagh.

The report covers fifteen parishes or unions, of which the following table presents an abstract of the evidence.¹ [see p.462]

Thus we see that of the thirteen parishes for which statements of income were given, the lowest figure was £30, the highest (Armagh) £100, and the most usual £60 or £80. There is some difficulty in reconciling these with another set, (b), taken from the Rich papers. These, where available, are, with one exception, higher (roughly by half) than those of the visitation, and they would clearly not be liable to clerical underestimation. The 1634 regal visitation² provides figures which, although in all cases except one (Derrynoose) they are higher or equal to those of the 1622 visitation, are in seven cases out of the eleven where comparison is possible lower than those of Rich and in four cases higher. In a lawsuit in 1629, however, concerning the profits of Loughgilly rectory, judgement was given for £500 for the two years 1624 and 1625.³

As far as the physical apparatus of protestantism was concerned the county presented a recently changed image. Churches and parsonage houses had been in almost all cases recently built or were being built or repaired. Kilcluney and Derrybrocas were the only exceptions. In the former case the church was 'but a house instead thereof'. The church of Derrybrocas was ruinous but the chapel (at Killyman) was in

1. Armagh Registry, B. 1b. no 193, pp.25-31; T.C.D. MS E.3.6, pp.26-31. Two parishes, Selgo and Shankill, which were in the diocese of Dromore are included by using the Dromore visitation (T.C.D. MS T. 5. 22, pp.3-5). The alternative figures provided under (b) in the annual income column are derived from the papers of Sir Nathaniel Rich, one of the commissioners of inquiry (N.L.I., MS 8013/9).

2. Below, p.487-9.

3. P.R.O.I., Repertories to the decrees of chancery, vol. 2, p.56.

Co. Armagh Parish	Residency of Incumbent	Annual value		State of Church	State of par- sonage house, etc.
		(a)	(b)		
Armagh	Resident Curate employed	£100	£220	Cathedral used 2 chapels	Not built, controversial
Kilmore	Resident	£80	£100	'fair church new built'	parsonage house 'new built; also stable, barn & orchard, cost £200
Drumcree	Absent Curate employed	£60	£50	in repair 'but not very suff- iciently'	-
Loughgall	Resident	£60	£100	well repaired	'sufficient' parsonage house, also orchard and housing
Loughgilly	Resident	£80	£120	'in building'	-
Killeavy	Resident	£80	£120	'new built'	'sufficient parsonage house in churchyard. Glebe remote.
Ballymore	Resident	£80	£120	'new built'	No building, controversial
Mullaghbrack	Resident	£50	£100	'not wholly built'	'convenient' house
Tynan	Resident	£80	£100	'new built'	'new built'
Derrynoose	Resident	£80	£100	'new built'	'new built'
Creggan	Non-resid- ent Curate resident	£80	£140	in repair	'sufficient' parsonage house 'in repairing'
Derrybrocas	Resident Curate resident	£50		ruinous, chapel in good repair	-
Kilcluney	Non-resid- ent 'suffic- ient' curate	£30		a house only	parsonage house on the glebe
Seigo	-	-	£70	repaired	convenient glebe
Shankill	-	-	£80	'covered'	a house

good repair. For the parish of Kilmore a parsonage house, stable, and barn had been built and an orchard planted at a cost of £200. However in five or perhaps six parishes parsonage houses had not been erected.¹

The commissioners' report particularly singled out the archdiocese of Armagh. Elsewhere in Ireland parish churches were 'generally ruinous and defaced' but here many were well built and the rest under construction. This work was being done by the local recusants on the archbishop's order. They had been given three years to complete the task, to be exempt from all other penalties during that time. The commissioners felt this arrangement should be adopted throughout the country.²

Of the 'handsome' parish church of Ballymore in Grandison's village of Tandragee a detailed description survives.³ It had been built of brick in 1620 and was 60 feet long and 24 feet wide, the walls being 4 feet thick. There were three windows at each side and one at each end. Internally it was 'well seated and furnished with all things fitting'.⁴ The bricks, bell, a pulpit cloth and cushion, a communion cup and 'a plate for bread' had been presented by Grandison. The rest of the cost had been borne by the primate out of the recusants' fines.

1. In the case of Armagh the report pleaded lay responsibility, 'the Nunn's Church in Armagh [had been] granted by his Matie. to build the said house upon, but 4 or 5 years after Sir Francis Annesley took possession and intituled his Matie, and pays 16/- rent notwithstanding ye Lord of Canterbury made an order therein for the p'sons possession of that church' (Armagh Registry, B. 1b no. 193, pp. 28-9).
2. B.M., Add. MS 4756, f.65.
3. P.R.O., Manchester papers, 30/15/2/182: submission of rector; B.M., Add. MS 4756, f.109.
4. In the submission of Grandison's agent it is described as 'all seated round with loyned worke' (P.R.O., Manchester papers, 30/15/2/184).

However the church in Armagh was not without defects and difficulties. The rector of Ballymore listed thirteen families or individuals as Irish who 'come to church and receive communion', but also pointed out that of non-attending Irish in his parish there were 'nere hand 200 cople'.¹ In the parish of Killeavy there was 'not one Irish that comes to church' although there were over 1,000 estimated as living in the parish.² Glebe land was often distant from the parish church. The size of parishes and their territorial relationship with landlords' estates also presented difficulties.³

The picture presented by Kilmore diocese in 1622 was by far a less healthy one.⁴ The total income of the united bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh as Moigne reported it was £460. 0. 0. The income of the bishopric of Kilmore was £289. 15. 0. of which £218. 15. 0. came from lands in Cavan and £10 which was paid to the bishop out of the impropriations within Cavan belonging to the priory of Fore. Within the county there were two substantial lessees of the termon and errenach lands, both servitor grantees, Lambert and Culme.⁵ Both had sixty-year leases and paid at the rate of £1 per pole or townland.⁶ Moynes took exception to his predecessor's leasing policy stating that the land held by Lambert for £82. 10. 0, could well be let 'without racking of tenant'

1. Ibid., 182.
2. N.L.I., Rich papers, MS 8014/9: draft report on Smith estate.
3. In a draft report of the commissioners it was noted that although the parish church of Killeavy was situated near the middle of the parish, the furthest part of the parish lay four miles from the church and the parson himself lived three and a half miles from it. He had 'only' 180 acres of glebe of which 90 were in another parish, and yet his own parish comprehended in whole or part the lands of four settlers, Caulfield, Smith, Moore, and Grandison (N.L.I., Rich papers, MS 8014/9: draft report on Smith estate).
4. Armagh Registry, B.1b. no.193, pp.136-51; T.C.D., MS E. 3.6, pp.134-65.
5. The lease to Culme, Moynes stated, was 'upon trust for the ... last bishop's friends and servants' (Armagh Registry, B.1b. no.193, p.137).
6. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1, p.251 (one of these leases).

for £400 more. He stated that he had recovered ten poles of mensal land leased under the same conditions to Lambert. It now yielded £50 per annum and was 'left for succession'.

The bishop was resident and his report stated that the cathedral had been 'newly built and repaired' by him, having received a grant of £175 from the primate out of the recusants fines. He lived in a 'fair' house built by him at Kilmore 'the which together with the buildings of other outhouses and of seats in the chancell and body of the church of Kilmore hath cost £600'. It was noted, however, that jurisdiction was exercised within the diocese not only by the bishop's agents but also by a number of people 'being Vicars General and Commisserys established by the Pope's authority'. Both the deanery and archdeaconry were 'merely titulatory', honorary appointments without income. The dean (who appears to have been a Dublin graduate) lived in the parish of Kilmore of which he was vicar. He held also one vicarage and one rectory.¹ The archdeacon, William Andrews, lived at Belturbet and held two vicarages.

The visitation covers twenty-three parishes or unions in Cavan, the state of which can be seen in the following abstract. [see pp.466, 466a7

The impression is in marked contrast with Armagh. Almost everywhere the vice-grip of lay impropriation is evident. Only two incumbents had an income of £60 per annum, the rectory of Annagh, and the vicarages of Kilmore and Ballintemple, which appear to have been united about 1618 and were held by the deans.² Two incumbencies returned £50 and £40 each, three £30, the remainder returning less than £30 while two,

1. N.L.I., MS 2685, p.27.

2. N.L.I., MS 2685, pp. 27, 69, 255.

<u>Co. Cavan</u> <u>Parish</u>	<u>Residency of</u> <u>Incumbent</u>	<u>Annual</u> <u>Value</u>	<u>State of Church</u>	<u>State of parson-</u> <u>age house etc.</u>
Annagh	Rector resid- ent at Beltur- bet. Irish curate £20 p.a.	£60	Ruinous. New church should be built at Belturbet.	No building.
Castleterra	Rector resid- ent at Bally- haise.	£30	Ruinous. New church should be built at Ballyhaise.	No building. Some of the glebe detained.
Drumgoon	Rector sus- pended. Sequestrator	£30	Ruinous	A poor Irish house.
Ballin- temple & Kilmore	Improprate Vicar resid- ent. Irish curate for Ballintemple.	£60	Ballintemple church ruinous. Cathedral used as parish church of Kilmore.	Kilmore: suffic- ient dwelling house & out off- ices built by pre- vious dean, cost 200 marks sterling at least.
Urny	Improprate Vicar resid- ent at Cavan.	£20?	Ruinous. New church should be built at Cavan.	- Glebe inconven- ient, 10 miles from church, out- side parish.
Annage- liffe	Improprate Vicar resid- ent.	£13	Ruinous	- Glebe not con- venient.
Denn	Improprate Vicar resid- ent.	£15	Ruinous	- Glebe not con- venient.
Kildrum- ferta	Improprate Vicar not resident.	£18	Ruinous	- Glebe not con- venient.
Castler- ahan	Improprate Vicar not resident.	£9	Ruinous	House built on glebe.
Lurgan	Improprate Curate resident.	£30	Ruinous. New church should be built at Virginia.	No building.
Moybolge	Improprate Vicar not resident.	£12	In reasonable repair.	No building.

Cavan Co. Armagh Parish	Residency of Incumbent	Annual Value	State of Church	State of parson- age house etc.
Mullaghall Killinkere	Improprate Vicar resident	£20	Not repaired	No building
Knockbride	Improprate Vicar not resident. Curate	£12	Ruinous	No building
Kilcan	Improprate Vicar not resident. Curate	£15	Not in good repair	No building. Vicarages of Knockbride & Kilcan should be united.
Killyser- dinny	Improprate Vicar not resident. Curate	£20	Not in good repair	No building, but cottages
Drung or Larra	Improprate Vicar resident	£40	Ruinous	No building
Lawey	Improprate Vicar not resident	£10	Ruinous	- Glebe not con- venient, 10 miles from church.
Drumlughan	Improprate Vicar resident	£26 13s.4d.	Ruinous	- Glebe not con- venient
Killdallon	Improprate Vicar resident	£15	Ruinous	No building
Tomregan	Rectory 'men- sal to bishop' United to Killdallon.	£10	Ruinous	-
Killashan- dra	Improprate Vicar resident	£50	Church newly repaired	A sufficient house
Temple- port	Improprate Vicar not resident. Curate	£20	Ruinous	A timber house
Killinagh	Improprate Vicar not resident. Curate	£8	Ruinous	No building

Castlerahan and Killinagh, returned £9 and £8 respectively.¹ Apart from the cathedral only one church, Killashandra, had been 'newly repaired'. Most commonly they were 'ruinous' though one, Moybolge (modern Bailieborough), was 'in reasonable repair'. In four cases it was recommended that new churches should be built in the new village or urban centres of those parishes, Belturbet, Ballyhaise, Cavan, and Virginia respectively. Parsonage houses were also rare. Killashandra had a 'sufficient' house; Dromgoon 'a poor Irish house'; and for Kilmore a 'sufficient' house with outbuildings had been built by the previous dean at a cost of some 200 marks, i.e. £133. 6. 8. However for seventeen parishes there is either no entry or the statement 'no buildings'.

The commissioners made general comments and recommendations. They commended the king's bounty in allocating land for glebe. Such afforded adequate support for a 'learned ministry', in every Ulster parish. They requested the king to grant patents of these lands to the incumbents. Where churches were decayed new buildings should be placed near to the village in, or in the centre of, every parish. They noted the large number of impropriations in the country generally, and felt it might be wise to unite many parsonages and vicarages. Because many people in Ulster eluded tithes payments, they recommended that legislation be passed in Ireland to allow redress to the clergy. The New Testament and Common Prayer Book in Irish should be used in Irish parishes. The bishops should see the church provided with learned preachers. Non-residence and pluralism in the plantation areas 'where for the most part one is sufficient to maintain a preaching minister' were too frequently

1. The Rich papers do not contain figures for this diocese.

permitted. In the north of Ireland there was an adequate clergy, whereas in Connacht and other places they were 'as ignorant as poore'.¹ They commended the archbishop of Armagh's scheme for building churches by virtue of the recusants' fines.²

In 1623 these recommendations and others were embodied in orders and directions issued by the king for the Irish church.³ It was laid down that no incumbent in Ulster might hold more than one benefice except under special circumstances.⁴ Little was done to implement these orders, however, and in July 1626 Charles I instructed the deputy to 'settle and establish' the church of Ireland in accordance with his father's instructions, repeating many of the directives of 1623.⁵

The reign of James I, then, had seen the establishment of protestantism in Ulster, more effectively in Armagh than Cavan. Apart from a considerable endowment of the church at both parochial and episcopal level, the role of the state had not been great. The reformed church had taken over the traditional system, and the initially proposed redrawing of parochial boundaries had not been effected. Some clerical impropriations in Armagh had been recovered, but lay impropriations had not been effectively interfered with.

III Financial and other problems

In December 1629 Sir Thomas Dutton informed the king that 'excepting

1. The clergy on the whole were 'answerable to their incomes'.
2. B.M., Add. MS 4756, ff. 18^v-25^v.
3. P.R.O., S.P. 63/237 ff. 65-9^v, 70-75^v (fairer copy) (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, pp. 416-19); T.C.D., MS, F.2.1, ff.28-40; Armagh Public Library, Meath Papers, pp.383-90.
4. *Ibid.*
5. P.R.O., S.P. 63/247, ff.25-8^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, pp.363-4, 687).

the plantation of the church in the north of Ireland¹ the whole kingdom was more 'addicted to popery' than even during the wartime years at the end of the previous century.¹ However this was a relative judgment. The church was by no means ideally established in Ulster. From about 1625 many problems presented themselves.

Tithes were a fruitful source of alteration.² About the end of 1614 Chichester made an order exempting the colony from certain forms of tithe in kind, particularly tithes of milk. The clergy appear to have petitioned the English privy council against this order, and Chichester was required to reconsider it.³ He stated that the tithes so abolished had been innovations, and that the colony was only becoming established in a difficult environment. The ministers were mostly non-residents 'as having few churches in repair nor houses to dwell in', and while making little attempt to build these were determined to turn their livings to the greatest financial advantage, particularly at the cost of the native Irish.⁴ Public order and the safety of the ministry had necessitated his order. This was furthermore only temporary, and the church in Ulster was 'far otherwise provided for than this kingdom has ever known before'.⁵

1. *Ibid.*, 7249, ff. 298-8^v (*ibid.*, pp. 498-9).
2. In 1611 it was noted in propositions then sent to England that the Ulster undertakers complained of having to make tithe payments to more than one parish minister. It was suggested that each undertaker's lands should be created a parish. The reply was that this could not be done except by act of parliament (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, p. 27).
3. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, p. 16.
4. 'who first complained of this new tithing and were animated by some of the undertakers no doubt' (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, pp. 22-4). He had received a native Irish delegation of complaints.
5. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, pp. 22-4. See also P.R.O., S.P. 63/232 ff. 262-63 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, p. 538).

So the matter rested for the moment. In 1622 the commissioners recommended that legislation should be introduced to facilitate tithe collection,¹ and on 12 July 1625 the king instructed that the Ulster clergy should receive all tithe payments and other oblations in specie, referring back to decisions made at the planning stage of the plantation, and notwithstanding disputes between clergy and laity.² The background to this seems to have been that in 1624 an Ulster layman had secured an act of state limiting tithe payments there,³ and in early 1625, after Ussher's appointment to Armagh, two Ulster clergy had been sent to England to secure its reversal.⁴ However controversy between clergy and parishioners still arose. In 1629 on a visitation of Ulster, Ussher found 'nothing so much complained of as the uncertainty of payments of tithes'.⁵ He therefore drew up a 'tithing-table', a systematisation for the province of the amounts to be paid for various forms of tithes and for different clerical functions and dispatched it to Laud for the king's attention.⁶ In January 1630 it was returned by the king to the Irish lords justices with orders to see it implemented.⁷

One protracted suit about tithes in Armagh is particularly illuminating of the kind of altercation which could arise between the civil and ecclesiastical wings of the colony. It was between James Matchett, rector of Kilmore and Drumcree and ex-undertaker in Oneilland

1. Above, p.467.
2. Referred to in Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, p.550.
3. This was issued as a painted proclamation on 1 July 1624 (A.B. Grosart (ed), The Lismore Papers (2nd series), III. 118-19).
4. P.R.O., S.P. 63/249 ff.197-9^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, pp.481-3), Ussher to Laud, 11 Sept. 1629.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.* Table not now with the accompanying letter.
7. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, pp.550-2; Armagh Registry, A. 1b. no. 26, pp.190-91.

and Arthur Bagnal of Newry. The Bagnals had been granted the abbey at Newry in 1553¹ of which it appears an outlying portion of seven townlands called the Grange lay in Kilmore parish. The calendared patent does not refer to lands or tithes in Armagh.² However in February 1613 Arthur Bagnal received a regrant which included these lands but does not refer to tithes.³ The rectory had been impropriate to the deanery of Armagh until 1612, but at about that time the rectory and vicarage were united and Matchett was appointed. The dispute broke out immediately, but only came to a recorded crisis about 1630 when Matchett brought a suit in chancery against Bagnal.⁴ Matchett argued that the seven townlands had been reputed, time out of mind, as part of the rectory. He stated that he had been to the expense of building a house and 'inclosing' the glebe. His predecessors up to 1611 had enjoyed the tithes of the area, but in 1611 Captain Edward Trevor (of Rostrevor county Down), 'general agent' of Bagnal, had claimed the tithes and later taken them by force from the dean. The dean had appealed to the justices of assize and on the evidence of witnesses from the area, received judgement in his favour. As a result he received the tithes 'up to surrender of his appropriation'. However after Matchett's appointment lieutenant Charles Poyntz became Bagnal's agent, and Poyntz 'and his fellow soldiers' had then begun to collect the tithes. Matchett appealed successfully to the assize judges against him in 1616, but Poyntz violated their orders and

1. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Eliz., pp.154-5.

2. N.B. White, (ed.) Extents of Irish monastic possessions, p.249 deals only with the property of the Newry monastery which lay in Louth.

3. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, pp.246-7.

4. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, G.388 (Matchett's bill, n.d.).

collected tithes valued by Matchett at £300. Matchett then took action in the consistory court at Armagh, but all his attempts to collect tithes, though assisted by sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and other officers had been frustrated by Poyntz, who he stated was then sheriff of the county. Bagnal's answer has not survived. In 1628 and 1631 Bagnal had received king's letters for a regrant of his estate in Down, Louth, and Armagh.¹

In 1633 Matchett received powerful support from archbishop Laud. In February 1632 a list of Bagnal's 'encroachments' on the church, including this, was drawn up.² Later Matchett presented his case in a petition to Laud,³ and appears to have gone to England to press his case in person. He asserted that he had been informed by the English attorney general that the tithes concerned had never been granted to the Bagnals and that he had a certificate from the Irish chancery that they had never been found to belong to, or been granted to, Bagnal by any patent, and that he had received no grant of land in Armagh before 1612-13.⁴ About September Laud requested Wentworth to preserve Matchett and the cause of the church 'for his adversary is potent'.⁵

An Inquisition in 1657 states that all the tithes of the parish were payable to the rector,⁶ so it seems Matchett had vindicated his claim. It seems also that it was a just one; at any rate there was no reference to the tithes in Bagnal's patent of 1613.⁷

1. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, pp.415-17; Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.624.
2. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.644.
3. P.R.O., S.P. 63/254 f.7 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, p.2.)
4. Ibid. The 1609 inquisition supports Matchett's contention.
5. P.R.O., S.P. 63/254 ff.122-3^v.
6. T.G.F. Paterson, 'Cromwellian Inquisition as to parishes in county Armagh in 1657', in U.J.A., 3rd series, vol. 2 (1939), pp.212-49.
7. P.R.O.N.I., D.O.D. 916/x/1; D. 1540/1/1A.

We have seen that in 1612 the impropriations of the Culdean foundation in Armagh were not disturbed. The prior and vicars choral also owned seven townlands in the county (1411 acres), as well as portions of land close to the town, and the priory and dwellings in Armagh. The lands, curiously, remained undisposed by royal grant throughout the reign of James I. In August 1619 the king instructed the deputy to grant the property to the dean and chapter of Armagh 'for the erecting and maintaining of a quire of singing men and choristers' in the cathedral,¹ but no action was taken, and in 1623 the king ordered that the lands be recovered and sequestered, and vicars choral appointed.²

In March 1626 an inquisition was held which investigated the extent of the property, found crown title to it and stated by whom it was held.³ It was stated that the 'popish' prior and culdees, then all dead, had 'deserted' the priory about twenty-five years previously. The inquisition indicated what the profits of the property had been since about 1605, stated who had collected these profits, and in some cases provided the names of tenants. Thus eleven parcels of land were held largely by the archbishop's tenants - all British - at 2/- per acre.⁴ Within the priory building there were two English tenants living. From about 1605 to 1608 Toby Caulfield as seneschal to the archbishop received the profits of the seven townlands, amounting to £20 per annum 'because a great part of those lands lay waste and uncultivated'. After that the dean received the rents for two years and maintained 'certain' vicars

1. Armagh Registry, A. 1b. no.128/3.

2. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, p.417.

3. Armagh Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh, pp.212--6; Armagh Public Library, Armagh Papers [Reeves transcripts], pp.181-97; See also Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., II, Armagh (1) Chas I (very imperfect).

4. Thomas Raven, the cartographer, held 20 acres.

choral from them. Christopher Hampton had received the rents, £47 per year, for ten years from his appointment, and devoted them to repairing the cathedral. From 1623 Rev. John Symonds had received the profits of the seven townlands, £46 per annum, and of the tenements in Armagh, £8. 6. 0 per annum, and expended a part of the rents in erecting four stalls in the cathedral. The property had thus, while remaining in clerical hands, become caught up in a general free-for-all.

The reason for the inquisition is that in December 1625 Chas I ordered the granting of the arrears of the property for so long as they had been detained from the crown to George Kirke, one of the grooms of the bed chamber. Kirke should also have a custodiam of it until vicars choral were appointed.¹ In July 1626 the king instructed Falkland to ensure that the land was used for the maintenance of vicars choral, and to have the appropriations² made presentative parsonages, as ordered in 1612, the collation to be granted to the archbishop of Armagh.³ Further to these instructions a patent was issued on 7 April 1627 incorporating the Prior and five vicars choral and granting them the lands.⁴

The matter now assumes a complexity not easily elucidated from formal records. Kirke took out a patent on 7 June 1627, not enrolled,⁵ possibly of the rectories and tithes or of the entire property.⁶ From the surviving part of the evidence of a chancery suit of about this time

1. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, pp.95-6.

2. Appropriation means essentially the same as impropriation.

3. Ibid., pp.23-5; Armagh Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh, pp.109-11.

4. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, p.221.

5. Following on royal instructions of 9 September 1626 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.154).

6. See P.R.O., S.P. 63/244, f.192 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.223).

In 1629 Kirke (and Porter) was involved in the recovery of impropriations (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.471).

it appears that the archbishop claimed the rectories, that other interests became involved, and that the arbitration of Sir James Fullerton was sought.¹ Kirke received the benefit of two king's letters for these and other lands on 21 August and 30 September 1628.² Whatever the outcome of the suit Kirke surrendered his patent on 18 March 1629.³ An unclear interval followed until in April 1633 the king instructed Wentworth to accept the surrender of Kirke's and also the vicars' choral previous patents so as the vicars choral could be reincorporated. The rectories were to be disappropriated and made collative, vicarages and rectories united, and a college or corporation of eight vicars choral, four choristers, and an organist to be founded, and all the lands granted to them. Their institution was to be suspended for one year and the profits spent by the primate to purchase a 'pair of organs'. In the new patent the advowsons of the rectories were to be granted to the archbishop.⁴ The surrenders followed, and the new patent was granted on 23 May 1634.⁵

It was thus twenty-four years after the plantation that this land had been granted in any permanent way and the vicars choral reconstituted. Some indication of the value of their lands is got from an undertaking of Burton, the prior, in 1628 (following on the 1627 patent) to grant a sixty-year lease of the seven townlands to John Dillon, the

1. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, G.398.
2. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, pp.380-391.
3. P.R.O.I., Lodge, Records of the rolls, V.299-301; Armagh Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh, pp.130-3.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.* certified copy in T.C.D. Muniment Room; Cotton, Fasti, III. 64-5, and V. 212 is not fully accurate.

Oneilland undertaker, at an annual rent of £60.¹ An undated document, post restoration, assessed these at 1377 acres and the annual value at £266. 1. 6.² However in 1713 the vicars' choral finances were reorganised and it may be that they were not fully organised until then.³ Kirke reimbursed himself by acquiring land at Bray in Wicklow in 1629.⁴ In 1639 Bramhall stated that a conservative estimate of the increased income to the church as a result of the rearrangement was £900.⁵

We have seen that Sir James Douglas's ambition to procure the advowson of the rectory as well as of the vicarage of Loughgilly led to a general concern with impropriations in Armagh in 1612.⁶ However the advowson of the rectory (now in crown hands) was not granted to Douglas, or to Sir Archibald Acheson who acquired the estate.

In 1613 John Madder, who may have been a Scot, was collated to the rectory.⁷ What his relationship with Acheson was before 1624 is not clear, but in July 1625 he was presented by the crown,⁸ i.e. he accepted the right of the crown against Acheson's claim. From now he was in conflict with the landlord, who entered into collusion with the Scottish dean, Mackeson, about 1626. In June 1628 Madder received a chancery decree against Sir Archibald and others for £40 and costs for cattle distrained,⁹ but in June 1629 Acheson recovered against Madder

1. Armagh Registry, A. 3a. no. 39/1.
2. Armagh Registry, A. 1b. no. 128/6.
3. T. English, Memoir relating to the vicars-choral and organist of the cathedral church of ... Armagh (Armagh, 1800), p.5 (in Armagh Public Library).
4. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, pp.456-7, 491; Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.434; N.L.I., Ainsworth Reports, no. 319, pp.2516,2517-8, 2520.
5. E.P. Shirley, Documents relating to the church of Ireland, 1631-39, p.8.
6. Above, pp.453-6.
7. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes, pp.230, 352.
8. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, p.34.
9. P.R.O.I., Repertories to the decrees of chancery, vol. 1, p.31.

£500 and costs for the profits of the rectory for 1624 and 1625.¹ In 1628 Madder resigned the rectory, exchanging with his successor, Dr. George Synge, for Donoghmore in Tyrone. Synge was presented by the crown, the rectory being in the king's gift and the vicarage by devolution, Madder, it was stated, 'having been presented fraudulently by Sir James Douglas' - presumably in 1613 - and having resigned.²

Such a situation offered little satisfaction to Acheson, who about 1626 entered into collusion with the dean. In the spring of 1627 Mackeson and Acheson petitioned the king for redress against the archbishop.³ In one of two letters from the king to Falkland of 12 May 1627,⁴ he was required to investigate the truth of Acheson's and Mackeson's allegations. These were that Acheson was patron of Loghgilly and had presented the dean to it in about 1626, that the archbishop had refused to admit the dean asserting that George Synge his chancellor had been previously presented 'upon a pretended lapse' - i.e. by the king, jure devolute -, that a suit had been commenced against the archbishop and Synge but had been nullified by 'sinister practices'. Falkland was required, if he found the parish to be in lapse and not so before, to present the dean to it on behalf of the king.⁵

However this was merely the first part of the dean's claim. The second, in effect, called in question the general rearrangement of the deanery which had taken place in 1612-13.⁶ A second king's letter

1. *Ibid.*, p.56. Acheson was a master in chancery (above, p.186).
2. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes, p.353.
3. Referred to in King to Falkland, 12 May 1627 (Armagh Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh, p.114). No printed copy, or transcript in any other collection, of this letter has been located.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. Above, pp. 453-6.

A second king's letter of 12 May 1627¹ referred to a further petition of Mackeson and instructed Falkland and members of the Dublin government to investigate and act on the dean's claim. The dean referred back to the great office pointing out that several rectories and a vicarage had then been found to be deanery property. He made no reference to the deanery patent of 1613, and stated that these benefices had been given by the previous archbishop to others without regard to the dean's rights, and that he had received no compensation for this except that in return for Loughgilly he had been granted the territory of Derrynoose. He asserted that the archbishop's right to collate to these rectories was invalid. They were to investigate these allegations, and if found true, to restore the dean.²

Both arguments dovetailed neatly in that Mackeson could accept Acheson's claim to Loughgilly - and so Acheson's right to present him - by asserting that the grant of Derrynoose in 1613 had been in compensation for Loughgilly only. It was a neat mutual accommodation. However it did not go unopposed. Synge justified his claim to Loughgilly and received a patent in September 1628,³ and though a lawsuit ensued, retained the rectory.⁴ However, even in 1657 Sir Archibald's successor, Sir George Acheson, claimed the advowson of the rectory.⁵ Throughout Ussher treated the combination of Acheson and Mackeson in a thoroughly unyielding manner. In February 1627 he informed the dean that

1. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, p.209; Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.235; Armagh Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh, p.114.
2. Ibid.
3. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes, p.353.
4. Ibid., pp.353, 356-7:
5. T.G.F. Paterson, 'Cromwellian inquisition as to parishes in county Armagh' in U.J.A., 3rd series, vol. 2 (1939), pp.212-49.

when you both have tried the uttermost of your wits to subvert the good foundation laid by King James ... you shall but struggle in vain with shame enough.¹

On the related question of the property of the deanery matters proceeded more slowly. However it was found in 1628 that the cathedral chapter had never been properly constituted and the archbishop and dean and dignitaries petitioned the privy-council to receive letters patent of incorporation.² This invalidity technically effected the leasing of episcopal land up to 1635.³ An inquiry resulted,⁴ and on 27 November 1630 a king's letter to the lords justices instructed that a surrender should be accepted and a new charter issued to the dean and chapter, 'for the good and quiet of the plantations of the ... archbishopric as also for the settling and establishing of the church and plantation thereof'.⁵ The deanery was to be granted to Mackeson.⁶

It was not until January 1638⁷ that the patent of the dean and chapter, which incorporated also a grant to the dean, was issued.⁸ In the interval Mackeson had died and Peter Wentworth, a relative of the lord deputy, and dean since 1637⁹, was the beneficiary of the arrangement. The delay was in part due to the working out of an arrangement between the dean and the archbishop as to what the rights of the dean

1. Ussher to Mr. Dean ———, 1 February 1627 (Elrington (ed.), Works of Ussher, xv. 388).
2. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.416.
3. Below, pp. 489-90.
4. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, pp.451, 463.
5. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas I, pp.565-7; Armagh Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh, pp.115-16.
6. Ibid.
7. Following on royal instructions of 5 September 1637 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, pp.171-2).
8. Representative Church Body Library, Dublin, Libr/32, II. 27-29, D/14; Armagh Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh, pp.117-30.
9. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes, pp.15-16.

should be and in part arose from the nature of that arrangement. During the period their relations were thoroughly strained.¹ The arrangement was that the dean should surrender the territory of Derrynoose to the archbishop in return for the advowson or patronage of the parish of Armagh, to which the ancient parishes of Ballymoyer, Clanaul (or Eglis), and Clonconchy (or Lisnadill) had been previously united.² The delay was due to the fact that the grant of these to the dean, if his intention was to present himself as rector, had to await the death (or resignation) of the incumbent of that union. The incumbent, John Symonds, died in June 1637, and the dean became rector following on the patent of January 1638. The value of this Armagh union in 1634 was £300.³ Derrynoose was leased by the archbishop for £150 per annum.⁴ The dean had not, on the other hand, received back all the pre-plantation impropriations. By 1638, too, Hackeson was dead and Acheson unlikely to draw any gain from the affair. Not only was the new dean one of the Wentworth circle, but the archbishop, too, received a government-sponsored tenant - Sir Philip Mainwaring.⁵ On 18 October 1637 Wentworth wrote to Laud expressing satisfaction with the rearrangement:

The business concerning the dean of Armagh is settled and with much convenience and advantage both to the primacy and the deanery, see as I conceive therein we have done a very good work for the church.⁶

In Kilmore problems of this kind did not come into prominence.

1. In October 1634 Ussher complained to bishop Bramhall of the dean with which he was 'clogged' (H.M.C., Hastings MSS, iv. 63).
2. These benefices had been themselves the subject of debate in 1629 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.453).
3. Below, p. 488. It was also £300 in 1640.
4. Below, chapter 12.
5. Below, chapter 12.
6. Sheffield City Library, Strafford MSS, vol. vii, p.36.

Shane O'Mulwill of county Cavan who had been convicted of burning the barn (presumably the barn of the bishop of Kilmore) was pardoned the 10th of 1638 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., 1637, p.100).

The operation of the system of impropriations was not, as we have seen, disturbed. The government remained detached during the episcopates of Draper and Moynes, and protestantism made scant progress before the appointment of William Bedell, an Englishman who had been for two years provost of Trinity College, to Kilmore and Ardagh in 1629.¹ His son-in-law, Clogy, asserted that on appointment Bedell

found such dilapidations, such disorders in his clergy and courts, and people of all sorts, as if he had come there immediately after the rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone.²

His son pointed to the bishop's difficulties given the face of the countryside and the dispersed nature of British settlement.³ In a letter to Laud on 1 April 1630 Bedell transmitted his own impressions. The cathedral at Kilmore was in repair 'but without bell or steeple, font or chalice'. The parish churches were 'ruined, unroofed and unrepaired'. The people 'saving a few British planters here and there (which are not the tenth part of the remnant)' were 'obstinate recusants'⁴ well served by their own clergy. Of the reformed clergy there were 'only seven or eight' in each diocese (Kilmore and Ardagh) 'of good sufficiency', and these were English and out of touch with the majority of the population 'which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in Popery still'. Pluralism was very common, many holding 'two, three,

1. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.447.
2. W.W. Wilkins (ed.), Memoir of the life and episcopate of ... Bedell... by his son-in-law Rev. Alexander Clogy (London, 1862), p.34.
3. 'His house was situate in the county of Cavan ... in a county consisting altogether of hills very steep and high, the valleys between being most commonly boggs and loughs. The country was then meetly well planted with English; but scatteringly here and there which facilitated their ruine' (T.W. Jones (ed.), A true relation of the life and death of ... William Bedell (London, 1872), p.62.
4. However only one incident of violence against protestant clerical property in the area studied has emerged. In March 1623 a certain Shane O'Mulwill of county Cavan who had been convicted of burning the barn /presumably tithe barn/ of the bishop of Kilmore was pardoned the offence (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1, p.562.

four, or more' vicarages each.¹

Bedell's episcopate was conspicuous for the programme of reform to which he devoted his energies. He aimed to combat pluralism and non-residence, to rebuild parish churches and re-organise glebe land, to recover episcopal property, and to provide an effective mission to the native Irish. This latter involved the encouragement of his clergy to speak Irish, a willingness to ordain Irish natives (of which there was some tradition in Cavan), and a scheme for the translation of the Old Testament into Irish. He came into conflict with Wentworth and Laud on political and theological issues, and in his programme he achieved only a partial success.

In the administration of the episcopal estate, he came into conflict with two undertakers, Sir Edward Bagshaw and Sir Francis Hamilton, and also with the widow of Moynes, his predecessor. Shortly after his appointment - a critical juncture when undertakers were taking out new patents - he petitioned Falkland and the council claiming that Bagshaw and Hamilton had occupied small areas - one was two polls - of see property.² The dispute with Moynes's widow was about a lease, the terms of which were considered improper made to her and her son Roger by her husband of the Kilmore mensal land.³ The suit was protracted and expensive,⁴ and was not in fact finalised in Bedell's favour 'till just

1. H. J. Monck Mason, The life of William Bedell (London, 1843), pp. 170-2.
2. W. W. Wilkins (ed.), Memoir of ... Bedell ... by ... Clogy, pp. 39-40.
3. T. W. Jones (ed.), True relation of ... life ... of Bedell, p. 48.
4. E. S. Shuckburgh (ed.), Two biographies of William Bedell (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 349-51; Sheffield City Library, Strafford letters, 17/295.

5. Bedell to Laud, 2 Sept. 1637 (P.R.O., L.P. 12/250, ff. 137-40); E. S. Shuckburgh, Two biographies, pp. 33-40).

upon the breaking out of the rebellion'.¹

The attempt to combat pluralism and non-residence can be illustrated by reference to two specific cases. The bishop himself surrendered Ardagh. One of these cases concerned the dean of Kilmore, Dr. Nicholas Bernard, an absentee and pluralist, who held the vicarages of Kilmore, Ballintemple, and Killdrumbertan, as well as the rectory of Kedy, all valued by the bishop at more than £300. 'Called to residence' by Bedell, in 1636 he took out a patent to the deanery from the crown and was also allowed to be vicar of St. Peter's, Drogheda.² Bedell pressed him to reside, whereupon he resigned his livings to the crown, and exchanged with Henry Jones, dean of Ardagh, in 1637.³ Dr. Bernard, as Clogy puts it, 'being then the Primate's chaplain took up his residence in Drogheda till all was lost'.⁴ Bernard, then, had been dislodged, but at the same time Bedell had been frustrated. Jones's appointment was by the crown hence Bedell had lost his right of patronage. He appealed, unsuccessfully, to the deputy.⁵

1. T.W. Jones (ed.), True relation, p.48. The surviving evidence of this suit comes almost exclusively from biographies by Bedell's relatives the impartiality of which is difficult to assess. Clogy, his son-in-law, was very critical of Moynes, asserting that 'the former bishop .. had set up such a shop of mundination and merchandize, as if all things spiritual and temporal, belonging to episcopacy, had been ordinary vendible commodities, as in the church of Rome' (Wilkins, Memoir of ... Bedell ... by ... Clogy, p.34). He claimed that Moynes's leases of church land to Lambert, Culme, and others had been made without concern for his successors in return for 'great' fines and that he had sold advowsons for personal profit (*ibid.*, pp.35-6). This was clearly unfair in that the leases had been made by Draper and not Moynes (above, pp.464-5, Cal. pat. rolls ire., Jas I, p.251), though it must also be noted that Moynes purchased an undertaker's estate in Loughtee before his death.
2. N.L.I., MS 2685, p.27.
3. Jones was son of the bishop of Killala, married to Sir Hugh Culme's daughter, and brother of Col. Michael Jones (Wilkins, Memoir of ... Bedell ... by ... Clogy, p.50).
4. *Ibid.*
5. Bedell to Laud, 2 Sept. 1637 (P.R.O., S.P. 63/256, ff.137-40^v; E.S. Shuckburgh, Two biographies; pp.339-43).

