

THE MUNSTER PLANTATION, 1583-1641

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ABSTRACT

The subject concerns the settlement of English families in southern Ireland after the death in rebellion of the last earl of Desmond. The survey commission of 1584 reveals the fragmented extent of escheated land and the haphazard nature of confiscation. The decision to colonise from England was not taken until consideration had been made of several alternative schemes. It is shown that the questions of moral legitimacy for the plantation and the general thrust of government policy - much worried over by historians today - did not preoccupy those planning the Munster venture.

Brief mention is made over the background of the settlers and their recruitment and grouping. It is shown that a proportion of leading colonists were army men or administrators on the Irish establishment, many of whom with insufficient wealth or influence in England to promote their stipulated settlement. Because of faulty direction and the practical difficulties of such a vast project, assigning land and settling the newcomers took several years. Land claims from local inhabitants further slowed events.

The English settlers in the 1590s numbered 3,500 and ^{their leaders} ~~they~~ invested about £20,000 in the plantation. This sum and the small population proved inadequate faced with the rising in 1598. Re-establishment of the plantation in the 17th century was at a much higher level, the English population becoming four times greater in the 1620s than the 1590s, and powerful enough to control a considerable area after the 1641 rebellion.

Motives for this increased emigration to Munster are then examined. The traditional reasons - land, new jobs, religious freedom, social advancement, escape from authority - are paraded and found wanting. The final, geographical explanation comes in the last chapter which also establishes the extent to which the English modified Munster and in turn were changed by local conditions. In an appendix are included brief biographical entries of the 35 chief settlers and the fate of their portions up to 1641.

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1911 Census of Munster Parishes, 1911, T. W. Healy
 The History of Ireland (Oxford 1976), p. 3.

CHAPTER 1. THE LAND

On 11 November 1583 the fourteenth Earl of Desmond was surprised in a glen in County Kerry and had his head removed. That action marked the end of the Desmond rebellion. Long before his ultimate defeat suggestions had been made about the disposal of his lands. One was for a comprehensive new settlement, a plantation, from England. Other schemes were put forward and not until 1585 was the plantation plan firmly adopted. The exact form remained undecided until June 1586. This chapter will deal with the extent and condition of the confiscated lands, the various proposals to put them to use, reasons why plantation was chosen and the men behind this decision.

Munster before the rebellion

The glen which marked the Earl of Desmond's last refuge was five miles east of Tralee, headquarters of the earl's palatinate in Kerry. The liberty had been granted in 1329 and by the 16th century comprised the central area of Kerry from Dingle to the Limerick border. Desmond possessed far more land outside his liberty, with a string of manors across Limerick as valuable as the Kerry lands, and further substantial estates in Cork and Waterford. In the same regions were a number of separate Geraldine houses, in varying degrees subordinate to the Earl. Other important Anglo-Norman families were the Roches and Barrys in north and east Cork. By the late 16th century these catholic descendants of the first Norman colonists were becoming known as the old English to distinguish them from protestant newcomers, the new English.

Throughout the province were scattered Irish landowners but with few exceptions their territorial power was limited to the south-west where the MacCarthys were the predominant family. They had been hereditary enemies to the Desmond FitzGerald for centuries. Other major Irish families in the same region were the O'Sullivans and O'Mahonys(1).

(1) Useful map of Munster lordships, c.1534, T.W. Moody et al, A New History of Ireland (Oxford 1976), p.3.

Of greater danger to the FitzGeralds were the old English Butlers of Ormonde, on the boundary between Munster and Leinster. They too were traditional enemies. The 14th Earl of Desmond's only true rival was the 10th Earl of Ormonde, and they inherited an implacable hostility despite close connections through marriage. In 1565 their private armies had met in open battle, a forceful reminder of the survival of feudal conditions in Munster. Each man was backed by a different group in England which in turn was represented in the Dublin administration. The Earl of Leicester supported Desmond which meant the Earl of Sussex upheld Ormonde. In Ireland Sir Henry Sidney and Sir William FitzWilliam continued this factional struggle, supporting Desmond and Ormonde respectively. Ormonde's standing at court was stronger by virtue of his relationship with the Queen and personal loyalty. In 1566 the rules of faction had been broken when Sidney was forced to criticise Desmond. The consequent shock to the Earl has recently been suggested as a partial explanation for his future rebellious career(1).

Until the later 16th century, Crown authority in Munster resided in the walled towns and the occasional compliance of magnates. A sign of a new drive for obedience was the introduction of provincial councils for Munster and Connaught in 1569. One of the Munster council's ambitions was to whittle away the power of local lords by questioning the legality of Gaelicised dues and services demanded from their followers. The greatest beneficiary from such customs was the Earl of Desmond. Moreover his palatinate was increasingly regarded as anachronistic and inimical to good order.

While Desmond would resist the centralising tendencies of the Elizabethan state, there is no reason to suppose such opposition led inexorably to rebellion. Recalcitrance was the natural reaction from most provincial lords. Yet it was in Desmond's own interests to co-operate with the Crown in exchanging his unwieldy quasi-feudal services for a fixed rent. Not all Crown officials were antagonistic. Sidney

(1) Ciaran Brady, "Faction and the origins of the Desmond rebellion of 1579", IHS, 88 (1981).

and Sir Warham St Leger were old allies. The lord president of Munster in the late 1570s, Sir William Drury, proved understanding. Thanks to their efforts, Desmond's dues and services were commuted for an agreed rent in 1578.

It is true the Earl's past career had not been exemplary. Since he succeeded in 1558, he had been imprisoned or detained in England for eight years. His restlessness on return to Munster in 1573 was ominous. But by the late 1570s relations with the Crown had considerably improved. Conversely his re-establishment in Munster threatened the practical independence of subordinate Geraldines, particularly those associated with the exiled James FitzMaurice, the Earl's cousin.

No single convincing explanation exists for Desmond's last and fatal entry into rebellion. He was under steady pressure from an aggressive state bent on curtailing his feudal authority, but then so were many others in Ireland. The Munster presidency severely disapproved of his palatinate as a challenge to its jurisdiction, but Ormonde's liberty was even larger. There were men at court intent on defaming Desmond, but he had allies enough, both there and among English officials in Ireland. The lack of a particular cause has encouraged some historians to echo the verdict of Desmond's contemporaries that the Earl was mad, deranged, or at least psychologically unstable. There is no direct evidence for this condition. While Desmond exhibited an understandable bitterness at his long detention in England, accusations of insanity have yet to be proved.

If no one determining motive can be distinguished for Desmond's rebellion, the contingent steps towards his gradual declaration are plain. In the summer of 1579 James FitzMaurice landed in Munster. Soon he had collected a powerful combination. Among his supporters were the Earl's brothers, Sir John and Sir James of Desmond. The Earl himself was reluctant to join the ranks of his former rival's followers. However he was forced to appear more belligerent than his inclination in order to retain authority over followers seduced by his more rebellious brothers, who in turn were attempting to emulate FitzMaurice. After FitzMaurice's death, relations quickly declined between Desmond and the

government. His actions became increasingly equivocal. On the government side, Sidney had departed as lord deputy in 1578 and Lord President Drury, who had established a reasonably amicable relationship with Desmond and might have averted the breach, became ill in the autumn of 1579, and was replaced by the hardliner, Sir Nicholas Malby. Desmond was soon accusing Malby of ill-treating his tenants in Limerick, while Malby claimed that the Earl had not demonstrably aligned himself with the government. Without doubt an element in the administration was anxious to see Desmond take the final, irrevocable step. Similar hopes came from those Geraldines already committed to rebellion. These combined pressures pushed the Earl into declaring himself(1).

On 2 November 1579 Desmond was attainted. He continued in rebellion for four years, seemingly defeated time and again but emerging as potent as ever. Not all the province followed him. With some exceptions the Irish kept aloof. Even a few Geraldines defected to the Crown. In some respects the rebellion resembled a civil war between loyal and disloyal Munster lords. English troops were prominent in the first two years, but while it proved possible to march about the province taking Desmond's strongholds and incinerating his homelands, the Earl himself could not be captured. Finally Ormonde was given command in 1583 and ordered to destroy his hereditary enemy. Permitted to issue pardons freely, he pruned Desmond of all but a handful of retainers. From then on the end was inevitable.

Confiscation and the 1584 survey

Once the Earl of Desmond had been attainted, the fate of his widespread possessions began to interest a number of persons. Many proposals were suggested, some even before his attainder; possible confirmation for the Earl's protests that he had been forced into rebellion by unscrupulous pressure from the Munster administration. Throughout the war Dublin

(1) Brady op cit; R. Bagwell, Ireland under the Tudors (1890), 3, chapters 36-37; M. MacCurtain "The fall of the house of Desmond", Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society, 8 (1975).

officials asserted the escheated land would more than pay to suppress the rebellion(1).

Until Desmond was apprehended, nothing could be learnt about his own and confederates' estates. The normal procedure for dealing with expropriated land was for the escheator to hold an inquisition, staffed by local jurors, to determine the limits and value of the respective property. The surveyor confirmed the escheator's valuation. For the vast Munster confiscations the government decided these officers should be reinforced by a special commission of survey. The commission would be able also to present an overall report of the sequestered area and deal with matters outside the interest of normal inquisitions. This survey, "the Peyton survey" as it is generally known (after one of its members), was not designed to replace the inquisitions but supplement them.

The most convenient and appropriate way to discover the extent of the escheated property, its value, owners and the general area involved is to follow the survey commissioners in 1584. This method enables us to view the lands with some of their conceptions and to appreciate the procedures and expectations of confiscation. As they toiled their way from one county to another they would comment on its topography, thus providing us with a similar opportunity. It is essential to have in mind the extent and value of what had been confiscated before the various plans for the disposal of the area can be discussed.

Instructions had been sent from the London government to the lord deputy in April 1582 requesting a survey of the rebel lands. While premature for Munster, a survey of Leinster was begun. Two years later the Dublin administration understood the instructions to be still standing and alerted Sir Valentine Browne, a pay official with former Irish experience in the 1550s, to prepare himself for a survey in Munster. Browne was ready to start for the south-west by March, but suddenly was summoned to London. Evidently the Privy Council had decided the forthcoming survey needed

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, pp.187-89; P.R.O., SP/63/69/53; Lambeth, Carew MS 597, p.385.

careful preparation. In London Browne conferred with Thomas Egerton, the solicitor-general, and in June 1584, six months after the Dublin council's first move, the commission of survey was appointed and instructions issued(1).

The commissioners numbered five, soon to become six with two surveyors replacing a sick member. One of the replacements was Arthur Robins, who like Sir Valentine Browne subsequently became a settler in the future plantation. The commission's instructions were to discover the area of escheated land, compute its value, and name the present occupier. Church property was to be recorded. The topography of the areas, minerals available, timber and stock, all were to be catalogued. Special mention was to be made of corn production and prices (2).

After further delays in Dublin, the commissioners entered Munster on 1 September 1584. Their journey was to take them in an uneven circle from Tipperary to Limerick to Kerry; back to Limerick and then to Cork and Waterford before their return to Dublin in late November. (The two surveyors remained in Munster for another ten months.) To Browne's annoyance, few inquisitions had yet been taken, and hence the commissioners were forced to hold some themselves with the assistance of local officials(3). At least 18 inquisitions were held during their progress through Munster(4).

The composition of only two 1584 juries is known, those for the town and the county of Cork. The former was drawn exclusively from the old English families of Cork city. The

(1) SP/63/90/40; 91/4; 97/5; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, pp.488, 498; Egerton to Walsingham, 1 May 1584, Huntington, San Marino, Ellesmere MS 1703; commission in full, SP/63/110/74.

(2) Instructions to commissioners, 27 May, 18 June 1584, P.R.O.I., M.5039, p.7; SP/63/110/71, 75; 111/48; DKPROI, 15th Rep., p.59.

(3) SP/63/112/18; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.416.

(4) Commission for Munster inquisitions, August 1584, P.R.O.I., M.5038, p.1; inquisitions concerning Munster rebels, 1584-90s, SP/63/172/58; P.R.O.I., IA/48/89, nos.1,3,6,14,24; IA/48/85, nos.22,24; IA/48/84, nos.10-27,39,54.

latter comprised ten old English, three Irish and two new English. The leaders alone of the other 1584 inquisition juries are known and with one exception were old English. That exception was Captain Thomas Spring whose suspicious Irish connections were later dwelt on by an English settler. A Youghal jury in 1586, confirming findings against the rebels, was drawn almost entirely from the old English townsmen. Clearly the great body of jurors came from local old English inhabitants. Their subsequent findings belied an earlier assertion that only new English jurors would return sufficient evidence for the Crown(1).

These inquisitions provide much of the information which appears in the Peyton survey. The survey survives for Limerick and Kerry in a shortened English translation of the original. Nothing remains for other areas, apart from a transcription of the manor of Mallow in Cork (2). Valuations were applied at a varying rate per ploughland, ranging from fertile lands in Limerick at £6.13.4 to scrubby areas of Kerry at £1.6.8. The amounts were no more than estimates, obtained from information revealed by the inquisitions and, more directly, from the Earl of Desmond's old officers. Clearly co-operation from locals, particularly the Earl's stewards, was essential for such a speedy process. The commissioners

- (1) Spring's mother and wife were Irish, P.R.O.I., M.5039, p.299; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.454; ibid, 1586-88, p.541; SP/63/168/10.1 (p.189). For County Cork juries, Lambeth, Carew MS 627, ff.29v, 93; Cork and Youghal, SP/63/130/19; suspicion of Irish jurors, SP/63/107/58.
- (2) Peyton survey originals destroyed 1922; transcript of small part original Latin calendar for Limerick, P.R.O.I., M.2759; English translation and condensation for all Limerick and Kerry, ibid, 5037-39. Kerry portion privately printed (n.d.; presented to P.R.O.I., 1923); copy in The Kerryman (Tralee), August-November 1927. Survey for Mallow translated and transcribed by H.F. Berry, "The Manor and Castle of Mallow in the days of the Tudors", JCHAS, 2 (1893). There exists part of MS endorsed "a book of parcels of the earl of Desmond's lands" (n.d.), but much verbatim copy of 1572 survey of earl's lands, itself probably utilised for later confiscation, SP/63/110/79; Cal. Carew, 1515-74, pp.414-18.

did feel slightly vulnerable about such a reliance upon the attainted man's own retainers. Two years later Lord Deputy Perrot would accuse them of depending upon a sergeant of the Earl's without whom they could do nothing. Sir Henry Wallop, vice-treasurer and with Browne co-leader of the commission, denied this somewhat equivocally; and when the man in question died it was admitted his absence would greatly lessen the prospect of settling land difficulties. Indeed several times in the survey the commissioners refer details to the Earl's officers for respective lands. It had to be. How else could they have performed their task in 13 weeks(1)?

Although the surveys are lost for Tipperary, Waterford and most of Cork, the commissioners' valuations of 83 prominent rebel estates throughout Munster do survive. Thirty-seven were from Limerick, 18 from Cork, 11 from Kerry, 10 from Waterford, six from Tipperary and one from Kilkenny. A greater number of rebels are listed in the two acts of attainder passed in the April 1586 parliament. The total is 136, of whom 76 can be found in the survey valuations. Interestingly 10 of those whose lands were valued by the commissioners in 1584 do not appear in the acts of 1586; among them the Knight of Glin and Patrick Condon, two gentlemen whose legal struggles with settlers were to last many years. The great majority of attainted rebels were dead by the end of the war. The fate of the 83 covered by the commission is recorded. Thirty-eight were killed in rebellion, 20 executed, 16 died in rebellion, one was a fugitive in Spain, and the remaining eight were alive, some holding lands as tenants from other attainted men(2).

The commissioners made little attempt to survey rebel lands in Tipperary, though some inquisitions were taken. Half the confiscated lands had been Desmond's and most of the

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88. pp.48, 406; ibid, 1592-96, pp.6, 52.

(2) SP/63/110/78; one man mentioned twice with property in Limerick and Waterford, Acts in Statutes, 1, pp.418-19, 422-24; first act lists 38 names including earl; second 101 names but two duplicates and one in first act.

18 other rebels came from Clanwilliam barony lying alongside County Limerick. Ten were old English (eight Burkes) and eight Irish. Only six of these properties were valued since the Earl of Ormonde already had marked out this territory as "escheated to him under pretence of his Lord County Palatine of Tipperary". Even if the commissioners had determined to survey all the lands, none of the locals would have assisted them, "which manner of dealing," remarked Wallop disingenuously, "we thought somewhat strange". There might also have been some legal complications over the extent of the commission's licence. The commissioners reckoned the escheated land in Tipperary, the majority of which remained unsurveyed because of Ormonde's occupation, to be not less than £1,000 p.a. Through the difficulties and confusions of the next three years, Ormonde was to retain much of these lands and emerge as one of the official settlers in the plantation - not a happy augury for a projected settlement of Englishmen in Munster(1).

The commission spent less than a week in Tipperary before moving to County Limerick. Most of Limerick lies in a half basin with a rim of high land to the west, south and east, and the River Shannon to the north. Straddling the Kerry border was Slevelogher, not a particularly high range of hills with a summit of just over 1,000 feet, but throughout the early modern period referred to with awe and exasperation since it was sometimes impassable in wet weather. Three days of continuous rain - not an incredible occurrence in south-west Ireland - could sever all communications to Kerry. This happened in September 1580; while rain on the same hills in August 1600 forced Lord President Carew to travel from Limerick to Kerry via Clare, ferrying his troops across the Shannon(2).

Most of the county's interior is under 250 feet. Two sluggish rivers, the Maigue and the Deel, make their way north from the surrounding high rim to the Shannon estuary. The region has mostly heavy soils and the lowlands the lowest

(1) SP/63/113/15, 16.

(2) SP/63/76/21; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600, p.366.

rainfall in Munster, 30" to 40" year. The inadequate drainage, combined with clays, produces a rich grassland ideal for pastoral farming. Today, as in the 16th century, wealth lies in herds rather than crops. Apart from the way to Kerry, there were no route difficulties to County Cork in the south or Tipperary in the east. Neither were there internal barriers to communications. Both the Deel and Maigue were bridged in many places, though the lowest crossing over the latter was at Adare, a good ten miles from the river mouth(1).

Besides measuring the land by estimation and valuing it, the surveyors on the commission also decided whether it was "inhabited and manured" or lying waste. Occasionally they confessed their ignorance on this point or else did not record a distinction but there remain enough comments to show a clear pattern. It was much as we would expect: the east largely inhabited, the west largely waste. Escheated lands in the baronies of Clanwilliam and Pubblebrian (to the south of Limerick city) were 90% inhabited; in the Small County bordering Tipperary, 80% inhabited; the Earl's manor lands, most of which were in Connello in the west, 36% inhabited; while of the chargeable lands (which term will be defined and discussed in chapter three) only 20% were manured and inhabited. The total of all the escheated land in Limerick came to 112,587 acres, of which 34% were regarded as inhabited and manured(2).

Desmond's manors formed the backbone of these confiscations. Six of the more important ones were to become chief residences for future Limerick settlers. Knockainy and Lough Gur were on the highlands on the east rim of the county. Askeaton, at the mouth of the Deel, and Shanid were in the north on the Shannon estuary. Newcastle and Mayne were deep in the heart of the county, in the lowlying area around the upper Deel and surrounded on three sides by highland.

(1) Contemporary information, T.W. Freeman, Ireland (1968); bridges shown on c.1587 map, P.R.O., MPF.97; Greenwich, N.M.M., Dartmouth collection, 16.L.33 (P/49), no. 27 and P.

(2) Acreage figures discussed Appendix One.

There were 40 other rebels listed in Limerick, 26 of whom were old English and the rest Irish. The most numerous families were seven FitzGeralds, five Walls and three McSheehys, the last being the Earl's traditional gallowglass. Six persons had lands valued at £50 or more: the Knight of Glin (£267), Thomas Cam FitzGerald (£146), John Supple (£126), Richard McThomas FitzGerald (£72), Kennedy McBrian (£53) and Hugh Wall (£50). The descendants of the first two were restored to a substantial part of their estates; of the rest, most of these lands were situated between the middle reaches of the Deel and Maigne rivers. Various chargeable lands were located on Slevelogher and the highlands of the western rim(1).

On 18 September the commissioners left Limerick city to pass over Slevelogher into Kerry. This route they managed, despite what Wallop claimed was atrocious weather. After viewing central Kerry, they made their way with extreme discomfort down the Dingle peninsula to hold an inquisition at Dingle on 6 October, and were back at Askeaton in County Limerick by 16 October. The trip made a deep impression on some of the older members of the commission. Sir Valentine Browne announced to Burghley they had been through "woods, bogs, mountains and dangerous waters"; difficult work indeed for a man over 60 years and "of so corpulent a body" that he had "several times been bogged". Browne's son had broken an arm; Alford, the surveyor-general, had fallen sick at Dingle; some horses were drowned crossing a river. They had to carry all food supplies with them until Dingle was reached for the country could offer them none(2).

From a glance at the map Kerry is an outstretched hand, each digit a mountainous peninsula dotted with lakes. The inaccessible regions of the Iveragh peninsula had enabled certain Irish to resist all Norman attempts to subjugate them, but north Kerry, including the Dingle peninsula, had succumbed to the Geraldines, and a large area was incorporated into the

(1) All information not otherwise stated from Peyton survey, P.R.O.I., M.5037-39.

(2) SP/63/111/90; 112/10, 15, 18.

Earl's liberty. The Irish and Anglo-Norman areas were in fact treated as two separate counties in the 16th century; confusingly "Kerry" designated the northern Norman half, "Desmond" the southern Irish half. The boundary was from Dingle Bay up the Maine River, then the Brown Flesk tributary until the Cork border (1). The MacCarthys and other Irish had pushed up to this line long before the 16th century. The bulk of the confiscated property was north of this boundary in "Kerry" proper.

There were two lowlying areas in north and central Kerry. Traversing the former could be difficult due to a lack of bridges on the River Feale. In winter one of its tributaries, the Brick, was navigable for a large galley up to Lixnawe, seven miles from the sea. For some time military advisers had pressed for a bridge at the head of the Feale to allow a route from Limerick into Kerry along the banks of the Shannon estuary. Rainfall of course was much higher than Limerick. Relief rain soaked most of "Desmond" with 60" to 100" or more. The mountains in the Dingle peninsula attracted similar amounts, but north Kerry experienced lower averages of 40" to 50" a year(2).

Of the Earl's manors, the most important were Tarbert, Tralee and Castleisland. The castles of all three were destroyed to varying degrees: totally so at Tarbert, "ruined and broken" at Tralee, and with only the stone walls and part of the roof remaining at Castleisland. The Earl had three other castles in better condition at Killorglin, Castlemaine, imposingly built over the Maine River, and Currans(3). All these castles and lands constituted separate manors of the Earl, as did Brosna on the Limerick border. Other lands of his comprised scattered parcels around Ventry and Dingle, and some lands situated near Ardferf. He also enjoyed - or so

(1) Killorglin, south of the Maine on the Laune River, stated to be in Kerry by 1534 commissioners, P.R.O.I., M.5037, p.18.

(2) Plan for Munster by Pelham (July 1580), Lambeth, Carew MS 597, p.385; copy with additions, B.L. Add. MS 48017, ff.102-115v.

(3) Rough depiction of Castlemaine, 1572, P.R.O., MPF 78.

the surveyors understood - particularly heavy services from chargeable lands.

There were 20 other rebels in Kerry. Fifteen were old English and five Irish. Three had substantial estates: Thomas FitzGerald (£123), Rory O'Donoghue Mor, holding land around Killarney (£104) and Teig MacCarthy of Mollahiffe (£52). That autumn of 1584 the commissioners were able to survey only 11 of these properties, five of which consisted of small holdings in or near Dingle. Some of the Earl's own lands too remained unsurveyed. Although the areas had been found by inquisition, the commissioners decided their time was short and consequently briefly listed the names and lands of more rebels without attempting a property valuation. Wallop in particular fretted about his post as treasurer at Dublin and the accumulation of business there. Perhaps they were discouraged also by the prospect of traversing the mountains of the Iveragh peninsula in order to survey the escheated MacCarthy lands over the border in west Cork(1).

The confiscation of Irish land in south-west Munster needs to be considered separately since it demonstrates the government's attitude to native lordships and the important question of ownership. The lands consisted of the individual O'Donoghue and MacCarthy mentioned above, the MacCarthy septs of Clandermot in Beare and Clandonnell Roe around Bantry, another two MacCarthys in west Cork and three individual O'Mahonys in west Carberry and Kinalmeaky, County Cork. Irish landowners had been attainted alongside their old English neighbours throughout the rest of Munster, but their estates were not extensive and more to the point neither traditional lands of the respective clan.

The treatment of the MacCarthy septs of Clandermot and Clandonnell Roe was the nearest the government came to the attainder of a group rather than separate persons. The commissioners in 1584 referred vaguely to "the sept of Clandermot of Bere" as rebel land needing to be surveyed. Later reports recorded the other escheated MacCarthy lands simply and impersonally as the sept of Clandonnell Roe. But

(1) SP/63/112/10.

the process of attainder was by naming an individual or individuals and assuming the land in their area to be their own property in lease or demesne. This had been the method with Teig MacCarthy of Mollahiffe, O'Donoghue Mor and other Irish chiefs: the ruling lord named in the inquisition and the whole territory confiscated as if the area was his property under English law. Eventually the same occurred with the two MacCarthy septs. The Cork jury, on 7 November 1584, found nine MacCarthys "to be notorious rebels and ... in possession of parcels of Clandonnell Roe's land in Bantry". Subsequent juries probably named further individuals. Only one MacCarthy of Clandermot and three of Clandonnell Roe were listed in the 1586 acts of attainder, but the apparent imbalance is easily explained. Either the government accepted these four men owned all the sept lands, or other men while attainted were not included in the acts. As will be shown, the acts were not comprehensive(1).

The general policy of assuming a chief individual owned all surrounding territory, irrespective of traditional Irish claims and custom, was becoming most useful to the government. Instead of a tiresome investigation into the property rights of minor men, from now on the moment a lord rebelled all his lordship went to the Crown. It was a procedure to be applied most thoroughly in the Ulster confiscations next century. But occasionally the policy could miscarry, as occurred in Munster when the respective MacCarthy lords of Desmond and Carberry claimed Irish escheated property as within their greater lordships and hence their own. The result of these claims can be seen in chapter three.

One other reason for the commission's failure to survey all the confiscated land was inadequate assistance. Several areas, Clanmaurice in particular, were so denuded of locals that no inquisitions could be held. "The people be dead, the inhabitants gone." When individuals could be found,

(1) For sept lands see map, W.F.T. Butler, Gleanings from Irish history (1927), taken from map of Clancare survey, 1598, Lambeth, Carew MS 625, ff.25v-42; Cork inquisitions, *ibid*, 627, ff.26v-29v; other inquisitions listing Irish individuals, SP/63/172/58; 130/19.

transmission of information was sometimes not easy. Peyton admitted the lack of an Irish interpreter hindered progress. This would seem to be a fine understatement considering the survey was conducted largely by the examining of locals(1).

The commission left Kerry and returned to Askeaton by 16 October. There they remained for three days, recuperating and writing interim reports to London. Their remarks were similar. The land in Limerick was "most fertile soil". Kerry "is not for the most part so fertile", yet sufficient to maintain twenty times the number of present inhabitants. The weather was universally execrated. The want of professional measurers to designate the land was acknowledged. The general picture was one of waste and desolation, Browne being driven to the hyperbole that there were not 30 persons left in Kerry. The commissioners remained in Limerick until the end of the month and then moved south to County Cork, holding their first inquisition at Cork city on 4 November 1584(2).

The dominant topographical feature of Cork is a series of ridges and valleys falling laterally across the county. Along the valleys are those perplexing rivers which run east and parallel to each other until, obeying some hidden magnetic force, they veer south to drop into the ocean. The Blackwater is the most famous example. It traverses the length of County Cork, from west to east, enters County Waterford, but then at Cappoquin disdains to continue east along the valley to the coast at Dungarvan and instead turns south at right angles to break through two ridges before reaching the sea at Youghal, once more in County Cork(3). Similar, though less spectacular, patterns occur with the Lee and Bandon rivers. Other rivers or tributaries following this west to east line are the Bride, joining the Blackwater, and Owenboy, joining the Lee estuary.

The Blackwater alone presented difficulties to communications. In the early 1580s there were proposals to bridge it at Mallow

(1) SP/63/116/41; 112/16.

(2) SP/63/112/10, 16, 18.

(3) Explanation for this behaviour offered by A.P. Orme, Ireland (1970), p.18.

on the Cork to Kilmallock road. The ford there was passable in summer, but often in winter small boats, with a maximum capacity for six men, had to be used. A bridge was later built, as were bridges downstream at Fermoy and Cappoquin, in the early 17th century(1). Rainfall in the eastern half of the county, where most of the confiscations lay, was lower than Kerry and slightly higher than Limerick. Today the soil is less heavy than in Limerick allowing some arable farming alongside the more common and important pastoral farming.

The returns of the two inquisitions at Cork city in November have survived, revealing an impressive degree of preparation by Munster officials, notwithstanding Browne's strictures. Hundreds of rebel names were listed so that the jury could record details of ownership, as well as various assertions concerning the Earl's rents, charges and exactions. Having collected these juries together and having organised a special survey commission, it seemed wasteful to limit the enquiry to escheated land. Hence the Cork jurors were asked to record information on church lands, patronage, the number of poets in the county (at least 70 they said), woods, quarries, mines, eyries and, not least, any concealed land withheld from the Crown(2).

The Earl of Desmond possessed relatively little land in Cork, but certain rents and services swelled the total value of his estate to over £1,500. The largest stretch of land he owned was in Kerrycurrihy barony south of Cork city. The subsequent controversy between his rights (now the Crown's), his tenants or at least the owners in occupation, and the nature of Sir Warham St Leger's lease from the Earl, will be examined presently. Desmond had further land in and near Youghal, and the manor of Inchiquin west of the town. The rest of his estate came from chief rents and those disputable

(1) Lambeth, Carew MS 597, p.385; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, pp.162, 182, 187, 383, 390; S. Hayman, Guide to Youghal and the Blackwater (Youghal 1860), p.86.

(2) Lambeth, Carew MS 627, ff.1-204.

services and exactions, the nature of which exercised many legal experts in the 1580s.

The greatest landowner was Sir John of Desmond, the Earl's capable brother killed in 1582. His lands were along the Bride in Waterford and Cork; around Mallow on the Blackwater; a block situated on the upper reaches of the Awbeg, a tributary of the Blackwater; and land right on the Cork Limerick border, west of the Ballyhoura mountains. These estates were valued at £325 by the commissioners(1). Patrick Condon's lands north of the Blackwater in Cork and Waterford were valued at £202. David FitzGibbon of the Great Wood in Kilmore near the Limerick border was valued at £113. The last man over £50 was Phillip Roche of Carriglemlery on the Blackwater, valued at £58.

The number of County Cork rebels whose lands the commission surveyed in 1584 was 18. The number of Cork men named in the bills of attainder two years later was 29. The commissioners had avoided journeying into west Cork and did not record many of the attainted Irish there, including Conor O'Mahony of Kinalmeaky whose lands would have been valued at over £50. The actual number of landowners in rebellion had been much higher. In the government dossier presented to the Cork jurors 253 freeholders were named from the three baronies of Imokilly, Kinatallon and Barrymore - 60% of whom were Irish, 40% old English. The jurors returned ignoramus concerning most of them and for the rest simply gave the name of the appropriate land without its extent. The list included rebels such as the Seneschal of Imokilly who had already been pardoned. Other lists of rebel "landowners" in action provide another 90 or so names, 53 of them slain or executed.

How is the aggregate figure of approximately 340 Cork rebels reconciled with the 29 rebels named in the bills of attainder? Such a discrepancy is probably representative of other counties had the lists of rebels for each inquisition survived. There are three possible answers. Some might have been pardoned after these inquisitions and before June 1586, a possibility which was to worry the Commons when

(1) Later inquisitions estimated lands at 55 ploughlands, SP/63/172/58.

passing these acts. Certainly the names included some pardoned before the end of the rebellion. Others were demoted from freeholders, making their separate mention unnecessary. This probably constituted the great majority. Finally the government might not have bothered to include all possible landowners when drawing up the acts of attainder. The acts merely added a parliamentary safeguard, since the rebels had been attainted already by executive action, and too many names might have caused further protests from the Commons.

From Cork the commission progressed to Waterford. One inquisition was held in Waterford city on 17 November. Most of the escheated land was in the west of the county in the triangle formed by two sides of the Blackwater near the Cork border. Further land was found along the valley between Cappoquin and Dungarvan in the same region. An exception to the general confiscation of this area was the land of FitzGerald of Dromana which included the majority of Decies within Drum(1). The Blackwater and the Bride - navigable until Lismore and Tallowbridge respectively - provided an excellent transport system. Just to the south of the lands at the mouth of the Blackwater was Youghal, an old established port. Other escheated lands in Waterford were around Stradbally, on the coast eight miles east of Dungarvan, and Kilmanahan, south of the bend of the Suir before it reaches Clonmel. A high range of hills separated the latter region from the other Waterford lands and for topographical purposes it should be grouped with the Tipperary lowlands.

The Earl's property in the county was assessed at £243. More valuable were his brother's lands along the Bride and at Kilmanahan included in the Cork estimate. There were two other major Geraldines: Richard McThomas with lands valued at £127 (also with land worth £72 in Limerick) and Richard FitzJohn FitzMaurice at £59.

Most of the commissioners arrived back in Dublin on 28 November 1584. Their work, they claimed, was shortened

(1) Later unsuccessful attempt to argue true owner Earl of Desmond, SP/63/124/49.

perforce by the approaching winter. However, it was to take them hardly less than a year before the evidence and notes collected on their 13 week tour were transformed into one comprehensive account. The commissioners were self defensive about the delay and asserted they had all worked diligently but that the parliamentary proceedings in June 1585 had diverted energies. They also admitted the survey was by no means definitive and should be treated as an interim report for other, more specialised surveys. Because of the lack of time, said Peyton, their land estimates had probably undervalued the area in question(1).

The commission's valuation of the escheated land in Munster came to little short of £10,000. Of this approximately £7,000 was for Desmond's lands and £2,700 for his associates(2). Before the survey had been processed, and this total reached, estimates of the confiscated property had ranged from £2,000 to £6,000 to £10,000. Not only were the valuations at a low rate per ploughland, but not all the escheated lands were covered, as the commissioners themselves admitted. In Kerry and west Cork large areas remained unsurveyed. Almost all of Desmond's estates, however, had been valued. It is interesting to compare the total with the Earl's former rental. In 1568 this had been unimpressive, at little more than £1,000 p.a., of which half was disputed. As for the acreage of the confiscated lands, a figure of 577,645 English acres, ignoring unprofitable land, was eventually produced. It proved to be an exaggerated estimate. The total acreage granted to the settlers was to come to approximately 300,000 acres(3).

The final step in the process of confiscation was to confirm the attainders by Act of Parliament. It proved to be less of a formality than expected. Elizabeth's third

(1) SP/63/113/6, 15, 16; 116/41,44; 120/5,9.

(2) For Desmond, £6,997.11.7; for associates, £2,711.8.5; this excludes £42.8.0. of Earl's land in Co. Dublin and £4 from rebel land in Kilkenny; figures from SP/63/110/78; copy 121/65 (MS inaccurate, totals corrected); Limerick and Kerry totals correspond Peyton survey, P.R.O.I., M.5037-39.

(3) SP/63/113/15; 114/53; Desmond's rental 1568, SP/63/26/7; discussion of acreage Appendix One.

Irish parliament assembled in April 1585 but was prorogued a month later without any legislation concerning the Munster rebels. This was due mainly to errors of drafting. The task had been left to the lord chancellor and judges who produced the names of only eight rebels. This draft had been formed into a bill in England and returned to Ireland where Perrot refused to present it in its inadequate form; but bound by Poynings' Law he was unable to amend it in Dublin. There followed Perrot's fruitless attempts to suspend Poynings' Law, opposition from the Commons over other projected bills and the eventual prorogation of parliament.

By autumn 1585 the unsatisfactory bill had been corrected, vastly amplified and sent over to England. When parliament re-assembled in April 1586, no technical difficulties were expected with the four acts of attainder. Some dissent was anticipated from lawyers who had privately purchased rebel lands but their defiance was not feared: "they stand upon quicksand." Weightier opposition appeared against a subsidiary act condemning all conveyances by Desmond and his associates since 1574 which had not been enrolled. The authorities managed to defeat the protest by producing an earlier combination of treason, the document being discovered by Wallop in 1580 and with exceeding cunning kept secret for this very purpose. According to him it dumbfounded the objectors and was crucial in swaying the House.

The most powerful reservation to the bills came from the Earl of Ormonde's party. Ormonde claimed the lands of the Tipperary rebels as part of his palatinate. He could, and did, mobilise a phalanx of supporters in the Commons, joined by others protesting that several of the attainted rebels in the bills had been pardoned or never were in rebellion. In all 57 MPs, including a future English settler in Munster, refused their consent to the acts for these two reasons.

They had no objection to the acts otherwise. Perrot was anxious to pass the bills and since they could not be amended, he promised that Ormonde's rights would be respected and that those named who were innocent or pardoned would be restored. With these verbal provisos the acts passed. Eventually eight of the 136 named were restored, while Ormonde

succeeded in acquiring almost all the escheated land in Tipperary(1).

It will be useful to conclude this section by offering a general summary of the Munster confiscations. The previous owners were predominantly the old English. Of the 136 attainted, 98 were old English, though their proportion was higher than it seemed since Desmond owned most of the lands. The 1584 commissioners in their evaluation of 84 rebels computed the Earl's portion as 72% of the total. The only important Irish confiscations were in the south-west.

Those attainted lost their lands not simply because they had been in rebellion and their estates escheated, but because the overwhelming majority had the misfortune to be dead by the end of the war. Of the 84 evaluated, all except nine had been killed, executed or died in rebellion. They had not been the only ones engaged - far from it. At one time or another, many of the larger Munster landowners had been out with Desmond. Records of fiants in the rebellion years, especially for 1583, are packed with pardons, listing many hundreds of names. On Ormonde's last drive across the province that summer pardons were offered to any who would come in, including even that vigorous rebel, the Seneschal of Imokilly.

Hence there were relatively few dispossessed landowners to be removed after 1583. One of the nine still alive was in Spain; others may have joined him. Of course descendants of the deceased would have entered some of the lands and were destined to be removed, as were far greater numbers of tenants and farmers. No general clearing or transportation was needed, because the lands confiscated were not one unified mass but scattered segments; often it was only a matter of moving some miles before those expelled could legally occupy land again. Unlike the Ulster plantation, where all six

(1) SP/63/116/44,57; 117/33; 118/75.1; 121/62; 123/44; 168/10; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.52, 63, 231; ibid, 1588-92, p.381; Analecta Hibernica, 12 (1943), pp.21, 25-27; Oxford, Bodleian, Perrot MS 1, ff.129-31; Bagwell, Tudors, 3, pp.140-50; F.J. Routledge, "Journal of the Irish House of Lords in Sir John Perrot's Parliament", EHR, 29 (1914).

counties were confiscated en bloc, there was no need to provide areas for the Irish to settle.

This haphazard layout of the escheated area was the direct result of the nature of confiscation. As shown, this was by the separate attainder of each individual and the determination of land he owned by jury inquisition. If Munster had never been conquered by the Normans but remained peopled by the Irish holding land according to their custom, then the government might have applied the method it was to use later for the Ulster plantation: assume the chief rebels had widespread ownership over their hereditary territory and confiscate the whole forthwith. In Munster it did try this with the Irish confiscations in the south-west but with mixed success.

The rest of the escheated area contained lands held by Anglo-Norman tenure which necessitated the traditional method of individual assessment by inquisition. Thus was produced a confiscation which advanced unevenly across Munster townland by townland. The topographical result was a mosaic, not an unbroken stretch of territory, and rarely any unified blocks of land. All maps of the Munster plantation, from contemporary ones in the 1580s to the most recent versions in the 1970s, are inaccurate to a greater or lesser extent by failing to indicate this fretted, piecemeal nature of confiscation(1).

Moreover the nature of confiscation produced a plantation area constantly changing in size. As inquisitions had been used to discover the lands, so there never came a terminal date to the business. Later inquisitions would find further land which should have been revealed after the rebellion. But rather than the plantation growing, the reverse happened. What the law gave it could also take away. From the 1590s well into the 17th century an increasing number of lawsuits evicted the settlers from various portions of their lands. Ultimately, instead of expanding, the official plantation decreased in size. It was to be many years though before

(1) Greenwich, N.M.M., Dartmouth Collection, 16.L.33, nos.L, M, O, 27; Bagwell, Ireland under the Stuarts (1909), 1, 1; R.D. Edwards, An Atlas of Irish History (1973), p.159; Moody, New History, p.77.

this tendency was realised.

The disposal of the land

What was to be done with this extensive, amorphous amount of confiscated land? One thing was clear: the old order could not be allowed to return. The moment the Earl was attainted in November 1579, a senior Dublin official, Sir Edward Waterhouse, was urging that after the rebellion's suppression firm action must be taken for "the Geraldines of Munster to be banished". Not surprisingly the same sentiment was heard from other officials. Now was the opportunity to cut off the earldom and abolish the palatinate for good. In its place would be instituted English customs and civility. In one word, the necessary policy was seen as that of anglicisation. It was recognised that after the dreadful destruction of the war Munster would be amenable to a new system of government and organisation. In 1580 Lord Justice Pelham was to use a favourite simile among reformers in the early modern period when he expressed the hope of seeing Munster after the rebellion "like well tempered wax, apt to take such form and point as Her Majesty will put upon it". His words repeated Sidney's in 1570 and in turn were echoed by Secretary Fenton in 1585. The same tabula rasa vision was glimpsed after future periods of conflict - by Moryson after the nine years war and Cromwellian reformers in the 1650s. While there was general agreement on the need to anglicise Munster, the question of how best to achieve this led to other schemes being suggested before the final one of plantation was selected(1).

Again it was Waterhouse in November 1579 who first mentioned the possibility of a "thorough reformation ... if English be planted"(2). The casual statement indicates the idea of colonisation was well rooted in men's minds by the 1580s. Much work has been done on the origins and theories

(1) SP/63/70/4; 74/28; 30/2; 118/75; Moryson in C.L. Falkiner (ed.), Illustrations of Irish history and Topography (1904), p.276; T.C. Barnard, Cromwellian Ireland (Oxford 1975), p.14.

(2) SP/63/70/4.

of English colonisation in the 16th century(1). There had been talk of an English resettlement of Ireland since the 1480s. As early as 1515 a curious proposal was heard for a colonisation to be achieved by one man being sent over from every English parish. Under the administration of Sir Anthony St Leger in the 1540s the accent had been on conciliatory policies. The new men in the 1550s - Radcliffe, Sidney and FitzWilliam - proposed a consolidation of conquest by colonisation. Their method was first implemented in Leix and Offaly but the plantation in this region was fragmentary and executed in slow stages. Enthusiasm for colonisation was rekindled by the appointment of Sidney as lord deputy in 1565. During his first tour and the early 1570s there were several projects and schemes, and two actual attempts to settle north-east Ulster with English colonists, all ultimately unsuccessful(2).

Munster had not been forgotten by those anxious to participate in the current enterprise of colonisation. In the late 1560s Sir Warham St Leger and his nephew Richard Grenville had taken a lease off the Earl of Desmond of certain lands in the barony of Kerrycurrihy south of Cork city. The land was not purchased, as sometimes thought; neither do we have evidence of the numbers of Englishmen the two had on

- (1) Most of it by D.B. Quinn. The important works are "A discourse of Ireland (c.1599): a sidelight on English colonial policy", Proc.RIA, 47, Sect.C (1942); "Sir Thomas Smith and the beginnings of English colonial theory", Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc., 89 (1945); "Edward Walshe's "conjectures" concerning the state of Ireland (1552)", IHS, 5 (1947); Raleigh and the British Empire (1947, p.b. 1973), esp. Chap.5 which deals with Munster plantation; "Ireland and 16th Century European expansion", Historical Studies, 1 (1958); "Renaissance influence on English colonisation", Trans. RHS, 26 (1976).
- (2) Fullest treatment of colonisation in Ireland pre 1571 by D.G. White, "The Tudor plantation in Ireland before 1571" (Ph.D., Dublin 1967); more recent account N.P. Canny, The Elizabethan conquest of Ireland (Hassocks 1976), Chap.4; P.J. Pivernus "Sir Warham St Leger and the first Munster plantation, 1568-69", Eire-Ireland, 14 (1979).

their property(1). St Leger had further ambitions, and with the assistance of Jerome Brett, Humphrey Gilbert and others, calmly put forward a scheme little short of the entire confiscation and colonisation by their company of south-west Munster. It received guarded approval from the government, and regulations were drawn up for the future settlers. William Cecil, however, did make the understated point that such a proposal could only be realised if all the landowners in the projected area were proclaimed rebels and attainted. The plan did not materialise, but St Leger's interest in some form of colonisation in Munster continued. In 1573 he revived the idea of a colony in Cork and was quick to incorporate his claim to the Kerrycurrihy lands in the actual Munster plantation of the 1580s. Indeed, as we shall see, many of the articles for the Munster plantation can be traced back to that first project in 1569(2).

Beyond dispute is the fact that by the 1580s colonisation in Ireland was not regarded as a new solution but had been talked about for years and occasionally applied. Most literary men concerned with Ireland at this time produced recommendations for colonies as an accepted policy. Classical precedents frequently were cited(3). It comes as no surprise then to find colonisation being prescribed for Munster once the chance arose. Yet there were an unusual number of

- (1) St Leger in possession by October 1568, paying £100 rent, SP/63/26/7; undated list of 108 Englishmen brought over by Grenville placed in 1569 in State Papers, 63/28/39; in fact MS refers to Sir Richard Grenville's muster of settlers in 1589, SP/63/144/74; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.248.
- (2) Relevant MSS for 1569 scheme printed, D.B. Quinn (ed.), The voyages and colonising expeditions of Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1938), 2, pp.491-97.
- (3) Among Munster settlers by Edmund Spenser, W.L. Renwicke (ed.), A view of the Present State of Ireland ... in 1596 (Oxford 1970); Richard Beacon, Solon His Follie (Oxford 1594); Sir William Herbert, W.E. Buckley (ed.), Croftus sive de Hibernia Liber (1887), of which anonymous translation, excluding preface, B.L., Harl. MS 35, ff.147-78.

alternative proposals.

The most pressing of these was for the outright sale of the lands. At first this is what many had tacitly assumed would happen. From the outbreak of rebellion there were repeated assertions that the Earl's estate would more than cover the cost of his rebellion, though there was no real idea of the amount of lands likely to be confiscated or the profits the Crown could expect. Some attempt at an estimate was made by Pelham in July 1580, and although he wildly overestimated the volume of land to be confiscated his figures might have been viewed with interest in London(1). The constant preoccupation for Elizabeth's government was to find an inexpensive way to control Ireland. As the 16th century progressed, the greater the sums dispatched from the English treasury to meet the deficit. One of the reasons for establishing the provincial presidencies was the belief this might lead to less expense. So far the reverse had happened. The Munster confiscations gave promise of an unprecedented windfall. The temptation for the government to sell must have been strong indeed.

In one area, it is true, it did succumb to the need for cash. This was outside Munster with the lands forfeited by Baltinglass and his Leinster confederates who had rebelled in 1580 to be defeated the next year. Loftus and Fenton advised the sale of these lands to the highest bidders, recognised to be the old English of the Pale. The possibility of some sort of English plantation was not dismissed, but the Dublin government clearly recommended the immediate financial gain. The Privy Council approved(2).

While the subsequent sale was not as rapid or lucrative as predicted, the government evidently was satisfied enough by the Pale gentlemen's response to offer them part of the

(1) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, pp.284-87; full details, Lambeth, Carew MS 597, p.385; copy, B.L., Add. MS 48017, ff. 107v-13.

(2) Survey value of 29 Leinster rebels, £3,540, SP/63/90/58.1; of seven Leinster rebels, £600, SP/63/110/78; further on Baltinglass sale, SP/63/87/60, 61; 88/14; 90/58; 93/1; 94/2; 97/5.

escheated lands in Munster. The point of interest concerning this proposition is the date, April 1586. By then the plantation of Munster had been decided on, and the details being resolved before the final announcement in June 1586. The offer seems to have been for the Pale gentlemen and nobility to take the available land as official settlers under the plantation covenants; a less likely interpretation is that the land offered was for straightforward sale. At all events the proposal was declined. It would have been intriguing had it been accepted. Not only the composition but the nature of plantation would have been strikingly different with prominent catholic settlers from the east of Ireland(1).

One of the advantages of Pelham's plan of sale was that it paid for the Munster establishment. Even if a wholesale sale was rejected might not we expect to find some endowment for the executive from the confiscated lands? Certainly the new lord president, John Norris, thought so, but despite initial agreement from the government and the Queen's personal support, the presidency received no lands whatsoever(2).

Another demand for a special grant required not less than 160 ploughlands from the escheated lands in the south-west. This interesting scheme was on the same grandiose scale of the 1569 Munster plantation proposal, and indeed there are many similarities which suggest that Richard Speart in 1583 might have had connections with St Leger's plan of earlier years. Briefly, in 1583 the managing agency again was to be a company. Free trade was requested for seven years, with the aid of 100 pressed mariners. Also conscripted were to be a sufficient number of husbandmen and artificers to farm the lands. Once inhabited, a militia would be formed and in due course a naval force. There would be

(1) Perrot to Privy Council, 15 April 1586, Oxford, Bodleian, Perrot MS 1, ff.218v-20v; misdated calendar, Analecta Hibernica, 12 (1943), p.52; *ibid*, pp.62,64.

(2) SP/63/112/78; 113/6; 115/41, 42; 123/47; 125/37; Oxford, Bodleian, Perrot MS 1, ff.103-03v, 164v; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, pp.406-07; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.89, 273, 311, 324.

fishing, the production of naval supplies and an iron works to consume the woods; nothing was "more fitting to bridle that idle and filching people than the cutting down of their woods, which are their chiefest source of strength". The time allotment suggested for the completion of the covenants was the same as in 1569 - and for the future Munster plantation. While this scheme, as that of 1569, did not materialise, patently it was consulted by the drafters of the successful plantation(1).

Other economic projects were on a much smaller, individual scale. For example, Perrot wanted a lease of confiscated lands on the Blackwater to be granted to some Welsh timbermen for the production of staves and boards. Sir Francis Walsingham had demonstrated his early interest in Munster affairs by sponsoring English mining experts who succeeded in finding copper and silver mines near Youghal in 1583/84. The general impression, as we shall see, was that the Munster lands called out for economic exploitation and promised riches for those who came(2).

At the opposite end of the spectrum from such mundane proposals as for the lands to be put to the production of madder and the cultivation of woad (both details in Speart's 1583 scheme) was the voice of John Ussher calling for the erection of a university from the profits of the escheated lands. No reaction to the request is recorded. In 1581 Perrot had advised a similar endowment from the Munster lands for two universities, at Limerick and Armagh. Limerick again was selected nine years later by Sir William Herbert, a Munster settler, for the establishment of a university there and another at Dublin. In 1597 Trinity College, Dublin, did get a grant of small portions of escheated land in Munster, most of which was previously concealed. It received further Munster lands from the disposal of Clancare's

(1) Requisitions of Richard Speart and others (unnamed) for a fee farm of certain lands in Desmond's country, 20 December 1583, SP/63/106/24.

(2) Analecta Hibernica, 12 (1943), p.39; SP/63/100/33; 111/96; Lambeth, Carew MS 627, f.167v; Cal.S.P.Ire, 1586-88, p.136.

estate after 1596(1).

More attention was paid to schemes to transplant clans noted for their belligerence from the Pale and other peaceful areas to the wastes of Munster where they could do less harm. In Leix and Offaly many of the O'Moores and O'Connors had not accepted their displacement in the 1550s and were living "savage and very hurtfully to the government there in woods and bogs". Perrot had been instructed to consider their removal along with other undesirables from Wicklow. Though Kerry was soon designated as their destination the plan did not take effect. This was not the final attempt to dispatch troublemakers to the far side of the often impassable Slevelogher and in the early 17th century the government once again attempted to move the O'Moores out of their traditional lands in Leix. Transplantation to Kerry did take place this time, but it was not a success and many clandestinely returned(2).

For the sake of clarity the various alternatives for the government - colonisation, sale, presidency or university endowment, commercial exploitation and transplantation - have been organised into groups and discussed separately; one need hardly say this is not what happened at the time. Throughout these years many voices were heard without one predominant note. At the outbreak of rebellion it was clear the English government held no firm opinion on the future of the newly escheated lands. This is reasonable. Less to be expected is that it had advanced no further by the end of the rebellion four years later. In 1581 it was admitted the Privy Council was so divided and irresolute over its Irish policy that only the most importunate demands obtained firm directives. Yet it could be said that until the amount

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.353; B.L., Add. MS 48017, f.91; Herbert, Croftus, pp.49-50; J.P. Mahaffy, An epoch of Irish history (1903), p.91; J.W. Stubbs, The history of the University of Dublin, (Dublin 1889), pp.16, 34, 82.

(2) SP/63/107/35, 61, 62, 100; 116/46; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.551; Oxford, Bodleian, Perrot MS 1, ff.98v, 103-03v; see Tarbert seignory, Appendix Two. Transportation schemes common at this time, for example, Spenser, View, pp.123-26.

of land to be confiscated on a permanent basis was known, nothing could be decided. Many times in the late 16th century - too many times for disapproving administrators in Ireland - those participating in one rebellion or another would submit upon assurance of a full pardon for their lives and estates(1).

Early in 1580 Waterhouse replied to Walsingham's request for a plan concerning the rebels' lands in the following way: "Truely Sir, the matter asks great consideration and namely whether it should be totally inhabited with natural Englishmen, or with a mixture of mere English and those of English here born in the Pale, or whether part of the natural inhabitants now rebels might not either upon fine or rents reserved or both be reconciled to grace and repossess their own."(2) This sentence concisely outlines the alternatives. But no further advance was made for many years. From 1579 onwards Dublin officials were asked for their opinions on the question of Munster, but while the rebellion continued their answers concerned military matters and they declined to speculate on the future in peace time(3). The London government accepted the sensible hesitation and for its part also formed no plans. When Grey became Lord Deputy in 1580 he enquired after the form of government Munster would enjoy after the rebellion. Burghley replied he would receive the necessary instructions after the rebellion had been suppressed. Clearly none had been formed yet in London(4).

The indecision encouraged more traditional proposals for the disposing of the rebels' lands. Many did not foresee a settlement which would cover all the lands in Munster and assumed that grants of various portions would be made to

(1) HMC, Salisbury, 2, pp.379-80.

(2) SP/63/72/55.

(3) Pelham, Wallop and Waterhouse did send a joint plan for the government of Munster but relevant papers missing, 14 July 1580, SP/63/74/30; Pelham's military scheme included thoughts on cess and taxation, SP/63/74/28; Grey sent some obscure comments on this, but his or Walsingham's fondness for cipher make his remarks doubly cryptic, 19 January 1581, SP/63/80/15.

(4) SP/63/74/41.

officials and favoured persons as was the custom in previous confiscations. In such circumstances self advertisement was the only path to material gain. Wallop was first off the mark on 29 November 1579, less than four weeks after Desmond's attainder, when he put in a request for some of the Earl's lands near Dublin. Although heading the rapidly growing list of petitioners, Wallop's applications (consistent and insistent) were treated unsympathetically by Burghley who held the advanced notion that officials on the Irish establishment, in Ireland only for their tour of duty, should not be granted lands there(1).

This did not deter other Dublin officials from acting as discreet estate agents for courtiers in England. In 1580 Fenton suggested the Earl of Leicester could do worse than obtain a grant of Lord Barry's lands; or might he care to reward his court friends instead? Kerry was ideal for the latter purpose. "If your lordship so like, it might be transferred to my lord of Warwick or else to Mr Philip Sidney by the title of Baron of Kerry." Either way Leicester should bestir himself after the prospect of Irish lands: "good my lord, loose not that which the time doth offer you and which you may take with good equity and safety of conscience"; two considerations, it may be said, not usually predominant for those adventuring in Ireland(2). The correspondence shows that neither Fenton, nor for that matter Leicester on the Privy Council, were aware of any other programme which might be applied to the Munster lands. Fenton did realise the need for expeditious action before the arrival of competing claims and proposals. Two years later, however, it was still supposed by the lord deputy that lands

(1) Wallop disregarded rebuffs and finally triumphed in 1595: a grant of church land in Limerick, to hold under conditions of plantation, which he then sold to Norris. Wallop's first suit, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.198; for some of his further suits, ibid, pp.292, 346, 351, 358, 397, 401; Burghley's explanation for refusal, SP/63/91/2.1; 1595 grant, DKPROI, 16th Rep., pp.276-77; P.R.O.I., IA/48/65, end of vol., defaced inquisition (n.d.).

(2) SP/63/76/19.

could be granted to worthy individuals(1).

More than any other immediate consideration, what inclined the government towards some comprehensive Munster settlement were the grim reports in early 1582 of famine and "plague" depopulating the province. In April St Leger reported an average of 50 dying a day in Cork city and more than 30,000 dead of famine in Munster in the past half year. His conclusion was stark: there was "such famine among the people here, as it is to be feared this province, or the greatest part thereof will ere it be long be unpopulated". This development altered the direction of government policy. No longer could it speculate about the future of Munster after the rebellion or allow others to press for the acceptance of their particular design for the escheated land. A direct problem had arisen. Deaths from famine, disease and the war were so numerous that the province had become "uninhabited"; the question now became how best to reinhabit these lands. The change of circumstances lifted the plantation lobby above rival schemes. Repeopling the province would have to take priority. For the disasters of 1582 continued until the end of the rebellion. Spenser's description of the state of the province at the war's end is well known, and measured against corroborating reports need not be dismissed as literary fancy(2).

Not only did the province's depopulation encourage resettlement, it removed the one doubt which might have caused some hesitation among plantation advocates. The general question of the legitimacy of confiscation and plantation was less discussed than one might suppose. It is true that two extremes in English policy towards Ireland have been identified for the 16th century: one of conquest and colonisation, the other a more peaceful programme of "reformation" of the locals by administrative and legal

(1) SP/63/88/15.

(2) St Leger to Burghley, 20 April 1582, SP/63/91/41; corroborating evidence, SP/63/91/23.1, 41.1; Cal. S.P.Ire., 1574-85, pp.349,353; Spenser, View, p.104.

reform. While the central problem remained the same throughout the period - how best the realm of Ireland "might with the least charge be reclaimed from barbarism to a godly government" - the means to achieve it were continually discussed. But the great debate, as historians have dubbed it, is less audible in the few years before the Munster plantation(1).

By the 1580s it was difficult to find a single new Englishman opposed to the principle of colonisation. There might have been old English officials who advised against this policy but by this decade they were outnumbered by the new men and had little influence in London. Reformation and colonisation were increasingly held in conjunction and not necessarily regarded as opposing forces. Perrot in 1581 and Croft in 1583 demonstrate firmly the compatibility of the two views, not challenging but supplementing each other(2). The same can be said for the labels now favoured by historians, that of "persuasion" versus "coercion". To attribute the one line to an individual is a risky business as his views would change with the circumstances; though it must be said that few new English were heard after 1583 recommending soft, persuasive policies for Munster. Suggested candidates, such as Lord Deputy Perrot or Sir William Herbert, are not appropriate(3).

When it came to the confiscation of land, the English did not feel the need to exonerate themselves. Those who had sworn allegiance to the Queen had rebelled. Their lands had been confiscated. As to the disposal of these lands, that was the Crown's business. While all concerned would accept this reasoning, there remained a general uneasiness

- (1) Quinn, "Ireland and 16th century European expansion", Historical Studies I.
- (2) B.L., Add. MS 48017, ff.86-94; Analecta Hibernica, 4 (1932), pp.313-15.
- (3) B. Bradshaw, "Sword, word and strategy in the Reformation in Ireland", Historical Journal, 21 (1978); N. Canny, "Why the Reformation failed in Ireland: une Question Mal Posée", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 30, no.4 (1979).

over the specific nature of colonisation, which usually required the removal of local inhabitants. Legitimacy however was conceded if the lands were unoccupied or insufficiently occupied and uncultivated. Such was More's verdict in Utopia. It remained the loophole for English advocates of colonisation in Ireland, even though some aggressively denied the need for justification: "If any man say, that it is hard to dispossess the ancient inhabitants of the country out of their dwellings: he considers not that rebels and enemies are so to be used; and that if they be placed elsewhere, it is of mercy rather than desert..." Yet the same writer does regret that "if inhabitants when the time was, had been sent into Ireland being void in some places, divers English might have been placed without injury to any"(1).

While viewing the alternatives for Munster in 1580, Pelham had concluded that colonisation demanded an extirpation of the local inhabitants, which policy the Queen had expressly forbid. To an extent this equation had been true up to now. Colonising attempts in the late 1560s and early 1570s had failed or been abandoned because implementation required the prior military conquest of the lands in question. Either the government had been unwilling to sanction wholesale confiscation which would cause a rebellion, or the colonists had found themselves being extirpated by those whose part in the plan were to become the colonised. Like fish refusing to be caught, the victims evidently had not read the same Anglers' Guide which instructed their would-be captors(2).

By 1582 the situation had changed, in Munster at least, and human destruction no longer a prerequisite for colonisation. Since there were few left in Munster, restocking would have to come from England. The argument took on a patriotic colour, reinforced by significant terminology. In government

(1) Quinn, "Renaissance influence", Trans.RHS, 26 (1976); Mathew Sutcliffe, The practice, proceedings and laws of arms... (1593), p.206 (cited in Quinn).

(2) B.L., Add. MS 48017, ff.87, 102-15v.

memoranda the plantation invariably was referred to as the reinhabiting or re-peopling of Munster, or some very similar phrase. The authorities now could tell themselves they had a positive duty to encourage and promote the habitation of these lands for the sake of Ireland's welfare. In turn, the settlers readily emphasised the philanthropic nature of their enterprise. It is human nature to want to think well of oneself and one's actions, and those involved in the Munster venture were no exception to this impulse - and the frequently required measure of self deception which needs to be taken to achieve the coveted glow of righteousness.

As for actual evidence of depopulation at the end of the war we are dependent largely upon the survey commissioners. The Four Masters' frequently quoted lament on this subject received a chilling confirmation from Wallop in 1584. He stated that all the territory the commission had covered from County Limerick to Kerry was laid waste apart from small pockets around Limerick city and Kilmallock. Kerry in particular was underpopulated, the people being "consumed, what with the sword, and by justice, but chiefly by famine". Browne repeated this view. These first impressions are somewhat contradicted by the later, written survey where the commissioners conclude that east Limerick is largely inhabited and the west of the county at least by 40%. But in Kerry they were forced to postpone the examination of several units until the country was better peopled. The conclusion seems unescapable that the escheated lands, particularly in the west, were indeed greatly underpopulated(1).

The idea of planting Englishmen on the escheated lands had been suggested casually at an early stage in the rebellion. Then occurred a pause while other proposals were offered - sale to locals, grants to courtiers - and ambitious programmes discouraged until the war had been won. That the lands were uninhabited and needed restocking had been accepted soon after the Earl's death. Among instructions to the new lord deputy in January 1584 was the command to confer with his

(1) J. O'Donovan (ed.), Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the four masters (Dublin 1851), 5, p.1785; SP/63/112/10, 18.

council and give advice on the question of Munster, "how the same countries are dispeopled, and how needful it is to repeople it again". By now the Privy Council, weary of platitudinous advice, emphasised that Perrot was to do more than recommend the lands should be inhabited with civil, obedient people, but provide actual information and fresh details(1).

In the autumn of 1584 came the survey and it is then that the motions in support of some sort of English colonisation grow into a chorus. The lands could not be re-peopled unless it be from England, said Wallop. As for the peopling of Munster, "it must wholly proceed from England," said the lord president. During the winter of 1584/85 the design slowly took shape and then permanence in the heads of the Privy Councillors; though the very individuals who had helped initiate such a scheme by their incessant cries for English inhabitation still remained unaware of the comprehensive scale of the future restructuring of Munster. Both Wallop and Browne petitioned for grants of escheated land after they had returned from the survey in December 1584(2). In January 1585 they learnt the final decision in London "that the best way to draw men into Munster is for Her Majesty to grant such estates in the escheated lands as may encourage men of ability to go over from hence to inhabit there"(3).

If we reflect on these years until 1585 when the government was groping towards its eventual policy of colonisation from England, it is difficult to identify any surprising action. Things moved much as we would expect. Considering the degree of interest in colonisation, it would be unlikely if some attempt was not made to exploit the opportunity from this confiscation of vast territories. From the government's point of view the advantages of colonisation were obvious: control would be achieved in the most tangible manner, strategic security thereby strengthened, the anglicisation

(1) Lambeth, Carew MS 632, f.60.

(2) SP/63/111/90; 112/85; 113/14, 19.

(3) (Walsingham) to Wallop (January 1585), SP/63/114/53.

programme inexorably accelerated, England's supposed surplus population accommodated, and eventually the transformed and newly prosperous region financially benefitting to the Crown. For the colonists the motives for plantation were more complex and in some cases even more illusory.

Plantation

It had been agreed that the escheated lands were to be repeopled by English settlers. How was this to be achieved? To grant lands to certain Englishmen would change only the chief landowners without effecting the desired introduction of English settlers from all levels of society. What was devised was a plan never before attempted in Ireland. The lands were to be divided into units of regular size and granted to suitable Englishmen, who in turn would undertake to inhabit with a stipulated number of English settlers. Hence these chief gentlemen were known as undertakers. The respective land units were called at first parishes, but this homely designation was soon changed to the more lordly one of seignories.

The articles which bound the government and the undertakers to carry out their respective obligations, promulgated by letters patent in England on 27 June 1586, divided the lands into seignories of 12,000 acres and decreasing proportions of 8,000, 6,000 and 4,000 acres. No undertaker was to have more than 12,000 acres. The estates were granted in fee farm to hold from the Crown in free and common socage. For a full seignory the undertaker had to settle 91 families including his own. The nature of tenancy was ordained: six freeholders, six farmers holding from the undertaker in fee farm, 42 copyholders and 36 base tenures and cottagers. So too the amount of land each class was to have: the freeholders 300 acres each, farmers 400 acres, copyholders 100 acres, the remainder 50, 25 or 10 acres each, at the discretion of the undertaker. Lesser amounts in due proportion were demanded from those who undertook eight, six or four thousand

acres(1).

The undertaker was given seven years to accomplish this settlement, the terminal date being Michaelmas 1593. Rent was computed by the number of acres and according to each county. For a full seignory of 12,000 acres in Tipperary, Waterford and Cork the amount was £66.13.4. p.a. In Limerick, excluding Connello, it was £105; in Connello £150. The highest rent was for Kerry at £200 a seignory. No rent was to be paid until Michaelmas 1590; for the next three years only half rent; after the probationary period of seven years had elapsed the full rent. Rent for the smaller seignories was to be rated according to the size and county. The acreage of the seignory did not cover waste such as bog, hearth, scrub or mountain, which was to pass to the undertaker as common ground. If he improved it a halfpenny an acre rent would be demanded by the Crown. Within the seignory a manor or manors would be instituted, the undertaker keeping courts leet and courts baron as in England.

Then came the clauses benefitting the undertaker. Three of them concerned transportation. The undertaker could send provisions and commodities for his own and tenants' use from England to Ireland without paying custom, for the probationary period of seven years. He could export all commodities growing on his lands to any friendly nation free of custom until Michaelmas 1595. He could export corn to England and Wales for ever and at all times, except when the lord president and council of Munster ordered a restraint by reason of dearth in the province. He was permitted to impark 600 acres for deer and horse breeding.

A militia system provided an element of defence for each seignory. The undertaker himself had to provide for three horsemen and six footmen fully furnished; freeholders and

(1) PRO, C/66/1302; copies in SP/63/124/95; B.L., Add. MSS 36775, ff.160-65; 4756, f.88; abstract of articles, San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 1725; B.L., Sloan MS 4786, ff.26-28v; printed in Cal.S.P. Ire., 1586-88, pp.84-89. Further copies of articles which include required number of families in Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, pp.7-14; Exeter R/O, Courtenay MS 1508 (M) Irish Deeds I; Nottingham University Library, Middleton MS Mi Da 57a, b.

farmers each to provide one furnished horseman; every copyholder of 100 acres to have equipment for one footman. The total force for one seignory of 12,000 acres came to 15 horse and 48 foot. These articles operated from Michaelmas 1590. Other details of military service concerned length of duty outside Munster. For the probationary period the planters' defence would be provided by garrisons at Her Majesty's charge.

Of crucial importance were the regulations regarding the nationality of those permitted to be on the seignories. These clauses require close examination, since the subsequent interpretation of their meaning allowed unexpected refinements to the nature of plantation. The most profitable method is to trace the origin of these racial clauses and other main plantation stipulations of the June 1586 articles.

The decision to establish an English plantation in Munster had been taken in January 1585. There had been a degree of planning before the Peyton survey was finished. Already in November 1585 the Dublin government had been sounded out on its opinion of a draft of plantation articles sent over from England. But until the survey arrived and was examined nothing definite could be arranged. It had been presented to the lord deputy by the commissioners on 3 October 1585. Sir Valentine Browne left Dublin for England on 6 November very likely taking the survey with him. He arrived at Court on 16 December. With the advent of the survey a sudden flurry of plans and schemes appeared in that same month and January 1586. The first set of articles we can date is from 21 December 1585. By the end of January 1586 a rough formula was ready. Browne was appointed to deal with those gentlemen wishing to inhabit Munster and sound out their opinions of the conditions. Their comments were obtained within a month. The Privy Council then sent the articles to Dublin and the Irish administration noted their own advice for each clause. They were returned to

London, amended and proclaimed on 27 June 1586(1).

In fact the genesis for the plantation articles go back much further than December 1585. The bargaining between the company and Cecil over conditions of settlement for the abortive Munster plantation in 1569 produced many of the terms to be applied in the actual plantation. There were changes of detail in 1585 of course, but the framework already existed 15 years earlier.

The most interesting point of the negotiations between the government and the 1569 syndicate concerns the definition of the people to be settled. The difficulty was one of terminology. In the mid 16th century "Englishmen" often referred to any English speaking person, in Ireland as well as England. The government had allowed the grantees to alienate 2/3 of their land to "any man born in England". In their reply the future settlers agreed to alienate land to none except "such as be descended from Englishmen". The difference between those born in England and those descended from Englishmen was fundamental because it allowed the old English to slip in under the latter definition. After all, they never tired of reminding the government of their ancient English (Norman) ancestry. The intention of the 1569 settlers had not been to extend justice to the local old English, but

- (1) SP/63/120/9; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.156; 21 December articles, SP/63/121/41; Privy Council to Browne, 31 January 1586, *ibid*, 122/54; abstract of post January 1586 government offer to undertakers, Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.419; copy, San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 1711; same articles with Burghley's annotations of undertakers' opinion, 1 March 1586, SP/63/123/2; sent to Dublin and returned, SP/63/123/24; Burghley to Walsingham, 21 June 1586, SP/12/190/47; J. Lodge (ed.) Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica (Dublin 1772), 1, pp.72-76. Articles different from those finally adopted: act for planting of habitation in Munster, 21 December 1585, SP/63/121/41; copy, 122/56; variation of same plan, December 1585, B.L. (microfilm) Cecil MS 141/38 (annotations by Burghley); approximate copy, B.L. Harl. MS 1877, ff.50v-51; other plans in 1585/86 stipulate 114, 86 and 108 families, SP/63/121/54, 56, 57; no. of families determined by 20 May 1586, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.61; San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 1713.

to give themselves the freedom to return to England, should they so choose, by leaving their lands in the hands of responsible men in Ireland. This was in response to the government's demand that the settlers should be continually in residence(1).