To the second case Bedell devoted much attention. Bishop Hoynes purchased an estate in Loughtee shortly before his death comprehending parts of two parishes. He furthermore granted the advowsons of these parishes to his brother-in-law, John Greenham, the lawyer, to the use of his family. Greenham presented a William Baillie, recently ordained by another bishop, to one of these - presumably Annageliffe (modern Cavan) which was vacant by the death of the previous incumbent in 1634,¹ - and Bedell admitted him. At this point he acquired a dispensation to hold two further parishes, and brought a presentation to Bedell for a second, Denn, shortly afterwards, to which the bishop refused to admit him. However he was instituted by the primate as metropolitan. Acrimonious and protracted litigation ensued in the clerical and other courts, and finally the dispute came directly to Bramhall and Wentworth. Baillie resigned Denn in 1637,² but procured the parish of Templeport from the crown on the grounds that the incumbent had forfeited his benefice through the recusancy of his wife and children, and on the further grounds that the benefice had lapsed to the crown because a previous incumbent had not been properly instituted. The incumbent was Murtagh King, an Irishman and convert, whom Bedell employed in translating the Old Testament into Irish.³ Bedell appealed against Baillie's appointment, and Bramhall ordered that King should retain the profits of the parish to that date, empowering Baillie to proceed for his eviction or deprivation, Bedell at the same time excommunicating him. Baillie, however, proceeded

1. N.L.I., MS 2685, p.49.

2. To be succeeded by Alexander Clogy, Bedell's son-in-law and biographer (N.L.I., MS 2685, p.114).

3. E.S. Shuckburgh, Two biographers, pp.339-43; P.R.O., S.P. 63/256 ff.137-40^v.

against King in the Court of High Commission and the Prerogative Court, evicted him from the glebe lands, and had him arrested and harshly treated.¹ Bedell appealed sharply to Wentworth in King's favour in December 1638,² but seems to have received no support from either Laud or the Dublin administration.³ Bedell was not in a strong position vis-a-vis the administration, and it is not clear if the dispute was resolved in his favour. In May 1639 he wrote to Laud saying that the Baillie case was not yet completed.⁴ Burnet, in his biography of Bedell, states that Baillie was confirmed in his benefice,⁵ though Leslie's succession list indicates no successor to King until 1661.⁶

Another of Bedell's projects was church-rebuilding. The state of the churches in Cavan in 1622 has been seen,⁷ little or no improvements had been effected in the interval. Two of the inquisitions concerning undertakers' estates taken in 1629 refer to the decay of the churches and the need to rebuild in more suitable places.⁸ In November 1633 Bedell communicated to Wentworth a schedule of sums of money he had apportioned on the Cavan parishes for the rebuilding of churches before 20 May 1634.⁹ The total for twenty-four parishes was £1199, or just less than £50 in average for each. The reaction of the laity to this can be seen in a

1. Bedell to Laud, 12 November 1638 (Shuckburgh, Two biographies, pp. 344-9).
2. Wilkins, Memoir of ... Bedell ... by ... Clogy, pp.119-24.
3. Laud's response in 1637 was to offer encouragement in general terms, to venture the hope that the Irish church should not be 'an incurable body', and to point out that he had not had a vacation that summer. (P.R.O., S.P. 63/256, ff.149-9^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, pp.172-3).
4. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, pp.218-9.
5. G. Burnet, Life of Bedell (Dublin, 1736), p.97.
6. N.L.I., MS 2685, p.321.
7. Above, pp. 466-6a.
8. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (23, 24) Chas I.
9. Sheffield City Library, Strafford letters, 20/117; Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Rawl. D 376 f.231.

petition to Wentworth at about this time listing their financial burdens.¹ There is only the evidence of the bishop's son and biographer to indicate the effect of the scheme:

Moneys collected were wasted or spent, or some way converted to men's private uses, and the work neglected: with all which difficulties he so struggled and encountered that before his death all the churches were repaired and fit for the people to meet in for God's service, had the people been as willing to meet in them.²

We have seen that the glebe lands allotted to the parishes were in many cases situated remote from the parish churches. Bedell's demand that clergy reside close to their churches ran counter to the requirement that the clergy should build on their glebe. The commissioners in 1622 recommended that exchanges of land take place between the bishops and their clergy but this presented difficulty in that the episcopal lands had then been leased, and it was not carried out. To affect this for Kilmore, however, at a time when new leases of episcopal property were being negotiated,³ Bedell got a commission from Wentworth about 1636, one of the commissioners being Arthur Culme and another bishop Bramhall.⁴ The matter proceeded, apparently, almost to conclusion, and an agent was sent to England to procure a new patent of the re-adjusted episcopal property.⁵ The scheme foundered, as Bedell's biographers assert, as a result of the outbreak of the rising,⁶ but it would seem as much from the need for new leases of the episcopal lands to be granted within a stated time.⁷

1. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS rawl. D 376 ff. 231^v-2^v.
2. T.W. Jones, True relation, p.60.
3. Below, pp.
4. Wilkins, Memoir of ... Bedell ... by ... Clogy, p.52.
5. Ibid., p.53; Burnet, Life of Bedell, p.52.
6. Ibid.
7. Below, pp. 491-3.

IV The policy of Wentworth and Bramhall.

From 1629, at any rate, can be dated Laud's interest in the Irish church. In particular the interest concentrated on Ulster, where the church was best endowed¹ and where from 1634 William Bramhall, Laud's active supporter in Ireland, was bishop of Derry. The outcome of that interest, energetically implemented, can be seen in a concerted effort to solve those financial problems which the church in Ireland shared with its English parent.² However a major effect of this policy was the extent to which it provoked the opposition of the lay landowners, beneficiaries under the previous arrangement.

As a preliminary, a regal visitation of Ireland was conducted in 1633-4. The returns, though more limited than those of 1622, throw light on the state of the church at the beginning of the Wentworth administration.³ The income of livings in Armagh and Cavan where available, is set out in the following table. The figures given in column (b) for Armagh purport to be the income in 1640, and are taken from an inquisition of 1657.⁴ With the exception of Armagh these figures are substantially higher than those of 1634.

1. H.F. Kearney, Strafford in Ireland, pp.124-5.
2. For this see C. Hill, The economic problems of the church.
3. T.C.D., MS T.1.10, pp.3-15, 107-13, 117-25; P.R.O.I., R.C. 15/pp. 2-35, 281-300; P.R.O.N.I., T975/2 pp. 1-9 (Armagh); T.C.D., N.2.6/1 (taxable valuation of Ulster benefices).
4. T.G.F. Paterson, 'Cromwellian inquisition as to parishes in county Armagh, 1657' in U.J.A., 3rd series, vol. 2* A corresponding inquisition for Cavan has not been located.

Co. Armagh <u>Parish</u>	<u>Income</u>		Co. Cavan <u>Parish</u>	<u>Income</u>
	(a)	(b)		
Armagh	£300	£300	Drung or Larra	£30
Loughgall	£90	£120	Drumdoon	£100
Drumcree	£80		Lawy	£16
Killmore	£120	£200	Moybolge	£10
Derrynoose	£70		Killinkere	£40
Tynan	£80	£100	Kilcann	£30
Derrybrocas	£60		Knockbride	£20
Kilcluney	£40		Annageliff	£24
Killeavy	£100		Deen	£24
Ballymore	£100	£120	Lurgan	£30
Mullaghbrack	£80	£120	Castlerahan	£37
Seigo	£80	£100	Drumlahan	£80
Shankill	£30	£80	Killashandra	£80
			Tomregan	£60
			Kinally	£100
			Killasser	£40
			Killinagh	£30
			Templeport	£60

In both counties incomes had risen from the figures of the 1622 visitation.¹ Armagh clergy still had conspicuously higher salaries than those in Cavan. The Armagh figures compare very favourably with the values of livings in Kent at this time, to which the Cavan ones more nearly approximate, though they may perhaps have been slightly

1. Above, pp. 462, 466-6a.

lower.¹ Also ^{my} Mary of the clergy in our area, particularly, it seems, those in Armagh, also took steps to increase their incomes by leasing, or in some cases owning, land.²

In August 1633 Bramhall at Wentworth's request sent an account to Laud in general terms of the state of the church of Ireland. He concluded 'I know not whether the churches are more ruinous or the people more irreverent'.³ A two-fold policy of reform was immediately adopted: to recover impropriations and advowsons, and to increase the rents from episcopal lands.

In Ulster the second part of the policy had the greatest success. Bramhall immediately set himself, with the backing of the government machine, to increase episcopal revenues from temporalities. On 20 October 1634 he wrote to Laud stating that he had made an 'amicable composition' with the tenants in his own diocese whereby the rents would be increased from £860 to £1400 per annum as soon as an act of parliament for that purpose had been passed. The act, he stated, was to apply to the Ulster bishops as a whole 'accounting myself happy to breake the yce for their benefit'.⁴ A wholesale revolution in income, statutorily

1. C.W. Chalklin, Seventeenth century Kent (London, 1965), pp.218-22.
2. Bishop Moynes, as we have seen, acquired an estate in Loughree, and bishop Bedell in 1629 acquired a lease of part of the T.C.D. land in Donegal (T.C.D. Muniment Room, shelf 2, box 28, in packet 'c. 1610 - 1720'). But parochial clergy also had land interests. John Symonds, rector of Armagh, acquired the estate of Killeavy monastery by marriage, and was defined by Bramhall as 'a great moneyed clerk'. Robert Maxwell, prebend of Tynan, held land in Armagh from Trinity College (below, pp.518-19). His father the dean of Armagh, held one townland in the Fews from John Hamilton (N.L.I., Rich papers, 8014/9). Thomas Crant held land from the archbishopric, as also did Symonds (below, pp.548, 560). These are some examples.
3. P.R.O., S.P. 63/254, ff.101-2^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, pp.16-17).
4. *Ibid.*, ff. 498-9^v (*ibid.*, pp.87-9: misdated). It may be noted that the lands of T.C.D. in Ulster were not included.

based, was thus forecast and this despite the sixty-year leases then current. In return for the removal of doubts about the validity of leases (because deans and chapters who had confirmatory powers were not legally constituted), and for a general clarification of the bishops' titles against the claims of corbs and errenachs, the tenants would be induced to make substantial increases in rent. The act, for the confirmation of leases made by the lord primate and other bishops in Ulster, received the royal assent on 7 April 1635. It guaranteed episcopal title to any land found by the great office and subsequently granted to the bishops, and enacted that any leases for any term not exceeding sixty years to date from the first day of the parliament made by the bishops and confirmed by the deputy and six members of the Irish council should be valid in law.¹ The act, Wentworth assured Coke would become 'of the greatest advantage ... for these bishopricks in succession as well as in present'.²

On February 18 Bramhall had written to Laud in explanation of the proposed legislation, and in particular as to why the Ulster bishops should retain the right to lease for sixty years. He stated that the lands had all been escheated, and that this term had been considered most conducive to 'plantation'. All the bishops had been given that right by patent and leased accordingly 'so that there is not one foot of church land (except mensals) undemised for sixty years in the six escheated counties'. The effect would be to free both bishops and tenants from suits and difficulties and would make possible a doubling

1. Stat. Ire., ii. 102-3.

2. Sheffield City Library, Strafford MSS, ix (Letters to Coke), p.12.

of rents - 'without it not one man will surrender or improve his rents'. It would 'exceedingly' encourage the tenants to plant and improve their lands and so be of great benefit to the whole country. Finally, the bishops did not desire this power to be exercised oftener than once, nor to have longer time to exercise it than five years 'until things be settled and then to remain in the same state with our brethren, who never had the like power because there never was the like occasion'.¹ The passing of the bill meant that Bramhall's scheme had received Laud's blessing.² Five years from 1634 were provided in which to carry out negotiations with tenants, and it is clear that Bramhall pursued his task energetically.³

The effect of this legislation for the archbishopric of Armagh is examined in a separate chapter.⁴ By October 1635 the archbishop was negotiating with his tenants. In 1636 and 1637 the new leasing arrangements were for the most part worked out and given official sanction though some time elapsed before they were finalised. As a result, for the lands in Armagh a 'new rent' of £1516. 16. 0. was payable, replacing the 'old' figure of £872. 15. 0. The total income of the archbishopric as calculated on 3 July 1639 was £3564. 10. 0.⁵

In Kilmore Bramhall's legislation was slower to take effect.

Bedell had availed of the opportunity the re-leasing afforded to attempt to make exchanges of lands with the parish clergy so as their glebes

1. P.R.O., S.P. 63/255, ff.35-6^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, pp.96-7).
2. For further details see Sheffield City Library, Strafford MSS, vol. vi, pp.142-3; H.M.C., Hastings MSS, iv. 62-8.
3. P.R.O., S.P. 63/257, ff. 1-1^v.
4. Below, chapter 12.
5. Below, chapter 12.

would be close to their churches.¹ This, of course, took time and caused ill-feeling between the two bishops. On 2 November 1638 Bramhall wrote to Laud requesting him to 'sharpen' Bedell with regard to the leases of his see lands. He pointed out that the statutory deadline was now being reached, 'yet upon pretence that the glebes are not settled and some other discontents he [Bedell] detracts to do it'. He stated that he had already negotiated with the two leasees of termon land, Lambert and Culme, 'by my Lord's express subsequent consent'.² Laud wrote to Bedell accordingly on November 20.³ Bedell replied on December 20 stressing his difficulties; that his suit with Moynes's widow was not yet concluded; that as to the lease to Lambert he was in England and difficulties had been found in negotiating with him; that the lease to Culme had been arranged by Bramhall rather it seemed 'to accommodate others than this see'. However the fundamental reason, he admitted, lay in the planned exchanges with the parish clergy, and he pointed out that both Bramhall and Ussher had supported that scheme originally. That was now almost arranged, and he would set himself to leasing his lands:

In the meane tyme me thincks I am like the poore beast, that travelling in a rough and unbeaten way as fast as his legs can carry him, is at once curb'd with the bitt, and putt on with the spurres because he makes no more speede.⁴

In January 1639 Bramhall complained to Laud that the settling of the glebe lands would not be completed before the statutory time limit for

1. Above, p. 486.

2. P.R.O., S.P. 63/256, f.288 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, p.203).

3. Referred to in reply Bedell to Laud 20 December 1638 (Shuckburgh, Two biographies, pp.349-51), and in Laud to Bramhall, 20 November 1638 (H.M.C., Hastings MSS, iv. 79).

4. Shuckburgh, Two biographies, pp.349-51.

leases had expired.¹ However the new leases had been made by August, and Laud wrote to Bramhall on September 2 stating his pleasure at the outcome, and his wonder 'why a man that otherwise understands himself so well should be so much his own enemy and the church's.² See rentals or leases do not survive for Kilmore, however Bramhall calculated in January 1639 that the rental of the diocese would be increased by £574 of which £274 was for lands in Cavan.³ The previous income had been £289. 15. 0. of which £218. 15. 0. was from land in Cavan.⁴

The second objective was the recovery of impropriations and advowsons. In the country at large it appears that the crown held most of the impropriations but leased them to laymen. The plan was to grant the leases to vicars perpetual instead, who would continue to pay the old rents to the crown.⁵ In Ulster, however, impropriations were largely outright lay property, having accompanied monastic grants. In Ulster also grants of advowsons had been made to laymen, to the bishops, and to Trinity College at the time of the plantation. In August 1633 Bramhall conveyed to Laud his dissatisfaction with the policy of James I in this respect:

It is a main prejudice to his Majesty's service, and a hindrance to the right establishment of this church, that the clergy have in a manner no dependence upon the Lord Deputy, nor he any means left to prefer those that are deserving amongst them: for besides all those advowsons which were given by that great patron of the Church, King James ... to Bishops and the College here, many also were conferr'd under the plantations (never was so good a gift so infinitely abused);

1. P.R.O., S.P. 63/257 ff. 1 - 1^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, p.208).
2. H.M.C., Hastings MSS. iv. 82-4.
3. E.P. Shirley, Documents Relating to the Church of Ireland, 1631-39, p.23; P.R.O., S.P. 63/256 f.288.
4. Above, p.464.
5. Kearney, Strafford in Ireland pp.122-3; Strafford's letters, i.383-6.
6. A.W. H [], Works of .. Bramhall (Oxford (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology), 1842), i.lxxix - lxxxii.

He stated that Wentworth had made ^{it} his policy that no advowsons should be regranted under the commission of defective titles.¹

The success of this policy can be seen from a report submitted to Laud from Bramhall in January 1639² and also from an intermediate report of 28 March 1635.³ As to advowsons in Kilmore it was noted in the report of 1635 that the advowsons of the deanery of Kilmore, of the rectories of Annagh or Belturbet, Dromgoon and Castleterra, and of the vicarage of Killashandra, benefices valued respectively at £120, £260, or £300, £120, £40, and £100 per annum, had been recovered for the crown.⁴ The circumstances of the recovery of the deanery have been already discussed.⁵ Killashandra and Dromgoon had been granted out under the plantation scheme.⁶ The rectory of Belturbet was intended for James Croxton,⁷ Wentworth's chaplain,⁸ but was granted in 1637 to Godfrey Rhodes, who was brother-in-law of Wentworth and after the restoration bishop of Elphin.⁹ Improvements in clerical income were brought about in two parishes Lurgan or Virginia by £60 per annum, and Dromgoon by £90.¹⁰ No advowsons in Cavan were regranted under the commission for defective titles.

The recovery of lay-held impropriations in Cavan, however, proved abortive. In May 1637 Thomas Fleming received a regrant under the commission for defective titles of all the rectories belonging to the monastery of Kells which his family had acquired.¹¹ However the largest

1. Ibid. See also H.M.C., Hastings MSS, iv. 76.

2. Lambeth Palace Library, London, MS 943, pp. -554; E.P. Shirley, Documents, church of Ireland, 1631-9, pp. 5-24.

3. Sheffield City Library, Strafford letters, 20/175, 264.

4. Ibid. 5. Above, pp.

6. Above, pp. 444

7. P.R.O., S.P. 63/254 f. 499, /255 ff. 35-5v.

8. Kearney, Strafford in Ireland, p. 115.

9. N.L.I., MS 2685, p. 50.

10. Shirley, Documents, church of Ireland, 1631-9, p.

11. P.R.O.I., Lodge, Records of the rolls, v. 404-5.

impropriator in Cavan was Richard Nugent, now earl of Westmeath.¹ In January 1639 Bramhall informed Laud that the Irish authorities were 'in a faire way' to recover the earl's impropriations 'and two hundred pounds rent to his Majestie'.² In April the deputy and commissioners for defective titles made an order whereby Westmeath was obliged to surrender this property.³ However in January 1641 Westmeath appealed to the English house of lords.⁴ He stated that in March 1637 he had compounded with the commissioners for defective titles for a new patent of his entire estate at the yearly rent of £277. 11. 6. of which £79. 16. 8. was a new increase. However, in June 1637 the commissioners at the instigation of the bishop of Derry and Sir George Radcliffe had ordered that he should not be allowed the rectories, worth, he asserted, £500 per annum. They ordered their surrender to the crown and would allow no abatement of rent. The lords referred his petition to a committee who, on February 3, required the attendance of Radcliffe and Bramhall on March 20 following.⁵ On July 19 the lords ordered that since the commissioners were not empowered to compel him to surrender the rectories but only to compound with him for a new patent, he should be restored to the possession and profits of the rectories according to his original agreement with them.⁶ On August 27 the king, from Edinburgh, ordered his restoration,⁷ and his patent was granted on September 27.⁸ In the circumstances of the year 1641 Westmeath had found sufficient leverage

1. Above, p.445.

2. E.P. Shirley, Documents, church of Ireland, 1631-9, p.23.

3. P.R.O.I., Lodge, Records of the rolls, vi. 303.

4. H.M.C., Hastings MSS, iv. 138-9.

5. Ibid; Lords' In., iv. 14.

6. P.R.O.I., Lodge, Records of the rolls, vi. 389.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid. His patent of lands, excluding the rectories, had been dated 30 July 1640 (P.R.O.I., Lodge, Records of the rolls, vi. 348-53).

to defeat Bramhall's objective.

The Laudian policy in Armagh provoked less controversy than in Cavan, but had perhaps greater success. No advowsons were acquired for the crown, though note was taken of the fact that, earlier, the advowson of the controversial Loughgilly had been recovered from the Acheson family and was in the hands of the archbishop.¹ The advowson of Shankill rectory granted to Cope in 1610, and again in 1629² does not appear to have been recovered to the crown.³ Bramhall, however, noted that the recovery of the impropriations of the vicars choral⁴ had brought to the church lands and tithes worth, he claimed, more than £900 per annum. A piece of recovered glebe was valued at £20 a year. Tithes and glebe recovered by the rector of Killeavy from Marmaduke Whitechurch, who held the Killeavy monastery, and partly paid for to (incidentally) the Rev. John Symonds, son-in-law and heir of Whitechurch, were valued at £30⁵ a year. No attempt appears to have been made, however, to recover the tithes of the old impropriate parish of Tartiraghan, belonging to the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, and held by Lord Caulfield. These tithes, of 19 townlands, were (in 1657) valued at £30 in 1640.⁶ The Laudian policy in Armagh was able to build on previous changes, nothing

1. Shirley, Documents, church of Ireland, 1631-9, p.9.

2. P.R.O.I., Lodge, Records of the rolls, v. 183-5.

3. It may be that Cope disposed of it to Lord Conway (see P.R.O., S.P. 63/256, ff. 160-61^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, p.174)), and that he was not required to surrender it, though in 1657 an inquisition stated that the bishop of Down was patron (T.G.F. Paterson, 'Cromwellian inquisition as to parishes in county Armagh' in U.J.A.,).

4. Above, pp. 473-6.

5. Shirley, Documents, church of Ireland, 1631-9, pp.7-8.

6. T.G.F. Paterson, 'Cromwellian inquisition as to parishes in county Armagh' in U.J.A., 3rd series, vol. 2, (1939), pp.212-49.

comparable had happened in Cavan before the Wentworth period.

Such was the success of the Laudian policy in Armagh and Cavan. In January 1639 Bramhall wrote, 'there is no doubt of an happy conclusion of this great worke if God bless my lord - [Wentworth] - among us'.¹ Within two years the political implications of their joint efforts were to be felt.

By 1641, then, despite conspicuous exceptions, long steps had been taken towards clerical financial independence. At the same time, by 1641, it was clear that protestantism was only to be the religion of the colony, and indeed that it was likely to fragment along denominational lines. The reformation as applied to plantation Ulster had not been, in some ways, a radical one. The original thinking visualised a redrawing of parish boundaries and the abolition of impropriations. However the old system was not dramatically altered, and we have seen that difficulties and problems continued being encountered during our thirty-year period. This chapter has attempted to examine some of these as they affected our area, concluding with a treatment of events when the clergy received powerful government backing.

1. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no 76, in *Anglo-Irish Studies*, viii.
2. Certified copy in *Manuscript Book*, T.C.D. (see *Part II, R.R.*) - The Index are listed in *Manuscript Book*, *Manuscript Collection*, B.40-42 (see *Part II, R.R.* for details of the collection and *Manuscript Book* will be cited), with marginal notes by Protest Deeds.
3. It may be noted that Scots' impropriations received some 5% of the total acreage.
4. In writing this chapter it has been found difficult to discuss the Armagh lands separately, owing to the nature of the college's lands.

1. P.R.O., S.P. 63/257, ff. 1-1^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, p.208).

CHAPTER 11 THE ESTATES OF TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN IN ARMAGH

1 Extent of lands and leasing arrangements, 1610-14.

Grants to institutions formed a distinct section of the Ulster plantation arrangement. The London companies and the church were the two most substantial, but the recently established college at Dublin was an obvious candidate for the royal bounty. The 'Project' for the plantation envisaged a grant to the college of lands in Armagh and elsewhere,¹ and when plans had been finalised it received on 29 August 1610 extensive lands in three Ulster counties.² In Armagh they thus acquired in the territory of Toaghy (in Armagh barony) land then estimated at 4,100 acres, and also Colure, a smaller area, rated at 600 acres. The real extent was some 22,875 acres, or 7% of the land of the county.³ They also received extensive property in Donegal and Fermanagh, and nineteen advowsons, none however in Armagh.⁴

In procuring these lands the college had the backing of two people, James Hamilton and James Fullerton. Both were Scots who had become Fellows of the college, acquired government office, and in Hamilton's case extensive grants of land. Both were in London early in

1. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no 74, in *Analecta Hibernica*, viii.
2. Certified copy in Muniment Room, T.C.D. (henceforth M.R.) The lands are listed in Muniment Room, Mahaffy Collection, E.40-42 (henceforth drawer and document numbers only will be cited), with marginal notes by Provost Temple.
3. It may be noted that Scots' undertakers received some 5% of the total acreage.
4. In writing this chapter it has been found difficult to discuss the Armagh lands separately, owing to the nature of the college's leasing policy. Some treatment of the lands in Fermanagh and Donegal is incorporated below either through necessity or because it throws light on the Armagh property. Furthermore because the college leased to substantial middle men, and because the source materials come predominantly from the college archives, the state of the land sometimes assumes an unavoidable remoteness.

1610, and both (particularly Fullerton) accepted responsibility for steering the college grant to its conclusion.¹ The amount to be granted became a subject of controversy arising from the decision to grant the termon and errenach lands to the bishops.² As a result of a case put by thentwelve townlands of Toaghy were excepted from the college patent.³ The college was required to subscribe to the same conditions of building and tenanting as undertakers,⁴ not being privileged to lease to Irish tenants.⁵

The outcome for the college was such as to revolutionise its finances, and the college grace, dating from 1637, records its gratitude in fitting terms - Jacobo ejusdem munificentissimo auctore. Although earlier royal benefactions and private donations had begun to provide some basis for development, it had entered the seventeenth century by no means confident in its endowments. When a new provost, William Temple, assumed control in December 1609, there was in the college 'chest' £139. 13. 11.⁶ Now, in 1610, Fullerton was confident

1. C.16, 19; E.26, 29.
2. Above, pp. 17-18.
3. E.26. In a letter of 12 January 1611 Hamilton cryptically stated that 'they seeke to cutt of from you Kilmacrenan and the lands of Fermanagh' (E.29).
4. Mahaffy, Epoch, p.155, is incorrect and presents a false emphasis.
5. Hamilton reluctantly gave personal bonds for the performance of these obligations which he 'perfectlie' saw would 'not be performed within the time limited for the same' (C.16), though he also pointed out that this was 'never a whitt the worse for you for their civilitie and industrie will be the bettermente of those partes and your harmony in religion good' (E.26), whereas 'the plantacon of natives would disapointe and disgrace the Colledg in the end' (E.29).
6. J.P. Mahaffy (ed.), The Particular Book of Trinity College, Dublin (henceforth P.B.), 37b; B.67. There was an additional £1070. 5. 5. due from various sources (P.B., 38).

that 20,000 acres had been granted, and predicted an easy return of £500 by leasing at 6d. per acre.¹

The urgent question for the college, important also for the development of the plantation was how these lands could be converted to profit. Either it must manage the lands through an agent or agents, or it had to let them on satisfactory terms. Its experience with Munster land cannot have commended the former course.² Furthermore it had sent no agent to England or Scotland to recruit tenants, and its governing body, unlike the ordinary undertakers whose conditions were similar, had no background in English rural society which would facilitate colonisation. Also the college as an institution composed of a number of individuals was liable to division of opinion on schemes or proposals for its land.

Apart from an offer from Hamilton proposals to it were not numerous. Hence they requested Fullerton and Hamilton in London to procure for them permission to let to native Irish tenants. Tentative overtures were made by a group of Suffolk men (one called Wilson) to undertake the lands and Hamilton and Fullerton were also requested to conduct negotiations with them. Hamilton, however, replied on 11 January 1611 that he had 'nether sene nor hard of any of them', stating somewhat caustically that it seemed strange they should speak of this offer

1. C.19.
2. J.W. Stubbs, History of university of Dublin, p.31; notes by Temple on a roll 'The Colledge rentall.... Munster', n.d. (T.C.D. Ante room, cupboard B, shelf 5).

and yet withall you advertise that it is app'hended there to be impossible that sufficient number of English and Scottishmen should be gott to plante those landes and therefore lycence is to be obtained to plant natives.¹

Hamilton's own offer caused serious division in the college and it was only after protracted negotiations that most of the estate was finally leased to him in 1614. His proposal², while it would free the college from problems of management, was hardly a generous one. He would pay 'six-fold the king's rent' over and above that rent, i.e. somewhat under £230, per annum, for the entire estate in return for a fee-farm grant. He would commence payments at Michaelmas 1612, pointing out that the crown gave four years respite from quit rent payment.³ He would immediately send over British tenants and workmen and would build houses 'upon special places of danger' and let the lands and houses together. All should be obliged to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.⁴ In this way the plantation conditions would be fulfilled. Great care would be taken in the selection of tenants:

I could lett some of your lands to some great men here, and to some captens there, but I had rather lett it to such honest men of meaner rancks, who if they do not pay me their rent shall whether they will or not, p'mit me to fetch away their distresse, then to deal with such monsiuers who being⁵ our tenants we must petition unto and intreat for our rent....

It seems that Provost Temple, Luke Challoner, and James Ussher

1. E.29. The college does not ever appear to have considered the practicability of importing British tenants itself. A draft of conditions for middlemen of c.1613 in Temple's hand (E.34), listed, inter alia, 'that they shall discharge the college from all covenants required of the undertakers'.
2. C.16.
3. E.26.
4. C.16.
5. Ibid.

accepted the terms though there was further negotiation about the rent.¹ Hamilton's final offer made in December 1612 and mediated by Chichester,² was that for a grant in perpetuity he would pay £632 per annum. He would not waste the woods, ^{would} build 'accordingly as required' and fulfil all the plantation conditions. He would pay the rent in time of rebellion, 'or so much as by a lawfull jury shalle judged payable unless... the wast was such for so long time as where there was nether horne nor corne'.³

There was, however, anxiety in the college as to the terms of the proposed bargain, which led to dispute between the provost and many of the Fellows. The affair may be outlined here as a detailed contemporary discussion of land-leasing policy. In the summer of 1613 the college appealed to the Dublin government, with Hamilton's assent,⁴ for advice, in general as to the wisdom of a fee-farm grant and in particular as to certain of the conditions and securities. This appeal may have been part of the provost's strategy for pushing through a transaction increasingly disapproved of by many of the Fellows.

The grant of a fee-farm was considered 'a matter fitting', and it was felt that Hamilton should give assurance of part of his own lands to build six 'castles' within seven years. The college estate was thus seen as equivalent to six great proportions of plantation land to which the plantation building conditions were being applied, though here with a seven years' deadline.⁵ No further securities for payment of rent were considered necessary than that the landlord should have the normal rights

1. E.28/1, 2, 3; Stubbs, University of Dublin, pp.32-3.

2. E.32.

3. Ibid.

4. D.15.

5. E.32.

of distraint and re-entry.¹

The Fellows not only claimed that the rent offered was too small, but put forward a substantial case against a fee-farm grant. Simply they pointed to the dangers of inflation. If coin became 'base or scarce', if prices of goods increased, an interminable lease could be a grave disadvantage. Temple repostulated fiercely, in one case setting out his argument in syllogistic form.² It would not be to the college's advantage to lease at such small rents as those taking short leases would demand. He asserted that

these Ulster lands [having] now a long type rested barbarous, rude, unhusbanded, indistinguished by inclosures, fences, and bounds, unfurnished of howses for habitac'on or defence, naked of all sorts of buildings for necessary use, no man of wisdom³ will for a short time take a lease of any proporc'on thereof.

A lessee holding for a short period would 'weare out ye whole vertue and hart thereof, spoyle the woods, [and] build no more than of necessity he must'.⁴ Against the inflationery argument he attempted to prove that a long lease was in effect no different than a fee-farm grant.⁵ Temple's other line was more a personal and political one - that the college was too profoundly indebted to Hamilton to refuse his offer. To do so would be to 'condemne us of ingratitude and dishonour',⁶ and could well provoke him to seek redress in law. There were even more fundamental reasons

1. E.31. Hamilton also proposed to pay one-third of his rent in provisions, but this was not accepted by Temple (B.12/2, N.7; see Mahaffy, Epoch, p.172).
2. In Drawer K. Hamilton was fully aware of the value of a fee-farm grant, having himself recommended the college to attempt to procure such an interest in neighbouring land in Armagh granted to the primate (E.26).
3. In Drawer K. 4. E.30.
5. In Drawer K. The Fellows appear to have wanted a lease of no more than 31 years.
6. C.16/c

By this disgrace offered hym and by his informac'on thereof at court we shall hazard the loss of the King's favour, provoke the displeasure of the scots, [and] expose our pencon to some question ... Shall he now luse the bird who hath beaten the bush so long? 1

Four of the fellows retaliated on 28 June 1613 by entering into a bond to Sir Henry Foliot and Capt. Paul Gore, both servitors in Donegal to accept only their offer of £700 per annum for a thirty-one year lease.² At this state of deadlock the provost appealed to the Visitors for arbitration.³ Their views are not known, but Hamilton did not receive a grant in perpetuity.

On 24 June 1613 articles of agreement were drawn up whereby he was to 'content himself' with a sixty-year lease, at the same rent, the first payment to begin in May (sic) 1613.⁴ The estate was seen as comprising six proportions of 2,000 acres, and on each he was to build 'a strong fort for defence.'⁵ This agreement was also not finalised, and it was not until 17 March 1614 that the bargain was ultimately concluded,⁶ after counsel's advice had been taken.⁷

On that day Hamilton received a lease for twenty-one years of the entire estate, with the exception of twelve ballyboes in Toaghy, Armagh which were leased on the same day to William Crowe of Dublin for thirty-one years.⁸ The leasing conditions were now less demanding. Sir James was to 'repair and maintaine and uphold' all castles, tenements, etc. on the property, and

1. Ibid.

2. B.13; Stubbs, University of Dublin, pp.33-4, 378-9.

3. E.32.

4. C.13; D.15; E.33.

5. C.13; E.33.

6. Counterpart of lease in very damaged state is in T.C.D. MSS Room, in Box of College leases under D.

7. Account Book, 1613-18, f.7^v (Ante Room, Cupboard B, chelf 3). It cost £4.

8. T.C.D. MSS Room, in Box of College leases under D.

if he or his tenants built on the land they should not do so 'dispersedly or scatteringly.' He should not demise to any of the mere Irish or to any person who had not taken the oath of supremacy. The land was now seen as falling into thirteen units, twelve held by Hamilton, and the rent was sub-divided in terms of these units. Five of these units were in Armagh as follows:

Colure, one unit, at £30

Toaghy, four units, one held by Crowe, at £60 each.¹

The total rent was £632. 8. 6 of which £270 was payable from Armagh.

Crowe appears to have been a lawyer, he was in government service from 1597², and his wife Elizabeth Blount was probably a daughter of Mountjoy's.

Thus though the college lands had been leased to middlemen some years earlier than the London companies had similarly leased their lands in Londonderry³ the college, unlike the Londoners, had carried out no building operations or placed British occupiers on their lands, despite their common obligation to do so. The college, in fact had expended no

1. The counterpart of Hamilton's lease lists only two units in Toaghy as having been leased to him but this is clearly due to an error in transcription because the college accounts and Hamilton's payments consistently indicate that he held three units and Crowe a fourth. (The accounts in fact usually charge the total sum to Hamilton (B.20, 26, 29).). The Donegal lands were divided into seven units (Tirhugh: 4 at £60 each, and Kilmacrenan: 3 units, 1 at £34. 8. 6 and 2 at £34), and the Fermanagh lands, Slutmulrony, 1 unit at £20.
2. Hughes, Patentee Officers, p.36.
3. T. W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, pp.446-7.

more than about £25 on its Ulster land up to 1614.¹ It is perhaps surprising that neither Carew nor Bodley made any reference to the college's neglect of its property. It had however, apparently, made some preliminary arrangements. Sir Toby Caulfield must have received a caretaker grant of the Armagh lands at the end of 1610 because in June 1611 he paid £40 as part of half a year's rent.² In the summer of 1613 Hamilton paid £100 as rent for the Ulster lands³, and £200 in December.⁴ His occupation must therefore have begun by 1613, and he paid £400 for the year ending May 1614.⁵

II Tenure and profits of lands, 1614-18.

On 27 June 1614 - Hamilton's lease dated from March 17 - the college was freed by king's letter from its colonising obligations. They might 'plant' the Ulster land with 'such ten'nts ether Brittish or Irishe as they shall finde meetest... as heretofore wee have graunted to

1. Below, p.529. It seemed now that the financial security of the college was guaranteed. Samuel Ward, a Cambridge don, in a letter to Ussher noted the change in its fortunes (C.R. Elrington, Whole Works of.... Ussher, xv, 85-6). For the year ending May 1615 its net income was computed to be £1,088, the chief items being £600 from Ulster and £388. 15. 0 annual grant from the exchequer (B.20; N.17).
2. P.B., 26b.
3. Ibid., 85.
4. Account book, 1613-18, f.3^v (Ante Room, Cupboard B, shelf 3).
5. B.22, 26.

bushoppes in that province,¹ but were not to be exempt from building obligations. The estate thus became, along with the lands of servitors, natives, the church, and the schools areas from which the native population need not be expelled. It was a technical amelioration in the conditions of the native Irish in Armagh - it was also, by the nature of the college's leasing policy, much to the advantage of Hamilton and Crowe.

It was quickly seen, nonetheless, that Hamilton could not operate virtually the entire estate himself. As early as March 26 he sold to Crowe his interest in the Fermanagh (Slutmulrony) lands.² In May 1615 he disposed of the entire remaining property to Sir James Carroll.³ Carroll lived at Finglas and combined public and municipal office with mercantile pursuits and land acquisition.⁴ He had business and other connexions with the college from an early period.⁵ Hamilton and his brothers, Carroll, and Crowe had business relationships,⁶ and the Trinity estate had thus become part of their wider financial activities.

Hamilton's payment of rent was irregular, though reasonably complete.⁷ At the end of his tenure he was held to be £136. 8. 6 in arrears, about one-quarter of a year's rent, but of this £60 was considered payable

1. F.26; B.M. Add. MS 4794, ff.303-3^V; B.M., Add. MS 36,775 ff.148-8^V.
2. T.C.D., M.R., Shelf 4, Box 17 in 'miscellaneous documents, mostly c.1650-1750'.
3. B.22; Account Book, 1613-18, f.22^V. Mahaffy, Epoch, p.175, incorrectly says 1613.
4. Hughes, Patentee Officers, p.24; P.B., 222; Gilbert, Cal. anc. rec. Dublin, iii, 307-8; J.P. Mahaffy, 'Attachment against Sir James Carroll, 1 March 1631', in Hermathena, xi (1901), 122-5; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1, pp.338-9, 358; Armagh Public Library, Cases of Lord Chancellor Bolton, no 52.
5. P.B., 24, 26, 32, 44.
6. P.R.O. N.I., T808/2758; Marsh's Library Dublin, Z4. 2. 6, pp.534-6.
7. Payments of small sums, usually under £20, were made sometimes with only intervals of days, though often of months, between them (see in particular B.22 (verso) and college accounts, *passim*).

by Foliot, who held some of the Donegal land, and so his final debt was £76. 8. 6.¹ There is no evidence that this was ever paid.² How Hamilton had used the college land is not easily known.³ His brothers, particularly William though also John, feature in the college accounts.⁴ It is likely that the land was either let directly by him to the native occupiers, as at least a little of Toaghy was⁵, or else to local servitors as some of the Donegal land was to Foliot and Gore, and most likely as Colure was to Sir Toby Caulfield. Perspective on the Hamilton disinvolvement can be got from the fact that at this time the family acquired estates in Armagh and Cavan.

Carroll also proved incapable of administering the lands, and before long surrendered his lease entirely. Litigation for non-payment of rent occupied many years. From now the lands come to be held by a number of individuals. When, at May 1618, Carroll resigned his lease⁶, the Armagh lands were held as follows either from Carroll or directly from the college:

Colure: Sir Toby Caulfield; rent £30. Rent was being paid direct to the college from May 1616.⁷ He received a twenty-one year lease from the college in May 1618.

Toaghy: (1). Twelve ballyboes leased to Crowe in 1614. Rent £60. Crowe transferred his interest in this land, and in Slutmulrony (Fermanagh) to Provost Temple, and rent was paid by him from Michaelmas 1614.⁹

1. B.26. 2. See P.B., 171; C.30; N.28.
3. T.K. Lowry (ed.), The Hamilton Manuscripts, does not refer to the college lands.
4. B.25; P.B. 104; Bursar's Book, 1616-17, f.9^V (Ante Room, Cupboard B, shelf 3).
5. B.21. 6. B. 59/1.
7. Account Book, 1613-18, f.32 (Ante Room, Cupboard B, shelf 3).
8. T.C.D. MSS Room, in Box of college leases under D; E.35.
9. Account Book, 1613-18, f.13^V; B.26.

(2). Rest of estate. Held by Carroll until May 1618. Passed by him to Sir Francis Ruish.¹ Rent £180.

No improving covenants of any kind were inserted in Caulfield's lease of Colure.

The remainder of the estate was similarly divided, the provost, several clerical ex-fellows, and local servitors becoming tenants. It was only at this time, eight years after the grant, that the essential lines of a fairly permanent leasing arrangement had been drawn - a system involving a small number of middlemen. For the college as a teaching body unavoidably absentee such a policy was a convenient one. However middlemen were not the best agents of improvement, the college could not easily supervise them. Also the occupiers were at their mercy, and the college was not exempted from complaints, petitions, and allegations of oppression.²

III. Problems of the landlord, 1617-32.

In 1617 as it became apparent that Carroll would not long retain his lease, renewed friction between the provost and some of the fellows

1. Bursar's Book, 1616-17 (Ante Room, Cupboard B, shelf 3); T.C.D. MS 1. 4. 2 8, p.23 (This often simplifies inaccurately).
2. E.63. Basil Brooke to college, 27 January 1630; Mahaffy, Epoch, p.171. Difficulties could also arise through the Provost being tenant to his own college.

arose. In May 1617 five of the fellows petitioned the English privy council to prohibit action on the part of the provost and some of their colleagues which they felt would be to the disadvantage of the college.¹ They stated that the revenue could well be doubled if the leases then in existence were allowed to run out, but claimed that the provost intended to renew these leases for his own advantage. The outcome was an order of 2 November addressed to lord deputy St. John. He was instructed to inform the college that it was the King's pleasure to 'forbear' the making of any leases until the expiration of the present ones, an act of the Irish council to be passed to that effect.² On 8 December 1617 the provost and fellows were instructed accordingly,³ and the act of council followed on 6 January 1618.⁴

This action however did not sufficiently assuage the fears of the dissident Fellows and further intervention from London was immediately invoked. A letter from the privy council, 20 January 1619, to the lord deputy instructed the Dublin executive to summon the provost and his associates before them and hear their case and if necessary take bonds for their compliance with the regulation.⁵ It was further stipulated that new leases, when legitimately made, should be for no longer than twenty-one years.⁶

On February 26, the provost issued a long and testy answer to the

1. Stubbs, University of Dublin, p.35.
2. F.31; M.R., Shelf 4, Box 17, from packet '1617-1745'.
3. M.R., Shelf 4, Box 17, from packet '1617-1745'.
4. F37/a; M.R., Shelf 4, Box 17, from packet '1617-1745'.
5. F.38; Acts Privy Council, 1618-19, pp.346-7.
6. The letter recited that this stipulation had -been included in the order of 2 November 1617. This is not correct.

allegations.¹ He repudiated the Fellows 'base ungrounded and undeserved suspicion', and asserted that his conscience acquitted him 'not only from all paroleis and treaties with others about demising the Ulster lands but likewise from all intents that way. He castigated the behaviour of the fellows - their 'factious separac'on' - in conducting unconstitutional meetings and negotiations.² Their appeal to London represented a slight to the Dublin government, a body quite capable of dealing with 'so irregular and desperate a person' as himself. In stating what the future revenue of the college might be, the Fellows had endangered the loss of its grant from the exchequer. The act of state had made no confinement to twenty-one year leases. He was not 'opposite' to the act of state and did not intend to pursue another policy 'to the overthrow of the royall foundac'on'.³

The next stage is a letter, 29 April, from the deputy and council to London, stating that they had had the provost and all the fellows and scholars before them, who had undertaken to obey the act of state, and intimating that it did not appear that the provost had been 'opposite' to the act or intended to break it.⁴ The act of state had not in fact limited leases to twenty-one years. This was because in March 1617 a directive had been issued by St. John, in confirmation of one of 1609, forbidding the leasing of church or college land for longer than twenty-one years or during a clerical incumbency (except under special conditions of improvement) thereby transferring to Ireland

1. N.26/a, b, c, d. (4 drafts).
2. He deplored in particular the 'cariage' of Wainwright, one of the fellows, 'about the keys of the trunk'.
3. F.38.
4. F.41; P.R.O., S.P. 63/235, f.44 (Cal. S.P.I., 1615-25, p.247).

regulations to protect such lands, existing in England by statute.¹

This was largely an internal matter. However when in 1618 the college was summoned into the exchequer court for eight years arrears of quit rent, £259. 8. 0, the provost was not averse to by-passing the Dublin government. The college petitioned the king, and a royal letter of April 3 declared that the college should be pressed to 'noe harder conditions' than other Ulster proprietors. They should therefore be exempt from the first four years rent, to 1614, and be given 'reasonable time' by the deputy to pay the remainder.² On June 11 St. John so informed the barons of the exchequer, requesting that the king's letter be enrolled in their records.³ The barons decided that the arrears of 1614-18 should be paid in four annual installments.⁴ From now the rents were paid with regularity.⁵

In 1617 a further problem arose. The plantation regulations had required that sixty acres in every thousand granted should be allotted

1. D.94; This was not the only complaint of these five Fellows. In 1617 they demanded permission, inter alia, to examine the Ulster patent with a view to obtaining a commission from the deputy to enquire after concealments, and that two of them might go to Ulster for that purpose (N.18: a note by Temple states 'the concealments are in hand to be passed'). Whatever the share of the Fellows, Temple did draw up a list of the concealments (E.23, largely in Tirhugh, one townland in Toaghy), and set in motion by petition to the deputy, October 1617 (E.37), the machinery for having them granted
2. F.34.
3. F.37/a.
4. F.36, 37. The cost to the college of procuring this decision was nearly £20. An agent, Harry Burnett, received £14. 18. 4 for his 'employments in England' (Account book, 1613-18, f.68^v). Expenses in Ireland were reduced because the remembrancer remitted his fees. However about £2. 13. 0 was spent for ingrossing, enrolling, and in gratuities and also a copy of Sir Walter Raleigh's Chronicle was given to one officer (ibid., ff.68^v-9).
5. There is almost a complete set of quit rent receipts in the college archives.

as glebe. However the affairs of the church were not immediately dealt with, and it was only when parish clergy had been introduced that the demand for the assignment of glebe was made.¹ The demand for the surrender of glebe by the college was made by a Donegal minister in 1617, who appealed to London and Dublin for himself and the other incumbents involved.² By now the college had leased its land and was reluctant to surrender any of it, or allow of the claims of its tenant for consequent reductions in rent.³

In May 1617 the college was summoned before the deputy and council,⁴ who ordered in June that the glebe be assigned according to the surveyor-general's certificate,⁵ Parsons certified that the college should assign glebe for three Donegal parishes, and two - Tynan and Derrynoose - in Armagh.⁶ The surrender of glebe in Armagh caused litigation between the college and its tenant, Carroll.⁷ There was further dispute somewhat later when a Fellow of the college claimed that a piece of Colure had been 'wrested' illegally from the college for glebe. He solicited the archbishop's favour, urging that while 'it well becomes you to vindicat the rights of the church... the colledge is no liss a minor than the church' and so he should 'carry an indifferent hand betwixt both.'⁸ The resolution of this dispute is not known.

When in 1618 Carroll resigned his lease the college quickly found itself involved in litigation for recovery of arrears. The amount

1. Above, pp. 447-51.

2. B.110.

3. B.105.

4. Ibid.

5. F.35.

6. B.109.

7. Below, pp.

. In 1624 Falkland requested the college to certify to what churches they had allocated glebe (F.47).

8. N.47 (unsigned and undated).

unpaid was £175 (£5 less than a year's rent) for Toaghy.¹ When the rent and nomine poenae were not paid within the time specified in the lease, the college attempted, without effect, to distrain for non-payment. The cost to them was £2. 2. 0.² The outcome of a suit against Carroll in January 1619 in the exchequer is unknown.³ He also owed other sums to the college of a highly complex nature which also caused litigation at this time,⁴ but these have been segregated from treatment here. When in 1620 negotiations commenced on the Ulster debt the college demanded £175, plus nomine poenae of £45 or one-quarter of the rent due.⁵ Carroll argued, on February 26, that the £175 covered his loss through the assignment of glebe in Donegal and Armagh in 1617, and it was decided in March that the issue should be settled in the court of chancery.⁶

The suit about Toaghy, commenced in June 1622, focussed on whether the college or Carroll should suffer the loss of income arising from the allocation of glebe land. Trinity asserted that Carroll had been bound by lease to protect against all assault any part or parcel of the land, contending that their surrender of title of inheritance to the glebe had not committed him to surrender the land concerned before the expiration of his lease.⁷ Carroll in his answer demanded compensation

1. A sum of £43. 12. 7 from Donegal was subsequently not held to be Carroll's responsibility (B.39, 42).
2. Account book, 1613, 18, f.68.
3. B.42.
4. See B.50, 50/2, 65/2, 106, 112; C.29/c; F.45/a, b; N.20; P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, F.36, and 2B. 80. 121, no 156. These debts, however, appear to have been paid by 1626 (college accounts, passim).
5. B.112.
6. N.20.
7. B.111, (also B.65/3).

for his loss of revenue from the glebe lands, claiming, in fact for a longer time than had elapsed.¹

The case protracted until February 1624 when a decree was issued against him for the payment of the full arrear and also £48. 2. 8. damages and £10 costs. An injunction was issued for Carroll's compliance with the decision, and an attachment was granted against him. However Carroll 'purposely absenteth him to shun the execution of the decree' and a proclamation and commission of rebellion, and two further attachments were procured to no avail. To all a non est inventus was returned by the sheriffs of Dublin city. On 16 June a writ de executione decreti was granted to instruct the sheriffs to levy from his lands and goods and property to the value decreed against him.² This resort was also ineffective and there the matter rested. The case has much fascination as indicating the legal process of the time and also the difficulties of enforcing legal decisions.

In 1626 the college made an offer to Carroll for payment by instalments.³ In 1627, after Bedell had succeeded Temple as provost Carroll offered to refer the controversy to the arbitration of the primate.⁴ Neither scheme was fruitful. In 1629 the college petitioned the land deputy not to protect Carroll,⁵ and in March 1631 renewed the suit in the chancery. Carroll repeated the substance of his previous argument. He insinuated further that in the previous case he had been at the disadvantage that the provost, Temple, was also a master of the

1. B.112: P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, 2B. 80. 121, no 157.

2. C.38/c. 3. B.69.

4. P.B., 98b; N.41.

5. M.R., General Registry from 1626, p.21.

court. He claimed, too, that the other college tenants, including Temple, should have borne a proportionable share of the burden. He pointed out that the College had allowed his assignee of Toaghy, Sir Francis Ruish, an abatement of £12. 15. 0. for the glebelands and asserted that he should have received a similar abatement.¹ However in February 1632 the court decreed as before, and identical measures were instigated against him.²

There is no indication that any of the money claimed was recovered from Carroll, though the cost to the college of litigation against him between 1619 and 1632 was some £55. 4. 6.³ In addition attempts at distraint or attachment had cost £8. 11. 9, including £2. 9. 0 for three swords broken in the process.⁴ Thus a sum of more than one-third the amount claimed was expended in attempts at recovery.

1. B.105.
2. B.107; document in Ante Room, Cabinet, Drawer 1; J.P. Mahaffy, 'Attachment against Sir James Carroll, 1 March 1631' in Hermathena, xi, 122-5. Mahaffy misunderstood the form of an attachment, and was unaware of its significance in this case.
3. College accounts, 1619-32, passim (all in Ante Room, Cupboard B, shelf 3); B.50, 51, 53, 59/1, 62, 64; C.38; N.48; document in Ante Room, Cabinet, Drawer 1. These sources preserve the costs of writs, injunctions, etc. This figure excludes the regular retaining fee paid to the college lawyer, and also many sums which while not defined as arising from this suit, may well have been connected with it. The college employed seven lawyers on the case, Hilton, Finch, Sir Richard Bolton, Dowdall, Alexander, Greenham, and Powell, some of them very prominent.
4. Account book, 1613-18, f.68; Accounts, 1622-3, f.28; Accounts, 1625, ff.16, 18^v; Accounts, 1632, p.31.

IV. The lands in Armagh, 1618-41.

When in May 1618 Carroll resigned his lease the Armagh lands were held either from him or the college by three tenants, Caulfield, Temple, and Sir Francis Ruish.¹ The latter now held the larger contentious block of the Toaghy lands. Ruish was a person of servitor origin, and a privy councillor.² He held monastic property in Monaghan and Fermanagh,³ but was not a local landowner like Caulfield. He deducted from the annual rent £12. 10. 0 (2½ townlands at £5 each) to cover the loss of glebe, but while he held the lease rents were paid with regularity.⁴ Ruish died in 1623⁵, and though the rent was in arrear in 1624⁶, his widow, a substantial heiress, retained the lease and the college did not suffer from her bereavement. When she remarried to Sir John Jephson (whose first wife died in 1623), the lease was retained by them until it expired in 1635. Jephson was the second son of a Hampshire landowner who was in Ireland in a military capacity from 1598. He had married the daughter of Sir Thomas Norreys, late lord president of Munster, thereby acquiring extensive property at Mallow. In 1611 on the death of his brother he inherited his family estate in England. He was an English M.P. in 1621 and 1623-5. He thus had commitments in both England and Ireland. In 1627 he was appointed governor of Portsmouth, which he held until he resigned c.1630, and returned to Mallow. He died

1. Above, p. 508-9.

2. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, p.75.

3. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Monaghan (7) Jas 1, Fermanagh (10) Chas 1.

4. College accounts, 1618-24, passim.

5. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Monaghan (7) Jas 1; Lodge, Peerage, ii, 77.

6. Account book, 1624-25, f.2 (Ante Room, Cupboard B, shelf 3).

in 1638.¹ Both he and Ruish were clearly absentee leaseholders.

Between 1628 and c.1630 Jephson attempted to procure a new lease. These were important years in the general history of the plantation, and Bedell's provostship, 1627-29, and the first years of Ussher's saw renewed negotiation about the college leases. Despite the act of state of 1618² new leases of much of the Ulster estate were granted.

In August 1628 Sir John Jephson, now about to return to Ireland, wrote to the archbishop of Armagh asking him to mediate with the provost that the lands held by his wife's late husband should not be leased to any new tenant. He was emboldened in his suit by the impression of the provost he had received from Dr. Sybbs, Sir Nathaniel Rich, and John Pym.³ Bedell, to whom Ussher passed Jephson's letter, replied that if he would surrender his lease and accept a new one 'with reasonable ancrease of rent.... we are ready to treat with you'.⁴ Negotiations however broke down despite the fact that in June 1630 Jephson wrote to Lord Dorchester, a member of the Irish committee of the privy council, pointing out that he had not insisted on the payment of debts owed to him by the king, and requesting in return support in his dealings with Trinity College.⁵

That the college could be susceptible to pressures can be seen, however, with regard to these Toaghy lands. In March 1629, Robert Maxwell, archdeacon and ex-fellow, and tenant to Lady Ruish of two and a half townlands of Toaghy, petitioned the college to be made a direct tenant.⁶

1. M.D. Jephson, An Anglo-Irish Miscellany, (Dublin, 1964), pp.16-36.
2. Above, p. 510.
3. John Jephson to archbishop of Armagh, 1 August 1628 (Ante Room, Cupboard B, Shelf 5).
4. Ibid. (draft reply on verso of letter).
5. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.550.
6. D.24.

He claimed that although he held this land 'att a rack't rent' with no longer interest than what he derived from Lady Ruish, he had expended £220 in 'building and planting' there in a manner unprecedented by any of the college's 'chieff tenants'. He requested that before any renewal take place he should be permitted to become 'immediatt' tenant to the college for the land he held at the expiry of the current lease.¹ On April 15 the college agreed to accept his overtures.² It seems however that Bedell's successor Robert Ussher argued in 1632 that this went counter to the act of state 1618. Maxwell therefore petitioned the lords justices and council, as a body best qualified to 'interpret and dispense with' their own act, to instruct the college authorities to confirm the lease 'according to equity, conscience, and their owne promise'.³ On March 7, following on a further petition, the council authorised the overruling of the act in this case.⁴ As a result a lease was made for twenty-one years whereby Maxwell paid five shillings a year to the college 'the surplussage of his rent to..... Jephson'⁵ from this date and £25. 5. 0. per annum, or £10. 2. 0 per townland, after 1635.⁶

The remainder of Toaghy was held by John Temple under Crowe's 31 year lease of 1614 and he made no offer of renewal. The Caulfield lease of Colure was also not renewed, perhaps owing to the death of Sir Toby in

1. He argued amongst other things that 'others observing your carriage towards your peticoner in this particular will accordingly bee eyther encouraged or detered from adventuringe to build upon your lands, but upon good assurance to their gaine and your loss which is neyther sought nor intended by your supl' (ibid.).
2. General Registry from 1626, p.21.
3. Ante Room, Cabinet, Drawer 1.
4. E.64.
5. Receipt Book, 1625-80, f.13^v.
6. Abstracts of leases in Ulster (M.R. Shelf 2, Box 24, from packet 'c. 1613-1720'.

1627.

However, while the Armagh leases were not in fact renewed at this time, some brief mention of these renewals may be given. The releasing arose from overtones made by tenants unwilling to wait until the expiry of their current leases.¹ Bedell carefully managed the negotiations, soliciting Hamilton's advice which was that the college should require a doubling of rent.² The outcome was that new leases were granted, like Maxwell's, with very slight increases of rent for the first six years but to be substantially increased after 1635.³ The new leases, unlike the original ones of 1614 contained moderate improvement stipulation.⁴

It was not until the middle 1630s that leasing again became an issue. By then some of the Armagh leases had fallen in, and almost the entire Ulster estate was in fact released in the years 1635-38. From 1633, with the Wentworth administration, important changes took place in the college, which was now increasingly subject to intensified state

1. P.B., 101b.

2. P.B., 103; General Registry from 1626, p.23.

3. In Box of College Leases under D.

4. Thus Temple's lease of Slutmulrony stipulated that he should erect within four years a mansion house of stone or brick 40 feet at least long, 20 feet wide within the walls, and at least two storeys high 'to be the place of principall residence within the said mannor as well for the safetie of the inhabitants uppon all occasions of danger as for the keeping of all courts to be holden there' (Box of College leases under D.). He also undertook to cause his tenants, if building new houses, to build near this one. During the four years the increase of rent, £2. 10. 0 per year, was to be remitted to subsidise the building, and if the house were erected within four years the increase for six years was to be discounted. This building requirement in Temple's case provides a good example of how the college's policy could be overridden by government interference. In 1632 Temple, now at court, applied to the college for a longer time in which to fulfil his building obligations. On refusal he procured a king's letter, of 17 December 1632 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.678), requiring the satisfaction of his request. As a result the provost and fellows 'gave unto him tenne years more as he desired' (General Registry from 1626, pp.39-40).

direction. In 1632 Laud became chancellor¹ and in 1634 Robert Ussher was removed and the Laudian William Chappell appointed provost.² In 1637, the year in which new statutes were drawn up,³ Wentworth required the college to admit two new senior fellows, one of whom, John Harding, soon became a college tenant in Armagh.⁴ Sir George Wentworth, brother of the lord deputy, acquired the benefit of another Armagh lease in 1639.⁵

While the government displayed considerable interest in one lease (in Armagh),⁶ there is no evidence that the re-leasing followed from direct official interference. Although there are parallels between the college lands and those of the bishops in Ulster, the former were not included in the scheme whereby the bishop's lands were released following on an act of parliament of 1635.⁷ However some of the Armagh leases were due to fall in anyhow, and there is some indication that there was competition for college land at this time.⁸ A brief discussion of the releasing as a whole is provided because it is likely that the conditions in the new Armagh leases which have not survived were similar to those in the Donegal and Fermanagh leases now granted.⁹ From this point the

1. General Registry from 1626, p.4.
2. Stubbs, University of Dublin, p.67.
3. Original in Safe in Board Room.
4. General Registry from 1626, 56-7.
5. Below, p. 525.
6. Below, pp. 523-5.
7. Above, pp. 489-91.
8. The college archives contain many applications with rent offers in these years for leases of Donegal land. See, four such in Ante Room, Cabinet, Drawer 1; also E.70, 71; N.58.
9. Although there was some rearrangement in Donegal where also one area was leased directly to both native Irish and immigrant tenants, the old leaseholders on the whole reacquired their lands in these counties (Abstracts of college leases in Ulster: M.R., Shelf 2, box 24, from packet 'c. 1613-1720').

total annual sum due to the college from Ulster was £1,333. 9. 6, slightly over twice the 1614 figure.

These new leases or annexed schedules contained specific conditions binding on the undertenants of middlemen and the smaller direct lessors. Each tenant of a townland was to build a dwelling house of lime and stone 20 feet by 16 feet, two storeys high with chimneys and windows and also a 'kiln or oven'. Nearby should be an orchard and garden and also an 'inclosure ditcht and quicksett of twoe Irish acres to be planted with oake, ashe, or elme, round about, and not above 18 foot distant one from another'.¹ The tenant was to entertain the college seneschal for three days and nights (provided he came no more than twice a year) and assist him in laying out the bounds of his lands, as agreed to by a jury,² and in setting up large mearstones five perches apart 'where there is no conveniency for ditching and quicksetting'.³ Tenants were to conform to the act of 1537 requiring the English language and dress.⁴ Temple in his Slutmulrony lease undertook to cause Irish tenants to be removed and British substituted.⁵ Tenants in Tirhugh were to grind their corn at a mill set up by a college appointee.⁶ All tenants were to do suit at the college courts. Each was to provide one armed man to go one day's journey yearly when called upon.⁷ The best

1. Schedule attached to Richardson's lease of Tirhugh lands, 1637 (Box of College Leases under D). The Temple lease of Slutmulrony in particular encouraged the clearance and enclosure of unprofitable land (In Box of College Leases, under D).
2. Pattern draft of leases in Donegal (Ante Room, Cabinet, Drawer 2).
3. M.R., Shelf 4, Box 17, from packet 'c. 1620-1710'.
4. Pattern draft of leases in Donegal (Ante Room, Cabinet, Drawer 2); Stat. Ire., i, 119-27.
5. In Box of College Leases, under D.
6. A specification and estimate for this mill is in Richardson Papers (Ante Room, Cupboard B, Shelf 5)
7. M.R., Shelf 2, Box 28, from packet 'c. 1610-1720'.

beast must be paid as a herriot.

In Armagh, the lease of Toaghy, which Jephson's wife's late husband, Ruish, had acquired, was due to fall in in 1635. In 1634 the re-leasing of this land caused controversy between Wentworth and Sir John, the college having little or no initiative in the matter. The argument centred around - or was made to centre on - the question of tenant right. Jephson, who had applied for the lease, was the husband of Ruish's widow. Ruish's son had died in November 1629 unmarried, and his three daughters, Eleanor, Mary (both married) and Anne, had become co-heirs, and received a special livery of the estate.¹ Eleanor, the eldest daughter, was married to Sir Robert Loftus, eldest son of the lord chancellor.² Sir George Wentworth, younger brother of the lord deputy, was a suitor for Anne Ruish.³ Who would get the lease? On 12 August 1634 in a reply to Jephson, Wentworth wrote that he had used his 'best means' to procure it for Loftus affirming that he 'never knew it a breach of respect for a man to wish better to one than another'.⁴ He agreed with Jephson that the college 'hath full liberty to choose their owne tenants', asserting that 'the right and equity of the ancient tenant dwells with them rather than with you'. He stated that the lease had now been granted to Loftus and his wife indicating that he was 'passing gladd' it had been in his power to do them a service.⁵

1. Lodge, Peerage, ii, 77.
2. Ibid., vii, 247. He was M.P. for Newry in 1634 (Kearney, Strafford, pp.251-2)
3. Sheffield City Library, Strafford MSS, viii, 145-56 Robert Smyth to Secretary Nicholar 3 September 1634 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, p.76).
4. Earlier in the year he had refused a previous request of Jephson's (Strafford's letters, i, 251).
5. Sheffield City Library, Strafford MSS, viii, 135-36.

In a further reply to Jephson on August 22, Wentworth stated that there had been a third competitor who had offered more. He conceded that he had felt himself under an obligation to Lady Eleanor Loftus but asserted that unquestionably 'the right of the ancient tenant' lay with her, and that both the chancellor and Jephson were 'meare strangers'. He had therefore ensured that the lease should be for the benefit of herself and her children with remainder to Anne Ruish.¹ So the matter rested. In a letter to Wentworth in January 1635 Laud claimed that he knew of no tenant right, but as to the contestants he felt that Loftus would be as good a tenant to 'any Church or College holding' as Jephson if the latter were 'hee yt sometymes lived at Portsmouth'.² The outcome was thus a vindication of tenant right, though hardly tenant right as an abstract principle. That remainder should be granted to Ann Ruish, whom Wentworth hoped would become his brother's wife, is also of interest.

These Toaghy lands, with the exception of 2½ townlands held by Maxwell, were thus leased for 21 years at £315 per annum.³ It contained similar conditions to those in the other college leases. While the lease has not survived Loftus undertook by a bond for £1,000 to perform the conditions of his lease and also the following obligations: not to alienate his lease without license of the college; to 'intertaine' the college seneschal when he came to hold courts for two or three days 'with horse meat and man's meate'; to preserve all timber trees on the demised

1. Ibid., viii, 144.

2. Ibid., vi, 142.

3. Abstracts of College leases in Ulster (M.R., Shelf 2, Box 24, from packet 'c. 1613-1720').

lands.¹

In April 1636 Wentworth wrote to Bramhall asking him to deal with the Loftus's affairs in Toaghy and to see that the May rents were collected 'and returned with all speed'.² In July, Sir George Wentworth wrote to thank him for his efforts.³ The rent to the college appears to have been paid satisfactorily. However, Lady Loftus died in May 1639,⁴ and Wentworth requested Bramhall to settle local difficulties about the lease.⁵ In 1639 Sir George Wentworth, who had married Anne Ruish,⁶ paid the rent,⁷ and in March 1641 Jephson's widow, Sir George's mother-in-law, paid rent due at May 1640.⁸ No further payments were made before the outbreak of the rising.

No change was made in Temple's tenure of the remainder of Toaghy, the lease of 1614 not being due to expire until 1645. Maxwell's lease dating from 1632 also remained in force. The Caulfield lease of Colure was not due to expire until 1639. However he paid no rent after 1638 and it seems made no overtures towards renewal. In 1639 a lawyer was retained 'against my L'd Caulfield' but presumably his death in 1640 hampered proceedings.⁹ Furthermore, by 1638 it had been decided that John Harding, the nominated Fellow, should have a lease of this land.¹⁰

1. M.R., Shelf 2, Box 20, from packet 'Bonds, etc. 1595-1640'.
2. E. Berwick (ed.), *The Rawdon Papers*, (London, 1819), pp.24-26.
3. *Ibid.*, pp.27-29.
4. Lodge, *Peerage*, vii, 247; E. Berwick (ed.), *The Rawdon Papers*, pp. 42-6. Her husband died in October 1640 leaving one son who died in November 1640, and one daughter, born 1626. (Lodge, *ibid.*, p.247).
5. E. Berwick, (ed.), *The Rawdon Papers*, pp.45-46. The letter is not explicit.
6. *Ibid.*, p.45. See above, p.
7. Receipt Book 1625-80, f.25^v. This was in accordance with the lease.
8. *Ibid.*, f.26.^v
9. Bursar's Accounts, 1639, p.18. (Ante Room, Cupboard B, Shelf 3.).
10. General Registry from 1626, p.65.

Unlike Toaghy, Colure was an area which was planted with some British tenants, who were introduced by Caulfield the leaseholder. A list of these¹, preserves sixteen English names thirteen of which had not been mustered by Caulfield in c.1630.² In 1641 they petitioned the college stating their grievances as a result of Harding's substitution as leaseholder.³ They stated that they had been brought there by Caulfield 'being the first English tenants that ever dwelt thereon', with promises of permanent tenancies. Now for two years they had been in continuous 'suite' with Harding, Chappell, and some of the senior fellows. As a result of Caulfield's promises they claimed they had expended in building, hedging, and ditching 'the most p'te of their sev'all estates'. Should they now be turned out without compensation for these improvements the result would be the 'utter ruyne and destruction of att least twenty familyes'. Since Harding had begun to sue them 'a great parte' of the land had lain waste. They therefore petitioned the college, as their 'only anker and refuge', for security and fair terms. They also asked 'that... your Worppps. would be further pleased to make such order... that every man that inhabits on the said land may pay his own share and not some to pay all'.⁴ The demand was for individual tenancies with guarantees of security. We have no indication of any action by the college before the rising presented further problems, other than to send certain of the Fellows to collect the rent.⁵

1. M.R., Mahaffy collection, drawer G, in folder no 1.
2. B.M., Add. MS 4770, ff.43^v-4^v.
3. E.79 (document undated and unsigned).
4. Ibid.
5. Above, p. 526.

V. The administration of the estate.

A brief outline of the internal financial administration of the college is a necessary preliminary to this section. The college had a bursar, always a Fellow and elected annually whose duties were defined by the statutes. An auditor was also employed and the services of a lawyer were retained. The college accounts were transitional in form from the medieval to the modern in bookkeeping method.¹ They are primarily registers of day to day receipts and disbursements, and the extraction of precise statements of profit or loss, facilitated by double entry methods, is not easy. Bursarial fraudulence could be prevented, but an easy over-all picture of the state of the finances was not readily available. However provosts in our period were deeply concerned with income and expenditure. Temple's management of the college's finances was thorough and painstaking. In 1628 Bedell carried out a review of the finances from foundation, and drew up plans for retrenchment based on these findings.²

If the financial administration of the college posed problems, active and direct supervision of its land was fraught with difficulties. Although they leased on the whole to middlemen obliged to pay their rents at the college, the college nonetheless had duties and rights requiring estate personnel. These functions were those of a seneschal: keeping manorial courts; preserving natural resources; supervising tenants' fulfilment of conditions in their leases; defining mears and bounds and defending the

1. B.S. Yamey, H.C. Edey, and H.W. Thompson, Accounting in England and Scotland, 1543-1800 (London, 1963) provides a discussion, with sources, of the impact of Italian ideas on bookkeeping.
2. General Registry from 1626, pp. 19, 20, 24; P.B., 100 b; B.67; N.45.

property against the encroachments of neighbours. An absentee landlord would also require some chorographic or cartographical investigation of new property in virtually unknown territory.

In the immediate years after the 1610 grant the college was unlikely to be exempt from the uncertainties and difficulties confronting its fellow grantees. In 1613, before the lands were leased, we find them employing an agent on unspecified tasks in the north, especially in Toaghy, and expending for this purpose £23.¹ In 1614 he received £4,² and earlier, in the autumn of 1610 he received a payment of £2.³ About the background of this agent, a certain John Woodhouse, or Widdowes, subsequently an energetic estate official, little is known. In 1615 the professor of astronomy at Gresham College, London, in a scholarly letter to Ussher, asked him to convey his respects 'heartily' to Woodhouse stating that 'we have here long expected him'.⁴ In 1629 he was appointed seneschal of the three Ulster manors.⁵ Later, he produced two guides to Ireland with a map, one in 1647 entitled A Guide for Strangers in the Kingdom of Ireland... which also included a 'true relation' of the 'massacres' of 1641, and another, The Map of Ireland... in 1653, designed clearly for Cromwellian adventurers. Both were published in London.

Before his appointment in 1629, however, affairs were less systematic. In 1615 we find the college employing an Armagh man, Neale McTurlogh O'Neill,

1. Account Book, 1613-18, f.3^v (Ante Room, Cupboard B, Shelf 3). A messenger also received 7s. 6d. for carrying a letter to Sir James Hamilton (*ibid.*).
2. *Ibid.*, f.7^v.
3. P.B., 51.
4. C.R. Elrington, The whole works of the most Rev. James Ussher, xv, 88-90.
5. Below, p. 531.

as seneschal of its lands there,¹ presumably enjoying the profits of manor courts. To the college his function seems largely to have rested in preserving timber resources. In November 1615 Temple authorised him to permit an undertenant to cut 'some competent proporcion' of timber for his 'necessary' use 'provided that neither he nor any of his tenants sell thereof to others or make any wast in the woods'.² In 1617 another such agent, Brian O'Neill, appears as receiving a small sum from the college.³ He may have been a recent graduate or even a student because in 1617 a 'Bernarde Neile' received a stipend as 'a poore native'.⁴ In 1617 some of the fellows requested leave to go to Ulster to enquire after concealments.⁵

In 1618 the college initiated action leading to the grant of a new patent of the Ulster estate on 26 July 1619.⁶ Such action was paralleled in the behaviour of many undertakers in seeking regrants at this time. The only significant change was that the estate, formerly one manor, was now divided into three, called Toaghy, Slutmulrony, and Kilmacrenan. The real objective appears to have been to acquire the right to hold three manor courts, and the original power to keep one such

1. B.21; Temple's account book, 1615, f.2^v (Ante Room, Cupboard B, Shelf 3.).
2. B.21.
3. Bursar's Book, 1616-17, f.32 (Ante Room, Cupboard B, Shelf 3).
4. Account book, 1613-18, f.53^v (Ante Room, Cupboard B, Shelf 3).
He does not appear amongst the college alumni. However the registers of matriculants date only from 1638 and Burtchaell and Sadlier did not consult the accounts in their search for earlier students.
5. Above, p.
6. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1, pp.410-11 (incorrectly printed as a pardon of alienation); Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, p.254 (incorrectly dated as July 16). The recorded expenditure totals over £10, including £8 to the attorney-general for drawing up the patent (Account book, 1613-18, ff.68^v-9).

was surrendered on July 1.¹ There was obvious administrative wisdom in having three courts for three separate areas, also now no longer leased as one unit. However the outcome was a grant to John Temple, the provost's son who supervised the lands his father held from the college in Armagh and Fermanagh, of the office of steward or seneschal of manors of Toaghy and Slutmulrony. He was to enjoy the emoluments of the courts 'without rendreinge ... any accompt for the same'.²

In August 1629, before Bedell resigned, the seneschalship of the Ulster manors was formally granted to John Woodhouse.³ There had been obvious disadvantages in having as seneschal a person, John Temple, who was also a college tenant, and native Irish officials may have been considered unsatisfactory. Bedell was particularly anxious that Woodhouse should be appointed, as he indicated in a letter to Dr. Ward, master of Sydney College, Cambridge, in May.⁴

The counterpart of his grant of the appointment,⁵ as seneschal and surveyor, refers to the college's good opinion of him from others and especially from William Parsons.⁶ He was given power to hold courts in the three manors either himself or by deputy and to enjoy the fines and profits. In return he was to provide for the college, in parchment, a 'verum superiosum descripcionem et chorographiam' of the lands concerned, of Kilmacrenan and Slutmulrony within twelve months and of Toaghy within

1. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1, p.410.

2. E.55.

3. General Registry from 1626, p.24; P.B., 104.

4. C. McNeill, The Tanner Letters, p.88; E.S. Shuckburgh, Two Biographies of William Bedell, pp.297-8.

5. In Ante Room, Cupboard B, Shelf 5 (in Latin).

6. There is no indication as to what was the nature of Woodhouse's association with the surveyor-general.

seven years. He was also to return regularly the rolls and records of the courts. This does not necessarily imply that he was to make maps (though a contemporary translation of his grant states that he was)¹ and if he did none have survived amongst the college papers. However, there is an undertaking under his hand, in September 1630, in which he states that he is about to 'take a surveye' of the college lands in Ulster and will not reveal any concealments to any but the provost and fellows.² Some indication that maps were produced is provided by the fact that five maps of the Ulster estate were in existence in 1653.³ It may well be, then, that Woodhouse should join Raven as one of the founders of the Irish estate map tradition.