The official intention of the Munster plantation in the 1580s was to introduce families from England into Ireland. But if large amounts of land were granted to one person, might not he sell portions to the locals, making a quick profit and a mockery of the plantation aims? Accordingly one of the clauses in the early 1586 articles ordered no selling of estates "to any Irish". Moreover, "the inhabitants of every family shall be of the birth of England, and that in no family any mere Irish to be maintained". This seemed to put the matter with sufficient clarity for the Privy Council and the potential undertakers who agreed with these clauses in February 1586(2). The articles were then dispatched to Dublin and here a change was suggested. For the second clause the Irish council wanted the phrase "of the birth of England" to be replaced by "all such as are descendants of Eng[lish name]"(3). It was most unlike the Irish council

(1) D. Jackson, Intermarriage in Ireland, 1550-1650 (Montreal 1970), p.14; Quinn, Voyages, 2 pp.495-96; SP/63/28/3, 5.

(2) SP/63/123/2.

(3) SP/63/123/24. MS is torn and missing after the words "of Eng...". But from subsequent change in articles to "of an English name and ancestor", the Dublin administration's correction would appear to be "of English name". Possible alternative is "of English blood": undated draft of letters patent for undertakers forbid alienation to persons "being mere Irish not descended of an English ancestor or name", which Burghley altered to "being mere Irish not descended of an original English ancestor of name and blood"; this subtle correction could be read as limiting sale to those descended from the first Munster settlers in 1580s, but likely intention of "original" to refer to Anglo-Normans of 12th century, later the old English; draft letters patent (n.d.), annotations by Egerton, Popham and Burghley, San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 1706. Burghley's change remained in final version, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.308.

to promote the rights of the catholic old English. What it wanted was to safeguard the interests of those new English born in Ireland and possibly wishing to participate in the plantation, and not least the increasing numbers of conformist and converted old English(1). The suggested amendment from Dublin was noted, but when the final articles appeared its intent was attached to the first rather than second clause. The first henceforth ran: "None of the English people to be there planted shall make any estate to any of the mere Irish not descended of an English name and ancestor." The second clause ran: "That the heads of every family shall be born of English parents, and the heirs female inheritable to any the same lands shall marry with none but with persons born of English parents or with such as descend of the first patentees. And that none of the mere Irish as aforesaid shall be maintained or permitted in any family there."

The reason for covering these minute changes of wording in such detail is that the old English decided they qualified for sales and leases of land by right of possession of an English name and ancestor. This concession might seem bizarre, considering the plantation lands were confiscated from the FitzGeralds and their largely old English associates. But the government evidently thought their participation would not be disastrous, while the Dublin administration was anxious not to exclude any protestant born in Ireland without stating this harsh truth too plainly. Hence the clumsy alteration.

The immediate consequences should not be misunderstood. All the initial settlers had to be English born; it was only their own tenants or buyers who could have been drawn from the old English. As we shall see, they did not swamp the Tudor plantation under the legal fiction of settlers. But in the 17th century surveys no distinction was made between English and old English tenants who appear together under the

(1) Apart from Earl of Ormonde difficult to identify an undertaker born in Ireland; possible candidates, Sir Warham St Leger, Nicholas Browne and Francis Berkeley.

heading "of British birth and descent". The Irish, however were noticed separately and disapprovingly named. Nowhere is there any instance of an undertaker accused of breaking his covenants by having old English tenants or selling land to them. The one apparent example is misleading. In 1611 Sir Richard Boyle, whom we shall meet throughout the history of the plantation, was attempting to regain a lease of a large area of plantation lands made to a FitzGerald. To do this Boyle admitted that one Nicholas Fox had articulated Boyle before the Privy Council for leasing these lands to FitzGerald, "whom he [Fox] termed an Irishman". Hence Boyle would be breaking his plantation covenants. Boyle did not object, as he might have done, to the terminology. Instead he humbly reminded the Privy Council of this accusation against him - a correct accusation he implied - in order to advance his case in removing FitzGerald. Boyle himself reported FitzGerald had placed very many Irish tenants on these lands. There is no evidence these arguments carried any weight in London. At any rate, Boyle was forced to buy out FitzGerald in the end(1).

It was a different matter with Irish tenants. At one time or another most undertakers were criticised for allowing them on their lands, either by government officials or by neighbours anxious to discredit them. An intriguing deviation from the articles occurs in a list of plantation covenants written in the mid 1590s. Among the usual conditions it is stated that no mortgages or leases are allowed to the Irish for more than seven years on pain of the lands in question being forfeited. The penalty is unsurprising. What is decidedly innovatory was the legitimate lease to the Irish, albeit for only seven years. However, no confirmation exists for this liberty, nor any proof of its application(2).

(1) Boyle to Privy Council, 31 May 1611, Chatsworth, Lismore papers, 3/92; termination of FitzGerald's lease, *ibid*, 3/71-2, 87, 91, 96, 107-8, 115, 119, 128.

(2) [C.1595], P.R.O.I., M.3044, p.28; copy with variations, B.L., Sloan MS 1742, f.9. In 1611 inquisition for Kilfinny seignory were two seven year leases (an unusual length) to Irish tenants but sole example in plantation, P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6.

One source does suggest that when the Irish were present on a seignory, few were given leases as bona fide tenants but remained in a legally ambiguous condition, paying rent though possessing no actual lease, this last proviso being a rather awkward effort by the undertaker not to contravene the strict letter of the plantation articles. Another circumvention was to make out the lease to an Irish tenant in an Englishman's name. As prudent in this department as in all others, Boyle insisted on this figleaf for leases to Irishmen near his model town of Bandonbridge. Yet such deceptive routines were usually ignored and throughout the plantation the Irish simply allowed to settle, illegally, as tenants(1).

While the old English might have taken advantage of careless drafting there was no mistaking the flat order "that none of the mere Irish as aforesaid shall be maintained or permitted in any family there". If the Irish could not hold land or be maintained in any family (i.e. household), then it seems that legally they were excluded from the seignories. Servants counted as members of a household. Day labourers had to sleep somewhere, and the moment they paid rent on a regular basis the covenants could be said to be broken. The point was not explicitly treated in the articles. Sir Edward Fitton, the Limerick undertaker, reporting the condition of his lands in 1589, evidently thought he was complying with the articles when stating the Irish present were not "inhabitants" but "labourers". Certainly the articles were not interpreted in the alternative strict fashion and it is doubtful if the government ever envisaged such a state of affairs. Though it did talk of seignories being peopled entirely with Englishmen, the logical conclusion of its nationality distinction on the lowest elements of society was a detail never really considered. What the authorities wanted were households of English undiluted by Irish nurses, servants or underlings. As for labourers and landless orders it would have been pleasant if these too were English, but no early modern state had the bureaucratic structure to

(1) Canigaline rental for Daniel Gookin, Chatsworth, Boyle patent book, p.349; *ibid*, Lismore Papers, 17/136.

achieve this(1).

Besides the similarities, there are interesting differences between the 1569 and 1586 articles. In the Munster plantation the grantee held land from the Crown by free and common socage, while in 1569 tenure was by knight service in capite. Residence for the chief settlers was demanded in 1569 but there was no similar insistence in the 1586 articles. Some of the potential undertakers were prominent courtiers and could not be expected to stay permanently in Munster. Other men might wish to take the lands for younger sons or kinsfolk without relinquishing title. Bacon makes this point when advising against a similar regulation for the Ulster planters. Nevertheless there was a continual understream of criticism against absentee undertakers and several times in the 1590s and early 17th century they were exhorted to return and take up residence(2).

Perhaps the greatest distinction between the two plans was that the 1569 men had a commission to impress a sufficient number of Englishmen to be soldiers, labourers and artificers. In 1586 recruitment was left to the private arrangement of the undertaker. Besides the 1569 scheme, both the revived 1573 project and the two Ulster plantation attempts in the early 1570s were the work of corporations under the leadership of an individual or group. General conditions were negotiated with the government which then allowed the company to organise the colony and direct its establishment. Sir Thomas Smith's company was a joint-stock corporation with a projected total stock of £10,000. A company had been suggested for Munster in the commercial schemes put forward by Speart and others in 1583, but when the final programme emerged in 1586 there was no joint stock company or corporation of any sort. This time the government preferred to deal directly with the

(1) SP/63/144/15; contrast Sir Thomas Smith's Ards expedition where the native Irish were encouraged to remain as a servile and immobile labour force, HMC De L'Isle and Dudley, 2 pp.314-15.

(2) Quinn, Voyages, 2, p.496; J. Spedding (ed.) The letters of Francis Bacon (1868), 4, pp.123-24.

individual leading settlers. It gave them control over all the stages of colonisation. Also the volume and layout of the Munster colonisation were so widespread that no one individual or company could have hoped to run it.

The most surprising omission from the Munster plantation articles concerned any provision for enclosures or defensive buildings. Since the early schemes had projected ambitious divisions of the seignories into central towns and outlying buildings with the settlers' security in mind, it is likely the drafters were perfectly aware of calls for such improvements, but decided to omit them from the articles in order not to overburden the undertaker with too complex a list of regulations.

In conclusion, the similarities between 1569 and 1586 are more striking than the differences. And this is what we would expect, for the man who annotated the earlier plan is again very much in evidence throughout the planning of the Munster plantation - William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

The planners

Beyond dispute is Burghley's central role in planning and organising the early years of the plantation. On a number of proposals and designs concerning Munster, in the margin or between the lines, his autograph appears: aggregating figures, making additional comments, suggesting amendments and so on. His long interest in Irish affairs is well known. By the 1580s his knowledge of the country was greater than any who had not visited the place - and many who had. He was assiduous in calling for maps and had assembled a fine collection, many of them bearing his annotations. On the reverse folio of letters containing Irish business it is not uncommon to find Burghley's hand tricking out a family tree of one Irish lineage or another. This genealogical expertise alone argues an unprecedented familiarity of the

chief executive in England with Ireland's affairs(1).

Burghley was the senior of the quartet which dominated the Privy Council in the 1580s. His colleagues were Sir Francis Walsingham, the Earl of Leicester and Sir Christopher Hatton. There is no record of any fundamental disagreement between them over plans for the Munster plantation. In 1581 divisions in the Privy Council over Irish policy were reported, with some inclining towards a harsh reformation, others to toleration and connivance at local customs. Though no more is known of this breach, at this date there did exist the longstanding enmity between Leicester and Sussex. However the latter died in 1583 and whatever the future dissensions between the quartet, none approached the implacability of that factional rift(2).

With Walsingham, Burghley handled most of the administrative responsibility of the government and it was natural the bulk of Irish correspondence should be dealt with by these two. The volume of relevant paperwork is impressive(3). Walsingham

(1) Some examples, by no means all, of important annotations by Burghley concerning Munster plantation, SP/63/121/63; 123/57; 124/41, 42, 87, 89.1; 127/63, 64; San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MSS 1704, 1706, 1725. There is no evidence that Burghley disapproved of the plantation and was against granting land to English settlers; but Sir John Pope Hennesy insists on viewing him as a sympathetic 19th century Liberal: "Had the policy of the Prime Minister been carried out, the Devon and Dorset adventurers would have returned to their houses in England with whatever pay they might have saved, instead of remaining in Ireland as alien landlords", Sir Walter Raleigh in Ireland (1883), p.48.

(2) HMC Salisbury, 2, pp.379-80.

(3) The amount in P.R.O. alone is extensive; in Walsingham's Table Book which lists contents of "the paper house" in 1588, the title index of Irish business equals correspondence of all other European countries; furthermore at Court was "a bundle of the whole proceedings in the peopling of Munster by the gentlemen undertakers", B.L., Stowe MS 162, f.65. On seeing the number of Irish papers on his first visit to the State Paper office in 1619, Sir Thomas Wilson exclaimed that there was more ado with Ireland than all the world beside, Cal.S.P.Dom., 1623-25, p.555.

received a fractional majority of letters from 1579 to 1581, but once the plantation planning began then more correspondence was directed to Burghley. There are indications that the great man came to decisions alone, on occasion not consulting Walsingham. In January 1585 the Secretary wrote ruefully to Wallop that he had not yet been acquainted with the advice Wallop had sent to Burghley touching the re-peopling of Munster. Furthermore Walsingham recorded Burghley's dissatisfaction with Wallop's efforts over the survey and his views on Ormonde's desire for some of the escheated land, though Walsingham dissociated himself from this attitude and assured Wallop of his continuing support(1). But these hints of friction between Burghley and Walsingham never developed into a rupture of any discernible kind, at least over the Munster business. In general terms Walsingham pressed for a tougher line on Irish affairs - concerning the confiscations, pardons for rebels, religious matters - while Burghley demonstrated his inflexibility most often with the Dublin officials, many of whom complained, unavailingly, to Walsingham about their treatment.

After Burghley, Walsingham stood apart from the rest of the Privy Council. He handled as much routine Irish business as Burghley, though was far less involved in the planning of the plantation and with a record of direction not remotely as visible. Yet he was concerned with Munster in a personal capacity. In the early 1580s his agents in Munster had succeeded in locating various mines, though there is no evidence Walsingham followed up these discoveries as an individual entrepreneur. In 1584 he financed a scheme for growing woad and madder in Ireland and cultivation was under way within a year. Walsingham had long been interested in colonial expansion, an interest strengthened by his daughter's marriage to Sir Philip, son of Sir Henry Sidney. The Munster plantation gave him a chance of demonstrating, in a dramatic fashion, his personal engagement in an overseas venture by becoming an undertaker himself, joining his first cousin, Edward Denny, for a seignory in Kerry. They were allotted

(1) SP/63/114/53.

Tralee and other lands by Sir Valentine Browne and the other official undertakers in the spring of 1587. Walsingham had not been considered in the main division of lands in early 1586 and must have agreed to unite and adventure with Denny later that year. He may have been helped to a decision by Wallop's report to him in August 1586 of a valuable alum mine in Kerry and recommendation to mine it. Denny was to continue as an undertaker, but Walsingham soon withdrew, perhaps in some financial trouble from debts after his son-in-law's death in November 1586(1).

Though one might quibble at designating Walsingham a participant, another senior member of the Privy Council was from the first one of the leading undertakers. In the 1586 articles Sir Christopher Hatton and the gentlemen undertakers of Cheshire and Lancashire were allocated the confiscated land in Limerick, Tipperary and Waterford. The reason for Hatton's involvement remains unknown. The standard biography offers no explanation. He did have a record of investment in colonial ventures elsewhere. Before the plantation, his only Irish concern had been a licence to export yarn from 1571 to 1576. Various proteges of his had served in Ireland - Barnaby Rich dedicated three books to him - but no more than of any other prominent figure. It may be that his distant blood relationship with Grey caused an interest in Irish affairs after Grey's appointment as lord deputy in 1580. In any case, no influence of his can be discerned in the planning of the plantation(2).

Hatton might have been encouraged to become an undertaker in order to show that at least one leading figure of the administration was prepared to commit himself to the venture. Such participation from on high would fortify smaller men in

(1) Mines, SP/63/100/33; 111/96; Lambeth, Carew MS 627, f.167v; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.136; woad, J. Thirsk, Economic Policy and Projects (Oxford 1978), pp.75-77. Allotment to Walsingham and Denny, 21 May 1587, Cal. Carew, 1575-88, pp.450-51; allotment to Walsingham alone, before September 1587, SP/63/131/6.

(2) E. St John Brooks, Sir Christopher Hatton (1946), pp.319-20.

their resolution to join the plantation. There was no hope of a similar gesture from Leicester. During these years he was preoccupied with the Netherlands and in fact abroad there from December 1585 to September 1586, the months when the Munster plans were being formed. A letter from him to Perrot in early 1585 directing the lord deputy to correspond with Burghley or Walsingham over the Desmond forfeitures sufficiently indicates his priorities(1). As for the remaining Privy Councillors, Sir James Croft had recommended "plantations" for the mettlesome regions in Munster when lord deputy 30 years previously, and he had been quick to advise the same for Munster after Desmond's death. He could be expected to endorse warmly the plantation scheme of 1586; but then all government men appear to have approved as well. There is no record of any London official opposing the existing scheme. The Privy Councillor most concerned with the plantation, in an official and personal capacity, was the attorney-general, John Popham, whose role will be seen shortly(2).

The Queen's part in the business is not known. Of the alternatives to plantation, that of an outright sale might have appealed to her financial husbandry, but there is no sign of opposition to the plan of plantation. It is unlikely if she initiated anything, yet she did keep a vigilant eye upon some conditions of settlement. Burghley feared she would criticise the lack of land reserved for the presidency in the articles, and he instructed his correspondent how to answer the expected objection(3).

While the identity of the individuals behind the planning of the plantation must remain partially speculative, there is no question as to who performed the necessary drafting of the commissions, articles and subsequent letters patent to the undertakers. In the Huntington Library exists a sheaf

(1) Perrot to Leicester, 12 February 1585, Oxford, Bodleian, Perrot MS 1, ff.64-65v.

(2) Analecta Hibernica, 4, pp.313-15; Croft, DNB; Croft's loyalty in fact continually suspect, M.B. Pulman, The Elizabethan Privy Council in the 1570s (Los Angeles 1971), pp.35-36.

(3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.89.

of MSS dealing with this business, many of them in the hand of the solicitor-general, Thomas Egerton. He wrote out the commission for survey in 1584 and a copy of the early articles. For the letters patent, Egerton was given wide responsibility by Burghley who told him he had examined "the books which you delivered unto me concerning Her Majesty's lands in Munster to be passed over to the undertakers, which I leave to your further view and consideration to be as favourable to Her Majesty as for them". Burghley added, "If you so think good you may use the advice of such of the judges as are in town, upon any point therein"(1).

One legal officer whom Egerton definitely consulted was his superior, the attorney-general John Popham. Both were instrumental in preparing the various drafts before the final articles. Burghley worked closely with them over the same papers. These three plus Sir Valentine Browne should share authorship for the June 1586 articles(2). Popham's participation in the Munster plans evidently aroused his personal interest in the plantation, for he proposed to become an undertaker himself with his sons-in-law and other gentlemen from Somerset. The same process happened a little earlier for Sir Valentine Browne. From early 1584 he had been the link between the Privy Council and the Dublin administration concerning the Munster survey and plantation. At the end of 1585 he brought over the survey report and remained at Court to amplify and elaborate the returns. In 1586 he was appointed to discuss conditions with potential undertakers; not perhaps a fortuitous choice since he appears in the articles as one of the chief undertakers himself.

Other major undertakers mentioned in the June articles

- (1) Burghley to Egerton, 4 July 1586, San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 1707; for Egerton's drafts, *ibid*, 1705-06, 1708, 1712, 1716-17, 1723, 1726-27, 6156.
- (2) SP/12/190/47; Popham annotations, San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 1706; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.89. Bacon said Popham "laboured greatly in the last project touching the plantation of Munster", Spedding, Bacon, 4, p.117.

and interested in colonisation or with previous experience in Ireland would have expressed views, which might (or might not) have been accepted. Sir Walter Raleigh is an obvious candidate. His life of course was bound up in the theory and practice of colonisation, chiefly in the New World. He had fought in the Desmond rebellion and in October 1582 submitted a paper containing advice on military tactics and how to wean away Desmond's supporters by selective pardons. It was closely read by Burghley who acted upon much of the contents. But no suggestions were included for any particular form of settlement after the war. Raleigh did obtain a custodiam from Grey of lands in the Lee estuary which might have encouraged him to pursue landowning in Munster; though his future seignory comprised lands elsewhere. While quick to obtain a grant of three and a half seignories, directly contrary to the articles, and energetic in transporting settlers from 1587-89, Raleigh seems to have kept aloof from the planning and execution of the plantation, unlike the other two major undertakers named in the articles, Sir Edward Fitton and Sir Valentine Browne. During these years he was also busy with his Virginia colony(1).

Fitton might well have volunteered his opinion of the plantation plans since he had previous experience in Ireland when his father had been lord president of Connaught. Another likely candidate among the undertakers was Sir William Herbert with a scholarly interest in colonisation. The most we can say about the influence of people or groups on the planning stages of the plantation is to remind ourselves that the politically conscious were a fraction of the nation at this time; and that it was relatively easy to get one's views heard by the men in command. Certainly the government suffered from no lack of advice(2).

(1) SP/63/96/30; 88/40.3; Perrot to Leicester, 23 September 1585, Oxford, Bodleian, Perrot MS I, f.164v; for Raleigh and colonisation, Quinn, Raleigh, esp. Chapter Five.

(2) Fitton, see Knockainy seignory; Herbert, Castle-island. Croft may have alerted Herbert to proposed Munster plantation; Herbert had excessive respect for Croft's past rule in Ireland; they were distantly related, Herbert, Croftus, p.vi.

One quarter from which the Privy Council regularly asked for recommendations was the Irish council at Dublin. The voice which it paid most heed to during the planning stages of the plantation was that of the vice-treasurer, Henry Wallop. On certain occasions this might not seem so. Burghley was perpetually dissatisfied with Wallop's financial accounts, Wallop himself chagrined at the insufficient appreciation of his efforts by those in England. His suits for plantation land were regularly rejected, despite a quid pro quo with Fenton and Loftus, by which arrangement each urged the others' cause and worthiness for grants of land. But with Sir Valentine Browne, Wallop had been the first and most persistent of the commissioners to press for the peopling of the escheated lands from England. And concerning direct influence on the planning stages, at least one of his suggestions was incorporated into the articles: that gentlemen of credit in England be awarded the lands to settle their tenants, paying no rent for the first three years, then half rent for the next four years(1).

Of his colleagues, the urbane secretary, Geoffrey Fenton, wrote the most stylish letters, as one might expect from a poet and scholar, but his views prevailed less in Irish affairs than later in his career. He was relatively inexperienced, having come to Ireland in 1580 and secretary from the summer of 1581. In the autumn of 1582 his nerve broke, and with Loftus he advised a pardon to Desmond in order to end the war. Prudently they kept this secret from their fellow councillors, but the action must have lost them credit in England since the response was the very opposite. Nevertheless in May 1583 Fenton was urging the same policy, while at exactly the same time Wallop successfully pressed for the continuation of the war(2). Less than two months before Wallop's prophetic letter on the necessity and conditions for an English settlement, Fenton proposed a 1650s Connaught style solution for Munster: the sea coasts to be occupied

(1) Wallop to Burghley, 11 October 1585, SP/63/120/9.

(2) SP/63/97/16, 24; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.449.

by English serviters, unconfiscated lands being exchanged for land in the interior. The plan envisaged grants of the remaining escheated land to both English and Irish, and had other features far removed from the actual plantation(1).

Another man who had less to do with the planning of the plantation than might have been expected was Sir Warham St Leger. As mentioned, he had held land in south Cork since the late 1560s and was one of the company for plantation in 1569. He had served in Cork throughout most of the rebellion and in early 1584 was at his family home in Kent, ideally placed to pour advice into the ears of the Privy Councillors. Yet he was strangely mute on schemes for the plantation(2). Can it be because the land he held in south Cork was on a lease from the Earl of Desmond? The last thing St Leger could want was a general policy of bestowing Desmond's lands to newcomers, for then his tenancy would dissolve and the land be granted to an undertaker - as indeed happened. The only way he could obtain a firm title to the lands (besides claiming a forfeited mortgage from the Earl and pleading his years of service) was by becoming an official undertaker himself.

Generally the Dublin officials were less excited by the abstract ideal of colonisation and more concerned with the contingencies of the immediate problem. To some in England the Munster confiscations presented an opportunity to follow in the steps of the ancient Romans. They did not think like that in Dublin. The lands were deserted: they had to be peopled. If we accept that Burghley was largely responsible for the decision to colonise and the planning stages of the plantation, the question becomes by whom was he influenced?

(1) Fenton to Burghley, 23 August 1585, SP/63/118/75, 75.1; latter MS anonymous but would seem to be mentioned by Fenton in letter; similar scheme (n.d.), Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.395; for Fenton's normally pervasive influence, R. Cox, Hibernia Anglicana (1689), p.389.

(2) In January 1584 he warned that only demesne land being found for Crown not customary land; prelude to St Leger's claim for Kerrycurrihy, SP/63/107/58.

The prosaic conclusion of the survey commissioners - in particular Browne and Wallop - that the lands should be reinhabited, preferably from England, provided the necessary impulse for Burghley to set in motion the plans for a plantation in Munster.

The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible. It appears to be a continuation of the historical narrative, possibly discussing the implementation of the plantation plans in Munster, the role of the survey commissioners, and the subsequent actions of Burghley.

Proximately to Ireland was... the government... campaign, though... on we shall... by travel and... dealing with the... to Munster... recent... providing and...

(1) Browne was at... 1580, still... 1580-86, p. 130... pp. 3-4... on 14 February... incorporated...

CHAPTER 2. THE UNDERTAKERS

Recruitment

The Munster plantation was controlled and organised directly by the government. Unlike previous and future plantation attempts in the north there was no delegation to an independent company. While this method had certain drawbacks, it did enable the authorities to promote the scheme through local administrative bodies. Early in 1586 the Privy Council had sent Sir Valentine Browne the first version of the articles and instructed him to advise potential settlers. Browne was to remain in London, however, co-ordinating the plantation business. It was decided meanwhile to concentrate on recruitment from the north-west and south-west of England. Three individuals were issued with the proto-conditions and told to spread the word in these regions. On 24 February letters were written to the justices for Cornwall, Somerset and Devon requesting them to confer with John Popham, the attorney-general, who would explain the details of settlement to any interested gentleman "of good family" and sufficient means. On the same date similar letters were sent to the justices of Dorset to confer with Mr Trenchard, and the justices of Cheshire with Sir Edward Fitton(1).

Proximity to Ireland was clearly the main reason why the government chose the western areas for its recruitment campaign, though there were other considerations. Further on we shall discuss this geographical closeness and its effect on travel and trade, particularly in the south-west, when dealing with the general question of emigration from England to Munster. Both the north-west and south-west had very recent experience of inter-communication with Ireland by providing and channelling troops through their ports during

(1) Browne was at Court from 16 December 1585 to 4 March 1586; still in England October 1586, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.156; SP/63/122/54, 80; APC, 1586-87, pp.8-9; SP/12/188/20; Cox states letters written on 14 February 1586 to every county in England but uncorroborated, Hibernia Anglicana, p.393.

the Desmond rebellion. It made sense as well to arrange that future settlers should come from the same county or region in England, thus increasing the chance of an harmonious neighbourhood in Ireland. Sir William Herbert, the Kerry undertaker, later cited Tacitus' approval of such conditions(1).

Concentration on the west did not prevent others from different counties joining the plantation. The venture was open to all from England and Wales. Indeed to talk about a recruitment campaign is a trifle extravagant. The government merely alerted the local justices to set about proclaiming the scheme throughout their county. Gentlemen from other counties could and did obtain details directly from Browne in London(2).

The response from the chosen counties was uneven. The procedure followed is probably exemplified by that in Dorset, where the justices proclaimed the plantation offer and arranged for replies to be submitted at the next quarter sessions on 12 April. In Dorset's case only four men expressed any inclination to join the plantation. From Cornwall there came no offers at all. The justices there explained that none of sufficient ability was interested and lack of capital excluded those who were. To encourage involvement of the latter group they suggested a government subsidy of half the necessary investment; not a proposal to excite the Privy Council. Devon showed a more positive reaction: four men were listed desiring a full seignory each(3). Other Devon men were members of a syndicate drawn from various counties, largely outside the west, and linked by connections other than county residence. Their leader was a Southampton merchant, Henry Oughtred. His application on 5 May numbered 18 men, willing to undertake 15½ seignories,

(1) Herbert, Croftus, p.37.

(2) Only one example of promotional literature produced by government instead of by settlers, SP/63/121/61; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, pp.411-12; Lodge, Desiderata, 1, pp.57-60.

(3) SP/12/188/20, 42; SP/63/139/53.

a total of 186,000 acres. They proposed to settle in Connello and Kerry. Two of their number included Sir Valentine Browne, and Sir William Herbert of Monmouthshire, who later detached themselves and before June formed a different group to settle Kerry alone; their associates at this early stage were still unknown(1).

On 6 April 1586 the Cheshire justices reported that 25 gentlemen from the north-west were prepared to join with Sir Edward Fitton in repeopling Munster. Most were from Cheshire and Lancashire but two were from Wales - Denbighshire just across the border - and two others had lands in Wales as well as Cheshire. The acreage of land desired was not stated(2). By far the greatest response, in terms of numbers, came from Somerset, with 31 applicants wanting 306,000 acres(3). Total applications from these three groups - the south-west, north-west and Oughtred's syndicate - came to 86. The amount of land they requested in Munster was well above three quarters of a million acres and, as it transpired, three times the amount of land eventually available. Clearly some were destined to be disappointed(4).

Detailed analysis of these 86 potential undertakers is unnecessary because only 15 of them obtained grants of land as official undertakers. Some did not go over to Munster at all; more went over in 1586/87 but found no land available; a few remained as tenants to other successful undertakers. A brief comment of their background and connections is useful

- (1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.51, 88; inaccurate copy, SP/12/189/6.
- (2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.42; Lancelot Bostock also from Denbighshire, San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MSS 1841, 1843, 1846; although not on list, Sir Christopher Hatton headed n.w. contingent in June 1586 articles.
- (3) SP/63/139/53; 35 names listed but four from other counties.
- (4) "Western undertakers" from Devon, Dorset and Somerset numbered 43 requiring 426,000 acres; Oughtred's syndicate 18 for 186,000 acres; estimate for 25 n.w. undertakers of 250,000 acres; total 856,000 acres.

in demonstrating the higher class nature of the response to this venture. Nine were knights; two the eldest sons of knights; seven more sons of knights; and quite possibly some others yet unidentified. Thirty-nine of the 86 were styled esquires; 22 were gentlemen; the remainder either esquires or gentlemen, probably the former(1).

Evidently the plantation offer struck a receptive chord among larger landowners. The justices were not in the position of men reluctantly advertising a scheme they felt to be suspect, since they themselves, or their relatives, were prominently represented in the returns. Like all good salesmen, the three men selected to explain the government proposal to the counties, and Browne in London, believed in their product so much that they too became undertakers. Recruiting from adjoining counties in one or two regions produced the inevitable effect of close family groupings. Doubtless local historians of the relevant counties can demonstrate links between almost all the returns. Even with a superficial glance it is possible to identify family units comprising brothers, half brothers and in-laws, all proposing themselves as individual undertakers(2). The most complicated links were among Oughtred's syndicate(3).

- (1) Esquires and gentlemen not distinguished with n.w. contingent.
- (2) Brothers: Sir Edward, Richard, Alexander Fitton; Henry, Robert, William Billingsley; John, Maurice Cooper; Edward, Francis Berkeley; Hugh, Philip Cuffe. Half brothers: Lancelot Bostock, William Almer, Gilbert Gerard. Father and son-in-law: John Popham the father with Roger Warre, Edward Rogers; George Beeston with Hugh Bostock.
- (3) Henry Oughtred of Southampton step-father to Sir William Courtenay and uncle to Robert Strode, all Limerick undertakers. Oughtred's mother Elizabeth Seymour, sister to Queen Jane; after Sir Anthony Oughtred's death married second marquis of Winchester. Further link with family by Henry Oughtred's marriage to Elizabeth Paulet, daughter of marquis; the John Seymour and William Paulet in Oughtred's syndicate most probably from these respective families. Henry Oughtred also strong commercial links with Henry Billingsley of London, fellow undertaker, who owned property in Monmouthshire where neighbour Sir William Herbert another initial member of Oughtred's syndicate. See biographies of Oughtred, Billingsley and Herbert.

The web of family connections for some Munster settlers provides an almost embarrassing number of ways of explaining an interest towards Munster in 1586. The Kerry undertaker, Edward Denny, son of one of Henry VIII's courtiers, was first cousin to Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Instantly this link plugged him into the overseas circuit: in 1573 he intended to join Essex's unsuccessful colony in Ulster; in 1578 he sailed with Gilbert. But Denny first came to Ireland in 1580 as an army captain in the train of another relative, by marriage, Lord Deputy Grey. And his undertaking in the Munster plantation was shared initially with yet one more first cousin, Sir Francis Walsingham. To complete the picture, Burghley was a friendly sponsor and, inevitably, related afterwards by marriage. Either way one looks - to the west country, previous interest in colonisation, access to high government officials in Dublin and London - Denny is connected. His example provides a salutary warning not to pitch upon just one family link to explain an individual's decision, especially in the restricted marriage grouping of Elizabethan gentry(1).

One striking detail, following naturally from the strength of gentry participation, is the tiny number of merchants involved. A study has been made of all early modern overseas investors by T.K. Rabb, and for the Munster plantation he identifies three merchants from his total of 84 Munster investors(2). No attempt was made to recruit from the London companies as in the later Ulster plantation. One member of the Goldsmiths' Company, the scholarly Henry Billingsley, did participate but in a private capacity. Another merchant

(1) See Denny biography.

(2) T.K. Rabb, Enterprise and Empire (1967). Rabb identifies Henry Oughtred, William Carter and John Robinson; last wrongly identified and should be replaced by Henry Billingsley. Others probably merchants Phane Becher and Hugh Cuffe. Rabb admits drawback in identification for Munster plantation because no company whereby membership can be established; errors certainly exist, not least in statement that 80% of initial 84 undertakers settled successfully in Munster; truer figure 30%; Rabb, Enterprise, p.60.

was the Southampton businessman extraordinaire, Henry Oughtred. Oughtred had invested in Frobisher's and Fenton's ventures in 1577 and a privateering expedition in 1581. Many of these first, unsuccessful Munster undertakers involved themselves in colonial adventures after the Munster experiment; notably Popham and his relatives in early 17th century America. But only seven of the first undertakers had invested, like Oughtred, in pre-Munster overseas ventures(1). These individuals - in common with all the undertakers, successful or unsuccessful, apart from the three merchants - were from the ranks of the gentry. We shall have more to say about this phenomenon in a further chapter.

The scale of investment expected for each seignory was high. A government note for charges an undertaker might expect for the first year was £278. This covered only personal and household expenses, servants' wages and necessary stock for the demesne. The 12 freeholders and farmers were expected to dispose of £70.7.0. each; the 42 copyholders £28.16.8. each; and the 36 cottagers £6.4.8. each. This rate produces expenditure for one seignory of £2,577.16.0. (Over half this outlay was on stock.) Many cottagers could not possibly have had this capital even after realising what property they had in England. In these cases the undertaker would have to finance his tenants. Other estimates of expenditure were even higher. One government memorandum put the undertaker's charges for the first year at £500, the total for a seignory being £4,286.13.4. In the early days the expected number of seignories to be formed out of the escheated lands varied from 62 to 43. At the lower estimate of £2,500 for each seignory the total still reaches the fanciful amount of £155,000 or £107,500 for 62 or 43 seignories respectively. Even with 25 full sized seignories (the final amount granted) total investment demanded at this rate would

(1) Sir Walter Raleigh, Hatton, Fleetwood, Trenchard - all successful undertakers - and Carew Raleigh and Christopher Kenn; most enthusiastic investors, Raleigh and Hatton, *ibid.*

be £62,500(1).

Although the Munster survey had arrived in London in December 1585, it was not clear for some time how many seignories were to be found from the escheated land. In January 1586 it was predicted there was enough in demesne for 60 seignories, equivalent to 720,000 acres. Four months later the number had shrunk to 47 seignories, or 564,000 acres. On 17 June Burghley noted on a map of Munster the allocation of various groups to different lands, and gave the total of 43 seignories, which converts to 516,000 acres. All these predictions were too optimistic. The total land granted to the 35 undertakers who received letters patent came to just under 300,000 acres or 25 full sized seignories(2).

The first of these letters patent was not issued until September 1587. Potential undertakers who had replied to the government's offer in early 1586 found they had to undergo a formidable obstacle course, a minority being fortunate or aggressive enough to emerge, a year and a half later, with portions of escheated land. At first the job of land division and allotment was left to the undertakers. No company was organising the plantation and the government did not have, or was unwilling to devote, enough time to the plantation's administration. Its role was supervisory, but at times remotely so, and often confined to reprimands for unsatisfactory conduct. By June 1586 Burghley expected the undertakers to have divided the lands and assigned portions to themselves. Their leaders, in London, protested they had found this impossible because many potential undertakers, particularly those of the south-west, had returned home leaving no instructions. In any case, the undertakers informed Burghley, they would prefer to inspect the lands

(1) SP/63/121/59; 122/58; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.413; B.L., Harl. MS 1877, ff.50v-51.

(2) Estimates of 62, 60, 49, 47 and 43 seignories, Nottingham, Middleton MS Mi Da 57e (map endorsed "distribution of 62 seignories" (n.d.) though 56 seignories recorded as already surveyed plus another 24 unsurveyed: total of 80); SP/63/122/57; 124/41; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.242-43; P.R.O., MPF, 273.

first before allotting proportions. It was an understandable decision. The Peyton survey with its loose description of the escheated area by apparently repetitive lists of cacophonous Irish ploughlands cannot have made much sense to an English country gentleman(1).

Nonetheless much land division did take place in London. In the early summer of 1586 the undertakers - on their own initiative it seems - agreed to split into two sections: those of the south west to settle Cork, those of the north west for Waterford, Tipperary and Limerick. A reservation was made for lands already assigned to Raleigh in Cork and Waterford. During June 1586 this general division was further defined. On the map filled in by Burghley there are eight regions (the five counties plus Desmond in Kerry, Connello barony in Limerick and Raleigh's lands) with the names of 23 undertakers entered alongside. Those entered for Kerry, Waterford and Connello, plus Raleigh, were to survive as successful undertakers; the others were less fortunate(2).

It was still a rough division on a general basis, best summarised by the June 1586 articles which give four clear groupings: 1) Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Edward Fitton and Sir Rowland Stanley, with the gentlemen of Cheshire and Lancashire, for Limerick excluding Connello, Tipperary and Waterford, except that part assigned to Raleigh; 2) Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir John Stawell and Sir John Clifton, with the gentlemen of Devon, Somerset and Dorset for Cork; 3) Sir William Courtenay, Edward Unton and Henry Oughtred and associates, for Connello; 4) Sir Valentine Browne, Sir William Herbert and associates, for Kerry(3).

Three of the divisions were led by men with previous experience in Ireland. Unlike Fitton and Browne, Raleigh had not involved himself in the planning and early execution of the plantation, though he moved with elegant authority to

(1) SP/63/124/81.

(2) Ibid; P.R.O., MPF, 273.

(3) SP/63/124/87.

safeguard his own interests. After initial application in the summer of 1585 he procured a reservation of lands in early 1586 for the singular amount of three and a half seignories, ideally situated in Cork and Waterford, and at a specially low rent, in direct contradiction to the articles which stipulated a full seignory of 12,000 acres as the limit for one undertaker. Perrot drew attention to his anomaly, only to be blasted by Raleigh for "raising impertinent objections", and warned by Burghley that Raleigh "is able to do you more harm in one hour than we are all able to do you good in a year". Raleigh's actual grant in February 1587 mentioned that the seignories should be as near to Youghal as possible, which region was well placed for communication with south west England(1).

Though down in the articles as leading the west country contingent to Cork, Raleigh had nothing to do with any other undertaker, and the south west men had to find their leader later in Popham. The other two individuals with Irish experience, Fitton and Browne, were not particularly familiar with Munster. Browne had conducted the 1584 survey of course, but a year later had been dubious about the details of the settlement scheme, delayed his decision and hence was "placed in the remotest place [Kerry] as otherwise I would have made my choice better, as others did, that sooner fell into the reckoning"(2). This indicates a simple first come, first served basis for distribution of the lands. Success depended not only on alacrity but status. Courtiers such as Raleigh and Hatton might expect to obtain the lands they desired with little more than a few discreet words to Her Majesty(3).

Between June 1586 and the early months of 1587 the four

(1) Cal.Pat.Eliz., pp.131-32; Perrot to Leicester, 23 September 1585, Oxford, Bodleian, Perrot MS I, f.164v; Burghley to Perrot, 12 October 1587, Chatsworth Boyle patent book, p.34; rent was at rate for one Cork seignory, DKPROI, 16th Rep., pp.40-41.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.368-69.

(3) For example of Raleigh's formidable influence at Court concerning his Munster lands, even when out of favour, Burghley to FitzWilliam, 22 August 1592, Chatsworth, Boyle patent book, p.35.

main divisions were sub-divided into seignories of varying sizes. One report speaks of the divisions being achieved by accord between the undertakers. Another says those who had not sorted themselves by June 1586 agreed to apportion the remaining seignories by lot, but there is no corroborating evidence for this second method. The process of allotment became long drawn out and considerably confused: first because of the difficulty of establishing the boundaries of actual seignories, then because the government did not limit the growing number of authorised undertakers(1).

In their petition to Burghley on 17 June 1586, the undertakers had asked for no more settlers to be added besides the number already set down. With many of their fellows absent from London they were apprehensive lest the government might grant to others lands expected by themselves. Their fear was justified. This participation by the government decisively changed the composition of the future plantation. From being a colonisation peopled by English country gentlemen, it was modified to include officials and others on Crown service in Ireland, many of them without the necessary money or influence over sufficient undertenants which had been the government's original qualifications to the western justices for the first recruitment early in 1586(2).

Most of the new beneficiaries were army or ex-army men, sometimes referred to as servitors. Their claim for grants of the escheated land was a strong one backed by three considerations: the continuous shortage of money to pay arrears, previous government promises and the servitors' own position as custodees of portions of the confiscated land. The question of army pay was a familiar one. Most officers were forced to make claims for overdue wages and expenses(3). Besides demanding appropriate back payment, many of the

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.272, 366; last reference convenient summary of events from June 1586 to June 1587.

(2) SP/63/124/81.

(3) Army men owed money in July 1582 included two future undertakers, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.389; Berkeley and Bouchier still pressing for payment, August 1586, ibid, 1586-88, p.126.

servitors, especially those who had served in Munster, applied for grants of the escheated land. These petitions were submitted in 1584 before the future of the lands was known(1). In certain cases it is clear the petitions were accepted by the Crown and lands promised. Payment of arrears was out of the question at most times and a grant of lands the established alternative. Until the promised grant was effected, a pension frequently was awarded to the fortunate individual; or a pension might be offered in exchange for a grant of the escheated lands. Often this pension was of greater use to the recipient than a grant, and it was maintained that many parties preferred to keep their pension than exchange it for lands. By early 1586 there were half a dozen or so military men with assurances of grants from the escheated land. More had petitioned for land with as yet no success(2).

A few of these servitors were strengthened further by having custodiams already of their desired portion. Custodiams were awarded usually for a term of one to three years, though any official grant of the land to another would immediately terminate the arrangement. Often they were bestowed indiscriminately. Several urban old English were awarded them in Munster(3). Grey was renowned for granting them to his followers, among them Edward Denny and Edmund Spenser, two future undertakers(4). Neither of these two custodiams was in Munster but four other future settlers obtained custodiams of lands later transformed into seignories

(1) Of future successful undertakers, Bouchier, Conway, Berkeley, Cullum, Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.79; SP/63/112/27, 31; 125/68; Munster provost-marshal, George Thornton, probably applied, but petitions by Capt. George Thornton belong to sea captain of same name, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.1, 4, 8.

(2) Ibid, pp.217, 276.

(3) DKPROI, 13th Rep., pp.199, 218; ibid, 15th Rep., p.30.

(4) SP/63/88/40.3; complaints about lord deputy's privilege to bestow custodiams after Grey's partiality; eventually power removed, SP/63/87/18; 88/39, 40.3; 91/2.1; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.362.

and granted to them as undertakers: namely Captains Sir George Bouchier, Edward Berkeley and Robert Cullum in Limerick, and Jenkin Conway in Kerry(1). Not all men who procured custodiams continued as undertakers. The old English were dismissed, naturally, but so too were some new English, including Fenton and Wallop. And not all military men had enjoyed custodiams when they applied for plantation land in 1586. However, it is no coincidence that those in possession thanks to a custodiam were noticeably more successful than not. To be in possession in any land suits in this period strengthened one's case immeasurably(2).

The claims of these men in mid 1586 when the lands were being divided in London were hard to deny. Most of them could show many years of arrears, followed by a government promise of land as compensation. Failure to give them grants would release a barrage of complaints and petitions for repayment and further pensions. There was also a feeling they deserved a share of what their right arms had gained. Later Bouchier would sneer at another undertaker in the tone of a warrior against a carpet-bagger, "enjoying the benefits of lands others have laboured for". There might also have been a hope that army veterans would put some backbone into the plantation militia, though this motive was never mentioned. The Queen herself supported grants of the escheated land to servitors(3).

Not even the most exclusive support for the servitors, however, silenced opposition from the English country undertakers, appalled to see their territorial regions infiltrated by outsiders. In June 1586 they requested that servitors

(1) Respective biographies.

(2) Army men who applied unsuccessfully for Munster grants: Sir William Stanley, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.484; Capt. William Morgan, A.C. Miller, "Sir William Morgan of Pencoed", Welsh Hist. Rev., 9 (1978); various Wingfields, led by Jacques, master of the ordnance, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.62, 311.

(3) SP/63/131/60; 133/7; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.89.

promised Munster land should be recompensed by grants elsewhere in Ireland. As Burghley noted, this would force the Crown to renege on promises to the army men concerned. Bouchier for one had made a special trip to England and obtained letters from the Privy Council for Munster lands as early as December 1584. He had held the same lands by custodiam since 1580. Burghley's solution was simple and most pleasing to all parties: honour the grants but stipulate the servitors should hold their land by the articles of plantation. The drawback to this compromise was that the articles had been formed with a substantial English country gentleman in mind. Some of the servitors did not quite fit this image(1).

Besides the military, other officials connected with Munster managed to slip into the ranks of the undertakers. These men had become interested in the escheated lands by their membership of the various commissions to survey and measure the same. Sir Valentine Browne has been mentioned as the most prominent recruit among those on the first survey. In late 1586 a further commission was appointed to measure and divide the land into seignories. Among its members and assistants were four men who eventually obtained seignories and two others in temporary occupation. Perhaps the most glaring departure from the primary aim of the plantation - to bestow the land upon English gentlemen who would inhabit with English tenants - was the grant of almost all the confiscated land in Tipperary to the Earl of Ormonde. As with the servitors, however, the lands were to be held as a seignory under the plantation articles(2).

Allocating the land

It can be seen that the English undertakers' request in June 1586 to view the lands before their division was rapidly being pre-empted by the donation of lands before the undertakers had a chance to cross over, judge and allocate for themselves. Not only servitors but courtiers had had complete

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.91; SP/63/113/6, 14; 122/73.

(2) Ormonde biography.

seignories awarded. Allocation of the desirable south-eastern lands to Raleigh and Hatton had already discouraged some gentlemen from joining the plantation. Nevertheless there were still areas, particularly in Cork and Limerick, undivided into seignories after June 1586, when the undertakers and their agents travelled to Munster to inspect the available lands(1).

The method of allocation had been suggested by the undertakers in the summer of 1586: essentially a commission to be made for the further survey, division and measurement of the lands into seignories. The government accepted the proposal and three several commissions were sent to Dublin. The commissioners appointed numbered 15 and included six men who were to emerge as undertakers: Sir Valentine Browne on the Dublin council; Thomas Norris, Jesse Smythes, James Gould and Richard Beacon, all on the Munster council; and Arthur Robins, chief measurer for the seignories. Robins was given the assistance of three other measurers, and further assistants were used by the commissioners at various times. The commissioners were to survey the escheated lands, measure, divide and allot them to the undertakers. They were also to examine the titles of those who claimed ownership and rights to the land. Unworthy and unsubstantial applicants were to be weeded out; in their place the commissioners could appoint whom they thought fit(2).

The commissions arrived in Dublin on 2 September 1586, brought over by Arthur Robins. Despite a bureaucratic oversight which necessitated sending one of their number back to England to obtain relevant documents, the commissioners commenced work at Dungarvan on 21 September. Instead of dividing into three groups, as had been the government's intention, they remained together. Eight days were spent at Dungarvan measuring Hatton's seignory, then they moved to

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.100.

(2) Ibid, pp.89-91, 309-13, 427; San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 6156; earlier commission of survey ordered in 1586 but subsumed by this later commission, (n.d., endorsed by Carew November 1585 but probably spring 1586), Cal.Carew, 1575-88, pp.406-07.

Lismore and Youghal, measuring Raleigh's seignory. The senior commissioners retired to Dublin some time after 5 October, proffering unconvincing excuses for their withdrawal and vowing they would return in the spring. But the work did continue, delegated to those commissioners on the Munster executive and the measurers(1).

Besides measuring the land and forming seignories the commissioners, on their own initiative, held inquisitions en route. Those held in 1584 were judged inadequate and weak in legal terms. The new inquisitions were quite successful from the Crown's point of view, since they closed many loopholes and found more escheated land from the Munster rebels which the original inquisitions had missed. There is information on the first five inquisitions held from 22 September at Youghal to 1 December at Limerick. As with the 1584 inquisitions the juries were old English. Although this demonstrates again a certain compliance from local men in the finding of attainted land, this time, unlike the autumn of 1584, there are reports of recalcitrance from juries in Cork, Kerry and Tipperary(2).

Specific objection was made to the inquisitions' additional confiscation of concealed land - that is land which upon investigation was found to belong legally to the Crown or Church. It was said the people were willing to see attainted land divided and measured, "but it goes hard with them, and not without murmur, to see the commission stretched to enquire of old concealments such as have lain in their possession many years". Fear of an insecure title ran like a shiver through the Irish and old English in the early modern period. Insensitive government action over this issue caused, in part, the Connaught rising in 1598 and the general rebellion in 1641. For tactical reasons it was suggested the enquiry into concealed Munster lands in 1586

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.148-49, 167-68, 216, 227, 261-62; only one principal commissioner, Wilbraham, returned in 1587, SP/63/130/61.

(2) Inquisitions, SP/63/172/58; names of Youghal jurors, SP/63/130/19; recalcitrance, SP/63/127/2; 130/61; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.276.

be postponed for "a season more apt"(1).

The degree of opposition to the new inquisitions was most marked in Kerry and even approached a denial of Crown sovereignty. In July 1587 Smythes and Beacon held an inquisition in Desmond, south Kerry, where the landowners were Irish. Resistance started from the moment the sheriff summoned the grand jury: "he was answered that they never had appeared in absence of MacCarthy Mor." Ultimately they did assemble but refused to find against any of the bills introduced, even declining to return ignoramus, the usual response to an unpopular bill. When emphasising the Queen's pleasure for the business in hand, the sub-sheriff met further contrariness from one individual who said "he knew no Queen but O'Sullivan Mor his landlord who was then at Cork". Such fighting talk was not an assertion of counter authority to the Crown - though Smythes recorded it perhaps with the hope it would be construed as such by the government - but an attempt to avert the enquiries by appeals to local custom and the jurors' dependence on their chiefs before making any decision. The reluctance of local men to find against their fellows followed a sharp regional solidarity, as the Desmond jury had no difficulty in finding against an inhabitant of County Cork with land in Desmond; such a man was a foreigner and "upon it [his bill] they made no stay having but half evidence". But this bill was the only one the jury found. The Bench harangued them for two days, then fined and imprisoned them. Apparently such tactics were effective, together with a little lecture delivered by the two commissioners on the freedom of the common subject in England, "standing in equal balance of liberty with the greatest nobleman ... and that no man ought to have their power over others person, land or goods, but such as receive it from the Crown by offer or commission; which was so thoroughly taught them that the lord MacCarthy Mor and others repine fearing to loose the unlawful dependencies and obsequencies of their tenants"(2).

(1) SP/63/126/78.

(2) SP/63/130/61.

There was also less willingness to find the estates of those attainted once it was known to whom the lands were going, unlike the first inquisitions in 1584. Nevertheless there was no universal resistance throughout Munster similar to the Desmond jurors. Smythes could speak of the lack of witnesses necessary for the inquisitions, remarking that the process "is manifestly seen to be odious to the generality of the country"; but at other times he reported the province quiet and the people submissive, a passivity partly attributable, he believed, to the authorities hanging two or three hundred a year. It is true several portions of rebel land did remain undiscovered either in 1584 or 1586/87 but oversights and evasions were inevitable with so large a body of confiscations(1).

The late start in 1586, followed by the return of the senior commissioners to Dublin for the winter, effectively closed any chance of the undertakers being put in possession of their seignories in that year. By the end of 1586 they were disappointed and frustrated men. Many had sent across not only their agents but settlers. Sir William Herbert and Browne, for example, had dispatched a vanguard of 50 or 60 English persons to take possession in Kerry, but the survey commissioners and measurers did not visit until mid-summer 1587. However, the Kerry advance party might well have gained some sort of possession, because at least three of the Kerry undertakers, Sir William Herbert, Conway and Denny, were personally in residence in early 1587 before the surveyors' arrival(2).

Settlers in other counties would not have been able to take possession - or known of what to take possession - until the surveyors had measured a seignory for them. One other complaint voiced by Browne was that this delay had lost the undertakers one year of their probationary period of

(1) Smythes' remark about odious impression not absolutely clear and could refer to witnesses' avoidance of their duty rather than government's imposition of fresh inquisitions, SP/63/130/61; SP/63/127/2.

(2) Browne to Burghley, 28 October 1586, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.186.

seven, which had started from Michaelmas 1586. The government realised the programme had to be altered and accelerated if there was to be reasonable hope of a settlement of all the undertakers in 1587. Once again the procedural form and other details were suggested by the undertakers(1).

In January 1587 eight undertakers then resident in London submitted a petition requesting amendments to the plan of plantation. Most of their points Burghley accepted(2). The next month the Privy Council issued instructions to the lord deputy based upon this same petition(3). The undertakers were given a further year for their probationary period, making Michaelmas 1594 the terminal date. The military security clauses were changed to the government paying for 120 horse, recruited and commanded by the chief undertakers(4). Corn exports from any part of Munster were prohibited until September 1588. (Harvests in 1585 and 1586 had been disastrous - grain prices in England doubling the average price for the 1580s - and the undertakers were apprehensive of sufficient food supplies in Munster. In fact the harvest in 1587 was to be excellent in both England and Ireland and prices were low, dropping by nearly a half in England.)(5) The undertakers had wanted some of their number on the Dublin council and others on the commissions in Munster for examining titles, compounding with freeholders, deciding disputes and so on. Burghley permitted all those who were knights to be on the survey commission in Munster, and Perrot was ordered to appoint some undertakers to the

(1) Browne to Burghley, op cit.

(2) SP/63/128/11, 22.

(3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.271-75.

(4) Military commanders, Raleigh, Sir Edward Fitton, Sir William Herbert and Browne, Popham and associates, and Edward Berkeley, *ibid*, p.271; in effect scheme amounted to indirect subsidy, Quinn, Raleigh, p.109.

(5) J. Thirsk, The Agrarian history of England and Wales, 1500-1640 (Cambridge 1967), p.819; corn, Ireland 1587, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.405.

other Munster commissions. While the undertakers' request for some of them to be on the Dublin council was ignored, 14 were named to be appointed to the Munster council. In due course prominent undertakers were appointed to the Dublin council, though less from their importance as settlers than their position as Crown officers. By such advances the executive in Munster began to be controlled by the undertakers, aided by the transformation of some of those already on the council becoming undertakers themselves.

More important than any of the above changes were those concerning the measurement and allotment of land. They were not included in the undertakers' petition, though the chief undertakers in London would have been consulted and might well have proposed them. In its February 1587 letter the Privy Council had stated that most of the undertakers had agreed amongst themselves, "by mutual accord", who was to go where. It was now ordained that any six of the undertakers could make an allotment to one of their number by certificate. This certificate was to be delivered to the survey commissioners who would collect further information from the surveyors and when satisfied direct warrants to the lord chancellor of Ireland to issue letters patent under the Irish seal. Once the certificate with the requisite number of signatures had been produced, then entry into the lands could be made by the vice-president and Munster council, and the undertaker put into possession(1).

The one obstruction choking this line of action was the unsatisfactory progress of the measurers. At the end of 1586 only two portions had been measured, those allotted to Hatton and Ralegh. After the withdrawal of the principal commissioners in October 1586, the four measurers continued until the end of December when they too returned to Dublin, apart from Robins the chief measurer. He advanced through County Cork measuring various units. It was up to the commissioners to select the units suitable to comprise a seignory but Robins confessed he had suggested and on occasion defined the layout of future seignories as well as measuring

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.272.

the land. Within a month Robins was reinforced by Francis Jobson. Here was one explanation for the survey's creeping advance: two men were insufficient for the task. Whiteacre and Lawson, the other two measurers, evidently were incapable or had managed to escape to England, for in February 1587 the Dublin council was pressing for three or four skilful measurers to be sent over to assist Jobson and Robins. It predicted all would be completed by the end of the year if there were only more measurers. The Privy Council promised reinforcements but only one, unnamed, individual could be enticed over.

Reluctance to serve was unsurprising, for it was pointed out by Robins that a surveyor in England could expect 10/- a day besides board and travelling expenses, the aid of locals and the benefit of service in "a quiet country". In Ireland, while Robins himself did get 10/- a day, Jobson was receiving 3/4, expenses were unpaid and "the people for the most part discontented with the course to be observed". None of the surveyors or measurers lost their heads like poor Bartlett later in Ulster, but Robins was bombarded with stones from the top of a castle in Condon's country, one missile, he claimed, nearly breaking his leg. It should be noted, however, that Robins and Hyde, an undertaker accompanying him, had called at this castle looking for a serjeant or guide; a reminder that both survey and measurement depended a great deal on local co-operation(1).

The technique practised also slowed down the measuring. The first method applied was fairly precise and accurate but took too long, and in early 1587 the measurers were ordered to adopt a quicker process(2). Even so the pace was sluggish. Although most of the undertakers were transporting their settlers to Munster in the summer of 1587, not all the future seignories had been measured. Robins had measured 63,000

(1) SP/63/128/44; 131/14, 22; wages: SP/63/137/21; APC, 1586-87, p.186; *ibid*, 1588, p.119.

(2) *Cal.S.P.Ire.*, 1586-88, p.272; SP/63/128/44; 131/22, 59; general commentary on measuring, J.H. Andrews, "Geography and government in Elizabethan Ireland", N. Stephens and R. Glasscock (ed.) *Irish Geographical Studies* (Belfast 1970), pp.178-91.

acres in Waterford and south Cork by February 1587, aided by Jobson and the other measurers for the early stages. Jobson was then dispatched to west Cork while Robins covered the north of the county. Their individual results are difficult to distinguish as each was eager to emphasise his own efforts. In September 1587 Robins stated he had measured 160,000 acres. Next month Jobson recorded 121,931 acres measured by himself, much of it with his precision instrument, the 66 foot wire line. Later Robins incorporated Jobson's measurements into his own final report of 266,459 acres(1).

Several of Robins' figures were roundnumbered estimates - 6,000, 12,000, 15,000 acres - which recourse had been sanctioned by the government to speed up the procedure. The usual method was to fix upon the number of ploughlands equal to a seignory in each county. For example it was ordained that 27 ploughlands in Waterford and 28 in Limerick should constitute a full seignory of 12,000 acres. The number of ploughlands for various portions had been recorded by the 1584 commission and hence it was a simple matter to compute the acreage of seignorries. The trouble was the ploughlands varied greatly in size. A sympathetic measurer could err on the side of generosity, if he so chose, particularly if the measurer, like Robins, was an undertaker himself(2).

In the summer of 1587 an alternative method known as sampling was suggested as more accurate and not much slower. After establishing the number of ploughlands in each seignory, the surveyor was to measure four or five and compute the rest using the average rate. Though Perrot, Browne and eventually the Privy Council preferred this method it does not appear to have been widely used. From the letters patent to each undertaker, it can be seen the first method was normally employed. The letters patent did contain a provision that all seignorries would receive a proper measurement at a later

(1) Robins' figures, September 1587, SP/63/131/22; [1588], SP/63/133/96; Jobson, October 1587, SP/63/131/59.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.405.

date, but this rarely happened(1).

Arthur Robins had become an undertaker by May 1587, yet continued as a measurer for at least a year and a half. The danger was obvious. Browne worried that "Arthur Robins' measures and letting out of lands by instrument and view are very doubtful, albeit the same be well liked of by some of the undertakers". One Kerry undertaker, however, was sufficiently public spirited to report the abuses by which lands were under surveyed by half. Other officials doubted Robins' probity, but he was not called to account before his death in 1590. Browne suggested using Jobson instead of Robins, since he would be cheaper and more skilful, and he certainly desired a permanent appointment. Yet it is a sad reflection of the level of expertise available in Munster that elsewhere Jobson's understanding of mapmaking should be assessed at no greater than that of a horse(2).

Establishing possession

Although the slow-paced measuring hindered events the plantation's progress was not halted. In September 1587 it was reported all the seignories in Cork, two in Kerry and two in Connello had been measured, which with Hatton's in Waterford produces a rough number of 16 seignories out of the final total of 35. The majority of undertakers were in possession by that date, though their land might not have been measured. The Privy Council's instructions of February 1587 had directed the Munster executive, upon notice of the undertakers' certificates, to put the man in possession, expelling others in occupation either by custodiam or otherwise(3).

By 6 September 1587 certificates had been issued to all the undertakers. Some portions were allotted to men who declined or failed to settle; a few of the final 35 under-

(1) SP/63/121/62; 137/21; 140/33.

(2) Robins biography; SP/63/137/21; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.403, 450; ibid, 1588-92, p.532; ibid, 1592-96, p.6; comment on Jobson might refer to ability for military fortifications rather than map-making, SP/63/160/7.1.

(3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.273, 405.

takers are not treated individually as their lands came under the list for principal undertakers; but in general these certificates are the first detailed direction we have for the apportionment of the escheated land. The majority were signed by the undertakers in England, most likely at London or the Court. Of the 27 dated certificates only eight were signed by the undertakers when present in Munster, and these were in the summer between 21 May and 29 August 1587. Fifteen were signed in England between February and May 1587. The undertakers would have used the 1584 survey to determine the areas, supplemented by eye witness reports of their agents sent over to inspect the lands in the summer of 1586(1).

If we take the example of one undertaker it is possible to identify the necessary steps for obtaining a grant of land in the plantation. William Trenchard had been selected by the government to advertise the plantation offer to the gentlemen of Dorset in early 1586. He himself was named among the Somerset men, responding to the government's offer with a request for 12,000 acres. In the June articles the area in Munster designated for the western undertakers was Cork. Trenchard in fact was the son of a Dorset family and appears to have been living in Wiltshire. Perhaps because he suspected there would be no room after the large numbers of Somerset gentlemen had been accommodated in Cork, he joined an unofficial three-man syndicate with the two Cooper brothers, themselves from Somerset. They offered to settle in Kerry, Trenchard desiring lands near Dingle. It was claimed he had £1,000 in cash and was able to persuade 20 other substantial men to accompany him. But Kerry was to be apportioned to others; the Cooper brothers managed (temporarily) to get land in Cork; Trenchard was left to

(1) Two lists of certificates: 33 undated allotments submitted by Browne, 4 September 1587, SP/63/131/6; 27 dated allotments (two undated probably January 1587 for Herbert, August 1587 for Fitton) from 10 February to 6 September 1587, all with requisite six signatures, Cal. Carew, 1575-88, pp.446-55; additional minor details, Lambeth, Carew MS 631, ff.1-27; most witnesses to each certificate can be placed en bloc present in England or Ireland but some unclear.

attach himself to another group. Before March 1587 he had joined the Oughtred-Courtenay syndicate which had been allotted Connello, probably helped by one of this group, Robert Strode, being resident in Dorset. Both their fathers were knights in that county. Trenchard does not appear in the Carew list of certificates but was included in Browne's list submitted by September 1587. His land was precisely measured by Jobson, various parcels being added by Robins to make 14,210 acres, from which 2,210 were considerably lopped to give him a full sized seignory. He took out letters patent on 26 November 1587. We do not know when Trenchard or his men were put in possession, but most likely in mid 1587. In the spring of 1589 his agent was in residence(1).

In general the certificates were the key by which the undertaker gained possession of his seignory. Some managed to be in residence beforehand. Edward Denny persuaded Burghley to write to the vice-president to put him into possession at Tralee in Kerry, which Norris performed in March 1587. This was before the measurers had covered the area, or Denny's certificate on 21 May. The fact that Denny's partner at this stage was still Sir Francis Walsingham clearly quickened events. Others in possession before their certificates were servitors who held custodiams of the escheated lands(2).

The distribution of seignories did not always go smoothly. An example of the possibilities for misunderstanding occurred with the allotment of Tarbert in north Kerry, which was included in separate certificates for Sir William Herbert and Denzil Holles. Each naturally claimed possession and soon the air was filled with the noise of assertions, petitions and lamentations, a doleful sound to be heard endlessly in the early years of plantation(3). There are other cases of the same lands being allotted on different certificates, but unlike Tarbert and later disputes between the undertakers

(1) Trenchard biography.

(2) Denny biography.

(3) Tarbert seignory.

these difficulties were settled amicably(1). In late summer 1587 Wilbraham had warned about the possibility of the same land being awarded to two undertakers and Perrot had advised that the certificates should be registered, "lest that one thing be twice passed". But by then most of the certificates had been made(2).

There were no such examples of double grants in the letters patent. This was the official form of the grant of plantation land, the final recognition of the settler as an undertaker. The outline was first suggested by the undertakers in June 1586: the patents to be drawn up in England, then sent to Ireland where the survey commissioners could authorise grants from Dublin to suitable candidates(3). Burghley accepted this and ordered Egerton to get to work on the drafts. The aim of the letters patent was to incorporate the stipulations of the June articles and also announce penalties for non observance. The first draft was inadequate and failed to cover many reservations and allowances in the articles. Burghley and Popham then cooperated with Egerton on the second draft(4). The final version was not completed until spring 1587(5).

The provisions followed the articles though there were some interesting amendments. The probationary period was lengthened by one year to September 1594. Corn was allowed to be exported but unlike the articles there was no reserve

(1) Four examples, SP/63/131/6.

(2) SP/63/121/62.

(3) SP/63/124/81; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.90; draft of warrants for survey commissioners, (n.d.) San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 1722; final version, ibid, 6159; printed, 26 April 1587, Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.42.

(4) Burghley to Egerton, 4 July 1586, San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 1707; drafts, (n.d.) ibid, 1706, 1726-27.

(5) Draft similar to final version, 26 April 1587, ibid, 1705; another (n.d.), 1723; final version (n.d.), 1716; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.302-09; abbreviated form printed in grant to first undertaker, DKPROI, 16th Rep., pp.36-37.

clause of a prohibition by the lord president in times of dearth in the province. (This omission would cause problems later.) The main innovation was various penalties incurred should the undertaker fail his obligations. If the stipulated number of houses were not built, or if built yet uninhabited for more than 60 days a year, the Crown could enter a proportional amount of land. The moment the undertaker rectified the matter he could re-enter without further warrant. Nothing was said about failure to pay rent, but a list of plantation conditions in February 1593 stated the Crown could levy distress upon other land the undertaker might have in Ireland or in England. Though this contradicted an earlier promise that the Crown would not charge on English lands for unpaid rents in Ireland, the penalty was recognised by the undertakers. The militia requirements are also not to be found in the patents but were understood by all parties as binding. They had appeared in the June articles. Both the rent penalties and those for residence were formidable threats indeed; but they remained only threats, in time to become forgotten by all including the government. Not once is there a case of an undertaker being punished in such a fashion, though almost all failed to observe the articles of settlement in their fullest sense(1).

The first undertakers to receive letters patent were Sir Edward Fitton and Thomas Fleetwood on 3 September 1587. Seven undertakers took out patents in 1587; seven in 1588; two undated in either 1587 or 1588; seven in 1589; three in 1590; three in 1591; one in 1592; two in 1593; and two in 1595(2). The total is 34 plus one undertaker not recorded for any letters patent but whose seignory appears in later lists of plantation land. These 35 undertakers can be seen as the final successful owners of seignories from more than twice the initial number of applicants. Only those who received patents can be judged as undertakers.

(1) SP/63/168/23; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.463, 528.

(2) Patents, DKPROI, 16th Rep., passim; two undated Robins and Norris; patents received before January 1589, SP/63/139/51.

Many others were referred to as undertakers from 1586 to 1588 and some obtained lands, but lost them either involuntarily or by choice. The 35 undertakers were granted a total of 298,653 acres. Fourteen were in Limerick, ten in Cork, seven in Kerry, three in Waterford and one in Tipperary(1).

Delays and disappointments

The first letters patent were issued nearly four years after Desmond's defeat in November 1583. The last came 12 years after his death. Yet the delay of some undertakers after September 1587 in obtaining their patents made little difference to the plantation. All were in possession by 1588 and the letters patent, though an indispensable title, did no more than confirm occupation. Why were some undertakers so lackadaisical in taking out their letters patent? None could be granted until the lands had been surveyed and measured, which task had been performed - with several of the measurements estimated - by the end of 1587. In the early years of the plantation some undertakers might still have been treating the venture as provisional and hence were reluctant to take the final step of letters patent. Two examples are Sir William Courtenay and Denzil Holles(2). Others hoped (unavailingly) that no rent would be expected until letters patent were obtained(3).

In fact the main cause for the dilatory passing of patents arose from the question of seignory measurements. Some undertakers wanted exact measurements or a larger estimate recorded in their patents. The government in turn objected that too great a quantity already had been estimated in the certificates. Yet the patents were not necessary to obtain possession. More serious for the plantation's establishment was the lengthy interval between the death of Desmond and the settlement of the first undertakers in

(1) For those who held land in two counties, residence listed in county which held majority of seignory.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.186; ibid, 1588-92, p.258.

(3) Ibid, 1592-96, pp.2-3, 48; APC, 1590-91, p.75.

1587(1).

If we reverse events from 1587 to 1584 the causes are soon revealed. No patent could be issued until the 1586/87 survey was complete. Its slow progress was the result of the commissioners' failure to divide themselves into three units, the time wasting inquisitions en route, and the premature winter which encouraged the senior members to flee the field and sit out the season in Dublin. The crucial lack of personnel, however, was the measurers: two surveyors were not enough. The survey itself could not be launched any earlier because not until mid summer 1586 did the government decide upon the exact nature and layout of the plantation. The escheated land could not be apportioned until the returns had come in from the government's offer to the west of England in February 1586. And all could not be set in motion - the government's offer, indeed the plantation - until the results of the Peyton survey had been sent from Dublin, which was not until December 1585. It was the writing up of the 1584 survey, performed *andante* and lasting nearly one year, which initiated the four year hiatus between military victory and civilian settlement.

Minor factors helped to retard events, not least the government's slackness in correspondence. For example, in February 1587 the Munster commissioners complained they had not received any instructions or directions about the plantation from the Privy Council since August 1586(2). There was occasional administrative ineptitude - the failure to send over all the documents for the second survey - and even perhaps a reluctance from the lord deputy to advance the action of plantation. Four separate complaints exist of Perrot's failure to establish necessary commissions or to implement instructions from England concerning the plantation. One of these might have caused a positive delay(3).

(1) APC, 1590, p.204; ibid, 1591-92, p.61; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.48; SP/63/145/44.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.262.

(3) Ibid, pp.91-92, 276, 388-89; SP/63/111/48; 125/68; Perrot also belittled first survey commission, Cal. S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.48.

Perrot's dislike of the plantation itself is not so apparent. His replies to Wilbraham's questions concerning the plantation's progress are constructive and sensible, and not in the tone of a man unfavourable to the scheme(1). It has been asserted recently that Perrot "favoured colonisation" in Munster, at least in 1575. If it is true that Perrot disagreed with the decision for a plantation, his reasons remain obscure. It might have been no more than pique at this new project directed from England over which he had relatively little control(2).

The fate of those aspirant undertakers who journeyed to Munster in 1586 and 1587, but failed to acquire a seignory, fall largely into two groups: those from the south-west for Cork, and those from the north-west for Limerick, Tipperary and Waterford. The undertakers directed towards Connello in Limerick and Kerry were far less in number and fortunate enough in the main to find places unchallenged. The south-west applicants suffered most casualties. Somerset men had been the most numerous of those willing to adventure in Munster and many sent their agents or went over in person in 1586 and 1587. The majority were doomed to disappointment. Their leader, John Popham, became greatly disillusioned. He had been allotted a seignory, naturally, but in December 1587 gave official notice that he and his sons-in-law were withdrawing from the plantation, having spent £1,200 fruitlessly. Popham died in 1607 but his son - had he thought about his father's brief venture in Cork - might have regretted the decision to withdraw, for the Mallow seignory of 6,000 acres was to be valued at £15,000 to £18,000 in the 1630s(3).