It is clear at any rate that Woodhouse was active and energetic as college agent. He immediately set about the recovery of college concealments from encroaching neighbours, particularly urgent at a time when the Ulster undertakers were taking out new patents. Woodhouse also made forceful charges against the Temples.⁴ He asserted that Sir William 'would do nothing' to recover any concealed land for the college. His expose of John Temple's behaviour amounted to a cogent questioning of the advisability of appointing as seneschal a person who was also a

1. T.C.D., MS 1. 4. 28., p.7.
2. N.50. The lease of Slutmulrony to Sir John Temple in 1638 reserved the right for the college's surveyor and his attendants to 'view, survey, and measure' the lands demised (In box of college leases under D).
3. A.iv/c. They were removed from the college trunk at this time along with the grant to Woodhouse and other documents relating to the Ulster estate, for consultation, by the then bursar. This was before the Down Survey, it is unlikely that they were part of the 1609 survey, and there is no indication that any other cartographer had been employed. The same document also refers to another lost map of college lands in Munster.
4. C.41.

college middleman:

It is not saffe for the College to make their tennant seneshall for then they shall never be able to come upon the lands to enquire nor shall ever know the trew statte of theire lands, neither can punish any misdeamaner of selling of woods or wast, enquire of encheechmts, prosecute any suits, but be helld mere strangers to theire owne and never shall be able to discover anything to them.¹

He also asserted that the Temple's had done nothing to improve the lands they held in Armagh and Fermanagh. He claimed that in Slutmulrony (the Fermanagh lands)

their is not one good house upon thirty four tatts nor any house built at theire charg, in Toaghy only a tennant hath built a house, but the said Lady and Mr. Temple's tennants have wasted all the timber woods with theire consents, and the lands of S'mulrony inhabited with kerne, and in Towaghy Patrick O'Quine whose sons with others² were the principall woodkerne of Ulster and the Connylies in Mullrony.³

Woodhouse's recorded activities largely concerned the Fermanagh lands and a struggle with the Temples over the right to hold courts and so may only be mentioned in passing here. However in Armagh he recovered small portions of college land from both the primate and Lord Caulfield.⁴ As to the Fermanagh lands Woodhouse claimed that the Temples and their tenants and a neighbouring undertaker, Flowerdew, were in league to have some concealed land amongst the college estate granted in a patent to Flowerdew. Woodhouse, on behalf of the college, sought protection from the deputy and council, which was given, after acrimony, in limited terms, and later, in 1632, had the matter also brought before the English privy council.⁵ In his attempt to recover the right to hold courts from the

1. Ibid.

2. Document indecipherable. Woodhouse's hand is difficult and his reports are all undated.

3. C.41. 4. C.41; N.54.

5. C.41; D.30; E.60, 80; F.60/a, 66; General Registry from 1626, p.23; Marsh's Library, Dublin, Z4. 2. 6, f.730.

Temple's, he pursued a suit in chancery in 1630 and 1631.¹ Allegations were made on both sides that the college woods were being wasted, Temple's supporters, the O'Connellys, asserting that Brian O'Neill, now deputy to Woodhouse as seneschal of Slutmulrony, disposed of timber for profit and he making counter assertions.² While these problems arose largely with reference to the Fermanagh lands, it is likely that to some degree the college estate in Armagh was similarly affected.³ Woodhouse certainly pursued his struggle with the Temples with vigour.⁴ He was also involved in a variety of other activities, for example, in the recovery of college advowsons,⁵ and in negotiations over leases.⁶

Woodhouse, then, is a person of some interest, tough and versatile. Such people were increasingly necessary as landlordism took root, and Woodhouse is one of the few about whom details survive. It is regrettable that the maps, in existence in 1653, which may well have been his, are not now available as examples of one of the rarer by-products of Irish landlordism in this period. This section has attempted to outline the problems of an absentee institutional landlord in administering its Ulster estate, examining the personnel and methods employed.

1. General Registry from 1626, p.29; P.R.O.I., strong room, Chancery index to ancient pleadings, 1629-34, Bills, no 10,517.
2. D.27,34; E.65, 69; N.55.
3. Certainly the college lands in Donegal were (see E.69; Articles between Provost Chappell, etc. and Woodhouse (Box of college leases under D))
4. He claimed that he had been threatened with physical violence by Thomas Temple and his man in 'the Coomb' in Dublin (c.41).
5. See, for example, T.C.D., MS 1. 4. 28, p.34; also E.38, 39, 39/b, c, d, e, 44.
6. N.58.

VI Conclusion

It can be seen that the condition of the college land in Armagh (as elsewhere in Ulster) was not profoundly affected by the change in ownership. The college originally received its lands under obligation to plant British tenants but proved incapable of fulfilling this obligation, and either it or its influential chief tenant Sir James Hamilton, procured permission to retain the native Irish as tenants. It thus, in effect, changed from being an undertaker-type to a servitor-type grantee. The college had difficulties with its early leasing arrangements - themselves a cause of controversy within the institution -, both Sir James Hamilton and Sir James Carroll, to whom Hamilton transferred a lease of the greater part of the Ulster estate, leaving sums of rent unpaid. It was only by about 1618 that a leasing policy involving a small number of substantial middlement had been evolved. In adopting such a resort it was opting for a similar policy to that favoured by the London companies in Londonderry, with whom it had many similarities. Its leases to these middlemen, however, were almost entirely for twenty-one years whereas the London companies mostly leased for fifty to sixty-year terms.¹ Its leasings bear somewhat less comparison with the practice of the archbishopric of Armagh which while it did make leases to substantial British tenants who held however, as a result of government permission, for sixty-year terms, also leased directly, though decreasingly throughout our period, to native Irish occupiers. The bishopric of Kilmore relied much more exclusively on British chief tenants who received sixty-year leases.

1. T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, pp.446-7.

There was some slight overlap in tenants in Armagh between the college and the archbishopric, but the college, unlike the archbishopric, had no overlap in tenants in Armagh with the Londoners. Both archbishopric and college in the 1630s accepted government - favoured tenantry. While the government did intervene in promoting specific tenants for college leases in the 1630s, it did not intervene on behalf of the college, as it did in the case of the Ulster bishops at this time, in any general scheme for the re-leasing of its lands. The college, in fact, with its moderate intentions to improve its lands, often got caught up in a number of situations in which private influences on the government affected, or indeed actively acted against, its policies. In its capitulation of these influences, the government was not acting in the interests of the plantation policy.

close to half the lands which were for the most part located within the tithes and archbishopric lands, no such requirements were required.

The patents did not make it obligatory for the bishops to plant British tenants,¹ but certain conditions were offered to them to do this, in the kind of tithes they were allowed to hold. The then bishops, though not their successors, were permitted to lease sixty-year leases to British tenants of the tithes and archbishopric lands.² This was a partial relaxation of the rule defined in England by act of parliament in 1534³

1. Above, pp. 17-18.
 2. This is based on the patent granted to the archbishop of Armagh on 5 September 1610 (Armagh Public Library, Armagh Papers, 30.60-16). See above chapter 10.
 3. Above, pp. 44-51. - The alternative suggestion that the bishops should exchange land with the clergy - who were obliged to exchange land - was also not required.
 4. See above, pp. 50-7.
 5. Armagh Public Library, Armagh Papers, p. 105.
 6. C. Hill, European problems of the church, pp. 14-15.

I Introductory

The decision in 1610¹ to grant the termon and errenach lands to the bishops settled one of the most contentious problems with which the planners of the colony were faced. The lands the bishops received in their patents in that year included also very much smaller amounts of land traditionally appertaining to their sees, their mensal property. The land was all granted in free alms. In return for the grant of lands they were required to surrender their impropriations and rights of tithes. This should be done in a form satisfactory to the English or Irish governments, the incomes to be surrendered to come to the respective parish clergy.² Although it had been suggested that the bishops should surrender land for glebe so that the incumbents might have glebe land close to their churches which were for the most part located within the termon and errenach lands, no such surrenders were required.³

The patents did not make it obligatory for the bishops to plant British tenants,⁴ but certain inducements were offered to them to do this, in the kinds of leases they were allowed to make. The then bishops, though not their successors, were permitted to make sixty-year leases to British tenants of the termon and errenach lands.⁵ This was a special relaxation of the rule defined in England by act of parliament in 1559⁶

1. Above, pp. 17-18.

2. This is based on the patent granted to the archbishop of Armagh on 6 September 1610 (Armagh Public Library, Armagh Papers, pp.65-116). See above chapter 10.

3. Above, pp.446-51. The alternative suggestion that the bishops should exchange land with the clergy - who were allotted escheated land - was also not required.

4. See above, pp.506-7.

5. Armagh Public Library, Armagh Papers, p.105.

6. C. Hill, Economic problems of the church, pp.14-15.

and applied to Ireland by proclamation in 1609¹ forbidding the leasing of ecclesiastical land for longer periods than twenty-one years or three lives. These sixty-year leases might only be made to British tenants, the bishops might not demise any of this land to the 'mere Irish' for longer than twenty-one years or three lives. The rent to tenants, British or Irish, was to be not less than £4 per quarter. Mensal land might not be leased by the then bishops or their successors for longer than their incumbencies.² Should the bishops make leases contravening any of these conditions, and not revoke them within three years, the lands so demised should revert to the king.³

II Extent of lands, and government policy to 1634.

The extent to which the archbishopric of Armagh benefitted from the granting of the termon and errenach lands was brought home to another institution competing for the royal bounty, Trinity College, when the college received less land in Armagh than it had expected. The temporalities with which the archbishopric was thus endowed or had re-confirmed by patent to Henry Ussher in September 1610⁴ were spread throughout each county in the diocese, both in Ulster and the Pale, forming nine manors. The manor of Armagh, made up of the town of Armagh, the lands in the county, and the termon lands of Clonfeacle in Tyrone is, in effect,

1. Steele, Tudor & Stuart proclam., ii. 19; Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, pp.238-9. The proclamation was re-issued in 1617 (Steele, Tudor & Stuart proclam., ii. 22). The object was to prohibit the making of long leases by bishops without regard for their successors.
2. This throws light on Bedell's dispute with the widow of his predecessor (above, pp.482-3).
3. Armagh Public Library, Armagh Papers, pp.65-116.
4. Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry [henceforth in this chapter Registry], A. 1a. no. 7; A.1b.no.25, pp.53-62 (volume of transcripts); Armagh Public Library [henceforth in this chapter Library], Meath Papers, pp.65-116.

the subject of this chapter.¹ Fishing rights on the Blackwater were also granted.

The lands in Armagh were extensive, almost 48,000 acres, some 15% of the total area of the county.² The archbishopric thus received three times as much land as the Scottish undertakers, and about three-quarters of the extent given to English undertakers. Because of the nature of the grant, it did not form a coherent block, but lay in patchwork fashion throughout the entire county.³ The conditions under which these lands might be leased have already been outlined.

The leasing of the lands, however, both of the archbishopric and of other Ulster bishops (notably those of the bishopric of Derry), became a subject of dispute with allegations that the bishops were attempting to demise them either in perpetuity or on very long leases to the advantage of their own families. Accordingly the king intervened in April 1612 to protect the endowments of the church from 'contempt and diminution', instructing Chichester to restrain the archbishop from such action on pain of extreme royal displeasure.⁴ It appears that Henry Ussher had only been restrained from making a fee farm grant of 'the whole primacy' for £1,500 per annum by the intervention of the dean under the confirm-

1. The town has been examined separately, above pp.357-73. The Tyrone lands are excluded. There are difficulties in studying the Armagh lands separately, because in the archbishop's accounts they are not usually treated as a manorial unit, and tenants often held lands in more than one county.
2. This acreage figure does not include the territory of Derrynoose (almost 6,000 acres) which although granted in 1610 was surrendered to the dean in 1612. For the circumstances see above, pp.453-6.
3. See maps of Armagh accompanying this thesis.
4. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp.264-5. See also 'Chichester Letter-Book' no. 7, in Analecta Hibernica, vii.

atory powers of the dean and chapter.¹ It may be noted that the provost of Trinity College favoured making a similar fee-farm grant of the college lands at this time.²

In October 1612 the king, still conscious of the 'pernicious' behaviour of the Ulster bishops, sent Chichester rules and instructions to be followed by them in lease-making. All unconfirmed leases of the archbishop of Armagh, prejudicial to the bishopric, were to be surrendered, to be re-leased according to the restrictions in his patent. On account of the uncertainty of area estimates of lands in Armagh and Tyrone, land there should be let only by the acre, of the measure of the Pale. The better profitable land should be leased at no less than 1s. 4d. per English acre, and all profitable land at no less than 1s. per acre, 200 acres to be the most leased to any one man, and the tenant to be obliged to keep one-third in tillage if tillable. One year's rent over and above the yearly rent, should be paid to each archbishop's successor provided the previous episcopate had been of seven full years duration. Woods, fairs, markets, courts or fisheries should not be leased for longer than an episcopate. The preservation of woods from wastage was enjoined. British tenants should be required to have adequate arms for defence, and to live together in villages. All lettings by the archbishop should have the confirmation of the dean and chapter.³

1. Registry, A.1b.no.31, Walter Dawson's rent roll, 1713, p.11; Lodge Peerage, iii.390. Chichester stated in 1612 that he had broken a lease made by the archbishop 'not many years after the ending of the wars' for sixty-one years of see land to Sir Toby Caulfield, procuring for Caulfield instead a twenty-one year lease of the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul ('Chichester Letter-Book' no. 28, in Analecta Hibernica, viii). Since Caulfield's lease of the abbey land was made in 1607 (above, p. 32), this must refer to an earlier controversy.
2. Above, pp.501-5.
3. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp.295-8.

In February 1613 Chichester informed the archbishop of Canterbury that he had acquainted Ussher with these directions. He gave it as his own opinion that, for the 'furtherance of the ... plantation ... and that the lands of the church should be ... well built and firmly improv'd and maintained' and given the state of Ulster which was not 'yet much different from [that] of Scythia and Barbary', it was wise that episcopal land should be leased for sixty years (or more) to men 'of fashion and of fortune'. He advised that the bishop's tenants should be pressed to increase their rents from £4 (the figure stated in the patents) to £6 a quarter, and that the bishops be pressed to re-build or build their see houses.¹

The death of Henry Ussher in 1613 and the appointment of Christopher Hampton, a Cambridge D.D., brought the episcopal property again into prominence and was the occasion of a regrant. The conditions of this were established by a king's letter of 30 May 1614.² This recited that Ussher in his patent of 1610 had been empowered - 'to the end the said lands being for the most part waste and depopulated might be the better planted and inhabited' - on the first occasion of leasing to make leases for sixty years of all except mensal land to English or Scots' tenants. It stated that Hampton had negotiated with his tenants to surrender their previous leases and to increase their rents upon condition of having regrants for sixty years. The regrant, it was stated, was required because owing to the 'imbeselinge or carelesse keepings of the ancient charters' of the see, a great part of its lands was 'unjustly deteyned'

1. 'Chichester Letter-Book' no. 46, in Analecta Hibernica, viii.
2. Registry, A.1b.no.26, Evidences of the see of Armagh [John Lodge transcripts: henceforth Evidences], p.50; Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp.479-81; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.275.

by other people. The new patent should empower Hampton, though not any of his successors, to make sixty-year leases (except of the mensal lands) to English or Scots, and leases for three lives or twenty-one years of any part of the property to English, Scots, or Irish, the rents not to be under £6 or £8 for each quarter or four balliboes. The regrant followed on 25 Feb. 1615.¹

Further cause of dissatisfaction to the king - in Hampton's leasing policy - came to light in 1619 perhaps as a result of inquiries at the time of Pynnar's survey. It was found that Hampton's leases had contained a provisoe that if at any time there should be any 'rebellion, hostilitie, or open warres in or neere the demised lands' whereby the lessee should be unable to collect the profits, he should not be compelled to pay his rent to the archbishop. This was considered ample justification for forfeiture, and the archbishop was required to surrender his patent and take out a regrant. The tenants were also to surrender their defective leases and have them renewed for the remainder of their terms.² As a result of these instructions the procedures of surrender and regrant were again exercised, leading to a new patent on 3 July 1620.³

These surrenders and regrants had been largely the result of royal intervention arising from irregularities in the leasing arrangements. In Nov. 1630 the archbishop received further royal permission to have a regrant.⁴ This was an attempt on the part of James Ussher, who succeeded

1. Registry, A.2c. no.9 (original patent); Evidences, p.52; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, pp.273-4. In Nov. 1617 an exemplification of this patent was procured (Registry, A.1a. no.8).
2. Registry, Evidences, pp.52-4; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.435.
3. Original in Armagh Public Library; Registry, Evidences, pp.54-78; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, pp.477-9.
4. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32, p.587.

Hampton in 1624, to protect the episcopal property at a time when the undertakers as a whole were renewing their titles, by acquiring a new and definitive patent of the estate. No immediate action was taken until May 1633 when the king wrote to Wentworth stating that he had been informed by the archbishop that the impreciseness in naming, distinguishing, and measuring the lands farming his estate had caused difficulties for his tenants and could make for ill-feeling with neighbouring landowners. He accordingly ordered the lord deputy to issue a commission of inquiry to define the estate in precise and exact terms.¹ The deputy concurred² and a detailed topographical inventory of the Armagh lands was returned by inquisition in September.³ The regrant followed in June 1634.⁴ The official history of the see property thus reveals many parallels with the civilian planters.

III Leasing policy and profits of the lands in Armagh to 1634.

Up to the changes which the plantation inaugurated the archdiocese of Armagh was divided into two units, inter anglicos and inter hibernicos, highlighting its dual character being in part in the north of the island where Irish traditions prevailed, and part in the Pale or area of Anglo-Norman permeation. From the fourteenth century when they became invariably of non-Gaelic tradition, the primates seldom went outside the territory inter anglicos leaving the northern segment to be served and administered by clergy and officials of Gaelic birth. This clear-cut distinction

1. Sheffield City Library, Strafford MSS, vol. iv, pp.20-22. Registry, Evidences, pp.92-4; Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, p.10.
2. Strafford's letters, i.172.
3. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Armagh (20) Chas I.
4. Registry, A.1a. no.13 (original patent); Evidences, pp.94-108.

was also marked in the primate's lands and revenues and an Irish official was maintained to administer the northern property. The income accruing from the Ulster lands was highly traditional and complex, the precise annual returns being obscure. It was also subject to diminution through political vicissitudes, raids and incursions, refusals to pay, affected by the tensions and turmoils of the sixteenth century Ulster situation. The task of the 'Irish official', however familiar with the local background, was not an easy one.¹ In 1591 the then custodian of the office was described by Hugh O'Neill as a 'poore old man of four score and seventeen years of age'.² The dislocation of the nine years' war must have brought added difficulties, so that the rights of the archbishopric had to be established almost de novo by the inquiry of 1609. The income from these Ulster lands on the eve of colonisation cannot be established owing to the disappearance or very partial survival of rentals.³ In 1606 an attempt was made to re-order the see finances, and a rental of that date existed in James Ussher's time. Ussher examined and listed the 'rentalta antiqua',⁴ but little of the documentation which he mobilised had survived. However, it was only with the new dispensation for the Ulster church which accompanied the plantation that the finances of the northern portion of the see were reorganised effectively. The outright granting of the termon lands under the plantation revolutionised the income the archbishop could expect.

1. A. Gwynn, The medieval province of Armagh, pp.73-101.
2. J.B. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes, p.33.
3. Registry, A.2a. no 28 ff.1-28 comprises certain delapidated extracts from sixteenth century rentals but these do not provide any basis for assessing income.
4. *Ibid.*, f.28.

The first surviving rental of the plantation period dates from 1615.¹ It thus serves as a basis against which to examine changes, notably the progressive elimination of Irish tenants, in the succeeding twenty-five years. It can best be examined by taking each area of episcopal land separately.

In Clanaul there were forty ballyboes of which only four were in English hands, held by a certain Richard Lenton for sixty years at £16 per annum. The remainder of the area, twenty-nine tenancies was in the hands of the previous Irish occupants,² holding usually one ballyboe each and not more than two, either for life, for the duration of the primacy, or for twenty-one years. Their rents ranged from £5³ to £7 per ballyboe per annum, the predominating figure being £6 or £2 higher than that paid by the one English tenant who also enjoyed a longer lease. The Irish tenants, with a small number of temporary exceptions also paid duties annually.⁴ The total of rent payable was £232. 18. 0. per annum. In one case two townlands were leased to a family group (the O'Corrs), otherwise individual rather than joint tenancies were the norm.⁵

In Tynan four of six ballyboes were held by an ex-serviceman, Lieutenant Robert Cowell⁶ for sixty years at £20 rent. The remainder was

1. Registry, A.2a. no.28/10 'Liber supervisor de anno 1615 pro ter du primat'. The official plantation surveys do not deal with episcopal estates.
2. The families of O'Donnelly, O'Lappan, O'Conree, O'Connor, McConnor, O'Hahy, McGrory, O'Corr, O'Finn, O'Brenigan, O'Cromy, Cullen, McBrioge, O'Neill, and O'Donnellan.
3. For one year only, afterwards £6.
4. At the rate of '1 ox, 2 fat muttoms, 4 hens, 1 fat hog, 1 barrel of barley, 1 barrel of oats and 40 loads of wood' per townland.
5. Registry, A.2a. no.28/10, pp.4-11.
6. He held a pension from the crown (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, pp. 153, 279), and had land in Monaghan and also apparently in Down (Armagh Public Library, W. Reeves, Memoirs of Tynan (MS vol., unfoliated)).

in the hands of five members of the McCassey family, paying £12 per annum.¹

Of thirteen ballyboes in Clanconchy in the Fews seven were in Irish and six in non-Irish hands. The old Irish tenants, five in number, were McCaddans, O'Neills, McKernans, and O'Fynns. Their rents ranged from £5 - £8 per ballyboe with duties as in Clanaul.² Four of the remaining townlands were held by Richard Fitzsimmonds, also a Cavan landowner, and Andrew Hamlin, old English merchants from Drogheda.³ One of the remaining two tenants held for 60 years. Their rents ranged from £5 to £6. The total rent was at least £82 per annum.⁴

Also in the Fews, the two territories of Ballymoire and Ballymacoan, each eight ballyboes, can be examined together. Here there were no British tenants. In Ballymoire rents were as high as £9 per ballyboe with services and duties (excluding timber) in addition. Most of the land was held by the errenach family, the McImoyres, but there were also McMurphy, McGohigan, and McDonnell tenants. It appears that only one held by lease - for twenty-one years. From five tenancies, four of them joint ones, an annual income of £68. 6. 8. was due. Five ballyboes in Ballymacoan were held by the traditional McCoan occupants, not apparently by lease, the remainder being in McMurphy hands. The rent was £56, an average of £7 per ballyboe. Services and duties were also required.⁵

In Oneilland, Kilmore, ten ballyboes, was entirely in native Irish hands - O'Hagans, O'Halligans, O'Collons, O'Quins and O'Farrans. The

1. Registry, A.2a. no 28/10, pp.10-11.

2. In some cases ten days work with a man and garran (Irish horse) was also stipulated.

3. For Fitzsimmonds's connexion with the Londonderry plantation see Moody, Londonderry plantation, pp.151, 173.

4. Registry, A.2a. no. 28/10, pp.12-15.

5. Ibid., pp.16-17.

total rent was £55 or £5. 10. 0. per ballyboe, with duties and services also required.¹

Doughmunter - cullen (or Clonfeacle) in Armagh barony was made up of some seven ballyboes. The ownership of one was disputed by and in the occupation of Sir Toby Caulfield. Half of the remainder was in English hands, as yet without lease, the rest being held by the original O'Cullen occupants. Rents ranged from £6. 6. 8. (to the English tenants) to £7 (to the Irish), the total being £40. 13. 4.²

In Toaghy, in the same barony, the archbishop held thirteen ballyboes. Four of these were in English hands for 60 and 61 year periods at £4. 10. 0. per townland, and Sir James Ware, the auditor general, appears to have been interested at this stage in leasing two others. The remaining nine ballyboes were in Irish hands, being held by the local families of Coffy, McCoddan, O'Neill, and O'Donnelly, at rents ranging from £5 to £6 per annum, with duties and services, one tenant holding for twenty-one years, the remainder being either for unspecified or brief periods. The total rent was £68.³

At this time the whole area of Cossvoy, eight and two-thirds ballyboes, also in Armagh barony, was held by two British tenants, John Browne and George Chambers the latter subsequently an official of the archbishop, at approximately £4 per ballyboe. The total rent was £34. 13. 4.⁴ The condition of Coscallen or Slutmellaghlin, in the same barony, also eight and two-thirds ballyboes, is more obscure, but it

1. *Ibid.*, pp.18-19.

2. *Ibid.*, pp.20-21.

3. *Ibid.*, pp.22-3.

4. *Ibid.*, pp.24-5. Browne was also obliged to provide timber.

appears that only one ballyboe was in English hands - Chambers's - much of the remainder being held by descendants of Turlogh Brassilogh O'Neill. The rent for 7 ballyboes was £34, the remainder seemingly being occupied without payment.¹

Five ballyboes in Derrybroccas, in Oneilland, two of which were leased to an English tenant at £9 per annum, returned £26. The remainder was held by the O'Fullan family, though it seems Sir Edward Dodington also had an interest in part of this land.² Two townlands in Oneilland - Drumcree - were held by an Irish tenant at £10 per annum.³

For the remaining segments of archiepiscopal land in the county the rental only provides a very partial coverage. For one of these, the area around the town of Armagh, many complications exist to make summary treatment difficult. Some of this was held in demesne and so not accounted for in the rental. Some was let in small parcels, which are not easily identified, and place name changes make reconstruction problematical. Also some of this land was held by townsmen and their rents are not easily differentiated. In 1615 much of this was let from year to year, especially that in Irish hands. The more substantial tenants were Solomon Coffey, Owen oge O'Mellan, and Tady and Patrick Crawley (or Croly), native Irish residents, Sir Edward Dodington (then also an official of the archbishop), Matthew Ussher, burgess of the town and mill-keeper, and Rev. Thomas Crant, chancellor of the cathedral.⁴ From the area accounted for a sum in excess of £63. 13. 4. was due.⁵

Remaining segments of archbishop's lands in Armagh - Munterheyney

1. *Ibid.*, pp.24-5.

2. *Ibid.*, pp.25-6.

3. *Ibid.*, pp.26-7.

4. J.B. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes, pp. 37, 85, 182.

5. Registry, A.2a. no. 28/10, pp.32-4.

(six ballyboes) in Orior and small areas in Oneilland and Armagh baronies - were not remunerative. An area, in Oneilland, it was noted, was 'withheld' by the adjoining undertaker Dillon. The fishing rights on the Blackwater were also as yet unleased.

From this analysis of the 1615 rental certain general conclusions can be drawn. The total of rent due from the county which is clearly accounted for was £803. 4. 8. The value of duties¹ as well as income from the land unaccounted for must have made for an income of some £850. The amount of see land still in Irish hands greatly outweighed that granted to British tenants. For those Irish tenants of mensal land the plantation had thus not so far been revolutionary, for those of the original occupants of the termon and erranach lands the new dispensation had brought an altering of status.

The origin of the British tenants is also of some interest. Thus we find a number of ex-servicemen, Cowell, perhaps Chambers, and Sir Edward Dodington, a tenant and official to the archbishop, as he was also to one of the London companies in the west of the province. Tenants, Fitzsimonds and Hamlin, had been recruited from Drogheda, from the inter anglicos, and there was also a relative of the archbishop, Matthew Ussher.² There were a number of tenants of obvious recent arrival, though how they had been secured is not clear. These included Scots as well as English, the latter predominating.

The earliest surviving leases to British tenants of lands in Armagh

1. In the rental of 1622 the duties from the mensal lands in Clanaul were valued at £23. 12. 6. (Registry, B.1b. no. 193, p.5).
2. Son of archbishop Henry Ussher.

3. In November 1632 Thomas Dering, then of Armagh, Londonderry was empowered to prosecute for iron ore in the area that is Armagh of the episcopal estate (Library, in his 'The History of Armagh').

made by Hampton, date from June - Nov. 1615.¹ All were for terms of sixty years, and included the forbidden provisoe that during any time of war affecting the use of the land granted the rent should be remitted.² The tenancies varied in size, the largest (Kilmore) being ten townlands, none smaller than two. This was in breach of the regulation that land should be leased by the acre, no unit to be larger than 200 acres. The leases contained building stipulations. Tenants were required to build 'English-like houses of bricks, stone, or framed timber' or 'stronge and well tymbered copled or Englishlike houses' and plant in them English families who should take the oath of supremacy and attend divine service. These should be built within five years, or in two cases two years. Usually each lessee was required to build no more than one such house (and plant one tenant), though the joint lessees of Kilmore covenanted to erect two. Some leases also required the lessee to oblige his tenants to live nearby and form a village. The tenants should perambulate the mears and bounds of their lands each year and certify all encroachments to the steward of the manor court. Each tenant should have ready one 'light horse' and man armed to attend the primate when required in time of war in Ireland and for ten days at his own cost. The tenant might fell timber and quarry stones or gravel for building on the lands, but otherwise all timber trees, quarries, and mines were reserved to the archbishop.³ Manorial incidents, suit of court and use of the landlord's

1. Library, MSS Room, in box 'old leases of primate's'. Although the government commissioners in 1622 did not report on the episcopal estates, they took note of the provisions in the primate's leases (N.L.I., Rich papers, MS 8013/9).
2. Above, p. 542. This provides an interesting local commentary on the war scare of 1615.
3. In November 1632 Thomas Dawson, then of Moyola, Londonderry was empowered to prospect for iron ore in one area (not in Armagh) of the episcopal estate (Library, in box 'old leases of primate's').

mill also featured. While some of the leases may have been renewals of previous ones,¹ many clearly were of lands previously in Irish hands, and it is of interest that these were concluded more than one year after Trinity College had leased its lands to middlemen.² It is clear that the Irish tenants in Clanau! had also a leasehold tenure granted by Hampton or his predecessor, holding either for the duration of the primacy, for life, or for twenty-one years.

The effect of Hampton's leases can be examined by using a rental which was included with the visitation return of 1622,³ taken in conjunction with a slightly later rental to which elaborate notes were added by archbishop James Ussher, c.1627,⁴ which shows the situation when Ussher succeeded Hampton. The most striking change had been in the influx of British tenants and in the increasing size of holdings.⁵

The twenty-four townlands of mensal land in Clanau! remained substantially in Irish hands. An Englishman had acquired one townland from an O'Lappan (and refused to pay duties), and Conn McTurlogh O'Neills' lands had passed to Robert Hovendon, the semi-gaelicised relative of the family.⁶ Also the fishing had been leased to the Rev. Crant for £6 per annum. The yearly duties, it was noted, for these townlands yielded £23. 12. 6. However fifteen of the sixteen townlands not mensal were now in the hands of five non-Irish tenants - one clerical (Crant), two from

1. See above, p. 540.
2. Above, p. 504.
3. Registry, B.1b. no. 193, pp.1-25.
4. Registry, A.2a. no. 28/13.
5. Difficulties arise in that tenants often held lands in different areas and sometimes different counties, and neither the rents for townlands in any one area nor the names of places held are stated in these rentals, which are in a delapidated condition.
6. Above, p.335.

Drogheda (called Earlsman¹) - under sixty-year leases from 1615 and after. This change in tenantry had not increased the rent, in fact sixty-year English leaseholders paid more than £1 per townland less than their Irish neighbours. The total annually one was £231. 10. 0; it was £232. 18. 0 in 1615 when the fishing was not leased.²

In Tynan the arrival of one new British tenant reduced the amount held by the O'Caseys to one ballyboe. The rent was approximately £31.³ In Clanconchy also only one ballyboe remained in Irish hands. One of the new tenants was Thomas Dawson, burgess of Armagh. The rent was now £69, a decrease on the 1615 figure.⁴ Ten of thirteen ballyboes in Toaghy were in British hands, including Dawson and a relative of Hampton's, the rent being now reduced to £53. 1. 0 per annum.⁵

Apart from the lands around the town of Armagh these were the only areas in which Irish tenants remained. Elsewhere the interval had seen the depression of all direct Irish tenants. Both Ballymoire and Ballymacoan had been leased for sixty years to George Fairfax, the energetic seneschal to the archbishop in the later 1620s. The rent, which was also for one ballyboe near Armagh, was £114. 6. 8., or more than £10 less than when held by Irish tenants.⁶ The territory of Kilmore was similarly in English hands, those of Francis and Christopher Hampton, relatives of the archbishop, at a rent, £40, which was substantially lower than the £55 previously receivable from Irish tenants.⁷ The

1. He was a 'servant' of the archbishop's.

2. Registry, B.1b. no.193, pp.4-5; A.2a. no.28/13, pp.8-12, 44-5.

3. *Ibid.*, p.6; *ibid.*, pp.12, 45.

4. *Ibid.*, pp.6-7; *ibid.*, pp.13-14, 45.

5. *Ibid.*, pp.8-9; *ibid.*, pp.16-17, 46-7.

6. *Ibid.*, p.7; *ibid.*, p.14.

7. *Ibid.*, p.7; *ibid.*, pp.15, 45.

English tenants of Clonfeacle, who included a Hampton relative, held at £4 per ballyboe paying in all £29 a year.¹ Munterheyney, six ballyboes, had been leased to the servitor Charles Poyntz, at £18.² Cossvoy and Coscallen were both in 1622 held by British tenants, Chambers and Browne, the latter having by 1627 sold his tenancy to the Rev. John Symonds, rector of Armagh. The combined rent, £68. 13. 4., was only slightly lower than that of 1615.³ Derrybroccas had come into the hands of an English family,⁴ and Drumcree had passed from a previous English tenant to the Rev. Alan Cooke.⁵

The area around the town continued in the 1620's to be held in small or irregular portions, on a much less systematic basis. This situation pertained to some degree right up to 1641.⁶ For a part of the area there is a simple explanation in the decision to allocate land in ten acre blocks to houses to be erected under a building-lease scheme in the town.⁷ Land so reserved was let during pleasure, pending the arrival of applicants under the scheme. Its abortiveness ensured the continuance of temporary letting arrangements. Also it was likely that much of the traditional pattern of landholding in this area of long-standing church land should

1. Ibid., p.8; ibid., pp.15, 46. Sir Toby Caulfield was by 1627 paying rent for a disputed area.
2. Ibid., p.8; ibid., pp.16, 46.
3. Ibid., p.9; ibid., pp.18, 47.
4. Ibid., pp.9-10; ibid., pp.18, 47.
5. A.2a. no.28/13, p.18. On Cooke's connexion with Cavan see above, pp.381-2.
6. Some of these lettings are of interest:
In 1616 two portions of the demesne were let for one year to Crant (for meadow) and to Tady and Patrick Crawley (for blowing) (Registry, A. 2a. 28/10, p.34). This arrangement continued from year to year.
In 1628 £3.8.0 was received for 'grass cut' on the 'Wast' (or unlet) lands, totalling 17 ac. 2 roods, in the new demesnes from five tenants, the four named being English (Registry A.2a.28/20,p.10).
7. Above, pp. 559.

survive, its contiguity to the town ensuring some degree of fragmentation. At the same time the plantation brought changes. Hampton designated some 200 acres as 'new demesnes' for the support of a re-built see house. Also episcopal officials and British townsmen as well as clergy began to acquire leases of land near the town. Thus apart from the small number who took out building leases and acquired associated small areas, pieces of land came into the hands of Sir Edward Dodington, Thomas Dawson, George Fairfax, Richard Chappell, and George Chambers, all at one time or other officials of the archbishop; and clergy - Crant and Symonds. The 1622 rental suggests a sum of about £163 as the income from this area, that of 1627 about £156. Some indication of how much remained in Irish hands can be seen from the fact that about £73 was due from Irish tenants.¹

It is clear, then, that the leases of 1615 had introduced system into the letting of the episcopal lands away from the Armagh liberties, area, much of which had come into British hands for sixty-year periods. That this involved a decrease in rent returns is also apparent, £4 and £5 per ballyboe being the usual leasing figures for British tenants. In 1615 a substantial area of the estate in Armagh (excluding the city, the liberties, and Munterheyney which was then unremunerative) returned annually £739. 11. 4; after the leasings to British had taken effect no more than £667. 0. 4. was annually due. While the leases included building and other obligations, part of the explanation may well lie in Hampton's taking of entry fines from incoming tenants.²

1. Registry, B.1b.no.193, pp.1-3; A.2a. no.28/13, pp.1-7.

2. Hampton's taking of fines was mentioned in 1635 when it was proposed that a clause forbidding this practice should be inserted in a new patent which was never taken out (Registry, A.1b.128, no.7).

The total income from land in Armagh in 1622 was £871. 10. 5.¹ This remained substantially unchanged² until radically altered by government intervention in the middle 1630s. The only sizeable alteration resulted from the re-leasing of the Clanaul mensal lands. These lands, predominantly in Irish hands,³ had been held by the large, by lease for the time of Hampton's primacy, at rents ranging from £5. 10. 0. to £8 per townland. On 18 June 1630 this area was re-leased for the duration of Ussher's episcopate, the rents now (apart from 4 of 24 townlands held at £6. 10. 0. each by Hovendon) were uniformly raised to £8. 10. 0. per townland. However duties valued at £1. 2. 6. per townland⁵ were not required under the new leases. These improved rents had been payable from at least 1628,⁶ although the leases were not 'perfected' until 1630, and had probably been negotiated at Ussher's succession. The outcome was that a sum of £148 (excluding duties) previously received was increased to £202.⁷

1. The total income of the archdiocese from temporalities according to the 1622 rental was £1,935. 9. 9. (Registry, B.1b.no.193, p.22). The 1627 rental totalled £1903. 9. 9. (Registry, A.2a.no.28/13,p.39).
2. See Registry, A.2a. no.28/16 rental c.1628 drawn up by Ussher.
 - /17 rental c.1628
 - /19 rental All Saints 1628
 - /20 rental, Lamma 1628.
 - A.1b.no.29/1 rental and arrears, Candlemas 1628.
 - /2 rental and arrears, All Saints 1929
 - /3 rental 1631
3. One ballyboe was held by two English tenants, William and Edmond Brookes, 'clothworkers' (Registry, A.3a. no.39/10).
4. The new leases of 11 of 18 of these tenants are in Registry, A. 3a. 39, nos. 2-13 (copy of no. 2 in bundle of leases, E.1.e). The rents were to be paid quarterly, with right of re-entry when 20 days overdue. Woods and under-woods were excepted, though 'fireboot, plowboot, cartboot, and hedgeboot' were allowed. (An addendum to this effect is inserted in the lease, in one case in Ussher's hand).
5. Registry, A.2a. no.28/17,p.3.
6. Registry, A.1b. no.29/1,p.4.
7. Registry, A.1b.no.29/3, p.2.

The nature of the accounting system makes it difficult to state that rents were paid with regularity or completely. However in a few cases the rentals list arrears as well as amounts due. In 1628 of a sum of £49. 17. 6. due from the area around the town, £48. 13. 0. was paid, leaving only £1. 4. 6. in arrears.¹ At the same time of £52. 10. 0 due quarterly from the mensal lands in Clanaul £6. 8. 7. was unpaid.² Of a further £125. 11. 8. due from lands in the county £37. 8. 6. was in arrears.³ Of the total quarterly sum accounted for, £386. 1. 0, (for lands in Tyrone as well as Armagh), £61. 19. 11, or about 16 was at that time unpaid. In 1629 of a total quarterly sum of £456. 13. 1 accounted for (also including Tyrone entries) £98. 1. 0. was then unpaid, or some 22 of the 'charge'. On this occasion only £2 (from Hovendon) was in arrears from the block of Irish-held land in Clanaul.⁴ Since the account books do not carry arrearages forward from year to year it is not possible to establish how quickly and completely debts were settled. Evidence of re-entry, however, is not found. It comes to light only in one case in a note appended to a rental by the meticulous Ussher as having been carried out against an English tenant in Clanaul, who subsequently re-instated himself, in Dec. 1613.⁵ Cases of violence arising from distraint for duty payments or rent against Irish tenants in Clanaul, however, feature in the manor court rolls surviving for the years 1625-27.⁶ It would seem then that if the collection of rents presented recurrent difficulties, the archbishop's rental was not affected in a particularly serious way.

1. *Ibid.*, - /1, p.3. 2. *Ibid.*, p.4. 3. *Ibid.*, p.5.
 4. *Ibid.*, - /2, passim. 5. *Ibid.*, A.2a. no.28/13, p.11.
 6. In Armagh Public Library, MSS room.

The profits of the tenants on the estate are not easily discoverable. From one case, however, they appear to have been substantial. In November 1634 Symonds recovered in chancery from the administrator of an English sub-tenant 1 years overdue rent for one townland at the rate of £30 per year.¹ The saleable value of leasehold land is also only occasionally known. However two townlands in Toaghy leased for 60 years in 1615 to an English tenant were sold to Dawson in 1622 for £40, and by him to the bishop of Dromore in 1627 for £50, to be sold two years later to a certain Francis Graves for £60.²

IV State intervention and re-leases.

Bramhall's scheme for the re-leasing of the estates of Ulster bishops, 1634-5, has been examined elsewhere.³ What was the effect of this legislation for the archbishopric? Between 1635 and 1637 the new leasing arrangements were worked out and given official sanction.⁴ In April 1636 the terms of some of the new leases were presented to the privy council for sanction, which had been granted by May 31. On this basis negotiations with tenants continued, and the proposals were submitted in detail to Wentworth early in 1637. The schedule (not fully complete) with its accompanying petition for ratification was submitted by him to Bramhall and Sir Adam Loftus and received their consent on February 28, Wentworth's confirmation following on March 2.⁵ An official

1. P.R.O.I., Repertories to the decrees of chancery, vol. ii, p.138.
2. Indenture, 20 June 1615, between archbishop of Armagh and William Hayes: endorsements (Library, in box 'old leases of primate's').
3. Above, pp.489-91.
4. See H.M.C. Hastings MSS, iv. 70-1.
5. Certified copies of these orders are in Registry, A. 3a. no. 39/15, 19.

record of the new leases was made by the clerk of the privy council, Sir Paul Davis.¹ The leases (not found)² dated from 14 July 1634, though at least one was not made until 28 March 1639.³

A disentanglement of the precise amount of the new income from Armagh again presents the difficulty that many tenants held land outside the county. The rentals post 1636 are also less clear or detailed than those of the earlier period. However one abstract rental states that for Armagh the 'new rent' of £1516. 16. 0. replaced the 'old' figure of £872. 15. 0.⁴ The total income of the archbishopric as calculated in July 1639 was £3564. 10. 10.⁵ In the same year the figure that Bramhall stated to land was £3,500.⁶

The objective of the re-leasing had been to increase income. However it also effected the fortunes of many previous Irish tenants. In 1634 nineteen of twenty-four ballyboes in the mensal area of Clanaul remained in Irish hands by leases dating from 1630.⁷ By 1640, at most no more than four were held by Irish. The change may have been by purchase in some cases.⁸ The Irish tenants may have been getting into difficulties because from 1637 the Clanaul rents (which had not been increased at this time, standing at £8. 10. 0. per townland since 1630) had been in arrears to the extent of at least £21 (of £252) per annum.

1. Abstract in Registry, A. 1b. no. 29/4.
2. Abstracts of them, apparently drawn up in the commonwealth period, are in Registry, A.1b.no.29/9. (a very dilapidated document).
3. Registry, A.3a. no. 39/23.
4. Registry, A.1b.no.34/3, f.1^v. This latter figure agrees substantially with my calculation of £871. 10. 5. (above, p.).
5. Registry, A.1b. no. 29/8.
6. Shirley, Documents relating to the church of Ireland, 1631-9, p.7.
7. Four of the remaining five were held by Hovendon who got a new lease under the Bramhall scheme.
8. A rental in 1640 refers to two townlands having been 'bought in' by a new tenant. (A.1b.no.29/6 and 7, p.8: This document was mistakenly numbered as two in the late eighteenth century).

In May 1640 the arrears against six Irish tenants here totalled £66. 10. 0. In 1639 Mrs. Ussher appears to have agreed to reduce their rents by £2. 2. 6. per townland, but in the same year a change in tenancy took place.¹ The change saw the introduction of two new tenants,² one of whom, Sir Maurice Williams, was physician to Wentworth,³ the other being Robert Bysse, of the family of recorders of Dublin.

Elsewhere the change was less marked because it had already progressed far on the estate anyhow. An official document of 1659 lists only six major Irish tenants on the see lands. Their names had traditional associations, Neil McCoddan, Hugh Moder McCoddan, James McDonnell McCasy, Patrick O'Donnelly, Solomon Coffy, and Tady Crolly. Their combined rents in 1641 were £82. 10. 0.⁴ To this, however, should be added the four townlands in Clanaul mentioned above, and perhaps smaller areas as well. It is clear that less than about one-tenth of the archbishop's income from land in Armagh derived from Irish tenants.

In February 1636, when the re-leasing negotiations were in progress, a petition for a re-lease, from Tady Crowly (Crolly) who described himself as a 'native of the English pale' indicates well the unease of these tenants. He stated that he held a house plot in Armagh and 15⁴ acres 'farr distant' from the town. He pointed out that he had built a house at a cost of 'at least' £150, and had spent £50 on land enclosure.⁵

1. Registry, A.1b.no.29/6 and 7, p.8.

2. Registry, A.1b.no.29/9, p.49. These leases date from 1634 but it is clear that the land concerned was in Irish hands until 1639. (A. 1b. no.29/6 and 7, 7^v-8). These new tenants appear to have paid £17 per townland (twice the previous rent) though this new sum may have dated from after 1641. At any rate Williams was £42.10.0 in arrears in 1640. (A.1b.no.29/6 and 7, p.8). 3. Cal.S.P. Ire., 1633-47, p.193; see also p.65.

4. Registry, C.1c.no.371, pp.214-2: 'Bishops Lands of Ireland and other Dignitaryes Ecclesiasticall Extracted out of Ancient Records thereof and compared with what is in Present Charge, 1659'.

5. Registry, E.i.e, Petition of Tady Crowly to archbishop of Armagh. Crolly was also a tenant of Chambers and won a suit against him, 1637-40 (P.R.O.I., Repertories to the decrees of chancery, vol.ii.pp.220-21).

It should be noted too that by 1641 old English tenants from Drogheda had also disappeared from the rental. People such as Fitzsimonds, Hamlin, Tench, and Earlsman had only a short association with the archbishopric in Armagh. Throughout the period tenancies had tended to increase in size. The archbishopric continued to draw tenants from the Londonderry plantation. Doddington's lands passed to his widow's husband¹ Sir Francis Cooke² and after 1634 Tristram Beresford and George Cary were on the archbishop's rental in Armagh and Tyrone to the extent of £100 per annum.³ Clerical leases also continued; Crant had apparently died by 1633,⁴ but Symonds held eleven townlands as well as houses and 'severall parkes and parcels' adjacent to the town of Armagh at a rent of £88,⁵ and Robert Maxwell, son of the dean of the same name, prebend of Tynan, and afterwards a bishop,⁶ held nine townlands (three in Tyrone) at £60 rent.⁷

It is evident that in most cases the Irish by 1641 had descended to the status of sub-tenants. All of Robert Maxwell's holding, for example, was sub-let to Irish occupiers, O'Caseys in Tynan, and O'Donnellans and others in Clanaul.⁸ Some of the hardship for Irish inhabitants at the hands of English tenants emerges from a statement of George Fairfax, seneschal to the archbishop, in which he alleges

1. T.W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, p.447.
2. Five townlands in Armagh and eight in Tyrone, rent £110. (Registry, A.1b.no.29/9, p.28).
3. Registry, A.1b.no.29/9, p.28.
4. J.B. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes, p.182.
5. Registry, A.1b.no.29/9, p.11.
6. Leslie, Armagh clergy and parishes, p.73.
7. Registry, A.1b.no.29/9, p.45. In May 1639, Maxwell, though Scottish in origin, had made much of the fact, in a letter to Wentworth, that he was 'not in any great favour with the favourers of the covenant' (Sheffield City Library, Strafford letters, 20/136).
8. Registry, A.1b.no.29/9, p.45.

that Sir Edward Dodington removed the natives from the land he held near Armagh 'by a p'tended comand from my Lo. Primat that none might dwelle about the towne that woulde not conforme and come to church'.¹

An additional area of land came to the archbishopric in the late 1630s. Derrynoose, sixteen ballyboes, had been granted to the archbishop in 1610, but in a reorganisation of 1612 it was granted to the dean, to revert, however, to the archbishop in a further reorganisation in 1637.² In July 1639 Ussher leased this land to Sir Philip Mainwaring for fifty-six years at £150 per annum.³ The lessee was another of the Wentworth circle to become a tenant to the archbishop.⁴ It does not seem likely that he paid rent regularly before 1641.⁵

Only two rentals survive - from 1639 and 1640 - to indicate how the new leasing scheme worked out before 1641.⁶ These post difficulties of interpretation, and the following conclusions are tentative. It seems clear, at any rate, that the new rents were not being regularly paid before 1639 or 1640. It appears, also, that in some cases arrears arising from the increase of rents were 'forgiven' by the archbishop. In this way Armagh and Tyrone tenants were absolved from paying about £100. The total annual rent from these two counties was some £2,300. At May 1639

1. Registry, A.2a. no.28/11, pp.24-8.
2. Above, pp.453-6, 477-80.
3. Registry, A.1b. no.29/9, pp.11, 50.
4. He had been brought over from England by Wentworth and was his secretary. He sat in the 1634 and 1640 parliaments (Kearney, Strafford in Ireland, pp.47, 195, 239-40). An act of parliament to confirm his lease was passed in 1640.
5. He was charged with an arrear of £7. 10. 0. in 1639 (Registry, A.1b. no.29/5).
6. Registry, A.1b. no.29/5: Chappell's accounts, 1639; A.1b. no.29/6 and 7: Jeeve's accounts, 1639-40.

arrears, apparently for the whole estate, were £476. 7. 4 . or some 15 of the total rental. Clearly the see did not long enjoy its new income before the outbreak of violence in 1641 guaranteed its disruption. At the same time it should be noted that, unlike T.C.D., not one case of litigation with tenants for non-payment comes to light throughout the whole period. However, in 1641, when the policy of the Wentworth administration was under attack, it was proposed that the archbishop and other Ulster bishops should be required by act of parliament to create freeholders on their estates.¹

V The administration of the estate.

It is obvious that the extension of English power to Ulster brought about a change in the relative importance of the two traditional areas, north and south, into which the archbishopric fell. The protestantism of the incoming Ulster colonists, and the extent of the lands in Ulster with which the see was endowed, both conduced to this change.

The inherited system of rent collection had recognised that an 'Irish official' was best suited for a Gaelic area. From the plantation period the lands were administered more as a unit and also with more concentration - as the returns justified - on the lands previously 'inter hibernicos'. Very quickly the dependence on a local native official disappears. The beginning of this direct interest in Ulster perhaps dates from a rental of 1606 of the 'Tenentes Ardmachan', no longer extant. In a list of rentals which James Ussher drew up on his appointment this was listed as the last of the 'Rentalta antiqua'. That he

1. P.R.O., S.P. 63/259, f.7^v; - /260, ff.1-23^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, pp.285-6, 322).

listed all rentals 'since the great office' as 'nova' testifies to the change.¹ Only two officials of Irish name feature in the plantation period, perhaps because their familiarity with the locality was valued. One of these, Patrick Crolly, with three English people took a survey of the town of Armagh in 1618,² and the other, Solomon Coffy, was connected with the see probably until after James Ussher's appointment.³

However, from the beginning of the plantation period we find a succession of English officials, seneschals, and servants. From 1614 or before and until 1618 Sir Edward Dodington of Dungiven acted in this capacity, though his accounts, extant in James Ussher's time,⁴ have now disappeared. During Ussher's primacy George Fairfax argued that at an early stage some primatial land had been lost or jeopardised through Sir Toby Caulfield, who held the abbey land, being 'both Custos Comitatus, seneschal to the Lo. Primat, and powerfull in the cuntrie'. He also made allegations against Thomas Dawson.⁵ In 1618 of the three Englishmen who drew up the survey of the town two were tenants and residents there, and the third, Crant, was an ecclesiastic. Most of the other officials whose names and records survive were also episcopal tenants, some of substantial areas. John Jeeve, who drew up a rental, c.1627, appending to it a list of counterparts of leases in his keeping,⁶ was a tenant to the see.⁷ In 1639-40 he re-appears in episcopal service. From 1625 to 1627 George

1. Registry, A.2a. no. 28, f.28.

2. Registry, A.2a. no. 28/11.

3. Registry, A.2a. no. 28, f.28.

4. Ibid., f.28^v.

5. Registry, A. 2a. no. 28/11, pp.24-8.

6. Registry, A. 2a. no. 28/13.

7. In October 1638 Jeeve was mayor of Drogheda (P.R.O.I., Petitions to Wentworth and council, June - November 1638, M. 2448, pp. 550-51).

Fairfax, who was a tenant of Ballymoire and Ballymacoan, was seneschal to the archbishop and manor courts were held before him not only in Armagh and Tyrone but in Louth as well.¹ Richard Chappell, who accounted for rents from 1635 to 1640, and also before 1627,² was also a substantial tenant.³ Capt. George Chambers was the son of a tenant from an early stage, but his rent accounts are probably post 1641.⁴ Roger Russell, who leased houses in the town of Armagh on the archbishop's behalf in 1627⁵, was a tenant and burgess of the town. About Geashall, an employee of Hampton's, nothing is known.⁶ John Cragg and Francis Wayte, who accounted in 1628,⁷ do not appear to have been tenants, but were possibly sub-tenants.

How these rent collectors, in general, were paid is not known. Only in one rental, that of Francis Wayte for 1628, are disbursements recorded. He makes two relevant entries: 'for my own expenses in riding and getting in this quarter's rent - £1. 17. 4' and 'to Edmund O'Cawell and his son to help to fetch in distresses - £1. 4. 0'.⁸

Such a dependence on agents and collectors who were also tenants had obvious unsatisfactory aspects. However at least during James Ussher's time their work was subject to close episcopal supervision. Around 1627, Ussher, who was then engaged in a meticulous investigation of his Ulster estate, worked over John Jeeve's rental, collating it precisely with information derived from other sources. His emendations here, as well as

1. Library Armagh manor court rolls.
2. Referred to in a note by Ussher in Registry, A.2a. no. 28/13, p.9.
3. Registry, A. 1b. no. 29/5, 6, 7.
4. Registry, A. 1b. no. 34/3.
5. Registry, E. 1. e. On Russell see above, p.370.
6. Referred to in note by Ussher in A. 2a. no. 28/13.
7. Registry, A. 2a. no. 28/20; A. 1b. no. 29/1.
8. A. 2a. no. 28/20, p.11.

a rental in his own hand,¹ indicate a clear personal knowledge of the estate against which the reports of his agents could be checked. In May 1640 when he was leaving the country he handed over Jeeve's 1639-40 rental to Arthur Hill, presumably of Hillsborough, a man who had no connexion with the estate, with a note that the rents were to be received by him 'in my absence to my use'.²

Ussher, in fact, shortly after his appointment devoted considerable effort to the estate. He listed and correlated the rentals and registers from medieval times.³ He worked over the official inquiries, the great office and related documents some of which are not now available, on which the plantation had been based, as well as the patents of the see, wrestling with variant place names, and leaving invaluable critical notes.⁴ To the rental of the estate which he drew up about 1628 he appended lists of the duties and heriots to which his tenants were liable.⁵ A picture of Ussher as an extraordinarily painstaking investigator emerges.

Ussher, too, was particularly interested in land measurement. He wrote apparently to Falkland in 1627, arguing that the townlands of the estate (presumably the fragmented area near Armagh) were very much smaller than those of other proprietors. Falkland replied that an acreage measurement would present great difficulties and recommended him to continue using the traditional units:

that error cannot be reformed without a general admeasure-
ment and valuation of the different fertillities; for we all
know that a hundred acres in a good soil, may be worth a

1. Registry, A. 2a. no. 28/16; see also Elrington, Works of Ussher, xv.365-7.
2. Registry, A. 1b. no. 29/6 and 7, f.7^v.
3. Registry, A. 2a. no. 28, ff. 28-28^v.
4. Registry, A. 2a. no. 28, after Jeeve's rental, /13.
5. Registry, A. 2a. no. 28/16.

thousand acres of land that are mountainous and barren, and therefore it will surely prove a work of great difficulty and will require a long time to reduce it to any perfection, so that it is best to observe the customs in usage, until such a reformation shall be seriously debated and agreed upon.¹

Falkland's reply is of particular interest in the light of Wentworth's view that a re-measurement of Ulster would greatly enhance the crown rent.² The correspondence has the further interest that Thomas Raven, the cartographer, whose advocacy of re-measurement in the Wentworth period has been noted,³ and who had suggested it as early as 1623,⁴ was living in Armagh from (at least) 1625.⁵ Furthermore, although the idea of re-measurement did not get state backing in 1627, Ussher himself employed Raven to map part of the estate in the Armagh area.⁶ This map has since been lost.

This clarification of ownership rights had a particular relevance in view of disputes with neighbouring proprietors. A dispute with the Caulfields, for example, hinged on whether certain pieces of land in the Armagh area had belonged to the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul and so should be Caulfield, or to the primacy. The argument is complex because it raised questions of the alternate naming of places, the confusion of denominational and sub-denominational names, and whether particular areas were whole townlands or parts. A further difficulty arises from

1. Elrington, Works of Ussher, xv. 372-4.
2. Above, p.281. The bishops, of course, did not pay quit rent.
3. Above, pp. 283-5.
4. Above, p. 284.
5. Library, Armagh manor court roll, 10 October 1625. See above, p.473. He wrote a letter from Armagh in 1621 (Pps. MSS, p.51).
6. In a note appended to Jeeve's rental Ussher states that the new demesnes was 200 acres 'English measure ... whereof I have ye map delivered to me by Mr. Raven' rather than 300 acres as previously supposed (A. 2a. no. 28/13, p.1).

the one-sidedness of the evidence which is set out in detail by George Fairfax, seneschal to the archbishop, whose lease included the lands in question.¹ Fairfax stated that he had been advised by 'some best hable to informe me' to 'learne of the natives the confines of the territories and sessiages in every ballebo'. His case was compounded from such evidence and a correlation of official surveys and patents. The debate is savoured somewhat by the following attempt in poetic form on the part of the lessee to mobilise sympathy for his case by depicting the sufferings of the church at the grasping hands of his fellow English layman:²

The Estat of the Primacie

The sacred acts of kinge and state
 Composed for the church
 The plotts of sharkinge scribes p'vert
 the servitors doe lirch
 And undertakers share the spoile
 that carst lotts and devide
 When as the souldiers would not dare
 Christs garment to devide
 His patrimonie rent and torne
 by forged records assigned

1. Registry, A. 2a. no. 28/11, pp. 24-28. (the end pages of the 1618 rental of the town, undated and unsigned).
2. Registry, A. 2a. no. 28/11, on verso of title page of 1618 rental. For another dispute with the Caulfields see St. John to Bolton, solicitor-general, 20 May 1620 (Library, with manor court rolls; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.274; Marsh's Library, Dublin 24. 2. 6, pp. 15-16. Another case came to light in 1715 in the argument of a tenant that a piece of church land held originally in lease by George Chambers, and which lay next to some of the abbey land which had come to him by marriage to Sir Toby Caulfield's niece (Lodge, Peerage, iii. 135), had been quickly absorbed into the abbey land and its name allowed to disappear. This it was argued, had been contrived by Chambers, or his son Capt. Thomas who was described as a 'cunning prying man and knew all the lands about Armagh before the '41 rebellion and as long as he lived, was protected by Sir Phelomy O'Neill in the time of that rebellion, knew all the sufferings of the protestants and the carriage of the popish inhabitants thereabout better than any man alive since that time' (Registry, A. 1b. no. 25, ff. 67^v-8^v).

To Abotts and to others past
 against our soverains minde
 Tyrone usurpt thes since incroach
 but force and fraud will falle
 Witnesse the hand that Baltayar
 sawe writinge on the walle.

The case, its merits aside, illustrates the difficulties of British proprietors in the inexact environment of plantation Ulster. It also indicates the dependence of the incomers, unfamiliar with Gaelic topography and land measures, on some degree of co-operation from the native inhabitants.

The archbishop is the only landlord in either county studied whose manor court records survive. By patent he was empowered to hold a court baron and court leet within each of his manors. The seneschals of these manors were to have power of oyer and terminer concerning all offences committed by any labourer or tradesman therein, with power to grant warrants of replevin and to appoint bailiffs to issue process.¹ Court rolls survive for the years 1625-27 not only for Armagh manor, but for Donoghmore and Ardtra in Tyrone and also Termonfechan.² They were held before George Fairfax, seneschal to the archbishop.

The rolls begin with lists of those who had defaulted in their suit to the court, who are fined 1s. 6d. and in some cases 2s. 6d. each. Then follow lists of jurors. The jurisdiction of the court can be seen from the cases it heard.

Very many cases are simple ones of affray, assault, effusion of blood, the majority involving Irish, but English also appeared on such charges. Some of these cases have a special interest. There are, for

1. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1, p. 274.
2. In Armagh Public Library, MSS Room. Transcripts (corrected from the originals) are in P.R.O.N.I., T.475. References below are given from the transcripts.

example, cases of violent opposition to distraint for rent or duty payments. Thus we find presentments like the following:

Item p^osent q^od D^omus huius manerii in feodo suo apud Dromsallan - outragh p^o censu sibi debit^o p^o Patriciu^o Modd^or offin sub-ballivu^o suum quedam auenam capi fecisset Patric^o oge offin et Henric^o offin auenam illam vi et armis scillicet cu^o bacculis et cultellis in hibernica vocat^o skeanes rescusserunt et alia enormia fecerunt ad grave damn^o dict^o D^oni et, contra pacem D^oni Regis ideo sunt in m^oia - xliis. liid.

There were many cases of anti-social behaviour. Thus we find a certain Maudelin Quash presented as a 'com^ounis obiurgatrix cum vicinis suis^o and fined 3s. 4d.² and a certain Peirc McCCasey who was 'vacabundus otiosus et [quod] recusat servire et dormit in diem et nihill laborat...'³ The selling of bread and ale 'p^o illicitas mesures^o, contrary to statute, is also penalised.⁴ A certain Brian McCullen is presented as a 'com^om^ous forstallator^o and fined 2s. 6d.⁵ A case of scandalisation in April 1626 brought a fine of 6s. 6d., the jury presenting

q^od Edmundus oney O^oMolmoghery in Patriciu^o McCartan affraim fecit et q^od dedit^o illi verba scandaliz vocant^o p^odict^o Patric^o Rebello...⁶

The court also enforced conformity to its own ordinances or laid on individuals the obligation to obey manor policy. There are many judgements against people who 'nec anulat nec iugulat porcos suos contra ordinat^o fact^o p^o hanc Cur.^o'.⁷ It penalised failure to enclose the boundaries of properties, or imposed time limits for such enclosure.

1. P.R.O. N.1., T.475, p.34. For another case see p.47.

2. Ibid., p.8.

3. Ibid., p.22.

4. Ibid., p.36. In 1626 Patrick McQuaide was presented as 'co^ois tipulator cervic^o', and it was added 'q^od tenet malam regulam in domo suo^o (ibid., p.29).

5. Ibid., p.46.

6. Ibid., p.29.

7. Ibid., p.35.

Thus, for example, it was ordered

q'd Patric' O'Daley et Edmundus O'Mullan faciant et escorat
fossatu' inter Monacree et Ahaggan citra decim' quint' diem
Maii p'x' fut'm sub pena - xs.

and presented

q'd Johan Pettit de Blackwater non manutenet sepem vel
fossatu' inter terram suam et terram Thom' Flinton et
ordinat' est q'd Johan' p'dict' faciat et manuteneat
sufficient' sepem vel fossatu' ante decim' diem Maii p'x'm'
sub pena - xls.

There is also an interesting case of the destruction of fences.² The
building of bridges was enjoined.³

Cases of theft also came within its jurisdiction. We find it
presented that

Thomas Bennet serviens Richardo Scuthwicke vi et armis...
in parcum huius manerii fregit et ingressu' fecit et ex
p'dict' parco vigint' vaccas cepit contra legem...⁴

Most common, however, was the stealing of turf and timber. For example,
on 10 October 1625 it was presented that Daniel McGrory entered the lands
of John Earpe 'et tunc scidet et portavit ex terr p'dict' xx^{tie} loade of
turfe'. He was fined 3s. 4d.⁵ Numerous cases of timber cutting are
dealt with. For example, on 9 April 1627 a certain Terence O'Kennan who
'succidit et vendidit arbores crescent' sup' villam Toneam' was fined
6s. 8d.⁶ On one occasion the court made an order for the custody of the

1. Ibid., p.40. See also, pp.30, 47.

2. 'Item p'sent q'd Johannis Dun transgression' fecit frangent' et
comburent' sepes et domu' Edmundi O'Mullan existent' sup' sessionem
[sessiogh] de Monaghcree.. ideo ip'e in m'ia - iils. ivd., (p.8).

3. Ibid., pp.25, 29. On one occasion the jurors presented 'q'd
defectus est parcu' co'em in manerio isto et ordinat' est q'd
manerium istud faciant parcu' ante festum omn' sanctor' .. sub
pena - £10' (ibid., p.29).

4. Ibid., p.6.

5. For this and other cases see p.24.

6. Ibid., pp.38, 45, 46.

goods of a felon.¹

A further function was the appointment of local officials, constables and bailiffs. Thus in 1625 we find the appointment of John Pettit of Blackwater as constable of Blackwater, Cossvoy, and Coscallen,² and in the following year a certain John Keisar was appointed and sworn to this office.³ Constables appear to have been chosen by the courts annually for all the areas of episcopal land.⁴ Sometimes an Irish constable was appointed, for example, in 1626 Arthur McPhelomy McDonnell for Ballymoire.⁵ Bailiffs, or sub-bailiffs, usually Irish, also appear.⁶ The survival of these records epitomises well the role of the landlord in the realm of local justice and administration.

There remains the question of land use or improvement and the role of the landlord in this. The stipulations of surviving leases have already been mentioned but there is little or no evidence of how they were complied with. In 1636 Tady Crolly claimed that he had built a house at a cost of £150.⁷ Certain points, however, emerge as to land enclosure. It is clear from the manor court rolls that it was the policy of the estate that the boundaries of holdings should be given permanent definition. There are numerous cases involving the failure to create or maintain such enclosures. Thus, for example, in 1627 the jurors presented that

1. *Ibid.*, p.37. The archbishop had a grant of felons goods in his area. (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.314). For a list of felons goods which came to him in 1628 see Registry, A.2a. no. 28/20, pp.13-14.
2. *Ibid.*, p.25, and see p.31.
3. *Ibid.*, p.30.
4. See, for example, p.41.
5. *Ibid.*, p.30.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.28, 34, 44. In 1626 a certain John Russell was 'ballivus specialis' (p.29).
7. Above, p. 559.

Thomas Hailes non fecit sepem nec fossatio inter ejus terras et terras John¹ Proctor, et ordinatus est eu¹ fecisse apud cur¹ tent¹ undecimo die septembais ultim¹ p¹terito sub pena ideo p¹cept¹ est ballivo levare decem solidar¹ de bonis decti Thomas ad usu D¹ni¹ Primat¹ D¹ni¹ huius maneril.¹

The incidence of these cases need not, of course, imply compliance with the regulation. However there are occasional indications that enclosure of this nature - townland or farm enclosure - had been effected. In an abstract of Dawson's lease under the 1634 scheme one of his boundaries is described as 'according to a ditche drawne through the said lands fencing between the said John Dawson and the said Francis Graves'.² There are also references to parks or closes in the vicinity of the town.³ In the town itself references to 'a garden plott ditched in' can also be found.⁴ Croll's statement that he had 'inclosed' his holding⁵ at a cost of £50 may well refer to boundary enclosure. In the rental of c.1627 there is the statement about an area of land near Armagh, which had been reserved for proportions for plantation houses, that 'there was part of the outs⁶ of the above 300 acres ditched by the late deceased archbishop [Hampton] which did stand his Grace in £16 sterling.'⁷ However it would be misleading to suggest that there was any general enclosure movement on the estate in the first half of the seventeenth century.

One of the more difficult problems concerns the spoliation of timber on the estate. In the instructions of 1612 the preservation of

1. Ibid., p.47.
2. Registry, A. 1b. no. 29/9. p.44.
3. For example, Ibid., pp.11, 47. 'A park of meadow containing 2 acres or thereabouts' was held by a McCoddan tenant in 1628 (A.2a.no.28/20,p.5).
4. Registry, A. 1b. no.29/9, p.1.
5. 154 acres 'of English measure after the rate of 16 (sic) foote to the perch' (A. 1b. no. 29/9, p.30).
6. Ussher appends the explanatory note 'outward fences'.
7. Registry, A. 2a. no. 28/13, p.2.

woods was particularly enjoined. The destruction of timber by Elizabethan and Stuart bishops in England - who, of course, as landlords had only a life interest in the episcopal estates - had been particularly noticed, and in instructions issued by the king at Laud's prompting in 1629 the wastage of woods was strictly prohibited.¹ In Armagh primate Hampton's leasings to Irish tenants in Clanaul invariably included amongst other duty payments timber at the rate of forty 'loads' annually per townland.² The cumulative effect of this on the Clanaul woods would have been noteworthy. There is evidence from the manor court rolls of a reluctance to fulfill duty obligations, and it also seems that duties, including wood, could be commuted for at the rate of £1. 2. 6. per townland. However it seems that the opportunity to make money payments in lieu of duties was not generally availed of. Thus in 1628 we find a payment to the archbishop from George Chambers of £6. 13. 4. 'for duty wood he received of the tenants of Clanawle',³ and in the same year he is receipted for £1 for '100 horse loads of duty wood paid to him by Mr. Robert Hovendon and was due to your Grace out of the lands of Clanaul'.⁴ When the Clanaul lands were re-leased in 1630 with rent increases duty payments were no longer required. The coincidence with Laud's instructions for England (which concerned the devastation of woods on a massive scale) would seem, however, to be purely accidental, the dropping of duties being a partial compensation for substantial rent increases.⁵

1. Hill, Economic Problems of the church, pp.310-11.
2. Registry, A. 2a. no. 28/10, pp.4-9.
3. Registry, A. 1b. no. 29/2, p.8.
4. A. 2a. no. 28/20, p.1.
5. In his rental of c.1628 Ussher noted that the Clanaul tenants had 'offered' £8 a townland, 'abating all customs save wood' (A. 2a. no. 28/16, p.8). The bargain when concluded was for a simple rent payment of £8. 10. 0. per townland.

There is, however, evidence that manorial timber was being cut away by private individuals. In the court rolls for Armagh manor, 1625-27, there are nine cases of penalisation of individuals who had cut timber illegally on the estate. Each was an Irishman, one features twice for this offence, and they were fined sums ranging from 2s. to 6s. 8d.¹ While it is clear, then, that the manor court made attempts to protect the woods on the estate from devastation by individuals, and also that part payment of rents in wood from some areas, particularly Clanaul, were required up to the end of the 1620s, there is no evidence, owing to the absence of account records other than rentals, to indicate or refute large-scale cutting and sale of timber by the bishops themselves.

VI Conclusion.

The plantation was effective in that almost all of the episcopal land in Armagh came into British hands, the Irish having become, with a few exceptions, depressed to sub-tenancy by 1641. The archbishop's tenants were generally substantial, though they were much more numerous and held smaller areas on the whole than the middlemen to whom Trinity College leased its land. Some old English tenants had been replaced by British by 1641. Many of the British tenants were drawn from three sources, from the Londonderry plantation, local servitors, and local clergy. Some of these were absentee, and probably not active improvers. Hampton also made leases to relatives. Government intervention in the 1630s presented

1. P.R.O. N.I. T. 475, pp.5, 38, 45, 46, 47. In 1639 Ossher in a letter to Bramhall stated of a tenant in Tyrone that he 'should take it for a great favour at his hands, that I should have no rent paid me at all, and that he would leave my woods entire and unwasted unto my successor' (E. Berwick, The Rawdon papers (London, 1819), p.60. The tenant, Sir Thomas Staples, had also been associated with the Londonderry plantation (T.W. Moody, Londonderry plantation, p.328).

the possibility of greatly increased income, but also imposed a further small group of tenantry, government supporters, manifestly absentee.

And yet there were considerable numbers of British on the estate. We have seen that the British adult male population of the town of Armagh about 1630 was at least ninety and probably more than 100.¹ At least as many were on the lands in the county. The muster book of c.1630 listed fifty-eight British on the county lands.² However some seventy additional names have been derived from estate papers and manor court rolls.³ There was thus a British adult male population of some 230. In comparison with the lands of Trinity College, or the bishopric of Kilmore,⁴ the archbishop's estates witnessed a considerable influx of population.

1. Above, p.369.

2. B.M., Add. MS 4770, ff. 40^v-41^v.

3. Above, p.277. It has not been easy to differentiate town and countryside dwellers.

4. The bishop of Kilmore who had about three-fifths the acreage of the archbishop of Armagh mustered forty-three British in c.1630 (B.M., Add. MS 4770, ff. 21^v-2, 23).

CHAPTER 13

CONCLUSION

i Statistical

Commercial transactions throughout our period brought about changes in the proportions of land in each county held by the different proprietor groups. While it is necessary to differentiate ownership change from effective colonisation, an assessment of the fortunes of these groups gives some indication of the success or failure of the plantation. The situation in 1641 can best be set out in tabular form.¹

School	2,779	0.30
Mountain	917	0.32
Unidentified ownership	1,747	1.37

County, 1641		
proprietor groups	acres	per cent of total acreage
British owners	219,249	47.30
Native Irish	76,840	16.57
Old English	69,174	14.82
Monastic	31,725	6.85
Glens	13,677	2.93
School	917	0.20
Town of Down	633	0.14
Mountain	15,628	3.37

1. For the figures at the beginning of the plantation see above, pp. 92-3.

Armagh, 1641

<u>proprietor groups</u>	<u>acreage</u>	<u>% ages of total acreage</u>
British owners	156,944	50.51
Native Irish	59,026	19.00
Old English	1,668	0.54
Archbishopric	53,972	17.37
Trinity College, Dublin	22,875	7.36
Glebe	6,561	2.11
Other ecclesiastical proprietors	2,616	0.84
School	1,552	0.50
Mountain	987	0.32
Unidentified ownership	4,247	1.37

Cavan, 1641

<u>proprietor groups</u>	<u>acreage</u>	<u>% ages of total acreage</u>
British owners	219,949	47.50
Native Irish	76,640	16.55
Old English	99,174	21.42
Bishopric	31,785	6.86
Glebe	13,657	2.95
School	917	0.20
Town of Cavan	683	0.15
Mountain	16,828	3.63
Unidentified ownership	1,585	0.34

The ecclesiastical and institutional share remained constant, but otherwise there had been considerable change, the nature of which can be compared for both counties. Individual British owners of all kinds increased their holdings in Armagh by about one-ninth, from 44.92% in c.1610 to 50.51% in 1641. In Cavan, in contrast, their share declined very marginally from about 48.66% to about 47.50%. The native Irish share, however, fell in both counties, and in both by about a quarter, from 25.21% to 19%, in the case of Armagh, and from 22.49% to 16.55% in Cavan. The old English gained in both counties, though their proportion of Armagh in 1641, where initially they had none, 0.54%, was negligible. In Cavan, however, they rose from 14.62% in 1610 to 21.42%, or by one-half, in 1641.¹ The native Irish and old English combined had proportionately twice as much land in Cavan (37.97%) than in Armagh (19.54%). By that extent protestant ownership was more firmly entrenched in Armagh than in Cavan.²

ii Success and failure

The greatest burden of colonisation rested with the undertakers, English and Scots. We have seen throughout the varying quality of their achievement in building, importation of tenantry, and the like. The success of the undertakers themselves, so essential to the progress of the

1. This includes much unprofitable land. The historian of the old English has calculated that they owned 15.6% of the profitable land (A. Clarke, The old English in Ireland, 1625-42, p.236).
2. It is noteworthy that the old English who had been acquiring land in Cavan prior to the plantation had in fact continued to gain. Some 21,000 acres of their acquisitions had been acquired from British servitor owners.

plantation, can be measured in relation to the number of estates which changed hands. The following tables attempt to summarise the evidence. Each column indicates changes taking place in the interval since the previous date, the number of these being shown by figures, 1, 2, etc. The letter M indicates that an estate was mortgaged in whole or part, and F that it was fragmented, the undertaker retaining some or none of the property.

Oneilland						
Assignees, 1610	1611	1613	1619	1622	c.1630	1641
Saye and Sele	1					M
Sacheverall					M	
Matchett			1			
Stanhowe					F	
Powell	1		1		F	
Rolleston			M			
Dillon						M
J. Brownlow			}			
W. Brownlow ^a						
Warde	1			1	1	

a. Inherited his father's estate before 1619 (above, p.183).

Fews						
Assignees, 1610	1611	1613	1619	1622	c.1630	1641
Douglas		1	1			
H. Acheson					1	
Craig			1			
Lawder			1			
C. Hamilton			1			

Loughtee						
Wirrall		1	1	1		
Fishe	1					F
Davies	1					
Taylor						
Waldron	2		1		1	
Snow	1		1		1	
Butler						

Clankees						
Aubigny	1			1		
Baillie						
Ralston		1				
Dunbarr			1			

Tullyhunco						
Assignees, 1610	1611	1613	1619	1622	c.1630	1641
J. Auchmooty	1					
A. Auchmooty	1					
Sir A. Hamilton						
C. Hamilton	1					
Brown		1				M

There was thus in both counties a very considerable turn over in ownership. A somewhat similar pattern of sales of servitors' lands has been seen throughout this thesis. Some of the transferences tabulated above resulted in accumulations of land in one man's hands, Sir Archibald Acheson, for example, acquiring an estate in Cavan as well as Armagh. Many of them also resulted in the introduction of new owners from Britain. But there was also a small group of new purchasers who may be classed as 'servitors of Ireland'. Conspicuous amongst these were Sir Oliver St. John who acquired Matchett's land in Oneilland, and Edward Bagshaw who acquired an estate in Loughtee. While such people were not exempt from the obligations of undertakers, the distinction between undertakers and servitors was beginning to break down.¹ Thus

1. Undertakers and servitors have been classed together as 'British owners' when the shares of each group in 1641 were calculated; above p.577. In the maps indicating landownership in 1641, however, separate shadings for undertakers and servitors have been maintained.
2. Where a proprietor owned land under undertaker's conditions it is shaded as undertakers', and where he owned land originally servitors or acquired from any grantee other than an undertaker it is shaded as servitors' land his ownership being indicated by a number indexed in the appropriate list of proprietors.

commercial transactions altered somewhat the relative shares of undertakers and servitors. These sales took place without government restriction, and are of interest in view of Chichester's opinion in 1610¹ that the servitors had received an inadequate share of the land in all counties save Cavan. The acquisition of Sir Henry Perse in Clankee is significant because it resulted in a reduction in the amount of land held by Scots' undertakers in Cavan. The noteworthy purchases - in both Armagh and Cavan - of the Hamiltons, a Scottish family well placed in Down for expansion into plantation Ulster, were, in all cases, of land originally granted to Scots.