(1) SP/63/121/62.

(2) Canny, Elizabethan conquest, p.81; Perrot seen by Bradshaw as of conciliatory mind and belonging to persuasion camp over nature of Irish policy, "Sword, word and strategy", Hist. Journal, 21 (1978); but see Canny "Why reformation failed", Journal of Eccles. Hist., 30, (1979), p.436, n.51.

(3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.385; SP/63/132/39; Mallow seignory.

The 35 successful undertakers fall into five rough categories: 12 military men, eight current or sometime officials in Ireland, four courtiers, four merchants and 13 English country gentlemen. (The total of 41 is explained by some straddling two categories.) Those who had served with the army in Ireland were Cullum, Thornton, Carter, Bouchier, Norris, St Leger, Conway, Berkeley, Annesley, Raleigh, Denny and Ormonde. Denny and Stone can be placed with Hatton and Raleigh as courtiers. Irish administrators were Ormonde, Browne, Spenser, Fitton, Robins, Norris, Beacon and perhaps Saye. The two identifiable merchants were Oughtred and Billingsley, probably Becher and Cuffe as well. Finally the country gentlemen were Courtenay, Strode, Trenchard, Mainwaring, Worth, Fleetwood, Redmayne, Hyde, Sir William Herbert, Charles Herbert, Cuffe, Becher and Holles(1).

(1) See respective biographies. Example of law reference to recorder, vol. 1, pp. 248-49.

CHAPTER 3. PROBLEMS OF OWNERSHIP

The main impediment to the establishment of the Munster settlers in their new estates was neither one of hazardous travel to their destination nor the threat of physical danger from hostile locals - though both hindrances did exist in places and had to be surmounted. The overriding problem was the simple maintenance of legal ownership to the land. The Munster plantation, more than any other plantation in Ireland, suffered from a fundamental weakness over inadequate titles. The history of the plantation's early years is largely a record of intense litigation by the many interested parties. This chapter will examine disputes between the newcomers and local inhabitants, the specific claim of Irish chiefs in the south-west, disagreements between the new English - undertaker against undertaker, church or Crown - and the two attempts in 1588 and 1592 to establish a final settlement.

Uncertainty as to the nature of the Earl of Desmond's escheated land was the main difficulty. How much was indubitably the Earl's own land and hence free for the government to dispose to the newcomers? Were some of the former inhabitants Desmond's tenants at will or freeholders in their own right? Did the Earl's expectation of various duties and services from various lands constitute ownership, or had this been illegal extortion? There were intricacies to be settled over claims of the church, Irish overlords and others to the plantation lands. An additional problem concerned nomenclature. English tenurial terms had different connotations in Ireland. The word demesne in Ireland, explained Perrot, covered tenements and rentable land to be let out and not only that directly farmed by the landlord. Freeholds and tenancies at will were two straightforward English terms whose exact meaning soon got lost in the thickets of Gaelicised refinements concerning customary lands, Irish duties and services. Mortgages in Ireland differed significantly from those in England(1).

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.7; example of lax reference to freeholder, ibid, 1588-92, pp.248-49.

Chargeable land, concealed land, chief rents and intermixers

The 1584 Peyton commission had failed to clarify several technical details concerning land titles, but perhaps its primary contribution to the later years of confusion was over the chargeable lands. The status of these lands defy a neat and acceptable definition. As Wilbraham put it, "the chargeable lands are so variable and of so several natures as none that ever I heard can define what to make of them". In general terms they were lands where the inhabitants had expected, or had been expected, to pay some form of rent to the Earl of Desmond, either by normal money payments or more usually in kind and by Irish services - providing victuals, lodging and labour for his followers and soldiers. The main point at issue was expressed succinctly by a later commission in 1589. "The question of the chargeable lands has often been debated, but it could never be decided whether the chargeable lands were the traitor's inheritance that had the rents and spending thereof, or whether they were the lawful inheritance of such the tenants whose ancestors had enjoyed the possession thereof of many descents ... It is probable that in the beginning some of the tenants were freeholders and others but tenants at will to Desmond, but how to distinguish them, wanting the Earl's evidences and rentals, we know not." Only if the inhabitants were proved tenants at will could the lands be confiscated by the Crown and distributed to the planters(1).

Early in 1584, well before the first commission had assembled, Sir Warham St Leger had warned there would be opposition to a confiscation of the chargeable lands from inhabitants alleging their payments to have been extorted by their overlords. St Leger counselled against the government being deceived by these spurious claims. The

(1) SP/63/121/62; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.256; useful explanation of chargeable lands, ibid, 1586 -88, p.262; H.F. Hore and J. Graves (ed.), The social state of the southern and eastern counties of Ireland in the 16th century (Dublin 1870), pp.266-68, 278; see K.W. Nicholls, Land, Law and Society in sixteenth-century Ireland (O'Donnell lecture, 1976), p.14.

onus of proof, he said, rested with the self-proclaimed freeholders. Some few indeed had been freed by the Earl and had documents as evidence; those without must be disregarded. St Leger gave political and financial reasons for this policy - confiscation of the chargeable lands (or custom lands as he called them) would lessen the independence of landowners and were more in value than the Earl's demesne - but remained reticent over his own interests. For if the chargeable lands were adjudged not to have been at the Earl's disposal, then his own lease from the Earl of the chargeable lands of Kerrycurrihy would be in doubt(1).

Although St Leger exaggerated the value of the chargeable lands, their extent was considerable, comprising the whole of Clanmaurice barony and other scattered lands in Kerry, parts of Connello barony in Limerick, and large parts of Kerrycurrihy and Imokilly baronies in Cork. In the barony of Kilmore in north Cork various exactions similar to chargeable lands were demanded by the Earl of Desmond. Altogether the chargeable lands were valued at about £2,500 in 1584., which was $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total value of escheated land in Munster. Later it was stated by officials that this valuation was at too high a rate, on occasion exceeding the true value of the land(2).

That such a large proportion should be pruned from the confiscated amount was almost inconceivable, yet this is what happened. Not immediately: it was not until 1592 that a final settlement was reached. Such a conclusion would have staggered the government eight years earlier. Then all was straightforward and satisfactory. The 1584 commissioners had included the chargeable lands in their survey because they had belonged to the Earl. With the Earl's other

(1) SP/63/107/58.

(2) Kerry and Connello lands, P.R.O.I., M.5037-39; *ibid*, IA/48/84, Chas I, no.6; SP/63/149/61; Imokilly and Kerrycurrihy lands from 1572 survey, SP/63/106/69; 110/79; *Cal. Carew, 1515-74*, pp.414-18; full details in 1592 commission resolutions, SP/63,168/10.1 (pp.211-19); Kilmore, P.R.O.I., M.5038, p.124; SP/63/110/79.

possessions they were allotted to the undertakers. Instructions were issued to the 1586/87 commission to measure and divide the lands for this purpose. Then the difficulties began to emerge. The commissioners outlined the complexities and admitted the possibility that some inhabitants on the lands were freeholders rather than tenants at will. As confidence increased among the locals so did their campaign to prove ownership of the chargeable lands. In July 1587 the undertakers were forced to ask the Privy Council whether or not the chargeable lands were the Crown's and to be divided among the undertakers. Popham for one had given up the Mallow seignory to Norris on the expectation of being placed in Imokilly, but found no room there as it was all claimed as chargeable land. The government responded in 1589 by reiterating their policy of a general confiscation of the chargeable lands. The undertakers were to be put into possession immediately of those chargeable lands which had been let by the will of the lord and hence indisputably now the Crown's property. In the case of those chargeable lands where the present inhabitants claimed title "as of an estate of inheritance" (which was for practically all the lands) the "tenant" should surrender $\frac{2}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of his holding to the undertaker(1).

Already in 1588 the special commission from England had quashed the claim of the Kerrycurrihy inhabitants to be treated as freeholders. But this barony, as we shall see, was unusual. It was not such an easy matter in the other chargeable lands where the authorities were faced with ancient charters and deeds proving the inhabitants' titles. The government demonstrated its ignorance over the issue in early 1589 by asking the undertakers their views over the chargeable lands and how best they could be discovered. Some planters returned angry comments, reminiscent of St Leger, on the deception of tenants at will disguising themselves as freeholders. Henry Oughtred vowed he could distinguish all such miscreants in Connello and had a relevant list already

(1) SP/63/129/29; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.263, 384; ibid, 1588-92, p.130; SP/63/145/56.1; 149/53.

prepared. Other undertakers, such as Sir Edward Fitton, were more resigned to losing any allocated chargeable land. In October 1589 the Munster commissioners suggested the inhabitants should remain on the lands and pay Desmond's charges or a suitable composition to the Crown. It was in fact the only possible conclusion. To have swept aside the occupiers of the chargeable lands would have been too dangerous a policy. Three years later the terms of composition were decided: the inhabitants to remain on the land paying a yearly sum to the government(1).

Kerrycurrihy was included in this general settlement though it was the one region of chargeable lands temporarily occupied by undertakers. The distinction came from the involvement of St Leger. As mentioned, he had obtained a lease from Desmond in 1568 of substantial parts of the barony. Some of the lands leased were the Earl's demesne, others chargeable land on which the Earl levied his particular dues. In the 1580s St Leger and his partner Sir Richard Grenville declared that those on the chargeable lands had freely yielded as much rent to them as normal tenants. Hence their claim now to be freeholders was absurd. In the survey of Desmond's lands in 1572 it was recorded that St Leger, "the earl's farmer", set and let the lands at the rate of £2.13.4. a ploughland; previously the Earl and his ancestors had expected approximately 10/- a ploughland. Grenville made the point that "if the earl had dealt there as a tyrant, by extortion, he would have done it generally, the which he did not, but took a noble off some, ten shillings off others, and off some but only suit of court, and so held an equal course with everyone, according to his tenure". St Leger admitted a number of the inhabitants had procured freedom from duties, but only by written evidence, thus demonstrating the Earl did possess certain rights which could be remitted.

(1) 1588 commission, SP/65/13, no.35 good example of claims of Imokilly inhabitants; SP/63/144/11.1, 15; Cal. S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.256; ibid, 1592-96, pp.4-8; SP/63/168/10.1 (pp.218-19); some Limerick undertakers regained small portions of Connello chargeable lands in 17th century, P.R.O.I., IA/48/84, Chas I, no.6.

All who could not produce such evidence should be treated as tenants.

It is hard to determine the equity of the business. For example, the converse to St Leger's last equation could be that those inhabitants who had purchased their freedom from exactions did not recognise the Earl's claim de jure but simply de facto; and that inhabitants without visible manumission therefore should not necessarily sink into the class of tenants at will. Whom are we to believe? Grenville stated, as accepted custom, that the "freeholders" in Kerrycurrihy held only $\frac{1}{4}$ of their land, while Desmond let the remainder at will. And when he and St Leger had become tenants of the Earl in 1568 those same freeholders had yielded a comparable rent to that of ordinary tenants. Yet the inhabitants now claimed it was all extortion(1).

Soon there appeared further complications. Although Grenville stated the Kerrycurrihy lands were leased by the Earl, and the surveys of 1572 and 1584 refer to St Leger as the Earl's farmer, it was later alleged by St Leger that Desmond had mortgaged the land to him for a statute bond of £7,000, St Leger paying "great sums of money" obtained from London merchants. (In Ireland the old fashioned mortgage procedure was still practised, whereby the transaction amounted to a sale with the option of repurchase. In England this had been transformed in the mid 16th century to the modern form when the mortgagor retains possession only losing if defaulting on interest payments.) St Leger said he was willing to surrender his mortgage to the Crown and receive the lands back as a seignory but at half the normal rent for undertakers. This he asserted had been granted by the Queen. But John Cooper from Somerset, one of Her Majesty's gentleman pensioners, had been apportioned the Kerrycurrihy lands, as they lay in the county reserved for

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.249; SP/63/107/58; R. Caulfield (ed.), The Council Book of the corporation of Kinsale (Guildford, 1879), p.xviii, appendix N; precise nature of Desmond's exactions, SP/63/168/10.1 (pp.211-17); interesting information provided by witnesses in 1588, P.R.O., 30/34/14 (pamphlet endorsed Crosshaven); P.R.O.I., IA/30/28, no.726.

the men of the south-west; and here commenced an unedifying struggle between two rival undertakers for the same seignory - a theme which repeated itself many times in the early years of the plantation(1).

Cooper had had the lands allotted to him by Popham in April 1587 and next month was put in possession by the vice-president. St Leger responded by showing royal letters giving him the seignory at half rent in consideration of his mortgage and lease. Cooper riposted by stating the mortgage had been redeemed by the Earl in 1576 who had been in possession since that date; St Leger maintained it was still in force. In the provisional lists of undertakers in the late 1580s St Leger and Grenville, once more his partner, appear to be treated as in possession, completing the metamorphosis from tenants of an imprecise sort into official undertakers. Kerrycurrihy was designated a full seignory and each held 6,000 acres. They were not granted letters patent however, for Cooper persisted in his claim. In fact St Leger had been ordered to release half the seignory to Cooper. He reported this had been carried out in 1588, the compromise made possible after Grenville's departure to a new seignory inland. But both parties remained dissatisfied. In 1592 the Privy Council again recommended a division of the seignory between Cooper and St Leger, and summoned the latter to England to decide the dispute. Eventually St Leger alone triumphed and received his letters patent in 1595 for 6,000 acres(2).

What had happened to the other half? One could say St Leger and Cooper had been fighting a phantom battle, for the prize they were contesting was gradually evaporating. St Leger was perfectly aware of the claims of those on the chargeable lands of Kerrycurrihy to be treated as freeholders and not Desmond's tenants, and, as shown, he produced counter-

(1) SP/63/144/74; 164/35; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, pp. 32-34; marked internal discrepancies in details of these reports.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.131; ibid, 1592-96, p.48; APC, 1587-88, p.202; ibid, 1591-92, pp.445, 554; SP/63/131/6; 133/85, 86; 156/2; SP/65/13, no.5; DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.269.

claims. He also relied on abuse and his reputation as a veteran Munster resident to defeat them. Frequently he fulminated against their "cunning practices ... untrue oaths and suborning of false witnesses ... forged deeds, untrue and most false suggestions". Many long passionate letters were written to the Court, drawing on his Irish experience and knowledge of the true nature of the chargeable lands(1). After the land commission of 1588 and the satisfactory quashing of claims against him, it seemed as if St Leger's position was secure. Four years later, however, all was reversed. The government conceded freehold rights to 23 Kerrycurrihy claimants and after accepting a composition put them into possession. These two important judicial commissions of 1588 and 1592 will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

Often confused with the issue of the chargeable lands were the chief rents and peculiar services owed to Desmond. The chief rents were paid by freeholders and the services or customary rents by a wider section of the population. Many of these customary rents were the usual mixture of Gaelic services and Anglo-Norman feudal survivals. There are many similarities between the Desmond and Clancare surveys, the latter made in 1598 revealing the rights demanded by MacCarthy Mor. The Earl of Desmond's main claims were for cess, purveyance, food and lodging; and the more exotic services which marked the Norman to Gaelic assimilation in the south-west. Some of his rights would not have been exercised for many decades. For example, MacCarthy Reagh in Carberry was supposed to assemble all his forces once a year, victualled for three days, should the Earl request their support; while O'Sullivan Beare, in west Cork far from Desmond's authority, had to pay a chief rent. It would be interesting to know when these demands were last obeyed. Even the Earl's benefit of 67½ cattle p.a. from Carberry had not been

(1) SP/63/164/35; 144/82, 83, 84; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.200-03.

successfully exacted since the 1560s(1).

As one would expect it was in Kerry, in the heart of the Earl's palatinate, that services were most onerous and widespread. The 1584 commissioners did not compute their value because of the depopulated and wasted state of the country. They were forced to the same conclusion for many of the chief rents in Kerry. Chief rents had not been abolished when the Earl's lands were confiscated but simply appropriated by the Crown. Many undertakers had old freeholders of the Earl's within the precinct of their seignory and they demanded, successfully, that the chief rents these freeholders now paid to the Crown should be paid to the respective undertakers; a puzzling request since the undertakers then had to answer precisely the same amount to the government. One motive, suggested by an undertaker himself, was the chance thereby to increase prestige and authority over the people, with the possibility of defrauding the Crown as well(2).

Throughout Ireland the government's policy at this time was to convert cess to an annual payment to the Crown. In Munster the instructions were to compound not only for cess but also the chargeable lands and any exceptional exactions previously enjoyed by Desmond. Crown officials in 1592 managed to reach an agreement with five of the Munster counties, though Burghley thought the composition in place of cess was insufficiently generous from the Treasury's point of view. However, it had been settled speedily and amicably. It was a different case with Desmond's chief rents which were

(1) Clancare survey, Lambeth, Carew MS 625, ff.25v-42, of which commentary by Butler, Gleanings, Chap.One; Desmond's rents and services, 1572, SP/63/106/69; 110/79; Cal. Carew, 1515-74, pp.414-18; inquisition, 17 October 1586, SP/63/172/58; rents in 1568, SP/63/26/7; in 1568 government intention to deprive Desmond of Carberry beeves but never enacted; after Desmond's attainder, rights recovered by government and granted to Florence MacCarthy who sold to Norris; cash equivalent still being collected in 1630s, SP/63/25/57; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.284; Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, second Boyle letter book, 1634-41, p.173.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.90, 545.

excluded from the composition and remained to be collected by the six undertakers with seignories in the relevant areas. The amounts were stipulated in their patents. Most of them were for insignificant sums and there was no problem in collection(1).

The one exception was Denny's seignory in Kerry. The chief rents there were for £374 plus 195 cows. Both proved impossible to collect. Not unexpectedly the inhabitants claimed the chief rents had been illegally exacted by the Earl of Desmond. By 1592 Denny's arrears for chief rents were enormous, over £1,600, but the government ordered no action against him. The commissioners of that year reported the country was far too poor and depopulated to answer this sort of rent, and in reality Desmond had never received half as much and that by extortion(2). As well as the Crown claiming chief rents another individual was making similar demands. This was the Earl of Kildare who claimed chief rents and services from four of the Limerick undertakers. The amounts were not large but the undertakers protested and it was left to the 1592 commission to allow the chief rents proved by rental, recommending a composition similar to the Crown's for the services of shragh and marte, "which seemed to be exactions in the beginning, though long continuance of payment have made them certain rents" - a comment which can stand also for Desmond's services(3).

Accompanying the establishment of full administrative control after the rebellion came various investigations into land rights not directly concerned with the Munster confiscations. These enquiries were made not only by permanent officials connected with the Crown lands, but also by the relay of commissions appointed for the Munster plantation. The first commission in 1584 found several portions of concealed Crown

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, pp.2-12, 45-54.

(2) Chief rents listed, *ibid*, pp.55-56; Denny answerable to lesser amount than in patent, DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.40; APC, 1591-92, pp.364,571; Fitton obtained similar relief, *ibid*, p.540.

(3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, pp.5, 52, 58.

and church land as it traversed the province cataloguing Desmond's estates(1).

What was to be done with the resumed Crown land? The undertakers thought they knew the correct procedure: concealed lands, particularly those adjacent to the confiscated lands, should be passed to themselves. They supposed the potential amount of concealed land to be very great, since many landowners, particularly among the Irish, had no legal documentation of ownership. In their general requests of June 1586 the undertakers had included a demand that all landowners in Munster should give proof of an adequate title - a clear indication of their line of thinking. Unsurprisingly Burghley denied this request(2). Yet originally the general policy ordained was to grant any concealed land in Munster to the undertakers. Those men other than undertakers who had been granted Crown lands in the province, in the normal way of reward for services, found they now had difficulty in obtaining anything(3). In fact this policy was not fully implemented, one of the reasons being local reaction to the resumption campaign. The new inquisitions held by the 1586/87 commission had found further concealed land, as well as escheated land from the Desmond rebels, but Fenton reported the locals distinguished between the two, accepting the latter quite peacefully while protesting against the former. He was echoed next year by the second justice of Munster. Fenton recommended a tactful abandonment of finding concealments by this commission. Resumption could always be continued at a more suitable time(4).

His advice was followed, though the government's policy on concealments was never very clear. The undertakers pressed once again (in December 1587) for grants of neighbouring concealed land to give them a continuous block as a seignory.

(1) SP/63/110/78.

(2) SP/63/124/64; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.90.

(3) For example, SP/63/131/52, 55; 144/15.

(4) SP/63/126/78; 131/1.

It was confirmed in June 1592 that concealed land found within their seignories - that is within the loose boundaries formed around their land - was not to be granted to any but the undertakers. Yet two years later instructions to the Munster commissioners included the clear order of no grants by concealments. And the Munster commission in 1595 did not think it expedient to pass such concealed lands to a specific undertaker, considering the discontent over the resumption policy in the province. The 1590s of course were the open years for the adventurer in the exploitation of concealed lands, in Munster as much as elsewhere: the spacious days when the Dublin officials, headed by Richard Boyle, laid the base to their later fortunes. In 1595 the undertakers protested once more, this time against the passing of concealed lands, as they were going to these newcomers at extraordinarily low valuations. The government did stop outrageous applications of resumption by concealments, such as the man who attempted to prove concealed land from the reign of Edward III. But it only awoke to the systematic abuse of the resumption policy in the late 1590s(1).

Another of the undertakers' requests in June 1586 was for those landowners who occupied the areas in between the various portions of escheated land to be removed, either by resettlement or composition. This project went much the same way as the concealed lands and provides a further demonstration of the gulf between hopes in London and reality in Munster. For a time it was not appreciated that because of the fragmented nature of confiscation there would be a difference between the escheated lands allotted to the settlers and the general precinct of the seignory. It came as a shock to some undertakers to find independent freeholders scattered within the boundary of their seignory. Since there was a tendency to use the word "seignory" to

(1) SP/63/132/43; 177/16; 182/32; APC, 1591-92, p.540; Wallop and Gardiner to Burghley, 10 January 1596, exposing fraudulent machine run by Boyle and others, SP/63/186/11; cf. T.O. Ranger, "Richard Boyle and the making of an Irish fortune", IHS, 10 (1957); APC, 1595-96, p.492; ibid, 1597-98, p.397.

to refer to plantation land and also the area comprising the designated land, which usually included other pieces of unconfiscated land, the consequent confusion is apparent.

At first the intention was to remove non plantation owners and create a seignory precinct entirely owned by the undertakers. Perrot was instructed to sound out the possibility of an exchange of lands for these freeholders but reported their compliance was unlikely. The government placed a strange hope on the reports of under-population in the province creating a situation whereby many freeholds would escheat to the Crown through want of heirs. When the unrealistic optimism of this development was revealed, it fell back on direct persuasion. A special commission was ordered in early 1586 to compound with the intermixers, as these particular freeholders were dubbed, but Perrot stalled, despite Fenton's correct prediction of confusion and delay should this issue be unresolved. It was left to the 1586/87 commission to take the first steps by ordering all the intermixers to show titles to their land, but the response, quite naturally, was disappointing, only a fraction coming forward. In 1587 the undertakers asked for some of their number to be on the commission for examining titles and compounding with the intermixers. This was accepted but the commission was adjourned that autumn when the serving undertakers returned to England for the winter. In effect that was all that happened. The instructions for the 1588 commission to resolve the land disputes do not mention this issue and it was quietly dropped; and with it any hope of the seignories being compact unified areas(1).

A more direct threat against the undertakers was from those who came forward to claim leases or mortgages of rebel land. According to the government, many of the rebels had nimbly organised mortgages immediately before entering into rebellion. All leases and mortgages enacted before the

(1) SP/63/121/53; 122/57; Lodge, *Desiderata*, I, pp.73-74; *Cal.S.P.Ire.*, 1586-88, pp.44, 90-92, 216-17, 249-50, 275, 406; map of Denny's seignory at Tralee, 1587, provides clear illustration of intermixers, P.R.O., MPF, 309.

attainder of an individual remained valid thereafter. And, as shown, the custom in Ireland was that the mortgagee took possession of the land, only vacating when the loan was repaid. It was reported that few in Munster ever sold their lands but preferred to mortgage them. Since few of the mortgages were redeemed, a man might be in possession of far less land than he legally owned. In some cases then, when the undertaker arrived at his destination it was to find parts of his seignory in possession of others who could not be removed until he had paid off his predecessor's debt. On occasion the situation was made worse by the careful forethought of the parties who had conducted the mortgage placing a time limit for redemption, which limit had elapsed by 1588. This refinement was not normally part of the Irish mortgage procedure and the government commented bitterly and confusedly on this alteration from tradition. There were similar assertions of leases made before 1579, though for conveyances this loophole had been blocked by the 1586 act of Parliament which denied the validity of all deeds since 1573 not enrolled at Dublin.

The authorities were convinced many of these claims of mortgages and leases were fraudulent, and the 1588 and 1592 commissions were instructed to obtain proof of transactions and in cases where the deed was undeniable to abate the undertaker's rent accordingly until the mortgage be redeemed. The 1592 commission spent three months on this business, examining the witnesses individually the better to discern perjuries. But most cases were so tangled they were forced to rely upon their judgement and make awards as they deemed fit. These "arbitrary proceedings", as the commissioners deprecatingly called them, do seem to have hit the balance between the sides, as there were comparatively few complaints after this date. The summary of cases covered in 1592 mentions documented mortgages of plantation land and the invariable resolution that the mortgagor could reoccupy after repaying the requisite amount. Three times this meant the undertaker gained possession by paying the mortgage loan to the local claimant, which sum was abated from the undertaker's Crown rent; but twice they were ejected when the land they

occupied was identified as mortgaged land and the mortgagor repaid to the Crown. The policy of allowing the mortgagor to repay and repossess became general with mortgages and escheated land in later years(1).

In the end the Irish custom of mortgages proved to be more advantageous to the moneyed newcomers. Anonymous advice in 1587 for the strengthening of the English interest in Munster was to advance into the Irish areas by way of mortgages, for "those Irish lords are in great poverty and want" and the settlers "by that policy win still upon them without force". Such tactics were shortly to be used by Browne in Kerry and in the early 17th century by the Earl of Cork and most notably Sir Philip Percival(2).

Irish claims

Sir Valentine Browne, in fact, was a reluctant mortgagee. It had not been his chosen method of settlement. He had been designated leader of the undertakers in Kerry and awarded himself and his son a full seignory in Desmond. It proved to be an unfortunate move, for the escheated land in south Kerry (Desmond) had not belonged to the Earl but was confiscated from various MacCarthys and O'Donoghue Mor; and the Earl of Clancare, MacCarthy Mor, was very soon to express his opinion that the lands were within his lordship and the individuals concerned his tenants. Though a greatly ambitious demand, it succeeded(3). Browne objected the Earl had made no complaint when the survey commission viewed the lands in 1584, though opportunities had been available, and that if anyone had a claim to the escheated lands in Desmond, other than those who had been taken as owners in fee simple and attained,

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.550; SP/63/139/64; Cal. S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.9; APC, 1587-88, pp.80-81, 185; SP/63/129/72; 168/10.1 (1592 cases); Cal.S. P.Ire., 1611-14, pp.77-78.

(2) SP/63/132/40.

(3) "This claim," says Butler, "was from the Irish point of view, manifestly false", Gleanings, p.26; though real falsification in distortion of complex Irish land rights being expressed so baldly.

it was the Earl of Desmond, as could be proved by services and chief rents he had enjoyed from that region. These contentions were fruitless. Clancare was a powerful magnate the government was unwilling to antagonise; moreover, he had provided useful help during the Desmond rebellion and could reasonably expect some reward. In July 1587 the Queen ordered all the escheated lands within Clancare's lordship - the lordship of MacCarthy Mor - to be restored to the Earl, "it being ascertained that at the time of rebellion those in possession were tenants at will to the Earl of Clancare"(1).

But neither Browne's nor the government's hopes of a settlement in Desmond could be entirely forgotten and hence a quid pro quo was arranged. Browne surrendered his proposed seignory which was "restored" to the Earl, who in turn allowed Browne to take possession by way of a mortgage. (Previously the Earl had been in possession by a custodiam from the lord deputy and was occupying the lands when the survey commissioners visited in October 1584.) The Crown then confirmed this agreement by letters patent to Browne of the lands to hold as an undertaker with the normal conditions, "from the determination of the estate tail" of the Earl; which was taken to mean when the Earl died, as he had no successors to the title, his only legitimate child being a daughter. Browne was to pay full rent seven years after the Earl's death and in all other respects to be treated as a normal undertaker(2).

Unluckily for him the clerk recording the patent made a vital error, for instead of stating the lands would become Browne's in fee farm from the Crown after the death of the Earl without heirs male of his body, the actual clause ran "without heirs of his body". This slip made his daughter's hand doubly attractive, and in the Brownes' case essential for their survival in Kerry. Young Nicholas Browne immediately

(1) SP/63/131/6; 133/94; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.368; Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.175.

(2) Browne paid Clancare £421 for O'Donoghue's land and £142 for Coshmaine, Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.170; SP/63/269/87 (transposes amounts); DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.89.

offered himself as a suitor, but although her father appeared amenable, the woman herself, the Countess and general Irish opinion were appalled at the prospect of this union with plebeian newcomers. Instead the woman in question eloped with Florence MacCarthy, tenant to the MacCarthy lordship of Carberry, thus threatening a union of the Kerry and west Cork MacCarthys, the possibility of which perturbed the government from the late 1580s to the early 17th century and the final imprisonment of Florence MacCarthy in England. The defect in the patent did not in the end benefit their offspring, as the government rectified the matter in a regrant to Nicholas Browne in 1602. (He appropriately married O'Sullivan Beare's daughter who had been destined for Florence MacCarthy.) The reversion thereby went to the Crown, as intended, after the Earl's death in 1596 and the two respective portions continued in Browne's possession(1).

The seignory was still insecure in another way, since the lands had been transferred to Sir Valentine in 1588 by mortgage with no time limit for redemption. Hence if Florence MacCarthy, on behalf of his wife, repaid the £560 to the incumbent Browne he could repossess. Not surprisingly this channel was blocked, despite a sustained campaign by MacCarthy which lasted until the 1630s, and the Brownes remained undisturbed in their seignory(2).

There were other areas of MacCarthy Mor's lordship, besides Coshmaine and O'Donoghue Mor's lands in Onaght, which were found for the Crown in 1584. Again the Earl attempted to prove rightful ownership. To discuss this claim opens up the question of the ownership rights of an Irish lord.

(1) SP/63/137/22; 177/29; B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.133; Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.617; DKPROI, 18th Rep., p.109.

(2) HMC Salisbury, 7, p.290; SP/63/197/84, 85; 203/82; HMC Salisbury, 9, p.131; Cal. Carew, 1589-1600, pp.300-01; Lambeth, Carew MS 615, p.446; Cal.S.P. Ire., 1615-25, pp.250, 571-72; SP/63/250/72; 269/8; Kent R/O, Sackville MS O.N., 8515; W. Knowler (ed.) The earl of Stafford's letters and dispatches (1739), pp.96, 113.

Fortunately there is a good deal of information on the lordship of MacCarthy Mor(1). His demesne was relatively small but of course his power and wealth followed from the services he could command from the O'Donoghues, O'Sullivan's, MacCarthys and lesser septs. As with the Earl of Desmond's chargeable lands, the issue was whether these rights and services equalled ownership. This time it was in the government's interest to deny the lord's Irish duties proved ownership, unlike the chargeable lands where if ownership was proved for Desmond they escheated to the Crown. In this case that would merely benefit the Earl of Clancare. Occasions such as these throughout the early modern period caused smart reversals of principle and an inconsistency which should have - but did not seem to - embarrass the government. The constant factor remained the policy of weakening the Irish and Anglo-Irish lords. In times of peace this meant the encouragement of those within the asserted lordships to press for independent status, whether as owners in fee simple holding from the Crown, or at least recognition of their rank as freeholders. But when the lord himself rebelled such principles became an awkward encumbrance threatening to deprive the Crown; and so the interests of underlings were forgotten and the whole lordship confiscated. The most striking example of this policy was to occur later in Ulster after O'Neill's and O'Donnell's departure.

If the government was not overburdened by a concern for equity, neither can it be said was MacCarthy Mor. His aim was to extend his possessions and power. His method was to claim that those attainted had been his tenants at will not freeholders; his justification that of tradition and ancient ownership. Herbert listed 14 counties to which the Earl laid claim of certain rights. The two largest were Duhallow

(1) Most important source, Clancare survey 1598, Lambeth, Carew MS 625, ff.25v-42; account by Nicholas Browne, 1597, SP/63/199/109, 110; transcribed, JCHAS, 12 (1906), pp.55-66; B.L., Titus B.13, f.508; sketch by Herbert, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.534-36; useful information from 1588 witnesses for land commission, P.R.O., 30/34/14; P.R.O.I., IA/30/28, nos. 723-26.

and Muskerry where the respective MacCarthy lords had long ago freed themselves from his exactions. As Herbert noted, when MacCarthy Mor had surrendered his former titles on his creation of Earl, he still claimed "jurisdiction and dominion" over these areas(1).

To claim possession on the basis of ancient ownership was a dangerous ploy, however, for the Crown could do the same. Except for the west of Cork and south half of Kerry, all Munster had been conquered by the Normans. With the Gaelic revival in the 14th and 15th centuries, most of County Cork west of the city was repossessed by the Irish. The line of most of the Norman grantees had died out or escheated to the Crown; could the Crown now claim title based on the original conquest 300 years ago? One researcher demonstrated the lack of all traditional rights of MacCarthy Reagh to Carberry, had not Henry VII, alas, granted a charter. Another anonymous writer suggested policies which in effect would deny the legitimacy of the Gaelic reconquest. Sir George Carew too toyed with the idea of submitting a claim based on a Norman title, in this case to most of County Cork. It is doubtful if he was entirely serious about this assertion(2).

The government was tempted enough to enquire of the 1592 commissioners whether the customs of fishing in the west Cork ports did belong to the Crown, but the commissioners' reply discouraged any appropriation: no recent records existed for the Crown title, only the truism that the ports had once been Norman, but "the Irishry prevailed ... and now are become dutiful subjects ... very conformable to all obedience". It was clear the commissioners at least were not in favour of disturbing these men on the grounds of centuries old titles. On the whole the government agreed with them, and in fact the above researcher who examined MacCarthy's right to Carberry was engaged in protecting the Crown's claim to Kinalmeaky, forfeited by Donal O'Mahony, but now claimed by

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.534.

(2) SP/63/134/23a; 124/49; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1601-03, p.308; Cal. Carew, 1601-03, p.438.

Sir Owen MacCarthy Reagh as parcel of his Carberry lordship(1).

Of MacCarthy Mor's claims most were allowed, the reasons being largely the government's desire to sweeten a potentially dangerous magnate. In turn the Earl did make a concession to legality by assembling a number of witnesses ready to swear Coshmaine and Onaght's inhabitants were his tenants. The government, it is true, was very responsive to the Earl's identification of his tenants and their obligations to him. In 1585 Clancare complained many of his tenants had departed from his lands and left them waste. The Munster council resolved that those who had left, contrary to the custom of the country, were to be called back and sent to dwell upon their former habitations. Three years later the Privy Council echoed this decision in equally forthright terms(2).

The order need not be taken as proof that this group was an "unfree" class, and it has been argued that an individual's acceptance of a tenancy might have been in the form of a contract binding him to the land(3). The practice of tenants binding themselves to the Earl by covenant was recognised by neighbouring undertakers. Commentating on the Council's order, Sir William Herbert acknowledged the right of the lord to recall absconding tenants bound by covenants, providing they were indeed his tenants and the covenants proved. The same writer did doubt the wide existence of these particular tenants and he deplored the principle of compelled habitation. The Earl's appeal had resulted from Nicholas Browne's recruitment of certain of his followers for his own service, successfully enticing them by the gifts of mounts and weapons. Such tactics were probably necessary if Browne was to prosper in Desmond - this and his marriage to O'Sullivan Beare's daughter, arranged in his own words, "for my better strength and to maintain my own" - but the Herberts shook their heads over this Vortigen foolishness(4).

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, pp.11-12.

(2) Analecta Hibernica, 24 (1967), p.174; APC, 1588, p.147.

(3) K. Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland (1972), pp.68-70.

(4) SP/63/145/27, 87; Falkiner, Illustrations, p.242.

The Earl of Clancare did not succeed with his claim for all the escheated land within his lordship. Two minor MacCarthy septs, those of Clandonnell Roe around Bantry and Clandermot north of Bearehaven, both in County Cork, had been found for the Crown in 1584. Like Coshmaine and Onaght these areas had been awarded to the settlers, in this case those western undertakers who had been allotted Cork; and again with the others were ordered to be restored to the Earl in July 1587(1). For some reason this did not happen. Though 20 miles apart, both regions were joined together in one seignory and allotted to Edward Rogers, a son-in-law to Popham. As a Privy Councillor Popham's influence would be greater than that of Sir Valentine Browne. Clancare's letter of restitution was stayed by an order from Walsingham and Rogers took possession, reinforced in the summer of 1588 by Popham's own men moved along from Imokilly and Mallow. The Earl was "greatly grieved" at the denial of his wishes and sponsored an indirect campaign of physical intimidation - what would nowadays be called harassment - against the rapidly changing owners, but did not succeed in gaining possession. The seignory survived, in a tattered fashion, into the 17th century(2).

There is no direct evidence to explain why parts of MacCarthy Mor's lordship were restored and others remained with the newcomers. Popham said the Earl's own counsel, one of the ubiquitous Cork city Meades, when at the English Court in 1587, had admitted to Popham the insufficiency of Clancare's title. But might not Meade have said the same for his client regarding other escheated lands within his lordship? The Crown might have obtained proof that the Clandonnell Roe and Clandermot MacCarthys were freeholders, but it is doubtful; if witnesses had been produced by the Earl to swear the occupants of his other lands had been tenants, then further witnesses could have been, and very likely were, produced for the remaining lands in his lordship.

(1) Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.175..

(2) Clandonnell Roe seignory.

Sir Owen MacCarthy was successful in his claim to these portions with the exception of Cloghan and Kinalmeaky. The former area in fact should never have been included among the escheated land in 1584, having been confiscated from a rebel MacCarthy in the 1570s and granted to the MacCarthy lord of Muskerry in 1577. He duly regained possession in the late 1580s(1). Sir Owen MacCarthy's failure with Kinalmeaky was because the parcel was not accepted as lying within Carberry. The implicit conclusion then was that his claims had some validity with escheated land within his lordship. With the exception of Clandonnell Roe and Clandermot, the same conclusion had been reached in MacCarthy Mor's case.

These decisions are of some importance. It meant the government recognised not only the Irish lordships, which in Carberry's case had been constructed from conquered Anglo-Norman land, but accepted that all property within the lordship was held from the lord, and, in these escheated cases at least, held from the lord not in fee simple or fee farm but as tenants at will. In fact the Crown unwittingly had encouraged such an interpretation by its lavish charters to the south-western MacCarthys in the early 16 century. It would have been interesting to see the consequence of an attainder of one of the greater subordinate chiefs, say O'Sullivan Beare, in MacCarthy Mor's lordship. Would the government have accepted the lord's argument that this property too was rightfully his own and the potent O'Sullivan merely his tenant at will? Probably it would have baulked at such an extreme case but we cannot be sure. What is significant was that at this time the authorities demonstrated a surprising willingness to accommodate the claims of these two Irish lords.

The undertakers actually entered into these disputed seignories in 1587 and were confirmed in possession by the 1588 commission. Sir Owen MacCarthy's resumption of Rosebryn, Dunbeacon and Glanecrym must have been before 1592 when claims to plantation lands were heard again, since his

(1) See previous note.

suit then was for Kinalmeaky alone. Once more he failed. Kinalmeaky had been found seized in fee of Conor O'Mahony and MacCarthy's argument in 1588 was the same as for his other suits: O'Mahony was his tenant at will, "removable at the complainant's pleasure", and in fact only legally tenant of 1½ ploughlands by a lease from MacCarthy made in 1571. Before the rebellion O'Mahony of Castle Mahon in Kinalmeaky would have disputed this assertion with some vigour and it is likely it had no real substance. The government did not oppose this point specifically but quashed the case by several other powerful arguments. Sir Owen MacCarthy doubtless expected no less, though he was optimistic enough to put forward a claim while all titles were in a turmoil(1).

The Kinalmeaky dispute raises a number of interesting points. The main argument against MacCarthy was to deny that Kinalmeaky was part of Carberry. Most of the 11 local witnesses examined admitted as much. Kinalmeaky had been an independent barony for centuries, stated Smythes, and the only interest MacCarthy Reagh had there was an extorted chief rent from the O'Mahonys, who had been in residence as long or longer than the MacCarthys. Ecclesiastical rolls were produced as evidence. As stated, the ancient Crown title to west Cork was not utilised, but the petitioner was reminded the MacCarthys had "come down from the mountains" and occupied Carberry less than two centuries ago. Furthermore the 1488 grant to MacCarthy Reagh was to hold Carberry as an Englishman. The custom claimed by Sir Owen for Kinalmeaky - in other words some service which Sir Owen argued proved the inhabitants to be his tenants - "was a custom pretended only by the Irishry but by the laws of England void". The Queen's counsel introduced a final reason for denying MacCarthy's claim: the claimant should be the successor to Fineen, previous MacCarthy Reagh, and Sir Owen was only his fourth

(1) MacCarthy's claims, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.385, 449-50; SP/63/132/67. Commission, 1588, SP/65/13, nos.12, 13, 57, 81; summary, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.14-26; witnesses for Glanecrym and Kinalmeaky, P.R.O.I., IA/30/28, no.275; P.R.O., 30/34/14; O'Mahony attainder, SP/63/130/19; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.511; Statutes, 2, p.418.

brother. Did this mean the government was refusing to recognise succession by tanistry(1)?

The issue was a pertinent one at this time. Part of the government's anglicisation policy was to replace the lateral and frequently uncertain descent by tanistry with that of succession by primogeniture. But it was not until 1606 that inheritance by tanistry was declared illegal(2). Although there may have been ancient charters ordaining all in Ireland to be governed and inherit their land as in England, and though Carberry may have been granted to be held by English law, this did not mean tanistry was unrecognised in the late 16th century. As loyal and anglicised a subject as Sir Cormac MacTieg MacCarthy of Muskerry, who conducted a surrender and regrant of his barony in 1578 thereby adopting an English system of tenure, nevertheless reverted to tanistry when he drew up his will; and this arrangement was not disputed by the authorities(3). Sir Owen MacCarthy did not conceal his present position had been reached via tanistry, openly describing his succession to Carberry according to the custom "that the eldest and best of the sept should succeed". An anonymous paper did assert that Sir Owen MacCarthy was not the rightful ruler of Carberry because after Henry VII's letters patent succession should have been by English law; but this was a stance the government did not adopt. Rather it preferred to rest its defence of the Kinalmeaky confiscation on the straightforward denial it was part of Carberry, with the succession business left faintly menacing in reserve, in order to indicate other weapons could be wheeled forward should the main action fail(4).

Sir Owen MacCarthy was not the only one to challenge the Crown's title to Kinalmeaky. Others objected the inquisitions of 1584 and 1586 had erred by finding the

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.510-11; SP/63/132/67; SP/65/13, no.81; P.R.O., 30/34/14.

(2) Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland, p.28.

(3) H.W. Gillman, "Sir Cormac McTeig MacCarthy and the sept lands of Muskerry, county Cork", JCHAS, I (1892).

(4) SP/65/13, nos.57, 81; SP/63/132/70.

attainted Conor O'Mahony seized of all the barony. It was said the O'Mahonys of Kinalmeaky had practised tanistry as a matter of course and the attainted Conor had been "the meanest and youngest of them", his betters remaining alive and unattainted. Sir Owen MacCarthy dealt with this side attack by claiming an earlier conveyance by MacCarthy Reagh to another O'Mahony; but Becher, the incumbent undertaker, was sufficiently worried by this new danger to prepare a brief commentary on the details of tanistry concerning escheated property, thereby earning Sir Owen's patronising recognition of his mastery of such an arcane topic(1).

The 1592 commissioners dismissed the rival O'Mahony claim and also Sir Owen MacCarthy's two separate claims for the lordships of Kinalmeaky and chief rents due to Carberry from the same. One of these O'Mahonys was Dermot O'Mahony who in fact had been elected lord of Kinalmeaky in 1583 after the death in rebellion of the attainted Conor O'Mahony. He was able to prove the customary rod was delivered to him, according to the practice of tanistry, by the correct hereditary family. The commissioners argued first that the lands escheated to the Crown after Conor O'Mahony's attainder, irrespective of any successor; second that tanistry was an Irish custom and hence the plaintiff unable to advance by course of common law; third that there was an elder O'Mahony still living who had a greater right by virtue of tanistry than Dermot O'Mahony. The fact that this senior O'Mahony was a bastard was irrelevant, said the commissioners triumphantly with a hint of self congratulation at beating the opposition on their home ground, because it was no impediment to the Irish custom of succession. (They were right about this, but wrong in assuming tanistry was in some way the reverse of primogeniture and automatically meant the election of the oldest member of the ruling family.) The arguments deployed indicate again the transitory stage of affairs before the final declaration of tanistry as illegal, with the commissioners denying its validity in one breath, then accepting it for their own use in another. Dermot O'Mahony

(1) SP/63/146/46.

was offered a few ploughlands in return for releasing his title but he refused and the case was dismissed. A similar refusal to accept compensation came from Sir Owen MacCarthy over his claim for chief rents. Other claimants dismissed in 1592 were one old English and three Irish for certain parts of Kinalmeaky(1).

Those rejected did not give up and next year a joint petition from Sir Owen, Florence MacCarthy his nephew and tanist, and Dermot O'Mahony went to the Privy Council. Clearly they had agreed on a united front as the best tactic against the newcomers. Petitions and complaints concerning Kinalmeaky continued to be sent to the Privy Council, which in 1595 ordered a new inquisition to determine who exactly had been seized of the barony, but then retracted this order after Henry Becher, son of the first undertaker, had protested this might ruin him. Law officers in England also advised against such a move. This marked the end of MacCarthy Reagh's attempts to possess all Kinalmeaky but did not stop further land suits through the normal legal channels. The survey of 1611 shows 5,200 acres, a quarter of the total, resumed from the two undertakers. Of this amount 2,000 acres were restored to the established church, 1,200 to an O'Mahony, 400 to a Barry and the remainder to unknown local claimants. O'Mahony did not obtain possession until 1608 but the others received their portions most likely in the 1590s(2).

New English disputes

The church was a persistent irritant to many undertakers. William Lyon, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, submitted a claim before the 1588 commission for seven ploughlands in

(1) 1592 cases, SP/63/168/10.1 (pp.221-25, 227-28); SP/63/172/58; Conor O'Mahony of Fynagh's case reported successful but evidence presented suggests he failed, *ibid*; SP/63/168/10.1 (p.221).

(2) APC, 1592-93, p.466; *ibid*, 1595-96, pp.475-77; Cal.Carew, 1603-24, p.255; P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16 (pp.183-84, 197-99).

Kinalmeaky. The commissioners allowed the church's right to a rent from the lands, but this order was reversed in 1592 and the undertaker's position restored; though only temporarily, for the land finally went to the church. The general state of church land was similar to Crown land: large areas had been concealed for centuries and it was only in the second half of the 16th century that a campaign of resumption became possible. The 1584 commissioners had found some concealed church land on their circuit round Munster though more was to be revealed later(1).

How effective the church resumption was depended on the zeal and efficiency of each bishop. Some were not conspicuous in their efforts for the cause. The lands in the Limerick diocese suffered a dramatic shrinkage in the early 1580s as the Bishop had been converted to Rome and promptly alienated much church property. The Archbishop of Cashel's career was particularly notorious. Even Lyon was not above a discreet nepotism: that resumed church land in Kinalmeaky was in the possession of his son in 1611. Lyon certainly made efforts to acquaint himself with the church records of his diocese in order to identify concealments, but sometimes it was to little avail. Another claim of his in 1588, this time for ecclesiastical rents from Kerrycurrihy, was backed by "a roll of parchment" as proof, but the commissioners brushed this aside as irrelevant and rejected his suit(2).

No other bishop appears in the 1588 and 1592 list of cases for the commissioners, but that does not mean some were not bringing legal actions against the undertakers by normal proceedings. Such had occurred in Kerry by 1591 and perhaps elsewhere. Yet this method was slow and tedious, and settlement by commission much to be preferred. The usual justification was the familiar assertion that some of the escheated land now in the hands of undertakers had been confiscated as if the original inhabitant held in fee simple,

(1) SP/65/13, no.47,48; SP/63/168/10.1 (p.220); concealed land, 1584, SP/63/110/78.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.433; P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16 (p.198); SP/65/13, no.30.

whereas they were tenants at will holding from the church. The best documented example of church resumption is that by the bishops of Limerick in the early 17th century. Those who were disposed or had suits commenced against them included several County Limerick undertakers. A rental of church lands for the Limerick diocese in 1641 shows that nearly all the Limerick undertakers, by their patents, avoided paying ecclesiastical rent answered by their predecessors. Similar accusations were made against undertakers elsewhere in Munster(1).

The church campaign against the undertakers may have blemished somewhat the image of a monolithic new order in Munster - English settlers and reformed church working together in purposeful harmony - but a different internal controversy completely fractured such a comfortable belief. Throughout the early years of the plantation occurred land disputes between rival planters, conducted with open vigour and prominence. None were more energetically pursued than those between the Kerry undertakers, the disputants being Sir William Herbert on the one side and on the other, singularly and in combination, Sir Edward Denny, Sir Valentine and Nicholas Browne, Jenkin Conway, Thomas Spring, Denzil Holles, Thomas Heyford, in fact nearly all the major Kerry settlers.

The first breach of relations came from failure to match the initial allotment and the actual lands granted in the letters patent. In England (and Wales) undertakers had been led to expect lands which subsequently they found to be in the possession of a neighbouring undertaker. The race was then on to incorporate the desired parcel into the letters patent before the next man. The specific difficulty in Kerry arose from Herbert's understanding that he and his associates were to be allotted 24,000 acres. The fact this promise could not be fulfilled was taken unsympathetically

(1) SP/63/175/20; 165/16; APC, 1592, p.54; 1615 visitation of Limerick and 1641 rental printed J. Begley, The diocese of Limerick in the 16th and 17th centuries (Dublin 1927), pp.382-423; visitation of Ardfert, 1622, Dublin, Marsh's Library, MS Z.3.1.3., (pp.126-30).

by Sir William and not accepted for a long time. Much of the early trouble arose from efforts to increase his actual allotment into the equivalent of two full seignories which brought him into conflict with Sir Valentine Browne, Denny, Stone, Champion and Holles(1).

These disputes were straightforward, bullheaded clashes over the amount of land within each seignory. After the first few years and the granting of letters patent this area of contention was removed. More interesting is the clash between Herbert and Denny over their respective tenants. As neighbouring landowners they enjoyed the usual altercations over boundaries, bad feelings starting early from an underhand bit of work by Denny over a mortgage on Herbert's land which the latter endorsed before realising the implications. Both were eager to increase their seignories, both vigilant in condemning this greed in the other. Their quarrel becomes significant over the question of the local inhabitants on their seignories. Denny accused Herbert of luring several of his tenants away from Denny's Tralee seignory to settle with Herbert at Castleisland. Herbert replied he could not help it if these individuals chose not to stay with Denny(2).

If those who left Tralee to come to Castleisland were newly arrived English settlers, then Denny had a right to feel aggrieved. He would have spent time, effort and possibly money on their transportation and requirements. To see them then walk over into the next seignory would have infuriated a much more tolerant individual. But these people were probably Irish tenants, the original inhabitants, including perhaps some labourers and landless men, though Denny speaks only of his tenants. According to the plantation articles there was no need for their removal until late 1594. Clearly the talk of scarcity of inhabitants in Kerry was no exaggeration, even in 1588. Manpower for the land was a

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.331, 571; SP/63/137/31, 31.1; 138/30; 144/56; 145/27; 146/41.

(2) SP/63/135/81.2; 139/17; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.89; SP/63/140/11.1.

highly desirable commodity. What is important is the assumption, admittedly no more than slightly suggested, that a landlord had possessive rights on his tenant, even to the extent of denying him freedom of movement. The Kerry undertakers were reported angry and apprehensive over Clancare's right to recall his tenants. Perhaps they were jealous as well(1).

The Herbert-Denny fracas was not just over land but extended itself into other areas. Some of these issues will be covered in further chapters, but it is worth mentioning that a frequent angle of attack against a fellow settler was to brand him with the charge of abusing the old inhabitants. To be seen supporting the locals was no bad thing for an undertaker's image. During the early years there was a faint but noticeable competitive spirit among the settlers to prove themselves the true friend and protector of the natives: in short to follow the honourable colonial code in the paternal sense. Remember the phrase repeatedly used by the government to describe the plantation - the re-peopling of Munster. The same note of dutiful aid rang out from the undertakers' reports of their progress. It is a great mistake to imagine such talk was entirely cant. But in the Denny-Herbert quarrel accusations of harshness and cruelty towards the local population could be used simply to add to the dossier of crimes prepared by one against the other. What is significant is that the government saw them as important crimes as well.

After 1590 the dispute between the two ceases to occupy space in the records. The participants were unreconciled but both removed themselves from the field. Herbert left Kerry in the summer of 1589, made a brief visit next year and did not return before his death in 1593. Denny too spent most of his time in England, though both kept possession of their seignories. After a while the feud stopped being over land, since each accepted the other's seignory, but continued over accusations of illegal authority. When the combatants withdrew there was no fundamental issue to keep

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.211.

the quarrel simmering.

One of the many objections to Herbert (there were 14 neatly listed by Sir Valentine Browne and six by Denny) was that he was thought to be "of a turbulent nature". This Herbert denied impassively but it does seem he possessed to a high degree that choleric disposition many settlers showed in Ireland during this period. A later Herbert confessed this was an infirmity to which all Welshmen were subject(1). Another accusation was of Herbert being "Italianated", which appears to have been a coded term of abuse meaning Machiavellian. Herbert's amicability with the local Irish could be seen as subversive and disloyal and the result of acting in a devious, unwholesome and Mediterranean fashion. Equally his marked intellectualism - few letters of his do not include copious classical tags and allusions - and his open citation of Machiavelli in a tract on plantations in Ireland, might have been sufficient to arouse the suspicion and dislike of robust Anglo-Saxons(2). Perhaps Denny's greatest objection to Herbert was his social standing. To be ordered around by "this Welsh knight", this country inferior, was grossly demeaning. Denny was a courtier, as his father had been, and reminded Herbert of his superior rank, provoking a protest that Herbert was equally as noble.

It is clear Sir William Herbert could be an exasperating individual. He managed to alienate nearly all the Kerry undertakers by a generous interpretation of his powers, either as J.P., sheriff or "governor" of Kerry: "he sways all things here and causes others to be little accounted of". He constantly criticised, interfered and meddled. Yet it

(1) SP/63/140/11.1; W.H. Dircks (ed.) The autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1888), p.12.

(2) Herbert quotes Machiavelli twice, on the necessity of force and distinction between colonies and garrisons, though he hurriedly adds a condemnation of "that Italian" for misleading his Prince "out of the highway of virtue", B.L., Harl. MS 35, f.162v; Croftus, p.35. Machiavelli's works well known among English intellectuals by this time, F. Raab, The English face of Machiavelli (1964). Herbert's autograph was Italic instead of usual secretary of this period, further proof of Renaissance scholarship.

was his method and approach which were at fault, not his actions, most of which were justified. He may have been overbearing but authority, he claimed, was necessary to get the right results. His major aim he defined in a twee couplet: "True just make merry / Both Desmond and Kerry." This laudable concern did not exclude the advancement of his own interests. His frequently quoted criticism of the Kerry undertakers - "our pretence was to establish in these parts piety, justice, inhabitation and civility ... our drift now is, being possessed of land, to tyrannise, to extort, to make the estate of things turbulent, to live by prey and pay" - goes on to lecture them for desiring immense seignories, a weakness best illustrated by Sir William himself. To this one can remark that reform and personal interest were not mutually exclusive. Besides, a responsible, scrupulous undertaker who was not self interested to some degree could not exist. The nature of the plantation demanded an ever watchful eye for one's own estate, otherwise one would fail as an undertaker. A sincere concern for reform need not prohibit personal advancement(1).

Other disputes between undertakers are less well documented or indeed sustained. In Kerry, George Stone replaced Ambrose Lacy as the co-undertaker for Ballymacdonnell seignory, which earned Lacy's protests but little else. In Limerick there was the slight Fitton-Bourchier contretemps and in Cork the St Leger-Cooper rivalry over who was to get the rapidly diminishing Kerrycurrihy seignory. Then there were the usual boundary arguments which preoccupied landowners anywhere. In early 1588 instructions had been issued to settle the numerous controversies of this kind between undertakers. Separate evidence is lacking but the endless disputes wearied officials: "So many causeless contentions happen between the undertakers, striving who shall have most when much less were sufficient."(2)

The edifice of new English solidarity was further

(1) SP/63/140/11.1; 137/31.

(2) SP/63/134/15; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.52.

cracked by the undertakers when some of them turned their attention against the Crown. First there was the comparatively simple fraud of obtaining information which proved the Crown's title to lands adjacent to the undertaker's and then slipping these portions in under the general grant of the respective seignory. More sophisticated was the method by which a local inhabitant was deliberately encouraged by the undertaker to submit a title claim for some of his lands. The undertaker would unconcernedly lose his case, in fact offer no real opposition, be evicted and his front man inserted. According to the nature of the deal beforehand, the undertaker could then re-occupy the lands in a private capacity by straight transference (in which case he would have paid his partner at the start) or he could leave them with the new owner (in which case the undertaker would have been paid a sufficient amount instead). Either way the Crown lost its rent. The 1592 commissioners thought they had caught a Kerry undertaker openhanded at this deception.

The method was particularly useful for the tenants of an undertaker. For the small price of suborning an accomplice he could own the land, free of rent, which previously he occupied as a tenant paying rent to his undertaker who himself paid to the Crown. This was possible because often the man on the land would possess the information to defeat a suit of eviction while his landlord, the undertaker, might be ignorant of the same information. The government warned the commissioners in 1595 about undertakers secretly compounding with locals, and alerted them to watch out for cases when settlers did not appear to mind the loss of their lands, or when an undertaker was in possession of lands recovered against him. The commissioners reported that all the undertakers except one were most unwilling to lose any portion of their allotment. Yet it would not require great skill or intelligence to dissemble one's reaction(1).

(1) SP/63/138/30; 200/33; 168/10.1 (p.208); 178/18, 91.

The 1588 and 1592 commissions

Land disputes within the new English establishment, while loudly and publicly expressed, did not begin to match the number of protests from local men claiming their lands had been unjustly awarded to the newcomers. It was reported the moment an undertaker entered upon his seignory he was overwhelmed by title suits and other conceivable legal action. The courts at Dublin were besieged by Munster freeholders submitting their claims. Members of the 1586/87 commission admitted these petitions would have to be once and finally resolved. They had adopted a policy of dismissing all local suits and putting the undertakers into possession, relying upon a short period in occupation to furnish the settlers with enough information to defeat the claimants. All proof from witnesses had been rejected, "for that admitted, Her Majesty should have little land left", yet the commissioners confessed an obvious injustice to some by this decision. The only way the claimants could be pacified was to promise a further hearing. The undertakers too demanded a definitive settlement of these land disputes(1).

It must have come as no surprise to find that the government's response was its tried favourite - yet another commission. But this time the preparations were more earnest, the personnel senior legal officers in England and the intention to provide a decisive and final judgement on the whole business. To pave the way an interim commission was appointed in March 1588 under the leadership of Sir Valentine Browne. Its duty was to alert Munster to the future commission from England, assemble all those who claimed titles and form a list for the use of the main commission(2).

In late June 1588 Popham and Browne drew up instructions for the main commission, in early July the commission was

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.180, 406, 411-12, 426, 456; SP/63/132/43.

(2) SP/63/134/15; drafts of interim commission annotated by Burghley, SP/63/134/17, 18; copies, B.L., Cott. MSS Titus B.12, ff.60-64v; B.13, ff.413-16; Cal. Carew 1575-88, pp.458-60.

announced and in August it arrived in Ireland. Leading the commission was the lord chief justice, Sir Edmund Anderson. He was known for his rapidity in court and a skilful though harsh interpretation of the law. With him from England came one of the barons of the Exchequer and John Hele, an expert from the Inner Temple. Although not a member of the commission, Popham accompanied them to Munster. These commissioners from England were not only selected for their inherent worth but to indicate the finality of this commission's deliberation, for, as Popham said, unless the commission consisted of officials from England, making one short visit to Ireland and then returning out of reach of further suits, there would be no end to the controversies over plantation land. (As we shall see he was wrong about that.) The rest of the commissioners were the usual senior Dublin officials. Also included was the chief justice of Munster, Smythes, an undertaker, while in general attendance were Beacon and Gould, two more undertakers. The instructions for the commissioners emphasised the need for brief and unambiguous decisions. They arrived in Munster around 25 August. For 10 days they waited for business at Cork, then within a week 82 bills were submitted. The commissioners dealt with them within another week and were back in England by 1 October 1588(1).

We possess the results of this commission in detail. Of the 82 bills, six were duplicates, leaving a total of 76 cases. The defendant in all but two cases was the Crown. The great majority of the claimants were the old English of Cork and Limerick: 44 cases concerned Cork land (15 against St Leger over Kerrycurrihy), 20 lands in Limerick, seven in Waterford, four in Kerry and one in Tipperary. Four claimants were new English: Bishop Lyon (three suits), the Earl of Kildare, St Leger and Robert Warre(2).

The most frequent complaint was of mistaken ownership:

(1) Preparations, SP/63/135/43, 45; APC, 1588, pp.151, 153; commission, 2 July 1588, SP/63/135/67-69; Cal. Pat.Eliz., pp.172-74; Anderson, Hele, DNB.

(2) Book of proceedings, 3 September 1588, SP/65/13; abbreviated version, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.14-26.

the inquisitions, it was said, had given the Crown title to lands which the rebel in question had not possessed. A variation of this was the simple assertion that the claimant's ancestors had been quietly seized of the lands. Then there was the denial of the relevant inquisition which had stated the claimant had been in rebellion or attainted. Three times cases concerned that troublesome promise by Perrot in the 1586 Parliament that those who had been pardoned but nevertheless listed in the bill of attainder would not have their estates confiscated. Many times it was claimed the Earl of Desmond had no right to the lands escheated, but only by extortion - the substance of the suits against St Leger for Kerrycurrihy. Four times it was alleged those attainted either had leases from the claimant or were no more than tenants at will; an application of the Crown's own argument used against those on the chargeable lands. Other bills stated that lands had been mortgaged. In several cases Burghley annotated the report with little genealogical trees; a necessary clarification since in two cases the evidence went back to acts of Richard II, Edward I and Henry III.

The results are well known. Every petition was rejected or ignored except for one claimant who was permitted to take his suit to common law. The reasons given for rejection were brief. Occasionally it was stated claims were refused because witnesses were seen as unreliable, or the procedural rules unobserved; but the great majority were rejected with no more explanation than a denial that the petition proved anything against the Crown's title. Clearly Anderson considered the commission's duty to offer no more than his instructions allowed, which was to accept only the clearest cases backed by full documentary proof.

The inevitable effect was to stamp the proceedings an arbitrary judgement and in many cases justice definitely was not dispensed. Some claims were bogus, or at any rate presumptuous - MacCarthy Reagh's claim to Kinalmeaky we have seen to be one. Another arrogating suitor was Lord Roche who offered a number of highly suspect witnesses. His conduct was so rumbustious that he was lectured in public

and placed in prison in Cork until the commission left(1). In summary though it appears indisputable that the commissioners had decided beforehand that claims would be dealt with unsympathetically. An example can be seen in the interrogation of witnesses, some of whom were subject to a series of very leading questions compiled by Hele(2). Modern commentators generally have concluded the 1588 commission acted harshly and with bias(3). It has also been assumed, however, that this was the final judgement on these cases. Certainly such had been the government's intention - the reason for special commissioners from England - but it was not the end result. Ultimately the 1588 commission's role was insignificant. It did not provide an everlasting decree concerning these land disputes; it did not put a stop to the claims and petitions; it failed to halt the growing decrease of the plantation's area.

As soon as the 1588 commission departed to England the petitions and land claims returned to their usual targets: the courts in Dublin and the Privy Council. For the next three years the Privy Council received numerous claims from Munstermen, most of whom had submitted the same cases to the 1588 commission. The Council's response usually was to give orders either for the case to go through the normal legal channels or for the Munster council to resolve the dispute using its prerogative court. This note of ordinary consideration for the claimant was very different from the brusque treatment by the 1588 commission. It is possible to identify more than half the 76 cases dealt with in 1588 which reappear in the next few years, some to have their rejection confirmed

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.59; SP/63/147/16.

(2) Witness depositions exist for seven cases, P.R.O., 30/34/14; P.R.O.I., IA/30/28, nos.723-26; in Sir Owen MacCarthy's claim to Glanecrym compare questions compiled by Hele and Meade (MacCarthy's counsel) and Hele alone, *ibid*, no.725.

(3) D.B. Quinn, "The Munster Plantation: Problems and Opportunities", JCHAS, 71 (1966), p.28; implied by editor, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.26; Bagwell, Tudors, 3, p.198.

but many, as we shall see, to have that order reversed(1). After 1588 there were calls for action to settle land disputes as if the commission that autumn had never been. Further specialist commissions for Munster operated from 1589-91 but it was not until the commission in 1592 that a comprehensive land settlement was made on the scale of the commission four years before(2).

The results of the commission's land adjudication exist in full(3). There were 119 cases, though one covered 21 individual petitions against St Leger concerning Kerrycurrihy. Twenty-seven cases were undecided or else referred to common law or the presidential court. Of the remaining 92 cases, the undertakers obtained 50 favourable decisions and lost 42. If St Leger's opponents are classified individually, as they were in 1588, the result is 50 cases for the undertakers against 63 lost. It is a remarkable conclusion, all the more important because the results of the 1588 commission are much better known(4).

- (1) Forty-five cases traced past 1588; all except two came before 1592 commission; two exceptions: nos. 8, 18 in 1588 commission before Privy Council, APC, 1591, p.239; ibid, 1592, p.176; other case also before Privy Council as well as 1592 commission.
- (2) Intervening commissions between 1588-92 difficult to distinguish: Irish members of 1588 commission continued examining certain land disputes into 1589, SP/63/147/16; 142/33; 145/56, 56.1, 57, 59, 60; APC, 1588-89, p.355; instructions for 1590 commission, SP/63/149/53; APC, 1590-91, pp.119-20; 1591 commission specifically for Kerrycurrihy, DKPROI, 16th Rep., pp.161-62; instructions for 1592 commission, with answers, 21 October 1592, Cal.S.P. Ire., 1592-96, pp.2-12; APC, 1591, pp.435-37.
- (3) Main abstract sent by Gardiner and Wilbraham, 24 January 1593, SP/63/168/10, 10.1; briefer abstract (n.d.), 172/58; the two reports largely the same though 172/58 seems slightly later and provides resolutions to a few undecided cases in 168/10.1; also 172/58 distinguishes all plaintiffs versus St Leger, providing total of 140 cases against 119 in 168/10.1; further comments and information from commissioners, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, pp.2-12, 44-58; more details from book of rents abated from undertakers, SP/63/172/30.
- (4) Kenneth Nicholls has recently mentioned importance of 168/10.1 report for Gaelic tenure, Land, law and society, p.24, n.47.

Forty-six cases concerned land in Limerick (16 won for the undertakers and 20 lost); 33 in Cork (17 won and seven lost, though 28 if St Leger's cases individually assessed); 30 in Kerry (12 won and 14 lost); and 10 in Waterford (five won and one lost). Proceedings were held throughout the province unlike 1588 when the commissioners sat only at Cork. Consequently there were more cases from Kerry and other remote regions. Those undertakers most subjected to suits, and losing the majority, were Billingsley in Limerick, Sir William Herbert, Denny and Champion in Kerry, and St Leger in Cork. They were not always the defendants. Seventeen times the undertakers were plaintiffs, five of them against fellow settlers.

Reasons given for restoring the local inhabitants were because the relevant land was not listed in the undertaker's patent; the plaintiff not named in the act of attainder and pardoned, or named and exempted, or pardoned before being named; proof of mortgaged land; and most often simply sufficient evidence by deeds and witnesses of adequate title. When the undertakers lost land which had been mentioned in their patent, rent was abated accordingly. The total abated came to £123(1). It is evident not only from the commissioners' own comments, but by examining individual cases, that a reasonable level of objectivity was achieved. The commission's instructions had been to find a settlement to the land disputes which would placate the province and the keynote was compromise(2). Compositions were arranged for the Kerrycurrihy and Imokilly chargeable lands which the locals accepted. Many resolutions involved settlements from both parties. Four times the offer of financial compensation or a partial restoration was refused by plaintiffs, hoping to keep their full claims alive by doing so. The only suspicion of partiality concerned the suits against Raleigh. The commissioners practically admitted the greatness of an adversary would alter a conclusion when remarking

(1) SP/63/172/30.

(2) Example of commission's leniency to locals, SP/63/168/10.1 (pp.183, 193-200, 220).

on a Waterford case which had not been submitted to the 1588 commission on the reasonable grounds, according to the 1592 commission, that it would have been doomed to fail against lord chancellor Hatton then alive(1).

What is the explanation for the marked difference between the two commissions? They were dealing with the same type of cases in 1592 as in 1588, many times with the same actual case. Clearly it was not a different legal distinction but a change in policy. The composition of the later commission might have aided the transformation. Gone were the special commissioners from England. Anderson was an expert lawyer but with a reputation for extraordinary quick and stringent judgements. At his shoulder was Popham - not on the 1588 commission but with them at Cork - carrying the chagrin of personal failure as an undertaker. The 1592 commission was led by Sir Thomas Norris, an interesting individual. He knew Munster better than most and although an undertaker made several sharp criticisms of his colleagues' aggressive conduct. While not noticeably favouring the original inhabitants, he took an impartial stance in disputes between them and the newcomers(2).

The other important changes were the replacement of Richard Beacon, the harassed undertaker in Bantry, by Nicholas Walshe and James Gould, two old English lawyers from Munster. Gould was second justice in Munster and Walshe second justice of the King's Bench. The former appointment might not have been too significant. Gould had advised the 1588 commission and in the 1590s attempted to become an undertaker in Kerry. But his more prestigious colleague might well have swayed the commission. As chief justice of Munster in 1584, Walshe had held the initial inquisitions of escheated land, but found his enthusiasm waning as the full implication of the confiscations on his relatives' lands in Waterford was seen. His projected return to Munster in

(1) SP/63/168/10.1 (pp.193-200).

(2) Norris' neutrality, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.110-111; ibid, 1592-96, pp.80, 331; SP/63/159/63; 168/52; accusation that Norris favoured Irish, Cal. S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.322, 430.

1587 was discouraged by the lord president as his neutrality on the issue of land disputes was suspect. This suspicion might have been correct, since not only did Walshe buy (and hold) land off one of the supposed rebels in Waterford which had been intended for Hatton's seignory, he later successfully challenged and obtained substantial parts of Hatton's and Beacon's Waterford seignories. These activities, incidentally, did not harm his subsequent legal career(1).

When all is said, however, the change of personnel would have been of little effect had not the government modified its policy. And in fact most of the legal work of the 1592 commission was performed by Gardiner and Wilbraham, both of whom had been members of the earlier commission. Some time between 1588 and 1592 the government must have accepted the deficiency of the 1588 resolutions. There was a gradual realisation it was no longer possible to reach a final arbitration concerning land disputes. The 1592 commission was designed not only to provide speedy judgements but to clear the blockage of land claims by referring suits to the proper quarters and offering compromises and incentives to abandon others. It was not proclaimed as a final court. The only way an absolute settlement could have been made was to ban all further land claims in Munster, perhaps by Act of Parliament, an extreme step which would have provoked violent reaction throughout the province.