However it would be misleading to suggest that land in either county had fallen prey in any general way (certainly not initially) to adventurers of the type of Richard Boyle in Munster.² There were, of course, a number of adventurer type at the beginning, for example Lord Saye and Seale in Armagh and Lord Aubigny in Cavan,³ but these generally sold their lands rather than expanded their interests. Boyle himself had an interest in the lands in Cavan of Barret and Lee (whose patents were prior to the plantation)⁴ and also Taaffe⁵, but while these did not retain their lands, Boyle did not acquire them. Many who received land as servitors in 1610 were bona fide grantees, who generally retained their lands for periods comparable to the undertakers. Yet there were a number of ubiquitous names and speculative activities. The accum-

1. Above, p.98.

2. For an illuminating study of the methods by which he built up a large estate see T. O. Ranger 'Richard Boyle and the making of an Irish fortune, 1588-1614' in I.H.S., vol. X, pp.257-97.

3. Above, pp.81-8.

4. Ranger, 'Richard Boyle...' in I.H.S., vol. X, pp.267-70.

5. Above, p.147.

ulations of the Hamilton's - Scottish adventurers - have already been noted.¹ The doings of Frances Annesley were dubious enough. We have seen how he acquired land in Armagh with the assistance of his fellow adventurers, Kinge, Loftus, and Edgeworth.² He also acquired a mortgage there of Rolleston's undertaker's land. In Cavan he was involved in dealings whereby almost 12,000 acres of land came into the hands of the old English lawyer, Edward Dowdall.³ However despite many initial administrative failings (revealed, for example, in the discovery of small areas of concealed land), the plantation was so executed as to eliminate adventurer opportunities on the Munster scale. Although there were hopes in Ireland at the time of Pynnar's survey that land in Ulster would escheat⁴, the London government, though conscious of the serious defects of some of the undertakers, doubtless realised that their replacement by British already installed in Ireland offered little likelihood of improvement. Also the undertakers (a group albeit diluted by many new purchasers as we have seen) secured their position in 1628 at a time when their support of the government was desirable. New style adventurers like Parkhurst the moneylender⁵ were few, and the 1641 rising interrupted their activities.

1. Sir James Hamilton was also for a time leaseholder of the T.C.D. estate in Ulster, passing it subsequently to his associate Sir James Carroll (above, chapter 11).
2. Above, pp.163-4, 327-8, 463. On Francis Edgeworth, a clerk of the hanaper, whose patent of a nunnery in Armagh came to Annesley, see H. J. & H.E. Butler, The black book of Edgeworthstown (London, 1927). Annesley clearly had government support in his activities. Although the king in 1612 directed that the command of Mountnorris fort be granted to Henry Acheson, one of the Scottish undertakers, Chichester granted it to Annesley (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp.256-8).
3. Above, pp.164-5.
4. Above, pp.179-80.
5. Above, pp.289, 336.

And yet some large accumulations of land were amassed in both counties. Who amassed them and their effects on the plantation should be discussed. One, Sir William Brownlow's acquisition of his father's estate, had an inevitable quality. The acquisition of the estate originally granted to Ridgeway near Virginia in Cavan and with it the lands of, and responsibility for, the town by Lucas Plunkett, subsequently earl of Fingall, himself a neighbouring landowner, was significant because it brought about an increase in the influence of the old English group in that county.¹ The two most expansionist original grantees were the servitors Caulfield in Armagh and Culme in Cavan. Caulfield in acquiring the 5,000 acre estate of Henry McShane O'Neill made the more modest improvement, but he already had some 20,000 acres in Armagh, and land in Tyrone as well.² Culme who began with some 4,500 acres was involved, as has been seen, in a number of enterprises, and in 1641 his son Arthur and members of his family owned about 12,000 acres.³ This had been acquired from both native grantees⁴ and British servitors. Both were at any rate generally resident in Ulster. Lord Lambert, whose father, Sir Oliver, had an estate in Westmeath before receiving land as a

1. Above, pp.390-93.
2. He also held land in Armagh from T.C.D. (above, chapter 11). Caulfield also had a military position and other outside interests. He had a house in Dublin. Some indication of his financial dealings and affairs outside Ulster can be got from a letter to a Dublin agent in 1620 (Marsh's Library, Dublin, Z3. 2. 6, no. 45). Caulfield also acquired Sandford's grant of the mountain lands in Ulster (above, p.157). This patent was regarded by the author of the 'advertisements for Ireland' as detrimental to the interests of the crown (O. O'Brien (ed.), Advertisements for Ireland (Dublin, 1923), p.17).
3. He was a leaseholder of the bishopric of Kilmore to boot (above, pp.464, 492).
4. Above, p.327.

servitor in Cavan, owned more than 15,000 acres there in 1641 as a result of his father's acquisitions from other servitors, but lived in England and the Cavan estate was ill-administered.¹ Furthermore, if Bishop Bedell's son-in-law, Clogy, is correct, his father and he had neglected an obligation in their original patent to build a 'citadel' at Cavan, 'and a wall of defence against a sudden storm'.²

In fact a number of British proprietors with many outside interests or extensive lands elsewhere can be found. It is likely that their lands in plantation Ulster and the obligations which went with them would not be of primary importance to them. In Armagh, St. John and Mountnorris clearly belonged to this group. Trevor and Bagnal with lands in Down, and Moore with his estate at Mellefont were others. In Cavan the largest owner in 1641, with about 38,000 acres, Sir Charles Coote, was of this category. Coote was a prominent military figure,³ vice-president of Connacht, and a man 'well estated in that province'.⁴ His Cavan lands, recently acquired from Culme and Sir William Parsons (himself an adventurer) were originally granted to servitors (including Nicholas Pynnar) and natives. Another of Coote's type was Henry Crofton, who had acquired 1,000 acres of natives lands,⁵ and who had official and landed connexions with Connacht. The Ashe brothers, servitors in Cavan, had estates in Meath, and their representative in

1. Above, pp.294-6.

2. W. W. Wilkins (ed.), Memoir of the life and episcopate of Dr. William Bedell... by Clogy (London, 1862), p.173. The patent as calendared does not refer to this stipulation (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1, p.210).

3. Above, pp.249, 300.

4. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, p.449.

5. Above, p.329.

1641, Thomas Ashe (4,500 acres), was most likely an absentee. The ownership in both Armagh and Cavan of Sir George Acheson and Hans Hamilton necessarily led to absenteeism in one county.

The few grantees or crown-leaseholders of very small areas in both counties proved specially vulnerable. Thus in Armagh Richard Atherton's 105 acres were acquired by Grandison¹, and his brother's lease of the Mountnorris fort land passed - on his death - to Annesley. Similarly, in Cavan the four smallest grantees, holding between 124 and 419 acres, did not retain their lands. One of these, for example, Sir Thomas Rotherham, who had a lease of the lands attached to the castle at Cavan, claimed in 1622 that he had passed his lease to Sir Oliver Lambert, who received a patent of the land, as a result of negotiations conducted by St. John the lord deputy, but had not been paid the amount agreed.² However, owing to the fragmentation of a few estates towards the end of our period these small owners were replaced by a somewhat more numerous group of small owners in both counties, and yet the number of British owners in both counties had declined slightly by 1641. In Cavan there were thirty-seven in 1641, there having been thirty-nine originally, though here the amount of land in the hands of individual British owners had declined fractionally. In Armagh, where the proportion of land British-owned had increased there were thirty owners in 1641, there having been thirty-one initially. Since the increased number of small owners occupied only a small area of the land, it is clear that the effect of accumulations was not inconsiderable.

1. Above, p.229.

2. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, 2B. 80. 120, no. 200.

Apart entirely from the effects on the development of the plantation of ownership change, land accumulation and absenteeism, it was considered as early as 1618 that the success of settlement in Ulster had been jeopardised by the granting of estates which were too large. Lord Deputy St. John, in proposals for the plantation of Longford, suggested that estates should be in the range of about 200 to 1,000 acres because

experience has taught us that [in] Ulster the undertakers' buildings have not been so readily performed as was expected, nor the British brought over in sufficient numbers to inhabit those great scopes.¹

Wentworth, planning for Connacht in 1634 and 1635 considered that estates should not be larger than 1,000 acres, or 'at most' 1,500 acres

for I find where more have been granted the covenants of plantation are never performed nor doth it bring in half so many planters to undergoe the public service of the crown, to secure the kingdom against the natives, or to plant civility, industry, and religion amongst them....²

Subsequent thinking, then, was - explicitly or implicitly - critical of the Ulster scheme. Yet it is clear that in its conception at least it reflected a considerable evolution of thought on this point of estate sizes. The seignories of Munster nominally 4,000 to 12,000 acres had been replaced by the propositions of Ulster in the range of 1,000 to 2,000 acres, with principal undertakers, one in each barony, allowed 3,000 acres. Albeit through administrative error estates had turned out to be very much larger, and the ill-effects of this disparity between planning and execution proved irremediable. And yet it remains unproven³

1. Cal. Carew MSS, 1603-24, pp.367-70.
2. Sheffield City Library, Strafford MSS, vol. 111, pp.152, 180-81, 182 (Strafford's letters, i. 341-2, 365).
3. A study of the Longford plantation would be valuable here.

that individual settlers could have succeeded, without the considerable income from native Irish tenantry which their large estates made possible, had very much smaller acreages been granted.

We have examined in earlier chapters a number of administrative failings on the part of the government which caused difficulties and uncertainties for the settlers. And yet again it is clear that the Ulster project (in our area and elsewhere) was more efficiently inaugurated than the Munster scheme. This was, admittedly, greatly facilitated by the fact that almost all the land in each county was declared confiscate and so the differentiation of forfeited and unforfeited land presented a much smaller problem than it did in Munster.¹ Perhaps it was for this reason rather than because Chichester's government was markedly more efficient than that of the 1580s that the Ulster plantation was more smoothly and more quickly inaugurated. The effect was that the initial problems of the grantees in Ulster were less staggering. Many of the Munster undertakers returned to England in 1586 because there was nobody present to receive them and allocate their lands.² No such frustration was in store for the Ulster undertakers in the summer of 1610. There were indeed numerous disputes about small areas between the grantees in Ulster, and the allocation of concealed land presented difficulties, but

1. On the Munster plantation see D. B. Quinn 'The Munster plantation: problems and opportunities' in Cork Hist. Soc. Jn., vol. lxxi (1966), pp. 19-40; D.B. Quinn, Raleigh and the British empire (London, 1947), pp.129-61; J. H. Andrews 'Colonisation and cartography: geographical ignorance as a factor in the Irish plantations', unpublished paper read to the International Geographical Congress, Dublin, 1964.

2. Quinn, Raleigh and the British empire, p.135.

protracted litigation with native Irish or old English claimants so common in Munster was only ephemeral in Ulster. This was not because the government was markedly more efficient in clarifying the rights of such claimants¹, but because a much more comprehensive confiscation there had simplified the situation.

Despite a comparatively auspicious start to the plantation we have seen that there were many settler casualties in both Armagh and Cavan. Yet the colonising achievement was a very considerable one, though at the same time the colony did not materialise in strict accord with the plantation conditions.

Stated quantitatively in terms of the size of the British population installed, the plantation in our area had had a marked effect. It is also a fact that the size of the colony in Armagh was significantly larger than in Cavan. The population of Armagh in about 1630 numbered, as we have seen,² over 1,000 and probably as many as 1,500 British males. The population of Cavan, a county one and one-half times as large as Armagh, was, however, no more than about 835 British males. The Cavan total was, in fact, lower than any other county in plantation Ulster. The Armagh figure, however, compared very favourably with the achievement in Londonderry. The acreage of Armagh was some three-fifths that of Londonderry, a county in which there were just under 2,000 British male inhabitants.¹ In terms of real acreages the densities were very similar.

1. See above, pp.123-4, 128-9, 134, 135-6, 323-4. It should be noted also, however, that the government was able to exploit the situation regarding Sir Henry Oge O'Neill's lands (above, pp.322-3).
2. Above, pp.274-80.
3. T. W. Moody, Londonderry plantation, p.322.

However when it is considered that undertakers (the group principally responsible for, and most generally active in, the introduction of settlers) in Armagh held only some 82,000 acres or 26% of the area of the county, whereas their equivalents, the companies, in Londonderry held some 291,000 acres or 57%¹, it becomes clear that the achievement of private settlers in Armagh far outstripped that of the corporate bodies in Londonderry.² Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the Londonderry plantation was the size attained by its two towns, Derry (500 British males) and Coleraine (300)³ both of which far surpassed urban development in either Armagh or Cavan. Indeed the undertakers in Cavan planted more densely than the companies did their lands in county Londonderry. To equal the companies rate of 900 men⁴ to 291,000 acres the Cavan undertakers with 130,000 acres should have planted somewhat over 400 men. In fact the muster return indicates that they had planted well over 600.⁵ Down - privately colonised - with about 610,000 acres (almost twice the size of Armagh) and 4,045 names on the muster roll was, however, more densely settled than either Londonderry, Armagh, or Cavan.

The size of the Ulster colony compared very favourably with that of Munster and North America. There were about half as many British

1. Ibid., p.455.
2. It may be noted that the native Irish grantees in Armagh had half as much land again as they did in Derry at the outset of the plantation, and with some 59,000 acres in 1641 still had somewhat more than the 52,050 acres initially allotted to natives in Derry.
3. T. W. Moody, Londonderry plantation, p.279.
4. Ibid., p.321.
5. This figure excludes the populations of Cavan and Belturbet. For the former there is a separate entry in the muster book. The undertakers between them mustered 740 people. These would include the residents of Belturbet who at most could hardly have exceeded 100 (see above, pp.393-7).

5. Above, pp.24-25. For the figures at the time of Coleraine's survey see p.197.

males in Armagh and Cavan as in all the Munster plantation.¹ The total population of the American colonies in 1630 has been estimated as 4,646 persons.² Clearly then Ulster had not only been a more successful plantation than its Munster precursor, but it had also attracted settlers on a much greater scale than concurrent efforts in America. But whereas the north American population grew rapidly in the 1630s - though it had not exceeded 26,634 persons by 1640³ - there is no evidence of any significant immigration to our area (or to Ireland at large) in that period. A twofold explanation can be offered. The undertakers had just procured permission to retain Irish tenantry on part of their estates and so would not seek further settlers. Also to emigrants in the 1630s - if anxious to avoid religious intolerance in England - Ireland under Wentworth and Bramhall offered no asylum, whereas America did.⁴ Not only, then, was the colony on the defensive against Wentworth's administration in this decade, but it also received little or no external re-inforcement from settler arrivals. Nonetheless it must have seemed securely based.

However there had been variations in performance between individual settlers, between settler groups, between institutional grantees, and between Armagh and Cavan. We have seen, for example, that by 1622⁵ Scots and English undertakers in Armagh had planted much more densely than their counterparts in Cavan. Also the Scots in Armagh

1. D.B. Quinn, 'The Munster plantation: problems and opportunities', in Cork Hist. Soc. Jn., vol. lxxi (1966), pp.38-9.
2. J. P. Greene, Settlements to society (New York, 1966), p.238.
3. Ibid.
4. Wentworth, conscious of this, was placed in somewhat of a quandary in planning his Connacht plantation (Sheffield City Library, Strafford MSS, vol. 7, p.104; H.F. Kearney, Strafford in Ireland, p.101).
5. Above, pp.240-41; for the situation at the time of Pynnar's survey see p.197.

had planted twice as densely as the English undertakers in that county, while the English in Cavan had planted their barony of Loughtee more densely than were Clankee and Tullyhunco allotted initially to Scots. Such variations, interlocking factors of national and individual quality, have been examined throughout this thesis, and they served to break down the planned symmetry of the plantation.

There were indeed a number of ways in which the colony did not develop according to plan. These can be listed quickly. The colony was slow in reaching its norm. The Scots in Cavan were particularly slow in starting operations. There was too much discontinuity of ownership. The stipulated pattern of settlement in village communities was only partly followed. Grantees' bawns and houses did not always measure up to requirement. The colony was not adequately armed. We have seen that the structure of tenantry on estates differed in varying ways from the scheme laid down in the undertakers conditions, and that there were many disputes between landlords and tenants. One of the most striking divergences from plan was that the native Irish population was not excluded from the baronies assigned to undertakers.¹ The undertakers quickly discovered the value of the native population as tenants in situ who would pay higher rents than the British, and as a convenient source of manpower available for their needs.² Government attempts to have the

1. It should be noted, however, that even if this rule had been enforced the baronies assigned to undertakers would still generally have contained areas from which the Irish need not be excluded - episcopal land and pieces held by pre-plantation title.
2. Professor Quinn in making this point about the Munster plantation has stated that this placed the British there at an advantage vis-a-vis their counterparts in America who did not find the Indians so tractable to their needs and had to import African slaves if they required more labour (D. B. Quinn, 'The Munster plantation: problems and opportunities' in Cork Hist. Soc. Jn., vol. Lxxi (1966), p.28.

undertakers honour this obligation foundered on their vested interest in its violation. The settlers' neglect of public interest for private advantage was regularly pointed to throughout our period, and it is clear that this had implications for the security of the colony. And yet it seems fair to argue that the task of removing the Irish from undertakers' lands (however short the distance might be) should have been undertaken by the government, and carried out in a planned manner.¹

Also it is possible that those undertakers who were granted land - and unknowingly received much larger acreages than they expected - might not have been able to establish settlements had they been deprived of income from the indigenous population.²

This is not to say, however, that there were not very definite influence areas in each county. The baronies granted to undertakers were manifestly more thoroughly planted than the other areas.³ There

1. This was suggested belatedly in 1628 (above, pp.255-7).
2. One contemporary at any rate would have been sceptical of this argument. The author [?] Sir Henry Bouchier of the 'Advertisements for Ireland', c.1622, claimed, speaking of the plantations generally, that 'your richer sort' of undertakers and the 'corporations here of England' (presumably a reference to the London companies) retained the natives ('because they pay them greater rents they say than the British will'), and set a bad example to the rest (G. O'Brien (ed.), Advertisements for Ireland (Dublin, 1923, an extra volume of R.S.A.I.), p.12).
3. Though it is clear that the colony in all areas, however considerable in undertakers' baronies, was considerably outnumbered by the native population. In 1628 it was stated that 'although in many of the proportions ... there is one small township... yet the proportions being wide and large, the habitation of all the province is scarce visible' (M. Hickson, Ireland in the seventeenth century, ii. 330). Bishop Bedell's son, William, states that during his father's episcopate Cavan was 'meetly well planted with English, but scatteringly here and there which facilitated their ruine'. Also although there was 'a competent number of English, ... the Irish were more than five times their number, and all of them obstinate papists' (T.W. Jones (ed.), Life and death of William Bedell (London, 1872), p.62). However to the Irish in Cavan the settlers were a substantial body. A report in 1636 on the state of the Catholic diocese of Kilmore spoke of the effect of the colony on the cathedral centre of Kilmore and the county at large:

were, however, differences in intensity between Armagh and Cavan which may be briefly noted. The undertakers in Armagh planted more densely than those in Cavan. The servitors in Armagh¹ also introduced more British than those in Cavan, though the servitors lands in both counties were on the whole Irish-occupied. The introduction of British proceeded much further on the lands of the archbishopric of Armagh than it did on those of the bishopric of Kilmore. The lands of Trinity College in Armagh compare in this respect much more with those of the bishopric of Kilmore than with archiepiscopal land in Armagh. However, in Armagh some sprinkling of British tenantry usually followed British ownership, and this had proceeded very much further in Armagh than in Cavan by 1641.² The plantation aimed to produce a mixed society whose components would be carefully differentiated into different baronies in each county.

(Contd.)

'Villa in qua sita est Ecclia. Cathedralis habitores habet Anglos et assertores haereticæ pravitatis, simul cum ipso Pseudo-Epo.: per universam quoque Diaecesim Angli mixtim, Scotique haeretici cum Catholicis nativis vivunt' (P. F. Moran (ed.), Spicilegium Ossoriense, 1st. series (Dublin, 1874), p.208).

1. Caulfield's monastic land in Armagh can be considered as servitor in this respect. Almost all the Cavan monastic land was old English owned.
2. On the lands owned by native Irish or old English British tenantry were extremely exceptional. Sir Turlogh McHenry O'Neill may have had a few in south Armagh (see above, pp.334-5). Otherwise the British middlemen tenants to Phelim O'Neill in Tiranny (above, p.336) are all that have come to light. It is clear though that not only did some old English tenantry follow old English ownership to Cavan (above, p.240) - indeed the British lord Lambert had a Pale tenant (above, p.240) - but that there were also some old English tenants in Armagh. A few of these held lands, and were generally absentee, from a number of owners (Richard Rolleston, above, p.425; the archbishop of Armagh; above, pp.546, 560; Phelim O'Neill, above, pp.336-7) in different parts of the county, but there were also a number, not unexpectedly, in south Armagh bordering on Louth. We have seen that Sir Turlogh McHenry O'Neill had old English tenants (above, pp.334-5). On Bagnal's land in south Orior there was an old English tenant Patrick Babe (Armagh Public Library, Submissions of evidence to the court of claims, 1663, vol. X (unpaginated) : submission of John Babe; on Babe see T. Fitzpatrick, The bloody bridge (Dublin, 1903), pp.21-2).

This careful differentiation was not achieved. However in Armagh, though not in Cavan, the amount of land in British ownership increased in the thirty years before 1641.

Related to the political purpose of the plantation - to transform Ulster from being a stronghold of Gaelic particularism by the transfer of the largest proportion of the land to British owners - were social and economic objectives, to introduce 'civility' and British methods to the northern counties. An attempt has been made¹ to assess the effects of the plantation in this respect, but the almost total absence of estate papers and maps has made for only tentative conclusions. It seems clear at any rate that changes were confined to British owned land. The intractability of the Irish to the adoption of British agricultural methods was often noted, and indeed converted to crown profit through fines. Corn production and cattle raising were the two basic activities of the settlers, associated processing activities being very common. Flour mills were built on almost all estates, brewhouses had been erected, and surplus corn from Cavan at any rate was sold in Dublin. There is substantial evidence for the importation of British livestock. Woollen weaving was common, though the evidence for flax is slight. Craftsmen and merchants were resident in most of the towns or villages. Only one ironworks - in north Cavan - has come to light, and the evidence about timber cutting or processing is fragmentary. It is clear that some enclosure of land had taken place, and also drainage and reclamation. the compilers of the Civil survey were particularly impressed by the

1. See above, chapter 9.

2. See below appendix

achievement of the Oneilland undertakers in Armagh:

The soyle of this barony is generally good for tillage and pasture and the finest plantation of Ulster by reason of the English nation that first planted it, most of the same being naturally subject to wett but by their industry drained and made dry.¹

Also, despite the criticisms of the planters' building record, one of the most striking features of the plantation was the buildings they erected. Elizabethan and Jacobean England saw re-building on a considerable scale, and the settlers reproduced houses similar to those from which they came.² A whole range of building skills were mobilised in the Ulster environment.

The settlers, then, brought much that was new to the Ulster scene - a pattern of social organisation which was alien to Gaelic tradition. A system of fairs and markets based on the planters' settlements³ reproduced British arrangements. It was really only with the plantation, though Cavan had been nominally shired in 1579, that the English system of local government was introduced, and in county administration the settler element predominated.⁴ In contrast to Munster where a presidency and council had been set up some fifteen years before it was planted, the appointment of sheriffs and constables and the holding of sessions did not systematically begin in Ulster until after O'Neill's submission in 1603: assizes were first held in Armagh in 1605 and revived

1. R. C. Simington (ed.), The Civil Survey, vol. X, miscellanea, p.69.
2. Anthony Cope in Armagh was a close relative of Sir Walter Cope who had built Cope castle - later Holland House - in the first decade of the seventeenth century (D. Hudson, Holland House in Kensington (London, 1967), pp.2-6; see also E. M. Jope, 'Moyry, Charlemont, Castleraw, and Richhill: fortification to architecture in the north of Ireland, 1570-1700', in U.J.A., 3rd ser., vol. 23 (1960), pp.97-123).
3. Above, pp.433-9.
4. See below appendix

10. Ing. succell. D.D. reports, 11, Cavan (17) Class 1.

11. Above, pp. 69, 379.

12. Above, pp.211,2.

in Cavan in 1606. In Cavan admittedly there was some familiarity with the English legal system from before the plantation and the office of sheriff there was on a number of occasions in our period occupied by persons of old English or Gaelic Irish origin. Yet it is clear that in both counties it was the presence of the colonists which ensured that the system was effectively introduced.¹ Its working, however, remains almost totally obscure owing to the absence of sheriffs' rolls, quarter sessions records, and constables, churchwardens, or vestry records. Yet we know that barony constables were first appointed for Armagh in 1605.² While only the archbishop of Armagh's manor court records survive,³ we know that manor courts were held on a number of estates in both counties⁴, and since the archbishop's court appointed petty constables and bailiffs in the normal English way,⁵ it is likely that the other courts did so also. There is evidence, too, that other county officers were appointed. In 1616 Marmaduke Whitechurch and Archibald Moore, both landowners, were collectors of fines imposed at the assizes, for Armagh and Cavan respectively.⁶ In 1618 Peter Ameas⁷ was collector of subsidy for county Cavan.⁸ In the following year Archibald Moore was receiver of the king's rents in Cavan.⁹ Doubtless the unnamed 'auditour of the ... county' referred to in an inquisition in 1629¹⁰ held the same office. There was a county jail in Cavan town from before the plantation,¹¹ and one had been built in Armagh by 1641.¹² Sessions were probably held in these

1. See above, pp.31-2.

2. Above, p.30.

3. Above, pp.568-71.

4. Above, p.427.

5. Above, p.571.

6. P.R.O., S.P. 63/234, ff.46-7 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, pp.127-8).

7. Above, pp.188-9, 268.

8. P.R.O.I., Ferguson MSS, vol. Xi, p.271.

9. Ibid., p.284.

10. Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (17) Chas 1.

11. Above, pp. 64, 379.

12. Above, pp.371.2.

buildings, though it was noted in 1622 that Sir Stephen Butler had collected money in Cavan for building a sessions house.¹ It is clear that the maintenance of order, especially in periods of emergency, presented special problems, and it was military forces (particularly those of provost marshals) at those times rather than ordinary legal sanctions which played the crucial role.

As far as the administration or regulation of the colony was concerned we have seen that the government faltered in a number of important respects. The enforcement of the conditions of plantation to which the individual settlers were bound was generally neglected. But it was perhaps in its treatment of what may be called the institutional side of the colony that the Dublin government was most lacking in vigour. We have examined in detail the procrastination which characterised government policy with regard to the establishment of the church,² towns,³ and schools⁴ in our area. It would be wrong, of course, to minimise the problems these presented, since it seems fair to say that in the planning of the colony inadequate thought was given to their inauguration. Urban development, for example, made, as it was, a private responsibility was in general slow and dependent on the fortunes of individual patrons.⁵ This had important military implications, recognised in 1620 when the

1. Above, p.216.
2. Above, chapter 10.
3. Above, chapter 8.
4. Below, appendix
5. Virginia, as we have seen, came into old English hands having been purchased with a servitor's estate by the earl of Fingall in 1622 from Sir Hugh Culme (N.L.I., J. Ainsworth, Reports on private collections, Fingall Papers, vol. 1, no. 6, p.127). In 1642 Virginia was described as 'a towne of the traytor the Earle of Fingall' (J. Hogan (ed.), Letters and papers relating to the Irish rebellion, p.150).

Leitrim plantation was being founded. Here money was reserved out of the revenue accruing from the undertakers¹, and Sir Charles Coote, vice-president of Connacht, was allocated £3,000 and charged with the building of a walled town, Jamestown.² This, it was noted, would

supply the great defect in the plantation of Ulster, where there are no towns walled but Derry and Coleraine.³

However in other ways the government was less exculpably negligent in its attitude to the Ulster project. The articles of plantation stated that the settlers' tenantry should be mustered twice yearly, and yet it was not until 1618 that a muster master was appointed, and this was due to a foreign emergency.⁴ The settlers may have been themselves neglectful of military security, but the government seems also to have been somewhat heedless of the danger of insurrection. While acute financial stringency offers some extenuation for the disposal of the inland forts in 1620⁵ this action meant that the colony in Armagh and Cavan (and other inland counties) was left without permanent military protection.⁶

In the last resort the success of the plantation depended on the reaction of the native Irish. Although it met with intermittent localised violence, it was not disrupted by insurrection or invasion, as

1. A special fine of £100 per 1,000 acres to be paid within five years was imposed upon the undertakers (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, p.336).
2. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, pp.512, 567; Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, pp.336, 448-9.
3. Ibid., p.449.
4. Above, p.174. Also there was the failure to provide machinery to facilitate the required taking of the oath of supremacy.
5. Above, pp.201-6.
6. There was, though, a permanent provost marshal for Ulster (Lib. mun. pub. Hib., pt 11, pp.193-4), and also other appointments for specific areas were made, as has been seen, from time to time. This device of sending provost marshals to disturbed areas, at small cost, was adopted by Chichester as early as 1611 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp. 156-7).

was that of Munster and the fact that it grew for thirty years before receiving a major challenge made it one of the most decisive happenings in seventeenth century Irish history. This is not to say that the Irish were not embittered by its implementation. However finding themselves militarily incapable of immediately exterminating the colony, and also that the undertakers were all too willing to receive them as tenants, they tended to accept for the time a situation which began to look only remotely remediable.¹ The government proved unwilling, being pressed by the undertakers, to enforce their removal from the undertakers' lands, and so an ambiguous situation was not in fact resolved.² By remaining as tenantry and labourers they contributed substantially to making the plantation a going concern in its initial years, thereby facilitating a take-off the effect of which was to increasingly restrict their share both as owners and tenants.

The attitudes of the Irish, however, are not subject to easy generalisation. Some sporadically opted for the military solution.³ The stealing of the settlers' livestock was a regular pursuit of wood-

1. For the motives of the native grantees in accepting their lands, see above, pp.316-8.
2. Had the Irish decided on a concerted policy of passive resistance, and withdrawn to the lands allotted to the native grantees, which in our counties (where the Irish received more than twice their allotment in Londonderry) might have been practicable, it is perhaps conceivable that the plantation would have proved much less viable in its early years, and an opportunity for a negotiated restriction of its scope presented itself.
3. The collective disloyalty of the native Irish was an accepted tenet of government thinking. Wentworth formulated the value of the army, as a result, very concisely in 1636: 'the army, as of absolute necessity to that government, was rather to be re-inforced than at all diminished, as an excellent minister and assistant in the execution of all the king's writts, the great peace-maker betwixt the British and the native, betwixt the protestant and the papist, and the chief securer under God and his majesty of the future and past plantations' (Carte, Letters related to the history of the Duke of Ormond (London, 1735), p.7.

kerne¹, anxious to sabotage the colony. But many were prepared, in effect, to link their fortunes from year to year with the colonists as tenants and undertenants. Some co-operative relationships grew up at individual level, and there were even occasional intermarriages.² There were many who seem to have been prepared to accept (and use) the legal system of the colony and its social hierarchy and organisation.³ We have found many who held office in estate or county administration and there were even some native protestant clergy in Cavan.⁴ Apart from rare instances, however, they did not accept the protestant religion or the English language, though, except for Bedell's efforts in Cavan, neither was systematically expounded to them. Finally, even weaknesses in the

1. There are also, however, instances of theft of Irish-owned livestock by British (J. F. Ferguson, 'Ulster roll of gaol delivery, 1613-18' in U.J.A., 1st series, vol. 1, p.269).
2. Above, pp.155-6. Systematic investigation of this is impossible since parish registers have not survived. However apart from William Brownlow's marriage to Eleanor O'Doherty two cases have been found. There was residing on Sir John Dillon's estate in Armagh in 1624 a certain 'widdowe Turner, an Irishe woman' (P.R.O. S.P. 63/238, f.142). In 1636 a certain Daniel O'Leary, who in 1629 was a tenant on the Fishe estate in Cavan (Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii, Cavan (26) Chas 1), had as wife 'Susanna Leary, als. Partridge' (N.L.I., Butler Deeds : statement by Daniel O'Leary, 15 June, 1636).
3. Even in 1641 the system of urban government established by charter for Armagh town was not abolished but instead a prominent local Irish figure Tady Crawley or Crolly was appointed sovereign (T.C.D., MS F. 3. 7, f.65).
4. Apart from the occasional Irish sheriff or member of parliament we have found, during the plantation period, an Irish undersheriff in Cavan in 1630 (P.R.O.I., Ferguson MSS, vol. Xii, p.140), Irish petty constables, bailiffs and sub-bailiffs in Armagh in the 1620s (above, p.571), and Irish municipal officers in Cavan town (above, pp.379-88). Walter Brady presumably remained keeper of Cavan jail until his death. In July 1625 the keeper was Cale McEntire alias Freeman (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas 1, pp.44-5).

University College for assistance in translating this and other passages from Latin sources). After the necessary fines were granted to the archbishop of Armagh as king's almsman in 1617 they were applied, as we have seen (above, pp.43, 44, 45) to building protestant churches.

system of law enforcement offered some crude mitigation of the Irish position.¹

Yet it is hard to accept the unhesitant claims of Clarendon and Temple that the Irish and the settlers formed an integrated society,² sharing economic prosperity, by 1641.³ Ever since the plantation had been implemented there had been cumulative pressures on the amount of land the Irish owned or occupied. The occasional settler might acquire Irish ways,⁴ but settlers and natives as groups were differentiated in many fundamental interests. However much they might begin to accept the social system it was alien and novel (except perhaps to some of the Irish, and the old English, in Cavan), and must have often seemed hostile, to them. However intermittently they might be enforced, the Irish were subject to various penalties - for plowing by the tail, for being on undertakers' land (abolished in 1628⁵), and for recusancy⁶. Although the presence of catholic

1. There are, for example, instances of jail breaks like that of the three Irish who escaped from Cavan jail in 1625 (Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, pp.44-5).
2. When in 1627 Lieutenant Cowell, who held land in Armagh as a tenant to the archbishop (above, p.545), wished to leave money in his will for charitable purposes, he designated it to be for the relief of 'the protestant poor' (Armagh Public Library, will transcribed in W. Reeves, Memoirs of Tynan (ms volume, unfoliated)).
3. Clarendon, Rebellion, Ireland (London, 1720), pp.6-10; Temple, Irish rebellion (Cork, 1766), pp.25-6.
4. Like, for example, the daughter of a county Armagh carpenter who, in 1641, 'escaped because she spoke irish and said she was an irish woman' (T.C.D., MS F. 3. 7, f.92^v).
5. See above, p.254.
6. David Rothe, bishop of Ossory, writing in 1616, stated that in a recent year the recusancy fines for county Cavan totalled 8,000 sovereigns (P.F. Moran (ed.), The Analecta of David Rothe (Dublin, 1884), p.32. I am grateful to Dr. Ussher, Dr. Hardy and Mr. Peacock of Magee University College for assistance in translating this and other passages from Latin sources). After the recusancy fines were granted to the archbishop of Armagh as king's almosner in 1617 they were applied, as we have seen (above, pp.463, 465, 468) to building protestant churches.

clergy might be condoned, the temporalities had been transferred to protestant hands, and numerous ecclesiastical commentators pointed to the impoverishing effect the new dispensation had had on the catholic church organisation. A report to Rome in 1626 stated simply that the cathedral of Armagh 'ab haereticis occupatur'.¹ A similar report in 1636 on Kilmore diocese stated that the cathedral chapter was depleted because no emoluments could be looked for.² The author of the Commentarius Rinuccinianus asserted that as a result of the plantation, Ulster, previously an 'adornment of the faith', had turned out to be a 'cesspool of heterodox settlements'.³ Nor were the only grievances to be articulated religious ones. A confederate declaration of 1642 pointed to the sufferings of the Irish from provost marshals and from being disarmed while the settlers were an armed colony in accordance with the rule of the plantation.⁴ It must have seemed to the settlers in the 1630s, however, that the Irish could not possibly consider remedying their grievances by force. Yet if the plantation seemed to be a success by 1641, the limitation of that success - its vulnerability in the event of concerted attack - was quickly to be demonstrated. However by 1641 not only had the colony had thirty years of growth behind it, but the subsequent course of Irish history in the seventeenth century ensured its re-establishment.

1. B. Jennings (ed.), Wadding papers (Dublin, 1953), p.178.
2. P.F. Moran (ed.), Spicilegium Ossoriense, 1st. series (Dublin, 1874), p. 208. See also above, p.383.
3. Comment. Rinucc., i. 201.
4. Ibid., i. 358-9.

APPENDIX I

LISTS OF PROPRIETORS

The following lists have been derived basically from the Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1 with regard to the first set for each county and from the books of survey and distribution for ownership in 1641. However in drawing up the lists indicating ownership at the outset of plantation the lists of grantees in 'Ulster Plantation Papers' nos. 11 and 21 in Analecta Hibernica, viii and in Cal. Carew MSS, 1603-24, pp. 231-44 have been correlated with material derived from the patents. All have been used to rectify occasional errors and omissions in the lists printed in Hill's Plantation in Ulster. Supplementary sources used have been the crown rental of c.1617 (T.C.D., MS E.3.7, ff. 300-12) which is valuable as giving the names of assignees of lands, particularly in Cavan, granted before the plantation. Additional evidence of title or leasehold has been derived from a list in Marsh's Library, Dublin, MS Z4.2.6. The chancery inquisitions printed in Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii have been helpful in particular instances. The Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Eliz., and the Cal. grants Ire., Eliz. have also been used. In the case of some of the native Irish grantees in Orior, Armagh, particularly O'Hanlons and McCanns, mistakes in whose names were made in the lists of grantees, cognizance has been taken of an order of the lord deputy of 10 January 1612 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Carte MSS, vol.80, f.630) rectifying the situation. The first lists have been given the date range c.1610 - c.1620 to take accounts of small grants of concealed lands and other adjustments made within that period.

The lists for 1641 derive in large part from the books of survey and distribution. The Quit Rent Office set (inP.R.O.I.) has been chiefly used,

but the Headfort, and Taylor (in R.I.A.) sets have also been consulted. The civil survey has not survived for either Armagh or Cavan. The 1641 ownership column of the books of survey and distribution has, for Armagh and Cavan, to be treated with some caution, and a number of ascriptions of land to post 1641 owners have been rectified from other sources. Thus, for example, the books of survey and distribution ascribes the Sacheverall estate in north Armagh in 1641 to Major Edward Richardson from whom Richhill derives its name. But this seems mistaken because Francis Sacheverall, son of the original grantee, whose daughter and heir Richardson married (Burke, Landed gentry of Ireland (4th ed., 1958), p. 601), did not die until 1649 (Inq. cancell. Hib. repert., ii Armagh, (1) Chas II). Similarly, Arthur Culme's lands in Cavan are ascribed to 'the heirs of Col. Arthur Culme' although Culme was still alive in October 1648 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1647-60, p. 32). The most generally valuable supplementary materials have been the patents issued under the commission for defective titles which are transcribed in abstract in J. Lodge, Records of the Rolls, vol. vi, preserved in P.R.O.I. Inquisitions and other miscellaneous sources have also been used.

For the methods used in establishing the acreages of estates, see appendix 2. The significance of the areas indicated by means of an asterisk is also discussed in appendix 2.

Landowners, Armagh, c. 1610 - 1620

O = Oneilland, F = Fews, Or. = Orior, A = Armagh, T = Tiranny

No. on map	Barony	Owner	O.S. acreage	Acreage as granted
English undertakers:-				
1	O	John Brownlow	4,817	1,500
2	O	William Brownlow	8,062	1,000
10	O	William Powell	8,676	2,000
6	O	John Heron	5,316	2,000
9	O	Rev. James Matchett	3,455	1,000
13	O	Rev. Richard Rolleston	3,430	1,000
7	O	Anthony Cope	8,365	3,000
12	O	John Dillon	4,897	1,500
11	O	Francis Sacheverall	7,499	2,000
4	O	William Stanhowe	11,747	1,500
Scottish undertakers:-				
30	F, Or.	Sir James Douglas	7,083	2,000
29	F	Henry Acheson	1,962	1,000
26	F	James Craig	2,634	1,000
27	F	William Lawder	2,292	1,000
28	F	Claud Hamilton	1,727	500
British servitors:-				
33	Or.	Sir Oliver St. John	4,806	1,500
58	Or.	Sir Gerald Moore	2,681	1,000
64	Or.	Sir Thomas Williams	2,760	1,000
14	Or., O	Sir John Bouchier	3,685	1,000
34	Or.	Francis Cooke	2,877	1,000
38	Or.	Charles Poyntz	674	200
63	Or.	Lord Audley	1,654	500
15	O	Richard Atherton	105	
3	O	Edward Trevor	1,773	
5	A	Sir Toby Caulfield		
		: Charlemont fort land	500 approx.	
79	Or.	Capt. Anthony Smith		
		: Moyry fort land	4,447	
69	Or.	Henry Atherton		
		: Mountnorris fort land	1,134	300
70	Or.	Francis Annesley	778	
73	Or.	Marmaduke Whitechurch	713	

No. on map	Barony	Owner	O.S. acreage	Acreage as granted
Holders of former monastic property:-				
5, in*	F,A,T,O	Sir Toby Caulfield	20,168	
73	Or.	Marmaduke Whitechurch	3,276	
8	O, Or.	Arthur Bagnal	5,575	
In *	A	Francis Edgeworth	5 approx.	
B, in*	All bars	Archbishop	47,986	
G	A,F,O,Or.	Glebe	6,561	
Other ecclesiastical proprietors:-				
24, in*	A,F,T	Dean	7,162	
17	A	Chancellor	9	
18, in*	A	Vicars Choral	1,426	
Sc.	Or.	Armagh school land	1,552	
16	A	Trinity College, Dublin	22,875	4,700
Mountain	Or.	John Sandford (Mountain)	987	
Native Irish:-				
21	T	Turlogh oge O'Neill	561	
22	T	Brian O'Neill	3,293	
25	T	Neill O'Neill	332	
23	T	Henry and Charles O'Neill	344	
19	T	Conn boy O'Neill	1,278	
20	T	Catherine O'Neill	4,531	
76	Or.	Art McBaron O'Neill	7,082	2,000
68	Or.	Henry McShane O'Neill	4,910	1,500
48	Or.	Turlogh groom O'Hanlon	801	140
47	Or.	Shane McShane O'Hanlon	295	100
74	Or.	Rory McPatrick McCann	688	120
36	Or.	Rory McFerdoragh O'Hanlon	250	120
35	Or.	Patrick Moder [O'Donnell]	198	120
81	Or.	Laughlin O'Hagan	242	120
59	Or.	Felim McOwen oge McDonnell	203	100
49	Or.	Shane oge McShane roe O'Hanlon	219	120
57	Or.	Conn McTurlogh [O'Neill]	1,008	360
75	Or.	Owen McHugh McNeill Mor O'Neill	1,352	240
53	Or.	Patrick O'Hanlon	2,150	
72	Or.	Redmond O'Hanlon	3,841	
32	Or.	Cormac McTurlogh Brassilogh O'Neill	168	120

No. on map	Barony	Owner	O.S. acreage	Acreage as granted
Native Irish contd.:--				
42	Or.	Redmond McFerdoragh O'Hanlon	140	60
43	Or.	Turlogh oge McTurlogh Brassilogh O'Neill	141	60
67	Or.	{ Mulmory O'Donnell Art McTurlogh O'Neill Neill McTurlogh O'Neill	754	240
37	Or.	Neece Quin	181	120
46	Or.	{ Phelim and Brian O'Hanlon	584	240
45	Or.	{ Patrick McManus O'Hanlon and Ardell Moore O'Mulchrewe	293	120
80	Or.	{ Donnell McHenry O'Neill Felim McTurlogh Brassilogh O'Neill Eugene Vally O'Neill Edmond oge O'Donnelly	2,708	540
55	Or.	Shane McOghy O'Hanlon	213	100
54	Or.	Donell McCann	167	80
39	Or.	Carbery McCann	815	360
56	Or.	{ Brian McDonnell McFelim roe O'Neill Hugh McCarbery O'Neill Shane McTurlogh O'Neill	480	240
62	Or.	Donogh Reogh O'Hagan	325	100
60	Or.	Colla McArt McDonnell	145	120
77	Or.	Donogh oge McMurphy	728	180
78	Or.	{ Hugh McTurlogh O'Neill Art McTurlogh O'Neill Henry McTurlogh O'Neill	962	240
40	Or.	Hugh McGilleduffe	117	120
52	Or.	Cahir O'Mellan	123	100
51	Or.	Hugh McBrian McCann	362	80
61	Or.	Brian McMelaghlin McArt O'Neill	118	60
41	Or.	Felim O'Quin	293	100
44	Or.	{ Carbery oge McCann Toole McFelim McCann	59	160
66	Or.	Edmond Groome McDonnell	56	80
65	Or.	Alexander oge McDonnell	112	83
71	Or.	Brian oge O'Hagan	694	100
50	Or.	Ferdoragh O'Hanlon (in 1637)	43	(20)
31	F.	Sir Turlogh McHenry O'Neill	33,704	
	Or.	Collo McEever McDonnell	unidentified	80
U.	Or.	Unidentified ownership	4,247	

Landowners, Armagh, 1641

No. on map	Barony	Owner	O.S. Acreage
British proprietors:-			
1	O, Or.	Sir William Brownlow	13,463
2	O	Mark Trevor	1,666
3	O, Or.	Henry St. John	10,128
4	O	John Waldron	12,101
6	O	Alse Pybus	612
7	O	Anthony Cope	2,805
8	O	Henry Stanhowe	4,013
9	O	Hamlet Oblyns	2,081
10	O	Anthony Workman	293
11	O	Walter Cope	2,004
12, in#	A, F, O, Or., T	Toby, Lord Caulfield	26,331
13	O	Henry Cope	8,365
14	O, Or.	Henry, Earl of Bath	6,730
15	O	Richard Rolleston a/	3,430
16	O	Francis Sacheverall	7,499
17	O, Or.	Arthur Bagnal	5,575
18	O	Henry Dillon	4,897
20	A	George Chambers b/	196
23	T	Robert Hovendon	2,364
28	F	Hans Hamilton	6,653
29	F, Or.	Sir George Acheson	9,045
33	Or.	Toby Poyntz	4,318
36	Or.	Lord Mountnorris	4,387
39	Or.	Abraham Dee	658
35	Or.	James Galbraith	43
41	Or.	Charles lord viscount Moore	5,824
42	Or.	John Parry	267
49	Or.	Roger West	2,760
57	Or.	Richard Smith	4,447
58	Or.	Marmaduke Symonds	3,989
Old English:-			
5	O	Vallentine Blake	882
38	Or.	James Fleming	786
19	A	Trinity College, Dublin	22,875

a. Ownership controversial; see above, pp. 290-1

b. Or his son, Thomas; see above, p. 567

No. on map	Barony	Owner	O.S. Acreage
B, in *	All bars	Archbishopric	53,972
G	A, F, O, Or.	Glebe	6,561

Other ecclesiastical proprietors:-

27, in*	A, F	Dean	1,181
21	A	Chancellor	9
22, in*	A	Vicars Choral	1,426
Sc.	Or.	Armagh school land	1,552
Mountain	Or.	Lord Caulfield (mountain)	987

Native Irish:-

53	Or.	Roger Moore	7,082
40	Or.	Keadagh McDonnell	145
37	Or.	Patrick O'Mornaghan	118
51	Or.	Tool McRory McCann	688
32	Or.	O'Hanlon, Patrick McRory	250
31	Or.	Patrick O'Donnell	198
52	Or.	Hugh oge O'Neill	894
56	Or.	Hugh boy O'Neill	458
50	Or.	Hugh boy O'Hanlon	3,841
46	Or.	Mulmory McDonnell	252
47	Or.	Daniel O'Neill	251
48	Or.	- ? - O'Neill	251
54	Or.	Donnogh oge McMurphy	728
55	Or.	Brian O'Neill	962
34	Or.	Hugh McBrian McCann	362
43	Or.	{ Patrick and Hugh O'Hagan	694
44	Or.	Gillaspicke McDonnell	112
45	Or.	?? - McDonnell ??	56
26	T	Sir Phelim O'Neill	1,541
24	T	Turlogh oge O'Neill	5,127
25	T	Turlogh McBrian O'Neill	1,312
30	F	Sir Henry O'Neill	33,704

U	Or.	Unidentified ownership	4,247
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Landowners, Cavan c.1610 - c.1620

L = Loughtee, C = Clankee, T = Tullyhunco, Cm. = Clanmahon,
Cr. = Castlerahan, Th. = Tullyhaw, Tg. = Tullygarvy

No. on map	Barony	Owner	O.S. Acreage	Acreage as granted
English undertakers:-				
41	L	Sir Richard Waldron	7,093	2,000
39	L	John Fishe	8,868	2,000
38	L, Tg.	Sir Stephen Butler	13,552	2,760 ^a
44	L	Nicholas Lusher	6,619	2,000
37	L	Sir Hugh Wirrall	6,606	1,500
42	L	John Taylor	6,842	1,500
45	L	William Lusher	5,754	1,500
Scottish undertakers:-				
24	T	Sir Alexander Hamilton	12,445	2,000
22	T	Sir Claud Hamilton	3,406	1,000
23	T	Alexander Auchmooty	4,852	1,000
20	T	John Auchmooty	4,064	1,000
25	T	John Brown	6,424	1,000
62	C	Lord Aubigny	15,507	3,000
64	C	William Bailie	8,386	1,000
61	C	John Ralston	10,190	1,000
63	C	William Dunbar	9,345	1,000
British servitors:-				
54	Tg.	Sir Thomas and John Ashe	4,203	750
55	Tg.	Archibald and Brent Moore	8,049	1,500
34	Cm.	Sir Oliver Lambert	8,229	2,000
33	Cm.	Joseph Jones	8,618	1,500
30	Cm.	John Russon	1,811	500
27	Cm.	Anthony Atkinson	2,170	500
80	Cr.	Sir John Elliot	3,460	400
81	Cr.	John Ridgeway	8,109	1,275 ^b

a Includes 284 acres, as estimated, for town of Belturbet

b Includes 275 acres, as estimated, for the town of Virginia

No. on map	Barony	Owner	O.S. Acreage	Acreage as granted
79	Cr.	Roger Garth	2,108	500
67	Cr.	Sir Edmund Feltriplace	5,832	1,000
1	Th.	Sir George and Sir Richard Graham	13,603	2,000
2	Th., T, L	Hugh Culme	4,580	
3	Th.	Edward Rutledge	8,221	600
13	Th.	Nicholas Pynnar	13,612	1,000
65	C	Sir Robert Stewart	537	
84	C	George St. George	419	
21	T	Thomas Jones	124	200
47	L	Roger Downeton	1,195	
46	L	William Binde	292	
in #	L	Sir Thomas Rotherham	141	
Holders of former monastic property:-				
40	L	Sir James Dillon, Earl of Roscommon	4,150	
in #	L	Sir Thomas Ashe	9	
Old English:-				
26	Cm., Cr., L	Richard Nugent, baron Devlin	18,335	
31	Cm., L	Edward Nugent	1,905	462
86	Th., T	Walter Talbot	3,366	
28	C, Cm., Cr.	Capt. Garret Fleming	15,643	
76	Cr.	Sir William Taaffe	5,832	1,000
82	Cr.	Christopher Plunket, baron Killeen	6,458	
35	Cm., Cr.	Christopher Nugent	3,396	450
32	Cm.	Richard Fitzsimons	209	50
50	Tg.	Capt. Richard Tirrell	8,439	
B	All bars	Bishopric	31,785	
G, in*	All bars	Glebe	13,657	
Sc.	L	School lands	917	
In *	L	Town of Cavan	683	
Mountain	Th.	John Sandford (Mountain)	16,828	

No. on map	Barony	Owner	O.S. Acreage	Acreage as granted
Native Irish:-				
51	Tg.	Mulmory McPhillip O'Reilly	4,142	1,000
53	Tg.	Capt. Hugh O'Reilly	3,467	1,000
59	Tg.	Terence Brady	733	150
52	Tg.	Morish McTully	1,321	300
57	Tg.	Thomas Brady	497	150
58	Tg.	Connor McShane roe [Brady]	575	150
56	Tg.	Henry Betagh	2,043	262
49	Tg., L	Mulmory oge O'Reilly	17,772	3,000
17	Cm., Cr., L, T	Mulmory McHugh Connelagh O'Reilly	7,134	2,000
36	Cm.	Hugh McBrian O'Reilly	271	100
29	Cm.	Phillip McTurlogh Brady	1,083	300
43	Cr., L	{ Walter, Thomas and Patrick Brady	6,926	
75	Cr.	Cahir McShane O'Reilly	1,112	300
72	Cr.	Barnaby O'Reilly	977	150
71	Cr.	Shane McHugh O'Reilly	2,214	475
73	Cr.	Thomas McJames bane [O'Reilly]	456	50
78	Cr.	Phillip McBrian McHugh O'Reilly	2,069	300
83	Cr.	Owen McShane O'Reilly	1,100	200
66	Cr.	Brian a'Coggye O'Reilly	1,371	400
70	Cr.	Mulmory McOwen O'Reilly	1,055	
77	Cr.	Hugh roe McShane O'Reilly	742	200
69	Cr.	Phillip and Shane O'Reilly	943	300
74	Cr.	Shane McPhillip O'Reilly	3,273	925
68	Cr.	Owen McMulmory O'Reilly	2,616	500
48	Cr., L	Hugh McGlasney [O'Reilly]	550	100
87	Th.	Brian McPhillip O'Reilly	8,221	600
4	Th.	Felim McGawran	2,976	1,000
5	Th., T	William O'Sheridan	1,420	
6	Th.	Mulmory McTurlogh O'Reilly	1,039	200
7	Th.	Brian oge McGawran	1,025	200
8	Th.	{ Felim, Brian and Cahir, sons of Hugh O'Reilly, late of Ballaghaneao	414	200
9	Th.	Turlogh McHugh McBrian bane O'Reilly	452	150
10	Th.	Brian McShane O'Reilly	299	300
11	Th.	Donell Backagh McShane O'Reilly,	193	200
12	Th.	Cahir McOwen [O'Reilly]	412	100
14	Th.	Callo O'Gowne	371	150
15	Th.	Donell McOwen [O'Reilly]	570	150
16	Th.	Shane McCabe	383	200

Landowners, Cavan, 1641

No. on map	Barony	Owner	O.S. Acreage
British owners:-			
30	T	Sir George Acheson	6,424
31	T	Charles Hamilton	15,718
29	T	Sir James Craig	11,564
27	T	John Piman	371
28	T, Tg., L	Arthur Culme	7,581
7	Th.	Amadis Culme	2,616
1	L	Dean Benjamin Culme	1,653
74	Tg., Cm.	William Moore	5,749
45, in*	Tg., L	Thomas Ashe	4,445
72	Tg.	Heirs of Joseph Singe	721
81	C	Sir Henry Perse	15,507
83	C	Dr. William Bailie	8,615
80	C	Hans Hamilton	10,190
82	C	William Hamilton	9,345
85	C	? Sir Robert Stewart	537
33	Tg., L	Sir Setphen Butler	13,552
49	L	Thomas Greenham	6,536
47	L	Thomas Burrows	3,530
46	L	Roger Moynes	6,619
32	L	Sir Edward Bagshaw	6,606
41	L	Broghill Taylor	6,842
38	L	Sir Thomas Waldron	7,093
37	L	Edward Phillpott	1,142
58, in*	Cm., L	Lord Lambert	15,244
39	L	Richard Burrows	289
35	L	John Baker	133
34	L	John Sugden	468
102	Cr.	George Garland	264
104	Cr.	Henry Elliot	530
103	Cr.	David Kellett	2,108
90	Cr.	Henry Hickfield/Heckett	1,371
56	Cm.	Edward Russon	1,610
55	Cm.	Heirs of Dean Robinson	225
2	Th.	Sir Charles Coote	38,697
3	Th.	William Graham	4,716
4	Th.	Henry Crofton	1,039
19	Th.	Eleanor Chapman alias Reynolds	299

No. on map	Barony	Owner	O.S. Acreage
Old English:-			
17	Th., T	James Talbot	6,482
76	Tg.	James Archbold	1,820
53	Tg., L	Sir William Hill	8,849
67	Tg.	Thomas White	5,136
66	Tg.	Walter Tirrell	3,303
87	C	Lord Slane	1,841
86	Cr., C	Garret Fleming	12,630
52	Cr., L	John Dowdall	689
40	Cm., Cr., L	Earl of Westmeath	18,914
36	L	Luke Dillon	4,150
101	Cr.	Luke Plunket, Earl of Fingall	14,567
93	Cr.	Lawrence Dowdall	13,463
57	Cm., Cr.	James Nugent	1,545
64	Cm.	Lord Dunsany	2,015
59	Cm.	James Fleming	1,362
65	Cm.	Oliver Nugent	2,141
61	Cm.	Richard Fitzsimons	267
13	All bars	Bishopric	31,785
G, in*	All bars	Glebe	13,657
Sc.	L	School lands	917
In *	L	Town of Cavan	683
Mountain	Th.	Toby, Lord Caulfield (mountain)	16,828
Native Irish:-			
60	Cm.	Hugh McFarry O'Reilly	664
63	Cm.	Hugh Brady	1,083
20	L, Cm., Cr., T, Th.	Phillip McMulmory O'Reilly	6,145
24	Cm.	Hugh O'Reilly	262
62 ^a	Cm.	Myles O'Reilly	1,425
		Phillip McEdmond O'Reilly	325
		Edmund O'Reilly	97
51	L, Cr.	Glasney O'Reilly	550

a. These have been given a joint number on the map because there is a slight doubt (see above, p. 337) above the accuracy of individual allocations.

No. on map	Barony	Owner	O.S. Acreage
54	L	Calle O'Gowan	720
50	L, Tg.	Phillip McHugh O'Reilly	12,007
44	L, Cr.	Patrick Brady	4,642
43	L, Cr.	Robert Brady	2,158
42	L	John Brady	79
84	C	Garret Betagh	1,222
26	T	Patrick O'Sheridan	285
25	T	Shane oge McKiernan	679
5	T, Th.	Owen Sheridan	1,420
8	Th.	Cormac McBrian and Brian oge McGowran	626
21	Th.	Farrell McHugh McManus oge McGauran	1,083
12	Th.	Gowran oge McGowran	661
9	Th.	Brian oge McGawran	553
14	Th.	Gillernew McGawran	821
13	Th.	Henry Betagh	338
16	Th.	Charles McGawran	2,976
10	Th.	Shane reagh O'Reilly	770
15	Th.	Thomas McGawran	494
11	Th.	Charles O'Reilly	880
22	Th.	Daniel McGawran	299
23	Th.	Phelomy oge McGowran	338
18	Th.	Nicholas O'Gowan	371
6	Th.	Hugh O'Reilly ^{a/}	2,220
71	Tg.	Hugh McMulumory McPhillip O'Reilly	3,057
73	Tg.	Edmund McMulumory McPhillip O'Reilly	1,085
77	Tg.	Phillip McMulumory O'Reilly	162
70	Tg.	Neil McTully	1,755
69	Tg.	Phelim McHugh O'Reilly	2,514
68	Tg.	Hugh Brady	581
75	Tg., Cr.	Henry Betagh, junior	2,536
95	Cr.	Nicholas O'Reilly	977
99	Cr.	Hugh O'Reilly	3,273
98	Cr.	Thomas O'Reilly	456
94	Cr.	James O'Reilly	2,214
88	Cr.	Turlogh O'Reilly	815
91	Cr.	Phillip O'Reilly	742
96	Cr.	Phillip McBrian McHugh O'Reilly	2,843
92	Cr.	Owen O'Reilly	2,351
89	Cr.	John O'Reilly	1,055
100	Cr.	Thomas Gowen	265

a. This is based on both the Headfort and Taylor sets of the book of survey and distribution. The Quit Rent set gives Gillernew McGawran (no. 14 in this list) and Hugh O'Reilly.

No. on map	Barony	Owner	O.S. Acreage
97	Cr.	Thomas/James O'Gowen ^{b/}	1,438
78	L, Tg.	Christopher Betagh	1,472
79	Tg.	James Betagh	858
	Th.	Daniel McGroucke and Brian oge McGowran	unidentified
U	L	Unidentified ownership	1,585

b. Headfort and Taylor sets read Thomas O'Gowen. The Quit Rent set reads Jan. O'Gowran on p. 179, and on p. 180 (on which the entry is continued) James O'Goen.

The process of making the maps has been an extremely laborious one of identifying and plotting the townlands of each estate. The modern barony boundaries have been used, with the exception that post-seventeenth century divisions of baronies into 'Upper' and 'Lower' have been disregarded. These boundaries are much closer to those of the Down Survey than to those of the 1800 maps of the ecclesiastical counties, the boundaries of which do not easily fit together.

The problem of making the maps was exacerbated by the absence of any pre-1801 estate maps and by the fact that the Down Survey only mapped those areas which were subject to pre-Williamian confiscation. It was

1. T. V. Moody, *Irish Landmarks*, p. 457.

2. For a minor example of this find the area studied, see above pp. 147, 151, 154, 155.

APPENDIX 2

MAPS AND ACREAGE FIGURES

Maps have been constructed to indicate ownership for each county at the outset of plantation and in 1641. Each proprietor has been given a number or symbol, a key to which can be found in the lists of proprietors in appendix 1. A shading system has also been devised and is explained on each map.

The 1" ordnance survey townland index maps have been used as a base for these maps. No previous attempt to plot the boundaries of the plantation estates like Sampson's for Londonderry,¹ has been discovered. The process of making the maps has been an extremely laborious one of identifying and plotting the townlands of each estate. The modern barony boundaries have been used, with the exception that post-seventeenth century divisions of baronies into 'Upper' and 'Lower' have been disregarded. These boundaries are much closer to those of the Down Survey than to those of the 1609 maps of the escheated counties, the boundaries of which do not easily fit together.²

The problem of making the maps was exacerbated by the absence of any pre-1641 estate maps and by the fact that the Down Survey only mapped those areas which were subject to Cromwellian confiscation. It was

1. T. W. Moody, Londonderry Plantation, p. 453.
2. For a minor example of this from the area studied, see above pp. 127, 131, 134, 136.

therefore necessary to make special use of the maps of the escheated counties. Some of the difficulties involved may be mentioned here, but it is not proposed to attempt a detailed criticism of these maps.¹ The maps are poorly orientated and generally present only a very inexact representation of the individual baronies. One of the maps of Oneilland, no. 5.28, presents in fact a mirror image of the area. More serious perhaps is the fact, arising also from the poor cartographic techniques employed, that the internal orientation of the maps, i.e. the way in which townlands are mapped in relation to each other, is often faulty, thereby presenting difficulty in the superimposition of the 1609 data on to the ordnance survey maps. An immediate effect of these faults of orientation was that estates which appeared as mapped to occupy a coherent area sometimes turned out on occupation to be illogically shaped. The maps, too, have a varying accuracy. Smaller baronies are generally more thoroughly done than larger, baronies in mountainous areas, for example Tullyhaw, are particularly defective, and the maps of county Armagh generally have been found more easy to work from than those of Cavan. The work of the map makers was indeed not exclusively relied on in 1610 when the patents were being issued. In Cavan the division of the land into proportions was not followed. Thus, for example, the map of Tullyhunco represents that barony as falling into four small proportions,² whereas it was granted out as six. This arose from the revision of

1. Various criticisms of the maps have already emerged, above, pp.15, 121-38.

2. Maps Ulster, 1609, 4.24.

the conventional estimates of the Cavan polls which we have seen took place before the patents were issued. Also other sources than the maps appear to have been used when the patents were being drawn up - probably the topographical material assembled in 1608 and 1609 by inquisition - and so there is no assurance that all the places listed in the initial patents can be located on the maps. However they can often be used to identify places, the names of which had changed by the time of the Down Survey and books of survey and distribution.

Many of the identifications were made without difficulty, but also many required considerable persistence. However, the increasing definition of successive patents in the listing of alternative and sub-denominational names of places and in the granting of concealments made up for the difficulties of working from the first patents. Inquisitions were also of value. Knowledge of ownership changes between 1610 and 1641 sometimes facilitated working backwards from the evidence of the books of survey and distribution. Estate papers, though rare except for the lands of Trinity College and the archbishopric of Armagh, were used. In the identification of church land it was possible to use the material brought together by inquisition in 1608 and 1609.

In some instances material from the later seventeenth century and after proved helpful, or confirmed identifications already made. In trying to disentangle the ownership of small areas near to the town of Armagh, for example, rentals and maps in the archbishop's

registry proved invaluable.¹ The identification of the Charlemont estate, including the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul in Armagh, was also greatly facilitated by the use of estate materials.² Some nineteenth century official sources were also used, in particular the Report of the commissioners on the revenue and condition of the established church (Ireland) of 1868 and the Report of the endowed schools, Ireland, commission of 1858. In cases of doubt recourse was had to the 6" sheets of the first ordnance survey.

The smaller grants, particularly many to the native Irish proved most difficult to identify, though the identification of land Irish held in 1641 was greatly facilitated by reason of its being plotted on the Down Survey maps. The precise location of the lands of about a dozen Irish grantees, all save one in Cavan, could not be established, though it is likely that those in Cavan fell within an area of land which it was possible to show had been in Irish hands. The most tantalising fact to emerge in making the maps was that while for many estates surviving materials made for great assurance of the accuracy of identifications, for others there can not be the same

1. In particular Walter Dawson's rental, 1713; Thomas Ashe's rental, 1703 (photostat in P.R.O.N.I., T848); Richard Morgan's rental, 1724; estate maps of archiepiscopal property made by William Gray in 1716 (Registry, A/1a/54-9) and by Robert Livingstone in 1773 (Registry, A/2a/44-97). A map of Mullyloughran by Henry Davison (1852) assisted in the identification of a piece of glebe land.
2. P.R.O.N.I., D1644, leases Charlemont estate, 1782-1904; T971/711-41, T1176/3, T1007/291/9, D.O.D. 266 no. 368, D.1670/2/2 (all leases, rentals, etc.); T1176/5 Maps of Charlemont estates by Thomas Noble, 1826.

1. Survey of the Towns and Villages of Ireland (Dublin, 1797).
 2. Survey of Ireland: general alphabetical index to the townlands and townships, parishes, and baronies of Ireland (Dublin, 1861).

assurance, and allowance must be made for the possibility of mistaken identifications, particularly in Cavan. The mountainous barony of Tullyhaw in Cavan was the most difficult to map, and here some of the boundaries were plotted by a superimposition of the Down Survey map. Doubtful boundaries on the maps are indicated by means of dotted lines. Small areas in both counties remain unidentified.

The acreage figures have been computed from the ordnance survey areas of townlands. This was done because it was found that the figures given in the books of survey and distribution for both counties were unreliable. While confiscable land appears to be recorded accurately enough in these books, many unforfeited estates were seriously underestimated either through an only partial listing of townlands (the Down Survey did not plot unforfeited land) or because - in some cases - only block figures for estates were presented. Thus not only are the total acreage figures of these counties defective, but also the figures for unforfeited land.

In calculating the acreage figures the method employed was to list the acreages of each townland in the estates. A calculating machine was then used to establish individual and group acreages and percentages. Townland acreages were derived for the most part from the townland index of the 1871 census.¹ The smaller acreages, provided in the 1861 index,² of townlands south of Lough Neagh in Oneilland were preferred to those of

1. Census of Ireland, 1871 : Alphabetical index to the townlands and towns of Ireland (Dublin, 1877).
2. Census of Ireland : general alphabetical index to the townlands and towns, parishes, and baronies of Ireland (Dublin, 1861).

1871 as providing some possibility of taking account of the effects of drainage schemes and so allowing of a nearer approximation to the utilizable land areas of the seventeenth century.¹ A disadvantage of this method unavoidable because of the defects in the figures of the books of survey and distribution, is that it has not been possible to present statistics of profitable and unprofitable land. However, copies of Lewis's maps - which indicate relief and conveniently mark in barony boundaries and also the principal towns and villages - of Armagh and Cavan are presented with this thesis.² These give a partial assistance in the assessment of land profitability.

In all calculations the nearest acre was considered adequately accurate. The grand total achieved for Armagh as a result of the initial set of calculations was 310,706 acres and for Cavan 463,021 acres. When the townland figures were re-added when calculating the 1641 statistics slightly different totals were attained as a result of different assessments of the nearest acre having been made, but the differences were slight. The Armagh total was some 250 acres smaller and the Cavan total some 1,800 acres smaller. Because certain categories of land remained unaltered throughout the period it was thought best to use the first totals as a base for calculating the 1641 percentages also. Their accuracy is therefore marginally affected.

1. For the other exception to the use of the 1871 figures, see
2. Lewis's atlas comprising the counties of Ireland (London, 1837).

There is also the question of the accuracy of the totals, 310,706 and 463,021 acres, arrived at. The acreage of Armagh, acquired by adding the barony totals of the 1871 townland index, is 329,086 acres. However part of Lough Neagh is included in that total. The 1861 index indicates the amount of water included in each barony total. For Oneilland 16,561 acres (of Lough Neagh) were so included. The real acreage of the county is therefore 312,525 acres. There is thus again a small error to be admitted. Similarly, the grand total for Cavan derived from the 1871 index (477,360 acres), is in excess of the figure used as the base for calculations but when the acreages of Lough Sheelin and Lough Ramor and other large lakes as well as the river Erne are deducted the resulting figure is very close to that used in making calculations.

A few further explanations of how other problems encountered were overcome have to be made. Some of the original patents, especially of small areas to native Irish, included the grants to a number of individuals. The calendared versions, however, do not indicate the precise allocations of each grantee. In such cases it was not possible to indicate the boundaries of each grantee's land on the maps or provide individual acreage figures. Such grantees are therefore given a single number on the maps and the total acreage of their grants also has only been provided.

There was also considerable difficulty in establishing the extent of the mountain land granted to captain John Sandford in each county. In Armagh the ordnance survey area of Slieve Gullion was accredited to Sandford because it was possible to establish the title of others to surrounding townlands, but it is known that the ordnance survey established the boundaries of many townlands in mountainous areas on more or less geometrical

principles. Boundaries in this area of the map, following as they do, those of the ordnance survey may then be somewhat arbitrary in seventeenth century terms. In Cavan, in Tullyhaw, the attempt was made to identify a larger area of mountain largely by a superimposition of a rather defective Down survey map. In both cases the result may be somewhat defective, but seventeenth century sources for title do not allow of a greater accuracy. For this reason the mountain land, though British owned, was given a separate categorisation when calculations were being made.

The acreages of townlands in the vicinity of a number of towns are taken from the 1861 townland index. This is because in the 1871 index the acreages of larger 'township' areas, meaningless in the seventeenth century context of ownership, are given. If a townland fell entirely within the township area its name is recorded with the note, 'included in - township'. If it was partly outside the township boundary, then only the extent of the area outside is indicated with the note 'remainder in - township'. The problem was, however, easily solved by recourse to the 1861 index.

The delimitation of ownership in two small areas, surrounding the towns of Armagh and Cavan, proved extremely difficult. It was therefore decided not to attempt to indicate boundaries on the maps, but rather to map in the outward bounds of these areas giving each an asterisk as index symbol. In this way it is hoped that these areas will not appear to represent individual holdings or to constitute corporation property. The boundary lines merely indicate that these are the smallest possible areas within which ownership could not be accurately plotted, especially on a map of 1" scale. They are therefore not meant to indicate that surrounding

proprietors did not possess land both inside and outside them. It was, however, possible, by various means, to arrive at a reasonably accurate impression of the amount of the land so indicated which was held by each owner, and so possible to incorporate these acreage figures along with the others given above in appendix 1. When an owner possessed land, entirely or in part, within one of these areas, the indication 'in #' is given against that owner in the lists of proprietors.

The break-down of both areas arrived at for the period c.1610-c.1620 may be presented here, as follows:

(1) Armagh area (1,092 acres)

Archbishopric	900 acres
Dean of Armagh	100 "
Vicars choral	15 "
Sir Toby Caulfield (monastic property)	72 "
Francis Annesley (assignee of Francis Edgeworth: monastic property)	5 "

The only difference by 1641 was that Annesley's property had been acquired by the archbishop.

(2) Cavan area (904 acres)

Cavan corporation	683 acres
Sir Thomas Ashe (abbey land)	9 "
Sir Thomas Rotherham (castle land)	141 "
Glebe	71 "

By 1641 Rotherham's land had come into Lambert hands.

In the case of glebe land, it may be noted that not all the land to which the clergy had claim (and which is recorded as glebe on the maps) may have been in all instances occupied by them throughout the entire period. We have seen, for example, that they did not receive their patents until the late 1620s, and that some were involved in disputes with

neighbouring landowners. However during Wentworth's administration clerical problems were tackled sympathetically.¹

Finally, while there is the possibility of error in the townland identifications made and so also in the acreage figures, both the maps and acreage figures are the result of careful investigation and are presented as an integral part of this thesis.

school to be erected in Carrick town, and 720 acres in Armagh as provision for a school at Armagh.² The plantation commissioners were instructed in June 1609 to list the lands allocated for free schools in preparation to granting them by patent.³ In July 1610 the commissioners, when concerned with the planting of towns, noted that a 'convenient place' must be allotted for the schools.⁴ In December 1611 it was allowed that the schools being 'except in persons the plantation in that kind' should not be required to plant their lands with British tenants, but might choose such as were best for their profit.

However the instituting of the schools was not proceeded with as a matter of urgency. It was not until January 1611 that the plantation commissioners made orders concerning the schools. It was then ordered that the land (517 statute acres) allotted for the Carrick school should be let to whomever would give best for it. They also decided that Sir Thomas Ashe who held Carrick abbey should be 'dealt with' for the conversion of the abbey to a parish church and a free school, and recommended that

1. 'Water Plantation Papers' no. 74, in *Annals of the Plantations*, viii.
2. Lambeth Palace Library, Carrick MSS, vol. 41, ff. 74-167 (Carrick MSS).
3. There is (at least) one case in which a substantial amount of the allocated glebe was not retained into the nineteenth century, and may well have been lost in our period. This is Tynan, county Armagh (Armagh Public Library, William Reeves, *Memoirs of Tynan* (MS volume, unfoliated)).

THE ROYAL SCHOOLS IN ARMAGH AND CAVAN

I Government policy

In the planning of the colony it was decided that land should be reserved in each county to endow a school. The project recommended that fourteen polls in Cavan should be allotted to maintain a free school to be erected in Cavan town, and 720 acres in Armagh as provision for a school at Armagh.¹ The plantation commissioners were instructed in June 1609 to list the lands allocated for free schools in preparation to granting them by patent.² In July 1610 the commissioners, when concerned with the planning of towns, noted that a 'convenient place' must be allotted for the schools.³ In December 1611 it was allowed that the schools being 'unapt to perform the plantation in that kind' should not be required to plant their lands with British tenants, but might chose such as were best for their profit.⁴

However the instituting of the schools was not proceeded with as a matter of urgency. It was not until January 1611 that the plantation commissioners made orders concerning the schools. It was then ordered that the land (917 statute acres) allotted for the Cavan school should be let to whoever would give most for it. They also decided that Sir Thomas Ashe who held Cavan abbey should be 'dealt with' for the conversion of the abbey to a parish church and a free school, and recommended that

1. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no. 74, in Analecta Hibernica, viii.
2. Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MSS, vol. 630 ff. 7^v-10^v (Cal. Carew MSS, 1603-24, pp. 44-8).
3. Cal. Carew MSS, 1603-24, pp. 56-7.
4. Ibid., p. 141.

the land belonging to the castle of Cavan should be added to the school lands and the stone of the castle carried to the abbey for use in erecting the school.¹ At the same time orders were made for the Armagh school. They recommended that it should be located in the town of Armagh and that one of the sites of the friaries be used for this purpose, the income from the school lands (1552 statute acres) to be used in erecting the school building. They further recommended that the primate should be 'dealt with' to grant 300 acres near the school as a further endowment. The lands already allotted for the school should be let to capt. John Bouchier and capt. Henry Atherton at £3 per townland at least for the coming year. Both held land in Orior, the barony in which the school lands lay. The rent should be paid to the primate, and used in building the school house.² Thus much responsibility for establishing the school would pass from the plantation commissioners to the archbishop of Armagh.

The fact that little had as yet been done in establishing the Ulster schools, and that the Dublin government was incapable of dealing with the initial problems, was demonstrated by a king's letter of 30 January 1614³, and also a letter from Chichester to the archbishop of Canterbury of 9 February 1614.⁴ Chichester indicated that the government in Dublin felt the regulation of the school property was outside their competence and recommended that the school lands should be granted to the bishops deans and chapters in each diocese to the use of the school

1. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no. 27, in Analecta Hibernica, viii.
2. Ibid.
3. Armagh Archiepiscopal Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh [J. Lodge transcripts], pp.203-4 (document in full); Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14, pp.467-8; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas. I, p.254.
4. 'Chichester Letter-Book' no. 97, in Analecta Hibernica viii. This letter must have been dispatched before receipt of the king's letter.

masters 'least they should be surreptitiously gotten from his his maty. and passed to other uses ... as I have already seen an offer of the like in one particular'.¹ The king's letter showed that the difficulties of Dublin were accepted in London, and approved the delegation of responsibility to the bishops for the leasing of the school lands and the nomination of schoolmasters. The bishops should therefore receive grants of the school lands, to be let to suitable persons for the use of the masters. They should not make leases for longer than twenty-one years and for less rent than £12 per quarter or four ballyboes. They should be empowered to nominate schoolmasters and recommend them to the lord deputy for appointment. Since as yet no schoolhouses had been built, the deputy, with the advice of the chancellor and the archbishop of Armagh, should appoint receivers to collect the rents and disburse them for the building of schoolhouses. Only after that should the rents be received by the masters.