The 1592 commission did not launch the process of resumption by local inhabitants. There had been a number of successful suits against the undertakers before this date, a few of them celebrated cases. One interminable dispute between Condon, an old English landowner with large estates in Cork and Waterford, and two of the undertakers fills a great many of the folios in the state papers of this period. Indeed the Patrick Condon versus Arthur Hyde case became The

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.324; SP/63/163/11.2; P.R.O.I., IA/48/69, no.9 (pp.50, 51, 56); Walshe appointed Dublin councillor 1587 and chief justice of Common Pleas 1597; he died a catholic and his public funeral at Waterford in 1615 caused a scandal, B.L. Harl. MS 697, f.101.

Mousetrap of all land claims, running well into the 17th century, on past the deaths of the original disputants to feature their respective sons. The Condons regained their lands, thereby effectively extinguishing two seignories. The case is interesting only in the division of supporters. In the early 1590s Condon was backed by Raleigh and his tenants (in return for co-operation in the timber trade and favourable leases), the Barrys, and by Ormonde and the Butlers. Hyde had the wholehearted support of the Munster presidency and his neighbour and sometime enemy Lord Roche. Condon was promised restitution in 1591 but had to wait until the rebellion of 1598 when his loyalty was purchased by an undertaking that his case would be heard sympathetically. In fact he joined the rebellion but was pardoned. The final resolution was not until 1610, the matter delayed by president Brunckard's firm defence of his cousin Hyde(1).

Another large resumption case before 1592 was for the lands of Thomas Cam FitzGerald of Clenlishe in Limerick. The point at issue concerned the promise made by Perrot in 1586 that those mentioned in the acts of attainder, yet previously pardoned, would be undisturbed. Eight individuals were named at the time as qualifying to benefit from this provision(2). What about those listed in the acts who could subsequently prove an earlier pardon, but who were not among the eight exceptions actually stated in 1586? Sir Thomas Norris assumed the proviso extended to any persons undeniably pardoned before the acts. Accordingly he restored FitzGerald's heir in 1589. The 1592 commission argued the opposite way and the undertakers regained possession. FitzGerald maintained his claim into the 17th century and was again restored in 1610, though it seems likely he lost some of the lands once more in 1635(3). This FitzGerald should be

(1) Carrignedy seignory.

(2) Names, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.231-32; ibid, 1588-92, p.381.

(3) SP/65/13, no.27; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.257; ibid, 1592-96, p.80; APC, 1592-93, p.138; SP/63/168/10.1 (pp.184-86), 52; 255/57, 57.1, 73, 77.

distinguished from Thomas FitzGerald, Knight of Glin (the Valley), whose son obtained a partial restoration in 1587, having argued that while his father had been attainted and executed it had been for felony before the rebellion, not for treason, and at a time when he was not seized of any of the lands, since his father (the petitioner's grandfather) outlived him. This reversal severely limited the quantity of supposed plantation land in Limerick(1).

After 1592 the trickle of resumptions turned into a flood. The plantation survey of 1611 is the first comprehensive report showing the total amount of lands detained from each seignory(2). The most active years would seem to be from 1592-98. After the 1592 commission had signalled the general reversal from 1588, the old owners would have submitted their claims with increasing confidence. When the inquisitions of 1611 mention a date for resumption of particular lands, more often than not it is in the 1590s. In reality there never came an end to land disputes over the Desmond confiscations. Portions which should have been identified in 1584 continued to be found in the 17th century; lawsuits for resumption were still taking place in the 1630s. Actions concerning Munster plantation land were particularly troublesome since a special commission had to be appointed, and if no resolution reached, then the case transferred to the Privy Council in England(3).

(1) Cal. Pat. Eliz., pp.140, 151; SP/63/154/39; 156/42; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.132; Castletown seignory.

(2) Terminology of resumptions listed in summary of survey, Cal. Carew, 1603-24, pp.253-58, have been misunderstood: editors under impression that when "evicted" and "detained" lands are recorded against a seignory, this indicates Crown confiscations for breach of articles of plantation, *ibid*, p.xxix; same view held by Begley, Diocese of Limerick, pp.201, 206; while another commentator so conditioned by the word "eviction" to mean guilty landlord that she accuses Limerick undertaker of gaining 17 ploughlands when correct interpretation is he lost that amount to local claimants, Mary Duane, "Mount Trenchard", E. Rynne (ed.), North Munster Studies (Limerick 1967), p.336.

(3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1625-32, p.132.

Technically the undertakers should not have lost in acreage after suffering an eviction, because it was ordained that compensation would be arranged by further grants of Crown land in due proportion. But this was another one of those schemes which might have looked well in the devising stage in London yet was ill-suited to conditions in Munster. In short, there was not a sufficiency of Crown land. Applications were made by the undertakers but few were granted. The official policy of compensation by land continued until 1595, but by then the universal action after eviction was to abate the undertaker of his rent(1).

An estimate can be made of plantation land delivered up by the undertaker by using the survey of 1611. The amount of land surrendered is sometimes given but occasionally the place names alone are provided. However, the rent abated is recorded in 20 cases, which when measured against the initial rent expected shows a decrease of 42%. If we apply this percentage decrease to the amount of land contained in the letters patent of these 20 cases, the acreage lost is 70,000. Nine undertakers lost so much land they were abated more than half their rent - six in Limerick and one each in Cork, Kerry and Waterford. When Condon's resumption of 24,000 acres is included the total comes to 94,000 acres. The figures are fairly rough but the conclusion is clear: by 1611 about 1/3 of the whole plantation area had been returned to the local inhabitants(2).

- (1) Example, petition from Oughtred, SP/63/138/33; 178/91; compensatory grants caused further disputes, SP/63/174/75.
- (2) 1611 survey summary, Cal. Carew, 1603-24, pp.253-58; details from inquisitions, P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; IA/48/64, no.4; IA/48/66, no.6; IA/48/69, no.9.

CHAPTER 4. THE FIRST PLANTATION

After his victory at the Blackwater in August 1598 O'Neill was able to spread the rebellion over all Ireland. Connaught rose immediately as did parts of Leinster, in particular the plantation areas of Leix and Offaly. Munster hesitated for a month but all that was required was a catalyst. Suspecting this, O'Neill dispatched Owen O'More with a force from Leix at the end of September. This unit effectively roused Tipperary and entered County Limerick in the first few days of October. O'More paused momentarily on the border, awaiting the reaction of the lord president, Sir Thomas Norris, then with the province's militia at Kilmallock. There was none. In fact Norris fell back from Kilmallock to Mallow in County Cork. At this the rebels proceeded confidently through County Limerick. Their advance was the signal for a general and practically simultaneous uprising in each of the Munster counties with the attack specifically directed against the newcomers. Within two weeks the plantation areas had been overrun and the settlers driven off. Many had fled beforehand at the first prospect of trouble. They moved to the old English towns, or the castles at Mallow, Mogeley, Askeaton and Castlemaine. In less than a fortnight the plantation had been comprehensively destroyed(1).

The numbers of settlers killed was less than some reports would suggest. The standard "atrocious" account is by chief justice Saxey which suffers from sensationalist reporting and the author's tarnished veracity(2). In most cases it seems the English received advance intelligence and managed to escape before the actual takeover in their region. There was no question, however, of taking many goods with them, and frequently they arrived in the towns with nothing

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.280-331; Bagwell, Tudors, 3, pp.302-08.

(2) Saxey already accused of abusing his office, of corruption and of malice against local inhabitants, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1596-97, pp.99, 161, 224, 230, 403; ibid, 1603-06, p.482; his account of 1598 rising, ibid, 1598-99, pp.300-02.

but the clothes on their back; and sometimes not even with these. Certainly some were killed but the great majority of settlers survived. The procedure followed probably was similar to that on Oughtred's seignory. As soon as the news of O'More's force at the Limerick border reached them, Sir Henry Oughtred and his family promptly departed to Limerick city, leaving his manor house defended. The guards did not choose to wait for the rebels' attack and after a decent interval sensibly emulated their master's policy of withdrawal. It was a general accusation later that the settlers had left before the rebels came(1).

To establish the reasons for this ignominious flight necessitates investigating the primary aim of the plantation: to get English families to settle in Munster. At the root of the business lies a question of numbers. The more that came over, the greater the chance the plantation would be a success. This chapter will estimate the plantation's English population, examine the commitment of those who did settle, in terms of investment and application, and finally consider the causes and possible avoidance of the rising in 1598.

Population

The plan of plantation had been for a full seignory of 12,000 acres to be settled with 90 tenants, a total of 91 households including the undertaker. Naturally the government was interested in the progress of tenant settlement; after all, this was the essence of the project. For the first plantation, however, there remains no comprehensive report by government officials, in the sense of the two Jacobean surveys of the second plantation in 1611 and 1622. Commissions were appointed at intervals in the 16th century but no systematic returns of plantation settlement have survived. What is sometimes referred to as the 1589 survey was a summary returned by the undertakers themselves - a different record altogether. From these various reports in the 16th century three units commonly are used, families, households and

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.317.

tenants. Households and families appear interchangeable and for enumerative purposes each tenant listed shall be taken to be the head of a household. (This assumption will be defended shortly.) Further counting units are to be found in the reports, such as "people" or "English", which have to be translated into households for comparative purposes.

The total population comes from the number of households. The question of a multiplier would seem to have been fixed by the Cambridge Group which has found an average of 5.073 persons as the mean English household size, from 1534-1649, including servants with each household(1). This figure can be extended to the English families in Ireland at this period. Some of the settlers' households, it is true, were extremely large, usually those of the undertakers, but when evidence is available for ordinary tenants the average does emerge as five per household(2).

In the late 1580s Burghley received letters from the more powerful undertakers which sometimes contained casual estimates of the numbers of tenants established. But the first general report of any kind appears in February 1589, endorsed "how the undertakers have peopled their lands". The compiler was anonymous and the work more literary than statistical: the undertakers mentioned are graded from "peopled at full" to "well peopled" to "I think peopled" to "it is like he is peopled" to "cannot be sufficiently peopled" to "poor and unpeopled" to finally "I speak not of". At the same time a more helpful report was submitted by Sir Edward Fitton and Sir John Popham. Only 13 undertakers were covered because Fitton and Popham said they were not informed by the remainder, denoting the numbers obtained were put forward by each undertaker. The report listed the numbers

(1) P. Laslett, Household and family in past time (Cambridge 1972), p.138.

(2) Undertakers' households: SP/63/144/68; 145/40, 41, 42; 146/53; Robert Payne, A brief description of Ireland, ed. A. Smith (Dublin 1841), p.8. Sir William Herbert provides total of 107 persons for 21 families, including own household: average of 5.09 per family, N.L.I., MS 7861, f.178.

under the heading of "people" not tenants. These 13 undertakers had a total of 662 people, half being attributed to two of them, Hatton with 200 and Billingsley with 137. Using the multiplier to divide gives a rough total of 132 households. Because of the small number of undertakers covered, this return cannot be used to estimate the plantation's population, but it is of use as a comparison to the fuller report later in 1589(1).

Early that same year each undertaker found himself with 12 articles to answer. This was the government's attempt to discover what progress the plantation had been making. It is indicative of the disorganised, though voluminous, papers on the Munster plantation gathered in London that half the questions asked the undertaker to remind the government who he was, how much land he had undertaken, what the rent was, whether his patents were passed and so on. Numbers eight, nine and ten concerned his settlers. How many English tenants had he in each division (freeholder, leaseholder and copyholder), what were the totals of English and Irish on his lands, and how many English were to come over this summer of 1589? Burghley had initiated the business and in July he issued instructions to the Munster commissioners then in progress to compile this demographic information(2).

The answers came in during the year and a list was made of the available returns in October 1589, giving the impression of an authentic government survey(3). In fact the type of information was similar to Fitton and Popham's report, with the number of tenants planted by the undertaker modestly being supplied by the same undertaker. Some of the undertakers answered themselves while others left it to their agents. Occasionally both the undertaker, still resident in England, and the agent on the land sent in separate (and

(1) SP/63/141/57, 58; latter MS printed D. MacCarthy, The Life and Letters of Florence MacCarthy Reagh (1867), pp.17-18; MS total of 661 recte 662.

(2) SP/63/143/39; 145/59; articles, 145/60; many copies.

(3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.257-58; MS includes rents, SP/63/147/51.1.

discrepant) reports. There were variations too in the units used by the undertakers for the number of settlers. Popham's and Fitton's report had given the numbers of English as "people" and certainly this must refer to the total population not just the household or tenant figures. But the 1589 articles were answered according to each man's preference for a particular unit. Most do appear to respond with the numbers of their tenants or households. No undertenants were mentioned. The demographic reports of the 1580s and 1590s make no attempt to distinguish them from tenants, unlike the 17th century surveys.

The fullest answers give the number of tenants and specify those who have families. William Edward's answer for Hatton's seignory is unusual in giving the names of 25 Englishmen, eight English women and 53 "Irish people descended from English race" - the local Dungarvan old English(1). Certainly the old English were allowed to remain on the plantation land as tenants, but it is clear the 1589 articles were interested only in the numbers of new English tenants settled. This the undertakers appreciated and there seem to have been no attempts to return old English in the totals, as there would be in the 17th century. Other answers provide simply the number of men and in this case each person has been assumed an individual tenant. The undertakers obviously would be anxious to portray their own efforts in the best possible light and if they erred it was not on the side of the lower return. Four times double returns are given; twice there is a variation between the undertaker and his agent; and in both cases the lower return from the agent on the spot must be chosen.

Later on it became the custom for an undertaker in a land dispute to claim he had settled a large number of tenants. The government would be impressed by his dedication and conscious of the political danger of uprooting recently settled English. Equally any opponent to an undertaker would argue that the man had brought over nobody and hence could be removed without trouble. In the process any

(1) SP/63/144/73.

pretence at demographic accuracy is lost(1).

In 1589, however, the undertakers' general truthfulness need not be questioned. Most of the numbered tenants are distinguished by name and could hardly be invented. In any case the undertakers had five years to go before the probationary period was up and were not subject yet to penalties for insufficient tenants. While apparently not guilty of falsifying the returns, most of them did promise prodigious feats of settlement in the near future, specifically that summer. Equally they assured the government that once they had unchallenged title and possession to all the lands within their patent, they could ship over their respective tenants, at the moment in England waiting for the word. This neatly returned the onus onto the government to ensure their successful occupation of the lands. Not all undertakers were optimistic. Three in particular - Oughtred, Bouchier and Sir William Herbert - allowed a distinct note of complaint at their various frustrations to show in personal replies to the articles. The reply most typical of the man was that of Raleigh's whose short, rather vague and detached answers perfectly demonstrate his courtly surprise and faint distaste at being obliged to suffer this investigation(2).

In October 1589 the answers were collected and a summary made. This does not allow us to establish a total population as the summary fails to record tenants for half the full complement of 35 undertakers. Moreover it is unclear whether the units provided refer to English people or households. The only way to estimate the plantation's population is to examine each seignory against all the various reports received in 1589. Fitton's seignory of Knockainy can serve to illustrate this procedure.

Alone among the undertakers, Sir Edward Fitton had written a progress report to Burghley before 1589. It concerned the contingent from the north-west of which he was the leader. In this he stated there were 55 Englishmen on

(1) Good example in Hyde/Condon controversy, SP/63/178/45-51, esp. 49; 202/pt.1/52.1.

(2) See respective biographies.

his full seignory, comprising 15 tenants and 40 persons on his demesne. The February 1589 report on how the undertakers have peopled their land says of Fitton, "he had as I think a good score of people". Fitton's own report with Popham credits himself with 60 English persons. The report of the undertakers from Cheshire and Lancashire in counties Waterford and Limerick, endorsed 2 March 1589, also give him 60 persons of English birth. In May 1589 Sir Edward's own answer to the articles placed 70 English persons on his lands. Further answers in September to the same articles by Alexander Fitton, his brother and agent, provide the names of four freeholders, one of whom was old English, 11 leaseholders and nine male staff in Sir Edward's household besides women and servants. The October 1589 summary fastens onto the 15 tenants and then must have added the Fitton household of nine to produce its total of 24 Englishmen. It is a good example of the summary's inconsistency for when Englishmen are recorded for most of the other undertakers the term plainly refers to the number of tenants not adult English males. Along with the 24 Englishmen the summary records divers Irish tenants on the lands. Hence for the 1589 household estimate the misleading October summary can be ignored and the agent's answer taken instead; that is 15 English tenants. This dovetails well with Sir Edward's earlier returns for total English persons of 55, 60 and 70. Fifteen tenants after the household multiplier equals 75 people(1).

To find the English population on the plantation the same procedure must be applied to each seignory. All tenants are treated as heads of households unless the returns explicitly list them with or without families. The generous assumption that all tenants came with families might seem to be a poor decision. There is some evidence that most migration within England was the act of unmarried people, usually under 25. But the initial settlement of the Munster plantation was a different matter. This was no casual movement from one town to another. Here the undertaker was

(1) SP/63/139/10.1; 141/57, 58; 142/1; 144/15; 146/53; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.258.

expected to arrange for the placement of a complete strata of settlers, from freeholders to cottagers, within seven years. Clearly the only way these instructions could be executed was by the wholesale transportation of families to Munster. Indeed the stipulation of 91 tenants for each seignory was often termed 91 "families" in various memoranda.

The number of tenants with families is given in four instances. Billingsley's tenants in 1589 numbered 35 and 31 had families. The same year Sir Walter Raleigh's tenants numbered 128 and 64 are listed with families. Oughtred meanwhile had 12 tenants, all with families. In 1591 Sir William Herbert's tenants were 20, again all with families. The anomaly of Raleigh's low ratio might be explained by his postscript that many of his tenants had returned to England "to fetch their families"(1). Fairly common was the example of tenants being apportioned land in the seignories, travelling to Ireland to inspect their acres and then returning to England to bring over their families, undertenants and other necessaries(2). The question of the nature of emigration and the emigrants themselves will be discussed in chapter six, but here it is sufficient to assume the great majority of initial tenants either came with their families or arranged for their arrival once the head of the household was safely settled.

The number of tenants in 1589 for the 23 undertakers who answered the articles comes to 512. With 16 resident undertakers the total households are 528. Apply the multiplier and the total population is 2,640(3).

The 1589 report was the first of regular government enquiries into the plantation's progress. Similar instructions to monitor the extent and degree of settlement were issued in 1592, 1594 and 1597. The 1592 instructions were attached

(1) SP/63/145/40; 144/28; 144/11; N.L.I., MS 7861, f.178; references to Englishmen arriving with wives and children in Elizabethan plantation, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, pp.294-5, 305.

(2) Fitton, SP/63/146/53; Hyde, 144/68; Redmayne, 144/53.

(3) See Table One.

to the commission which had been formed primarily to decide the land disputes. Unlike their detailed reports on other issues, the commissioners' answer concerning English tenants on the plantation was unimpressive. At first they stated simply that the undertakers who had passed their patents "have made reasonable good show of English tenants and inhabitants before us". Such vague words could not hope to satisfy Burghley. Back came a letter demanding amplification upon a number of points including the English population: "who those be, or to what number, is not expressed, as the articles of the instructions did require". Forced now to specify, Gardiner and Wilbraham - the two commissioners in Dublin - could only return figures for 12 undertakers. As in 1589 the figures had been obtained from the undertakers or their agents in the late summer of 1592, certifying under oath to the commissioners. The rest of the undertakers either were absent or they and their agents would not offer the names of any tenants. The commissioners explained this reluctance by remarking that none of these missing undertakers had performed the "plot of the habitation so well as these before named have done, which was the cause in our opinions, they would deliver us no names". A diplomatic exception was made for Sir Thomas Norris their fellow commissioner(1).

Even in the first report of 1592 the commissioners had contradicted their impression of "a reasonable good show of English tenants" provided by the undertakers by adding, in the same sentence, that most would not be able to complete their quota by 1594. And the total of tenants given for the 12 undertakers - approved, successful planters - shows no marked improvement on the 1589 estimate. Since three of the undertakers covered in 1592 left no records in 1589 they can be subtracted in order to compare the nine in 1589 with

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, pp.2-12, 45-58; 1592 list of undertakers' tenants, ibid, p.58; list of undertakers and tenants, sometimes quoted as a 1592 return, wrongly endorsed December 1592 by Burghley, ibid, pp.58-60; in fact version of 1589 summary, ibid, 1588-92, p.257.

the same nine in 1592. The total for the former was 167 tenants, for the latter 215. Two of the undertakers in fact had less after three years settlement, the heaviest loss being on Denny's seignory, perhaps confirming the suspicion that earlier returns by the undertakers might have been unduly ambitious. The rest showed slight increases except for Billingsley in Limerick who doubled his tenants from 31 to 66. The overall rise is 13% and if added to the 1589 total of 528 households would be an increase to 597.

According to Gardiner and Wilbraham the unreturned undertakers deserved no such award, for their absence was attributed to their shameful performance in not settling the proper quota of tenants. One important exception, though unmentioned by the two commissioners, should be for the largest undertaker, Raleigh, whose special patent sometimes caused officials to doubt if his seignory need be supervised. There is evidence his tenants continued to increase after 1589(1). Other undertakers probably had not advanced significantly. The commissioners repeated the stipulation that each undertaker of 12,000 acres was bound to settle 91 families before Michaelmas 1594, only to blast such hopes - "few or none will establish that covenant". The 1592 report does give tenants for three undertakers previously unmentioned. These come to 30 and can be added legitimately to the 1589 total. The other nine undertakers increase by 48; with 30 this gives 78 extra households. The total then for households is 606. After the multiplier produces 3,030 English on the Munster plantation in 1592.

The pessimistic forecast of Gardiner and Wilbraham in 1592 about the scale of settlement had been heard many times before that date. The lord deputy in 1591 had doubted the previous estimates of settlement as exaggerations. Wilbraham in particular took on the role of Cassandra. What worried him was not only the likelihood of a severe deficiency of tenants by 1594 but the possibility of undertakers actually abandoning the project once the full rent had to be paid.

(1) Compare Raleigh's tenants at Mogeley 1589, Cal.S.P. Ire., 1588-92, p.170, with greatly increased number in 1590s, N.L.I., MS 6142, pp.96-99.

In the event this last fear became unrealised but the government was preoccupied throughout the 1590s over the number of absentee undertakers(1).

Comments had been made about the principal undertakers not being in Munster in 1588. In early 1589 when the articles were answered about 23 of the undertakers were in residence, the whereabouts of some being uncertain(2). In the next few years their number dropped. By 1595 the Munster commissioners of that year were writing, on the government's instructions, to 15 leading undertakers resident in England, informing them of Her Majesty's meaning that they should reside on their seignories. If not then the lands would be granted to others(3). This penalty was not part of the plantation articles of June 1586, though of course the government could confiscate land any time after 1594 on the grounds of inadequate settlement. Such drastic action never occurred. These 15 (unnamed) principal undertakers comprised more than half the total number of undertakers according to most reports. Of the numerous lists of undertakers compiled during the 1580s and 1590s only once did the combined number top 30 out of the 35 seignories we now know were awarded(4).

The reason for this decline from the late 1580s came from the departure of the more important undertakers whose participation in the plantation was a side interest and did not entail permanent emigration. Men like Raleigh, Herbert, Denny and Billingsley had lands and concerns in England and Wales which demanded their attention. While they visited

(1) SP/63/147/46; 157/20; 163/56; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.145.

(2) SP/63/139/17.1; location of undertakers from separate 1589 answers; for five of smaller seignories information lacking.

(3) SP/63/177/13, 14; 183/96, 96.2.

(4) Exception is figure of 36 undertakers, in fact one too many, provided by Cuffe, 1594, SP/63/174/71.2; in 1601 he produces no. of 35 (recte 32) undertakers, HMC, Salisbury, 11, pp.95-96; in early 17th century Fynes Moryson records 32 original undertakers, An Itinerary... (Glasgow 1907-08), 2, pp.172-73.

their seignories in the late 1580s and established households there, they had no intention of staying. One surprising resident was Henry Oughtred, a leading undertaker, who had widespread commercial concerns in England, but from 1592 spent most of his years in Munster. The majority who remained of course were the servitors and lesser undertakers, men prepared to commit themselves thoroughly to the plantation but often without the necessary influence and capital to perform the covenants, particularly that of planting tenants.

The 1595 commission had been appointed in November 1594 after the expiration of the plantation's probationary period. One of its duties naturally was to report on the numbers of English tenants. Once again the guiding hand belonged to Burghley. The commission got under way in May 1595 and proceeded in the usual manner by asking for returns from the undertakers stating the number of tenants placed and other related information. The results have not been found. While in Munster the commissioners reported no great increase of English inhabitants since 1592; and that is all the demographic evidence we have from them(1). Whatever the actual conclusions, the government remained unsatisfied with the settlement of the plantation. A further commission was ordered in July 1597 but nothing had been done by December when the order was repeated. Incorporated in their instructions was the need for a survey of the Earl of Clancare's lands, the Earl having died in 1596. This was performed in early 1598 and proves that the commissioners did visit Munster. If they carried out their demographic instructions the procedure was very likely the same as in 1595, 1592 and 1589 - that is distribute questionnaires about the numbers of tenants for the undertakers themselves to complete. In any case no returns - if there were returns - have survived(2).

It is difficult to argue for a significant increase of

(1) Cal. Carew, 1589-1600, pp.102-03; SP/63/178/18, 91; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.316.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1596-97, p.329; APC, 1597, pp.280-81; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1596-97, p.480; ibid, 1598-99, p.29; Clancare survey, Lambeth, Carew MS 625, ff.25v-42; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.104.

the English population from 1592 to 1598. Various observers continued to comment gloomily on the inadequate settling of the plantation lands(1). It is true that 15,000 has been suggested as a possible pre 1598 population figure(2). This is derived from an account in 1595 that three years earlier a certificate had been presented by one of the council of Munster which said "there were come over and dwelling there 5,000 able Englishmen, besides the women and children. At first there was more resort hither than hath been now of late ... but howsoever that falleth out, this is certain, that if the lords did duly perform their letters patent and plant their lands accordingly with English tenants (whereas now most of them either still lie void or else are manured by the Irish) the country would in short space be far more safe"(3). What was the full tenant quota demanded by the government after 1594? At 91 households for a full seignory, and with the equivalent of 25 full seignories, the total should be 2,275 households. Past the multiplier this comes to 11,375 persons. Thus even if the undertakers had fulfilled their obligations the amount would be less than this solitary estimate of 15,000, or indeed 25,000 if the multiplier of five is used; whereas all reports, including the one directly above, emphasise the undertakers' general failure over settling enough tenants.

This aberrant figure of 5,000 Englishmen is best put to one side. There had been hopes, in the early planning days,

- (1) For example, Cal. Carew, 1589-1600, pp.205-12; JCHAS, 12 (1906), p.55; contrast Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.429, where Munster described as better peopled in 1590s than in many years before, though 10,000 mustered in 1590 included unnumbered local inhabitants.
- (2) D.B. Quinn emphasises this is a guesswork figure, Quinn, "Munster Plantation", JCHAS, 71 (1966), p.30. Other historians provide estimates of 1,000 or under, Rabb, Enterprise, p.61; K.T. Bottigheimer, English money and Irish land (Oxford 1971), p.12; latest reflection on Munster population, A.J. Sheenan, "The Population of the Plantation of Munster: Quinn Reconsidered", JCHAS, 87 (1982).
- (3) From folio book in library of Sir Thomas Phillips, P.R.O.I., IA/41/59, p.29; slightly different version, B.L., Sloan MS 1742, f.9v.

of a settlement this size. Some time in the mid 1580s one official had surpassed himself by estimating "the necessary people of all sorts" to be 4,200 in the first year, and at the end of the probationary seven years 21,800. But such heights could be reached only by assuming there to be 60 full seignories from the confiscated lands, and the note is unimportant apart from revealing the scale some people were hoping of a strong English presence in Munster(1).

A minor increase in the population is justified by the existence of plantation towns. Tallow was the one new English town of any size, given a population of 60 households in 1598. Five other English "towns" are mentioned in the 16th century: Curraglass in Ralegh's seignory two miles from Tallow, Mallow and Ballabegg in Norris' seignory, Newtown in Cuffe's seignory and Tralee in Denny's Kerry seignory. Newtown consisted of 22 houses in 1592, all English inhabitants, and could have grown moderately to perhaps 30 households by 1598. Ballabegg was said to contain 20 families, which would seem also to be the size of Curraglass. The populations of Mallow and Tralee are unknown. Some of these town households would have been included in our earlier estimates of the general plantation. Using knowledge of each undertaker's commitment, and taking into consideration available evidence, it is possible to permit a further 110 households to be added to the plantation's population by 1598. When joined to the 1592 total of 3,030 the estimated new English population in 1598 becomes 3,580(2).

Although the English population did not increase by much in the 1590s, more undertakers began to reside, alarmed perhaps by the threat of confiscation for absentees issued

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.243.

(2) Tallow, ibid, 1598-99, pp.326, 330; Mallow, ibid, pp.290-92, 324-25; Ballabegg, ibid, p.326; Newtown, ibid, p.331; Thomas Willoughby to Percival Willoughby [1592], Nottingham, Middleton MS Mi Da 57(d); Tralee, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.325; Curraglass, ibid, p.429; leases of tenements to English in 1590s, N.L.I., MSS 6141 (Mogeley), 6142, pp.97-98; map of Mogeley showing portion of Curraglass, 1598, N.L.I.; reproduced by J.H. Andrews, Irish Maps, Irish Heritage Series 18 (Dublin 1978), no.12.

in 1595. That year 15 principal undertakers were living in England. Three years later the picture had changed enough to suggest some reaction to the 1595 penalty. In October 1598, the month of the Munster rising, 14 undertakers were in residence on their seignories(1). Two others were in Ireland though not it seems on their seignories(2). Eight undertakers definitely were neither in residence nor in Ireland(3). But of these, one had a son in residence and another was on his way to Munster when the rebellion broke(4). That is all we can be sure about. Four others probably were in Ireland, most on their seignories; five probably in England(5). One undertaker's seignory had been resumed entirely and for another there exist no clues at all(6). A rough conclusion finds 20 undertakers in Ireland and 13 in England.

Some of the undertakers in 1598 were new men. Nine seignories had different owners, excluding heirs of the original patentees. The Cloghley seignory of Fleetwood and Redmayne had been regained by Condon. Three seignories were sold to fellow undertakers: Beaully by Strode to his uncle Oughtred, Pollycurry by Robins to Arthur Hyde the younger and Kinalmeaky by Worth to Grenville. The Kerry seignory of Tarbert had been sold by Holles to the local conforming second justice, James Gould. Sir Robert Ashfield had acquired Carriglemlery after the death of his partner. Finally three seignories were sold to Englishmen: Knocknamona

(1) Berkeley, Cullum, Oughtred (incorporating Strode), Dalton (bought Knocknamona), Cuffe, Browne, Champion, Norris, Spenser, Thornton, St Leger, Gould, Alexander Fitton; see respective biographies.

(2) Bouchier, Ormonde.

(3) Raleigh, Sir Edward Fitton, Mary Herbert, Billingsley, Trenchard, Denny, Hyde, Grenville.

(4) Fitton, Hyde.

(5) Ireland: Mainwaring, Becher, Conway, Hyde the younger (Pollycurry); England: Courtenay, Charles Herbert, Ashfield (Carriglemlery), Goldfinch (Clandonnell Roe), Sanderson (Castletown).

(6) Fleetwood/Redmayne, Annesley.

by Sir Christopher Hatton's nephew to Roger Dalton in the early 1590s, Castletown by William Carter to William Sanderson of London in 1592 and Clandonnell Roe by Beacon to Henry Goldfinch of London also in 1592(1).

Investment

Commentators on the ignominious collapse of the plantation in 1598 all agreed the undertakers were to blame. It was proclaimed they had failed to carry out the covenants; failed to bring across the correct numbers of tenants, invest sufficient sums of money, devote enough energy to the project; failed, in short, to commit themselves adequately.

Are these fair accusations? Over the fundamental question of numbers the undertakers certainly were far short of fulfilling their obligations. Judgement is less clear concerning their commitment to the plantation. The scale of investment expected by the government for each settler has been seen to be high. At least £2,500 was to be spent on each seignory, this estimate covering only the purchase of necessary stock, living expenses and servants' wages. Not included were the costs of transportation, buildings and the many other outlays. Although the anticipated investment was neatly divided between the undertaker and his tenants, in practice some tenants would have been dependent to an extent on their undertaker. He might have had to arrange their transportation, provisioning for the first year and suitable habitation. However, despite the apparent scarcity of substantial tenants - though examples of well provided men occur on the seignories of Raleigh, Denny, Mainwaring and Cuffe - the extent of aid from the undertaker for his tenant seems to have been minimal. In most cases the individual had to provide his expenses and make his own arrangements(2).

Unlike previous plantation ventures the Munster plantation

(1) See biographies/seignories.

(2) Raleigh, SP/63/144/28; Denny, SP/63/144/10, 24; Mainwaring, SP/63/145/44; Cuffe, Nottingham, Middleton MS Mi Da 57(d).

was not run by a joint-stock company. While this might have ensured greater government supervision - though such as we have seen was haphazard - it did not aid the matter of investment. A company would have had the advantages of encouraging rich non-participatory members and the prospect of a central fund which could be used by the directors to the needs of the whole plantation. As things were, it was left to each undertaker to provide the investment from his own means. Some syndicates might have pooled common resources, at least in transportation. The north-western contingent under Fitton acted as one unit for the first few years. The Oughtred-Billingsley grouping in Limerick co-operated in several ways, as in the transfer of goods and specie to Munster; while extended family ventures such as Popham's south-western syndicate could be expected to work closely together. A dozen or so undertakers do seem to have advanced large sums of around £1,000 each. The evidence is not thoroughly reliable, the amount spent usually being announced by the undertaker in a petition to the Crown for some sort of benefit. A natural line of reasoning would be that those who had bestowed more would receive the more favourable hearing.

The highest outlay claimed was £8,000 by St Leger and Grenville for their Kerrycurrihy seignory from 1586-92. If we include the investment of these two from the 1560s, when they first settled in Kerrycurrihy, plus the (disputed) mortgage loan to the Earl of Desmond, then the figure becomes less incredible though still exaggerated. Other reports by St Leger alone claim lesser amounts: £500 spent by February 1588, rising to £1,000 by 1592. The considerable extent of Grenville's investment in Kinalmeaky, whither he moved in 1589, is demonstrated by Robert Payne's pamphlet. Another undertaker who had to become a mortgagee was Sir Valentine Browne who paid more than £500 to enter his Kerry seignory(1).

The remaining undertakers who provide or are provided

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.33; SP/63/169/6; 135/85; 164/35; Payne, Description, p.8; for Browne see above p.103.

with occasional expenditure figures are Sir Edward Fitton, £1,000 by December 1588; Oughtred near £700 by early 1589; Hatton £1,090 by 1592; Hollis £1,000; Gould £185, then £200 on the seignory bought from Hollis; Cuffe £700 by 1594; Hyde £2,000 by 1594 and £3,000 by 1598; Denny £2,450 in losses by rebellion; and Norris £5,000 by 1598(1). Hollis' claim was a definite exaggeration, while the figure for Hatton covered only building and stock, and his total expenditure would have been greater. Before he arrived in Munster, William Trenchard had been hailed as a young man of good discretion and £1,000 in cash. It can be assumed this amount was sunk into his Limerick seignory. There is one exception to this list of round-numbered estimates. The indefatigable Sir William Herbert found time from disputes with his fellow Kerry undertakers to provide a precise record of expenditure, neatly divided into household stuff, provisions, munitions, stock, transportation costs and cash. His total spent by 1591 was £1,738.7.9.(2).

Some figures can be gleaned giving partial outlays. Becher, for example, complained he lost £200 worth of household goods when his residence was burnt by the O'Mahonys in 1588. Payne confirmed the wide extent and degree of Becher's investment, though his comment was not disinterested, having received a handsome freehold from the same undertaker(3). Those undertakers who must have spent £1,000 or more, but about whom we have no expenditure figures, are Raleigh and Billingsley. After a few years the major seignories were generating a useful rental for the undertaker, some of which would have been ploughed back into the estate; unless the owner was an absentee like Raleigh who leased his

(1) Fitton, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.87; Oughtred, SP/63/144/11; Hatton, SP/63/163/11.2; Hollis, SP/63/184/3; Gould, SP/63/180/50; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.282; Cuffe, SP/63/174/71; Hyde, SP/63/175/74; 178/49; 202/pt.1/52.1; Denny, HMC, Salisbury, 16, p.429; Norris, ibid, 9, p.390.

(2) Trenchard, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.243; Herbert, N.L.I., MS 7861, ff.166-78.

(3) SP/63/144/16; Payne, Description, p.11; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 10/33.

seignory from 1594 for £200 p.a. (This sum excluded a number of fee farm rents.) Herbert had received £170 in rents from his Kerry tenants by 1592. Sir Thomas Norris' widow alleged the Mallow rental in 1598 had been £700, though this figure seems unrealistically high. Strictly speaking these figures are irrelevant to our purpose, since we are concerned here with the amount of initial investment from England(1).

It is reasonable to credit the 15 undertakers mentioned above, excluding Gould, with an average investment of £1,000 for their venture. Those with more can compensate for those with less. The other 20 undertakers - and this is pure guesswork based on the extent of settlement and general prosperity of the seignory - can be awarded an average of £150 for their investment. The more prosperous freeholders, all told, might have spent another £2,000. Hyde reported he knew gentlemen in Berkshire worth £200 a year or more, willing to settle on his seignory. One of Cuffe's tenants was said to be ready to bring £500 with him to Munster(2). Raleigh in particular had freeholders of considerable means. That brings the estimated total investment for the Munster plantation to £20,000. One contemporary report in 1598 that the English in Munster lost £40,000 worth of possessions in three days is difficult to countenance unless land lost is being valued as well. A modern estimate, which compares expenses for other overseas investment in this period, suggests £30,000 as a possible total, though the author assumes there to have been over 60 undertakers. A sum of £20,000 remains the most likely figure(3).

How was this money raised? The only sure way to answer this is by close research into each undertaker's English background, a project deliberately avoided in this

(1) N.L.I., MS 6141 (Inchiquin); *ibid*, MS 7861, f.173; Lady Norris to Cecil, 13 November 1599, B.L., Salisbury MS M[microfilm] 485/14; total unclear in MS; possible alternative £200.

(2) SP/63/144/68; Nottingham, Middleton MS Mi Da 57(d).

(3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.341; Rabb, Enterprise, p.60.

work. Even then one wonders how much would be revealed. Several undertakers were very minor figures hard enough to trace to England, let alone for their financial business to be examined. And when the undertaker is as well known as Raleigh or Denny, is it likely that one could extract from their memoranda an amount earmarked for investment in Munster. Few family papers are so tidily forthcoming. The most we can say is that the 1580s was an easy time for landlords in England. Rents were high and rising, wages fixed and low: an ideal state of affairs for those with estates. Their consequent accumulation of capital saw them on the lookout for profitable fields of investment(1).

Many gentlemen obviously did not have the immediate resources necessary. Young Trenchard with £1,000 in cash would have been an unusual example. Selling land was the normal method of raising money. Hyde and his tenants were said to have realised the greater part of their livings in England to finance the Munster project. Hyde himself alleged he had sold lands and leases worth £200 p.a., though a later report by one of his relatives puts the figure at £160 p.a. (These sales would raise about £2,000.) Officials in Munster commended his expenses in building and drawing over English tenants(2). Though other undertakers must have done the same, unambiguous evidence is slight. In 1588 Sir William Herbert granted a long lease in north Wales for a minute rent but considerable entry fine of £400. Earlier he had mortgaged some of his Monmouthshire land, both actions possibly to support the Munster venture. The suggestion that mortgaging property was a common ploy for undertakers is weakened by the fact the mortgagee in this case was another settler, Herbert's neighbour in Wales, Henry Billingsley the younger. Among the undertakers Herbert was comparatively well endowed, enjoying, he claimed, £1,000 a year. Sir Edward Denny's widow stated he had sold stock

(1) Quinn, "Sir Thomas Smith", Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc., 89 (1945).

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.244; SP/63/178/49; Cal. S.P.Ire., 1600, p.219; ibid, 1588-92, p.515.

and mortgaged property to raise £1,400 for government service, but this could well have referred to his military enterprises rather than plantation. Sir Edward Fitton was in heavy financial difficulties in 1592, perhaps as a result of expenditure in Munster. Selling land was only possible for some of course. Several of the lesser undertakers, especially the servitors, did not have any estates in England in the first place. That is why they were to be found soldiering in Ireland(1).

Besides land, the other great source of capital was London. We have observed the surprisingly small number of merchant undertakers - definitely two, perhaps four. But business involvement was greater than at first appears. Raleigh managed to interest at least 12 Londoners in his plantation. Many of them used their grants of freeholds or long leases (often 100 years) as counters in the rapidly changing Munster land market. An examination of land holdings on Raleigh's seignory in the late 1580s and 1590s reveals a brisk amount of buying and selling between these Londoners and other settlers. Several of the merchants sold out fairly quickly. It is clear that some of them had no intention of emigrating, did not come over even to visit, and had taken the land in the spirit of playing the stock exchange. Those who sold might have made a deft profit. For example, in 1589 Robert Reeve was leased one ploughland and 400 acres for 100 years, which he promptly sold to a settler for £127. It is probable that Raleigh anticipated such action and deliberately approached the Londoners with an offer of land speculation in return for a contribution towards his own investment(2).

Similar activity, though on a much smaller scale, can be glimpsed on Billingsley's Limerick seignory. The under-

(1) Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.155; J. Bradney, A history of Monmouthshire (1907-32), 4, pt.2, pp.286, 292, 297; HMC, Salisbury, 10, p.59; HMC Various Collections, 3, pp.69, 82, 86.

(2) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.48; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.170; N.L.I., MSS 6141-42; seven referred to as merchants; eight from city, remainder from vicinity, List of Deeds, Inchiquin seignory, *ibid.*

taker was a prominent London businessman and it would have been relatively easy to obtain financial backing using this method; though Billingsley was a conscientious planter and took pains to settle sufficient numbers of tenants. The Castletown purchase in 1592 by the Londoner William Sanderson - who does not appear to have resided before selling out ten years later - again suggests an exercise in land speculation(1).

Once the money was raised a large proportion was disbursed in England on materials to be transported to Ireland. Sir William Herbert's detailed list of expenses provides an unparalleled chance to examine the goods an undertaker felt he should bring over(2). In Herbert's case he envisaged Kerry as a land untouched by the simplest form of production. Perhaps he was right in the 1580s. Brought over for his household at Castleisland was every conceivable article, the total being valued at £308. This included plate and jewels at £74 and arras and tapestries at £70. The rest comprised linen and bedding, pewter, brass and iron articles, and various tools. He was well stocked with armour and munitions - body armour, hand guns, pikes, powder and two cannon - to the value of £78. Provisions and victuals sent over amounted to £109, of which £36 was for cloth and £73 foodstuffs. This last item was not a luxury for stomachs accustomed to English food: there had been famine in Munster in 1583. Food was an expensive item for all undertakers since it would take at least a year before any seignory was self sufficient. The cost of feeding Fitton's contingent for one year had been £200(3).

Transportation for Herbert was a less expensive item. A ship, barque and pinace victualled to Ireland and back cost £40, presumably on a form of charter. It was cheaper for the larger undertakers to arrange their own transportation. Few were as fortunate as Henry Oughtred, the Southampton

(1) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6; APC, 1592, p.42; Castletown seignory; Goldfinch another Londoner who purchased a seignory in 1592 but did reside occasionally, Claddonell Roe seignory.

(2) N.L.I., MS 7861, ff.166-78.

(3) SP/63/144/15.

shipowner, who managed to cut transport charges right down for himself and fellow undertaker Henry Billingsley by using his own ship. Smaller men had to take available transport, which sudden demand encouraged shipowners to increase rates from England to Munster. The Privy Council worried that this price rise was discouraging potential settlers and in 1587 ordered restoration of the pre-plantation charge(1).

The highest single expenditure from Herbert's inventory was in cash brought across - £660. The only other figure for specie transported to Munster at this time was £600 on behalf of the Oughtred-Billingsley syndicate(2). The undertakers needed ready monies principally for two outlays, building and stock. Hatton's seignory demonstrates the costs. After Sir Christopher's death the seignory was surveyed by Munster officials who reported he had disbursed £790 on building alone. Two hundred of this was spent on accommodation at Cappoquin including a house of formidable proportions intended for the undertaker. It measured 100' by 20' and was built of stone, but the work was unfinished and the roof not laid down when his agent answered the articles in early 1589. (The size was larger than Desmond's main halls at Newcastle, Castleisland and Mallow.) Hatton's agents had spent a further £590 on buildings including a malthouse kiln. The other main expenditure was £300 for stocking the grounds. The investigating team in 1592 could not discover details of remaining charges, but it is very doubtful if there were separate items more substantial than these for building and stock(3).

This would seem to be the case for Herbert as well. He lists the extensive rebuilding of Castleisland under his instructions, incidentally providing an excellent survey of

(1) N.L.I., MS 7861, f.173; R.C. Anderson (ed.) Letters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Southampton Rec. Soc. 1921), pp.102-06; APC, 1587-88, p.76.

(2) N.L.I., MS 7861, f.173; APC, 1586-87, p.191.

(3) SP/63/163/11.2; 144/73. Newcastle, 81½' by 21', B. de Breffny and R. Ffolliot, The houses of Ireland (1975), p.15; Castleisland, 67' x 32', N.L.I., MS 7861, f.175; Mallow, 60' by 26', H.G. Leask, "Mallow castle, Co. Cork", JCHAS, 49 (1944).

one of Desmond's major castles. In most cases only the walls were standing. All areas had to be re-roofed and the necessary timber shaped. A mill, brewhouse, killhouse and two stables were newly built. Herbert also constructed a garden, hopyard, orchard and "certain walks" round about the castle. A large proportion of the imported cash would have gone on wages and materials(1).

Evidence for new building in the 16th century Munster plantation is slight. The outstanding new work was Mallow castle built by Sir Thomas Norris on the site of an earlier castle, which must have consumed a sizeable amount of the £5,000 investment claimed by his wife after her husband's death. It measured 80' by 30'(2). Few undertakers would have felt the necessity for similar constructions since there were a superabundance of castles, in varying conditions, already existing in 1583. The Limerick undertakers, for example, had 55 castles on their 14 seignories; the Kerry undertakers 21 for their seven seignories. These figures are taken from the letters patent and most of the "castles" would be little more than peel towers. Also a number were ruined by the Desmond war, though destruction was less than the frequent reports of devastation during the rebellion would suggest.

The Peyton survey describes the condition of 15 large castles in Limerick and Kerry. Ten were in good repair, five of them becoming the chief residence of the future undertaker: Askeaton, Corgrig, Rathurd and LoughGur in Limerick, and Killorglin in Kerry. The survey also exists for Mallow in north Cork and depicts the old castle in reasonable repair - the roof was sound, always a good index - though evidently it satisfied Norris for only a few years. Desmond's policy had been to burn his castles to deny them to the enemy, but this action still left the shells from which reconstruction could be made. Courtenay at Newcastle, Billingsley at Courtmatris and Kilmacko, Fitton at Knockainy,

(1) N.L.I., MS 7861, ff.175-75v.

(2) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.143; Leak, "Mallow castle", JCHAS, 49 (1944).

Herbert at Castleisland and Browne at Mollahiffe all repaired and inhabited these castles. It was alleged Browne's repairs cost £330, while Denny's renovation of Tralee abbey, which became his home, took £600. Like Norris, Henry Oughtred preferred to build anew than repair Desmond's castle on his seignory. Unwisely he erected "a fair house" instead of a castle and this was quickly ruined in the 1598 rebellion(1).

When the castles in letters patent to the remaining undertakers in Cork, Waterford and Tipperary are added to the above, a total of 122 is reached. Even though many were in a ruinous state and hardly more than rudimentary towers, they could still provide an immediate habitation for the undertaker. The seignories had been formed of course with this in mind: in Limerick and Kerry most were made up of lands around one of Desmond's larger castles, itself the centre of a manor. While building costs undoubtedly were a major expense for the undertaker, few had to start from scratch. In some cases they had to rebuild from a burnt shell; in others they could move in with few adjustments.

Their tenants were not so fortunate. On the confiscated lands there appear to have existed small settlements at Rathkeale and Newcastle in Limerick, Tralee and Killarney in Kerry, Mallow in Cork and Tallow in Waterford. A few lucky men might have found suitable houses there. Help from their undertaker was ineffectual. There are assertions of such assistance of course. Hollis said the £1,000 invested in his Kerry seignory - definitely an inflated figure - was spent in building. Cuffe wrote he had been building busily to his great cost. An English visitor in 1592 was severe about Cuffe's house building efforts at Newtown: "many more would have been built, if any reasonable man had had it"; though his criticism would seem unfair if Cuffe was compared to the average undertaker. Cuffe did offer, unavailingly,

(1) Patents, DKPROI, 16th Rep., passim; Peyton survey, P.R.O.I., M.5037-39; for Mallow, Berry, "Mallow", JCHAS, 2 (1893); Browne, J. Buckley, "Munster in A.D. 1597", ibid, 12 (1906), p.64; Lady Denny's lands in Ireland [1604], B.L., Salisbury MSS M[icrofilm] 485/22; Oughtred, P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6.

the use of a well furnished castle and other houses to some Dutch settlers he was eager to entice over; but these were to be temporary residences until they had built their own houses. The new English inhabitants of Curraglass had to build their own tenements. Most were simple wooden structures. There are no examples of building leases, stipulating a stone house, frequently demanded from early 17th century tenants in Munster. In 1594 Norris was anxious about the security of English tenants "such as dwell in remote and dangerous places in weak thatch houses, as for the most part they do". The English town at Mallow had thatched houses(1).

The other great expense for the settlers was in restocking the lands. The government proved especially inquisitive about this subject and included a question on the number of stock in the 1589 interrogatories. When the answers came in the amount of stock recorded by each undertaker was endorsed on the outside of each MS, clearly for quick reference. It is significant this figure rather than the number of tenants was distinguished. Re-inhabiting, the authorities knew, meant not only people on the lands but the universal mark of wealth - livestock. Substantial quantities of stock were listed on the seignories; furthermore, evidence of some stock being imported from England. On Grenville's seignory were two English bulls, seven English rams, 12 English oxen and four English horses. Also present were Irish cows, oxen, bulls and horses. Other English imports were bulls on Sir Edward Fitton's seignory and horses for Sir William Herbert's and Hatton's seignories. Promises were made that English cattle would be sent over to the Raleigh, Fleetwood and Mainwaring seignories. Cattle was said to have been sent over to Tarbert in 1587. Norris had English sheep at Mallow. Popham's syndicate was given a

(1) Hollis, SP/63/184/3; Cuffe, 174/73; Nottingham, Middleton MS Mi Da 57(d); Cuffe's offer [c.1588], J.H. Hessels (ed.), *Epistulae Tractatus* (Cambridge 1889), 2, pp.930-31; N.L.I., MS 6141 (Mogeley); SP/63/177/25; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.324.

licence to import 40 horses(1).

In the early 17th century "English" cattle did not necessarily denote imported stock but referred to a breed distinctive from the generally smaller Irish strains(2). When the undertakers report English cows and horses in the Elizabethan plantation, however, the reference is to stock transported from England to Ireland. Only occasionally is there definite proof, as when Herbert mentions English horses on his seignory purchased in England and others taken from his own breed in Wales. Yet the nature of English stock differentiated in the 1580s - bulls, rams, oxen and horses - forcefully suggests these animals did originate from England and were transported for breeding purposes. The sending over of stock was not that unusual. The Bishop of Lincoln, on learning he was to live in Ireland, applied for a licence in 1595 to transport ewes, rams, mares, cows and bulls with intent to develop his own breed(3).

While some undertakers and their prosperous tenants did transport stock, concentrating upon stud animals, most of the numbers recorded in the 1589 answers were brought from local sources in Munster. Many planters owned garrons which were peculiar to Ireland. Herbert purchased Irish horses from his Kerry neighbours. He listed his stock (120 cows, 50 oxen, 200 sheep, 50 pigs and six mares) but did not record their value. If he had transported them, down they would have gone in his detailed inventory. Most lowly settlers would have had enough trouble getting themselves over let alone a number of cows or pigs. And there was stock enough in the province already. Writing to drum up

(1) Grenville, Fenton, SP/63/144/74, 15; Herbert, N.L.I., MS 7861, f.172; Hatton, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.199; Raleigh, Fleetwood, Mainwaring, SP/63/144/28, 31; 145/44; Tarbert, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.411; Norris, ibid, 1598-99, p.330; Popham, APC, 1587-88, p.76.

(2) Moryson, Itinerary, 4, p.193; G. O'Brien (ed.) Advertisements for Ireland (Dublin 1923), p.26.

(3) N.L.I., MS 7861, f.172; B.L., Landsdowne MS 78, f.32.

settlers for Grenville's and Becher's seignories in Kinalmeaky, Robert Payne makes it clear that newcomers were not expected to arrive with animals, but could buy all varieties cheaply in Munster(1).

Nevertheless the fact that some transportation occurred is indicative of the extent of investment by the first planters. Transportation of animals on any scale cannot have been an easy business. Those who did persevere were showing their determination to build anew in Munster. The introduction of new stock, with the emphasis on breeding, was to have profound effects on the Munster economy in the early 17th century.

The 1598 rising

With a population of 3,500 newcomers spread out through four counties, the success of the Munster plantation depended on the political acceptance of those in the province towards the new settlement. It cannot be said such a general attitude was visible in the 16th century. But the reactions of local inhabitants to the changes in Munster were not uniform throughout the 1580s and 1590s. Three distinct responses can be distinguished: indifference from 1583 to 1586, less conciliatory from 1586 to the mid 1590s, more aggressive from thereafter until the rebellion.

In the first period the province was quiescent. The mood was largely passive, the people inert after years of war. Famine in 1583 had produced a debilitating effect, to put it mildly, which did not encourage pursuits above the struggle for daily existence. There was a general acceptance of the Desmond confiscations ranging from enthusiastic complicity to resigned acquiescence, since it was not realised until mid 1586 that the bulk of the lands would go to English settlers. We have seen how the confiscating teams depended upon local help from juries and land agents. The attainted individuals were mostly dead while those rebels who survived had obtained the pardons for life and estates lavishly distributed during the war. Various old English

(1) N.L.I., MS 7861, f.176; Payne, Description, p.8.

saw that now would be the time to retrieve land previously occupied - wrongfully it was claimed - by the Earl of Desmond. Irish magnates took the opportunity to assert ownership of all escheated areas within their tribal lordship. Those landowners who had aided the Crown imagined their services would be rewarded by grants of attained land. It was in all these men's interests to support the confiscations. Many did achieve their desires. There was no reason why these individuals should feel distressed by proceedings in the mid 1580s.

In 1586 it became apparent most of the lands would go to Englishmen and many of the expectant old English ^{would} be disappointed. Little incidents began to disturb the stillness. Once or twice the surveyors experienced an unwelcome reception. Juries for the new inquisitions in 1586/87 were not as co-operative as in 1584. Real change came after the harsh conclusions of the 1588 commission on land disputes. The most dramatic reaction was on Becher's seignory in Kinalmeaky. One of the dismissed O'Mahony claimants moved in and burnt Castle Mahony, now the undertaker's residence, also removing £200 worth of possessions. The dissidents remained in the region, unhampered, from September 1588 to March next year, their presence naturally discouraging potential settlers. Some followers of MacCarthy Reagh, another frustrated claimant to Kinalmeaky, were reported robbing Becher's men. Further west more MacCarthys under the direction of the Earl of Clancare were making life uncomfortable for the settlers on the Clandonnell Roe seignory around Bantry. Along the Blackwater valley there was similar harassment of undertakers by Roche, Condon and FitzGibbon. The forms of attack were robberies, physical assault short of killing, burnings and in the case of Spenser a boycott organised against him(1).

After the 1592 commission with its favourable verdicts to many petitioners individual protests against disposal of the lands may have become less marked. In fact to delineate

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.131, 346; SP/63/144/16; 146/45; 144/67; 145/19.

a society sharply divided between newcomers and contentious locals is misleading during these early years. Many undertakers quickly got sucked into local disputes which meant favouring locals at the expense of other settlers. We have seen how the Condon wrangle had Pyne and Raleigh behind the old Englishman against Arthur Hyde. Raleigh patronised a MacCarthy claimant to the Muskerry lands; Herbert supported the MacCarthys against Browne and the O'Sullivans in Kerry(1).

It was agreed Munster was noticeably lawless but violence was not only between the two groups of settlers and old inhabitants. Neither were aggressive tactics confined to the latter when disturbances did break out between them. Sir William Herbert accused English soldiers of fomenting trouble in order to justify their existence. Another undertaker, justice Smythes, commented on the "indiscretion and rashness of some Englishmen" in provoking a fight between themselves and Condon's followers. Lord Roche claimed he had been the victim of a longbow attack ordered by two settlers, the arrow fortunately plunging into the ground between his legs; though we may suspect this last flamboyant detail. Norris' complaints against his fellow undertakers and their unruly settlers were numerous(2).

Yet the reaction to the newcomers in this second phase was specific not universal: an individual attack, usually legal though occasionally violent, conducted by an aggrieved person against one undertaker. These offensives resulted from a belief of personal injustice not from a conviction the settlers had no general right to the escheated land. Moreover, the nature of attack was more shadow than substance: in all the above disputes no-one was killed. In many cases what occurred was the sort of fracas common to a raffish border county in England.

By the mid 1590s the attitude had changed. The first record of English people being killed is in 1594. (This is

(1) Herbert particularly cultivated link with Irish, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.501, 568, 527-47 (tracts); SP/63/140/11.1; 141/17, 37.

(2) Smythes, SP/63/168/3; Roche, 141/26.

to ignore a few "domestic" murders of Englishmen by their servants; the dispatching agent was poison and one supposes these were routine villainies to be found anywhere.)(1) The killings in 1594 were both of English settlers by groups defined as rebels, indicating the political nature of the act. This new development shook the undertakers in Limerick when the first crime occurred and a posse was immediately formed. Two months later Nicholas Browne reported the Earl of Clancare's illegitimate son - the same who had troubled the Clandonnell Roe seignory at Bantry - had killed some of his tenants and generally terrorised his lands. Sir John Dowdall later dated the increasing lawlessness in Munster leading up to 1598 from this outbreak. The decidedly anti-plantation nature of the movement began to show itself in 1596. Two Englishmen, including a parson, were killed and two others mortally wounded by a group in Limerick, whose leader, it was said, vowed he would not leave an Englishman's house unburned or the occupier alive. In December, FitzGibbon the White Knight, launched his men against Fitton's household at Kilmanahan, and Lismore in Waterford, leaving several dead settlers and ruined buildings. This group also looted Roche's property so the animus was not exclusively anti-English. Earlier that year there had been a spate of robberies against settlers living in Kerry and in "corners of the province" and hence easy prey(2).

Action was taken against these outbreaks of course. The provost-marshal, George Thornton, undertaker for a minute Limerick seignory, killed some Purcells in Limerick while other rebels were captured, which provoked Rory McSheehy to kidnap an Englishman and announce to Sir Thomas Norris that the hostage would be hung unless the prisoners were released within eight days. The communication has a jaunty confidence

(1) SP/63/168/3; non fatal poisoning, 1592, Nottingham, Middleton MS Mi Da 57(d).

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.278; SP/63/177/29 (some of Browne's tenants were O'Sullivans, JCHAS, 12 (1906), p.64); tract by Dowdall, 1 March 1600, B.L., Royal MS 18.A.Lvi, f.10; SP/63/188/64; A.B. Grosart (ed.) Lismore Papers (1886-88), 2, 1, pp.10-13; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.476.

about it which marks the new mood of the dissidents in 1596: "I will burn, spoil, kill and hang as many of your countrymen as I can catch"; it is signed "yours as you will use". "Your countrymen" - again the specific national identification(1).

The logical conclusion to the anti-plantation campaign came after the Munster rising in 1598: reoccupation of the plantation lands by the dispossessed or their relatives. Oliver Stephenson, a servitor and settler, married to an Irishwoman and probably a catholic convert, had remained on his lands at Dunmoylin after the rebels had entered County Limerick. Very soon he was summoned by James FitzGerald - nephew to the last Earl of Desmond and recognised as his successor by the rebels - to appear before him, as Ulick Wall laid claim to his estate. Stephenson sent his wife to the rebel earl and simultaneously a prudent letter to Sir Thomas Norris explaining his predicament and hoping his conduct would not be taken as disloyalty(2).

Unchallenged reoccupation by old families must have taken place on the lands hurriedly vacated by other settlers - in effect most of the plantation since Stephenson's position was unusual. Apart from Patrick Condon's resumption of Hyde's seignory, actual evidence is lacking, but it is more than likely heirs of the attainted men would have come forward to repossess in most regions.

Commentators as different as Fynes Moryson and the Annals of the Four Masters agree that the driving force behind the Munster rising was hatred of the plantation and the English settlers(3). The statements of those involved

(1) SP/63/196/69; 195/11.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.299; description of property confiscated from Hugh Wall, 1584, P.R.O.I., M.5038, p.100; Dunmoylin inexplicably excluded from plantation and leased to Stephenson as private individual not undertaker, Cal.Pat.Eliz., pp.90, 159.

(3) Moryson, Itinerary, 2, p.219; J. O'Donovan (ed.) Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the earliest period to the year 1616 (Dublin 1851), 6, p.208; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600-01, p.124.

confirm this motive as a primary cause but add other reasons. The rebel earl accused the English administration of deliberate cruelty and mendacity enabling the courts to hang hundreds each year. The lack of justice experienced by Piers Lacy, a man well trusted by the government, prompted him to guide the rebels into Limerick. Other general motives for joining the rebellion were a fear of insecure titles and the campaign against concealments conducted with buccaneering aggression by Dublin officials, seen by one contemporary as a primary cause of the Connaught rising in 1598(1).

That the Munster rising occurred when it did was because of the arrival of O'More dispatched by O'Neill after the Blackwater victory. Hence the south became another theatre of the nine years war. The war's "official" causes, eventually proclaimed by O'Neill, were accepted by many in Munster: less English authority, greater control over their own affairs and freedom of religion. Few in Munster were so explicit as Fr Archer in publicly denying the Queen's sovereignty over Ireland. It is hard to decide whether the predominant motives for the Munster rising were adoption of the general ones formulated by O'Neill or peculiar to the province such as the plantation issue. In any case O'Neill was quick to endorse the cause of Munster's dispossessed and announce the restoration of pre plantation land ownership. Without the specific grievance of the plantation the rising would have been less immediate and not so well supported(2).

Faced with such overwhelming opposition it may not seem surprising the plantation was overrun so quickly. This was not the opinion of observers. Everywhere the same accusation was heard: the undertakers had not only fled but failed to fulfil the covenants for a militia force on each seignory. One of their harshest critics, Fynes Moryson, declared the

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.288; Cal. Carew, 1601-03, p.78; Lacy: Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.286-88; Dunnaman seignory; Udall to Cecil, B.L., Add. MS 19831, f.3.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.317; for general causes see Philip O'Sullivan Beare, Ireland under Elizabeth, ed. M. Byrne (1903); divisions between loyal and disloyal Munstermen, ibid, p.51.

settlers should have had 2,000 men in arms, whereas Norris could only find 200 men in October 1598. Hugh Cuffe, the Cork undertaker, said that each seignory was bound to arm 20 foot and 10 horse. He assumed there to be the equivalent of 20 full seignories, which produces a total of 400 foot and 200 horse. Further statements in the 1600s put the covenanted number at 150 to 200 soldiers per seignory, and 600 foot and 300 horse for the whole plantation. All were wrong. Actual military requirements in the covenants were for every full seignory to provide 15 horse and 48 foot. The 35 seignories equalled 25 full seignories, giving a plantation militia figure of 1,200 foot and 375 horse. Moryson may have taken the correct ratio but computed as if for 32 full seignories (his imagined number of undertakers) which would have given him the total of 2,000 soldiers(1).

In theory it was just possible for the undertakers to have provided the officially required number of 1,575 armed men by arming every single male in the plantation. Naturally this was not remotely the situation. A speculative estimate for the number of armed settlers would be about 300. Those who might have possessed arms and been regarded as comprising the seignory's military force did not stay to test their training. There are three references to able bodied settlers who formed themselves into units once they had reached a point of safety. Francis Berkeley selected 120 men from the Limerick settlers for the defence of Askeaton; Norris reported he had 100 settlers in Cork city, all potential soldiers; Cuffe defended Kilmallock with 80 tenants and servants(2).

Even if the undertakers had performed their military stipulations the result would not have been that different. The number of O'More's forces in Limerick vary from writer

(1) Moryson, Itinerary, 2, pp.172-73, 219; HMC, Salisbury, 11, p.95; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1603-06, pp.226, 472; ibid, 1625-32, p.680; covenants, ibid, 1586-88, p.87; SP/63/168/23.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.347, 309, 280; HMC, Salisbury, 11, p.94; O'Sullivan reports Mollahiffe bravely defended by 30 men, Ireland, p.116.

to writer, the lowest figure being 830 and the highest 3,000(1). A militia force of 1,500 settlers with the backbone of Crown garrisons already in Munster might have challenged them successfully. But these rebels were simply those entering Limerick and do not include the vast numbers in Munster who participated in the uprising. Once the Lock province had joined the rebellion then it did not greatly matter if there were none, 300 or 1,500 Englishmen in arms.

(1) O'Sullivan, Ireland, p.115; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.280, 293, 300, 316-17.

CHAPTER 5. RE-ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH

There was little change in Munster for a year and a half after the October 1598 rising. The Crown forces remained confined to the walled towns and a handful of castles. At times these places were besieged - Kilmallock until early 1599, Mogeley for four months, and Castlemaine, the only outpost in Kerry, until the summer truce in 1599. The progress of Essex in the spring of 1599 did not alter the insurgents' general control of the province. In fact their position became stronger. Castlemaine was captured in November and in the first few months of 1600 O'Neill himself camped in the heart of County Cork. The arrival of Sir George Carew as lord president in March 1600, replacing Sir Thomas Norris killed the year before, marked the revival of Crown fortunes. That summer Waterford and Limerick were largely cleared of rebels and Carew marched into Kerry recapturing castle after castle. This campaign broke the back of Munster resistance. In early 1601 his widespread distribution of pardons consolidated the general peace, and the capture of the rebel Earl of Desmond in May 1601 appeared to signal the end of the war. The Spanish arrival at Kinsale in October reversed the situation but, as it transpired, only temporarily, and after their defeat the few remaining areas of resistance were suppressed. By November 1602 there were only a few, very small rebel bands in Kerry. The war continued against O'Neill in the north but virtually had ended in Munster several months before his capitulation(1).

This chapter will examine the return of the planters after the wars, and the changes of seignory ownership. Then the main theme will be introduced which is the steady increase of the plantation's population in the first two decades of the 17th century, demonstrated by a study of the surveys in 1611 and 1622.

(1) Bagwell, Tudors, 3.

The settlers after 1598

Naturally the government desired quick repossession by the undertakers and their tenants: the reappearance of English settlers was essential to the return of normal affairs. After his successful drive through Limerick and Kerry in the summer of 1600, Carew was anxious to see the recovered lands reinhabited as soon as possible. To encourage this process he wanted the Privy Council to order the undertakers' return to Munster. Otherwise the land would remain waste, Crown rents unpaid and the country undefended - not that the settlers had been admired for their military qualities in 1598. Carew repeated his exhortation in January and June 1601(1). At the same time, however, a new arrival in Munster threatened to upset the restoration of some undertakers. This individual was yet another Earl of Desmond, this time the government's appointee sent over to wean support from the rebels' Earl of Desmond. As a son of the "last" Earl of Desmond, the 14th Earl, he had a better claim in blood than his rival, but having been brought up in England suffered the severe disqualification of protestantism(2).

Once the decision to send him to Munster had been made - on Carew's advice with the nervous agreement of Cecil and the Queen - the question arose as to the Earl's Irish estate. It was reasoned he had to be granted honours and wealth otherwise no-one would follow him. At first Cecil thought the Earl could be given select portions of plantation lands. Others agreed. Tarbert, Askeaton and Lough Gur were mentioned. The Queen especially was convinced the Earl could not achieve a following unless he received his father's patrimony. On further consideration, however, this plan was rejected. The Earl "is by nature proud," reflected Cecil, "and if he ever should be suffered to meddle with the undertakers' lands his teeth would water til he had devoured them all". Instead he could be given the lands of unpardoned

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600-01, pp.5, 164, 391.

(2) For earls see DNB under James FitzGerald (1570?-1601) and James FitzGerald (d. 1608).

rebels or a pension. In the event he was awarded a pension of £500 p.a. but his stay in Munster was brief, as he failed to gain any local support, and within a few months was back in England(1).

Though no plantation lands went to this new Earl of Desmond the undertakers were not yet out of danger. Cecil and Carew evidently discussed the possibility of confiscating their lands for the Crown, the justification being simply that almost every undertaker had broken his covenant with the government. The advantage of some confiscation was apparent with the government besieged by petitions for land from a new generation of army officers. Yet Cecil acknowledged the undertakers in turn could claim the Crown had broken its agreement by not allowing free exports or a sufficient defence as stipulated in the articles. In the end nothing was done. To have removed any undertaker would have caused an uproar and among their number still featured politically powerful figures(2).

The possibility of some proscription was not dropped entirely. A standard recommendation of visitors to the province was that the undertakers should fulfil their covenants or be penalised. The government in London was more insistent on this point than the Dublin executive. In 1605 the lord deputy was told to proceed by the course of law against breaches of covenant by the undertakers but it is doubtful if any action was taken. Among the instructions for lord president Danvers in 1609 was to call for a muster of the undertakers' tenants and examine the degree and proportion of lands inhabited; if the articles proved not to be implemented then Danvers was empowered to levy suitable fines. Again there is no evidence of this fine being levied, or indeed any general muster as ordered. In 1611 the commission under Carew was ordered to investigate how the government might take advantage of the "notorious" lapses of the Munster undertakers in order to provide land for

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600, pp.343-44; Cal. Carew, 1589-1600, pp.407, 445, 447, 460-61, 463, 497.

(2) Ibid, p.407; ibid, 1601-03, p.17; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600-01, p.301.

transplanted Ulster Irish(1). As we know, such a transplantation did not occur; neither was there any confiscation from the undertakers despite confirmation of their poor performance by the 1611 commission. All these threats went the way of similar pronouncements in the 1590s. Not only was no undertaker removed but their arrears of Crown rent waived, for most until the summer of 1605 and in some cases until 1610(2).

Not all undertakers had fled to England after 1598. Four remained on the executive in Ireland: two in Dublin, Ormonde and Bourchier, and two in Munster, Thornton and Norris. The last was killed in action in 1599. Francis Berkeley, the hero of Askeaton, remained of course, being knighted by Essex in 1599. Other undertakers who elected to stay on in Munster had a difficult time adjusting themselves to their impoverished status. These gentlemen were Cuffe, Hyde, Cullum and Alexander Fitton. Hugh Cuffe had been a temporary commander at Kilmallock in the early stages of the war but fell from favour during Essex's lord lieutenancy, or so Cuffe later assured Cecil, and he left for England, hence escaping any implication with his kinsman Henry Cuffe, Essex's secretary executed in 1601. After the fall of Essex, Hugh Cuffe returned to Munster, though in the lowly role of a commissary. The position universally desired by these landless men was captain of a company. Cuffe petitioned for one, as did Arthur Hyde a fellow Cork undertaker who fought for two years as a private individual alongside his son and two servants. In neither case was a company available, but Hyde was awarded a minor job. Fitton fought in the ranks, while Cullum did manage to get a company in 1601(3).