More than a year followed without further action until in April 1615 the king conveyed further instructions, this time for the primate alone to direct the founding of the Ulster grammar schools. Chichester was to grant all the school lands to the archbishop to be allotted by him.² However Chichester's administration ended without any grant of the lands having been made, though he did in June 1615 issue a warrant to grant them to the respective bishops (rather than to the archbishop).³

1. Ibid.

2. Armagh Registry, Evidences of the See of Armagh, p.204; Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, pp. 47-8; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas. I, p.295.

3. Armagh Registry, a roll in A.4b. This document is a certified statement by Sir William Parsons of the school lands in each county to which Chichester added his warrant. How it came to be amongst the archbishop's muniments is not clear, but its diversion there may have delayed the granting of the lands for ten years.

In December 1615 and in March 1618 the English privy council again took up the question of the granting of the school lands,¹ but no patents were issued. In August 1619 further instructions were issued by the king to St. John. He stated that although the archbishop had appointed school masters 'for the several schools', the lands had not been conveyed for their maintenance and were in consequence 'daily diminished' and the school houses not built 'to the hindrance of education and well-breeding of the gentry and youth... in learning and religion'. St. John was accordingly authorised to convey the lands to the archbishop for the use of the schoolmasters who were to be nominated by the present archbishop and afterwards by the bishops of the respective dioceses.² In 1622 the commissioners of inquiry discussed the question of who should have the nomination of schoolmasters for the free schools.³ It was not until 15 December 1626 that the school lands for five counties, excluding Londonderry were finally conveyed by patent to the archbishop to the use of the schoolmasters, being not themselves 'bodies corporate or politic'.⁴ No additional lands had been procured as the commissioners in 1611 had recommended.⁵

11 The schools in Armagh and Cavan.

How the lands of the Armagh and Cavan schools were leased and when

1. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, p.102; Acts Privy Council, 1618-19, pp.92-3; P.R.O., S.P. 63/234 ff.185-86^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, pp.200-2).
2. Armagh Registry, A. lb. 128, no. 3; Evidences, pp.206-7.
3. N.L.I., Rich Papers, 8014/3: Journal notes, 10 May 1622.
4. Armagh Registry, A. lb. 128, no. 8 (certified copy of 1701); this document is more accurate than the calendared version in Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Chas. I, pp.132-4; Evidences, pp.212-16.
5. Parsons in 1615 noted that one townland assigned for the school had been granted to Patrick O'Hanlon before the plantation, but incerted a concealed townland in its place and promised to reserve any further concealment found in the area for the school.

the income was first applied for educational purposes is not completely clear. It may be that the Armagh lands were let as the commissioners instructed in 1611, and the income from them was estimated in October of that year as likely to be £50 per annum at least,¹ however the first lease survives from 1635. In that year a lease was made whereby the archbishop and John Starkey, the then schoolmaster, demised the lands to William Hilton, who was attorney-general for Connacht and later baron of the exchequer and justice of the common pleas,² for twenty-one years from 1 May 1636 at a rent of £50, to be paid to the master.³ This may well have been a second leasing, the first taking effect from 1615. The annual income from the Armagh endowment was thus no more than £50 throughout the period. The first known leasing of the Cavan lands was one for twenty-one years made in June 1637 to Matthew Maynwaring, constable of Dublin castle,⁴ also at £50 per annum. Curiously this lease was not made by an episcopal custodian but by the state.⁵

The absence of school records makes it impossible to discuss the development of either institution. The Armagh school register records no students' names from before the restoration.⁶ There is even slight doubt as to where the school was located, some documents placing it at Mountnorris,⁷ but the weight of evidence suggests Armagh. When school buildings were erected, or the first pupils enrolled and in what numbers, or if any native Irish attended is not known for either school. Little more information than lists of masters is available in the pre-1641 period.

1. Elrington, Works of Ussher, xv. 70-1.
2. Hughes, Patentee officers, p.66.
3. Armagh Registry, in A. 4b. On Hilton's connexion with the town of Armagh see above, p.368.
4. Commons' jn. Ire., (Dublin, 1796) i. 184, 26 February 1641.
5. P.R.O.I., Lodge, Records of the Rolls, vol. v, p.532.
6. M.L. Ferrar, Register of the Royal School Armagh (Belfast, 1933).
7. Armagh Registry, roll in A. 4b.

The first master of the Armagh school was an Englishman and a scholar of some distinction, but it is unlikely that he performed any of his duties. Thomas Lydiat, an Oxford graduate and an eminent divine, chronologer, and cosmographer had come to Ireland at Ussher's invitation, and became a fellow of Trinity College in 1610.¹ He appears also to have been appointed to the Armagh school at this time, but by 1611, having apparently lost confidence in his prospects in Ireland, he was living in London, and in 1612 had entered the ministry in England.² In August 1611 he wrote to James Ussher from London asking for his good offices in the disposal of the school.³ In October Ussher replied that he had found the primate, his uncle, willing to allow Lydiat receive the annual income from the lands⁴. How long Lydiat continued to receive the income as an absentee is unknown, but it would seem unlikely that any deputy was appointed or any of the money diverted towards erecting a school building. By 1615 a master had been appointed for the school at Dungannon also in the archbishop's diocese,⁵ and a 'public schoolmaster' was appointed for county Fermanagh in Dec. 1619.⁶ In 1622 there were two masters and an usher in Dungannon,⁷ but there is no indication of an appointment to Armagh. The first practicing master whose name survives is John Starky, who is described in the 1635 lease as 'schoolmaster of the free schoole at Armagh'.⁸ Starky was teaching in Dungannon in 1622 presumably moving afterwards to Armagh. At the outbreak of the 1641 rising it is recorded that Starky

1. C. Maxwell, History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1591-1892, p.59.
2. Elrington, Ussher's Works, xvi. 315-17.
3. Ibid., xc. 65-6.
4. Ibid., pp.70-71.
5. Armagh Registry, Evidences of the see of Armagh, p.205.
6. Cal. pat rolls Ire., Jas I, p.448.
7. N.L.I., Rich Papers, 8014/8, list of people in Dungannon.
8. Armagh Registry, in A. 4b.; E. Rogers, A record of the city of Armagh (Armagh, 1861), p.25.

'a gentleman of good parentage and parts being upwards of one hundred years of age' was put to death by drowning along with two of his daughters.¹

The early history of the Cavan school is equally indistinct. In Oct. 1611 the plantation commissioners made an order appointing the first master, John Robinson, who had been nominated by the bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.² Robinson had graduated in Trinity College in 1605 and was a fellow in 1609.³ By 1613 he was a 'preacher' in the diocese of Meath.⁴ The next schoolmaster had had a more colourful background. Florence Nelly had been a scholar of Trinity College in 1603 and M.A. c.1610-11.⁵ In January 1612 he was expelled from the college on the information of Sir James Carroll that he had a mistress and bastard child.⁶ In March 1613 his signature as 'Florence Nelly schoolm'r' occurs as a witness to a lease of land in the Cavan area.⁷ How long he retained this position is not known, but he was archdeacon of Tuam in 1622.⁸ A certain Alexander Julius, a Scot who received a grant of denization in September 1619,⁹ and was presumably Nelly's successor, had vacated the office, through death,¹⁰ by February 1622 when John Stearne, M.A., father of the

1. M. Hickson, Ireland in the seventeenth century, i. 335 (deposition of Rev. Robert Maxwell).
2. 'Ulster Plantation Papers' no. 51, in Analecta Hibernica, viii.
3. Alumni Dubl., p.708.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.613; J.P. Mahaffy (ed.), Particular book of Trinity College, pp. 50b, 208.
6. Particular book, p.22.
7. Indenture, 18 March 1613, between Richard Waldron and Clement Cottrell (N.L.I., Farnham papers, D.20409-20475, bundle '41 deeds re town and county of Cavan, 1612-1805').
8. Alumni Dubl., p.708.
9. W. Shaw (ed.) 'Letters of denization and acts of naturalisation for aliens in England' and Wales' in Huguenot Society Proceedings, xvii (1911). 329.
10. Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25, p.393. I am grateful to Mr. W. S. Ferguson, M.A., of Derry for this and the previous reference.

founder of the Irish College of Physicians,¹ was appointed as 'school-
master and preceptor or rector'.² However by November 1624 he had re-
signed and Nicholas Higginson, 'bachelor of arts',³ was appointed.⁴
Higginson would appear to have held office for a longer period, on
14 July 1637 being succeeded by John Bond, A.B.⁵ Such a rapid-changing
succession of teachers can hardly have favoured the development of the
institution. The commissioners reported in 1622 that although land had
been allocated to support a school no 'fitting school house' had been
built.⁶ The government order of January 1611 whereby Cavan abbey was
to be converted into a school and church was not made effective; the
king's attorney in Ulster, Stephen Allen, was living there in 1641.⁷
The other order of 1611, that the land belonging to the castle at Cavan
should be added to the school land, was also not carried out, and
December 1616 it was leased to Sir Thomas Rotherham, then connected with
the Connacht presidency and subsequently a surveyor of fortifications.⁸

The development of grammar school education in these counties up to
1641 must have been hesitant and uneven. The absenteeism of the first
Armagh master and the rapid changes of master in Cavan obviously inhibited
growth and tradition. It is evident that teaching was supplied by other
schools than the royal foundations, for example, in 1619 the minister of

1. D. N.B., liv. 197.

2. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.528.

3. Not recorded as a T.C.D. graduate in Alumni Dubl.

4. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.579. Higginson was living in Belturbet
in 1641.

5. Armagh Public Library, John Lodge MSS, Tuam lists, pp.150-73.

6. B.M., Add. MS 4756, f.104.

7. Above, p.382.

8. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.313.

Virginia kept a school,¹ but such arrangements can hardly have made up for the deficiencies of the grammar schools. The size of the income from the school lands and the absence of any initial foundation grant from the exchequer makes it unlikely that school buildings of any size had been erected and probable that schools were held in the masters' houses. The schools might have been more immediately effective if the Dublin administration had had the capacity to take a direct interest in their supervision.² In proposals for the establishment or reorganisation of grammar schools drawn up at the restoration archbishop Bramhall felt that an income of £100 per annum for the school or schools in each county was essential.³

It may be noted in conclusion that the establishment of a university for the colony was suggested but did not come to effect. The proposal was made by bishop Montgomery of Derry, c.1608

that for the education of youth, besydes grammar schools to be planted in the most commodious places endowed with som lands for the mayntenance of the schoolehouse, schoolemaster, and usher, his Matie would be pleased to erect a College in Derry, or som fit place yf any be, that the youth of those parts, who have no meanes to be mayntayned in the College of Dubline, maye be civilly bred up there in the knowledge of true religion, and the liberall arts; and that his Ma'tie would be pleased to endowe the college with som fit portion of land for the mayntenance of the college and of the principles and fellowes of the same.⁴

1. Hill, Plantation, p.458.
2. The extent of Wentworth's interest appears to have been the general statement in 1634 that all the Irish schools were 'ill governed in the most part' (Sheffield City Library, Strafford MSS, vol. vi, p.19). In 1639 Bramhall hoped in a letter to Laud that the Derry school would be 'kept up,' stating that although king James had allotted 700 acres for it, the Londonders had never paid more than 20 marks in salary to the master (P.R.O., S.P. 63/257, ff.121-1^v (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, pp.225-6)).
3. H M. C., Hastings MSS, iv. 149-50.
4. Colby, Ordnance survey of the county of Londonderry (Dublin, 1837), i. 53. If the cost of building were considered too great, Donegal abbey might be converted for this purpose.

The proposal did not take effect. However the plantation did have access to the college at Dublin, itself in a struggling financial position until endowed with lands in Ulster at this time. Owing to the incomplete state of Trinity College admissions records before 1641, it is difficult to state precisely the number of students there of Ulster origin.¹

However it would seem that they were few. Only two pupils from county Armagh feature in the register as entrants in 1639 and 1641 respectively.²

Both had had their previous education in England.

1. The oldest surviving admissions register dates from 1637 (T.C.D., Assistant Registrar's strong room, Admissions register, 1637-1724). The college accounts, however could be used to provide earlier students' names.
2. Admissions register, 1637-1724, under 15 November 1639 and 12 July 1641.

HIGH SHERIFFS

These lists derive for the most part from two sources. Most of the Armagh names have been taken from a list which had been the property of the late Tenison Groves (now in P.R.O. N.I., T808/14926) and which was published in Portadown Times, 21 July 1933. Most of the Cavan names come from a list in R.I.A., Upton MSS, 19a. This list can also be found in N.L.I., Canon Leslie Collection, MS 2698. Transcripts of the Summonister Rolls for either county have not been located. Where names come from other than these lists the sources are indicated in footnotes.

ARMAGH

- | | |
|------|-----------------------|
| 1593 | Oghy O'Hanlon |
| 1606 | Marmaduke Whitechurch |
| 1607 | Anthony Smith |
| 1608 | Henry Atherton |
| 1609 | Anthony Smith |
| 1610 | Robert Cowell |
| 1611 | Charles Poyntz |
| 1612 | George Chambers |
| 1613 | Charles Poyntz |
| 1614 | George Chambers |
| 1615 | Anthony Smith |
| 1616 | Henry Acheson |
| 1617 | Richard Atherton |
| 1619 | Richard Eaton |
| 1621 | Matthew Ussher |
| 1622 | Henry Acheson |
| 1623 | William Brownlow |
| 1624 | Anthony Cope |
| 1625 | Francis Sacheverall |
| 1627 | John Hamilton |

1629 Robert Hovendon
 c.1630 Charles Poyntz¹
 1634 Walter Cope²
 c.1635 Henry O'Neill³
 1639 Sir Charles Poyntz
 1640 Henry Stanhowe

CAVAN

1584 Henry Duke
 1585 Henry Duke
 1587 Henry Duke
 1588 Henry Duke
 1589 Edward Herbert
 1590 Edward Herbert
 1591 Edward Herbert
 1592 Edward Herbert
 1593 Edward Herbert
 1594 Edward Herbert
 1595 Edward Herbert
 1606 Sir Edward Herbert⁴
 1607 Hugh Culme
 1611 Hugh Culme
 1612 Hugh Culme
 1613 John Ridgeway
 1614 John Butler
 1615 James Craig
 1616 John Fish

1. P.R.O.I., Chancery salvage, G.388.
2. A fragment of a docquet book of Wentworth's suggests that John Waldron was the sheriff in this year (Bodleian Library, Oxford, Carte MSS, vol. 67, f6^v).
3. P.R.O.I., Ferguson MSS, vol. xii, p.303.
4. It is possible that Herbert was also sheriff in 1610 (see Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10, pp.547, 548).

- 1618 Richard Lisle¹
- 1619 Richard Lisle
- 1621 Robert Scurlock
- 1622 Sir Stephen Butler
- 1629 Phillip O'Reilly
- c.1630 Thomas Fleming²
- 1634 John Fleming
- 1636 Thomas Fleming
- 1639 William Lill³
- 1640 Francis Lawrence Devall
- 1641 Mulmory O'Reilly⁴

1. This is likely to be incorrect. Hugh Culme was sheriff in June 1618 (P.R.O.I., Ferguson MSS, vol. xi, p.271). Sheriffs were usually appointed in the November of the previous year (W. Notestein, The English people on the eve of colonisation, p.202), and the compiler of this list may well have found the warrant for Lisle's appointment in 1619 and have erroneously listed him for 1618 also.
2. P.R.O.I., Ferguson MSS, vol. xii, p.140.
3. N.L.I. MS 2698, p.49 gives Edward Gray for 1639.
4. W.W. Wilkins (ed.), Memoir of Bedell, p.167.

A PLANTATION HOUSE IN 1622

Sir Archibald Acheson's building received the 1622 commissioners' approval as 'a convenient dwelling house . . . environed with a bawne'.¹

His submission to the commissioners provides an unusually detailed description,² as follows:

There is a stone bawne of six scoare foote longe and foure scoare foote wide, and ten foote high, haveinge foure flankers, three of them beinge fifteene foote and foureteene foote wyde, conteyninge two roomes. apiece beinge two storyes high, all three foote thicke in the wall.

Upon the east syde of the said bawne is buylt a stone howse of foure scoare and ten foote longe, eighteen foote wyde and eighteen foote high in the syde wall and thirty eight foote high in the three gabells, and having a rounde flanker of twentye two foote high and foureteene foote wyde, within the walls, all three foote thicke of wall, slaited, and having foure stackes of bricke chimneyes.

The first storiye of the said howse conteyneth a hall of 36 foote longe, a parler of eighteene foote square, a vault within the parler of foureteene foote square being the ground of the flanker, and upon the other end of the hall, a pantry of ten foote longe and of the whole wideness of the howse beinge eighteene foote wyde.

The second storiye contayneth above the hall and pantrye, two chambers, the one of twentye twoe foote longe and the other of eighteene haveinge three studyes. And above the parler is another chamber of eighteene foote square, and above the flanker vault is another chamber of foureteene foote square.

The third storie contayneth two chambers and a gallery within the roofe.

The rest of the bawn is built about with low thatched howses once gifted, exceptinge fortye foote longe thereof reserved for an intended castle to be joyned to the parler aforesaid.

Without the gate is buylded a malt howse and killne of stone two storyes high, and three scoare and ten foote longe and twentye foote wyde, a water mylne, barnes and other howses all thatched.

1. B.M., Add. MS 4756, f. 109; above, p. 228.

2. N.L.I., Rich papers, MS 8014/9.

TWO NOTES ON ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

i Extension of state machinery

The implementation of the plantation as a whole necessitated additional central administrative appointments or added to the responsibilities of existing officers. Ulster was now fully within the competence of the Dublin government. Assize judges now regularly went there. The first muster master was appointed in 1618.¹ In 1617 the office of auditor general was divided, William Crofton being appointed auditor for Ulster and Connacht.² The office of attorney general for Ulster pre-dated the plantation, the first appointment having been made in December 1603.³ Appointments had been intermittently made of provost marshals of Ulster since 1566. However during the plantation period this office had a special importance —

forasmuch as the multitude of malefactors, and other loose and idle persons in Ulster required to be corrected and repressed by some speedier and sharper means than by the ordinary course of the common law —

which was recognised when in 1616 Moses Hill (first appointed in 1603) was re-appointed.⁴ Occasional appointments as clerk of the crown and peace were made for Cavan from 1583, but the office for Ulster as a whole was initiated in March 1605.⁵ The office of clerk of the market for Ulster as such was created in 1611.⁶

1. Above, p.174.

2. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas I, p.325; Liber mun. pub. Hib., pt 11, p.54. However in 1637 the offices were re-united, to be held by one man (Liber mun. pub. Hib., pt 11, p.54).

3. Ibid., pt 11, p.193.

4. Ibid., pt 11, pp.193-4; B.M., Add. MS 4794, ff. 353^v-4.

5. Liber mun. pub. Hib., pt 11, pp.172-3.

6. Ibid., pt 11, p.146; Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1, p.204.

ii Licensing of ale-houses

The licensing of ale-houses and of the making and selling of whiskey and wine was farmed out for most of our period.¹ The number of grants of licenses which have been found in the patents is not great, though, of course, not all licenses may have been enrolled.

Those for Armagh and Cavan which have been located are listed here because they throw light on the kind of people who received licenses and also on the extent of land for which licenses were issued. For Armagh only two licensees have come to light, the archbishop of Armagh,² and Sir Oliver St. John and Richard Atherton his agent.³ St. John's license, in 1616, was for Tandragee and the whole barony of Orior except episcopal land.

In Cavan similar large areas were involved in most licenses: John and William Hamilton for Clankee barony, December 1617;⁴ Sir Claud Hamilton's widow and son for Tullyhunco, December 1617⁵; Connor and Terence O'Sheridan, the only Irish grantees, in Ballyconnell and Tullyhaw barony, also December 1617;⁶ and Charles Waterhouse in Clanmahon and Loughtee, excepting Cavan town, in August 1619.⁷ Licenses for Cavan and Belturbet were granted in 1613 to Richard Alsopp, a local merchant, and Margaret Smith of Dublin.⁸

Only one case has come to light in the area studied of a person being fined for keeping an unlicensed tavern. This was a certain Cutherd Smythe of Legacorry (now Richhill) county Armagh, who was fined 3s. 4d., in 1619.⁹

1. The farm was withdrawn in one of the Graces in 1628 (A. Clarke, The Graces, 1625-41 (Dundalk, 1968), p.19).
2. Cal. pat. rolls Ire., Jas 1, p.267. It was issued in March 1614.
3. Ibid., 308. 4. Ibid., p.343. 5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. 7. Ibid., p.431. 8. Ibid., p.261.
9. P.R.O. N.I., T.281/7, p.1.

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Synopsis

A

ORIGINAL SOURCES

I. Manuscript material

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2. Armagh Museum.
3. Armagh Public Library.
4. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
5. British Museum.
6. Cambridge University Library.
7. City Library, Sheffield.
8. Henry E. Huntington Library, California.
9. Lambeth Palace Library, London.
10. Library of Exeter College, Oxford.
11. Library of Hatfield House.
12. Library of Trinity College, Dublin.
13. Marsh's Library, Dublin.
14. National Library of Ireland, Dublin.
15. Public Record Office of England, London.
16. Public Record Office of Ireland, Dublin.
17. Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast.
18. Representative Body of the Church of Ireland Library, Dublin.
19. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
20. Trinity College Dublin, Assistant Registrar's Strongroom.
21. Trinity College Dublin, Muniment Room and Ante Room.
22. Watson and Neill, Solicitors, Lurgan.

II. Printed Material

1. Record Publications.
2. Records of Parliament.
3. Publications of the Irish Manuscripts Commission.
4. Publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.
5. Other printed material.

B

LATER WORKS

1. General histories.
2. Local histories.
3. Other special studies.
4. Works of reference.

A

ORIGINAL SOURCES

I. Manuscript Material

1. ARCHIEPISCOPAL REGISTRY, ARMAGH.
 - A. 1a. 7 Original patent, 6 September 1610, of lands, etc. to archbishop Henry Ussher.
 - A. 1a. 8 Exemplification, 20 November 1617, of patent of lands of archbishopric of Armagh.
 - A. 1a. 11 Original patent of glebe land, Armagh diocese, 14 June 1628.
 - A. 1a. 13 Original patent, 28 June 1634, to archbishop of Armagh.
 - A. 1a. 54-9 Maps by William Gray, 1716.
 - A. 2a. 28 Volume of rentals and other miscellaneous papers, 1608-28.
 - A. 2a. 44-97 Maps by Robert Livingstone, 1773.
 - A. 3a. 39 Volume of leases, etc. 1628 and after, including government material on the scheme for renewing episcopal leases, 1635.

- A. 3a. 189 Inquisition on parishes in Armagh, 1657.
- A. 1b. 24/4 Commission, February 1614, to Parsons and others to inquire into lands in escheated counties not disposed of.
- A. 1b. 25 Volume of transcripts of patents, etc., including some estate material.
- A. 1b. 26 Evidences of the see of Armagh: volume of transcripts by John Lodge.
- A. 1b. 29 Volume of rentals from 1628, abstracts of leases, lists of arrears, etc.
- A. 1b. 31 Walter Dawson's rental, 1713.
- A. 1b. 32 Richard Morgan's rental, 1724.
- A. 1b. 34 Volume of rentals and contemporary extract from book of survey and distribution, county Armagh.
- A. 1b. 128 Volume of transcripts of patents, king's letters and other documents, concerning lands of archbishopric, free schools, vicars choral, and T.C.D.
- A. 1b. 209 Original patent of Robert Maxwell, 7 April 1610, to deanery of Armagh.
- A. 4b. 15 Lease of Armagh school lands, 1 October 1635.
- A. 2c. 17-20 Copies of king's letters.
- B. 2a. 216 Attested copy of patent, 23 May 1634, to vicars choral.
- B. 2a. 225 Map of vicars choral property in Armagh, 1720.
- B. 3a. 382 Roll: glebe land in escheated counties, with notes, by William Parsons, 15 August 1617.
- B. 1b. 193 Ulster visitation book, 1622.
- C. 1c. 371 Volume entitled 'bishopp's lands of Ireland and other dignitaryes ecclesiasticall'.
- Roll in A. 4b. Certificate of Parsons of school lands, Ulster, with order of lord deputy, 23 June 1615.
- E. 1. e. Bundle of 40 leases, mostly 1627.

Translation of patent to Arthur Bagnal, 18 February 1613

Thomas Ashe's rental, 1703

Map of townland of Mullyloughran, by Henry Davison, 1852

2.

ARMAGH MUSEUM

Brownlow rentals

3. ARMAGH PUBLIC LIBRARY

Armagh papers: volume of transcripts by bishop William Reeves.
Rectory of Armagh: volume of transcripts by bishop William Reeves.

Jura patronatus: volume of transcripts by John Lodge.

bundle q. v. x. Notes by Lodge on vicars choral, etc.

Lodge MSS, G. 111. 23 Abstracts of patents and signet letters;
grants of fairs and markets.

Meath papers.

Volume entitled 'Tuam lists'

1622 visitation returns (originally property of Sir James Ware)

Cases of lord chancellor Bolton.

Armagh manor court rolls.

The title, interest, and purchase of the manor of Castle Dillon...
with the coppys of the deeds and other papers... drawn up by me
William Molyneux in ... 1696.

Cardboard box containing collection entitled 'old leases of primate's'.

Churches of the diocese of Armagh: transcripts by Reeves.

William Reeves, Memoirs of Tynan.

Submissions of evidence to the court of claims, 1663.

Principall matters concerning the state of Ireland, collected brieflie
out of soundrie writers, and observed after some opinions, by
T. Haynes, 1600.

4. BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD

Carte MS vol. 61 Material relating to Ulster, 1603-11.

Carte MS vol. 62 Material relating to Ulster, 1611-24.

Carte MSS volumes 64, 67, 77, 80 Miscellaneous material.

Rawlinson MS A. 237 includes survey of 1608 (in Analecta Hibernica,
iii) and other Ulster material.

Rawlinson MS D. 376 Papers relating to protestantism in Cavan in
the 1630s.

5. BRITISH MUSEUM

Additional MS 4756 Entry book of report of commissioners of inquiry
for Ireland, 1622 and letters from king and
council to lord deputy of Ireland, 1616-21.

Add. MS 4770 Muster-roll of Ulster, c.1630.

Add. MS 4794 King's letters to lords deputy of Ireland, James I.

Add. MS 11,033 Falkland letter book.

Add. MS 18,022, f.38^v. Abstract of Irish revenue, 1615-21.

Add. MS 18,735 Muster-roll of 1618.

Add. MS 24,200 State of Irish forts, ?1624.

Add. MS 36,775 King's letters to lords deputy of Ireland, James I.

Add. MSS 4,763, 4,819, 19,834, 21,993. Miscellaneous papers.

Cottonian MS Titus B. x

Cott. MS Titus C. vii.

Harleian MS 2138, f.76 Grants to T.C.D.

Harleian MS 3292, ff. 40-5 Sir Francis Blundell on plantations, 1622.

Harleian MS 3294, ff. 19-31^v. Sir Nathaniel Rich on plantations, 1622, and other documents.

Lansdowne MSS 151, 156, 159.

Sloane MS 1742, ff. 1-47 Description of Ireland, c.1605.

Sloane MS 3827 Falkland correspondence.

6. CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

KK. 1. 15, vol. 1 Letters relating to Ireland

Add. MS 4246.

7. CITY LIBRARY, SHEFFIELD

Strafford MSS

Strafford letters.

8. HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY, CALIFORNIA

HM 333-5 Certain considerations touching the plantations in Ireland, c.1610.

HM 4517 A survey of the present estate of Ireland, 1615 /both documents are only of general import/

9. LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY, LONDON

Carew MS. 630 State papers relating to the Ulster plantation in the reign of James I.

- MS 943 Documents relating to the church of Ireland in the 1630s.
10. LIBRARY OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD
MS 95 Register of the Irish commission of 1622.
11. LIBRARY OF HATFIELD HOUSE
Cecil papers, vol. 127, ff. 126-33^v. Papers relating to Maps, Ulster 1609.
12. LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN
E. 3. 6. Ulster visitation book, 1622
E. 3. 7, E. 3. 13, E. 3. 34. Miscellaneous papers.
F. 1. 19. Pynnar's survey.
F. 1. 20, ff. 9-31. Report of commissioners 'for deciding differences in the plantation'.
F. 2. 1. Miscellaneous papers.
F. 3. 3, 4. 1641 depositions, Cavan.
F. 3. 7. 1641 depositions, Armagh.
F. 3. 15, 16. Miscellaneous papers.
F. 4. 24. Miscellaneous papers.
F. 6. 3. Provost Winter's papers.
I. 4. 28. College estate papers.
N. 2. 6. Miscellaneous papers.
T. 1. 10. Visitatio regalis, 1633-4: transcript by bishop William Reeves.
T. 5. 22. Transcript by Tenison Groves of 1622 visitation, Dromore diocese.
Under D. Box of college leases.
13. MARSH'S LIBRARY, DUBLIN
Z3. 2. 6 State and private papers, with material related to the granting of patents under the 1628 scheme.
Z4. 2. 6 State papers relating to Ireland.
Z2. 1. 1, Z3. 1. 1, Z3. 1. 3, Z3. 1. 9 Miscellaneous documents.

14. NATIONAL LIBRARY OF IRELAND, DUBLIN

Ainsworth reports on manuscripts in private custody (some of which are now deposited in N.L.I.):

- i Drogheda papers;
- ii Fingall papers;
- iii Lennon papers;
- iv Madden papers;
- v Nugent papers;
- vi Rolleston papers;
- vii Tisdall papers;
- viii Vance papers.

MSS 8013, 4 Rich papers

MS 8026

MS 8030

MS 8032

MS 2685

Fingall papers

Canon J. B. Leslie, biographical succession list of Kilmore diocese

MS 2698

Canon Leslie collection

Leslie collection of will abstracts, exchequer bills, etc. mostly relating to cos. Cavan, Dublin, and Louth families, seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

MS 11,450

Packing case 112

Rolleston papers

MS 11,490/3, 4

D 20409 - 75

Farnham papers

D. 7340

Sir Stephen Butler and Belturbet, 1618

D. 8784

Attested copy of patent to Henry Perse, 4 July 1629

D. 8896 - 8926

Butler deeds. Also some unsorted

D. 10,025

Conveyance of property in Belturbet, 15 July 1641

D. 21,564 - 5

Drogheda papers

15. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF ENGLAND, LONDON

S.P. 63/226-74 State papers, Ireland, 1609-41.

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16. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF IRELAND, DUBLIN

1a. 53. 74 Acta regia Hibernica, vol. ii.

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John Lodge, Records of the rolls:

1a. 53. 54, 5 vols V and VI : summaries of patents of land, etc.

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M 2448 Petitions to Wentworth and council, June - November 1638

R.C. 15/1, pp.2-35, 281-300 Transcript, 1812, of 1634 regal visitation, dioceses of Armagh and Kilmore

1a. 48. 73 Calendar to exchequer inquisitions of the counties of Ulster

1a. 48. 114 Deeds, wills, and instruments appearing upon the inquisitions post mortem in the Rolls Office, vol. 25

1a. 49. 63, 64 Repertories to the decrees of chancery 2 vols.

1a. 49. 79 Repertory of exchequer decrees, 1609, 1624-67

Chancery Bill Books

Exchequer Bill Books

Indexes of ancient pleadings, chancery } The large series of these, preserved in the Strong Room, have sometimes been consulted but they provide no details of pleadings in suits.

Co. 1822 Sir Stephen Butler and Belturbet, 1618.

17. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF NORTHERN IRELAND, BELFAST

Certified copies, transcripts, photostats, or originals of patents to various settlers, as follows:

D.O.D. 916/x/1 Bagnal

D. 1540/1/1a Bagnal

P. 1376/3, 5

T.1007/291, no. 1	Caulfield
D. 1345/1a, 1b, 2	Cope
P.R.O. 202	Cope
P.R.O. 1145	Grandison
P.R.O. 1147	Obbyns
T. 267	Obbyns
T. 1303	Stanhowe
D.O.D. 453/1	St. John
D. 294/1, } T. 529/1 }	Chambre documents : Audley papers
Cal 73- D.778	Calendar of Trevor estate records
D.O.D. 999, no. 1	Pedigree of Cope family
T. 107	Pedigree of Brownlow family
T. 281/7, p.1	Canon Leslie collection: extract from subsidy roll, 1634, Portadown area.
T. 475	Transcripts of Armagh manor court rolls
T. 625, 729/1	Transcripts and abstracts of rentals of archbishopric of Armagh.
T. 636	Raeburn MSS Volume of transcripts, seventeenth to nineteenth centuries largely relating to Armagh.
T. 808/ 2,758, 3,871-91, 12,674, 14,912, 14,916, 14,917, 14,923, 14,926, 14,930, 14,941, 14,964, 15,261, 15,299	Tenison Groves MSS : transcripts of documents (many no longer extant) dealing with a number of estates as well as with ecclesiastical and legal matters; also list of sheriffs, county Armagh.
T. 906/1, 2	Notes on Acheson family
T. 969-70	Transcripts of Brownlow rentals, 1635 and 1636
T. 975/2, pp.1-9	Transcript, with notes, of regal visitation of Armagh diocese, 1634, made by Tenison Groves
T. 1103	O'Hanlon genealogy
D.O.D. 266, no.368, D. 1644, D. 1670/2/2, T. 971/711-41, T. 1007/291/9, T. 1176/3, 5	Charlemont estate records

18. REPRESENTATIVE BODY OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND LIBRARY, DUBLIN

- D/6 Inquisition, 24 March 1625, concerning culdees of Armagh
- D/14 Transcript of letters patent to dean and chapter of Armagh, 23 January 1638
- J.36 Transcript 1634 visitation returns
- Libr./8 Canon Leslie manuscripts
- Libr./27, 28 Copies of inquisition concerning parishes in Armagh, 1657 (no. 28 is fairer copy)
- Libr./32 Tenison Groves transcripts
- Libr./48 Transcript of subside roll, 1634, Shankill parish, county Armagh.

19. ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, DUBLIN

Books of survey and distribution (Taylor set)

MSS 24. Q. 7, 10 Charters of Irish towns, vols 1 and 1V

Upton MS 19a Sheriffs of county Cavan

20. TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN, ASSISTANT REGISTRAR'S STRONG ROOM

College admissions register, 1637-1724

21. TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN, MUNIMENT ROOM AND ANTE ROOM

The college's archives are in a disorganised state. One group of primarily pre-1700 documents (cited below as the Mahaffy Collection) was assembled and listed by Mahaffy, and some additional sorting was done subsequently by Provost Alton and Mr. William O'Sullivan. When I worked on the college papers in 1963 I applied numbers to shelves and boxes and drew up a rough outline guide, a copy of which is deposited in the Muniment Room. The following lists give the locations of materials used in this thesis. There are other documents in the safe in the Board Room.

(a) Muniment Room

Mahaffy Collection, Drawers A, G, H, K, N

Shelf 3 General Registry from 1626

Shelf 3 General Registry from 1640

Shelf 2, box 20 packets 'bonds, etc. 1595-1640', '1604-1702', 'mostly second half of 17th century'

Shelf 2, box 24 packet 'c.1613-1720'

Shelf 2, box 25 packet 'first half of 17th century'

Shelf 2, box 28 packets 'c.1610-1700', 'c.1610-1720',
'17th century papers'

Shelf 4, box 2

Shelf 4, box 17 packets 'c.1620-1710', '1617-1745', 'miscellaneous
documents mostly c.1650-1750'

Steel box 1 The particular book

Steel box 2

Old Receipt book (drawn up c.1676)

(b) Ante Room

Cabinet, drawers 1, 2, 20

Cupboard B, shelf 4 'financial documents, 1618-99'

Cupboard B, shelf 5

22. WATSON AND NEILL, SOLICITORS, LURGAN

Brownlow papers

II Printed material

1. RECORD PUBLICATIONS

Acts of the privy council of England, 1613-31, 14 vols, (London, 1921-64).

Calendar of the Carew MSS, 1515-1624, 5 vols, (London, 1867-73).

Calendar of Irish patent rolls, James I, (Dublin, 1830).

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Calendar of patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland, Elizabeth, 19 year to end of reign. Ed. James Morrin, (Dublin, 1862).

Calendar of patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland, Charles 1, years 1 to 8. Ed. James Morrin, (Dublin, 1864).

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Calendar of state papers, domestic series, James I 4 vols, (London, 1857-9).

Calendar of state papers relating to Ireland, 1509-1647, 1660-62, 19 vols, (London 1860-1901, 1905).

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Rowley Lascelles, Liber munerum publicorum Hiberniae, 2 vols, (London, 1852).

Maps of the escheated counties in Ireland /Ulster/, 1609, (Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, 1860).

Maps of the Down Survey, (Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, 1908).

Londonderry and the London companies, 1609-29. Ed. D.A. Chart, (Belfast, 1928).

Reports of the commissioners appointed by his majesty to execute the measures recommended in an address of the house of commons respecting the public records of Ireland; with supplements and appendixes, 3 vols, 1811-25.

2. RECORDS OF PARLIAMENT

Journals of the house of commons of the kingdom of Ireland, vol. 1, 1613-66, (Dublin, 1796).

Journals of the house of lords of the kingdom of Ireland, vol. 1, 1634-98, (Dublin, 1783).

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3. PUBLICATIONS OF THE IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

Analecta Hibernica

- iii. Survey of the escheated counties in Ulster, 1608 (ed. J. Hogan)
- vi. Calendar of Harris MSS in N.L.I. (ed. C. MacNeill)
- viii. Chichester letter-book, 1612-14 (ed. R. Dudley Edwards); Ulster plantation papers, 1608-13 (ed. T. W. Moody)
- xv. Survey of documents in private keeping, first series (ed. E. MacLysaght)
- xx. Survey of documents in private keeping, second series (by J. F. Ainsworth and E. MacLysaght)
- xxiii. Manuscript collections in private keeping
- xxiv. Calendar of the Irish council book, 1581-86 (ed. D.B. Quinn); Fragments of the Civil Survey of counties Kerry, Longford, and Armagh (ed. R. J. Hunter)

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- The chronicle of Ireland, 1584-1608. Ed. H. Wood (1933).
- The Tanner letters. Ed. C. MacNeill (1934).
- The Civil Survey, 1654-56, vol. x: miscellanea. Ed. R.C. Simington (1961).
- Patentee officers in Ireland, 1173-1826. Ed. J. L. J. Hughes (1960).
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| <u>Second Report.</u> | Appendix. 1871. |
| <u>Third Report.</u> | Appendix. 1872. |
| <u>Eighth Report.</u> | Appendix, part ii. 1881. |
| <u>Buccleugh MSS.</u> | vol. i 1899. |
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