- (1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, p.515; ibid, 1603-06, pp.296, 305; P.R.O., 31/8/201, p.141; B.L., Harl. MS 697, ff.168-68v; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.73.
- (2) Ibid, 1603-06, p.472; cancellation of arrears: ibid, 1606-08, pp.256-57, 347; ibid, 1608-10, pp. 121, 374; P.R.O., 31/8/201, pp.257-59, 275, 310; SP/63/240, letters dated 30 January, 10 February, 22 April 1610.
- (3) Henry Cuffe, DNB; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600-01, pp.228, 238; APC, 1599-1600, pp.108, 522; SP/63/207, pt.1/54; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600, p.219; Cal. Carew, 1601-03, p.145.

The majority of the undertakers, nevertheless, had left Munster with some alacrity after the October 1598 rising. Ordered to reinforce them in April 1599, Essex replied the settlers already had fled to England. Initial attempts to persuade them to return proved unsuccessful. They remained unconvinced when Cecil conveyed to them Carew's reports in 1600 of a pacified province. A few did return such as Nicholas Browne who was given a company in 1601. But at the end of 1603, long after O'Neill's submission, 16 undertakers were alleged still to be in England(1). After this date, however, there occurred a general repossession of the plantation lands. Some undertakers did have genuine difficulties in obtaining their estates once more. In a period when immense legal complications arose over removing any individual in actual occupation of land, there were bound to be obstacles after an interval of four or five years. When Sir John Davies visited Munster in 1606 many undertakers and settlers petitioned him for quick repossession of their lands. In some cases too the returning undertaker had problems of accommodation. The Kerry undertakers in particular suffered from devastation by the rebels. In 1600 Carew found Denny's house at Tralee and Sir William Herbert's repaired castle at Castleisland, both considerable structures, razed to the ground, as well as other castles in the district(2).

The re-establishment of the plantation then was an intermittent affair marked by little government direction. No new conditions of settlement were issued nor any change of the old format. Though criticisms had been made in the past about the widespread area of settlement nothing was done to provide a remedy. In fact, of course, nothing could be done short of confiscating further tracts of land. One

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1599-1600, pp.13, 30; Cal. Carew, 1589-1600, p.485; ibid, 1601-03, p.17; Cal.S.P. Ire., 1601-03, p.61; ibid, 1603-06, pp.107-08; SP/63/215/116; list of absentee undertakers, Cal. S.P.Ire., 1603-06, p.116.

(2) Cal. Carew, 1601-03, pp.82-83, 95; HMC, Salisbury, 14, p.274; B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.163; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1603-06, p.472; ibid, 1600, pp.366-67.

of the many commentators on the 1598 debacle recommended replanting with a continuous block of English settlers. The local freeholders within and between the seignories were "weeds ... being placed in the bowels of the undertakers and thick amongst them". The original plantation should not have allowed their intermixture, "as the Israelites were with the Canaanites (which bred also great confusion) ... Therefore pluck up the weeds". Such simplistic commands were impossible to execute. Attempts to deal with the "intermixers" had failed and been dropped as long ago as 1587. However the same advice was tendered by the two pundits of the Elizabethan plantation, Gardiner and Wilbraham, who also wanted the undertakers to take out new patents with explicit conditions to perform the covenants. No such action was taken. Some attempt was made by the government to inform itself of plantation conditions in the first year of James' reign. Commissions were to be sent to the province and the undertakers summoned to Dublin to record their patents. But surviving records concerning the plantation in Dublin were reported to be minimal, the majority of the undertakers were still in England by that date and it is doubtful if an official commission did visit Munster in these early years. After this initial burst of supervision the government resigned itself to letting events take their natural course(1).

Changes of ownership

A total of 11 seignories changed hands between 1598 and 1611. The terminal date of 1611 marks a full scale enquiry into the state of the plantation and hence is an accurate record of ownership in that year. Five were in Limerick, four in Cork and Waterford, and two in Kerry. In Limerick there was withdrawal of the merchant interest. Billingsley sold to an army captain, Oughtred's heirs to a fellow undertaker and relation, George Courtenay, and William Sanderson of London, who had purchased Carter's seignory in 1592, sold

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600-01, p.136; ibid, 1603-06, pp.260, 107-08; SP/63/215/116.

to a gentleman from Kent in 1602. The other two sales were by the Fittons of Cheshire. Sir Edward Fitton, one of the original undertakers and leader of the north-western contingent, had died in 1606 in England. Obeying the will his son promptly sold the Irish lands to pay off family debts. The buyers were the Earl of Thomond and some local old English. The smaller Fitton seignory also was sold at this time to local buyers(1).

In Cork and Waterford the big sale was Raleigh's three and a half seignories to Richard Boyle, clerk of the Munster council. Boyle's nefarious activities over land deals in the 1590s finally had called forth official retribution and he was imprisoned in England in 1599. He recommended himself somehow to Sir George Carew who was appointed lord president of Munster in December 1599. It was Carew who plucked him from ruin and appointed him clerk of the provincial council in 1600. From then on Boyle never looked back. Carew was delighted with his energy and application and acted as a broker in the Raleigh sale. Raleigh and Carew had many opportunities to meet at Court; both came from the south-west and had innumerable acquaintances in common. Raleigh had invested a fair amount of money and time in the late 1580s, but soon tired of his Munster venture and in the next decade sought to withdraw. He awarded a number of large estates in fee farm and then from 1594 leased the entire seignory to various Englishmen in succession for £200 p.a. In 1596 there was even an agreement to sell all Raleigh's Irish lands for £2,000 but the deal was not effected. Raleigh probably overestimated the scale of devastation after the war years and certainly was too pessimistic about the length of time before a profit could be worked once more from the lands. Boyle was to show that. Yet Raleigh needed the money quickly and it must have been Carew who tipped off Boyle that here was a supreme chance to acquire a great estate at a low price. The sale was made in 1602 when Boyle agreed to pay Raleigh £1,500 for his Munster seignory.

As was not unusual the money was to be paid in three

(1) See respective seignories.

equal instalments. Before the second payment in September 1603 Raleigh had been imprisoned and was then attainted, his estates thus falling to the Crown. Boyle moved fast to avert the negation of his purchase, and by judicious bribes and further payments managed to complete the transfer successfully(1). In later years, however, he came under attack over this transaction, from the Crown on one side and Raleigh's widow on the other(2). Boyle's payment to Raleigh had been for the inheritance of the seignory. He also had to buy out the current lessee of the seignory, an army man who had been granted Raleigh's lands for 31 years from 1600 for £200 p.a., and various portions sublet by the same lessee. The main lease cost £340 to resume and two portions traced account for a further £400. Working from the list of subleases, the total extra paid by Boyle to free his estate, irrespective of the original freeholds, fee farms and long leases granted by Raleigh, was probably in the region of £1,500. Even at £3,000, twice the supposed sum, Boyle's purchase was still a great bargain(3).

The other three seignories which changed hands in Cork were Carriglemlery, Carrigaline and Clandonnell Roe. The first was sold in 1605 by Sir Robert Ashfield to a thrusting local lawyer, Sir Dominic Sarsfield, chief justice of Munster. Most of Carrigaline had been sold by Walter St Leger to various new English, including Boyle, the remainder to local old English. In the early 1600s Clandonnell Roe was sold by Henry Goldfinch for £300 to the neighbouring undertaker across the border in Kerry, Sir Nicholas Browne. Goldfinch

- (1) Sale, Chatsworth, Boyle patent book, pp.37-44; T.O. Ranger, "The career of Richard Boyle, first Earl of Cork, in Ireland, 1588-1643" (D.Phil., Oxford 1959), pp.55-56; leases, N.L.I., MS 6141.
- (2) Crown attack, Ranger, "Boyle", pp.218-19; Raleigh claim, Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, pp.263-68; 2, 2, pp.157-59; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 15/8; first Boyle letter book, 1629-34, pp.379-92.
- (3) Leases, N.L.I., MS 6141; Boyle later claimed he was forced to pay £2,700 to former tenants, N. Canny, The Upstart Earl (Cambridge 1982), p.20.

retained the Clandermot lands around Bearehaven.

In Kerry the two seignories with different owners in this period were Stone's and Champion's small estate called Ballymacdonnell at the end of the Dingle peninsula, and Holles's seignory at Tarbert on the Limerick border. John Champion - Stone disappears from the records - sold to Boyle in 1606. Holles sold his seignory to James Gould in the early 1590s, but Gould was unable to obtain a patent, being born in Ireland. He died in 1600, when the seignory devolved to the Crown. Holles resigned his interest, whatever that may have been, and although a custodiam was granted to an army man, the lands soon were reported to be uninhabited. In 1607 the seignory was granted at a nominal rent to Patrick Crosby who undertook to settle there O'Moores and other Irish transplanted from Leix.

Boyle's purchase of another seignory illustrates a growing procedure. The very act of purchase from a fellow undertaker broke the plantation articles, one of the stipulations being that no undertaker should hold more than 12,000 acres. But with the government taking no action against more serious charges, such as insufficient settlement, it is hardly surprising that nothing was done over this infringement. The process had started in the 1590s when Strode sold his Limerick seignory to his uncle and neighbour Henry Oughtred. After 1603 Oughtred's widow in turn had sold her two seignories to George Courtenay, again a neighbouring undertaker and relative. As we have seen, Beacon's seignory, or most of it, was bought by the Kerry undertaker Sir Nicholas Browne. In the early 17th century a number of seignories, six in all and portions of four others, were to become the property of the period's most acquisitive landowner, Richard Boyle.

In many reports at this time the seignory at Castleisland in Kerry was designated the property of Sir Thomas Roper. In fact the owner was the descendant by marriage of the first undertaker. Sir William Herbert's only child and heir was his daughter Mary, who had followed her father's restrictive commandment in his will that she should marry another Herbert, by choosing that man of many parts, Lord Herbert of

Cherbury. He granted a lease of the whole seignory to Roper in 1608 for three lives, the last of which (Roper's wife) expired in 1640. Roper was the stereotype of a breed of men which flourished in the period after the nine years war: army officers who realised that now was the time and place to pick up an estate and achieve the acme of a younger son's ambition and become landed. These veterans were similar in aims and position to army men after the Desmond rebellion, but their numbers were greater and they also succeeded in recruiting some of their troops to remain and settle in Munster. Those undertakers fortunate enough to have had companies during the war were particularly anxious to encourage this movement. We will return to this point in a moment(1).

Besides Roper, other army men who slipped into seignories were Sir John Jephson, Sir John Dowdall, Sir Francis Slingsby, Sir Charles Coote and Lord Audley. All had been captains during the war. Three of these men were lucky enough to marry into their seignories. Jephson won the greatest prize by his marriage to Elizabeth Norris, heir to the compact Mallow seignory on the Blackwater. Her mother had not lacked suitors herself, after the death of Sir Thomas in 1599, but neither did she want a formidable nature, clashing several times with Carew and emerging the winner. In 1602 she crowned her aggressively independent career as a widow by becoming a catholic. Despite her christian name, Bridget, she was protestant English, the daughter of Sir William Kingsmill of Hampshire(2). This Hampshire connection may have given the entree for Jephson from the same county. Undeterred by the mother's characteristics, he married the daughter in 1607. Slingsby and Coote also married heiresses, the two daughters of Hugh Cuffe undertaker for Kilmore in north Cork. Before his death Cuffe had sold land to Lord Audley, who the moment he arrived in Munster decided to remain and began to petition the government for grants of

(1) See respective seignories.

(2) Cal. Carew, 1599-1600, pp.419, 476, 485-86; ibid, 1601-03, pp.210, 227; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1601-03, p.259; Bridget not yet exclusively Irish catholic christian name.

land. Failing satisfaction, he proceeded to buy lands, not only from Cuffe but outside the plantation area. In Limerick Sir John Dowdall bought Henry Billingsley's Kilfinny seignory some time before 1608(1).

The 1611 commission

Government interest in the Munster plantation, after the first few years of the new reign, was minimal and limited to ritual condemnation of the undertakers' failings, and calls for the covenants to be implemented. With the flight of the northern earls and the confiscation of most of Ulster, attention naturally focused on the future plantation in the north. Munster was relegated to a secondary position. This was to remain the order of interest for the rest of the reign and indeed until 1641. Official investigation into the Munster plantation now became the occasional and minor result of government teams despatched to Ireland for the primary task of reporting on the Ulster plantation. For example, six surveys were made of the latter plantation during James' reign but only two of these covered Munster.

The projected Ulster plantation did force a selective revival of interest in the technicalities of the Munster plantation in order to apply similar covenants for the north. The Munster undertakers held in socage, enjoyed an initial freedom from rent and could export goods without paying customs for a limited period. So then should their Ulster counterparts. Some changes were suggested. The Munster collapse in 1598 was not the perfect advertisement for a model plantation. The Ulster tenants should not be distrained for Crown rent which their undertaker failed to pay; this policy, it was said, had wasted many seignories and undone many private men in Munster. The major differences between the two plantations lay in the nature of confiscation: in Munster the escheated lands were fragmented while in Ulster the government had complete counties to dispose of as it wished. The anonymous author of the paper comparing and contrasting the plantations recommended reserves for the

(1) See respective seignories.

Ulster Irish, unlike Munster, where he said it had been thought good policy to scatter the Irish among the English newcomers hoping they would become anglicised. As we have seen, the policy was nothing of the sort but, despite government backing, attempts to remove the "intermixers" had soon proved impossible(1).

One interesting connection between the two plantations was the number of ex soldiers settled on the Munster plantation lands applying for land as servitors in Ulster. Sir John Jephson and Sir Francis Berkeley, both owners of Munster seignories, specifically were invited to participate, but the general policy was to discourage this move north. Even so, about a dozen Munster servitors were anxious to belong to the Ulster plantation and three undertakers were in fact granted portions - Lord Audley, John Bouchier and Francis Annesley(2).

The first of the two Jacobean surveys to include the Munster plantation occurred in 1611. The former lord president, Sir George Carew now Lord Carew, was appointed leader of the commission and his brief concerned the Ulster plantation to such an extent that an enquiry into Munster was mentioned almost as an afterthought, and then the reason given simply to enable the government to confiscate land necessary for transplanting the Ulster Irish(3). Carew left Dublin for Ulster on 30 July and was in Ireland until October. He did not visit Munster. In fact to talk of a Munster survey is strictly inaccurate. The procedure followed was for the vice-president, Sir Richard Moryson, to hold inquisitions at five towns in the province where local juries returned details about the respective seignories. His route described a half circle from Mallow on 7 August to Castleisland on the 10th, Kilmallock on the 20th and Mogeley and Tallow on 30 August. At the same time he reviewed

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, p.325; ibid, 1608-10, pp.356-59.

(2) Ibid, pp.364-68, 428.

(3) Ibid, 1611-14, p.73.

masters of the same seignories. The resulting information was forwarded to Carew.

A table of the inquisitions' conclusions has survived and is printed alongside the muster lists(1). It has been assumed these are the only records of the 1611 investigations of the Munster plantation, but transcripts of the original inquisitions do survive(2). All the seignories are mentioned, but for one, Lough Gur in Limerick, there is no report in the volume of inquisition transcripts, forcing reliance on the printed abstracts taken from these same inquisitions.

For demographic purposes - at least to enumerate the plantation's total population - the inquisitions are not particularly useful. For some seignories only the main tenants are listed and not the numerous undertenants. For others, such as the two seignories of Kinalmeaky, both tenants and undertenants are recorded. A total of 483 tenants can be counted from the inquisitions. A further 90 English undertenants are listed, most of them on Grenville's and Becher's seignories in Kinalmeaky. Occasionally a few undertenants are recorded on other seignories but not for Boyle's estates around the Cork-Waterford border, which we know from other evidence were densely settled with new English.

Where the inquisitions are useful is in establishing the number of old English and Irish as tenants. Identification is by name only, involving some guesswork with borderline cases. Besides the new English tenants given above, there were 38 old English tenants in 1611 plus another possible five. These old English tenants are never distinguished from the new English, though occasionally at the end of a seignory's report the jurors might mention that the leases are granted to persons "being descended of English ancestors and name", which was no less than the original

(1) *Cal. Carew, 1603-24*, pp.253-58; other muster lists, *ibid*, pp.88-91, 121-22; T.C.D., MS 808, f.18 (total only).

(2) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16 (Cork), IA/48/64, no.4 (Kerry), IA/48/66, no.6 (Limerick), IA/48/69, no.9 (Waterford).

articles allowed. Most of the old English appeared on the Limerick and Kerry seignories, but only one seignory (apart from the portions of seignories sold or recovered by local inhabitants) had as many old English as new English tenants, which was Mayne in Limerick.

Thirteen tenants were Irish. Once or twice their names are lumbered with the disapproving phrase "being of the name and nation of mere Irish", but most are not separately distinguished. One who was spotlighted was Manus McSheehy, resident on Boyle's lands. Boyle was fast establishing himself as the model undertaker and clearly was uncomfortable about his presence. He represented McSheehy to the jurors as an exceptional case, being one of the Crown's pensioners and moreover not really Irish but Scottish. This desperate attempt to avoid the taint of Irish ancestry technically was correct as the McSheehys were a gallowglass family originally from Scotland - three centuries earlier(1).

The jurors mention "divers mere Irish" as undertenants on the seignories with monotonous regularity. Only a few seignories escape the stigma, not even Grenville's which had a total of 72 English tenants and undertenants. The number of undertenants on each seignory is difficult to estimate but an attempt will be made later in this chapter when dealing with the 1622 survey.

When it comes to computing the plantation's population the muster list must be used. The total number of English households from the inquisitions, 573, is an underestimate. On Boyle's seignory, for instance, his total of 79 is much less than the realistic amount of households settled. In 1611 Moryson took the musters of 29 seignories. The missing six were Cloghley and Carrignedy (from Condon's resumption), Tarbert, Kilcolman, Ardagh and Pollycurry. The last three were credited with 14 English tenants in the inquisitions. The number of men mustered for the seignories officially was 731. Berkeley and Boyle produced an extra number above their required quota of 59 and 420 respectively, giving a grand total of 1,210 men.

(1) ^{P.R.01} N.L.I., IA/48/59, no.16 (p.165).

As with all musters the reliability of the returns must be questioned. It was in the undertakers' interest to present the fullest possible number, as failure to meet the quota was breaking the articles. There had always been temptations to increase the size of musters during this period, in Shakesperean England as well as Ireland. In 1600 Carew had been warned of two sly manoeuvres common on muster days: captains hiring either townsmen or Irishmen just for the day to make up the correct number. The latter ruse might have been employed by some of the undertakers in 1611, but on balance probably not. The musters were reviewed by Moryson, an experienced official used to such deceptions, and the majority of the returns were small, making such tricks hard to conceal(1).

The names for one vast muster have survived, that of Boyle's assembled at Tallow, which comes to 522 men. Among these appear 11 old English and two Irish - in all a proportion of 2.5% of the total. Boyle's lands were the most anglicised in Munster and some of the other seignories would have included a higher proportion of local men in the muster. Three in fact should be excluded entirely as their owners were old English and their musters, a total of 21, probably contained few English(2). For the remaining seignories a guesswork figure must be applied for the proportion of old English and Irish in the musters. It would seem to be fairly low. The essence of the musters was to find the number of able settlers fit to act as a militia for the security of the plantation. Who were such men? Patently the English protestant tenant and none other. If cohorts of old English had lined up before Moryson there would have been comment of some sort. A sprinkling should be accounted for; and as the proportion on Boyle's seignory was 2.5% then 5% seems a reasonable proportion for the non English element throughout the plantation.

Rather than subtracting though, the population figure should be increased. Four times the number of men mustered

(1) Cal. Carew, 1589-1600, p.483.

(2) Knockainy, Ballygibbon, Swiffin.

for a seignory is less than the number of English households deduced from the inquisitions. Grenville and Becher had 58 and 57 mustered men respectively, but 72 and 73 English households listed in their inquisitions. Denny in Kerry had 29 mustered but 45 households; Jephson at Mallow 32 mustered and 44 households. There was nothing illegal about this. The undertaker was bound to produce 63 men for a full sized seignory and there was no compulsion to arm and muster all English males on his lands. Only enthusiasts like Berkeley and in particular Boyle went to such lengths. The difference between the total mustered from these four seignories and the number of English households is 58, this figure being neither men nor households. The household multiplier is generally accepted to be five but there is no similar consensus for a muster multiplier. Estimates have ranged from three to 6.5. If we take four to be the muster multiplier the extra total population derived from this difference comes to about 260 persons(1).

The total number of men mustered for the plantation was 1,210. Excluding 21 from the three suspect seignories, but including 14 from the unreviewed ones, and then estimating the old English and Irish representation at 5%, gives 60 men to be removed, leaving the final figure at 1,143. Apply the muster multiplier of four and the result is 4,572. Add the additional 260 persons and the English population of the plantation in 1611 is 4,832 or, to the nearest thousand, 5,000(2).

(1) Robert Carew, writing in 1602, followed "Bodin's rate" for a muster multiplier of three, R. Carew, Survey of Cornwall (1749), p.57; E.E. Rich chooses four, Econ. H.R., sec. ser., 2, 3 (1950), pp.247-66; 6.3 for W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640, (Cambridge, Mass. 1958), pp.11-13; six, referred to as conservative multiplier, by W.G. Hoskins, "English provincial towns in the early 16th century", P. Clark (ed.), The early modern town (1976), p.103; 6.5 by W.G. Hoskins, Old Devon (Newton Abbot 1960), p.87. Our choice of the lower multiplier justified by presumption less number of unmustered protestant males in Munster, where they were at a relative premium and vital for security, than England.

(2) See Table Two.

To equate this figure with contemporary reports is an awkward business. A perverse selection could be made, one estimate contradicting the other. For example, in 1607 the Bishop of Cork stated the country was still wasted after the war. Thousands of inhabitants had emigrated and from Cork city west to Bearehaven the country virtually was uninhabited. He was referring to the local population not the settlers, but the implication is that there were few of any nationality. The same year Fenton reported many English families in Munster "and many do daily flock over". Earlier in 1604 justice Saxey had stated flatly there were not 10 Englishmen fit for militia service in Munster. This could hardly have been the case but he was exaggerating in order to demonstrate the scarcity of English freeholders and the consequent risk of predominantly Irish juries, a theme Saxey played on mightily(1).

It is clear, however, that increasing numbers of English were arriving in the province during this first decade of the 17th century. Another reference in 1607 indicated group emigration to Munster in the last few years and in 1610 the Privy Council acknowledged the recent and large scale emigration of English to Leinster, Munster and Connaught. About the same time an English visitor to west Cork stated there were above 2,000 English households in the Bandon/Baltimore region. In early 1611, before Moryson viewed the musters, Sir George Flower applied to become muster master-general of the Munster settlers, and he stated there were "at least" 5,000 English householders, most of whom "old soldiers that have served here in the last rebellion". The estimate is almost five times as much as the total mustered that summer. As with Saxey, Flower was anxious to exaggerate his figure in order to gain his point that there were thousands of idle fellows waiting only for a muster-master to organise them. Yet his assertion has its worth in emphasis, not least for the information that most of the

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, pp.132, 191; ibid, 1603-06, p.227.

settlers were ex soldiers(1).

Flower's remark opens up the question of continuity between the first and second plantations. What little evidence there is produces an unsurprising conclusion: the movement of resettlement was at its strongest in the south-east and weakest in the north and west of Munster. Information is minimal and confined to those four seignories with significant lists of 16th century settlers, with which to match the 17th century records in the 1611 inquisitions and elsewhere. The method is not subtle, being simply to find the same surnames thereby supposing continuity. Only in a few cases are the same individuals located in the late 1580s and in 1611 - not surprising considering the 20 year interval - and there has to be some measure of inaccuracy over identifying their descendants in the 17th century by surname alone. Of Sir William Herbert's 21 tenants in 1590 only three definitely and one possibly can be seen in the 17th century. (Nevertheless there were about 15 Welshmen on both the Herberts' seignories in 1611 which suggests their emigration in the original plantation.)(2) Sir Richard Grenville mustered 106 men in 1589 but only four are identifiable in the second plantation(3). Sir Warham St Leger's similar muster of 48 have seven continuing on the land in 1611(4). The fullest evidence comes from Kalegh's settlement. His list of 148 settlers in 1589 provides 49 names which can be traced into the 17th century - a continuity average of 29%(5). These

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, pp.242-43; ibid, 1608-10, p.451; SP/63/234/2; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.53; after Moryson's 1611 muster the government ordered muster-master to be appointed to hold plantation musters twice a year, B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.140v.

(2) N.L.I., MS 7861, ff.177-78 for 1590 tenants; 1611 names, P.R.O.I., IA/48/64, no.4 (pp.13-21).

(3) 1589, SP/63/28/39; 1611, P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16 (pp.185-99).

(4) 1589, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.199; 1611, P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16 (pp.150-58).

(5) 1589, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.170-72; 1611, P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16 (pp.158-66); IA/48/69, no.9 (pp.39-44); Boyle's muster, 1611, Cal.S.P. Carew, 1603-24, pp.88-91.

figures alone cannot support firm conclusions. The majority of seignories lack evidence even so patchy. For the Limerick seignories there is no way of divining the extent of continuity between the two plantations. Yet the faint picture drawn is what we would expect, with the greatest continuity lying in the accessible south-eastern region.

Although more of Raleigh's tenants remained on the seignory into the 17th century this was also the area which saw the greatest number of fresh English settlers. Many emigrated directly from England but large numbers comprised the "old soldiers" referred to by Flower. Boyle's muster in 1611 had no less than 26 officers, and a great many of the 500 strong rank and file must have come from their old companies. Boyle clearly encouraged this settlement of veterans. On his Waterford lands, of the eight major tenants, five were army officers. Even before Boyle bought Raleigh's lands there were army men present: the lessee of Inchiquin seignory from December 1600 was Captain William Newce who quickly sublet portions to two fellow officers(1). A list compiled in 1608 of those captains discharged in 1603 reveals at least 12 men involved in English settlements in Munster. Another six army captains can be identified settled in the province(2). It was in the government's interests of course to encourage any decision to remain in Ireland. Not only did servitors add a military backbone to the plantations but granting them offices or land enabled their pensions to be cancelled and some expenditure saved. As for the rank and file the authorities were only too anxious to avoid their return, and misgivings were voiced about England's domestic quiet becoming shattered with the

(1) P.R.O.I., IA/48/69, no.9 (pp.39-44); N.L.I., MS 6141 (Inchiquin).

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, pp.538-39; Audeley, Percy, Berkeley, Kingsmill, Jephson, though designated living in England spent most of their time in Ireland; six extra are Flower, Skipworth, Wenman, Roper, Crofts and Adderley.

appearance of veterans of the Irish wars(1).

The 1622 commission

After the 1611 survey, injunctions to the Munster government to record the degree of settlement probably continued throughout the decade but there is no proof of any action being taken apart from the establishment of a muster-master for the English on the plantation lands. Then in 1620 under the energetic lord president, the Earl of Thomond, orders went out from his council to sheriffs of each county to visit undertakers in their jurisdiction and obtain lists of the tenants supposed to have been settled according to the articles. If returns were made they have not survived(2).

The growing national dissatisfaction in Ireland with the abuses of government sanctioned by St John, lord deputy from 1616 to 1622, encouraged Sir Lionel Cranfield to apply there his reforming zeal. The commission dispatched in 1622 examined all aspects of Irish affairs with uncommon thoroughness and their inspection of the plantations, Munster included, was the fullest ever in detail. After spending the spring and early summer in Dublin some of the commissioners dispersed into groups to examine the various plantations, three of them touring Munster in August and September. These individuals were Sir Thomas Penruddock, Sir Henry Bourchier and Dr Theodore Price. Earlier lists of those who were to visit the province included Sir John Jephson and other Dublin councillors, but the eventual team consisted of the three men from England. Identification is important because both Bourchier and Jephson were undertakers in Munster, the former at Lough Gur and the latter at Mallow. Both generally were absentees, though Jephson had spent many previous years in residence. Bourchier's presence does not appear to have mollified the group's harsh conclusions

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, p.551; HMC, Salisbury, 12, p.314; list of skills and professions recorded for draft of 575 soldiers arriving in 1608 indicates government's hope they would remain in Ireland as settlers, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, p.5.

(2) B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.104; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 9/79.

concerning the Munster undertakers. At the end of the survey report they appended eight specific defects of the undertakers, one of which was the debilitating effect caused by absentees; of whose number Bouchier, with his life spent at Dublin University and then London, was the most glaring example(1).

The commissioners examined 32 seignories, seeming to visit each area except for Ballymacdonnell at the end of the Dingle peninsula, the route to which was impassable from excessive rain. The three they ignored were Tarbert in north Kerry, Swiffin in Tipperary and Knocknamona in Waterford. The omission of the first two is understandable but not Hatton's original seignory around Dungarvan. In fact Boyle's diary tells us the commissioners did visit the area but catalogued it under the general return for Boyle's Waterford lands. Boyle had bought the western part of the seignory some years previously. With some of the smaller seignories the commissioners did confess to general ignorance concerning portions of the lands in question. The fate of Rathurde seignory sold to numerous buyers utterly perplexed them, as did Castletown also in Limerick, and Pollycurry and Clandonnell Roe in Cork, the last remaining uncertified "because we know not where to find the lands"(2).

Their report provides a variety of information. The history of ownership is traced for each seignory, alienations and evictions recorded and the condition of buildings sometimes distinguished. Most of the space is devoted to lists of tenants on each seignory. Usually names are provided as

- (1) Penruddock, Bouchier and Price named as the Munster inspectors in survey report, B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.133; these three met by Boyle in Munster, Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, pp.52-54; Jephson added to list of those about to view Munster, 20 July 1622, Exeter College, Oxford, MS 95, f.123; Kent R/O, Sackville MS O.N., 8546; other names including Parsons added two days later, Sir Dudley Digges to Cranfield, *ibid*, 8446; different version, M. Prestwich, Cranfield (Oxford 1966), p.351.
- (2) 1622 survey calendered, R. Dunlop, "An unpublished survey of the Plantation in Munster in 1622", JRSAI, 54 (1924), pp.128-46, subsequently referred to as 1622 survey; full report, B.L., Add. MS 4756, ff.88-97v.

well, without which it would be impossible to identify the old English. Tenants invariably were stipulated to be of "English birth and descent" but this definition, as in 1611, did not exclude the old English. Irish tenants were separately distinguished and reprovngly named. No more than half a dozen Irish were so identified, though five other Irish tenants can be spotted from the lists of plantation tenants. From the names recorded it is possible to pluck out 55 old English tenants and a further 48 must be added as the probable number among the undertenants mentioned throughout the survey but not always enumerated, a problem we shall tackle shortly.

The commissioners obtained their information from the undertaker or his agent and by then visiting each seignory they could test the accuracy of his claims. In early August 1622 letters were sent to all undertakers to compile a certificate of the state of their seignory. Only one of these certificates survives, that of Trenchard's agent in Limerick. The details correspond with the summary, indicating either the truthfulness of the certificate or the trustfulness of the commissioners, but the extent of information is much greater: for example, from the certificates it can be confirmed that Trenchard's tenants and undertenants, only numbered in the summary, are indeed new English except for one Irishman. The name and number of families on the undertaker's demesne also is given, a detail unrecorded for other seignories in the summary(1).

After their survey report the commissioners offered some observations touching the defects of the undertakers. The first point made is relevant for demographers: "the number of English inhabitants upon their lands is greater in show than in substance; by reason that one and the same is tenant to three or four undertakers and sometimes to the same undertaker: first as a freeholder, next as a leaseholder and lastly as a copyholder, yea, and oftentimes one undertaker is tenant to another". The Limerick seignories were the worst offenders for double entries. For example,

(1) Hampshire R/O, Trenchard MSS IM53/1587.

Winter Bridgeman appears on Newcastle seignory as a freeholder for 240 acres, then leaseholder for 1,200 acres on the same seignory and finally as leaseholder on Currans seignory over the border in Kerry. An old English tenant, Maurice Herbert, appears no less than twice at Newcastle, once at Mayne and twice at Kilfinny, all in Limerick. However the total number of double entries visible comes to just 14.

When the question of subtenants is considered speculation must be allowed. On a few seignories a complete breakdown is provided, showing the numbers, but not the names, of English families each tenant had on his holding. If all the seignories had been given such exact treatment then a more reliable total of English households could be found. Unfortunately a favourite phrase of the commissioners, following the name of a tenant, is "and divers sufficient houses and English inhabitants". Whenever the full number of subtenants is shown, as on Corgrig, Kilfinny and part of the Kinalmeaky seignories, their holdings average around 60 acres, though it has to be emphasised this is necessarily a rough estimate. The same proportion cannot be applied indiscriminately to every seignory, but when other evidence together with the commissioners' remarks connote vigorous colonisation then it becomes a reasonable measure. As before the only way to reach a household estimate is to work through each seignory: extract the old English and Irish, eliminate any double entries, evaluate comments by the commissioners indicating the degree each area was anglicised, count up the given number of tenants, add a suitable proportion of undertenants and finally compute the probable number of total English households.

Ten of the seignories in 1622 presented musters before the commissioners. These tended to be the seignories which enjoyed resident undertakers and, with the exception of Conway's tiny Kerry seignory, the larger more successful ones. One surprising muster omission was Askeaton where the commissioners reported favourably on the energies of the resident undertaker. In the case of these ten, the revised household estimates have been increased to close to the

muster figures. For most examples, especially Boyle's Cork seignories, the household estimate, carefully worked out according to the criteria outlined above, produces totals far less than the musters, whose composition, especially in Boyle's case again, can be assumed to be almost entirely of Englishmen; and this the commissioners confirm(1). In these cases it would seem the method of estimating the undertenants by a rate of one to every 60 acres begets too low a number. For one seignory there is evidence for believing not all the available men were mustered - as indeed there was no compulsion to do so beyond each seignory's stipulated rate. The revised figure for Mallow seignory shows 60 more households above the muster figure of 100. Consequently it does not appear unreasonable to treat the muster total, when higher, as no more than a fraction greater than the revised household figure to which the multiplier is to be fixed.

The total number of households given in the 1622 report comes to 1,527. Of these 121 must be deducted for old English, Irish and double entries. Despite this loss the revised household figure is far greater, being 2,744. Details can be seen in Table Two. The two inhabited seignories of Carrigaline and Knocknamona, only partially covered by the commissioners, have been given speculative estimates based on other scattered evidence. Using the multiplier of 5 the total population of the plantation in 1622 is 13,720 or, to the nearest thousand, 14,000.

The commission distinguished urban households, giving the number of English houses for seven towns: Newcestown 25, Kilpatrick 40 (both unnamed but identifiable), Tralee 32, Killarney 40, Mallow 80, Tallow 150 and Bandon 250 (2). The total is 617 urban households which figure has been included in the above estimates. There were other small

(1) Musters in 1622 survey; but figures for Boyle musters at Bandon and Tallow of 594 and 906 should be raised to 629 and 935 respectively, Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, pp.52, 54.

(2) Figure for Newcestown uncertain but muster of horse names 25 English in 1618, Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 8/187.

towns or settlements on most seignories, notably at Cappoquin, Lisfinny, Askeaton and Newcastle, but their size was relatively insignificant. Another of the commissioners' accusations concerning the entire plantation was that the settlers "for the most part" were not in urban groups but spread throughout the countryside. This confirms our larger revised household estimate. The urban population compared to the 1,527 given number of households is 40%, not the low rate the commissioners' comment would have us suppose. The percentage of town families to the revised total households of 2,744 is a more realistic one of 22%.

Another confirmation for the large increase in the plantation's size comes from the musters. Comparing the ten available in 1622 with their equivalents in 1611 reveals 2,097 to 740, an increase of 2.8 in 11 years. If one applies the same rate to the total plantation population in 1611 of about 5,000 derived from the muster figures that year, then the figure reached is 14,000, approximately the same as our revised estimate of the 1622 figure. Other incidental comments in 1622 noted "the continual increase of plantations" in Munster; and that the settlers there "are much increased and the country doth begin to grow full of English"(1).

The contribution of Boyle to the ten seignories mustered was 1,564 men out of 2,097 - 75% of the total. Over a third of Boyle's proportion came from Castlemahon seignory in Kinalmeaky. He had begun to buy land in the barony in the early 1610s and acquired the north half of the future Bandonbridge town, then called Coolfadda, in 1613. The purchase was completed in 1619 with Henry Becher's sale of the town south of the river and the remainder of his seignory. It was a natural move then to buy Grenvillè's seignory of Kinalmeaky, though it took Boyle four years to finalise the purchase, the matter delayed by Sir Bernard Grenville's prior sale to Cranfield, who resold it eventually to Boyle for an effortless profit. After 1623 Boyle now owned the two

(1) T.C.D., MS 808, f.18; memorandum by Sir Francis Blundell (c.1622), Kent R/O, Sackville MS. O.N., 8540.

seignories of Kinalmeaky, though certain parcels including the castle at Castlemahon remained in other hands.

The other transference between 1611 and 1622 was Mainwaring's Fedamore seignory to the Earl of Thomond. The vendor appears to have been the same Edward Mainwaring to whom it was granted. Thomond also enjoyed a good portion of Knockainy seignory in the same area of Limerick which the commissioners said was well planted with Englishmen(1).

(1) Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-19, p. 358; C.H. Hall, ed., *The Code of Ordinances of Sir William Petty* (Cambridge, 1906), p. 10.

(1) See respective seignories.

CHAPTER 6. MOTIVES FOR EMIGRATION

Elaborate reasons were offered to explain the collapse of the first plantation - government neglect, the popularity of the Irish leaders, inadequate attempts to abolish local customs - but the underlying cause was more simple. With insufficient numbers there was no way the plantation could be made effective. Later generations were to realise this defect and in their efforts to procure enough settlers for Ireland were driven to some desperate measures. The success of the Ulster plantation, wrote one official, depended on a fertility programme for the English whose instructions were "to exceed them [the Irish] in multitude if it be possible". By the late 17th century such hopes of outbreeding the Irish had failed sadly and one English theorist now sought to solve the problem by transplanting one million of his estimated 1.3 million total Irish population to England, leaving the remaining 300,000 to act as milkmaids and herdsmen, in effect running one gigantic cattle range formerly known as Ireland. But this is to anticipate. In our period efforts were concentrated on persuading families to settle in Ireland. The success of the various plantations depended on the degree of emigration from England(1).

What was not generally acknowledged was the difficulty in persuading the right sort of people to cross over. Too often the attitude resembled that of Bacon in his essay "Of Plantations". Bacon had the American colonies primarily in mind, but the policy and experience of plantations in Ireland certainly would have been considered by himself and many of his readers. Not only has there been the shabby mainspring of a profit motive concerning plantations, says Bacon, but the people involved are likewise disreputable. "It is a shameful and unblest thing to take the scum of people and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant: and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation: for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work,

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, p.358; C.H. Hull (ed.), Economic Writings of Sir William Petty (Cambridge 1899), 2, p.551.

but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation." On the contrary, proclaims Bacon, "The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks and bakers" ... and so on. Nowhere does Bacon consider whyever should this latter, settled group agree to jettison successful careers in England to adventure their fortunes abroad. The vagabonds and rogues had all to gain by this course; the prosperous, skilled men all to lose(1).

After 1598, commentators on the Munster plantation echoed Bacon's strictures and repeated his facile recommendation for worthy planters(2). Their arguments suffer from the same central weakness. Of course one of the reasons for the 1598 disaster was the unsuitable nature of some of the settlers; of course the plantation required men of substance and integrity; of course there should be skilled men and not deadbeats in the emigration party. But men must have a good reason for moving, and the more settled and prosperous the life at home, the better the reason. This chapter will catalogue the more conventional of the motives put forward for emigration, and suggest their attraction was insufficient to explain the actual degree of emigration from England to Ireland during this period.

Land

One inducement offered by the government then, and accepted as sufficient explanation by some today, was the prospect of land, especially land for younger sons. The authorities were sensitive to the plight of this last group. Recruitment schemes for the first plantation placed a special emphasis on "the younger houses of English gentlemen" and "the younger children with whom the parents may be persuaded

(1) Francis Bacon, Essays, (ed.) M. Hawkins (p.b. 1972), pp.104-06.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600-01, pp.124-25; Moryson, Itinerary, 2, pp.173, 219.

to bestow some portion towards the stocking of their grounds"(1). The one independent propaganda pamphlet which survives - though there must have been others, in manuscript if not printed - concentrates upon the cheapness and availability of land in Munster(2). Clearly the prospect of land for all groups, from landless men and impoverished gentry to major landowners anxious to acquire further estates, was a strong force in producing settlers, particularly for the first plantation. That plantation land was to be held in socage was seen as an important additional incentive(3).

There were other conditions, however, which made the offer of land not quite as attractive as it sounded. The plantation demanded a substantial initial investment from the undertaker, and his tenants were also expected to put capital into the venture. The consequences have been shown in earlier chapters. Many tenants could not afford the necessary outlay and the cost had to be borne by the undertaker, who in turn often was unable to provide the required investment for his own participation. Hovering around the boundaries of the seignories were potential Irish tenants, willing and apparently able to pay a higher rent than the English settler. Many undertakers henceforth leased their land to the locals, thereby destroying the whole aim of the plantation. In 1587 a government official reviewed the future without enthusiasm: "considering the condition of many associates, the secret and unknown charges, and the unwillingness of honest English farmers to remove from their country and friends for small portions, it may be supposed the articles of replenishing with English people will ... never be performed"(4).

The question of adequate portions was to be one of the

(1) SP/63/121/41, 61; Lodge, Desid. Cur. Hib., 1, pp.57-60; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, pp.411-12; B.L., Harl. MS 1877, ff.50v-51.

(2) Payne, Description.

(3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1633-47, p.272.

(4) Ibid, 1586-88, p.412.

paradoxes of Irish plantations. The only way to encourage English settlers was to offer excessive amounts which then would prove impossible to farm efficiently, plant securely and ultimately hold. After the embarrassment of 1598 the government decided to award smaller proportions for future plantations. The largest seignory in the Ulster plantation was 2,000 acres, a sixth of the Munster size. Inevitably protests arose that people with capital in England would not commit themselves without gainful prospects unobtainable from such small estates(1). Such considerations were a major determinant for the initial Munster planters. The large size of seignories had been questioned in the planning stages but no change was made, probably because of remonstrances from the future undertakers. For these first arrivals the lure of limitless acres often was an adequate incentive. We have seen the enthusiastic response from the west of England. Thirty-nine applicants to become undertakers came in from Somerset alone, for a total of 306,000 acres. These sanguine expectations were the result of general ignorance concerning the extent of the Desmond confiscations. As yet there was no dismayed procession of potential settlers returning from Munster warning them of the legal and financial difficulties. Instead it was to be their fate to comprise this procession themselves for eventually just two of these 31 were to settle successfully(2).

Generous proposals of free land might have been enough to excite the potential undertaker's interest, but what benefit could his tenant enjoy? After arriving at his destination he might be expected to feed himself and his family, in many cases to house himself, and above all start cultivating the land immediately in order to pay rent to his landlord, the undertaker. Although the undertaker did not have to pay Crown rent for the first five years and then only half rent for the next three, his tenants were not so fortunate. Sir William Herbert, for example, received £170

(1) John Carvyle's project, 30 November 1609, SP/63/227/163; but from York not Cork as in Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, p.323.

(2) SP/63/139/53.

in rents from his Kerry tenants from 1587-91 before he had to pay a penny of Crown rent. In 1589 Payne reported that the "worsor sort of undertakers" demanded 1/- an acre rent, which had "discouraged many from the voyage". His accusation was confirmed by the Munster commission's recommendation in 1593 that the undertakers should lease their lands at the reasonable rate of 8d., 6d. or 4d. an acre. Payne contrasts this abuse with his model undertakers, Grenville and Becher in Kinalmeaky, who offered land at 6d. an acre with no entry fine. Alternatively Grenville offered a house and stock (six cows) for 1/- an acre. In north Cork, Hugh Cuffe distributed land at 6d. and 8d. an acre, though he also promised unspecified benefits which his tenants complained were unfulfilled by 1592. But whatever the conditions, rent was expected from the very start. Payne was driven to advise potential settlers to borrow money on arrival in Munster so as to provide themselves with sufficient stock. Presenting suspiciously optimistic figures, he reckoned it was possible for the individual not only to pay off the interest and rent but to live extremely well. The interest rate Payne assumed to be 10%, probably an underestimate irrespective of the likelihood of obtaining any cash loan at all(1).

Then there was the reluctance of the undertaker to grant very long leases, an enticement Payne regarded as essential to attract immigrants. He deplored those who gave only 21 years or three lives and praised 100 year leases. Yet leases this long prohibited at least three succeeding generations of landlords from improving the estate, and naturally this course was avoided if possible. Far more acceptable to the undertakers were Irish tenants, used to short one to three year leases and willing to pay 1/4 an acre for one cow's grazing plus the fourth sheaf, that is a quarter of their corn crop. Hence the continual accusations from the beginning of the plantation that the undertakers were settling Irish tenants. "They care not although they

(1) N.L.I., MS 7861, f.173; Payne, Description, pp.7-8; SP/63/168/42; Nottingham, Middleton MS Mi Da 57(d).

never place any Englishmen there," concluded Payne with a hyperbolic flourish(1).

The question of leases in the first plantation was confused by the situation in late 16th century Munster. Most areas were in the process of emerging from feudal or tribal conditions. In many regions there were no formal leases and in others either year to year arrangements or two to three year leases. Before the plantation, leases on the English pattern would seem to have been uncommon, though information on this topic is scarce. Certainly the government was concerned about the short length of leases permitting a swiftly changing tenant population and hence little social stability. There were periodic calls for all landlords to award 21 year leases as one of the main planks of the anglicisation programme(2). Introduced into this changing society, the plantation landlord naturally was tempted to apply the customary Munster short lease arrangement, so advantageous to him. Even if fewer actually allowed Irish tenancies than Payne's strictures would suggest, many might have tried to impose these short terms upon their English tenants. Thus new tenants had to compete for long leases not only against any landlord's natural inclination but the prevailing custom of the province.

One noticeable feature of the early Munster plantation was the relative scarcity of freeholders. The planners had demanded only six freeholders for a full sized seignory. As the plantation contained the area of 25 full seignories, before local resumption, this would provide a figure of no more than 150 freeholders. Some undertakers were tardy in establishing even their meagre quota and complaints were expressed by judicial officers of insufficient new English freeholders with which to pack the juries. The reason of course was that to establish freeholds was not in the undertakers' interest. Why bestow part of one's seignory permanently and for no rent unless under compulsion? Sir

(1) Payne, Description, pp.7-8.

(2) SP/63/179/48a; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.249; ibid, 1596-97, p.19; ibid, 1598-99, p.396; Falkiner, Illustrations, p.246; Spenser, View, p.81.

William Herbert, reporting on the state of his seignory in 1591, gave detailed information about his tenants except the six freeholders and six tenants in fee farm, the former of which he announced vaguely would be bestowed upon some of his cousins. In fact no freeholds ever were allotted on Herbert's Castleisland seignory as can be seen by the plantation surveys of 1611 and 1622(1).

Most of the undertakers, nevertheless, did grant the requisite number of freeholds. A rough count of new English freeholders in 1622 reveals 100, which taking into account land evictions from some seignories and the extinction of others is about the correct rate for the plantation. Yet their number was not increasing. Boyle tried to buy out some of the Kinalmeaky freeholders and Jephson at Mallow had bought out two of the four freeholders in his seignory and changed them to leases(2).

By the 17th century landholding in Munster approximated more to the English pattern. There were still areas of Irish landlords where traditional services were exacted alongside formal leases and tenures. A good example is Muskerry barony in Cork where inquisitions in the years before 1641 demonstrate some of the independent landowners who held directly from the Crown also owed certain dues and services to the lord of Muskerry(3). It was probably the same with the other main Irish lordships of Duhallow and Carberry in Cork, and in south Kerry. A few of the old customs survived throughout the period even in areas held by the new English. On Kerrycurrihy seignory, purchased from St Leger by Boyle, his tenants paid rent in kind with a third of their corn crop. This seignory though was a special case with its confusing network of ancient rights and dues,

(1) N.L.I., MS 7861, f.176v.

(2) 1622 survey, Mallow.

(3) Civil Survey, 6, Muskerry; P.R.O.I., Chancery inquisitions, County Cork, passim; in lord of Muskerry's surrender and regrant, 1620, references to amount of cows expected from tenants on his daughter's marriage, and hereditary profits, services and customs from various parishes, Cal.Pat.Jas., p.489.

a consequence of the barony's unsettled state in the 16th century with rights disputed between the earls of Desmond, the city of Cork and the local inhabitants. There are other examples of sharecropping on Boyle's plantation lands such as a lease he made to a Tallow tenant in 1617. But most of the new English settlements in Munster had tenancies similar to conventional forms in England(1).

Before we consider the nature of these tenancies, the position of Munster landowners in the early 17th century should be assessed. It is safe to say that the prospect of obtaining cheap land with hope of improvement was still paramount among the richer emigrants. The market recovered quickly after the nine years war and throughout the next generation the price of land steadily increased. If one bought property in the early years and continued to hold without undue extravagance, it was impossible not to prosper. The key to Boyle's success was not only one of residence and unremitting application to the business of managing his estates, but the constant buying of land. Whenever he had the slightest chance he would expand through loans, mortgages or straight purchase. Dazzled by his ironworks and other industrial pursuits, contemporaries tended to forget that very nearly all Boyle's great wealth came from his rental.

More land meant greater prosperity. Writing from Mallow to Sir Phillip Percival in 1634, Thomas Bettesworth repeated this simple equation: "he that hath but a judgement able to distinguish between a white and a brown piece of bread may sensibly observe that purchasing of land is now become one of the best traffics in action. The yearly value and price thereof do so mightily and daily advance that even those purchases which but three years since were esteemed marvellous dear and almost undoing to the buyer are by the contingency of time proved to be now more than saving and very advantageous"(2).

(1) Grosart, Lismore, 2, 4, pp.145-46; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 8/104.

(2) HMC, Egmont, I, p.77.

A year earlier Boyle had said that plantation land worth 6d. an acre was now 3/- to 6/- an acre, an excessive increase even taking into account contemporary inflation. He did not exaggerate. Land prices naturally varied from region to region but all the available evidence shows a steady increase after 1600 until the late 1630s. Land near Kinsale valued in 1610 at 10 years purchase was worth 14 years in 1622. Three purchases by Boyle from 1613-15 were 5½, 6 and 7½ years respectively; in the 1620s nowhere was land below 10 years; in 1637 land near Bandon was going for 17 years purchase(1).

Throughout the period land was cheaper than England, even during the English slump of 1620 when it was reported in Munster that land in England had fallen from 21 to 15 years. Choice land in north County Dublin might go for 20 years, but elsewhere in the Pale it was put at 13 years average in the early 1630s. Later the average in Ireland was said to be 15 years, falling to 8½ years for repellent parts of Ulster. In 1641 Boyle was buying lands in Devon at a rate of 20 years. The author of Advertisements in 1623 stated land in Ireland was four times cheaper than England yet only half the value, and while his figures exaggerate, the assertion that Irish land was of greater worth to purchasers is valid(2).

By the 1620s landlords in Cork could reasonably expect to lease land at the rate of 3/- an acre. A disparate range

- (1) Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, first Boyle letter book, 1631-34, p.611; Kent R/O, Sackville MS O.N., 8441; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, pp.19, 22, 63-64; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 19/119; 20/36*; Mallow seignory valued at 15/17 years 1623 and 16/18 years in 1636, ibid, .13/179; 14/228; second Boyle letter book, 1634-41, pp.131-32, 172-73; comment on general rising value of land, 1634, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1633-47, p.47.
- (2) Grosart, Lismore, 2, 2, pp.244-45; Dublin, travels of Sir William Brereton, 1635, Falkiner, Illustrations, p.377; D.R. Hainsworth, Commercial Papers of Sir Christopher Lowther, 1611-1644 (Surtees Soc. 1977), p.234; Knowler, Strafford, 2, p.90; Ulster, B.L., Verney MSS, M636/3; Devon, Grosart, Lismore, 1, 5, p.182; O'Brien, Advertisements, p.7.

of sources constantly point to this figure. The value increased for enclosed land near a town. The most expensive leases were for meadow land, often 10/- an acre and sometimes more. A good example of rising prices occurs with lands near Kilmacowe, part of the heavily settled Tallow region on the Cork/Waterford border. The portions already let by 1620 averaged 2/6 an acre, while unlet land in the same area was supposed to fetch about 6/8 an acre. Information provided by the Civil Survey indicates that the average acreage in Limerick, excluding the liberties of Limerick city and Kilmallock, was valued at 4/8. The solitary barony surviving for Cork, Muskerry, varied wildly in valuation, but when profitable was about 3/- an acre. East Waterford was awarded a low valuation of under 2/- an acre, the jurors commenting on the hilly, scrubby nature of the terrain, but nevertheless there were some low valley areas, and Boyle leased land near Lismore at a higher rate. Despite the general increase during these years, nowhere did land valuation remotely approach the figure produced by Petty for 1641 of 30/- an acre(1).

Whatever the conditions, the landlord benefited. The period was eminently suited to anyone in Munster able to buy land. Boyle and his fellows were simply quicker to realise that spare funds should be used instantly on further acquisitions. Capital was all. The few occasions Boyle was forced to unadvantageous agreements came from an immediate shortage of cash, and the moment he was solvent again he spared no effort to overturn the arrangement. In 1604 he made a lease of Lisfinny and Tallow to Thomas FitzGerald for 31½ years. The rent was £24 yet in 1609 FitzGerald was taking perhaps ten times as much from the undertenants. (Two similar lists have different rent totals of £280 and £150.) The reason Boyle submitted to the terms of the lease was the £100 fine paid by FitzGerald at a time

(1) Wiseman to Boyle, 26 April 1634, N.L.I., MS 13237 (17); APC, July 1619-June 1621, pp.310-13; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 13/179; Boyle's 1640 rental, N.L.I., MS 6239; Civil Survey, 4, 6, passim; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, p.147; 1, 2, pp.180-81; Hull, Petty, 2, p.599.

when he badly needed cash. In 1611 Boyle commenced a campaign against FitzGerald on the grounds of broken covenants, one being the introduction of Irish tenants. After a complicated legal case, and a composition, FitzGerald was ejected and Boyle repossessed the land in 1613(1).

Land and a degree of application were the simple ingredients for advancement. Those who succeeded were not only the newcomers. Several members of old English urban families chose to put their profits into land purchase, thereby causing, incidentally, the problem of underinvestment for industrial schemes in Munster. One of the most unobtrusive of Irish landlords to rise to considerable wealth was the first Viscount Muskerry. He used no more than the plain components of prudent estate management, mortgages, money lending and careful husbandry. He had a great deal of land to start with, and unusual tribal control over the whole barony, which advantages were denied the newcomers, but he developed his resources with some acumen. At his death in 1641 his riches were universally remarked on(2).

If conditions were so favourable for landlords in the early 17th century was it not the same for their tenants? Concerning new English tenants of the undertakers, it would seem this was not the case. Since the plantation landlords were bound to settle their lands with English it might be supposed they were forced to offer beneficial terms. In the late 16th century this may have been so but once past the first decade of the 1600s the balance of English population in the province shifted and it became a landlord's market. The test of this can be seen in the generally low length of

(1) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 3/11, 12 (rentals), 18, 71-72, 91-92 (summary), 93-96, 115, 119, 128; Ranger, "Boyle", p.116; see *ibid*, pp.116-25, for discussion of Boyle's land dealings.

(2) J.T. Gilbert (ed.) History of the Irish confederacy and the war in Ireland, 1641-43 (Dublin 1882-89), 1, p.68; E. Borlase, The history of the execrable rebellion 1641-60 (1680), pp.84-85; J. Buckley, "The seige of Cork, 1642", *JCHAS*, 21 (1915), p.15; H.W. Gillman, "The rise and progress in Munster of the rebellion, 1642", *ibid*, 2 (1896), p.18; Civil Survey, 6, Muskerry.

leases. The inquisitions in 1611 reveal the overwhelming majority of new English tenants and undertenants possessing 21 year leases. The occasionally longer terms of 31, 41 and 100 years were balanced by shorter ones of 15 or seven years. In the non-plantation areas of settlement it was the same. Most of Boyle's leases were for 21 to 31 years though he did grant higher on special occasions.

It has been suggested recently in a study of Chichester's estates in Ulster that a partial reason for his excessively long leases, which caused economic difficulties in later years since rents could not be improved, was his origin from south-west England where there was a tradition of long lets. It is argued that this system was brought over from the south-west to Ireland as "a substantial proportion of adventurers in Ireland in the late 16th and early 17th centuries came, like Chichester, from that part of England". They did indeed - but the majority of them went naturally to Munster and here the universal pattern was for 21 year leases. It appears the true reason for Chichester's long leases in the north arose from his inability to attract settlers without this allowance(1).

In Munster, as elsewhere, landlords naturally aimed at short leases and economic rents. The occasion when longer leases were granted was during the earlier years of the plantation when incentives were needed to allure suitable tenants. Raleigh was noted for his long leases, many being for 41 years and a few as much as 100 years. Some of his freeholders in turn granted fee farms at 6d. an acre(2). These generous terms caused Raleigh's successor, Boyle, extreme vexation and drove him to some underhand work to repudiate them in the 17th century(3). One valuable lease

(1) P. Roebuck, "The making of an Ulster great estate: the Chichesters ... 1599-1648", Proc. RIA, 79, Sect. C, No.1 (1979).

(2) N.L.I., MSS 6141 (Inchiquin); 6142, pp.96-103; Hennesy, Raleigh, pp.233-39; P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 2, p.52.

(3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, pp.294-95, 305; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 1, pp.130-31; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 5/150; Ranger, "Boyle", p.77.

held by Henry Pyne at Mogeley particularly maddened Boyle since Raleigh's original lease of 41 years had been extended to 80 years. When Raleigh put into Youghal on his way to Guinea in 1617, he borrowed money from Boyle, who took the opportunity of obtaining an attestation concerning Pyne's lease. Clearly Raleigh bent the truth somewhat in his statement that Pyne's new lease had been forged, since his conscience provoked the famous note jotted down before his execution, in which he withdrew this evidence made the year before at Youghal(1).

An example of how quickly the availability of English tenants changed from being scarce to plentiful can be seen with the settlement around Bandon in Kinalmeaky. One of the town's founders, William Newce, made a series of long leases in the late 1600s, many for 200 years and at the low rent of 6/8 for house and garden. When Boyle gained control of this portion in the late 1610s new leases were generally for 31 years and a greater rent. Other Bandon rentals easily demonstrate Boyle's confidence that financial incentives could be waived without turning off the stream of English applicants. In the late 1610s and early 1620s he made a number of reversions for tenants whose leases were due to expire in 1635. Not only were the reversions for an average of 21 years, but the rent was increased fourfold from an average of 13/- for house and garden to 55/- after 1635. Newce and others had offered the necessary easy terms to attract the first arrivals; after 1620 Boyle, the town's new owner, could enjoy the consequences(2).

The two plantation surveys of 1611 and 1622 and the depositions concerning leases in 1641 all confirm that 21 years was the average length for farming land. Nowhere was there any sign of the "Ulster custom" of repeated renewal for tenants. In fact if there was a custom for long leases

(1) Hennesy, Raleigh, p.203; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, p.157; for Boyle v. Pyne, *ibid*, 2, 2, pp.38-49; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 7/130-37.

(2) Bandon rentals, N.L.I., MS 6139; 1622 commissioners reported 125 leaseholders each with 200 year leases; probably granted early 1600s by Becher or Newce, 1622 survey, Castlemahon, Kinalmeaky.

it occurred with old English leases in the Cork city suburbs: of the two dozen made to the new English, the most common were for 61 years(1). The rare cases of long leases for farmland usually arose from compromised circumstances, as in the half dozen granted from FitzGerald of Dromana to Sir Richard Osborne in east Waterford, the recorded ones of which were for 99 years, twice 81 and once 31 years. Although it was stated Osborne had paid a large entry fine, the one known rent was at a rate of 6d. an acre, barely the pre-plantation value. No landlord would have issued such a lease unless forced to, which in a sense happened, for when the leases were awarded in the early 1630s the landowner was a minor and Boyle's ward(2).

The fact it was a landlord's market can be seen not only in the prevalence of short leases but the ease and frequency new English tenants were distrained for rent arrears and prosecuted if necessary. There was no question of preferential treatment on the grounds of a scarcity of numbers. Boyle's agents had standing orders to distrain upon any inability to pay rent and his papers contain frequent examples of such action. The policy was not unusually harsh, just the normal action of a landowner, and there were occasions when his agents forbore distraint on account of hardships such as illness or the loss of a husband, though in every case the ultimate decision was referred to Boyle. Of course there were Irish tenants and undertenants on some of the plantation lands and had the articles been observed to the letter then conditions for the new English might have improved since their indispensability would have risen. But in areas such as Kinalmeaky where there were few Irish, conditions for English tenants were no easier. There were some Irish tenants hard by Bandon, grouped in an area known as the Irish town, but by 1636 Boyle's agent was confident there were sufficient new English tenants to replace them, an action easily facilitated because the Irish were tenants at will and could be removed at a quarter's

(1) Civil Survey, 6, pp.437-80.

(2) Ibid, pp.32, 46, 53.

notice(1).

The one time it became difficult to distrain was in the years 1639-40 when for a variety of reasons there was an acute shortage of cash in the province. Boyle's agents distrained as usual for rent failures but discovered nobody could pay for the confiscated stock; moreover some tenants in Carberry were ready to quit their lands, "not being able to pay the rents" and houses in Bandon went empty. But there is no evidence that Boyle lowered his rents and in any case the crisis came too late for any potential new tenants to benefit from the vacant leases(2).

Tenant settlers in Munster were further burdened by improvement leases which became the rule in many areas of English expansion. More often than not Boyle's leases in Kinalmeaky and Carberry included stipulations for building a house and enclosing the lands. Urban leases in his west Cork towns invariably had precise instructions concerning the type of house: either stone or timber walls, always with a stone chimney and the roof usually slated. In the country the building terms were joined by an injunction to enclose, ditch and quickset the land. Soon those applying for leases knew their suit would be stronger if they promised these conditions. Boyle occasionally would forgo a rent increase or promise a lease extension if a tenant would agree to spend money on such improvements.

Building clauses were not the only imposition. Support for the militia was demanded in many leases on lands outside as well as inside the plantation precincts. For the more modest tenant the stipulation was to provide one armed footman when summoned; greater tenants had to provide horsemen. Militia requirements were de rigueur for Boyle's urban leases and demanded from all large country leases including those made to Irishmen. However, Irish tenants

(1) Evidence of clemency, Wiseman to Boyle, 10 September 1623, N.L.I., MS 13237 (5); Atkins to same, May 1634, *ibid* (17); same to same, 4 June 1634, *ibid* (18); same to same, 6 July 1634, *ibid* (19); same to same, 4 August 1634, *ibid* (19); Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 19/62; Bandon Irish, *ibid*, 18/131.

(2) *Ibid*, 19/69; 20/94; 21/24.

were free from yet another clause which enjoined no sub-leases made to anybody not from England or Wales. This of course was one of the original plantation rules, but Boyle applied it to some non-plantation land: his tenant of Castletown in Carberry, for example, was subject to the clause, and we know from the surviving list of 31 subleases that he obeyed explicitly(1).

Boyle did not innovate these building, national and military conditions. They were a logical consequence of the official covenants required from the undertakers. Before Boyle's arrival in Kinalmeaky, Newce's leases had required houses to be built and tenants to be mustered. But the wording of Boyle's conditions was that much more precise and comprehensive. And compared to Grenville's leases in the same area in the Elizabethan plantation, which asked for no improvements and often were for lengthy periods, Boyle's leases were restrictive and hardly likely, it might be thought, to encourage immediate emigration from England.

The prospects for tenants should not be painted too darkly. Country tenants were rentiers themselves and sublet their leases to lesser men. Boyle's agent in west Cork reported tenants attempting to sublet an entire lease for twice the landlord's rent, though he doubted their success. Lord Herbert's agent told of three tenants on his Castleisland seignory who had become so powerful and rich by the 1630s that they might be able to block rent increases. The depositions reveal that profit for larger tenants frequently came to £50 p.a. These were substantial men though, capable of high entry fines. For example, one Englishman who had a lease of three lives - considered equivalent to 21 years - in west Cork and an annual profit of £50 had had to pay an entry fine of £250(2).

The conclusion remains that if a man wanted to do well

(1) Boyle's west Cork leases, N.L.I., MSS 6139, 6141-42.

(2) Wiseman to Boyle, 26 April 1634, N.L.I., MS 13237 (17); W.J. Smith (ed.), Herbert Correspondence (Dublin and Cardiff 1963), p.109; depositions, T.C.D., MS 825, f.15.

in land then he had to purchase. Generally leases were too short and the rent too high to prosper as a tenant for any length of time. But this meant the immigrant had to arrive with capital. Certainly it was possible to borrow money in Munster - indeed the market was quite active - but rates were high. Therefore the great majority of those who came over became tenants and undertenants to fortunate settlers who had made the transition to landlords. Because of their numbers, the terms these tenants obtained were not unusually advantageous; or at least not so uniformly advantageous as to explain their arrival, with one sweeping generalisation, in terms of land alone. We must look towards other motives.

Religion

Traditionally religious pressure has not been seen as a particularly strong influence for emigration to Ireland. Partly this is explained by Ireland suffering in comparison with the American experience, especially the Puritan hegira to New England. There was neither a single spectacular movement to Ireland nor a specifically catholic colony as with Maryland in the 1630s. Then Wentworth's rule in this decade, with the energetic assistance of Bramhall, has produced the conventional view that Ireland was policed too firmly to be a haven for the religiously unorthodox and those seeking to escape the control of Laudianism in England. However that may be, it is clear that before this time both wings of religious dissent were represented in Munster. We will examine the presence first of English catholics, then of protestant non-conformists, and estimate the degree to which religious considerations encouraged emigration from England.

The twin motives for catholic emigration were financial and social. The different recusancy laws operating in England and Ireland in this period were a straightforward incentive to move from the one country to the other. After 1591 the penalty for not attending church in England became £20 a month, but in Ireland the fine remained the 1/- a week of the early Elizabethan statute. In theory the maximum a catholic in Ireland could be fined was under £3 p.a. and in

any case this sum rarely was collected. As in England where the enforcement of recusancy fines faltered in the heavily catholic areas of the north-west, so did the efficiency of collectors seize up in a country where the majority of inhabitants belonged to the proscribed religion. It was this catholic majority too which provided the necessary milieu and religious world which might attract English catholics eager to lose the pariah status of a distrusted minority.

It may be supposed the government attitude to English catholics moving over to Ireland would not be hostile but neutral or even mildly approving. While catholics, such newcomers were after all English with the bonus of coming from a socially conservative class. Such a disposition perhaps revealed itself in the government's casual reaction to Sir Thomas Gerrard's abortive schemes in 1569 and 1570 to colonise Antrim with fellow catholics from Lancashire(1). In the 1580s the official attitude towards catholics became more severe with the gradual breakdown of relations with Spain and eventual war in 1585. Naturally catholics came under greater suspicion than before. When it was decided to attempt a plantation of Munster there was no question of offering settlement to any discontented group of English catholics as might have been possible 15 years earlier.

Nonetheless some catholics did manage to work themselves onto the lists of potential undertakers in 1586. All appear in the north-western contingent drawn from Lancashire, Cheshire and north Wales. While none seems to have been an open catholic or official recusant, some were suspected and most had relations who were either recusants or in exile. Most prominent was Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton in Cheshire, appointed one of the three principal north-western undertakers alongside Fitton and Hatton, but his son Sir William's defection to the Spanish in January 1587 caused his immediate withdrawal from the scheme. Stanley's appointment was a remarkable decision by the government, since his family were all catholics - of his younger sons one was a Jesuit,

(1) D.B. Quinn, England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620 (1974), pp.364-70, 338-39.

the other shortly to join him - and himself suspected of catholic sympathies, though he was never a recusant(1). An even more sensational applicant was Thomas Salisbury, son of Sir John of north Wales, who less than six months after his name appeared on the north-west list was arrested for involvement in the Babington plot and executed in late 1586. His projected role in the plot was to raise the catholic gentry of north Wales; had the scheme been dropped and Salisbury successful in obtaining Munster lands then he might have done the same with a view to a catholic settlement in Ireland. Three others from the north-west who were suspected of catholicism were Sir Edward Fitton, Sir Richard Molineux and John Poole, and more had relations who were recusants though the exact connection is sometimes hard to establish(2).

In the event no catholics were appointed as undertakers. Yet there were continual fears that some might participate. In 1587 Wilbraham - always a sensible commentator on Munster - warned against malcontent catholics slipping in as undertakers and later Fynes Moryson would complain that some undertakers,

- (1) Sir William Stanley had joined Gilbert-Gerrard syndicate to plant America in 1582/83 but before its failure returned to army career in Ireland; fought in Desmond rebellion; received custodiam of Lismore; applied unsuccessfully for plantation land, Quinn op cit, pp.374, 378; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.484; ibid, 1586-88, pp.42, 250; APC, 1586-87, p.364; DNB, Stanley; anonymous document 1583 naming Cheshire J.P.s as suspect papists includes Sir Rowland Stanley and another prospective undertaker, John Poole, K.R. Wark, "Elizabethan recusancy in Cheshire", Chetham Soc., 19, 3rd series (1971), pp.51, 182; Sir Rowland not on list of recusants in 1577 or 1592, Cath.Rec.Soc., 12, 18.
- (2) DNB, Salisbury; family tree, W.J. Smith (ed.), Calendar of Salisbury correspondence (Cardiff 1954); those who had catholic relatives included Fittons, George Beeston, Richard and Henry Bould, Wark, "Elizabethan recusancy", Chetham Soc., 19, pp.51, 140; J. Leatherbarrow, The Lancashire Elizabethan Recusants (Manchester 1947), pp.86, 109; Sir Edward Fitton had a brother ordained priest in 1600, J. Gillow, Biographical Dictionary of the English catholics (1885-1903), 2, pp.345-46; Thomas Fleetwood m. recusant family, Hasler, Commons, 2, p.132.

especially courtiers, had sold lands to English catholics(1). Certainly recusants did come over as settlers under various undertakers. There were reports of their presence in the 1590s. In 1592 it was said many had come over to avoid the heavy recusancy fine in England, and in 1594 among instructions issued to the Munster commissioners of that year was one to enquire into English recusants settled in the province. The poor state of religion in Munster, lamented Bishop Lyons from Cork in 1596, was because of "the perverse recusants that come out of England hither" and he made special mention of their strength in Waterford. The commentaries on the 1598 disasters duly placed blame on the Papist element as one of the defects of the settlers(2).

Constant reports of recusant arrivals and resident settlers becoming converted might have been exaggerated, since to show an awareness for the evils of catholicism and to announce its spreading power was more than acceptable to London. It demonstrated the Munster official was vigilant and alert, and his religious beliefs untainted by local circumstances. Also it was politically safe to damn catholics impartially, unlike a condemnation against protestant dissidents, which if addressed to the wrong man in London might not earn the critic any congratulations. It became standard policy as well to fasten an accusation of catholicism to an attack against a settler. Among 16th century planters, St Leger, Pyne and Hyde were branded at times with catholicism or complicity, but each case had little foundation(3).

At the turn of the century one voice was heard positively recommending not only toleration for the old English towns "after the manner of some French edicts" but also the introduction of English catholics: "neither if any English

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.411-12; Moryson, Itinerary, 2, p.173; Falkiner, Illustrations, p.258.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.494; SP/63/177/20; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1596-97, p.13; ibid, 1598-99, p.429; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1598-1601, p.288.

(3) St Leger, 1590, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.340; Pyne, 1599, Journal of Roger Wilbraham, Campden Miscellany, 10 (1902), pp.24-25; Hyde, 1597, HMC, Salisbury, 8, p.59.

papist or recusant shall for liberty of his conscience transfer his family and fortunes thither do I hold it a matter of danger but rather an expedient to draw on undertaking and to further population". But the importance of this innovatory belief has been misrepresented and wrongly inflated because of its attribution to Mountjoy instead of the correct author, Francis Bacon. The latter at that time was a successful lawyer but did not hold a government post, whereas if the lord deputy of Ireland had in fact appealed for this new step then it would have been a decisive shift in official policy(1).

Bacon's advice was disregarded but there are enough indications the number of English catholics emigrating to Ireland increased in the early 17th century, though definitely without government encouragement. In 1605 they were reported going to Ireland intending to set up a printing press; in 1607 "many English recusants" were arriving in Munster; in 1612 it was stated Ireland "swarmed" - a favourite verb employed when cataloguing papist activities - with English recusants; in 1618 the Munster lord president requested directions concerning the recusants daily repairing there(2).

The various instructions to deal with this influx differed markedly from Bacon's suggestion. The most ambitious order was to round up and repatriate English catholics. They would then be subject to the harsher English laws. It is doubtful if this step was very effective. In 1607 two Munster recusants were transported to England but when they arrived at Bristol the local authorities found they could not be imprisoned for the simple offence of recusancy. The government in London automatically had

(1) Attributed to Mountjoy [1602], partially printed, HMC, Salisbury, 14, pp.239-41; also Quinn, Discovery, p.386; full text, B.L., M[icrofilm], 485/33, identical to anonymous report, B.L., Landsdowne MS 238, ff.253v-257v; full text makes it clear author has not been a soldier, thereby disqualifying Mountjoy, and Landsdowne MS, though unsigned, placed amongst other writings by Bacon; in fact assigned by Spedding to Bacon 1602, Spedding, Bacon, 3, pp.46-51.

(2) HMC, Salisbury, 17, p.351; SP/63/222/125; Cal.S. P.Ire., 1611-14, p.290; ibid, 1615-25, pp.216-17.

assumed their imprisonment and even had sent down the necessary papers for bail. Eventually circumstances were arranged whereby the recusants could be committed, but it was all a confused, embarrassing business. Far better to extend the English recusancy laws to Ireland. But this required an act of the Irish parliament. One was recommended in 1612, but neither Jacobean or Caroline parliaments passed any such legislation(1).

So the policy remained the impossible one of repatriation. In 1616 the new Munster lord president was ordered to send over English recusants, but although he took bonds of many to return, only one had made the journey some months later. This individual the Privy Council allowed to return to Munster because he was honest and with no means to live elsewhere, which benign conclusion somewhat muted the initial command. And two years later when the lord president again asked for advice concerning English recusants still arriving, he was told to proceed against settled inhabitants by ordinary law - a meaningless directive in effect lumping them with local catholics, all technically open to the mild Irish recusancy fine. About this time, however, two brothers, recusants from Devon, were banished from Ireland, turning up eventually in America(2).

The Munster Council did try and force the pace in 1611 when it ordered the Bishop of Cork to excommunicate English recusants if necessary. Such a threat might be supposed to strike the utmost unconcern in people not recognising the spiritual order from which they were to be outcast. In its most rigorous form, however, excommunication carried social and economic penalties as well. Social ostracisation was hard to exact in a predominantly catholic country but ecclesiastical courts could and did imprison and fine those who had been excommunicated. Protests were made to the lord deputy in 1621 concerning this abuse, but the law

(1) HMC, Salisbury, 19, pp.159, 162, 213; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, pp.250, 290.

(2) APC, 1615-16, p.532; ibid, 1618-19, p.323; Analecta Hibernica, 4, pp.166-68.

remained in force, even though it seems to have been applied rarely in Munster, and some humane bishops, such as Bedell in Cavan, openly condemned the policy(1).

None of the above methods seem to have checked the flow of English recusants to Munster in this period. The remarks already cited do suggest there were more coming after 1600 than before. In the English context this surprises since conditions marginally improved for catholics in James' reign. The increase probably arose from changes in Munster, namely conversions among the undertakers and their tenants. In the 1630s four undertakers were catholic - Browne, Thornton, Cullum and Spenser - and among prominent lapses at an earlier date were Sir Thomas Norris' widow in 1602 and Stephenson and Spring who were landowners in Limerick and Kerry. Sir Richard Fleetwood, whose younger brother owned or leased (a disputed point) the regained portion of their father's Cork seignory, was a recusant in England and came to reside in Munster in 1626(2).

These landowners would not have discouraged correligiousists and countrymen from settling on their estates. Invitations even came from local inhabitants such as the Irish lord of Muskerry who, according to Smith, brought over several English recusant families to his main town of Macroom. They might have possessed some useful trade skill such as wool combing, or their introduction could have been desired simply as a way to anglicise, and hence modernise, without the accompaniment of heresy(3).

The actual recorded cases of conversion are few, apart from the mass evidence of the depositions. In 1623 the preacher at Tallow made a public recantation but such declarations were rare. If people did change, usually they

(1) B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.37v; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 3, pp.1-12; T.W. Jones (ed.), The Life of Bishop Bedell (Camden Soc. 1872), pp.39-40.

(2) Respective biographies.

(3) Smith names some families but includes Terrys and Goulds, prominent old English Cork city families; member of another family, the Fields, mentioned in Civil Survey but as English protestant, Smith, Cork, 1, p.181; Civil Survey, 6, p.361.

chose to keep quiet about it. Even those who discovered conversions remained embarrassed and secretive, especially if the miscreants were their tenants. Boyle has a cryptic entry in his diary in 1620 about 26 individuals "confessing" to him which most probably refers to their catholic conversion. From the depositions in the early 1640s over 100 converts appear, the great majority Englishmen but about two dozen old English or Irish, prudently re-embracing their first religion after the rising in 1641(1).

Although the number of new English in Munster increased considerably in the early 17th century, as did the power and control of the authorities over the province, conditions continued to be favourable to fairly open catholic worship and ceremonies. Weddings, for example, were public and once no less a person than Boyle found himself discomfited after riding to be at his friend Lord Roche's daughter's wedding to a MacCarthy; "but he was married with a papist priest before, and I unnobly did withdraw". In part this practical acquiescence was because of the inadequate progress of the established church. Bennett uses the conclusions of the 1615 visitation to Cork, that 1/3 of the resident clergy did not observe the book of common prayer, to demonstrate the widespread existence of puritans, but a more plausible explanation is that these particular incumbents were still crypto-catholic in belief and ceremony(2).

Yet as we shall see the official church was not entirely moribund in the proselytising field and the main reason for the unconcealed show of worship by catholics was that their landowning class, though declining, was still more numerous and held more land than the protestants in Munster. Since this group provided the local authority which was supposed to enforce conformity, it is no more surprising the old religion continued to flourish in Munster than it did in north-west England. Throughout this period catholics continued to be made justices and, at intervals, especially

(1) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 14/9, 27; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, p.260.

(2) Ibid, 1, 1, p.258; G. Bennett, The history of Bandon (Cork 1869), p.27.

the early 1620s and 1630s, appointed sheriffs. This aspect of social control and relations between the two religions will be covered more fully in a later chapter, but here it is sufficient to repeat that Munster society was amenable to catholic worship and hence a necessary incentive to emigration for English recusants. There was no sign of this position changing by 1641 and indeed in that year we hear of a prominent recusant, Sir Henry Bedingfield of Norfolk, thinking of emigrating to Ireland. His immediate motive was security from the anti-catholic upswing in England but he was not in so great a hurry as to enquire first about the prospects for good hawking thereabouts(1).

Just as English catholics looked to Ireland as a possible haven from heresy, so did puritans as a land where they could practise God's true commands without the papist rituals still demanded in England. In 1572 an MP proposed Ireland as a refuge for puritans, but no coherent project was formed, unlike Gerrard's similar catholic scheme a few years earlier. In the 1580s the indulgence of the government towards deviating religious views ended. Financial penalties for catholics were increased, and Whitgift's appointment to Canterbury in 1583 signalled a campaign to expel Presbyterians from within the church and to repress those protestant radicals outside(2).

Evidence for Presbyterian interest in the Munster plantation appears in 1589. In April that year a group of unnamed and unnumbered Essex gentlemen wished to become undertakers and remove into the escheated lands with their minister Mr William Tey. Their motive, they announced, was to plant religion; for this they requested complete autonomy for their town and no jurisdiction from the Queen's officers. The strong suspicion these petitioners were not followers of the established church is confirmed by the career of their chosen minister. Already in 1583 Tey had been removed from a living in Suffolk for demonstrating puritan prejudices, and ten years later, when rector of Pelden, was identified

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1633-47, pp.348-49.

(2) Quinn, Discovery, p.338; in general, pp.335-44.

as a member of a classis near Colchester and suspended. This Essex petition had no hope of being accepted - being over ambitious, demanding unrealistic amounts of land and not least in being submitted three years after the confiscated lands had been allotted - and it is doubtful if any of these men went over to Munster at that date. But it does illustrate the potential extent of interest from protestant dissidents for land in Ireland(1).

The Essex gentlemen would seem to have been Presbyterians since Tey was their leader. In the 1580s separatists emerged in England and quickly elicited extreme disapproval and in 1593 an act of banishment. Many were followers of Robert Browne, hence Brownists, and although the majority went to the continent a few managed to go to Ireland. How many settled in Munster we do not know. In 1598 one of the commentators on the plantation debacle made the well known sweeping condemnation that the bishops had allowed "Papists, Puritans, Brownists, atheists in their dioceses and households, to preach, to reason, to prate, to gather conventicles, without contradiction or reformation"(2).

Certain members of the government in England did show a complaisance over religious unorthodoxy in Ireland, if not to the extent of recommending English emigration on these lines. Some were quite prepared to see foreign protestant churches as settlers with complete freedom of worship. In 1588 Burghley engineered a meeting between Hugh Cuffe, the Cork undertaker, and two elders of the Dutch church in London. The outcome was the offer of 3,000 acres and the freedom to award tithes to their own ministers. Cuffe's loss of land to local claims in the next few years left him with no acres to spare, and the plan was dropped. It was not forgotten. After the nine years war Cuffe once more offered land to the Dutch church, this time church land he

(1) SP/63/143/51; Cal.S.P. Dom., 1581-90, p.97; F.G. Emmison, Elizabethan Life (Chelmsford 1973), pp.101, 136; T.W. Davids, Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in county Essex (1863), p.123.

(2) Quinn, Discovery, pp.339-44; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.430-31.

had on a long lease in the Ivagh peninsula, but the suggestion was politely declined(1).

In 1629 French Huguenots were keen to emigrate to Ireland and fixed upon an area in Bantry Bay. They wanted first to go to Whiddy Island but the new English occupant had no room for them though he thought the idea an excellent one. Among their requirements was free use of religion, implying autonomy from the established church(2). This too came to nothing but the government probably had only approval for the scheme. All sorts were needed to swell the non-papist ranks in Munster. In 1607 there was even a proposal to allow the Jews into Ireland. Admittedly this country had not been their choice, but the King was adamant against their entry into England and so it was suggested they might be persuaded into Ireland. They would have to be allowed their synagogues but in return each would pay two ducats a year tax and, it was reasoned, contribute greatly to the customs' revenue, the country's prosperity and increasing civilisation. The plan did not materialise, whether from government disapproval or Jewish reluctance we do not know(3).

Less spectacular than these foreign schemes, but more consistent and successful, was the unobtrusive arrival of English puritans in Munster. Their presence can be shown, with the reasonable conclusion that those who emigrated did so with a view to religious freedom somewhere in their minds. On occasion the motive is explicit. In 1614 it was said a London girdler was led to settle in Munster by the enticement of some sectaries(4). But generally what comes to light is the existence of settlers with links to recognised non-conformists in England. One such interrelated group was

(1) Hessels, Epistulae, 2, pp.924-27, 930-31 (1588 offer endorsed 1603); 3.1, pp.1138-39.

(2) Erington, Ussher, 16, pp.489-93.

(3) HMC, Salisbury, 19, p.473; in 1650s Harrington in Oceana recommended granting all Ireland to Jews for £2 million p.a., D.S. Katz, Philo-Semitism and the readmission of the Jews to England, 1603-55 (Oxford 1982), pp.163-65, 240.

(4) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 6/51, 52.

the Crooke/Winthrop/Salmon connection which first settled at Baltimore in 1606. The motives which brought the new English to south-west Carberry were fishing, quasi-piratical activities and religious freedom. The first probably was strongest with some of the Baltimore group, though the town generally was accused of the second motive repeatedly. Admittedly there is little to show for their religious tendencies in Ireland save for three slight references to the importance of religion for their plantation, but their family connections in England definitely were puritan(1).

The first Winthrop to arrive in Munster was John Winthrop, uncle to the celebrated John Winthrop later governor of Massachusetts in the 1630s. The Munster John Winthrop apparently settled there in 1594/95 and served under Essex in 1599. He might have settled on Raleigh's lands since he witnessed their sale to Boyle in 1602. Probably it was his son of the same name who joined the Baltimore syndicate while his father resided at Aghadown eight miles further north, dying there in 1613. His family remained in Munster. One nephew of the first John Winthrop in Ireland was Joshua Winthrop who came to Munster in the early 1600s eventually settling on Grenville's seignory near Bandon and mentioned as a sizeable landowner in the 1611 and 1622 surveys. His brother Adam Winthrop also settled near Bandon. John Winthrop, son of the Massachusetts governor, was briefly in Ireland at Trinity College, Dublin, from 1622 to 1624 and received a letter from his father with the well-known cry, "I wish oft God would open up a way to settle me in Ireland if it might be for his glory". Even if the father was to leave eventually for America, the Almighty did well enough by the rest of his relations in the matter of settlement in Ireland(2).

(1) Religious references, SP/63/225/269Av; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, p.100; ibid, 1615-25, p.190.

(2) R.C. Winthrop, Some account of the early generation of the Winthrop family in Ireland (Cam. Mass. 1883), pp.8-14; J.J. Muskett, Evidences of the Winthrops of Groton, co. Suffolk... (1894-96), 1, pp.18, 25, 55; H.F. Waters, Genealogical Gleanings in England (Boston 1901), 2, pp.1039-40; Caulfield, Kinsale, p.343; Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, p.44; Winthrop genealogy, Bence-Jones entry, Burke's Landed Gentry of Ireland (1958), p.399.

Nor was this all. The Winthrop web of intermarriage in Suffolk and the eastern counties caught up a number of other families and spun them over to Ireland in this period. Thomas Crooke was related by marriage. James Salmon, Crooke's son-in-law, came from Suffolk and inevitably was related to the Winthrops. So too were the Downings of Ipswich, of whom Emmanuel Downing, the later American colonist and brother-in-law to governor Winthrop, had the most to do with Ireland. He bought land in Leix in the 1620s and with the aid of his brother-in-law set up a plantation but it did not prosper and he sold up and returned to England in 1624. In the early 1630s he endeavoured to acquire some attained Bourke land in Limerick for another plantation but ultimately was foiled. Other prominent Suffolk families in Munster were the Southwells on the Bandon River and the Elwells in the same Kinalmeaky area(1).

Further links could be made between the eastern counties and Munster, but the business here is to determine what encouraged them to remove to Ireland. Although firm connections have been established with families in England known for their puritanism, it is too much of a leap to assume religious restrictions in England was the deciding factor for this group of emigrants. This motive was greatly in evidence behind Downing's two plantations, the first of which (being the actual settlement, the other only projected) had the powerful backing of John Winthrop of Groton who sent over tenants and a preacher. But while Joshua Winthrop's ten English families recorded as his undertenants near Bandon in 1622 might well have been from Suffolk and of puritan sympathy, we have no way of knowing. In the 1611 survey one of his undertenants is named but cannot be traced to the Winthrop home. It is the same for the rest of the Suffolk connection in Munster. Suffice to say that religious considerations must be given greater prominence in the list

(1) Muskett, Winthrops, pp.99, 150; Waters, Genealogical, 1, p.325; 2, pp.1037, 1178; Downing's attempted Limerick venture, HMC, 12th Rep., Appendix One, pp.434, 436-37, 442; Appendix Two, pp.46, 64, 116.

of likely reasons for the emigration of this group. This is not to forget the economic or indeed subcriminal motives which marked some elements, particularly the Baltimore colony(1).

Other evidence for puritan enthusiasm among the Munster gentry is slight and circumstantial, and hard to locate by the imprecise nature of the term itself. Sir William Fenton certainly developed puritan sympathies since he bestowed his patronage on the radical minister Devereux Spratt in the 1650s and early 1660s. In the 1650s Fenton was appointed to a parliamentary commission to remove episcopalians. The other prominent settler with identifiable puritan views was Sir Vincent Gookin in County Cork. His impassioned outburst in 1633, which managed to upset all levels of Munster society, includes several indications of puritan thinking. Unsurprisingly he was linked to the Suffolk-London group by his marriage to Thomas Crooke's daughter. His brother Daniel settled at Carrigaline and was known to the Virginia Company, initiating a trade to America and for some years living there. When he died in Cork in 1633 his inventory included puritan books(2).

For the lower orders there is even less evidence. It is true that Bandon has been associated with puritanism. The inhabitants were known for their aggressive religious practices at a later date but in our period proof is missing(3). Bennett says "tradition asserts" the settlers all were puritans and Presbyterians, but he provides no details apart from his suspect conclusion, mentioned above, that because 1/3 of the resident clergy in Cork did not observe the book of common prayer in 1615 they had to be puritans. Throughout the period ministers at Bandon

(1) 1622 survey, Kinalmeaky; 1611, P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16.

(2) The autobiography of the Rev. Devereux Spratt (1886); Barnard, Cromwellian Ireland, p.149; Gookin, Cal. S.P.Ire., 1647-60, pp.181-86; Waters, Genealogical, 1, p.325; Daniel Gookin's will, F.W. Gookin, Daniel Gookin, 1612-1687 (Chicago 1912), pp.54-55.

(3) Well into the 20th century it carried the epithet of "Bandon town - where even the pigs are protestant".

continued to be appointed by the bishops of Cork without challenge, except for one noisy incident in 1633 which did not concern religious differences. The incumbent, Mr Hassell, was ordered to be replaced by Mr Snarry, apparently because of personal failings ("his wicked life") rather than doctrinal belief. Hassell enjoyed a good deal of support in the town and managed to persuade the provost to call down Snarry from the pulpit to allow Hassell to address the congregation and read out a command from the primate that tithes should be paid to himself not his opponent; a stylishly audacious action since Boyle's correspondent was convinced there was no such order and Hassell had compensated by "reading" a blank piece of paper(1).

In fact the only direct mention of religious observation at Bandon is an accusation of Arminian opinion and preaching levelled against Mr Stuke, the minister in 1623. His "novelties" had gained him 25 followers and his critic desired Ussher to issue a reprimand which would serve also to make the town "now leavened with errors, a commodious seat for honest and faithful christians". Apparently Stuke was in a strong position as one of Boyle's chaplains and he also enjoyed covert backing from the Bishop of Cork. Boyle had at least a dozen chaplains throughout the country and it could be he was unaware of Stuke's beliefs. At all events he was not among Boyle's 16 chaplains in 1632(2).

The fact that Boyle was the town's patron has reinforced the tradition of Bandon's nonconformity since his own puritanism is taken by many as beyond dispute. Yet Boyle exhibited conventional opinions on religious affairs and can only be described as a puritan in contrast to the Laudianism of the 1630s; in which case he was in common with the majority of protestants in Ireland including Ussher. Good examples of his mainstream attitude to religion, in the private and public spheres, are two entries one after another in his record of household disbursements for 7 November 1627,

(1) Bennett, Bandon, p.27; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 17/136, 147.

(2) Erington, Ussher, 16, pp.403-06; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 3, p.124.

which record Boyle taking 10/- for a lecture at Tallow and another 10/- to play at cards; and his opinion on the fitness of Geneva as a town certainly to visit, but not to reside in overlong for his sons while on tour in 1636 and 1640. Their tutor assured Boyle in 1640, after receiving the latter's apprehension of the consequence of too long a stay in Geneva, that his sons "are far from puritanism but very orthodox and religious men"(1).

In conclusion it can be said that Munster did attract some men wishing to leave England to escape religious restrictions. The government's attitude to this type of emigration oscillated according to the time and nature of the emigrants, but on the whole it was unenthusiastic. To estimate the number of religious dissidents among the settlers is impossible, but evidence does point to a greater number of English Catholics and a lesser number of Puritans than previously suspected. And those who did venture over came in the early years of the plantation before official control was applied effectively over all areas. Afterwards there was little point if religious prohibitions were as restrictive as in England. In the 1630s Laud commented on Wentworth's lament of insufficient Englishmen for the new plantations: " ... that you should want men in Ireland, and that the while, there should be here such an universal running to New England, and God knows whither; but this it is, when men think nothing is their advantage, but to run from government"(2).

To better oneself

Always stronger than the single identifiable prospect of religious freedom was the more confused and general notion of a better life to be had in Ireland. We have examined the most obvious attraction the place had for

(1) Nicholas Tyacke, "Puritanism, Arminianism and Counter-Revolution", C. Russell (ed.), The origins of the English Civil War (1973); N.L.I., MS 6897, November 1627; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 4, p.103; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 18/127.

(2) Knowler, Strafford, 2, p.169.

newcomers which was the expectation of cheap land. That motive pertained to all ranks of society. Another advantage for emigration was open only to the educated class in England. In the early 17th century the universities were turning out large numbers of graduates and quite simply there were not enough jobs to go round. This reservoir of "alienated intellectuals" joined with the familiar younger son problem resulted in a number of over-educated and unemployed gentlemen kicking their heels in England(1).

It has been suggested that some of this group began to look towards Ireland as a remedy for their situation. Certainly there were jobs available for their skills and training. The country possessed the same administrative, legal and religious structures as England. The new policy after the Elizabethan reconquest was to reserve jobs in the executive and judiciary for reliable people, the criterion for which was protestantism. Since conformity among the traditional professional class of the old English was small, new men would have to be brought in. Here was reason indeed for going to Ireland. Many of these professional men would have crossed the Irish Sea intending only to mount the ladder of their profession and once settled transfer themselves home. Some found they were unable to do this. They remained perforce in Ireland, married other English professional classes there and purchased land, often as not in the official plantation areas(2).

Such indirect colonisation occurred frequently in Munster. As we have seen, quite a few of the initial undertakers were on the Dublin or Munster executive. In the early 17th century it appears almost every official on the Munster executive or judiciary ended up by buying land in the province. This was not the absolute case of course. Some had been settlers already, before being summoned to government service. Others were promoted to posts elsewhere

(1) M. Curtis, "Alienated intellectuals", T. Aston (ed.), Crisis in Europe (1965).

(2) T.C. Barnard, "Sir William Petty, Irish landowner", H. Lloyd-Jones et al (ed.), History and Imagination (1981), p.204.

in Ireland. But the few exceptions prove the rule. For example, the vice-president of Munster for many years, Sir Richard Moryson, stands out as one of the few senior officials in residence who apparently did not purchase an estate. Had he gained the presidency, as it was rumoured in 1613, then very probably he would have settled permanently in Munster.

As the years of peace grew longer, so office in Munster became less onerous and more lucrative. Salaries were not munificent but it had always been understood the real value lay in perquisites. The chief office of lord president had an income of £133.6.8 p.a. excluding household maintenance, but this did not stop vigorous competition for the post. The most notable occasion was after the presidency of Lord Danvers who had used the little time he spent in Munster to increase his income through the discovery of ancient rights and profits. The Earl of Thomond, Sir Richard Moryson and Sir Bernard Grenville were reported attempting to compound with Danvers to become his successor. In 1613 it was said Moryson had bought it for £3,000, but as well as Danvers' recommendation he had Boyle's potent enmity, and it was the latter's support which enabled Thomond to obtain the post in 1615 for the price of £3,200. Moryson retired to England and was granted the reversion in 1618, but when his second chance came in 1624 he was deemed too old and anyway stood in poor contrast to Buckingham's candidate, his able half brother, Sir Edward Villiers. In later decades the salary may have increased since in 1640 it was reported to be worth £1,000 p.a. from the Crown and together with perquisites valued at £2,500 p.a.(1)

A great part of the profit from the presidency came from the company of horse and band of foot attached to the office. These army posts were extremely lucrative. On winning the presidency in 1615, Thomond sold his band of

(1) DNB, Moryson; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1611-18, pp.167, 282; ibid, 1623-25, p.360; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.532; ibid, 1615-25, p.549; T.C.D., MS 808, ff.53-58; P.R.O., SP/46/72, f.105; F.P. Verney (ed.), Memoirs of the Verney family (1892), 1, p.213; Boyle/Moryson enmity, Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 5/100; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 2, p.68.

foot for little less than £500. Generally speaking the average company went for £400. Even an ensign was expected to pay £50 for his appointment(1).

By the end of our period the smaller offices were quite gainful as well. The increase in trade and the control over it by the revamped customs administration provided a host of extra offices previously exercised by the old port towns. The depositions contain assertions that searchers at Cork could enjoy £80 and the customer at Kinsale £100 p.a. Their official salaries were around £7 and £18 respectively. The clerkship of the commission of peace in Tipperary and Limerick was worth £200 a year. Crown attorneys in Munster could expect £120 which was £100 above their official salary. The line between acceptable benefits and illegal extortion was always a thin one and inevitably there were accusations of corruption, especially against the legal officers(2).

Government services brought a number of professional men to Munster, many of whom settled there. Others from the same class emigrated for what might be called socially-conscious reasons. To begin with it was cheaper to live in Ireland. A gentleman could maintain a household he might not be able to afford in England. Throughout the period provisions were cheaper in Munster than England. A victualling trade began in the 1590s and expanded rapidly in the early 17th century. Payne may well have exaggerated in his promotional pamphlet in 1589 when he stated a household in Munster was four times less costly to maintain than in England, but other disinterested commentators confirm that food at least always was less. That experienced traveller and precise recorder of minutiae, Fynes Moryson, found most things in Ireland to be cheap, especially food. He was among the first to compare Poland and Ireland - frequently coupled since - as examples of poor countries with low prices and backward economies. The hire of horses, meals and

(1) T.C.D., MS 808, f.46.

(2) Ibid, ff.63v, 68v; MSS 820, f.221; 822, f.104; 825, ff.212, 230; custom salaries varied from £5 to £20; judicial corruption in Munster, B.L., Harl. MS 697, ff.17, 40-41v.

accommodation at inns, however, was the same rate as England, and the author of Advertisements at a later date found lodging at inns to be more expensive. (Both writers criticise the general lack of inns.) In 1630 prices in Dublin were reported as high, particularly the hire of horses. But the constant story from Munster remained the cheapness of victuals(1).

Cheap provisioning was greatly to be desired by impecunious gentlemen anxious to keep their household at a respectable size. Also necessary to maintain standards was a supply of cheap labour. Wages in Munster were very low compared to England. In 1613 Youghal corporation ordained the maximum day wages for labourers to be 4d. in winter and 6d. in summer. With meat and drink these wages were halved. In the same decade in southern England the average wage for menial agricultural work was 9d. a day. It might be supposed this ceiling was imposed by the Youghal corporation in the same spirit governments today establish an ideal "target" for wages; in other words, actual wages in Youghal might have been higher from following market forces and ignoring the corporation's impotent directives. But market forces did produce low wages on their own accord. Throughout the 1620s and 1630s casual labourers working on Boyle's estates were paid 6d. a day and in 1641 workers threshing corn for Percival on his Waterford lands - a seasonal task which meant an above average rate in England - received the same amount. In no case was sustenance provided. For southern England at this time the average wage was exactly

(1) Payne, Description, p.7; Moryson, Itinerary, 3, p.482; 4, pp.70, 198; O'Brien, Advertisements, pp.34-35; Smith, Salisbury, p.70; general remarks about low priced provisions: Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.508; ibid, 1596-97, pp.33, 147; ibid, 1606-08, pp.2, 82; H.F. Cusack, History of the Kingdom of Kerry (1871), pp.234-35; Massam to Cranfield, 29 August 1614, Kent R/O, Sackville MS, M.18; B.L., Sloane MS 3827, ff.16-18; Hainsworth, Lowther, p.235.

double at 1/- a day(1).

Yet the number of times inexpensive living was specified as a reason for emigration was few. A west country gentleman was mentioned desiring to move to Munster in 1623 since he had "means less sufficient to maintain him like a gentleman". And in the 1630s an army officer petitioned to be thought of for the projected Connaught plantation since Ireland was a cheap place to live in. Other examples could be found very probably, and the general absence of this motive explicitly being mentioned should not allow us to discard it as a force for emigration. In the vast majority of cases, when one individual writes to another that either himself or an acquaintance was intending to settle in Ireland, no reason at all is given. We shall have more to say about this surprising lack of any need for explanation in a further chapter(2).

Among incentives paraded before potential gentlemen for the first plantation was the statement that a gentleman undertaker could expect to rise ultimately to baronial wealth - to become "the chief lord of a great seignory". Residence in Ireland, it was announced, presented an opportunity to move a rung or two up the ladder of social status. In Munster one could cut a finer figure on less material than was possible in England. Social advancement was strongly desired by the common sort as well. To achieve this some unabashed tactics were used. In the depositions there are plentiful examples of a man's rank being scratched out and altered, presumably at his wish, and the change always was for the better: thus husbandmen became yeomen and some yeomen became gentlemen. Such rapid promotion could have shameful results, for several of these self appointed

(1) R. Caulfield (ed.), The Council Book of the corporation of Youghal (Guildford 1878), p.25; Thirsk, Agrarian History, p.864; Boyle's wages, N.L.I., MSS 6897-99, 6243; Percival's corn, B.L., Add. MS 46925, f.143; some paid even less: workmen in Tyrone 1609, and women weeding gardens at Lismore late 1620s, paid 4d. a day, Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.29; N.L.I., MS 6897; see also Hull, Petty, 2, p.592.

(2) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 13/201; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1631-33, p.418.

gentlemen were seen to be illiterate when the time came for the signature at the foot of their deposition. Both gentlemen and yeomen who feature in the Munster depositions - 40% of the 1,369 total - emerge decidedly less literate than their English counterparts. In Munster 5% of the gentlemen were illiterate compared to 2% in England; 62% of the yeomen compared to 35% in England. The literacy of the remaining social divisions was roughly similar to England, though Munster tradesmen and craftsmen were 10% more illiterate than their English counterparts(1).

In Munster there were no heralds' visitations to establish standards and gentlemen there were self appointed. Of course there were thousands of such quasi-gentlemen in England too - Kent for example had 1,000 self-styled gentlemen as opposed to 80 official ones bearing arms - and as the importance of visitations declined the usual claim to gentility was simply if one was accepted as a gentleman by local society. The point is that in Munster the standard of acceptance was much lower. A man might get away with a social claim that would be ridiculed in England.

One consequence was that indubitable gentlemen in Munster proceeded to tighten ranks in the face of incoming impostors. In 1635 Sir John Leeke's daughter was poised to marry a Mr Badnedge. Their ages were right, the time propitious, his money more than adequate; but the one drawback, confessed Sir John, was Badnedge's low social rank. If his daughter should marry him then "her place must be in the arse of all the country ... for we stand here more upon place than in England; here are many startups that wealth doth advance from baseness to preferment". Such an attitude marks the settler anywhere and particularly the English in Ireland. They lived in fear the home country might reject them as inferior beings, coarsened beyond social redemption by their stay in this "corner behind the world". Many who had benefited from the loose rules and used their wealth to gain acceptance from society had no desire for imitators -

(1) SP/63/121/61; Munster depositions, T.C.D.; D. Cressy, "Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730", Historical Journal, 20 (1977).

the universal compulsion to withdraw the ladder after one's own ascent. Such precautions would be necessary only if there was a dangerous number of these "startups" emigrating from England(1).

To escape authority

The most oft-quoted comment on the first settlers comes from an anonymous critic who accounted for the disaster of 1598 by reference to their composition, the analysis of which reads like a police dossier on the Elizabethan underworld. A brief mention is made of the virtuous elements, but others from England and elsewhere were "traitors, murderers, thieves, coseners, conycatchers, shifting mates, runners away with other men's wives, some having two or three wives, persons divorced living loosely, bankrupts, carnal gossellers, Papists, Puritans and Brownists". If the Irish had not dispersed them, "it is like with other plagues, the earth would have gaped, and swallowed them up"(2).

It is hardly surprising Ireland became a haven for malefactors of one kind or another. Although passes were needed to cross the Irish Sea, either they were easily obtained or else the requirement waived, since numerous recidivists turned up there. They came from all quarters of England: one thief journeying to Ireland, when stopped at Coventry, had escaped arrest in Kent. Not only was it possible to cover one's past history and assume a new life, but if discovered there was the difficulty for the authorities over prosecution. Those who committed offences in England were not immune of course, but often the only possible procedure was to send them back to England as the appropriate laws for prosecution were not on the statute book in Ireland. One example was piracy. (From 1607-11, the south-west of Munster, in particular Roaringwater Bay in west Cork, was in

(1) Sir John Leeke to Sir Edmund Verney, 18 August 1638; same to same, 13 September 1638, B.L., Verney letters, M.636/3; exile's quote from Capt. Edward Berkeley, 1581, SP/63/86/34.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.429; similar opinion by Fynes Moryson, Falkiner, Illustrations, p.259.

effect controlled by veteran privateers of the Anglo-Spanish war, unable to adapt themselves to a peaceful life.) Another was bigamy of which there were a number of practitioners in Ireland, the first wife and family usually being left in England. Finally in 1634 an act was passed in the Irish parliament making bigamy a felony, "forasmuch as divers ill-disposed persons, being married, ran out of other of His Majesty's realms or dominions into this realm of Ireland ... where they are not known, and there become to be married, having another husband or wife living"(1).

There are plenty of references throughout the period of debtors fleeing to Ireland. Once there they did not enjoy the protection of official sanctuary, but it was extremely difficult and laborious to move against them by law in Ireland, and by default they achieved a certain immunity. The Privy Council was forced either to order their apprehension and extradition as in 1592, or for the lord deputy to summon the offender and obtain repayment as happened in 1614. A merchant from north-west England spent much time in 1635 tracking down 15 English debtors of his who had fled to Ireland; once located he then had to obtain a mandate from the lord deputy. Prominent English debtors such as Edward Davenant were allowed to go about their business unchallenged, though Aubrey does state his creditors did not pursue him. In the case of capital offences it appears the policy was one of extradition(2).

The authorities contributed to Ireland's unsavoury image by treating it as a disposal ground for English misfits.

- (1) Bigamy examples, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1625-32, p.167; double bigamist in Cork, R.C. Anderson (ed.), The books of examinations and depositions, 1622-44 (Southampton Rec. Soc. 1934), 3, pp.23, 32, 36; Statutes, 2, p.82; bigamy not a civil offence in England until 1603, L. Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 (1979), p.519.
- (2) Debtors, APC, 1591-92, p.559; ibid, 1613-14, p.288; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1633-47, p.235; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1639-40, p.70; B.L., Add. MS 11402, ff.112v, 125; Hainsworth, Lowther, pp.141-45, 149-51, 157-60, 164; Fynes Moryson, Falkiner, Illustrations, p.259; Aubrey, Lives, p.241; murderers fleeing to Ireland, APC, 1616-17, p.411.

In 1606 the troublesome Graham border families were transported to Roscommon and there were schemes to send over further "broken men" from Northumberland. The result was not judged a success. Suggestions were made for a more suitable selection of Englishmen to be transported. When faced with the problem that "the worst and most decayed men are most ready to remove" to Ireland, Spenser's Ireneus desired conscription to be practised in England to get the right sort of people across. An official considering the projected new towns in the Ulster plantation wondered whether tradesmen might not have to be pressed out of England to warrant an incorporation. In 1619 after the trouble over Waterford's catholic corporation, the Dublic Council waxed lyrical about a scheme to transport Bristol merchants to that city. The plan was for 30 families, the majority with stock of £1,000 or at least £500 each. It comes as no surprise to find the Bristol corporation reporting that none with these means remotely wished to live in Waterford(1).

So Ireland remained the destination for embarrassing problems. In 1601 one Lawrence Davells upset Southampton folk by his evident lunacy; an awkward case since he was a former sheriff's son. The corporation had a debate whether to put him into a Bedlam in London or send him to Ireland. (He was shipped eventually to the Low Countries.) Some even considered it evidence of insanity if one chose to go to Ireland. In 1614 a London tradesman was forced to explain a colleague's decision to remove to Munster by his "having an unsolid brain". Lovesick young men found themselves banished there when parents disapproved of an alliance, as happened to Sir Edward More's son in 1602(2).

All these sort of emigrants - the fugitives from justice, the transported, the misfits - provided a loose and restless element among the Munster new English. In fact

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, pp.xcv-ciii; Spenser, View, p.129; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, p.415; ibid, 1615-25, pp.257, 273.

(2) F. Hearnshaw (ed.), Court Leet Records (Southampton Rec. Soc. 1906), 1, 2, pp.343-44; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 6/51; Cal. Carew, 1601-03, p.252.

some did not remain long in the province but moved further west to America or the West Indies. The link between Ireland and America in this period has been appreciated but also misunderstood. While the leaders who were interested and involved in plantations in Ireland and America were English, it has been assumed the indentured retainers shipped over from Munster in the 1620s and 1630s were local Irish. The two shipments which provide some information of the personnel involved were Daniel Gookin's in 1621 and the Abraham's in 1636. Gookin arrived in Virginia from County Cork with 80 individuals in November 1621. It has been taken they were Irish peasants, but the muster list four years later records 20 retainers on Gookin's plantation, all with new English names. It would seem most likely the remaining passengers were English as well(1).

The Abraham's venture in 1636 is recorded in great detail in the High Court of Admiralty papers. The ship was owned by Mathew Craddock of London, first governor of the Massachusetts Bay company, and had been sent to Munster to obtain indentured retainers for Virginia. Craddock's agent supervising the business was Thomas Anthony, who arrived at Kinsale in April before the Abraham and proceeded to hire a tailor to make clothes for the servants. Only when the ship arrived at Kinsale in August was the drum beaten on the first market day at Kinsale, Bandon, Cork and Youghal to advertise for those wishing to go to Virginia. The response from men was inadequate and Anthony had to ride about County Cork spreading the word as well as sending a man to advertise the scheme in Bantry. Finally 61 servants were assembled at Kinsale, 20 of them women.

The two modern historians commenting on the affair again assume the servants to be Irish, but this is not so. Fourteen of the men are named, of whom all are new English apart from one possible Irishman. Six of the women are named and again all are new English apart from one possible Irishwoman. Two

(1) C. Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen (p.b. Oxford 1976), p.417; Gookin, Daniel Gookin, pp.40-50; E.D. Neill, History of the Virginia company of London (Albany N.Y. 1869), pp.285-86.

Irishmen certainly were bound as servants - referred to in Anthony's notes simply as "two Irish", perhaps to distinguish them from the usual English applicants - but they escaped and when Anthony retrieved them (at the cost of 13/-) he was thrown into prison by the Kinsale mayor. He was not released until he had freed the Irishmen and paid a minor fine to the mayor. These two Irishmen may have been kidnapped or inveigled into signing the bond when drunk; or conversely may have happily consumed the beer available at the signing on, the amount usually costing 4d., collected their new clothes and some food at Kinsale, and then run away. Fear of this routine had caused Anthony to delay assembling the servants until the ship had arrived.

Although Anthony found it more difficult to procure sufficient indentured retainers than expected, it was clear there was a thriving export in humans from south Munster. On his arrival a Dutch ship was at Kinsale with 120-140 servants destined for the West Indies. Another Dutch ship was expected shortly which would take 100, but Anthony was unperturbed as he had been assured there were servants enough in the country. The comparative difficulty he had in getting his cargo may have been because of the stated destination of Virginia. All the servants wished to go to St Christopher's in the West Indies where it was rumoured they would receive wages. (In the end they were sold at Barbados.) Yet although the male response for the Abraham was poor at first, it picked up later and after one and a half months the complement was reached. There had been no trouble securing women. If the Abraham's human cargo was largely English it is reasonable to expect a similar story for the Dutch ships and perhaps others in previous years. We do not know how many shipments were made from Munster but the first recorded instance of servants departing was in 1620. The return cargo was often tobacco, imported direct to Munster ports, usually Kinsale. Gookin's successful trip in 1621 prompted other Munster settlers to transport youths to Virginia. And the casual way Anthony reports the presence of rival ships on this trade in 1636 indicates a

steady business by that date(1).

It is not suggested that all who emigrated as servants from Munster during these two decades were new English. That would be a little far fetched, and indeed the majority of Munster emigrants to the Americas probably were Irish and old English. There were Irish servants in the West Indies in the 1630s. The new world had been recommended repeatedly in the early 17th century for the disposal of troublesome local elements, or as an historian writing in 1932 phrased it, "Irish political prisoners", and official encouragement would have been stronger for their removal before any new English. But the fact remains that English were recruited, and in some numbers, which argues the presence of a mobile English lower class in Munster. Indentured retainers were drawn from the bottom rungs of society and it appears the Abraham's passengers were no different at least in terms of promiscuity: at the end of December 1636 while at Cowes waiting for a suitable wind, three of the women were discovered to be pregnant and had to be returned to Munster(2).

Those further up the social scale who moved from England to Munster and then to America were motivated by what might be called the frontiersman's obsession. This compels the individual to keep moving, charting new areas, founding new settlements. Once the domestic bonds have been cut, the adventurer is psychologically free from his surroundings and loses his fear of the unknown(3). Captain William Newce proves an excellent case of this syndrome. He had fought in the nine years war and by 1600 was settled in Munster and soon leasing Raleigh's seignory before selling out to Boyle

(1) P.R.O., HCA/30/636; synopses of papers, A.E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage (N. Carolina 1947), pp.62-66; Bridenbaugh, Englishmen, pp.417-18; both authors refer to the servants as Irish; Bridenbaugh mentions first export of servants 1620, *ibid*, p.417; R.A. Brock (ed.), Abstract of the Proceedings of the Virginia company of London, 1619-24 (Richmond, Va. 1888), 1, p.169; DNB, Craddock.

(2) A. Gwynn, "Documents relating to the Irish in the West Indies", Analecta Hibernica, 4 (1932); P.R.O., HCA/30/636.

(3) R. Pares, "Merchants and Planters", Econ.H.Rev., Supplement 4 (1960).

three years later. Although still on the military list he became restless and found employment shipping 200 Irishmen to Spain in 1605 where his reward was temporary imprisonment. Back in Munster he settled in Kinalmeaky not far from his half company at Kinsale and proceeded to found the nucleus of Bandonbridge. The town grew, awakening a proprietary interest among other settlers, which Newce was pleased enough to gratify as he became increasingly fretful in an ordered life. When the frontier receded Newce went with it. He advanced further up the Bandon River and founded Newcestown. Even this did not satisfy his energy and he applied, unsuccessfully, to become an undertaker in Ulster. Tireless and overactive, he took to travelling. In 1617 he claimed to have lost all his hair and nails after drinking a drugged potion in a bizarre encounter with one of Florence MacCarthy's servants in London.

By the 1620s Munster was completely pacified and Newce forced to look to other barbarous shores to indulge his obsession of spreading civilisation. The answer could only be America and obediently he turns up in Virginia in 1623 with a boatload of fellow frontiersmen. Traces of the Newce spirit can be seen in the careers of Daniel Gookin and Morgan Polden, both prominent Munster settlers who moved around within the province and forward and back between Ireland and America. A wilder figure was Phane Becher, descendant of the Munster undertaker, who had left Ireland (and his nickname of lying Becher) in 1639 for St Christopher's in the Caribbean, where he proceeded to organise a rebellion against the authorities in 1642(1).

The image of Ireland as a rough frontier society suited many in England. Some in authority approved of the fighting

(1) N.L.I., MS 6141 (Youghal); Cal.S.P.Ire., 1601-03, p.90; HMC, Salisbury, 18, p.198; B.L., Add. MS 11402, f.99v; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, pp.365-68; ibid, 1615-25, p.158; Brock, Virginia, 1, pp.63, 76, 110, 117, 120, 125, 133; Neill, Virginia, pp.374, 381; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 7/59, 18/131; N.L.I., MS 6139, p.5; J.H. Bennett, "The English Caribbees in the period of the civil war, 1642-46", William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., 24 (1967).

and lawless elements as providing an excellent training ground for soldiers and an outlet for furious spirits miscast for England's peaceful ways. They saw no great need to speed the civilising process in Ireland, though this view was challenged of course by the reformers who were in the majority(1). When we consider the careers of several Elizabethans, this impression of Ireland as a convenient practice area is confirmed. Smart young courtiers treated a few years there in much the same way as Russian aristocrats in the 19th century looked to the Caucasus as an adventure playground with real weapons. It is true that the Low Countries fulfilled the main role as a finishing school for England's military men at this time, but Ireland had the advantage of being an arena where the rules of war were not scrupulously observed. The enemy, after all, were practically savages. The court veneer peeled off the well groomed youths and belligerent notions could be allowed full rein. Doubtless there was much manly relief to be obtained from pursuing unlimited warfare. It was the cause also of those controversial incidents, perhaps atrocities, which took place in Ireland during the early modern period.

(1) Herbert, Croftus, p.17 (B.L., Harl. MS 35, f.147v); Quinn, "A discourse (c.1599)", Proc.RIA, 47 (1942) Sect. C, pp.154, 156, 163.

CHAPTER 7. THE ECONOMY

One further, pressing reason for emigration to Munster was the increasing number of commercial and industrial jobs available to Englishmen. The early 17th century saw the recovery after 1603 develop into a steady upsurge of the economy. Forty years of peace enabled Munster's performance to begin to match its potential. Natural resources were worked efficiently, manufactures set up, some familiar, others innovative, and a switch made to new fields of economic activity. The results can be seen in the pronounced increase of trade, particularly exports; the development of domestic production and internal trade coupled with the founding of towns and markets; and a gradual change in the appearance of the countryside. This chapter will examine certain aspects of the part played by the new English in this alteration and the nature of their contribution(1).

Exploiting natural resources

Fishing and wood were two traditional areas of the economy open to improvement and accordingly seized upon by the newcomers. From desultory pursuits they were developed into flourishing, if temporary, concerns employing large numbers of settlers. Details as to the nature of each business cannot be covered here and comment will be confined to a brief description of the trade and estimate of new English involved.

With chronological neatness the turn of the century saw the introduction of a new fishery which transformed the trade in Munster. For some reason the pilchard shoals, which spawned in the Atlantic in spring and approached the land in late summer, began to abandon English waters in favour of

(1) Two standard overviews on Irish economy now dated, G. O'Brien, The economic history of Ireland in the 17th century (Dublin 1919); A.K. Longfield, Anglo-Irish trade in the 16th century; superseded by A. Clarke, "The Irish economy, 1600-60", Moody, New History; L. Cullen, The emergence of modern Ireland, 1600-1900 (1981); for south Munster detailed account of all aspects of the economy by D. Dickson, "An economic history of the Cork region in the 18th century", (Ph.D., Dublin 1977); chapter one, pp.1-55, covers economy in the first half of 17th century.

the south-west of Ireland. Following this westward tendency of the pilchard came English fishermen who proceeded to found fisheries along the coast of west Cork and Kerry. The pilchard catch dominated the fishing industry, the value of exports reaching £29,000 in 1626. Practically all pilchard exports came from Cork and Kerry. The west Cork ports of Baltimore, Crookhaven and Bantry plus Kenmare in Kerry, responsible for their respective "creeks" such as Skull, Leamcon, Whiddy and Bearehaven, accounted for no less than 82% of the trade in 1617, 78% in 1622 and 75% in 1626(1).

Apart from Kinsale, the chief Munster fisheries were run by Englishmen. Baltimore and Crookhaven were each towns of about 100 English families and there were smaller settlements at Whiddy Island, Bantry and Kenmare. In the early years until the 1620s, the inhabitants pursued further interests besides fishing, namely providing a refuge for the pirates who operated freely in this region from the late 1600s. The pilchard trade reached its height around 1630 and there are signs of decline by 1641, especially for the western ports. Perhaps an English population of 2,000 was engaged in the fisheries during the most productive years.

A more visible and hence more dramatic exploitation of natural resources than fishing was wood cutting. Systematic felling began in the 1590s and reached its peak in Munster in the first quarter of the 17th century. Much of the wood was shaped on the spot to make staves for coopering and then exported; other timber was destined for naval supplies. Munster did not dominate the national trade as with pilchards. Throughout the period, Wexford in south Leinster was responsible for the greatest amount of wood exports. In

(1) Pilchard valuation achieved by taking one ton to be £8.6.8; export figures for 1617, Kent R/O, Sackville MS EN, M.877; for 1622, Huntingdon R/O, Kimbolton MS 70/30 (reproduced V. Treadwell, "Irish financial administrative reform under James I: the customs and state regulation of Irish trade" (Ph.D., Belfast 1960)); for 1626, P.R.O.I., CO/388/85/A15; for 1641, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1669-70, Add. 1625-70, p.54; major s.w. fisheries, port by port in 1634, suggested by respective salt imports, Hainsworth, Lowther, p.147.

Munster, Youghal decisively led exports in 1617 and 1622, but in the 1630s its primary role was taken by Cork. The trade was greatly inferior in value to the fisheries. In 1617, the year of greatest exports, the value of timber and staves exported from Munster was £3,000. As with fishing, the business was dominated by the newcomers, though not to the same extent since woodcutting expenses were comparatively minor(1).

In addition to the English who came over to cut the wood, there were others engaged in the industry which swallowed up vast quantities as fuel. Iron was manufactured in Munster from the earliest days of the plantation, and among initial undertakers involved were Raleigh, Norris, Sir William Herbert and Becher, though for the last two there is no evidence their projected ironworks ever commenced production(2). In the 17th century Boyle was the most celebrated producer but there were further ironworks in Cork and Kerry, all owned and managed by the settlers. Altogether the number of Englishmen and their families supported by the iron business and the related wood trade, including the production of staves for export, was about 2,500 at its height in the 1610s and 1620s.

Continuity

English involvement in the wood and fish trades, however vigorous, cannot be judged as revolutionary or indeed strictly innovative. Resources were limited, moreover, and production

- (1) Taking valuation of 1,000 pipestaves at £6; 1,000 hogshead staves at £3; one ton of timber £1; 1617, 1622 and 1626 figures see above; 1634-40 exports, SP/63/259/46.4.
- (2) Raleigh, APC, 1591, p.214; ibid, 1595-96, pp.453-54; N.L.I., MS 6141 (Inchiquin); Norris, Grosart, Lismore, 2, 1, p.4; map, Greenwich, N.M.M., Dartmouth collection (16.L.38), no.27; SP/63/196/55 (c.1609 not 1596 as in Cal.S.P.Ire., 1596-97, p.197, but ref. to old forge near Mallow probably Norris' site); Herbert, N.L.I., MS 7861, ff.166-78; Becher, Laurence Loggin's offer for ironworks in Ireland, 2 September 1589, Nottingham, Middleton MSS 5/165/75; Mr Draycott's testimony against Payne, 2 March 1592, ibid, 5/165/126.

in both areas reached its peak before 1640. Pilchards continued to make their wayward appearance after this date but their numbers were never so great again. Wood was to be found and cut in Munster, especially in Kerry in the later 17th century, but the days of easily accessible timber at cheap prices were over. With them went iron production, strongly dependent on constant and comparatively inexpensive supplies of fuel. On a long term basis the English impact on these aspects of the Munster economy may not unfairly be described as transitory.

Did the newcomers introduce any permanent economic improvement to the province? A glance at exports from Munster during this period may seem to supply the answer. Before 1600 there was some export of wool but little from the south-west. No cattle were exported at all. Yet in the early 17th century these two trades overtook everything else. A connection can be made with the plantation, for a crucial element was the introduction of different stock. The initial settlers had been encouraged to import their own breeds of cattle and sheep, and many did bring over English livestock in the first years of settlement, concentrating upon stud animals for breeding purposes.

This export-led aspect of Munster's economy has been well covered in recent years and here only a few chief points will be noticed. One is Youghal's ascendancy in the first two decades to complete dominance in the 1630s. In 1611 it had been placed sixth among the Irish ports for the value of its customs, but already was noted for its potential: "this town ... increases both in habitation and trade by reason of the English that daily resort thither out of the western parts to inhabit and plant thereabouts". By 1632 it had moved to second place behind Dublin. Wool was its chief export followed by cattle on the hoof. Youghal's position was the only surprise in Munster, for the next three ports were Cork, Waterford and Limerick respectively - the three ancient old English cities. More will be said about Youghal's astonishing performance and the town's composition at the end of this chapter(1).

(1) Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.175; B.L., Harl. MS 2048, ff.26-52.

The custom figures of 1632 also illustrate the marked degree of exports over imports. Looking westwards from Dungarvan, the exports of that town were 74% of its trade, for Youghal 85%, Cork 55%, Kinsale 68%, Baltimore 82%, Crookhaven 79%, Bantry and Bearehaven 84%, Kenmare, Dingle and Tralee 77% and Limerick 62%. Considering that Youghal's total trade was second only to Dublin, the fact of its export percentage being the highest in Munster demonstrates the massive volume of these exports. Munster was not atypical in being export-led, and where the returns exist for other Irish ports a similar pattern is shown. The above figures speak for themselves. Apart from Youghal, the old established towns and Cork in particular have a higher rate of imports than the newer ports, especially those in the south-west which functioned almost entirely on fish exports with clearly little market for imports(1).

Plantation theorists would not have been happy about Munster's concentration on wool and cattle exports. The equation hammered home by every English commentator was that pastoralism encouraged slothness, instability and the Irish way of life. The settlers' job was to transplant the new England to Munster, and in agricultural terms this meant the promotion of arable farming. Yet the incontestable increase in agricultural produce during our period came from wool and stock, both found mainly in south Munster and among large numbers of enthusiastic new English landlords.

The most striking consequence of the English investment in pastoralism came in 1619 when the Munster council, composed largely of settlers, endorsed complaints against the wool staple and Youghal's monopoly of exports. The new regulations were so inconvenient, it said, that planters were being forced to abandon their English sheep and pasture and let the land to the Irish for tillage(2). This plea must have trod the tightrope between two long established government principles for Ireland. One was to promote arable farming

(1) Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.175; B.L., Harl. MS 2048, ff.26-52.

(2) Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.423.

against pastoral, the other to get as many English families across to Ireland and settled by whatever means possible. The new English were well aware of the second aim and time and again played on the theme of the poor distressed settlers likely to return to England when applying for grants or special consideration. Of course they were conscious of the first principle as well but by 1619 evidently reckoned it could be overridden by sufficient emphasis to the second. Though the settlers appeared to be on the side of pasture, it was at least for English sheep owned by Englishmen; though against conversion to arable, it was after all going to be tillage by Irishmen. In short what they were saying in 1619 was that their success depended on the reversal of one of the official aims of the plantation(1).

The predominance of pastoral farming in Munster is unsurprising. What is peculiar is that the English authorities tried to impose an agricultural social policy (tillage) on a land plainly unsuitable. They were not ignorant of the uneconomic nature of their plan, but persevered for political reasons alone. "And to say truth," said Spenser, "though Ireland is by nature counted a great soil of pasture, yet had I rather few cows kept and men better mannered than to have such huge increase of cattle and no increase of good conditions." Yet the author of this opinion was an undertaker himself and would come to realise the futility of such advice(2).

Corn production certainly existed in Munster but on a moderate scale, with perhaps little increase from the years before the plantation. There is ample evidence to correct older historians such as O'Brien and O'Donovan who credit Munster with very little tillage and quote only examples of corn imports into the province. On the contrary, it is clear Munster was well known for its corn before the advent of the plantation. It was one reason why the proto-undertakers in 1569 and their successors in the 1580s pressed for beneficial terms for corn exports. The corn exported

(1) Irony first suggested by Treadwell, "Irish financial administration", p.347.

(2) Spenser, View, p.158.

was largely wheat, with minor amounts of oats and barley at prices consistently less than in England.

The element of continuity cannot be disguised. Economic historians are fond of identifying "revolutions" breaking out in any period under scrutiny, and indeed a revolution in economic activity has been discovered for early modern southern Munster principally following from the effect of the plantation(1). It is perfectly possible to discern a revolution on one level as seen by the improvements, perhaps transformations, in this period; but shift the focus and another level comes into view, one where calm succession and uninterrupted patterns are the operative words.

Furthermore there is the vexed question of the plantation's impact upon the economy. There were many advances in this period, but attributing responsibility to one or other section of the community is an awkward and sometimes unrealistic business. This is the unfortunate consequence of writing nationalist history, especially when the subject is one race amongst others. What would be more sensible - but outside the scope of this work - would be to examine a particular region and all the economic forces within it. In the present case the most sophisticated method available is to ponder the names featured in the casual references to respective trades, place them under the several headings of new English, Irish, rural old English and urban old English, and then apportion credit to the most numerous group - hardly a reassuring system for discovering the catalyst behind each economic development. Finally one must not forget the effect of forty years of peace upon the province. It is hardly surprising Munster's economy powerfully improved. From the famine and destruction of the early 1600s the economic graph could only move upwards. Progress of some kind would have occurred, plantation or not.

An example of the difficulty in determining the actual rate of progress can be seen over enclosures, where the evidence is confusing and contradictory. Undoubtedly there were more of them by 1640 than 1580 but were they numerous

(1) Dickson, "Economic history", p.5.

enough to challenge the assertion of continuity in agricultural practices? In the late 16th century the want of enclosures in Munster had been stated frequently and recommendations made for hedging and ditching. Special attention was paid to the undertakers and hopes expressed that enclosures might radiate out from their settlements. One satisfying response came in the 17th century with Boyle's leases, in which almost invariably occurred the injunction for the tenant to enclose, ditch and quickset the land. Whitethorn plants were used for hedging as in the west country of England. Several times Boyle was praised for his planting and enclosing "altogether after the English manner". Other examples in the same period, most of them between old English landlords and tenants, show no such provision(1).

The enclosing stipulations in Boyle's leases suggest an open countryside before the advent of the new English: in many areas, it seems, the settlers had to start clearing and enclosing from scratch. This was so even along the lush valley of the River Bride. One splendidly executed estate map of Pyne's holding at Mogeley is dated conveniently in 1598 just before the rebellion and 10 years after the settlers had been in possession(2). It neatly depicts over 20 fields fanning out from the central area of castle, church, houses and orchards, all with one exception given prosaic English descriptive names - The Meadow, The Park Close, The Barley Close, The New Close - which strongly indicates post plantation enclosing. The cartographer has drawn in fences and located gates for most enclosures while a surveyor provides the acreage. Most fields were of a moderate size with only three on the periphery being more than 100 acres. The Mogeley map is unique for this period and others in Munster are more large scale and far cruder affairs. But one early 1600 map of Youghal does show similar enclosures clustered

(1) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.400; SP/63/168/42; Cal.S. P.Ire., 1592-96, p.314; ibid, 1596-97, p.19; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 1, p.158; Boyle leases, N.L.I., MSS 6139, 6141-42; other early 17th century leases in Cork, P.R.O.I., IA/48/106.

(2) Mogeley map N.L.I.; reproduction, Andrews, Irish maps, no.12.

outside the walls of the town and Piltown across the Blackwater estuary, in sharp contrast to the rest of the countryside which lies untouched. Whether these were contributed by the new English is more doubtful(1).

The situation improved slightly in the early 17th century. The inquisitions start to delineate boundaries with great attention to detail and frequent mention of hedges and ditches. Many were fairly recent, especially ditches designed as border markers, and in some cases, such as the inquisitions over Carriglemlery seignory in 1612, the jurors ordered a border ditch to be dug to link with previous barriers including a line of stakes set up by the first undertaker in the 1580s. Highways appear to have been common and often served as demarcation lines(2).

Weighed against this impressionistic evidence of increasing enclosures comes a proclamation by the Munster council in 1617 which flatly states most of the province lay open and unenclosed. This meant trouble with roving stock and disputes over boundaries. The new order was for all freeholders and those with over seven year leases to fence their lands by hedge or ditch. Those with short leases were to fence half and their landlord the other half. The Kinsale corporation echoed this call in a bye-law two years later. It is an open matter whether the proclamation had any real effect. Landowners everywhere agree good fences make good neighbours, and the Munster farmer would set them up when he could. At any rate no prosecutions are recorded for disobeying this order(3).

Tradesmen and artisans

Not all the new English were engaged in the exploitation of natural resources or agriculture. The 1641 depositions

(1) T.C.D., Hardiman atlas, MS 1209, no.67.

(2) Chancery inquisitions, P.R.O.I.; esp. Cork, 2, IA/48/59, pp.248-54; 3, IA/48/60, pp.513-32, 585; IA/48/63, p.699; costs of ditching, N.L.I., MS 6897, March 1627.

(3) B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.203; Caulfield, Kinsale, p.5; Munster council repeated complaint, 1619, Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.423.

for the whole of Munster including the non-plantation areas record 300 tradesmen and craftsmen among the near 1,400 listed, and their breakdown, while statistically of little value because of the nature of the source, affords an interesting glimpse of this group's composition(1).

The largest contingent were the 68 individuals connected with the textile/wool/clothing trades. The major ingredient of this division were the textile workers numbering 32 and including 13 clothiers, nine weavers, and dyers, tuckers, fullers and other specialists. The clothing trade contained 28 workers and consisted of 16 tailors, eight glovers, two hatters, one embroiderer and one hosier. All told this combined division accounted for 23% of the Munster tradesmen in the depositions. Their percentage in reality was certainly higher, because the centres of the province's cloth trade were in the towns and regions not captured or permanently occupied by the rebels; though Clonakilty and Tallow, both with textile industries, were deserted by their inhabitants for the larger towns of refuge. But the predominant reason for this total being a fraction of the numbers in existence before 1641 (the same qualification applying to all classes and trades) is the inadequate coverage of the depositions. Not only those who made their way to England or areas other than the English enclave within the Bandon, Cork and Youghal region went unrecorded, but so did any common labourer without sufficient chattels or a lease to interest the deposition takers. As will be shown some of this last group must have been employees in the textile business.

Until fairly recently the extent of the Munster cloth industry has not been appreciated. True there operated a well established production of frieze and rugs which were used for local wear and had been exported for hundreds of years(2). But no proof exists of works similar to English

(1) For our purposes Munster is taken to mean counties Cork, Limerick, Kerry and Decies and Coshmore/Coshbride baronies in west Waterford; depositions in T.C.D., MSS 820, 822-29.

(2) J. Bernard, "The maritime intercourse between Bordeaux and Ireland, c.1450-1520", Irish Econ. & Soc. Hist., 7 (1980).

textile manufactures until the 17th century. It is quite probable attempts were made to establish such works in the first plantation. A likely candidate was busy Mr Robert Payne whom we have seen visited Munster in the late 1580s, became a freeholder though not resident for long, and wrote a rosy pamphlet extolling the new life to be found there. In England Payne was well known as a "projector" and at the time the Munster plantation was first under way and the initial settlers going over, had been engaged in developing jersey wool for stockings and growing woad in Nottinghamshire. His patron was Sir Francis Willoughby and Payne might well have sought his backing over a similar project in Munster. Certainly Willoughby had connections with Phane Becher, the London businessman and undertaker in Cork, and it was on Becher's seignory that Payne obtained his freehold of 600 acres and for whom he composed his encomium. Payne was used to investigate conditions suitable for establishing an ironworks in Kinalmeaky, to be run by an English ironmaster with Willoughby as a sleeping partner and utilising woods recently purchased by Willoughby in the region. His pamphlet was assembled by letters written by Payne in 1589 "unto 25 of his partners" who apparently lived in Nottinghamshire. Payne already was in difficulties with Willoughby over the stockings business. Can the letters have been to his fellow workers in the Willoughby project whom Payne was hoping would leave England for a similar venture in Munster? If some did appear in Cork, Payne was not long able to lead them. In 1590 he had been appointed Becher's agent in Kinalmeaky but next year was sacked when the undertaker arrived in Munster and discovered faulty accounts and other misconduct. By 1592 he was a prisoner in London at the suit of Phane Becher, described as one of Sir Francis Willoughby's followers. Payne died that year, Becher the next, and with them the likelihood of any new textile manufacture in Munster(1).

(1) Payne, Description; Nottingham, Middleton MSS 5/165/75, 126; APC, 1591-92, pp.240, 372; R.S. Smith, "A woad growing project at Wollaton in the 1580s", Trans. Thoroton Soc., 65 (1961); Thirsk, Economic Policy, pp.19, 38.

A determined attempt to set up works was made in the 1610s and although it failed, the account is revealing of the problems and opportunities which such enterprises in Munster presented. The moving spirit was Thomas Wilson, the keeper of the records in London, who had been involved in an earlier wood venture in west Cork in the late 1600s. His position precluded visits to Ireland and his representative in the wood partnership had been his brother Christopher Wilson(1). Ultimately the wood project had proved a failure, but while in west Cork young Wilson, who had been brought up among Suffolk clothiers and was experienced in the trade, noted the region was ideal for cloth making, "there being very great store of wool, whereof much was fit for making of broadclothes and the rest for bayes and new draperies which was now all employed in making of Irish rugs and such coarse cloth". Christopher Wilson reckoned there were above 2,000 English households in the Bandon/Baltimore region "whereof a great part of them had been trained up in the mystery of clothing in England".

Thus encouraged by his brother's report, Thomas Wilson turned his attention in the early 1610s to establishing a cloth industry in west Cork. The problem of course was capital. The initial investment had to be two to three thousand pounds for the necessary buildings, mills and equipment. Despite promises by English backers and Boyle, money was not forthcoming and the project failed. However it is likely some small beginnings resulted from this scheme, whether actually established in 1616/17 or not. In a postscript to his account Wilson urged modest, small-scale cloth manufactures to be tried by the "great number of English there already which have been brought up in that faculty and divers of them sent over by myself and carried over by my brother". Certainly such men formed the framework

(1) DNB, Wilson; SP/63/221/30; 225/276, 269B; HMC, Salisbury, 21, p.40.

for the later, undisputable cloth manufactures in Munster(1).

In the early 1620s Sir Thomas Roper managed to find the time and money to set up a cloth works near Dublin. It was a most advanced institution producing well dressed coloured cloth, but the expertise required, consequent expense and inadequate domestic market caused a collapse after two years. This analysis of Roper's failure was made by one John Greene when proposing that Boyle should back Greene in a less ambitious project to exploit the great quantities of English wool in Munster. Greene's plan was for the manufacture of undressed white broadcloths, known as wiltshire whites, which he claimed would be five times as cheap to produce than Roper's coloured cloth and required "no curious workmanship". The goods would not be sold in Ireland, as Roper had done, but exported to the Netherlands. Profits would be immense and whichever town was selected would have any unemployment problems resolved immediately. Greene reckoned that to produce 20 cloths a week called for 300 workers, 100 of them skilled(2).

How Boyle responded to this appeal is unknown. As with Wilson's project he would have seemed the ideal backer: looking for extra employment for the inhabitants of his new towns, and general economic incentives to entice future settlers from England; and with the means to realise these aims. But the reaction might have been the same as his final decision on Wilson's proposal. There is no record of any support by Boyle for Greene in the 1620s, whereas several times in the 1630s his diary and disbursement accounts note sums lent to cloth manufactures at Tallow, Kilmackoe (in the Tallow region), Cappaquin and Clonakilty. All told the amount was a modest £475, but £50 was a gift and the remainder lent with the conscious intention of forwarding the works

(1) "A declaration of the project of setting up of clothing and new drapery...", Thomas Wilson, 4 February 1617, SP/63/234/2, 16A; APC, 1615-16, p.637; ibid, 1616-17, p.139; Bennett, Bandon, p.61; for Gloucestershire cloth specialists emigrating to Cork, R. Ffoliot, The Pooles of Mayfield and other Irish families (Dublin 1958), pp.31-33.

(2) Grosart, Lismore, 2, 3, pp.126, 142; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1615-25, p.361; Chatsworth, Lismore, 15/93.

rather than making a profit: "to set the poor English in those parts on work" and other similar phrases occur in his diary alongside the amounts as if Boyle had to remind himself the reason for such unbusinesslike loans. These towns with the important addition of Bandon comprised the focus of the Munster clothworks. There was the continual production of traditional Irish frieze in the old towns, especially Cork, Youghal and Dungarvan, but the new trade was largely run, managed and staffed by the settlers(1).

Some foreigners were engaged in the business as well. In 1614 William Massam, one of the custom farmers visiting Cork, was surprised no Wiltshire clothiers had yet come to Ireland considering the cheapness of provisions and availability of wool. These favourable circumstances, he said, had recently drawn over 40 Dutch cloth workers to join a venture organised by Derrick Huberts, probably a fellow national. In the 1630s Balthazar Moll and Francis Massonie, who sound of Flemish/Huguenot extraction, were supervising cloth manufactures at Tallow. None of the other cloth entrepreneurs or leading clothiers mentioned by name in Munster were foreigners. Unlike glass manufacturing there were sufficiently skilled Englishmen able to manage the relatively unsophisticated Munster works(2).

Information on two leading clothiers provide some details of the nature of this industry. In the 1630s William Page ran manufactures at Kilmackoe, where he lived, and nearby Tallow. In 1635 Boyle lent him £100 to advance his clothing interests. Then next year he patronised Page's mingled coloured frieze to make himself a suit and later ordered two less lavish suits for his footmen and six red cloaks for his musicians. In time all Boyle's household, including his children, were clothed by Page. Whether his fashionable children wore these local garments for long is doubtful. A more constant investor for Page was Simon

(1) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 4, pp.24, 99, 128, 139; 1, 5, p.23; N.L.I., MS 6898, April-August 1634, October 1635.

(2) Kent R/O, Sackville MSS EN, M/18, 23; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 4, p.24.

Gibbons, a spectacularly successful Youghal businessman with many contacts in England and easy access to bills of exchange.

Page was exporting on a regular basis to the Netherlands when he died in 1640. His death caused some consternation in Tallow with the threat of unemployment for his workforce. (Gibbons had died the year before.) "I am much afraid that Page's manufactures will be at a stand," wrote John Whalley, Boyle's steward at Lismore, "by reason that he died poor and that Mr Quarles (who did before support him) is much discouraged by the loss of his ship, which went from Youghal about the end of May last, full laden with cloth from Page and others, since which time she has not been heard of." Yet Page left in stock cloth worth nearly £1,000 and "very complete provisions for work at the old forge [Kilmackoe] and had left an able young man, his son, that can manage it, and I do much desire that the work may be continued, which maintained about 150 poor people"(1).

One of the leading townsmen in Bandon was Henry Turner younger son of a Kentish man. He set himself up as a clothier and soon became a prominent tradesman, and provost in 1627 and 1638. His concerns were not confined to the cloth trade. He engaged in general commerce such as supplying the Abraham with grain, butter and meat; and more surreptitiously purchasing tobacco and pepper from a pirate in 1625. In the depositions he put his losses at £774 (which did not include household goods since he lived in Bandon) and added a postscript which claimed that "his trading is quite decayed to the value of £400 p.a. which he got by dealing with Mr John Quarles of Amsterdam, a Dutch merchant but an Englishman, who was bound in £1,000 bond to take and convey off him in 1½ years, 600 broadcloths". This number of broadcloths was more than the total of 506 exported in the year 1640/41. Turner's trade with others was a further loss of £100 p.a. Another Bandon clothier, provost when the depositions were taken, claimed the loss of £120 p.a. from his interrupted trade in cloth. In the wars Henry

(1) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 4, pp.128, 173, 214; N.L.I., MS 6899, throughout 1636; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 20/143.

Turner clothed the settlers' troops and continued to employ clothworkers until his death in 1648(1).

Who was this Mr Quarles who played such an important role in the export market for Munster cloth? The name was a prominent one in the City of London and has been identified in the Elizabethan period as one of 15 London families which stood out because of their large progeny, numbers and fortune for surviving. Individual members in the 1590s were drapers and mercers. Other Quarles married into the same Becher and Billingsley families which went to Munster in the first plantation. In the early 17th century one James Quarles appears as Boyle's tenant. He left Munster in 1615 to join his brother in Spain, perhaps because he was a catholic smoked out by the then anti English recusant drive. Although no relationship can be traced between this man and the John Quarles who received the cloth exports in the 1630s, some connection is likely considering the common Munster link(2).

John Quarles had been a member of the Merchant Adventurers but by 1629 had been expelled - unjustly he maintained - after marrying a Dutchwoman, and so he settled in Holland. In the 1630s he was located variously at Rotterdam, Delft and Amsterdam. Soon he became a merchant of note and financier employed by the English government to negotiate loans and purchases of arms in the late 1630s. It is reasonable to suppose he patronised the Munster/Holland trade because of a previous family connection in the province. In 1638 he made the mistake of lending money to Boyle's daughter, Lady Goring, while expecting repayment from her father, who was quick to inform him that "as she is my daughter, so she is another man's wife". But because Quarles "intends and has

- (1) Ffoliot, Irish families, p.239; Bennett, Bandon, pp.546-47; P.R.O., HCA/30/636; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1615-25, p.585; T.C.D., MSS 824, ff.118-18v; 825, f.62; 1641 exports, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1669-70, Add. 1625-70, p.54.
- (2) F.F. Foster, The politics of stability (1977), pp.101, 167; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 1, pp.114, 246; J.G. White, Historical and Topographical notes etc. on Buttevant, Castletownroche, Doneraile, Mallow, and places in their vicinity (Cork 1905-25), 1, p.185; J.J. Howard, Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica (1868), 1, p.252.

been to beat a great trade in our country" Boyle arranged to sell him iron at competitive rates. Quarles bought Boyle's iron in 1639 but his chief Munster trade continued to be in broadcloths. As shown he supported Page at Tallow and probably Turner at Bandon. He had the means without doubt. In 1640 Quarles paid a visit to Youghal and the size of his Irish operation can be measured by the fact that despite losses of £1,500 in bad debts he appeared confident in regaining this from his Munster trade and could conclude "I have found my Munster business better than I expected". He also referred to a patent "for transporting the cloth I make here", which confirms his controlling role regarding the works at Tallow, Bandon and probably other towns(1).

Quarles was vital not only because of his capital but ability to find a market for this Munster cloth. One of the drawbacks of Roper's manufactures was the inadequacy of the planned home market: "tied here to a bad market," commented John Greene, "where money is scarce and bandall cloth plenty cheap, and so much worn, as doth and will always much abridge the sale and price of better cloth here". Not only did Quarles arrange for the goods to go to Holland, but the production of undressed white broadcloths unlike Roper's more sophisticated coloured cloth, itself a weak and local imitation of Cockayne's project earlier in England - and no more successful(2).

The point is that most of the new cloth manufactured in Munster went abroad to be finished in the Netherlands. The large and regular amounts of English cloth imported to Munster throughout the period - witness the Port Books - went unchallenged by local production and probably was one reason why Wentworth belied his words and made no apparent move to halt the Munster manufactures. So long as Ireland was fulfilling its colonial role by importing textiles from the

(1) Cal.S.P.Dom., 1628-29, p.444; ibid, 1635-36, pp.304, 319; ibid, 1637-38, passim; ibid, 1639, p.377; ibid, 1640, p.45; APC, 1628-29, p.312; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 5, p.76; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers 19/69; second Boyle letter book, 1634-41, pp.289, 335, 355; SP/63/258/4.

(2) Grosart, Lismore, 2, 3, p.142.

home country then there was no call for interference(1).

After Roper's fiasco nowhere is there evidence of the manufacture of finished broadcloths ready for the tailor. Of course this does not mean all Munster was clothed in English imports - far from it. Traditional Irish frieze continued to cover the majority of the population. At Kinsale in 1636 the Abraham's agent obtained coloured, russet, grey horse colour and white friezes as well as linen and the usual rugs and cadows. Most of these items were best ordered at Cork he said. In the 1620s "whitish grey" frieze was reckoned suitable for clothing soldiers with cassocks, jerkins and breeches. Irish cloth continued to be exported to England throughout the period, passing English cloth on the reverse journey. One particularly valued piece of Irish clothing, as opposed to unworked frieze cloth, were stockings which regularly appear in the Port Books being exported from Munster to England. From there many were re-exported to France(2).

It must be remembered however that the bulk of wool was exported and not worked up in the province(3). And those engaged in the Munster cloth industry were not fully committed to the extent of reinvesting their profits in the business. The depositions clearly demonstrate the part time nature of the clothworkers in their trade, with most individuals possessing other interests. The chief clothiers had concerns in many aspects of the Munster economy - tanning and stock for example - which is a possible sign of the cloth trade's weakness. It has been said that secondary

(1) Knowler, Strafford, 2, p.19; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1633-47, p.134.

(2) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, p.138; 1, 4, p.173; 1, 5, p.37; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1647-60, p.107; J. Thirsk, "The fantastical folly of fashion: the English stocking knitting industry, 1500-1700", N.B. Harte and K.G. Ponting (ed.), Textile History and Economic History (Manchester 1973), p.65.

(3) Wool exports for year 1637/38 reached height of 190,000 stone; this figure 30,000 stone more than usually quoted one of 160,000 stone; for example, Moody, New History, pp.179; 391; graph in H.F. Kearney, Strafford (Manchester 1959), p.152, aggregate of just the six ports he distinguishes, using export figures for 1630s, SP/63/259/46.1.

production in Ireland suffered at this time from the size and relative self sufficiency of the agricultural centre; combined with the concentration of wealth in few hands this inevitably restricted consumption. With this in mind the underdevelopment and shortcomings of the Munster new cloth industry should not cause much surprise. And what success there was can be attributed to the fact the English wisely did not attempt to supply the home market but went for a safe sale abroad(1).

Another Quarles, again called John though a generation older than the Dutch resident, may have been concerned with a different export from Munster in the 1590s. This John Quarles was brother-in-law to William Becher, both of them London merchants involved with victualling Crown forces. More than likely was a connection with yet one more of the ubiquitous Quarles - James Quarles the official surveyor-in-general for navy victuals in the 1590s. In turn William Becher may have been the fourth son of Henry Becher, London merchant and sheriff in 1567, and hence brother to Phane Becher, the Munster undertaker(2). Even supposing the more speculative strands of this genealogical web snap, it is quite clear a group of London merchants, including the Quarles and Becher families, were supplying the services; and that Munster was appreciated for its food exports in the 1590s. The settlers were aware of this market and eager to exploit it. Piers at Carriglemlery sent beef to the navy at Plymouth in 1596 and outlined an ambitious plan for regular supplies to Crown forces. At the same time others emphasised the cheaper price of foodstuffs in Ireland, particularly corn and beef from Munster for victualling purposes(3).

In the next century the trade slowly developed. English

(1) Moody, New History, p.182.

(2) Both John Quarles in 1590s and 1630s related to Sir William Becher and might have been father and son, Cal.S.P.Dom., 1594-97, p.394; ibid, 1628-29, p.444; Becher biography.

(3) Cal.S.P.Dom., 1594-97, p.264; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1596-97, pp.33, 147, 149.

entrepreneurs drew up price lists of Munster provisions and the profits to be obtained if exported to Spain and America as well as England. In 1628 a navy victualler judged Munster foodstuffs to be 25% cheaper than England. Two years earlier a proclamation by the lord deputy anticipated the cattle acts of the 1660s, which unintentionally were to benefit Munster's economy by forcing an expansion on the processing side, by forbidding exports of cattle on the hoof for one year since the slaughtering and associated trades were being bypassed and ruined(1).

The nascent trade played its part in encouraging English emigration, particularly to Youghal. Of the 484 identified tradesmen admitted to the town in the 30 years after 1610, 33 were butchers, 24 of them Englishmen. In the 1630s the scale of slaughtering inside the town was so great that the townsmen's lives were in danger from "the sudden assaults of mad cows ranging up and down the streets in furious manner, pursued by barking dogs and blood sucking curs". A good example of the trade's importance for the newcomers to Youghal is provided by a glowing reference from St Leger and Boyle in 1628 on behalf of the town's attempt to retain its quasi-monopoly of wool exports. Besides managing this export the English also ran the victualling trade, said St Leger and Boyle, which acted as a foot in the door to eventual settlement in Munster: "till having gotten some knowledge of the country, from thence as from a seminary, they disperse themselves to several plantations"(2).

Though increasing numbers appreciated the commercial advantages, actual growth of the Munster provisioning trade was minor in this period. The volume of exports for the recorded years of 1617, 1622 and 1626 show relatively small amounts of beef leaving the ports. Cork, Kinsale and

(1) Kent R/O, Sackville MS EN, M/18; B.L., Add. MS 3827, ff.16-18; Knowler, Strafford, 1, pp.104-05, 110; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1647-60, p.127; Caulfield, Youghal, pp.127-28.

(2) Ibid, pp.182, 202-11, 243; last reference unsigned and undated but from St Leger and Boyle in 1628 as is letter misdated 1643, *ibid*, pp.240-42; cf. *ibid*, pp.135-41.

Youghal, in that order, were the chief outlets. In fact Munster's proportion declined in these years, though it led the field in bacon exports. Not until the later 17th century did the province dominate the victualling business.

Exports might have been small in volume in the first half of the century but the domestic supply service already was extensive. Nowhere is there better illustration of the range of facilities from clothes to food than in the purchases made by the Abraham's agent while at Kinsale in 1636. By this date the process of obtaining indentured retainers and necessary supplies and equipment had been refined to such a degree that Thomas Anthony need do no more than arrive with the requisite sums in his pocket. In fact he came practically empty handed and procured cash from a Kinsale merchant by bills of exchange. Rugs, blankets, cloth and linen were acquired at Cork. Kinsale clothiers supplied further cloth and local tailors quickly converted it into suitable clothes. Butter, meat and barley malt were bought in Bandon, the town being known "as the first place for butter". Salted beef in barrels was purchased from a number of merchants at Kinsale, as were flour, oatmeal and biscuits, and various petty equipment such as nails and candles. Large amounts of tobacco were at hand, this commodity being imported straight to Munster, principally Kinsale, from America. Anthony had few problems with his list of articles. Peas were unobtainable, while in the spring cheese was scarce, "for that it is betwixt the new and the old", so Anthony prudently waited until summer when prices fell for butter as well as cheese. He bought the butter without trouble but could not get suitable cheese. Otherwise everything else was easily assembled at Kinsale or the neighbouring towns(1).

The only provisions not provided in Munster, besides exotics like spices, were salt and hops. Both were regular imports, salt for preservation, hops for making beer. Salt was being manufactured in Munster by the 1630s but in far too small quantities to satisfy the market(2). Hops had

(1) P.R.O., HCA/30/636.

(2) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, p.148; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1647-60, pp.105-06; ibid, 1625-32, p.331; Hainsworth, Lowther, pp.16, 29; T.C.D., MS 828, ff.222, 236; printed, Hickson, Ireland, 2, pp.114-18.

been introduced into England in the early 16th century and although Sir William Herbert tried them in Kerry in the 1580s they did not prosper, doubtless sodden and dismayed by the relentless rain(1). Irish beer was available but had unsettling effects, as experienced by an English party which visited Dingle in the 1600s: "it proved like a present purgative to them that took it, so that we chose rather to drink water". In the 1620s innkeepers were accused of deliberately providing feeble beer to incite their customers to order strong liquor. Earlier Youghal corporation had tried to discourage English beer in favour of the local brew, but imports continued unabated. Travelling overseas English beer might have gained an added flavour from the tossing ship and proved even more seductive; that at least is the explanation provided by Fynes Moryson for the superiority of English beer exported to the Netherlands compared with the same ale in England. Apples and cider also featured among the imports, perhaps because of the west country composition of the Munster new English(2).

The position of Youghal

As shown, Youghal dominated Munster's export trade, in particular wool and cattle to England. Undoubtedly the port's open policy towards English immigrants was a major factor in its economic leap forward and contrasts with the conservative approach by the two cities of Cork and Limerick. This infiltration by the newcomers into Youghal, and a lesser extent Kinsale, is the reason why no new English port was considered necessary, excluding the fishing towns on the south-west coast which were developed by the English for the exclusive export of fish and a little wood, with a minimal catchment area on land. The leading towns might exclude them but in that case the English traders alighted onto one of the smaller old English towns and virtually took it over from within. Cox reports that Boyle, out of pique to the

(1) N.L.I., MS 7861, f.175v.

(2) Cusack, Kerry, pp.234-35; Caulfield, Youghal, pp.4, 123; Moryson, Itinerary, 4, p.62.

citizens of Cork for not allowing him to buy property in the city, intended to develop Carrigaline on the Crosshaven estuary and thereby challenge Cork as chief port to the area. While it is true Boyle did acquire Carrigaline, itself part of the original seignory of Kerrycurrihy, there is no evidence to confirm this story. It seems not only unlikely but pointless since Cork could be challenged - and was - by Youghal and Kinsale, both with growing numbers of new English inhabitants(1).

The composition of freemen appointed by Cork and Youghal offers an instructive example of their divergence. For the same 30 years, 1610-41, 359 freemen were appointed in Cork and 294 in Youghal. The new English element was 39 and 152 respectively: 12% of the Cork total and 52% of Youghal. The actual numbers are slightly misleading because about one dozen of the new English freemen in Cork and two dozen in Youghal were high ranking officials, such as the lord president, or prominent Munster settlers such as Boyle, Southwell and Gookin, all appointed as an honorary distinction from the town. If these non-residents are removed, the percentage in each town falls to 8% and 47% for Cork and Youghal. But whatever the precise figure the difference between the two towns is plain.

There are also lists of the inhabitants admitted to Youghal from 1610-41. The total was 591 of whom 426 were new English, 112 Irish and 53 old English; in percentage terms, 72%, 19% and 9%. (Absolute determination is impossible of course since names are sometimes shared by the old and new English. When in doubt new rather than old English status has been given, but no more than a few percentage points would be altered if this bias was reversed.) Most of the new inhabitants have their trade entered as well, which permits a glimpse of Youghal's skilled workforce during these years. There was no one predominant industry. Eighty were involved in the food and drink line; 76 in the leather business, 55 of them shoemakers; 72 in distribution, including 32 mariners; 63 in the building trade, including

(1) R. Cox, "Regnum Corcagiense", JCHAS, 8 (1902), p.161; Smith, Cork, 1, p.209.

23 carpenters; 57 in the clothing trade of whom 47 were tailors; and 53 in textiles, including 26 weavers. Victualling and cloth were well represented then, but not out of proportion to traditional trades(1).

These sets of figures, the freemen and inhabitants, serve to illustrate the considerable degree of English immigration into Youghal and their gradual takeover of the town's trade. Yet while there is no question Youghal welcomed a far greater number of Englishmen than any other port, in some ways its governing structure did not change. Despite half its new freemen being English, Youghal's top officials, with a few exceptions, continued to be drawn from the traditional old English families. Its MPs in 1611, 1613 and 1640 came from the same group. In part this was because many of the English inhabitants recorded in the Youghal books did not stay long in the town but moved further inland, "from thence as from a seminary". In fact the town's size was much less than the above figures might suggest and its importance for retail trade, as opposed to an exit for channelling exports, was minor. An English businessman did not bother to mention it when classifying the towns of trade in the 1630s and Boate places it in the third rank after the cities and major towns such as Bandon(2).

There are many characteristics which distinguish Youghal from Cork of which a few examples can suffice. One was the seeming exclusion of the new English from owning property in Cork city unlike Youghal. With a couple of exceptions every building in the Cork of 1640, suburbs as well as city, was owned by the old English. In fact the number of proprietors was barely 200, compared to 500 in 1663. It was a true oligarchy in the smallness of numbers as well as control of authority. A handful of new English appear in

(1) R. Caulfield (ed.) The Council Book of the corporation of the city of Cork (Guildford 1879), passim; Caulfield, Youghal, passim.

(2) Hainsworth, Lowther, p.21; but Youghal might be the unidentified "Hichlo"; Smith says Youghal called by foreigners Jokile and Youkelain, in Latin, Ochella, Smith, Cork, 1, p.104; G. Boate, Ireland's natural history (1652), p.9.

1640 holding leases: two in the city and 28 in the suburbs, most strung out along Mallow lane in the north suburbs. Boyle did manage to buy a castle within Cork city in 1628, but if he attempted further purchases, as seems likely, he was thwarted. Cox's report of a general determination among the citizens to deny him entry sounds plausible. Enmity between the two forces might have started as early as Boyle's participation in the disturbances of 1603(1).

Cork's rejection of Boyle contrasts with the assiduous cultivation of the great earl by Youghal. His advice was asked constantly, decisions referred to him, his suggestions rapidly adopted. He bought considerable property within the town without any sign of opposition. It was following one of Boyle's recommendations that Youghal gained its striking commercial advantage over Cork, by deciding to become a staple town in 1616. This gave it a headstart in wool exports over Cork and the other Munster ports which served as a foundation for its early 17th century prosperity(2).

Cork also made it harder for outside apprentices to enter the city than was the case with Youghal. Since this was the main route to eventual residence in the Munster towns it reinforced the former's relatively unchanged composition. In contrast, Youghal's less restrictive policy saw apprentices coming from all over England: an apprentice musician from Norfolk, two navigation apprentices from Worcester and Bristol, a butcher apprentice from Gloucester and a merchant apprentice from Bristol. This was a reversal of the normal direction. Twenty-five of the apprentices at Bristol from 1600-30 were from Ireland, including 13 from Munster, of whom eight were new English youths, three old English and two Irish. All were from County Cork except one from Limerick.

In fact the increasing trade between England and Ireland produced further examples of apprentices coming to Munster.

- (1) Civil Survey, 6, Cork city; N.L.I., MS 6897, August 1628; Smith, Cork, 2, pp.94-104.
- (2) Caulfield, Youghal, pp.33, 44, 47-48, 53, 59-60, 100, 105, 131; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, p.133.

In 1631 a Southampton merchant's apprentice was at Crookhaven working there with his master's factor; and about the same time one James Chatterton from the Isle of Wight was serving his apprenticeship to a shoemaker at Bandon. If the new English south-west ports had preserved their records, doubtless a great many more would be revealed. In economic terms south Munster and south-west England were fast becoming one unit(1).

(1) Cork's restrictive policy, Caulfield, Cork, pp.5, 24; Caulfield, Youghal, pp.203, 311-12; I.F. Jones, "Abstract of the apprentice books of the city of Bristol, 1600-30" (Bristol 1936), typewritten copy in B.L.; Anderson (ed.) Examinations and depositions, 2, pp.97, 155; 3, p.23.

CHAPTER 8. THE MUNSTER PLANTATION IN 1641

The last two chapters have confined the fate of the plantation proper to the background. It is time to return to the original 35 seignories, catalogue changes since 1622 and record their separate positions in 1641. Estimates will be made of the number of English both within the plantation area and within all Munster. The effect of the settlers upon Munster society will be assessed by selective examples concerning the growth of towns and control of local government. Political conflict in the province will be mentioned briefly and the conventional analysis of the different groups questioned. The mental attitudes of the new English and how their viewpoints altered over the years until 1641 will be shown. An explanation for their changed outlook will be offered, which in turn reintroduces the emigration theme of chapter six.

The plantation lands

Of the 35 original seignories only 15 had not been sold or dispersed in the 50 years from inception to the rebellion in 1641. In fact the element of continuity was far stronger than this figure suggests since many were sold to fellow undertakers or new planters concerned to maintain the degree of English settlement. To review the state of each seignory a half circle will be followed, from Tipperary to Limerick, Kerry, Cork and Waterford.

The one seignory entirely within Tipperary, Swiffin, continued under the same ownership granted in the 1580s. In 1641 the undertaker was that gleaming product of the Court of Wards' transforming abilities - the painfully loyal and protestant 12th Earl of Ormonde. Over the border in Limerick were the two Fitton seignories of Knockainy and Ballygibbon, both sold long before 1641. The former and larger seignory was owned by Barnabus, the Earl of Thomond and some old English, while a minor portion was in the possession of a descendant of the original Fitton undertakers of the smaller seignory, itself entirely distributed to local buyers. Thomond also had bought the seignory of Fedamore originally granted to Mainwaring. The two other seignories

in this area of Limerick remained unchanged. Lough Gur's owner in 1641 was the absentee scholar Henry Bouchier, who had recently succeeded to the Earldom of Bath. Finally the only undertaker from this group actually resident on his seignory was George Thornton of the tiny Dunnaman estate. He had become a catholic by 1641.

In north Limerick one out of the five seignories in the region continued with the same family. This was Corgrig on the Shannon estuary owned by John Trenchard in 1641. In 1635 Boyle had bought $4\frac{1}{2}$ ploughlands from Trenchard's freeholders in the seignory in order to swell his Askeaton purchase obtained from the Berkeley co-heirs. (In fact he owned only $\frac{3}{4}$ of Askeaton seignory, being unable to obtain the final quarter.) East of Askeaton was Castletown seignory owned by Sir Hardress Waller. The land had been sold by the absentee English owner to Sir John Dowdall, who settled Castletown upon his second daughter when she married Waller in 1629. They were in residence in 1641. Both transferences of Askeaton and Castletown then were to fellow new English settlers, but the small and scattered seignory of Rathurde just south-east of Limerick city had been sold to local buyers by 1622. The original undertaker's son, Francis Annesley, remained in Ireland, received grants of far more lucrative land elsewhere and became Lord Mountnorris in 1629. There is no record of any connection with his father's insignificant estate. Billingsley's Kilfinny seignory had been sold to Dowdall and descended to the Southwells by 1641.

The four remaining Limerick seignories were inland stretching to the Kerry border. Three of them were the property of George Courtenay, the descendant of the undertaker for Newcastle seignory. Before 1611 the neighbouring seignories of Mayne and Beaully had been joined to Newcastle and in 1641 formed a large, reasonably unified block. Nevertheless Courtenay had been selling land in the early 1620s and again in the late 1630s. Around the Kerry border was the very dispersed Ardagh seignory. William Cullum, the owner in 1641, was the descendant of the first undertaker but in the 1620s and 1630s had got himself in various financial and legal difficulties. Reports describe him as

an Irishman and catholic, and in 1641 he took a prominent part in the rebellion.

Most of the seven seignories in Kerry had not changed ownership by 1641. The one absentee was Lord Herbert for Castleisland. Currans, the other Herbert seignory, and Conway's Killorglin estate, both fairly small, were owned by the patentees' descendants. The Denny owner of Tralee seignory was a minor in 1641, as was Sir Valentine Browne of Molahiffe. The Court of Wards had been particularly anxious to gain possession of the latter, since his father and grandfather had intermarried with local Irish landlords and become catholic. Two seignories were sold in these years: Ballymacdonnell at the tip of the Dingle peninsula to Boyle in the 1600s, and Tarbert to a Limerick alderman in the 1630s.

In Cork the turnover of seignories was far greater. Boyle had bought the major part of four seignories, comprising Grenville's and Becher's in Kinalmeaky, St Leger's at Kerrycurrihy and half of Cuffe's at Kilmore. The other half of Kilmore was owned by Henry Slingsby, a catholic, in 1641. Carriglemlery seignory had been sold to a local lawyer, the conforming Lord Kilmallock, but his son, the owner in 1641, returned to catholicism. The minor Clandonnell Roe seignory eventually ended up the property of the Brownes of Kerry, though Boyle did buy a small portion. The remnant of Pollycurry seignory not resumed by locals was sold to a neighbouring new English settler. Hyde's entire seignory of Carrignedy had been restored to a local claimant, but the family stayed on in Munster and purchased a reasonable estate in the same region of their original grant.

The three sequentially owned seignories were Mallow, Cloghley and Kilcolman. The first alone was of any size, the others being disparate and dissipated. The Spenser owners of Kilcolman were catholic by 1641. For a period Cloghley had been owned by Sir Richard Fleetwood, an English recusant, but the owner in 1641 was a 10 year old minor and thanks to some underhand work from Crown officials subject to the guardianship of the Court of Wards. Only a small portion of this seignory had been saved from Condon's resumption and part of these remaining lands, some of which were

located in Waterford, were sold to Boyle in the 1610s. Boyle also dominated the plantation in Waterford. Half of Hatton's Knocknamona seignory was owned by Sir Richard Osborne in 1641, but the other half, plus of course Raleigh's oversized seignory, belonged to the great earl(1).

It should be emphasised there is little point in counting the seignories in order to discover the amount of land Boyle or any other undertaker owned. Not only did they vary wildly in size in the initial grants - from Raleigh's 42,000 acres, itself an underestimate, to Thornton's few hundreds - but subsequent resumptions had changed them considerably since then. If we add changes from various sales and mortgages it soon becomes apparent that to talk about full sized, half and quarter seignories, as the first undertakers did, is anachronistic long before 1641. Moreover, many undertakers had bought land outside the official plantation areas, either to complement their seignories or for other land expansion, and to mention various undertakers owning this or that seignory might evoke a misleading impression that this was all they had in Munster. With these provisos in mind, it will still be useful to place the seignories under their new owners and make a few comments about continuity and absentees.

Fifteen of the 35 seignories in 1641 were owned by the descendants of the original undertakers. Of these, 12 were resident and three absentees, with one of the four living elsewhere in Ireland(2). (Residence is taken as living for most of the year in or very near the main seignory.) When resident buyers are added the total moves to 18(3). And if

(1) See seignories.

(2) Resident: Browne, Jephson, Conway, Courtenay, Cullum, Slingsby, Denny, Fleetwood, Giles Herbert, Spenser, Thornton, Trenchard; Jephson had moved to Ireland in 1641 after family absence of 20 years; John Trenchard probably in c.1640 after continual absence of family. Absentees: Lord Herbert, Bouchier (Bath), Ormonde.

(3) Boyle at Inchiquin, Southwell at Kilfinny, Waller at Castletown, Osborne at Knocknamona, Lord Kilmallock at Carriglemlery, Daunt at Nohoval (Pollycurry); Boyle had just returned from three years in England; resident in Ireland but not on their seignories: Thomond at Knockainy and Fedamore, Ormonde at Swiffin.

we count those seignories bought by resident undertakers themselves now qualifying under resident ownership, the total of resident undertakers in 1641 becomes 26(1).

The number of seignories owned by Boyle in 1641 was six and he possessed minority portions of four others(2). Even excluding Boyle's extra holdings and other multiple ownerships, the number of 18 resident undertakers in 1641 is only a few less than those for the first plantation. Nor must it be forgotten that three undertakers bought out or evicted, St Leger, Hyde and the younger Fitton, remained in Munster on land elsewhere. There is no real excuse for distinguishing between the two plantations in terms of absentees.

It comes as no surprise to learn that the eight owners who were catholic in 1641 were all resident on their lands. With two exceptions these seignories were fairly small and insignificant estates, and the decisive factor in every case was marriage with a daughter of the local gentry. From then on the mother's influence ensured her children were brought up as catholics. Three of the eight catholic undertakers were not part of this experience, being old English who had bought the respective seignory: namely those owning Rathurde, Tarbert and Carriglemlery. The other five were Thornton, Spenser, Cullum, Slingsby and the Brownes of Molahiffe. At Kilmore, Slingsby had a reasonable estate, while the Brownes possessed broad stretches in Kerry and Cork. The remainder had less than the average sized seignory. To be precise, the Browne in 1641 was not a catholic as he was an infant under the guardianship of the state, but his father had been one and despite his later schooling young Browne eventually followed suit. For 20 years after 1603 Cloghley seignory was under the largely absentee ownership of Sir Richard Fleetwood and this is the only example of an English recusant undertaker(3).

(1) Purchased by Boyle after Inchiquin: Ballymacdonnell, Carrigaline, Castlemahon, Kinalmeaky, Askeaton; by Courtenay: Beaully and Kilfinny; by Browne: Clandonnell Roe.

(2) Minority portions: Kilmore, Knocknamona, Corgrig, Clandonnell Roe.

(3) See seignories.

Determining the state of the plantation in the 1630s forces a certain amount of conjecture. No longer are there those mainstays of plantation information for the 1610s and early 1620s - the co-ordinated inquisitions and general survey. The 1622 commission was the last survey to take place and further demographic evidence, such as the 1630 muster roll in Ulster, does not occur for Munster. The one report on the Munster plantation after 1622 provides simply the appropriate Crown rent for each undertaker and the name of the present incumbent. It was drawn up between 1630-34, most probably in the years after 1631 when Boyle was appointed treasurer, since the list comes from one of his folio volumes now at Chatsworth(1).

Was the plantation gradually being forgotten by the government? Certainly King Charles showed less interest than his father in the Irish plantations and it is no coincidence his reign produced not a single survey compared with the half dozen ordered by James. Of course James I was interested primarily in the Ulster plantation and, as shown, the two Munster surveys were very much the casual consequence of investigations first designed to catalogue the northern settlement. And the need for surveys would be more pressing in the early years of any plantation, or re-plantation as in Munster, than in the years after settlement had taken root. Yet there are definite indications that after James' reign the government became progressively unconcerned about the fate of the plantation itself, though still interested naturally in the degree of general English settlement.

One symptom of this new attitude was the dropping of the original plantation term of seignory for the less frontier-like manor. The Elizabethan patents had ordained that manors, with their normal courts and privileges, should be instituted in the seignories, so there was no change in status from first to second plantation; but the rhetorical difference existed. Jacobean and subsequent regrants to

(1) Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, pp.376-80.

the undertakers gathered together their holdings, plantation and non plantation land under the title of manor, or in the case of Boyle and major landowners with diffuse lands, several manors.

Although the word seignory disappeared, an element of continuity was maintained by the original undertaker's name being incorporated into the manor's title: for example, Knock Billingsley, Bouchier's Hall, Rock Berkeley and Mount Trenchard, all in Limerick(1). In part this was an attempt to signal the new regime by obliterating the old name of the area - and hence the old way of things. Another sign of this anglicisation by rhetoric was the renaming of the main castle after the incumbent, such as Castle Conway in Kerry and Castle Dalton in Waterford. In these last two cases, however, the old name proved more durable, and the same was true with most of the personal manor titles. The policy could only hope to succeed if there was uninterrupted succession over many generations with the same name, and in most seignories this was not the case. A few years after the announcement in the patents of Castle Dalton, Sir Richard Osborne bought the place and in his grant in 1639 the castle returned to its original name of Knocknamona. The London administrators could strike out old names and insert new titles, but whatever the official map might record the local designation usually remained the old townlands. The undertakers themselves showed little enthusiasm for the new terminology and in their correspondence referred to the old place names(2).

Though the seignories were regranted as manors, the

- (1) Among original grants and regrants to undertakers were Fitton's Fortune, Cullum's Vale, Annesley's Lot, Denny's Vale, Robin's Rock, Herbert's Glade, Cuffe's Wood, Colony Fleetwood and Mount Ormonde; Spenser chose or was given the poetic and prophetic Haphazard; none of the above personalised seignory names caught on.
- (2) Some names did eventually become local usage: Castle Bernard for Castlemahon (though after this period) and Castle Hyde in Cork; Mount Southwell (previously Knock Billingsley; note change from Irish Knock to English Mount) and Mount Trenchard in Limerick.

plantation was not forgotten to the extent of the undertakers' covenants. Those who bought seignory land from an undertaker technically became responsible to the articles of settlement, no matter the size of their purchase. Some tried to avoid this by appealing to subsequent grants which did not mention these conditions. The 1611 inquisition jurors reported that Sir James Gough, who had bought that part of Sir Edward Fitton's seignory lying in Waterford, "pretends to be discharged of the conditions and covenants to be performed by the undertakers, by virtue of his aforesaid letters patent". This was the danger of new letters patent which inadequately listed any conditions attached to the old lands; but it is doubtful if Sir James was allowed to uphold this claim(1).

In the end it made little difference whether an owner was bound by the plantation conditions or not, simply because they were rarely enforced. The most the government expected, and generally received, was the Crown rent. This was not in dispute. Sir James Gough obediently paid the correct amount for his portion as did others who bought plantation land.

Naturally the government never admitted the covenants effectively had lapsed. Indeed one condition repeatedly stated was the undertakers' military duties. Regrants to the undertakers or those who bought plantation land usually included a clause for a number of equipped horsemen to be maintained. In turn the undertakers passed on this clause in leases to their major tenants. In 1641 the lord president had not forgotten these obligations and he summoned Boyle to muster his tenants "as your lordship is by His Majesty's letters patent and the rules of plantation bound to have in a readiness". Other undertakers were reminded of their duty as well. In fact this covenant lingered on in people's minds for a surprising length of time. In the Jacobite war a clear reference to the plantation articles was made when it was said "the estate of the Courtenays in this country is obliged by patent to raise a troop of horse and a company of

(1) P.R.O.I., IA/48/69, no.9.

foot when required for the king's service". (But who Pretender is, or who is King / God bless us all - that's quite another thing.) And as late as the 1700s some Cork leases obliged tenants to maintain an armed horseman, once again an apparent relic of the plantation days(1).

In 1611 another undertaker besides Gough claimed to be freed from the normal plantation covenants. Like Gough, Boyle cited the absence of such conditions in his patent. Unlike Gough he might have had a technical point. Raleigh's original grant differed from his fellows in many respects. From the outset it broke the articles by awarding him three and a half times more than any undertaker was to hold; he paid a rent far lower than the official rate; and most important of all it did not set out the covenants and conditions imposed on the other Munster undertakers. It did state he should hold the lands according to the 1586 articles, but the omission of the specific list of conditions, included in every other undertaker's patents, indicates Raleigh's success at obtaining a special position.

Boyle's grant in 1604 and subsequent regrants of Raleigh's land implicitly reiterated the terms of Raleigh's original letters patent, and unlike regrants for other undertakers in the early 17th century, no mention was made of the requisite number of soldiers ordained by the plantation. Boyle evidently thought these regrants freed him from any plantation demands. The 1622 commissioners were told by him that he had procured a new grant from the king costing £1,000 in which Raleigh's seignory was not subject to the plantation's conditions. This was the same reason given by Gough and probably alone was not enough to offer a serious challenge; but Boyle was in a stronger position having the equivocal status of Raleigh's original grant to emphasise, should the government retort that all plantation regrants, faultily worded though they might be, could not release a seignory from the covenants.

In the event the question was academic. Boyle did not

(1) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 22/96; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 4, p.217; Begley, Diocese of Limerick, p.292; Dickson, "Economic history", p.147.

have to use this argument since the government never prosecuted him (or anyone else) for failing the plantation conditions. He mentioned it to the inspectors in 1611 and 1622 only to remind them of his special position should an attempt be made to discipline the undertakers for their failings. Even given his stronger position than Gough, his case, if put to the test, would not have succeeded. The sheer fact that Raleigh's seignory was surveyed along with all the others demonstrates official opinion regarded it as an integral part of the plantation. Ironically Boyle was the non-pareil of undertakers and certainly far less open to accusations of slackness over the covenants than his fellows. But he knew well the legal advantages an opponent could have if able to exploit this endemic weakness of the undertakers, which explains his half hearted assertion of non accountability(1).

Boyle never seriously believed it himself and in some cases it was inconvenient for him to do so. In his battle against Pyne's lease of Mogeley, each accused the other of settling Irish tenants, itself no crime had the seignory been freed from the covenants. Moreover, Boyle charged Pyne with having too much land according to the plantation articles. He could hardly do this and in the next breath deny the seignory was subject to the plantation; though with the great earl all arguments, however inconsistent, were grist to his everturning mill. He was happy enough to use his position as an ordinary undertaker to press for trading concessions for wood and iron exports(2).

Although there is no separate record of the government penalising the undertakers for their defects, the plantation conditions were still recalled and included in the regrants of the 1630s. For example, in 1634 the Commission for Defective Titles granted some of the Kilcolman seignory lands purchased by St Leger, and among the clauses was a penalty should any be alienated to "mere Irish not descended from an original British ancestor of name and blood ..." -

(1) Inchiquin seignory.

(2) Pyne v. Boyle: Grosart, Lismore, 2, 2, pp.38-56.

the same clause as when Burghley pondered over the first draft of the articles in the 1580s. Fines might well have been enforced over such breaches - the Commission certainly collected fines off illegal alienations by other landowners - but actual evidence remains elusive(1).

Like Boyle, his tenants sometimes chose to recall the plantation articles if to their advantage. In 1628 Bandon town protested to the lord president over soldiers being billeted upon them, since they were "residing upon seignory lands which ought not to be doubly charged, as now they are". Technically they were correct. There was an article of plantation which freed the seignories from any extra taxation or composition save that imposed by parliament. But by the 17th century few undertakers appealed to the favourable articles in case the government remembered the others. Because of the town's relationship to Boyle, St Leger replied soothingly then, but changed his tone once Wentworth was in power(2).

Towns and population

The plantation's population in 1641 can only be a rough estimate compared to the 1622 figure obtained from the survey of that year. Regarding the state of settlement throughout Munster there appears to be a slight but perceptible increase in these 20 years. Any dramatic change must be discounted. No new areas were opened up after the north Cork region in the 1620s. There is little sign or mention of general emigration from England in contrast to frequent remarks in the 1600s and 1610s. In fact some of the fishing settlements along the south-west coast might have shrunk after their meteoric rise in the 1610s. Yet many regions within the plantation did increase their English numbers, the evidence coming from the growing size of seignory towns.

The showpiece foundation in Munster of course was

(1) Analecta Hibernica, 15 (1944), p.388; in 1638 regrant to Fleetwood, same racial clause as in original 1586 articles, but only operative if sold or leased for longer than 40 years, B.L., Add. MS 46922, ff.6-7.

(2) Bennett, Bandon, p.75.

Bandonbridge, with its brand-new walls, houses and gardens laid out with chessboard precision. In many ways it was the outstanding new town in Ireland in the generation before 1641. Some confusion continues about the town's foundation thanks to Boyle's later possession and habit of referring to it as if his was the guiding hand from its earliest beginnings. The whole site was within Becher's seignory of Castlemahon in Kinalmeaky. Before 1603 the original undertaker's eldest son, Henry Becher, leased most of the seignory to John Shipward of London and William Newce, our representative in the role of man of the frontier outlined in chapter six. Newce controlled the area north of the Bandon River known as Coolfadda, Shipward that south of the river known as Ballymodan. Henry Becher retained the inheritance of both portions and also owned other small pieces of land on the site. Between them these three can claim to be the founders of Bandon.

Building began in the 1600s with the town growing fastest south of the river. Soon its rapid development attracted Boyle's interest. He had already purchased lands south-west of Bandon in Carberry, and east at Carrigaline when he obtained St Leger's Kerrycurrihy seignory. It was a logical enough move to extend his estates into Kinalmeaky, but though some owners proved willing to sell, others, particularly Becher, were reluctant, and it was to take Boyle seven years to acquire the whole Becher seignory and another five before he added Grenville's to complete the barony(1).

Boyle had bought the north town by 1614 and the south by 1619. He then commenced to surround them with a fine wall completed in 1627. Bandon's unique structure, that of two self contained towns within one area, explains its comparatively large population. From the early years its size aroused favourable comment. The Munster Council in 1611 referred to the town "lately grown to be a thing of

(1) Most information on Bandon from 1611 inquisition, P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; Boyle's papers, N.L.I., MS 6141; Bennett, Bandon, passim.

such moment and importance both for number of houses and inhabitants"(1). The plantation survey that year recorded only 23 tenements but did not count the settlement north of the river. Luke Gernon visited the place in 1620 and chose to compare it with Leicester, saying Bandon was "as near as large"(2). Taking Leicester's population in 1620 to be between 3-4,000 indicates Bandon's quick and voluminous growth(3). In 1622 the commissioners made admiring noises over the large and beautiful town of about 250 houses, "all very convenient and many very fair - the inhabitants being all English". Past the multiplier these houses produce a population of only 1,250, less than half that of Leicester, but other evidence suggests Gernon's comparison was not fanciful(4).

Firstly the town was not confined within the walls. Even before they went up suburbs had appeared near the south town, which elicited concern about the contaminating influence of their Irish inhabitants. Henry Becher had been most remiss, wrote a correspondent to Boyle in 1615, in allowing some Irish to erect many tenements close to the south-east end of the town, since they spoil the unique composition of Bandon, "both sides [of the river] being yet inhabited altogether with English". In time this suburb grew to be distinguished as the Irishtown, but after gaining possession of the whole of Bandon Boyle determined to make the term a misnomer. The main town was entirely protestant (enforced by an early bye-law), the surrounding area comprised a majority of English tenants, and only the Irish cabins

(1) B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.98.

(2) Printed as Leicester by Falkiner, Illustrations, p.355; though MS clearly refers to "Cycester", B.L., Stowe MS 180, f.39v; which would seem to be Cirencester in Glos; but since MS itself a transcript probable that Leicester was intended by Gernon.

(3) S.H. Skillington, A history of Leicester (Leicester 1923), p.119; W.G. Hoskins, "English provincial towns in the early sixteenth century", P. Clark (ed.), The early modern town (1976), p.98; P. Clark and P. Slack, English towns in transition, 1500-1700 (1976), p.83.

(4) 1622 survey.

outside the walls of Bandon smudged the pretty picture of English security and affluence so glutinously portrayed by Bennett: "rich meadows, whose sweet pastures were fed on by cows who produced the sweetest cream - comfortable dwelling houses, from whose chimney-tops the smoke curled all the day long - and orchards, already bright with the bloom of the apple and the cherry"(1).

The Irish tenants could not be expelled until there were sufficient English replacements. In the early 1620s the choice was leaving the Irishtown cabins void or having Irish tenants, but in the 1630s English immigration to the Bandon area was great enough to expel the Irish - an easy matter since they held only from quarter to quarter - and replace them with Englishmen willing to build proper stone houses. With some satisfaction, Boyle's Bandon agent in 1636 reported "the Irish are loath to depart out of the town [Irishtown] and to give way to the English to build; if it may please your lordship to give me licence to remove any the Irish tenants of that town, when I shall get sufficient English tenants to build there, upon a quarter's notice given to them". He was already besieged by English willing to pay 6d. a foot on the street front but desiring 41 year leases. There were other suburbs north of the town, some of which were pulled down after the rebellion to give a clear field for Bandon's cannon(2).

In a letter to the English parliament in 1642 Boyle catalogued the miseries of the Munster English and referred to Bandon "wherein are at least seven thousand souls, all English protestants"(3). This figure has been seized upon by Bennett and later historians to equal Bandon's population, but is definitely unacceptable. Boyle may well have been

(1) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 6/36; Bennett, Bandon, p.15.

(2) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 14/205; 18/131; Bennett, Bandon, p.101.

(3) Grosart, Lismore, 2, 5, p.102; same number reported in account of Forbes' expedition, A true relation ... under the command of Lord Forbes ... from 29 June to 29 September ... (1642), V & A Library, Forster collection, 4472, Vol.4.

speaking the truth, but his figure would apply to the numbers in Bandon at that very moment, hence including refugees from the surrounding areas in west and north Cork. Nevertheless Bandon's population at the rebellion's outbreak was impressive. Cox says the number of English families was nearly 500 which is not an unlikely figure. The maps of Bandon neatly identify about 460 houses (280 north of the river, 180 south, excluding public buildings) and although some of the geometric squares were projections when the maps were made in the 1620s, they probably did come into existence before 1641. The houses too were a proper size, not the one room and an attic affairs which the city of London dignified as houses in Londonderry. In Boyle's famous letter comparing Bandon to Derry he states "the buildings of my town, both for the number of houses and goodness of building, are far beyond their's"; and as his claim can be proved correct over other comparisons such as the height and circuit of the walls, so should it be in this case. Derry's population was above 2,000 by 1641. The most reasonable estimate for Bandon's English population in 1641 is 2,300(1).

This was the town's maximum size for centuries to come. Not being a port it depended on inland trade and although the woollen industry prospered, it could never grow that much in the pre machine age. By 1641 Bandon had reached its natural limit. It adds to the measure of new English achievement that this position was attained in such a short time and without a prior foundation.

Bandon was unique in Munster. No other plantation town was walled nor constructed on a grid-iron pattern. The attempt to re-wall Tralee in the early 1610s soon petered out. The town had no patron like Boyle to force through a provincial collection, and more importantly spend large and immediate sums himself(2).

(1) Cox, "Regnum Corcagiense", JCHAS, 8 (1902), p.68; T.C.D., Hardiman atlas, 1209, nos.41, 42; Boyle's letter, B.L., Add. MS 19832, ff.31-31v (printed Smith, Cork, 1, p.236; Bennett, Bandon, p.93; D. Townshend, The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork (1904), p.44); T.W. Moody, The Londonderry plantation (Belfast 1937), p.278.

(2) Cusack, Kerry, pp.236-41.

Most English settlements in the early 17th century developed in an unorganised way around an undertaker's castle: usually a row of houses straggling along the main highway with perhaps a few subsidiary lanes. This was the layout of Mallow in 1641 - one long street of "near 200 English houses", 30 strongly built in stone, with the main castle one end and a smaller castle at the other - and on a smaller scale in Limerick at Newcastle, Croom, Rathkeale, Castlematrix, Castletown, Kilfinny, Pallas, Cullen, Knockainy, Lough Gur and Askeaton. Many of these castles had been centres of Desmond's manors and the Peyton survey tells us Newcastle and Rathkeale had small settlements already in 1584. Some plantation towns such as Tallow, Tralee and Lismore were ancient establishments and the newcomers merely expanded their existing nucleus(1).

The Tallow region was one of the urban areas in the plantation. Within two miles were Tallowbridge, Curraglass, Lisfinny, Kilmacoe and Mogeley. English settlement here had occurred relatively early during the first plantation. At Tallow there were 60 English households in 1598 and 77 English tenants at Tallow and Tallowbridge in 1609. The commissioners in 1611 reported two "English villages" at Tallow and Lisfinny, while their successors in 1622 mentioned the "fair and handsome market town at Tallow, consisting of about 150 houses, all inhabited with English of several trades". It is doubtful if the town grew much after this date and 750 is the likely English population of Tallow in 1641, the same as in 1622(2).

In the 16th century and early 1600s Tallow had been the largest town in the Munster plantation, but it was decisively overtaken by Bandon with its population of 2,300 in 1641, and just edged into third place by Mallow with 800 English

(1) Mallow, JCHAS, 1 (1895), p.542.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.326; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 2/159; 3/11, 12; P.R.O.I., IA/48/69, no.9; 1622 survey.

inhabitants(1). After Tallow with 750 comes Tralee with an English population of 500 in 1641. The commissioners in 1622 had reported Killarney to contain more English houses than Tralee (40 to 32), but the former's new English population would have been less than Tralee's in 1641. Denny at Tralee was a resident undertaker and anxious to attract settlers, whereas at Killarney the Brownes, likewise resident, were catholic and presumably not so desirous of new English arrivals. The depositions do record an English settlement at Killarney of some size, 15 being mentioned by name, and a further nine who turned catholic after the rebellion. A convoy of 16 set out for Cork from Killarney in 1642 and were killed in Muskerry. The probable English population in 1641 was 50 households or 250 people. For Tralee, the depositions mention 31 people by name, most of them killed in the siege(2).

This concludes the plantation towns distinguished in the 1622 survey. None had been mentioned in Limerick, but by 1641 moderately sized English settlements were at Askeaton, Newcastle and Rathkeale. Evidence again comes from the depositions which present a picture of hundreds of protestants crammed into castles across the county. In descending order, Newcastle had 1,000 or 700 to 800 souls; Askeaton 600 or 360; Limerick castle 500; Castlematris 300 or 100; Lough Gur 240; Cullen 200; Castletown 100; Croom 100; Kilfinny 80 soldiers excluding civilians; and Pallas divers English. Separate depositions notice 18 individuals at Newcastle and 17 at Rathkeale. These two items, with the addition of Askeaton a borough town, probably had about 50

(1) In 1622 Mallow had 80 English houses; in 1641 nearly 200; reasonable assumption, 160 English households; when rebels attacked in 1642 there were 200 men in main castle, 42 men, women and children in smaller castle and 40 more in a strong house along main street, JCHAS, 1 (1895), p.542; 2 (1896), pp.19, 25.

(2) In 1622 Tralee had 32 English houses; in 1642, 100 houses burnt; in main castle variously reported 500 to 600 "souls", 480, 200 souls; in smaller castle, 150 souls; Ballycarty castle, two miles s.e. of Tralee, had 300, T.C.D., MS 828, ff.124v, 208, 211, 222-22v, 249, 285; for Killarney, *ibid*, ff.124, 127, 222, 251, 267v; 826, ff.160-61; B.L., Sloane MS 1008, f.136v.

English families each. Finally mention should be made about Fermoy, not strictly part of the plantation, but from the earliest years owned by Grenville and included with his seignory in subsequent sales. Boyle's 1637 rental indicates about 30 English households, paying an average of 20/- p.a. for a house and garden(1).

After east Cork/west Waterford, the most densely settled region was Kinalmeaky and its neighbouring areas. Within the barony were the towns of Bandon, Kilpatrick, Dundaniel and Newcestown; immediately across the western boundary lay Enniskeen and Castletown; to the south-west was Clonakilty and south-east the port of Kinsale. Although the last was an old English borough town, it resembled Youghal in its tolerant attitude to the newcomers and the proportion of new English in and around the town is surprising. As early as 1608 comment was made about their numbers and separate evidence soon appears of increasing new English within the town. Most were connected with the sea - mariners, rope-makers, chandlers - and a few who were merchants rose to positions of considerable wealth, such as Tristram Whetcombe. From a list of wills proved in the registry at Cork, 18 new English are listed at Kinsale or the immediate neighbourhood, from 1611 to 1640. For the same years 42 appear from Bandon and its neighbourhood, and six from Clonakilty. While useless as absolute figures, they do enable a ratio to be made which roughly suggests their comparative English populations: for Clonakilty to Kinsale to Bandon, the ratio is 1 to 3 to 7. With the knowledge of Bandon's size, the English population at Kinsale can be guessed at. In 1642 it was said there were at least 200 English inhabitants in the town excluding refugees. Earlier in 1630 Sir Thomas Button confidently had asserted the whole Bandon, Clonakilty, Kinsale region to contain at least 8 to 10,000 new

(1) T.C.D., MS 829, ff.137, 143, 150, 153v, 183v, 190v, 194, 254; B.L., Sloane MS 1008, ff.32, 58, 66, 70-70v, 124, 129v; JCHAS, 25 (1919), p.79; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 22/159; N.L.I., MS 6239, Fermoy; in August 1642 Boyle said 800 protestants evacuated by ship from Limerick, Grosart, Lismore, 2, 5, p.104.

English(1).

The number of settlers in the old English towns of Cork, Limerick and Kilmallock was minimal. Of their respective populations in 1641 of 5,500, 3,500 and 1,500, the combined English proportion was not more than 200, most of them in the Cork suburbs(2). The newcomers were far more numerous in Youghal. Three years after the end of the wars in 1603, Davies reported the town inhabited with many English. In 1642 Boyle lamented the weak state of the town and the fact the Irish outnumbered the English by three to one; but this must be taken as the minimum ratio, because beseeching aid from England, Boyle would not exaggerate the number and therefore strength of the English. And indeed 14 years earlier Boyle had stated the English protestants were a majority in Youghal; the request this time being for a fort, which would necessitate sufficient numbers of English residents to justify the petition. We have already observed no less than 426 new English welcomed into Youghal in the generation after 1610, comprising 72% of total arrivals. (Many would have filtered through the town and inland to other settlements, such a process being identified in 1628.) Let us allow the English proportion to be a half rather than a third in 1641, or 800 out of Youghal's total population of 1,600(3).

The marked urban proliferation of the new English cannot be taken as a general rate for the whole plantation, but it does demonstrate a healthy augmentation for some regions. As Boyle's empire expanded, in its wake came

- (1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, p.472; Caulfield, Kinsale, Appendices F, I, J; J.F. Fuller, "Kinsale in 1641 and 1642", JCHAS, 13 (1907), p.10; B.L., Egerton MS 80, f.49v; A copy of a letter from Mr Tristram Whetcombe, mayor of Kinsale... (1642), V & A Library, Forster collection, 4472, Vol.3; Kinsale's total population in 1641 perhaps 1,500.
- (2) Tendency by historians to underestimate urban populations, Moody, New History, pp.390-91; these figures from comparable data in Civil Survey, 4, 6 and S. Pender (ed.) A census of Ireland, c.1659 (Dublin 1939).
- (3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1603-06, p.468; Smith, Cork, 2, p.129; Caulfield, Youghal, pp.242-43.

increasing numbers of English tenants for the estates he purchased. Certainly it was not all growth. Advance in one area was tempered by decline in another. Some major settlers purchased estates in England, though this does not mean they left Munster, and by now the movement of landlords was ceasing to alter the social composition of each region.

In 1622 the plantation's English population was 14,000. If a 25% increase is allowed for the years from 1622 to 1641, an extra 3,500 appear. Rounding it off to the nearest thousand, the most likely estimate for the plantation's population in 1641 was 18,000.

Then there is the question of English settlements outside the seignories. The most populous region was the south-west with English towns at intervals along the coast from Kinsale to Bantry. The other area of marked expansion was in north Cork where a number of new estates - Aldworth at Newmarket, Percival around Liscarroll, St Leger at Doneraile and Fenton at Mitchelstown - linked the existing seignories into a broad belt of English settlement across the county from the Kerry border to Tipperary. If we add the English in and around the old ports of Youghal, Kinsale and Cork, an extra 4,000 can be allowed. This produces an overall Munster new English population of 22,000 in 1641, the province as always our truncated version excluding Tipperary, Clare and east Waterford.

This figure might be supposed an exaggeration, but when additional records and comparable data are used, then if anything it becomes an underestimate. One such record is the "1659 census", now generally agreed to be a 1660 preparation for a polltax. Often it is assumed to have little demographic worth, but there is no need to reject the whole outright since most conveniently it breaks down the returns into English and Irish, and therefore for comparative purposes, especially for towns, is interesting and instructive.

Keeping to our definition of Munster, the census records 10,690 English and 71,317 Irish. To obtain the total population requires a multiplier of 2.3 and produces 24,587

English and 164,029 Irish(1). The ratio of English to Irish is 1 : 7. In absolute terms the census is deficient for Munster since four baronies are missing in Cork: Fermoy, Condons, Duhallow and Muskerry(2). Apart from the last, all included sizeable English settlements. Without these baronies, Cork's English population was still considerable at 7,102 adults, being 17% of the total county. With them the English would increase to perhaps 9,000 adults, which when added to the total English population in Munster comes to 28,952. But the English increase would be met by a corresponding Irish increase from the same baronies - less from the Blackwater baronies but decisively more from Muskerry - which leaves the ratio at 1 : 7, or the English at 13% of the Munster population.

It is the ratio which concerns our calculations for 1641. The above figures produce a question mark against the latest suggestion for Ireland's population in 1641 which is 2.1 million(3). They also provide a strong incentive to stick to a relatively high estimate for Munster's English population in 1641.

The argument turns on estimating Munster's total population, which necessitates the embarrassingly simple method of dividing the national estimate by five; four to obtain the provincial quarter plus an extra unit for the missing counties of Clare, Tipperary and east Waterford. A fifth of 2.1 million is 420,000. The ratio in 1660 of one English to seven Irish, if applied, to this 1641 provincial

- (1) L.M. Cullen in "Population trends in seventeenth-century Ireland", Irish Econ. & Soc. Hist., 2 (1975) assumes multiplier of three to equate polltax with population; but if people counted were adults of both sex over 15, then too large a multiplier. Figures provided by Petty on his Kerry estates in 1670s show 56% of the population as children, which necessitates adults being multiplied by 2.27 (rounded to 2.3) for a total population, T.C. Barnard, "Sir William Petty, his Kerry estates and Irish Population", Irish Econ. & Soc. Hist., 6 (1979).
- (2) Editor wrongly supposes Kinatallon barony to be incomplete; the barony in question is Condons of which only two pages survive, Pender, Census, p.xiv.
- (3) Cullen, "Population", I. Econ. & Soc. Hist., 2 (1975).

figure, produces 60,000 English. Obviously this ratio should not be so applied, but if we work from the opposite end and allow a conjectural number of Munster English in 1641 - say a cautious 12,000 - then the ratio slips to an astonishing 1 : 35. The question thus raised is whether the English could have increased their provincial ratio from 35 to 1 in 1641 to 7 to 1 in 1660? Either one has to accept this remarkable enlargement or else agree to two propositions. One is that the 2.1 million figure for 1641 is an over-estimate, the other that Munster's English population was somewhat more than this conjectural 12,000.

The most reasonable alternative is to allow the 22,000 English population and a ratio of 1 to 16 to the Irish in Munster. This produces a provincial population of 352,000 and hence a national population of 1.8 million in 1641(1). Even this new ratio represents a surprising proliferation of English in Munster during the interregnum - and corresponding mortality of Irish - to reach the 1 to 7 ratio in 1660. There is always the possibility, of course, that the census inadequately recorded all the Irish, who would be less apparent to the enumerators than the English(2).

Other arguments reinforce this high Munster estimate of 22,000. Looking forward beyond the 1641 rebellion to the cessation in 1643, we find a large block of territory under the control of the Munster English: west to Bandon, north to the Limerick border and east to Youghal(3). The southern protestants had received only moderate reinforcements from England after 1641, being three regiments, whose combined numbers were reduced to 1,200, through sickness and

(1) After Cullen's estimate, N. Canny has suggested 1.7m population in 1641, which is plausible, but his 50,000 new English in same year could be 90,000: 22,000 from Munster, 45,000 from Ulster (including Scots) and 20,000 from Leinster, Connaught and rest of Munster, "Dominant Minorities: English settlers in Ireland and Virginia, 1550-1650", A.C. Hepburn (ed.), Minorities in History (1978).

(2) Cullen has recently stated census under represented rural population, Cullen, Modern Ireland, p.54.

(3) See map, Moody, New History, p.310.

inefficiency, by the August of 1642. Yet the Munster English still managed a respectable defence against a potentially overwhelming confederate force. A rate of 1 to 16 is the most we can allow(1).

There is one contemporary remark which is most pertinent to this demographic aspect. In November 1641, less than a month after the rebellion's outbreak and before it had reached Munster, the lord president criticised the Dublin government for arming catholics when he could have sent them 4,000 protestants out of Munster. What St Leger is saying is there were 4,000 militiamen who could be spared from Munster at this critical venture. Once past the multiplier, an instant 20,000 English population for Munster appears before our eyes, their household heads marching towards Dublin. It is true St Leger was contemptuous of the pusillanimity, as he saw it, of the Dublin Justices and hence would exaggerate the ease and scale of his proposed alternative. Had this actual figure been demanded by the Dublin authorities he would have been the first to complain. Also it might be supposed the actual figure is irrelevant and simply a metaphor, as it were, to fortify his conviction that to arm the catholics was unnecessary and dangerous. Yet St Leger's correspondent was Percival, a fellow Munster landlord, and unlikely to be impressed by such a mysterious metaphor nor by St Leger's excessive exaggeration, if such it was. Treated alone this figure can only be suspect, but alongside the plantation estimate and our speculations over the Munster ratio, it serves to support the estimate of an English population of 22,000 in 1641(2).

(1) Townshend, Cork, p.421; other beleaguered minorities have fought and controlled against greater odds - the white Rhodesian regime ran Rhodesia on the racial scale of 1 white to 22 blacks - but only under very different circumstances.

(2) HMC, Egmont, 1, p.150; at the same time St Leger reported he could mobilise 3,000 settlers in Munster if arms and munition were supplied, J. Buckley, "The siege of Cork, 1642", JCHAS, 22 (1916), p.12.

Political change

What effect did this group of 22,000 have upon Munster society? One apparent change was in the province's parliamentary representation. The size of the Irish House of Commons rose from 126 in 1588 to 232 in 1613 and 256 in 1634. Behind this increase was the government's wish to obtain a protestant majority. This was technically achieved in 1613 but a working majority had to wait until 1634. The new English in Munster played their part in this transformation, their presence permitting the government to create nine boroughs in the planted regions, each with a small electorate guaranteed to return protestant members.

But parliamentary politics made little impact on Munster. Of greater importance was the control of local government. Its organisation was similar to England: high sheriff, undersheriffs, bailiffs, constables and justices of the peace. Seneschals had disappeared in the 1570s apart from those in the palatinates of Desmond and Ormonde; and Desmond's fall opened up Kerry to Crown appointed officials. The full apparatus was operating remarkably quickly after the wars. In 1589 Payne assured his readers that local government officials existed and pursued their duties just as in England. Although a propaganda tract concerned to emphasise Munster's peace and security, Payne very likely was reporting the actual state of affairs in this case. The year before, quarter sessions were being held in Desmond's old palatinate in Kerry, the only trouble arising from rival Herbert and Denny factions(1).

There were some differences of degree between the countries. In Munster sheriffs were of greater importance than England, especially in the times of martial law. The office was much sought after in the 1580s and 1590s, the first undertakers frequently applying for the post. At least ten were appointed besides other prominent settlers. In the peaceful years after 1603, however, the position

(1) Payne, Description, p.4; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.571; ibid, 1588-92, pp.160, 190; FitzWilliam to Herbert, 30 January 1589, P.R.O., 30/53/7, no.2.

became less desirable. Once the sheriff was pruned of his armed retinue and the potential for intimidation, the disadvantages of his office outweighed the benefits. He had to remain within the county all year, enforce decrees, arrest criminals and keep the gaols. His most onerous duty was receiving taxes and fines, and he could be imprisoned for uncollected sums. Fulfilling his role as protector of all Munstermen, Boyle lent money to a former Irish sheriff of Kerry who had been imprisoned for this reason in 1636. In the early 17th century the position of sheriff increasingly was being seen as expensive, tedious and time-consuming(1).

Hence the government was in a quandary. Although the sheriff's importance was declining, he was after all the Crown's representative in the counties. Prestige alone required he should be a protestant, besides the opportunity he had to exercise decisive influence in two quarters: parliamentary returns, and the selection of jurors. The last especially endowed the office with a strong political weapon. But if appointment was confined to the ranks of suitable protestants, complaints would arise from this small group at their extensive burden; if unsuitable protestants were included further complaints would come from scandalised catholic gentlemen. The government too was not anxious to lessen the office's standing in the eyes of the country. Nevertheless the official aim and general policy in the early 17th century was to appoint only new English sheriffs. In Munster respectable settlers were unmoved by appeals to their spirit of public duty. Likely candidates were quick to approach influential men to safeguard them from selection by the Dublin government. The power to appoint - or rather ignore - candidates became a small area of patronage and a further cause of dissension between Boyle and Loftus when lord justices together.

Boyle's actions best illustrate the new English dilemma. Certainly he supported the principle of English sheriffs, but not when the imposition lay on his tenants or clients.

(1) B.L., Harl. MS 697, ff.120, 166v; SP/63/251/18; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 4, p.201.

Several times he arranged for individuals to be passed over, even though the procedure sometimes required a demeaning petty bribe, at the rate of £5 a man to the lord deputy's servant. An example in 1625 demonstrates how far Boyle had slipped from the official position. He wrote to Falkland desiring a Waterford tenant of his should not be made sheriff as he was poor and in debt (proof that the office was costly) and that prominent catholics should be appointed since they were already justices. Falkland agreed to the specific request but denied Boyle's alternatives: if the lord chancellor had made catholics JPs, "whom he ought not to have made", that was no reason for Falkland to appoint them sheriffs(1).

In reality Falkland was less positive than he sounded. That same year he echoed Boyle's approval of catholic sheriffs, though in a more cautious tone, when seeking to know what the new government policy might be on this issue. Falkland claimed complete ignorance of developments in England and, confessing a dread of unwittingly crossing the new king's intentions, begged to be delivered "out of this Egyptian darkness". He had some cause to be confused. James I had issued instructions against the appointment of catholic sheriffs, but some officials advised otherwise because of the detrimental effect this policy was having in the country. And James' similar directions against catholic JPs had been criticised by many including the lord justices and council in 1621(2).

Though there was no official change of policy, in fact some catholic sheriffs were appointed in the few years before James' death and increasingly in Charles' reign. The only full list is for County Cork and shows probable catholics in 1620-23, 1629, 1632, 1634, 1637 and 1641. There would have been more for the other Munster counties with smaller

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.377; SP/63/236/9; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 3, pp.1-12; 1, 2, p.240; 1, 3, p.115; HMC, Egmont, 1, pp.98, 112; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 15/155, 160.

(2) SP/63/241/111; APC, 1616-17, p.314; SP/63/236/9.

proportions of English gentry. Certainly the high sheriffs for Cork, Waterford, Limerick and Kerry in 1641 were all catholics and prominent in the rebellion. While the catholic gentry as a whole would have welcomed their inclusion in the shrievalty, actual individuals chosen were no more delighted than their protestant counter-parts. The high sheriff intended for County Cork in 1624 was Sir Charles MacCarthy, but Falkland cherished hopes of MacCarthy's son marrying one of his daughters (a converted catholic) "and in hope thereof my lord has put off Sir Charles MacCarthy from being sheriff". The lord deputy clearly found the Egyptian darkness more congenial than he would admit. The aversion to becoming city sheriffs reached noticeable heights in Cork where £140 was once offered to release a reluctant candidate. Finally the desperate corporation had to ordain that no man could become mayor until he had been sheriff. The Cork city sheriffs were solidly old English apart from the years between 1618 and 1622(1).

The government's attitude to JPs was similar to sheriffs: in principle it desired only new English and conforming gentry on the bench; in practice it had to appoint some old English and Irish. The difference occurred with the candidates, all of whom greatly desired to be on the commission of the peace. The office cost nothing, except in time, its prestige was considerable and its powers increasing as those of the sheriffs declined.

Though prominent catholics were appointed throughout the period, their numbers were less by head than the protestants. The government naturally was biased towards promoting settlers and thus the usual protests arose from local gentry of unworthy men being selected. They had a point perhaps with the English in west Cork. Within a couple of months in 1639 two English JPs had each killed a man, in a fight not a duel, at Clonakilty and Bandon respectively, both victims being Englishmen. Whalley

(1) Sheriffs list, JRSAI, 35 (1905), p.47; SP/63/248/45; Parsons to Boyle, 3 December 1623, N.L.I., MS 13237 (6); B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.102; Caulfield, Cork, p.194, Appendix C.

remarked on the shame of two English JPs coming before the Cork assizes for the same bloody cause. The government was inclined to dispense commissions to any half suitable settler. By 1634 Boyle's agent in Bandon was complaining of excessive numbers in the locality and he recommended no further appointments since there were "a greater number already than the bench and almost the court can contain". Other responsible Englishmen agreed there were too many JPs overall. Catholic complaints returned obsessively to the social inferiority of the English justices and suggestions were made in the 1641 parliament to impose a high property qualification to weed out the lesser sort(1).

Yet catholic justices were appointed regularly and in some counties might have outnumbered their protestant colleagues. In his splendidly comprehensive denunciation of every party in Munster, Sir Vincent Gookin flicked a passing horn at the catholic justices who swayed the bench; on the other hand Boyle, when concerned to minimise the strength of the catholics, referred to the swaying justices being protestant everywhere in Ireland. Neither assertion is any real evidence, but for Limerick, Waterford and Kerry Gookin may have been the more correct. An interesting dispute occurred over the site for the Waterford midsummer quarter sessions in 1639. The English justices, to the number of seven, assembled at Tallow, while the Bishop of Waterford, supported by the catholic justices being eight or nine plus John Whalley, "befuddled by drink", reported to Waterford city. Tallow was far more convenient of course for the settlers than Waterford. The English group fined the Waterford high sheriff, a catholic, for non-attendance, and in turn were themselves fined by the rival justices. The significance of this episode is that there seems to have been slightly more available catholic justices than protestant. Such a balance might well have contributed to the increasing respect for law and order, and peaceful nature of Munster

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.377; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 3, pp.1-12; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 20/68, 105, 107; Wiseman to Boyle, 26 April 1634, N.L.I., MS 13237 (17); HMC, Egmont, 1, pp.138, 143.

before 1641. A provisional list of Munster justices, drawn up 1625-27, reveals about 1/3 of them catholics in Cork and Waterford, half in Kerry and 2/3 in Limerick, though it must be emphasised the document is a rough draft and some of the annotations unclear(1).

To be awarded a quarter-sessions was the common aspiration of new towns. Not all English foundations obtained this prize. For example, Aldworth's respectable plantation at Newmarket was turned down. For the larger towns, their aim was to be an assize centre. Tallow usually was chosen on the Waterford circuit. Bandon obtained this privilege in 1616 and welcomed circuit judges for most subsequent years, but it was not invariably chosen and in 1634 the town complained it had been ignored the past two years. It might have been supplanted by Mallow where a prison was being built on land donated by Jephson and the cost borne by a 2/- ploughland tax in Cork. Not only did this mean Bandon might have lost its assizes, but it gained an unwelcome influx of north Cork beggars who feared their incarceration at Mallow. Hence prisons were another amenity greatly desired by the towns. Besides clearing the district of vagabonds, they enabled debtors to be held, an obvious but important improvement if events were at all like Boyle's manor at Carrigaline, where the bailiff in early 1641 was forced to turn a blind eye to fleeing debtors, having no prison to secure them. Prisoners might also be employed making cordage for shipping, a point put forward by Mr Slingsby of Kinsale for the establishment of a prison there. Kinsale was challenged by Bandon and despite Slingsby offering a low interest loan, Bandon won the award in 1639 when Boyle bestowed a free plot. The building was paid for by the usual ploughland

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1647-60, p.182; Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, first Boyle letter book, 1629-34, p.609; Naylor to Boyle, 18 July 1639, N.L.I., MS 13237 (24); T.C.D., MS F.3.15, ff.182v-84.

tax(1).

In general the plantation's impact on local government was not overwhelming. Obviously there was less need to introduce new forms than in Ulster. The major structural change in the province occurred before the undertakers' arrival with the abolition of Desmond's palatinate. The full apparatus of local government on the English model perhaps did not operate effectively in some quarters until the newcomers brought it with them and dispersed to their several seignories, but the rudiments - sheriffs, justices of the peace and so on - had existed before 1585. Major English landowners quickly became members of the Munster council, though to speak of a take-over suggests a false division between them and provincial rulers - the two were largely the same. The settlers became sheriffs immediately they set foot in Munster, though catholics were not excluded, in Cork at least, until 1598. For the first two decades of the 17th century all the sheriffs in Cork were new English. But with the commission of the peace the new English enjoyed no such monopoly, temporary or otherwise, and these were the officials who in effect ruled the localities. The one really decisive political change was on the wider national field when Munster's parliamentary representation switched to a protestant majority by 1640.

It should be said, of course, that the newcomers were not invariably a unified group in political matters. Constant reiteration of the terms new English, undertakers, settlers or newcomers gives the false impression of an homogeneous force and disguises internal animosities and different pressure groups. The strenuous divergences among the first undertakers have been covered already. One example should be sufficient to illustrate the same situation in the early

(1) APC, 1621-23, pp.321-23; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, p.120; Wiseman to Boyle, 4 June 1634, N.L.I., MS 13237 (20); same to same, 2 April 1634, *ibid* (17); Langton to Boyle, 2 July 1641, *ibid* (26); Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 20/35, 36*; see act to encourage more prisons in 1634, Statutes, 2, pp.145-50; Boyle's lease of Cappoquin including orders for tenant to build prison as well as market and session houses, Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, p.257.

17th century. Boyle's predominant position in the province inevitably led to a pro and anti Boyle camp among the Munster English. Prominent opponents were Sir Richard Moryson, the vice president for many years, and lord president St Leger. Some of the Munster administration felt understandably piqued at Boyle's ability to override their decisions and authority by using his contacts in Dublin and more importantly London. For his part, Boyle did not concern himself overmuch with the Munster presidency. He made no effort to obtain it himself, though he was successful with his candidate in 1615 which goes some way to explain the subsequent cordial relationship between Boyle and lord president Thomond. Boyle's preferential treatment of his towns concerning Army taxation infuriated St Leger who demanded the respective arrears in 1634(1).

Intellectual change

The English mission in Ireland - of which the Munster plantation was a part - was to anglicise the local inhabitants, remoulding them in the newcomers' own image. They achieved a measure of success, but only at the cost of a certain change in themselves. For as the old English and Irish gradually lost their old habits and adopted the new ways, so too did the new English pick up some of the local traits. A modest level of integration was achieved. This pre-1641 balance was forgotten in later years and is perhaps underestimated today because of the implacability of the religious divide from the rebellion onwards.

One example of the changing attitude of Munster settlers was a slight ambivalence towards England and element of identification with their new homeland. They unconcernedly refer to Ireland as "our country" and one undertaker goes so far as to mention Luke Wadding "our countryman", and the veteran double-dealer of Munster as "our countryman Florence MacCarthy". But this last writer is Sir Henry Bouchier, the bibliophile who spent most of his time in London, and here possibly revealing a sense of guilt for his absentee

(1) In general see Ranger, "Boyle", chapter 10.

status and a corresponding desire to appear more concerned with Ireland than his actions and residence proclaimed. Also his correspondent was Ussher which might have encouraged him to demonstrate his distaste for old stereotypes and approval for scholarly tolerance. More frequent was a simple pride in Munster and its produce. Boyle reminded an English correspondent of Munster's part in enriching England with its agricultural goods and silver mines. Later he pointed to the prompt vote of parliamentary subsidies in 1634 as proof of Ireland's benefit to England, using the classic tones of a settler torn between defence of his new country and desire to impress the old: "by which bounty you may ... conceive that Ireland is not so poor and contemptible a kingdom as it is there [in England] reported to be by some that understand it not"(1).

This new mood developed after 1600. In the Elizabethan period the advice offered to settlers was to keep well apart from their neighbours. Spenser and Beacon laboured the dangers of trusting local inhabitants. In 1598 the unpleasant Saxey, reeling from the shock of the uprising, had recommended a very limited role for the Irish in Munster, as the Gibeonites among the Hebrews of the English rulers - "hewers of wood and drawers of water". Such a proposal would have caused consternation less than 10 years later. Once into the 17th century the predominant note was assimilation. The growing confidence of the new English towards the indigenous inhabitants can be seen in their attitude to the Irish language. The Elizabethans had been quick to point out the identification of interests arising from a common language and the danger of an association with the Irish language denationalising Englishmen. Their descendants in the early 17th century were more assured about the matter. Boyle made special provision for all his sons to learn Irish and even the two youngest at Eton could not escape this task

(1) Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, second Boyle letter book, 1634-41, p.289; Erington, Works ... Ussher, 15, pp.174, 227, 431, 462; Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, first Boyle letter book, 1629-34, p.494; *ibid*, second Boyle letter book, 1634-41, p.43; in general see Canny, Upstart earl, chapter six.

since their guardian, who had accompanied them from Ireland, had been instructed to give them lessons. They responded to these without enthusiasm. Boyle had direct experience of the disadvantage of not knowing Irish in a land case against O'Mahony in west Cork. He did not attempt to learn the language, or if he tried did not succeed, and contented himself by employing a special secretary who could write a beautiful Irish hand. This man may have been used more than one suspects: many of the ordinary townsmen in Kinsale spoke Irish as their first language in 1617(1).

The new, relaxed attitude of the Munster settlers is further demonstrated by the changing view towards intermarriage. Previously intermarriage had been recognised as the quickest route to oblivion for the English presence in Ireland. Spenser, Moryson, Herbert, all never tired of reminding their audience of this fact. Those with long enough memories would recall the fate of some of the Leix-Offaly grants, "daughtered out" by the marriage of the inheritable daughter to men with lands elsewhere. Hence the special intermarriage prohibition for undertakers' daughters in the Munster plantation(2).

In the 17th century once more, we see a slackening of this defensive mentality. Strictly speaking there had been no need for the Munster plantation article prohibiting intermarriage because an act was already on the statute book forbidding marriage with the Irish. This was repealed in the Jacobean parliament as inimical to the new spirit of unity between the three kingdoms. Intermarriage was now positively encouraged by some as making the Irish more English than the reverse. The author of a 1623 tract called

(1) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.396; Moryson in Falkiner, Illustrations, p.262; Spenser, View, pp.67-68; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 3/41; 16/16; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 2, pp.30, 144; 2, 3, p.224; evidence of settlers' familiarity with Irish language, B.L., (Tristram Whetcombe) The Truest Intelligence from the province of Munster... (1642), p.4; (Tristram Whetcombe), A most exact relation of a great victory... (1642), p.8.

(2) Falkiner, Illustrations, p.261; Spenser, View, p.68; Herbert, Croftus, pp.39-40.

for English women to seek out Irish husbands for this very purpose. The new English in Munster quickly responded to this change of climate to such an extent that it becomes pointless trying to catalogue the numbers of intermarriage in this period. The contrast cannot be greater with the plantation in Ulster: in Cavan and Armagh, for example, there are only two cases of intermarriage before 1641 and one of these couples was fined for breaking the articles. In Munster no such action ever was taken(1).

Some did not entirely approve of this fusion of the races. Boyle discouraged intermarriage among the lower orders, though he had no objection for alliances with larger landowners. An obvious example was his own daughter's marriage to Barrymore. He was a protestant, however, and for Boyle this was the crucial test of acceptability. Boyle's god-daughter, Ann Browne, did marry O'Sullivan of Bearehaven but conformity was the precondition; or at any rate they were married in a protestant ceremony, and the young man's wardship was purchased by his father-in-law from the catholic Brownes of Kerry. Boyle turned down marriage offers for his daughters from the Muskerry MacCarthys and the Earl of Castlehaven's catholic heir. His diary hints at the fortitude displayed by himself towards these tempting proposals rejected for the sake of the true religion. Other landowners had no such scruples. Often enough the old warning proved true. Everyone knows the fate of Spenser's grandchildren, and we have seen that by 1641 four other seignory owners were catholic from intermarriage(2).

Yet not all the conversions were one way. The depositions record the names of over 100 former Munster protestants turned papist in 1641/42. About two dozen were Irish and old English, and probably experiencing their second conversion. But there were also 49 Irish and old English

(1) Statutes, 1, pp.441-42; O'Brien, Advertisements, pp.49-50; R.J. Hunter, "The Ulster plantation in the counties of Armagh and Cavan, 1608-41" (M. Litt., Dublin 1969), 1, p.156.

(2) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, pp.10, 12, 38, 212; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 6/152.

names among the deponents, being classified indiscriminately as Irish or British protestants. Five were ministers. Another two dozen conforming landowners are recorded in the Limerick Civil Survey. With one exception the pattern of conversion is as one would expect. Many of the defecting protestants lived in Kerry, the majority in Killarney, but the numbers of protestants turning catholic was higher in Limerick, being perhaps 50 to Kerry's 40. Only a handful came from Cork, and these from the west coast and Muskerry barony. There are no real distinguishing patterns for those passing the other way, but it is noticeable ex-catholics belonged to a slightly higher rank than ex-protestants. Those moving to catholicism could be sure of a welcome from local society and thus did not need the security of a previous position in order to combat the ostracisation which followed a catholic's conversion to the state religion(1).

Although religious conversions are not strikingly good examples of an English change of attitude, the case still does stand for a growing modus vivendi between themselves and the old inhabitants. For a summary of this new integration taking place in Munster there is no more pertinent account than that interesting outburst by Sir Vincent Gookin in 1633. Intermarriage, intimacy and social relations between the new English and locals were unchecked, said Gookin, and must be stopped. Gookin himself is an isolated, aloof figure: "I have done and ever will stand at a distance with the Irish, and will not so much as suffer my children to learn the language" - further proof of its common use by the settlers(2).

This intellectual change forces us to modify the traditional divisions between new English, old English and Irish. Automatically as soon as a list of names comes before an historian of this period, then the individuals are scanned and largely according to their names packed into the respective racial boxes. Indeed, throughout the present work this at times unconscious procedure has been in action.

(1) T.C.D., Depositions; Civil Survey, 4.

(2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1647-60, pp.181-86.

Such mechanical divisions obscure the numerous times a social unity operated in the province. Only general impressions can be recorded but they serve to demonstrate the false rigidity of the settlers versus locals tradition. The one exception concerns political divisions, which will be treated shortly.

Boyle's papers reveal genuine friendships with at least three old residents: Lord Roche, Sir Charles MacCarthy of Muskerry and Donal O'Sullivan of Bearehaven. Despite being catholic, the last two were godfathers to Boyle's younger children. Both MacCarthy's and O'Sullivan's sons kept up amicable relations with the Boyles. John Barry, previously of Liscarroll before it was mortgaged to Percival, was Broghill's intimate friend and second in a duel Broghill fought in London; "all this for Mrs Harrison," sighed Boyle incredulously, though not without a touch of pride, in his diary. One could go on but the point is clear: in the field of social relationships there were few barriers between the two groups. The most obvious examples are the frequent times new English landowners, especially Boyle, agreed to arbitration of land disputes by prominent catholics and in turn arbitrated between them. It should be noted, however, that the urban old English did tend to keep apart from the newcomers especially in Cork city(1).

The social unity among greater landlords from all backgrounds produced a strong element of stability and surprisingly peaceful conditions in the province after 1603. D.B. Quinn spots a telling sign of English confidence that the new order was in Munster to stay, with the introduction of English game laws by the Munster council in 1612. Hedges were broken down by fox hunters in 1641. Martial law could still be declared by the president and was on a few occasions, but official emphasis concentrated now on normal procedures, and the 1622 commissioners recommended restricting this power. Major outbreaks of violence were rare. A colourful land

(1) Boyle papers, passim; individual examples, Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, p.111; 1, 5, p.122; on national scale same process of integration observed by A. Clarke, "Ireland and the General Crisis", Past and Present, 48 (1970).

dispute in 1612 - chamber pots flying to and fro but no injuries - has the Munster council intoning that no such great disturbance had so shaken the province since 1603. Certainly there were more examples of cattle thieving than in most English counties and occasionally the sort of bold behaviour which indicated the frontier spirit still survived: such as the stone dropped by the mother of young Lord Barry on an English sheriff who was taking possession of her property in 1618. The number of capital offences was probably higher than the average English county, but those executed contained a large proportion of new English, from the pirates hung at Cork in 1625 to the murderers of a Roche whose numbers included a vicar(1).

Emigration concluded

The increasing similarity of Munster life to that in England provides the final clue to the problem first raised in chapter six: how to account for the high degree of English emigration to Munster in this period. The traditional reasons have been paraded - land, religion, commercial undertakings, to escape authority - and while undeniably the major forces which motivated families, ultimately found not entirely convincing. A nagging doubt in the explanation persists until the question is re-examined and itself found wanting: emigration is not the most accurate expression to describe Englishmen moving from south-west England to Munster.

Consider the close connection between the two areas of south-west England and south Munster. Most of the settlers came from the former region. We have already observed social, economic and geographic links. The regions were close to a single unit with the Irish Sea more a gangway than barrier. Travel between Youghal, say, and Barnstaple could be quicker than Barnstaple to London. A flotilla of small craft shuttled forward and back between the Severn estuary and the south Munster ports. Aiding this development

(1) Quinn, "Munster plantation", JCHAS, 71 (1966); N.L.I., MS 6243, March 1641; Exeter College, Oxford, MS 95, p.64; B.L., Harl. MS 697, ff.123-24, 184; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 2, p.144; 1, 2, pp.22, 159.

was the shift in administrative and political emphasis from north Munster before the plantation to south Munster in the 17th century. The Earl of Desmond's power had been centred in Kerry, but after his fall there was only one, unsuccessful attempt to restore the primary of north Munster, when Thomond moved the presidency headquarters to Limerick, only for them to be moved back to Cork after his death.

It is when we appraise the extent of internal migration in England that this new definition becomes important. Mobility in late Tudor and Jacobean England was commonplace. If the Munster/south-west England entity is acceptable, might not we see the same casual migration which occurred within the actual bounds of England? English families already were accustomed to migration. Not only would they think nearby emigration an easy, natural step, they might well have viewed removal to Munster from Somerset less a transference than migration to Northumberland. Such an attitude explains the puzzling frequency no reason at all is given to correspondents over a writer's intended or actual emigration to Munster. We find a reference about a man who intends to settle with his family in County Cork. No explanation is provided: proof perhaps that these people did not even appreciate they were emigrating. In fact their instinct was correct: such a move was less an emigration, more migration within an acknowledged unit. Local historians of the south-west counties cannot produce exceptionally harsh economic conditions, compared to the rest of England, which might have driven Devonians and Somersetmen over the sea. The men of the south-west left, not because it was hard to stay, but so easy to go(1).

The traffic was not all one way. Throughout this period astonishing numbers of Munster Irish crossed to England, especially in the bad harvest years of the early 1600s and late 1620s. There is little difficulty determining what caused this reverse migration: starvation always was a

(1) R.D. Brown, "Devonians and New England settlement before 1650", Trans. of the Devon Association, 95 (1963).

most powerful motivation to change one's residence. Periodic efforts were made by English corporations to round up these Irish vagrants and send them home, but many got through, some as far as Kent and eventually the continent. Illegal transport was available, serviced in one case by an advanced Englishman who told a court "as long as there were English in Ireland he would bring Irishmen into England". (He did, however, also demand a high fare from his passengers.) After 1635 the flow of Irish to south-west England lessened(1).

But these desperate travellers were subsistence migrators and had little choice over moving. We are more concerned with English families who crossed forward and back through their own volition. For links with England were by no means broken by settlement in Munster. In this respect the term colonist is misleading as prosperous settlers often kept a foot in both countries. Planters who made good in Munster liked to return in triumph to England, often to their ancestral counties. Those who bought land in England did not sell up in Ireland; instead of discarding, they merely added to their hand. The most spectacular example is Boyle with his south-west purchases of Stalbridge, Marston Biggot, Saltcomber and Annory. The last purchase enabled Boyle to "put a foot in a boat at Youghal and land at my own door" - a perfect illustration of the practical propinquity of the two regions. The Jephsons, Grenvilles and lords of Castlehaven continued to hold major estates in England after coming to Ireland, and indeed their lives alternated between their different properties. Migration between the countries was not considered irreparable. A change of residence from the south-west to Munster for one generation could be reversed

(1) Cal.S.P.Dom., 1581-90, p.142; ibid, 1623-25, p.398; ibid, 1628-29, pp.258, 358, 442, 495, 519; ibid, 1633-34, p.462; B.L., Add. MS 11402, f.100v; R. Carew, Survey of Cornwall (1749), pp.67-68; Reprint of the Barnstaple Records (Barnstaple 1900), 2, p.135; E. King (ed.) Lymington, Hants Corporation Book (1906), p.48; J. Latimer, The annals of Bristol in the 17th century (Bristol 1900), pp.13, 102; T.G. Barnes, Somerset, 1625-40 (Oxford 1961), pp.182, 192; Clark and Slack, Crisis and order, pp.147-48; Bridenbaugh, Englishmen, p.20.

by the next, to be reversed in turn by the third generation. The history of the Percival family demonstrates such repeated transferences. Estates in either country could be sold or bought without a sense of emigration or repatriation entering into it: we have seen how close Jephson was to selling his Mallow estate twice. On a more humble level the same casual movement and retention of property between the two regions is reasonably catalogued(1).

Once this Munster/south-west England entity is grasped, one particular anomaly can be explained. In his survey of overseas investors, T.K. Rabb finds that the vast majority were merchants, including those in the Ulster plantation. He admits to some difficulty of identification for Munster since no company was established, but contents himself with listing 78 who spent money on the project. In fact only about half did so, but the significant conclusion to be drawn from these names is that almost all were gentry not merchants. Rabb does not notice this peculiarity, which is a pity since it might have persuaded him to exclude the Munster investors from his study. For the Munster plantation cannot be fitted into the general story of "colonial development". The gentry involved, then and later, considered themselves to be moving from one region to a neighbouring area. In short, their predominantly south-western origin did not lead them to see Munster as a different country(2).

Munster can be shown to be non-colonial in all aspects save for one crucial respect. It is quite clear that in political terms Ireland's status was increasingly becoming colonial in the early modern period. Before the Elizabethan reconquest Ireland effectively had ceased to be a colony. Integration between the races - though strenuously denied by the Pale old English and more patriotic Irish - was thorough-going, and an inexorable identification of common interest operated after the Reformation. This was plain to see when

(1) Grosart, Lismore, 2, 4, p.210; HMC, Egmont, 1, pp.viii-ix; Ffoliot, Irish families, passim; G.D. Stawell, A Quantock family (Taunton 1910), passim.

(2) Rabb, Enterprize and Empire.

the new wave of Elizabethan settlers and officials came over and with rising frequency began treating the different locals as so many papists. Before their arrival there was no sharp distinction between ruler and ruled, which is, after all, the essential component of colonial status: the normal definition of a colony being rule for an extended period of time over an alien and subjected people. Until the later 16th century Ireland was more a rebellious feudal fief.

With the newcomers appeared that essential component of colonisation, which is some sort of universal distinction to act as the litmus test for separating the ruler and ruled. Religion was the perfect litmus. By the 17th century it was overriding all other considerations. Any Irish or old English who took up the new religion gained instant entree into public life. Any settler who changed to catholicism was bidding farewell to high administrative and legal posts. This obvious yet fundamental point is worth emphasising since there has been a tendency of late to deny Ireland was a colony, or at least to avoid mentioning that coarse word. In part this is a commendable reaction to the old nationalist historians who read back attitudes and achievements of the present to the past, and who were keen to portray Ireland as a united nation under foreign rule from the earliest times. And certainly, as has been shown in Munster's case, the level of social integration between the races, and casual interchange between the two countries, does considerably modify if not destroy the colonial definition; but not in the political sphere.

New English officials did reveal occasional embarrassment at accusations of discrimination by the old inhabitants. Those who conformed found no obstacles in their path but rather their careers boosted in a vain effort by the administration to demonstrate its lack of bias. Sir Dominic Sarsfield certainly achieved his later honours less from his own merits than this "positive affirmation" from the government. It is interesting to note the tortuous arguments used to continue discriminatory action against catholics, while denying they had grounds for protests against discrimination. A prize example of such doublethink is Boyle's

long justification for enforcing recusancy fines in 1633, which is a fascinating mixture of self contradiction and special pleading intended to defend the fairness of his recommendation(1).

Once or twice Boyle's own nerve cracked and he revealed the dark fears of a classic embattled settler. It is significant that, while employing catholic lawyers and other professional men, he drew the line at doctors. A patient requires explicit faith not only in his doctor's competency but good will; and this Boyle was convinced he had forfeited by 1636 after his harsh anti-catholic policy when in government: "I dare not venture for my cure upon the Physicians of this kingdom who though some of them are learned and experienced, yet they are all of a contrary religion to me". Boyle was unusual in his gloomy doubts about Irish doctors, though Carew expressed exactly the same fears in 1602(2).

More typical among the Munster new English was Boyle's sense of a fundamental political unity which should bind the settlers together. Deep suspicion was levelled at pro-Irish behaviour, seen as disloyal and tantamount to subversion. This was another of St Leger's crimes in the eyes of Boyle and other settlers: "the English of Munster do not affect him, nor he them, he sides so much with the Irish". An earlier lord president, Sir Thomas Norris, suffered from similar disapproval, but both his and St Leger's conduct in the respective rebellions of 1598 and 1641 scotched any doubts about their allegiance. Another potentially unsound English landowner was Sir Richard Osborne of Knocknamona, Hatton's old Waterford seignory. He too joined his co-religionists in 1641(3).

For religion was the ultimate divider. Any previous political unity in Ireland had been strictly contingent,

(1) Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, first Boyle letter book, 1629-34, pp.606-13.

(2) Ibid, second Boyle letter book, 1634-41, p.136; Cal. Carew, 1601-03, p.342.

(3) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 22/31; Caulfield, Kinsale, p.549; A. Clarke, The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42 (1966), p.46.

such as the parliamentary coalition between all groups to pull down Wentworth the year before. Despite social integration between old inhabitants and settlers, the political separation and monopoly of power by the newcomers ensured that the Munster catholics joined the rest of Ireland in the great rebellion. It took a few months for the cause to reach the south but each county rebelled in due course, with a few initial hesitations, notably that of Lord Muskerry. The motives for rebellion have been fully considered and analysed elsewhere. One such motive was resentment at the aggressive land policy pursued by the government and individuals against those with weak titles. But an additional factor in Munster was a faint but persisting unacceptance of the plantation by those who considered themselves to be descendants of the dispossessed owners in the early 1580s. Unsurprisingly, the respective Condon head echoed the determination of his ancestors to recover lost property by appearing before the chief castle in Fleetwood's seignory and successfully taking it in early 1642. Similar claims were made to seignory land held by Boyle, Jephson and other settlers(1).

Too much should not be made of this resumption. Inevitably when the rebels gained ex-plantation land, the descendants of the original owners would come forward. It is very doubtful if catholic undertakers and descendants of Elizabethan settlers - Thornton, Spenser, Cullum, Castlehaven, Stephenson, Spring - ever were challenged for portions of their land. As a motive for rebellion, the plantation definitely was way down the long list of priorities. It was a generation earlier than the Ulster plantation, not was remotely as comprehensive. By 1641 it would have taken its place in the popular memory as no more than one of many ancient injustices inflicted by the English.

(1) B.L., Sloane MSS 1008, ff.47, 62v; Egerton, 80, f.22; JCHAS, 2 (1896), p.63.

APPENDIX 1. LAND ACREAGE

It is impossible to determine the number of acres confiscated from the Earl of Desmond and his associates. Ireland in the 1580s did not possess a standardised form of measurement. The most common land designation was the ploughland or townland. They were not units of measurement, however, and varied greatly in size. For taxation and other purposes, the government was anxious to convert ploughlands into acres but this proved to be a vexatious task. Besides the fundamental handicap of converting an imprecise and fluctuating area into one of strict figures, there was an additional problem of the acres - for these too varied in size.

By this time in England a standard acre was emerging, based on a measurement of $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the perch, soon to be known as the English statute acre. Irish acres were all larger, the most common versions (by no means all) being 21, 24 and 29 feet to the perch. An Irish acre of 21 feet was 1.625 times greater than the English acre; if 29 feet then exactly three times greater(1).

In the 1580s the government decided the unit of measurement for the Munster plantation should be the English statute measure. That meant two multipliers had to be found: to convert the ploughlands - by which designation the lands would largely be found - into acres; and to convert any Irish acres encountered into English acres. The comments of the 1584 survey commissioners demonstrate this was no easy business. In Connello barony, they said, the rate was one ploughland equalling 80 Irish acres; for the rest of Limerick and Kerry the rate was generally, but not universally, 120 Irish acres. This Irish acre was 21 feet to the perch, except for Connello where it was 25' 4" to the perch. The usual multiplier from Irish to English acres then was 1.625. If the ploughland equalled 120 Irish acres, the English acreage at this rate was 195. However in Cork at Mallow the commissioners found that while one ploughland equalled

(1) Detailed discussion on the problem of Irish measurements by White, "Tudor plantations", pp.58-75.

120 Irish acres, the local measure was 29 feet to the acre, which produces 360 English acres. And in fact this was closer to the normal conversion rate in the early 17th century which was between 360 to 450 English acres to a ploughland(1).

The disparity is not of crucial importance here, for we are concerned only with the Munster plantation acreage. There are four methods of computation: to work from the Peyton survey; government estimates of the number of seignories possible from the escheated land; the measurers in 1586/87; and from the grants to each undertaker. It should be emphasised that for all acreage figures in this period only profitable land was assessed. Mountain, bog, scrub and other waste within the area remained uncounted.

Only the reports for Limerick and Kerry survive in entirety for the Peyton survey. The normal units used were quarters; less frequently Irish acres. In English acres the total for the Earl of Desmond's land in Limerick was reckoned to be 82,048; for his associates 31,102. In Kerry the Earl's lands were 73,841 acres and his associates 25,942 acres. Chargeable lands were included. Excluding chargeable land produces a total of 53,937 English acres confiscated in Limerick and 59,808 in Kerry. Nowhere did the 1584 commissioners actually measure the land. They took only the local estimates for each area; they also admitted much confiscated land remained unsurveyed(2).

Despite the casual way the figures were obtained for the Peyton survey, totals eventually were found for the confiscated land in each county. There were 289,817 English acres in Cork; 176,169 in Limerick; 56,210 in Kerry; 33,671 in Waterford; and 21,778 in Tipperary. The total comes to 577,645 acres(3). This figure has been taken to

(1) P.R.O.I., M.5038, pp.43, 59; JCHAS, 2 (1893), pp.21-25, 41-45; further notes on conversion rates, Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.432.

(2) P.R.O.I., M.5037-39.

(3) SP/63/123/56; MS undated but compiled before May 1586 and the measurers' commencement, SP/63/124/41.

be the official amount of confiscated acres, from Fynes Moryson a few decades later to historians today, but it appears to be an overestimate(1).

In London the government was greatly excited by reports of more than half a million acres to dispose of in grants of seignories. Five estimates of the number of full sized seignories available were made in the first half of June 1586. The numbers were 62, 60, 47, 43 and 49; which in turn demanded 744,000 to 516,000 confiscated areas. Such dreams were not to be. As the measurers began their work, on occasion using exact instruments, the above figures took on an inflated aspect(2).

By 1588 the surveyors had measured 266,459 acres of plantation land. In Cork the number was 125,361 acres; in Connello 69,863 acres; in Waterford 47,236 acres; and in Kerry 23,999 acres. (All acres were English statute as ordered.) About half had been measured precisely, the rest estimated with varying degrees of care and accuracy. No land in Tipperary or Limerick outside Connello was included in this report, and it was confessed that further escheated land in the region remained unsurveyed. But the omitted amounts could not have raised the total to anywhere near the half million acres originally expected(3).

The best method to discover the amount of land is to work in reverse: instead of accepting the various estimates and measurements of escheated land en bloc, to look first at the amount granted to the undertakers. The total awarded to the 35 undertakers was 298,653 acres. This figure probably is the safest available. Several of the grants were underestimates - particularly Ormonde's seignory - but other undertakers found they could not gain possession of

(1) Moryson, Itinerary, 2, p.372, has 574,628 acres; R. Dunlop "The plantation of Munster, 1584-1589", EHR, 3 (1888), has 574,645 acres; Bonn, Kolonisation, p.288, has 577,645 acres.

(2) Nottingham, Middleton MS Mi Da 57e; SP/63/122/57; 124/41; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.242-43; P.R.O., MPF, 273.

(3) SP/63/131/59; 133/96.

all the lands in their letters patent. This total remains an estimate of course and excludes unprofitable land. With the latter the amount confiscated was well over half a million acres(1).

(1) Bonn realised lands granted amounted to less than expected originally, but his total of 202,099 acres ignores six undertakers, Kolonisation, p.299; Cal. S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.57.

APPENDIX 2. BIOGRAPHIES OF THE UNDERTAKERS

Key

<u>Seignory</u>	<u>Undertaker</u>
Ardagh	Robert Cullum
Askeaton	Francis Berkeley
Ballygibbon	Richard and Alexander Fitton
Ballymacdonnell	George Stone and John Champion
Beauly	Robert Strode
Carrigaline	Sir Warham St Leger
Carriglemlery	Thomas Saye
Carrignedy	Arthur Hyde
Castleisland	Sir William Herbert
Castlemahony	Phane Becher
Castletown	William Carter
Clandonnell Roe	Richard Beacon
Cloghley	Thomas Fleetwood and Marmaduke Redmayne
Corgrig	William Trenchard
Curran	Charles Herbert
Dunnaman	George Thornton
Fedamore	Edmund Mainwaring
Inchiquin	Sir Walter Raleigh
Kilcolman	Edmund Spenser
Kilfinny	Henry Billingsley
Killorglin	Jenkin Conway
Kilmore	Hugh Cuffe
Kinalmeaky	Hugh Worth
Knockainy	Sir Edward Fitton
Knocknamona	Sir Christopher Hatton
Lough Gur	Sir George Bouchier
Mallow	Thomas Norris
Mayne	Henry Oughtred
Molahiffe	Sir Valentine Browne
Newcastle	Sir William Courtenay
Pollycurry	Arthur Robins
Rathurde	Robert Annesley
Swiffin	Earl of Ormonde
Tarbert	Denzil Holles

Tralee

Edward Denny

Note

Unless otherwise stated, all numbers of tenants, families, households, freeholders, leases, copyholders, etc., refer to new English; Irish and old English separately distinguished.

Ardagh (Cullum's Vale, Cullum's Valley)

Granted to Robert Cullum(1). Previous owners Limerick old English and Irish; situated west Limerick. Cullum army captain, served since 1560s. Received custodiam of Limerick lands after Desmond war(2). Desired Glin lands as undertaker; backed by Fenton, opposed by Perrot(3). Obtained certificate before September 1587(4). Claimed to have "brought over divers Englishmen to inhabit" before 1588(5). But Glin restored to old English heir. Cullum given lease of church lands 1587(6). Appeared as freeholder on Corgrig seignory 1589(7). Eventually became undertaker of very dispersed seignory in Limerick; abbey lands in Kerry included. Letters patent for seignory of 5,760 acres, 18 August 1595(8). Seignory overrun 1598. Cullum given company in 1601(9). Vouched for by lord president in 1606 when Cullum visited England for redress of lost land(10). 1611 survey; demesne 600 acres; eight fee farms (six old English, one Irish) 1,470 acres; one lease 120 acres; at least 10 ploughlands evicted from seignory; undertenants mostly Irish; full rent(11). In 1611 Robert Cullum surrendered land which was regranted to son and supposed heir William. Robert Cullum died 1612(12). In 1613 protest from Ellis Cullum claiming to be eldest son and unjustly disinherited(13). Unsuccessful: William succeeds Robert as undertaker. William Cullum granted 4/- a day pension 1610(14). Complained in 1616 that George Courtenay, fellow undertaker, and other occupying his lands(15). 1622 survey: four freeholders, 976 acres; three leaseholders 560; 18 copyholders 940 acres; no house for undertaker; 20 thatched houses at Ardagh; rent 2/3rds abated upon evictions. William Cullum also a freeholder on Kilfinny seignory for 480 acres with six families; most probably his residence(16). From 1615 in trouble over debts; after fruitless bills and strong-arm tactics imprisoned. Escaped and fled to England in 1630. Described by Dublin council as "a man of contentious and turbulent disposition, not answerable to His Majesty's laws and withall extremely clamorous": want him returned to Ireland(17). In 1640

letters from Privy Council to lord deputy on behalf of William Cullum, "an Irishman", obtained by Irish commissioners in London(18). William Cullum probably married daughter of John Crosby, Bishop of Ardfert(19). Position in 1641: Civil Survey records most lands sold 1640 to William Lacy - his security for above debts - while Cullum had 520 acres, value £63(20). Books of S and D give him 3,779 acres (1,182 unprofitable) but include portions sold to Lacy(21). Both reports describe him as Irish papist. Joined rebels in 1642(22).

- (1) Origins unknown; described as of Dublin, gentleman, in 1587, DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.59; numerous Cullums from E. Anglia, esp. Suffolk; cannot confirm Robert Cullum link, but two possible Roberts, sons of Cullums of Thorndon, Suffolk, and Occolt, Suffolk, respectively, J.J. Howard, Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica (1868 etc.), 2, 1, passim: 2, 2, p.170; 2, 5, p.6.
- (2) DKPROI, 13th Rep., p.218.
- (3) SP/63/125/68; 133/50, 50.1; P.R.O.I., M.5039, pp.84-85, 166; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.281.
- (4) SP/63/131/6.
- (5) SP/63/133/50.1.
- (6) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.59; Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.128.
- (7) SP/63/144/25.
- (8) DKPROI, 16th Rep., pp.270-72; acreage not given but can be deduced from number of ploughlands and rent; also JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.135.
- (9) Cal. Carew, 1601-03, p.145.
- (10) HMC, Salisbury, 18, p.139.
- (11) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.254.
- (12) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, p.491; Cal.Pat.Jas, pp.203-04; Begley, Limerick, p.201.
- (13) APC, 1613-14, p.182.
- (14) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.172.

- (15) APC, 1615-16, pp.481, 686.
- (16) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.92v; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.135.
- (17) SP/63/251/18; 241/49, 49.1; P.R.O., S.O., 1/1, p.28; APC, Jan. 1627-Aug. 1627, p.379; SP/16/173/62.
- (18) Cal.S.P.Dom., 1640-41, p.346.
- (19) Lodge, Peerage, 3, p.326; the Bishop's other three daughters married catholics.
- (20) Civil Survey, 4, pp.285, 317, 320, 325; Cullum sold 640 acres to Lacy of which 400, valued at £100 p.a., sold for £1,300; before sale to Lacy, Cullum had 1,160 acres (45 unprofitable) valued at £213.
- (21) P.R.O.I., Books of Survey and Distribution, Limerick, Connello.
- (22) Features in Limerick depositions, T.C.D., MS 829, ff.134, 256, 406.

Askeaton (Rock Berkeley)

Granted to Francis Berkeley(1). Previous owner Desmond; situated on River Shannon, Limerick(2). Lands first allotted to Francis' younger brother, Edward. Captain Edward Berkeley soldier in Ireland from early 1570s; probably joined Essex's venture in Ulster, mid 1570s(3). Commanded fort at Askeaton from 1582. Applied for grant of escheated land in same area; opposed by Norris but supported by Perrot(4). Edward Berkeley received certificate for seignory before September 1587, Askeaton castle remaining Crown property with Berkeley as constable(5). Knighted 1588; died 1589. In will ordered seignory to be sold to pay debts; bought by brother Francis for £100(6). Francis Berkeley also captain in Ireland. In 1585 provost-marshal of Connaught; 1586 Mayo sheriff(7). 1589 enquiry: agent reported as yet no settlement(8). Letters patent to Francis Berkeley for seignory of 7,250 acres, 18 October 1590(9). Married Katherine, daughter of Archbishop Loftus(10). On occasion of Perrot's arrest in 1591, brought to London, imprisoned but acquitted and returned to Ireland(11). Applied to have seignory lands remeasured 1592(12). Portions resumed by local claimants after 1592 land commission(13). In residence 1598; successfully defended Askeaton castle; knighted by Essex(14). In early 1600s on Munster council. Applied for rent reduction(15). Askeaton castle granted to Berkeley in fee farm 1610(16). 1611 survey: demesne 1,100 acres; fee farm 900; leases 1,100; evicted from seignory 1,200 acres; 36 tenants, all housed; many Irish resident on seignory; rent abated(17). In 1612 Sir Francis Burgess of new borough at Askeaton; elected MP for County Limerick in disputed return 1613(18). Sir Francis Berkeley died December 1615. Succeeded by son Maurice aged 17, who married daughter of Sir Francis Slingsby and died September 1622. Succeeded by brother Henry aged 16; wardship to Lord Loftus(19). 1622 survey: demesne 1,100 acres; freeholders 900; leases 3,000; cottagers 750 acres; five ploughlands evicted; 45 families well housed; Askeaton castle repaired(20). Henry Berkeley died February 1626.

Seignory passed to his four sisters: Katherine married George Courtenay of Newcastle seignory; Elizabeth married George Crofton; Frances married Thomas Blaney; Gertrude married John Taylor(21). From 1630-34 Boyle purchased $\frac{3}{4}$ of seignory for £3,800; failed to obtain final quarter(22). In 1632 Sir Hardress Waller living temporarily at Askeaton, acting as Boyle's representative(23). Position in 1641: seignory owned by Boyle, Earl of Cork, apart from Crofton's minority interest. Boyle's agent Daly in command of castle(24). Civil Survey lists Boyle with 2,795 acres around Askeaton, value £515.10.0(25).

- (1) Second son of Sir Maurice Berkeley of Bruton, Somerset, T.J. Westropp, "Notes on Askeaton", JRSAI, 33 (1903); The visitation of the county of Somerset, 1623 (Harl. Soc. 11), p.7; Hasler, Commons, 1, p.429.
- (2) Castle in good repair 1584; useful description, P.R.O.I., M.5038, pp.21-23.
- (3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1509-73; ibid, 1574-85, passim; R. Dunlop, "Sixteenth-century schemes for the plantation of Ulster", Scottish Hist. Rev., 22 (1925).
- (4) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.344; SP/63/112/31; 115/41.
- (5) SP/63/131/6.
- (6) Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.190; P.R.O., PCC, 81 Drake.
- (7) DKPROI, 15th Rep., p.85; ibid, 21st Rep., index Berkeley.
- (8) SP/63/144/71.
- (9) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.136.
- (10) Westropp, "Askeaton", JRSAI, 33 (1903).
- (11) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.415.
- (12) APC, 1592, p.113.
- (13) SP/63/168/10.1; 172/58.
- (14) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.331, 346-48, 399; B.L., Harl. MS 35, f.298v.

- (15) Ibid, 697, f.12; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1603-06, p.380.
- (16) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.168.
- (17) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.253.
- (18) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, pp.293, 438-43; Cal.Pat. Jas., p.397.
- (19) P.R.O.I., IA/48/84, no.32; IA/48/110, no.27; IA/48/66, nos.27, 72; D. Jackson, Intermarriage in Ireland, 1550-1650 (Montreal 1970), p.61.
- (20) B.L., Add. MS 4756, ff.90-90v; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.131.
- (21) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.27.
- (22) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 3, pp.33, 37, 100, 113, 125-26, 154, 169, 179, 191-92; 1, 4, pp.38, 65; Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, second Boyle letter book, 1634-41, pp.113-14, 394.
- (23) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 3, pp.122-23.
- (24) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 22/87.
- (25) Civil Survey, 4, pp.304-11, 320, 322-23, 326.

Ballygibbon (Fitton's Fortune)

Granted to Richard and Alexander Fitton(1). Previous owners Limerick FitzGerald; situated in vicinity of Kilfinane, south Limerick(2). Fittons in Ireland until father's death in 1579. Alexander eloped and married daughter of dowager Countess of Sussex; Countess furious(3). Alexander and Richard Fitton joined Sir Edward Fitton in his syndicate to plant Munster(4). Received certificate for 8,000 acres early 1587; possession delivered August 1587(5). From late 1587 Alexander Fitton agent for Sir Edward's seignory, first at Kilmanahan, then Knockainy(6). Letters patent granted to Richard and Alexander Fitton for seignory of 3,026 acres, 14 May 1588(7). Forced to spend £65 redeeming mortgages(8). In early 1589 credited with 12 then 20 persons on seignory(9). 1589 enquiry: FitzGibbon (White Knight) and others claim lands; most leased to six local old English; undertakers in possession of tiny portion; one tenant; summary says no English(10). In 1592 report listed with eight English tenants(11). Alexander Fitton leased Knockainy from brother and Glenogra castle from Sir George Bouchier, another Limerick undertaker, in 1590s(12). Seignory overrun 1598. Alexander Fitton in Munster forces 1598-1600(13). Before 1611 Fittons sold entire seignory to two old English who sold to Edmund FitzGibbon, the White Knight, and Morris FitzGerald(14). Alexander Fitton died 1609; his descendants continued at Knockainy(15). 1611 survey: owners heirs of FitzGibbon, died, and FitzGerald, died (Margaret FitzGibbon and Gibbon FitzGibbon respectively); five tenants (all old English/Irish) 1,000 acres; full rent(16). Sir William Fenton married Margaret FitzGibbon 1614 and hence acquired her half of seignory; regrant 1618(17). Before 1622 Fenton sold seignory lands to alderman William Haly of Limerick city(18). 1622 survey: owners William Haly and Gibbon FitzGibbon; no demesne; two freeholders, 450 acres; four leases(19). Position in 1641: seignory owned by Nicholas Haly of Tworheen and Gibbon FitzGibbon of Doonmoone; Civil Survey records them as joint owners and separately of seignory lands, 1,531

acres, value £233; comparable figure from Book of S and D is 1,891 acres of which 23 unprofitable(20).

- (1) Younger brothers of Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsworth, Cheshire, leading Limerick undertaker; see Knockainy seignory for family sources.
- (2) Lands in lordship of Clangibbon; most identifiable townlands n. of Kilfinane, e. of Kilmallock and s. of Elton; wrongly sited, JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.133, n.19.
- (3) SP/63/66/27.
- (4) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.42.
- (5) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.448.
- (6) See Knockainy seignory.
- (7) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.70.
- (8) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.87.
- (9) Ibid, p.128; SP/63/141/58.
- (10) SP/63/146/54; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.258.
- (11) Ibid, 1592-96, p.58.
- (12) Knockainy seignory; Stafford, Pacata Hibernia, 1, p.151; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.325; Alexander resident at Knockainy; nephew Edward Fitton at Glenogra.
- (13) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600, p.387.
- (14) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6.
- (15) See Knockainy seignory.
- (16) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.255.
- (17) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, pp.56-57; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.362.
- (18) JRSAI, 54 (1924), pp.133-34.
- (19) Ibid; freeholders and leaseholders probably old English/Irish.
- (20) Civil Survey, 4, pp.231, 234-37, 240; P.R.O.I., Books of Survey and Distribution, Coshlea barony, Limerick; also include further portions owned by Haly and FitzGibbon of 2,154 acres (41 unprofitable); possible seignory land though townlands cannot be traced to Elizabethan patent.

Ballymacdonnell

Granted to George Stone and John Champion(1). Previous owners Kerry old English; lands situated around Dingle and Smerwick, Kerry(2). Champion a soldier; possible commanded ward at Castlemaine, Kerry, 1584(3). Certificate awarded to Thomas Heyford, Ambrose Lacy, Stone and Champion, and various associates for 8,000 acres in Dingle peninsula, May 1587; possession delivered to Lacy, July 1587(4). Lacy soon excluded in favour of Stone(5). Letters patent to George Stone and John Champion, 23 February 1589(6). In early 1589 reported Stone and Heyford resident undertakers(7). 1589 enquiry: not covered. Sir William Herbert, Kerry undertaker, doubted Stone's and Champion's resources for plantation(8). Champion granted lease of church land, Kerry and Cork 1589(9). In 1592 seignory lost portions to local claimants; among lands might have been Stone's allotment since now disappears from records; later allegation that Champion accomplice to resumption which removed Stone(10). Champion Kerry sheriff 1595; accused of conspiring with fellow settlers to find lands unjustly; censured and findings overruled(11). Co-operated with Boyle in passing grants of concealments late 1590s(12). In 1598 possibly involved in defence of Castlemaine against rebels(13). Champion at Dingle 1600. Leased portions of seignory to Bristol and London merchants(14). In 1606 John Champion sold whole seignory to Sir Richard Boyle; died before 1613(15). 1611 survey: demesne 250 acres; one fee farm (old English), 250; six leases (four old English) 900; 14 small tenures (three old English) 280 acres; Irish undertenants; full rent(16). Boyle's resident agent on demesne land Dermot Moriarty, his Kerry rent collector(17). 1622 survey: whole seignory leased to Mr Peaper; six freeholders (one old English); six leases (four old English); nine copyholders (four old English); new buildings; full rent(18). Position in 1641: seignory owned by Boyle, Earl of Cork, destined as part of estates for third son Lord Broghill.

- (1) Origins unknown; Stone one of H.M.'s Footmen; Champion relative of Edward Denny, Kerry undertaker, known as follower of Sir Walter Raleigh; possible connection with Arthur Champion potential undertaker from Devon, SP/63/139/53; 146/41; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.134; M. Hickson, Selections from old Kerry Records (1872), p.137.
- (2) Apart from small portion at Ballymacdonnell, after which seignory named, between Castleisland and Currans, central Kerry.
- (3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.488; SP/63/107/13; 131/6.
- (4) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, pp.447-48; SP/63/131/6; of associates, Foster and Richardson settled successfully, Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 5/70; 6/80, 85.
- (5) SP/63/132/40; APC, 1587-88, p.327.
- (6) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.94; amount not stated but measured by Jobson 1586/87 as 1,041 acres, SP/63/131/59 (979 acres, SP/63/133/96); in 1611 stated to be 1,680 acres, P.R.O.I., IA/48/64, no.4; in 1622 to be 1,424 acres, JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.138; in c.1631 to be 1,434 acres, Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, p.379.
- (7) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.134; SP/63/141/57.
- (8) "...the one of them worth little, the other worth nothing, neither of them able to perform what they have undertaken", SP/63/146/41.
- (9) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.93.
- (10) SP/63/168/10.1; 172/58; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1596-97, p.346.
- (11) P.R.O.I., IA/48/89, no.14.
- (12) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1596-97, p.94; T.O. Ranger, "Boyle", IHS, 10 (1957).
- (13) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.325; HMC, Salisbury, 14, p.123.
- (14) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 1/39; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, p.233.
- (15) Ibid, 2, 1, pp.97, 182-89; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 2/63.
- (16) P.R.O.I., IA/48/64, no.4; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.258.
- (17) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 5/70; 6/80; seignory

rent impossible to separate from Boyle's other Kerry concerns; in 1615 Kerry rent £190, *ibid*, 6/85; in 1637 Kerry rent £417 of which seignory probably three-quarters, N.L.I., MS 6239.

- (18) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.94v; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.138.

(1) Eldest son of Sir John Stode of Parham, Dorset.
R. Lloyd, Dorset Pioneers (1967), pp.278-10;
Devon M.O., 1508 (M), Irish Books, 6.

(2) *Ibid.*, 8, 8, 10.

Beaully (Muskrinowan)

Granted to Robert Strode(1). Previous owners FitzGerald's and other Limerick old English; seignory dispersed over wide area with most lands in vicinity east of Rathkeale, Limerick. Robert Strode nephew of Henry Oughtred undertaker at Mayne, Limerick. In early plans the undertaker is younger brother, John Strode(2). John Strode joined Oughtred's syndicate May 1586 to plant Kerry and Limerick(3). Allotted lands in Connello by early 1587; part of future seignory allotted to William Wright, then Anthony Hungerford a servitor; latter received certificate June 1587(4). 1589 enquiry: no answer. Letters patent to Robert Strode for seignory of 11,220 acres, 6 February 1593(5). Unlikely if ever in residence. Lost large portion of seignory to Thomas Cam FitzGerald(6). In 1595 Robert Strode sold seignory to his uncle and neighbour, Sir Henry Oughtred(7). Seignory overrun 1598. Oughtred died at Limerick June 1599(8). His widow sold the two seignories of Beaully and Mayne to George Courtenay between 1603-09(9). 1611 survey: no demesne; two fee farms 340 acres; two leases 500; evicted from seignory 9,210 acres, of which 4,810 to fellow undertakers; rent abated; Irish undertenants(10). In 1613 original undertaker, now Sir Robert Strode of Parnham, Dorset, and brother John Strode sold seignory to Edward Harris, chief justice of Munster, who did not gain possession. After Robert's death, John Strode's interest bought up by Courtenay for £200 in 1621(11). 1622 survey: owner George Courtenay; no demesne; four freeholders (one Irish) 1,320 acres; four leases 1,320; sufficient houses and English inhabitants; 37 out of original grant of 47½ ploughlands evicted(12). Position in 1641: remnant of seignory owned by George Courtenay, resident at Newcastle seignory.

(1) Eldest son of Sir John Strode of Parnham, Dorset; R. Lloyd, Dorset Elizabethans (1967), pp.206-10; Devon R/O, 1508 (M), Irish Deeds, 6.

(2) Ibid, 6, 8, 10.

- (3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.51.
- (4) SP/63/131/6; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.448.
- (5) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.218; Devon R/O, 1508 (M), Irish Deeds, 3.
- (6) See Chapter Three.
- (7) 12 January 1595, Devon R/O, 1508 (M), Irish Deeds, 6; for Oughtred see Mayne seignory.
- (8) P.R.O.I., IA/48/84, no.15.
- (9) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1603-06, p.116; SP/63/227/143; for Courtenay ownership see Newcastle seignory.
- (10) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.253.
- (11) Devon R/O, 1508 (M), Irish Deeds, 8, 10.
- (12) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.92; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.134.

Carrigaline (Beaver, Kerrycurrihy)

Granted to Sir Warham St Leger(1). Situated south of Cork city; area presumed to belong to the Earl of Desmond, in fee and as chargeable land. Lands thought sufficient for two seignories and allotted to John Cooper and Richard Fynes. Cooper previously applied to undertake in Kerry. Fynes withdrew by 1588(2). Sir Warham St Leger and Sir Richard Grenville protested lands rightfully theirs after earlier mortgage from Earl of Desmond; both had settled in Kerrycurrihy in late 1560s. St Leger consistently interested in possibilities of colonisation in Munster(3). Dispute with Cooper over projected seignory for five years. St Leger and Grenville petitioned to receive land as undertakers. In possession but case with Cooper not resolved until mid 1590s. Commission in 1588 quashed local old English claim to chargeable lands in Kerrycurrihy(4). In 1589 Grenville bought Kinalmeaky seignory inland. Early 1589 report represented seignory as peopled(5). 1589 enquiry: St Leger and Grenville undertaken all Kerrycurrihy and seven ploughlands in Kinelea; no patents since lands still in dispute; St Leger brought over 46 men, Grenville 99; no division to tenants(6). Commission in 1592 restored old English claimants to chargeable lands(7). Letters patent to St Leger alone of Carrigaline and lands in Kerrycurrihy, Kinelea and near Cork city estimated at 6,000 acres, 17 June 1595(8). Sir Richard Grenville had died 1591 and John Grenville, successor to Irish lands, died 1595(9). St Leger granted fee farms of Carrigrohane, 1,458 acres, to William Clavell; and Ballingary, 360 acres, for £50 in 1595 to Thomas Daunt of Tracton abbey(10). Sir Warham St Leger died 1597. Irish lands passed to son of second marriage, Walter St Leger(11). In 1598 seignory overrun: Walter St Leger fled from Ballingary castle, Clavells from Carrigrohane, Daunt and Christopher Sampson from Tracton abbey and Henry Ditton from Carrigaline(12). In August 1601 Carew recommended Carrigaline to be passed to a loyal FitzGerald, but Walter St Leger regained possession(13). St Leger sold Carrigaline, 1,275 acres, to Capt. Robert Morgan who sold to Thomas Petley

before 1611; also 780 acres to four old English before 1611. In 1607 St Leger sold 2,020 acres of Ballingary to Sir Richard Boyle who was purchasing other lands in district(14). In 1600s William Clavell sold Carrigrohane to Anthony Dillon who sold to Abraham Baker(15). 1611 survey: owners, Abraham Baker, Walter St Leger, Thomas Petley and Sir Richard Boyle; demesne (at Carrigrohane and Carrigaline) 1,845 acres; freeholds (to old English) 780; fee simple of 2,020 to Boyle; one fee farm, 360; 16 leases, 888; many Irish on seignory(16). Regrant to Petley of Carrigaline, 1612(17). Boyle anxious to acquire Carrigaline; bought further property in Kerrycurrihy but Petley sold Carrigaline to Daniel Gookin for £1,600 in 1617(18). Gookin sold to Boyle for £1,250 in 1618 and received lease of Carrigaline from Boyle for 21 years at £100 rent(19). 1622 survey: seignory owned by Boyle who lets Carrigaline to Daniel Gookin; no further information(20). Boyle's title to Tracton abbey threatened but beat off challenge by new tenure; Daunts remained his tenants(21). Daniel Gookin in debt over American ventures; surrendered Carrigaline lease to Boyle for £800 in 1629. Boyle's tenant of demesne until 1640 now Thomas Daunt at greatly increased rent; remainder of land leased to Sir Randal Clayton and William Wiseman. Boyle also obtained releases from St Leger family in Kent(22). Rental in 1637 records 16 English tenants and a few Irish/old English at Carrigaline; more old English than settlers at Tracton abbey(23). Position in 1641: seignory owned by Boyle, Earl of Cork. Part of lands in Kinelea and Kerrycurrihy designed for Boyle's fourth son, Francis. Main tenant at Carrigaline still Thomas Daunt; regarded as unsatisfactory but no suitable alternative(24).

(1) DNB; son of lord deputy Sir Anthony St Leger; Sir Warham knighted in 1560s and died 1597; to be distinguished from nephew Sir Warham St Leger, knighted 1597, died 1600; pedigree from DNB respective St Legers; different version, C. Smith, History of Cork (1893), W. Copinger and R. Day (eds), p.235.

- (2) Cooper's Kerry partners brother Maurice and William Trenchard from Dorset eventual Limerick undertaker; Coopers from Somerset, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.243; SP/63/139/53; Cooper's Cork lands measured 1587 at 13,355 acres, Fynes at 2,986 acres; Fynes later associated with Trenchard, SP/63/131/6; 133/96; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.449-50.
- (3) St Leger was Grenville's uncle; for Grenville see A.L. Rowse, Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge (1937), esp. Chaps.3, 15; for first settlement see above Chap. I.
- (4) See above Chap. III.
- (5) SP/63/141/57.
- (6) Answered by St Leger and Grenville, SP/63/144/74, 76; St Leger's men, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.199; Caulfield, Kinsale, p.xxv; Grenville's men, SP/63/28/39.
- (7) See above Chap. III.
- (8) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.269; SP/63/144/74.
- (9) John Grenville had joined St Leger against Cooper's claim, April 1593, but did not reside in Ireland, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.89; Rowse, Grenville, p.339.
- (10) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.325; Daunt one of St Leger's first settlers; second son of Thomas Daunt of Owlpen, Glos., Ffoliot, Irish families, p.156; genealogy, Burke's Landed Gentry (1958), p.215; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.199; Caulfield, Kinsale, p.340; Cal.Pat. Jas., p.567.
- (11) DNB; will made in 1593 does not mention Irish lands, P.R.O., PCC, 5 Lewyn.
- (12) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.325-26.
- (13) Ibid, 1601-03, p.37.
- (14) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; N.L.I., MS 6142, pp.132-37; Grosart, Lismore, 2, 1, pp.182-89; 1, 1, pp.22, 35-36, 63-64; Cal.Pat.Jas., pp.127, 264.
- (15) Abraham Baker from Kilkampton, Cornwall; Bakers among Grenville's first settlers, P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; Caulfield, Kinsale, p.341; SP/63/28/39.
- (16) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.255.
- (17) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.260; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.268.

- (18) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, p.159; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 5/92, 128, 131; Daniel Gookin younger son from Kent; brother of Sir Vincent at Courtmacsherry, Cork, DNB; Gookin, Daniel Gookin, passim.
- (19) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, pp.182, 195, 204, 214.
- (20) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.145.
- (21) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 15/121-23; 16/24; Boyle patent book, pp.195-243; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, pp.61, 125; 1, 1, p.12.
- (22) Gookin had earlier demanded £1,000 to surrender lease, Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, pp.67-68, 302, 322, 327-28; N.L.I., MS 6142, p.126; Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, pp.343-47, 349 (rental of Carrigaline manor 1629).
- (23) N.L.I., MS 6239.
- (24) Whalley to Boyle, 26 August 1640, N.L.I., MS 13237 (25).

Carriglemlery

Granted to Thomas Saye(1). Previous owner Philip Roche; lands situated on Blackwater, four miles east of Mallow, Cork. Intended to be allotted to John Ryves of Dorset but died on journey over 1586; place taken by Roger Keate of Fordington, Dorset. Keate and Walter Goddard of Dorset allotted Carriglemlery before September 1587(2). Keate in possession 1587/88 but soon withdrew; seignory reported left to his brother, also departed(3). Letters patent granted to Thomas Saye for seignory of 5,778 acres, 21 April 1589(4). Doubtful if Saye ever in possession; disappears from plantation records(5). Jessua Smythes, chief justice of Munster, obtained seignory in March 1589(6). 1589 enquiry: Smythes in possession; no division; no English tenants(7). Same year Smythes joined by apparent partner, Robert Ashfield(8). Smythes died 1594; seignory owned by Sir Robert Ashfield for rest of 1590s(9). Evidence of reasonable English settlement(10). Seignory overrun in 1598. By 1603 most of seignory including Carriglemlery castle leased to Robert Williamson(11). In 1605 Sir Robert Ashfield sold whole seignory to Sir Dominic Sarsfield, chief justice of Munster(12). 1611 survey: owner Sir Dominic Sarsfield; no demesne; four fee farms, 1,040 acres; three leases 440; remainder of seignory leased to Robert Williamson; no mention of lands evicted and detained; full rent(13). Inquisition in 1612 found Sarsfield possessed of no more than nine and a half ploughlands out of 13 granted. Regrant same year(14). Sarsfield pressed for lower rent 1614(15). 1622 survey: owner Sir Dominic Sarsfield; no further information(16). Sarsfield created Viscount Kilmallock 1625 (1627). Dismissed from legal office and fined for complicity in judicial murder 1634; died 1636. Succeeded by son William, brought up catholic(17). Regranted lands 1637; part of seignory mortgaged to Sir Phillip Percival for £800(18). Position in 1641: seignory owned by Lord Kilmallock, catholic. Almost all seignory mortgaged to Percival for £1,500; later Percival to claim he possessed Carriglemlery before October 1641 through default of payment;

denied by Kilmallock's son 1648(19). Books of S and D record 1,624 acres(20). Tenant holding Carriglemlery in 1641 was Charles Hargill; deposition losses valued at £2,425(21).

- (1) Origins unknown; a Thomas Say chancery official Dublin 1570s; sacked for negligence 1581 when described as "now grown to age and by sickness scarce of perfect memory", Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.121; ibid, 1588-92, pp.581-82.
- (2) Ryves responded to first announcement of plantation in Dorset, early 1586, SP/14/188/20; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.113; SP/63/131/6; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.131.
- (3) Ibid, p.124; SP/63/144/69.
- (4) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.98; Saye might have been Keate's brother-in-law, though purely conjectural; otherwise no explanation how Saye acquired seignory.
- (5) Thomas Say appointed clerk in Chancery, 1598, DKPROI, 17th Rep., p.94.
- (6) SP/63/144/69; Smythes solicitor-general of Ireland 1584-86; chief justice of Munster, 1586-94; prominent on important commissions concerning plantation in 1580s, see Chaps. 1-3.
- (7) SP/63/144/69; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.258.
- (8) Inquisition 1611 states seignory sold to Ashfield; Smythes not mentioned, P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16.
- (9) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.246; ibid, 1592-96, pp.199, 202; Sir Robert possible relation of John Ashfield, Munster attorney-general, 1591-95.
- (10) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16.
- (11) B.L., Harl. MS 697, ff.9, 163.
- (12) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.140; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, pp.162, 340; Sarsfield younger son of Cork city family; conforming lawyer, GEC, Kilmallock; Sir Robert Ashfield living in Ireland 1612, Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 3/130.
- (13) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.256.
- (14) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.23; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.224.
- (15) APC, 1613-14, p.530.

- (16) JRSAI, 54 (1924), pp.139-40.
- (17) GEC, Kilmallock; inquisition 1637, P.R.O.I.,
IA/48/63, no.415.
- (18) P.R.O.I., IA/53/55, pp.26-28.
- (19) B.L., Add. MS 46925, ff.160-63; HMC, Egmont, 1,
pp.486, 525, 538, 553.
- (20) P.R.O.I., Books of Survey and Distribution, Fermoy
barony, Cork.
- (21) T.C.D., MS 825, f.153.

Carrignedy (Temple Iogan, Castle Hyde)

Granted to Arthur Hyde of Hardwell, Berks(1). Previous owner Patrick Condon; situated around Fermoy, Cork(2). Carrignedy leased to John Meade, second justice of Munster, for 21 years from May 1587(3). In allotments Hyde assigned full seignory of Knocktemple; Carrignedy assigned to Raleigh and simultaneously Andrew Reade; other lands of Hyde's future seignory assigned to Phillip Cuffe of Woolstone, Berks(4). In certificate, March 1587, Hyde allotted Carrignedy and lands for full seignory of 12,000 acres. Meade surrendered lease(5). Letters patent to Arthur Hyde for seignory of 11,766 acres, 26 January 1589(6). In early 1589 reported that Hyde well peopled; other reports stated 24 people settled; family in residence and 20 settlers(7). 1589 enquiry: undertaken 12,000 acres but property challenged; agreed with substantial gentlemen, all neighbours or relatives, to settle 5,000 acres; partial division; 50 English people on lands; 25 in Hyde's household(8). Later reported that Hyde gained capital for seignory expenditure by sale of £160 p.a. lands in England(9). In 1590 Hyde received small Pollycurry seignory, south Cork, in return for loan; settled son on lands(10). Arthur Hyde sheriff of Cork 1591(11). Credited with 48 tenants on seignory 1592(12). Patrick Condon claimed Hyde and other undertakers' seignories on ground of a pardon; suit supported by Raleigh and Pyne. Privy Council ordered Condon's restitution 1591 but Hyde, backed by Munster council, procrastinated; then produced evidence which disallowed Condon's claim 1592. Condon disproved evidence; his possession ordered 1597 but nothing achieved before rebellion(13). Seignory overrun 1598, Condon resuming property(14). Hyde remained in Munster as private soldier; died 1601. Succeeded by son Arthur Hyde. His suit for seignory favoured by Cecil(15). With active support of lord president Brunckard, relative, Hyde restored to seignory in 1604. David Condon, son of Patrick, protested. Final resolution 1610: Condon received lands and Hyde's seignory formally extinguished(16). But secret composition between Hyde and Condon whereby Hyde dropped suit, Condon

received title to all claim; then granted to Hyde Carrignedy and 20 ploughlands of original grant(17). Complaints that English undertenants being evicted in 1610s(18). Arthur Hyde sheriff of Cork 1620. Knighted before 1627. On Munster council(19). Sold remainder of Pollycurry seignory to Thomas Daunt, 1630-34(20). Position in 1641: Sir Arthur Hyde owner of Carrignedy but not as plantation land. Claimed losses of £5,155 in 1641, including £800 p.a. of lands. Heir Hugh Hyde, aged 14 in 1641(21).

- (1) Second son of William Hyde of Hyde, Denchworth parish, Berks, DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.91; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.454.
- (2) Description of castle in possession of John O'Molony; DKPROI, 18th Rep., p.146.
- (3) Ibid.
- (4) SP/63/131/6.
- (5) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.454; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.470; San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 7054.
- (6) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.91.
- (7) SP/63/141/57, 58; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.131.
- (8) SP/63/144/68.
- (9) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600, p.219.
- (10) See Pollycurry seignory.
- (11) JRSAI, 35 (1905), p.47.
- (12) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.58.
- (13) Case excessively documented state papers, passim; more important references, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.283, 515; SP/63/172/44; 174/49.1; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, pp.253, 278 (Raleigh's support); ibid, 1598-99, p.391; SP/63/200/36, 38; 217/37a, 37b (summary); 218/51; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, pp.7-8; ibid, 1608-10, p.582; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.194; APC, 1591, pp.339-40; ibid, 1591-92, p.469; ibid, 1597, pp.148-49 (summary); ibid, 1618-19, pp.23-25; HMC, Salisbury, 18, p.203; B.L., Harl. MS 697, ff.3-4v (summary); JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.140 (summary); P.R.O., 31/8/200/49 (summary).
- (14) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.302, 318, 326, 330.

- (15) Ibid, 1600, pp.219, 384; SP/63/207/pt.1/52, 54; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1601-03, p.371; Cal. Carew, 1589-1600, pp.410, 417, 433; ibid, 1601-03, pp.149, 347.
- (16) See above n.13.
- (17) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.235; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.466; Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, second Boyle letter book, 1634-41, p.413.
- (18) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.466; Analecta Hibernica, 8 (1938), pp.116-17; APC, 1618-19, p.150; B.L., Harl. MS 697, ff.123-24, 178.
- (19) JRSAI, 35 (1905), p.47; T.C.D., MSS F.3.15, f.182v; 822, f.170.
- (20) See Pollycurry seignory.
- (21) T.C.D., MSS 822, f.170; 827, f.118.

Castleisland (Island of Kerry, Mouteagleloyal)

Granted to Sir William Herbert of St Julians, Montgomeryshire(1). Major Desmond manor situated central Kerry(2). Herbert appointed leader (with Sir Valentine Browne) of undertakers for Kerry, June 1586 articles. With Browne sent over 60 persons by October 1586. Arrived himself at Castleisland April 1587(3). Sheriff of Kerry 1587; on Munster council(4). Quickly quarrelled with other Kerry undertakers especially Denny(5). In August 1587 certificate for 12,000 acres and another 6,000 for associates Walter and Miles Herbert(6). Author of "Croftus", c.1588(7). Sir William Herbert granted letters patent for seignory of 13,276 acres, March 1589(8). 1589 enquiry: 20 persons on seignory; over 100 Irish tenants holding year to year; fair amount of stock; good quantity of arms(9). By April 1589 Herbert returned to Wales; may have revisited seignory briefly summer 1590(10). Detailed inventory and survey of seignory made by Herbert in 1591: spent £1,700 on venture; 15 persons in own household; 22 other families, mostly Welsh; in all 107 people(11). In 1592 reported to have 35 tenants(12). Sir William Herbert died Wales March 1593. Heir was daughter Mary, 14 years(13). His widow and daughter petitioned for a new survey and rent abatement in 1594 after land evicted from seignory; granted 1596(14). In 1630s seignory taken (optimistically) to have been worth £1,500 p.a. in 1598(15). Seignory overrun 1598; Castleisland agent Williams fled; castle razed(16). In 1599 Mary Herbert married Edward Herbert, later Lord Herbert of Chisbury(17). No evidence that Herbert ever visited his Castleisland estate. In 1605 leased entire seignory to Sir Thomas Roper; lease renewed 1608 for three lives; peppercorn rent, hence large (unstated) entry fine (18). Following lease stipulation, Roper arranged for a new survey and inquisition 1610 which lowered Crown rent sevenfold, consequence of evictions(19). 1611 survey: owner stated as Roper(20); demesne 400 acres; two fee farms, 550; eight leases, 1,100; six small tenures (one old English, one Irish) 170 acres; rent abated; many Irish under-

tenants(21). Attempt to obtain new patent 1612 unsuccessful due to dilatory action from Herbert(22). 1622 survey: owner Lord Herbert; castle ruined and uninhabitable; no freeholders; 13 leases (three old English, one Irish) 2,900 acres; five copyholders (one old English) 2,450 acres(23). In late 1620s Roper - now Lord Baltinglass - accused by Herbert of not fulfilling conditions of lease: castle still unrepaired and woods exploited(24). In early 1630s matters improved to extent of Lord Herbert proposing marriage between daughter and Baltinglass' son; not effected. Herbert's wife died October 1634. Eldest son Richard Herbert claimed Irish property rightfully his: dispute with father. Eventual indenture April 1636 settling seignory on Lord Herbert for life, reversion to Richard; but friction between them over settlement still evident in 1640(25). Baltinglass died 1638; his wife, final lessee, died 1640. Seignory resumed by Herberts but found to be in general disorder: buildings ruined, major tenants overweening, undertaker's position weak. Throughout 1630s attempt to obtain new patent; final arrangements made 1641 but no patent passed before rebellion(26). In 1638 hoped to raise rents to £1,500 from seignory; if let from year to year lands reckoned to be worth £2,000 p.a. in 1641; actual rental in 1641 was £1,200(27). Position in 1641: seignory owned by Lord Herbert, absentee.

- (1) For life see DNB; Hasler, Commons, 2, p.302; Bradney, Monmouthshire, 4, pp.294-301; J.E. Lloyd (ed.), The Dictionary of Welsh biography down to 1940 (1959), p.355; correspondence concerning Herbert's Irish estate with introduction on family background, W.J. Smith, Herbert correspondence (Cardiff 1963); see also P. O'Connor, "The seignory of Castleisland in the 17th century", Journal of Kerry Arch. & Hist. Soc., 3 (1970).
- (2) Castle burnt in rebellion, P.R.O.I., M.5037; p.14.
- (3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.88, 186, 331.
- (4) Ibid, p.571; SP/63/146/41.
- (5) See Chapter Three.

- (6) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.454; SP/63/131/6.
- (7) W.E. Buckley (ed.), Croftus sive de Hibernia Liber (1887); translation excluding Herbert's preface, B.L., Harl. MS 35, ff.145-78.
- (8) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.95; N.L.I., MS 7861, pp.24-42.
- (9) SP/63/144/21.
- (10) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.236; SP/63/146/41.
- (11) N.L.I., MS 7861, ff.166-78.
- (12) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.58.
- (13) Will, P.R.O., PCC, 39 Nevell; in inquisition, P.R.O., C/142/234/82; Bradney, Monmouthshire, 4, pp.297-98.
- (14) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.256; ibid, 1596-97, p.194; Smith, Herbert, pp.63-64.
- (15) Richard Herbert to Lord Herbert, 22 January 1638, San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 6374.
- (16) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.325; Cal. Carew, 1589-1600, p.426.
- (17) For Lord Herbert, see DNB, Dictionary of Welsh biography, p.352; W.H. Dircks (ed.), Autobiography of Edward Lord Herbert (1888), esp. pp.25-26 on marriage with Mary Herbert.
- (18) First lease (of which terms unknown) surrendered by Roper to Herbert for £320; second lease guaranteed Roper at least £500 p.a., P.R.O.I., IA/48/109, no.65; P.R.O., 30/53/7/5; San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 6394; Smith, Herbert, p.66.
- (19) Ibid; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, pp.257-58.
- (20) Roper paid Crown rent according to lease but Herbert still owner.
- (21) P.R.O.I., IA/48/64, no.4; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, pp.257-58.
- (22) Smith, Herbert, pp.66-68.
- (23) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.93v; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.137.
- (24) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1625-32, p.132; SP/63/242/348; APC, June 1626-Dec 1626, p.105; Smith, Herbert, p.75; for Roper see GEC, Baltinglass; R. Loeber, A biographical dictionary of Architects in Ireland, 1600-1720 (1981), pp.97-99.

- (25) Smith, Herbert, pp.77, 80, 92, 105, 107.
- (26) Ibid, pp.78-112; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 3, p.187; P.R.O.I., IA/53/55, p.504.
- (27) Smith, Herbert, pp.98, 112, 127-29; in 1670s inaccurate report that seignory producing £2,500 p.a. in 1641, ibid, p.218.

Castlemahony (half cantred of Kinalmeaky)

Granted to Phane Becher of London and Hartleywespaill, Hants(1). Previous owner Conor O'Mahony; situated mid Cork. Becher attached himself to south-west group of undertakers to be assigned land in Cork. With Hugh Worth and Michael Sidenham, both of Somerset, allotted Kinalmeaky; Becher and Worth to have 12,000 acres each; Sidenham 6,000(2). Becher in residence at Castlemahon 1587 but right of title challenged by MacCarthy Reagh and dispossessed Daniel O'Mahony. After commission's decision in autumn 1588 O'Mahony ransacked and burnt Castlemahon, and remained in Kinalmeaky until March 1589(3). Letters patent to both Becher and Worth of Kinalmeaky estimated 28,000 acres, 30 September 1588; each to have half(4). In early 1589 Becher reported to have 12 people settled(5). 1589 enquiry: no division of Kinalmeaky between Becher and Worth nor any portion to tenants, potential settlers being discouraged by O'Mahony's action; no tenants though some promised; six English persons in Becher's household(6). Scene contrasts with Robert Payne's portrayal same year of Becher's seignory with full complement of tenants and peaceful aspect(7). Phane Becher died 1593; will ordered seignory to be sold(8). Succeeded by eldest son Henry who married daughter of Bishop of Cork 1587(9). Henry Becher ignored father's wish and continued in possession of lands. Seignory overrun in 1598. In 1604 Henry Becher leased entire seignory to Capt. William Newce and John Archdeacon for 31 years. Archdeacon assigned his portion to John Shepherd. Newce commenced building Bandonbridge town north of the river; Richard Shepherd, John Shepherd's son and brother-in-law to Henry Becher, building south of the river(10). In 1610 Becher received grant of market and fairs for south Bandon(11). 1611 survey: owner Richard Shepherd(12); held castle of Castlemahon and 2,000 acres demesne; five fee farms, 1,680; 22 leases, 7,090; 19 undertenants; 30 tenements (one Irish); evicted from seignory 3,000 acres; rent abated(13). In 1612 Henry Becher granted seignory as manor of Castlemahony(14). Bandonbridge incorporated March 1613(15). Sir Richard Boyle

bought north Bandon 1612-14 and south Bandon 1618. Henry Becher sold inheritance of most of seignory to Boyle by 1618, except Castlemahon sold to Sir Vincent Gookin in 1620s(16). 1622 survey: owner Boyle; six freeholders; 125 leaseholders; Bandon with 250 English houses(17). After 1634 Gookin sold Castlemahon and demesne of 350 acres to Charles James who sold to Francis Bernard 1639(18). Seignory part of Boyle's lands intended for second son, Viscount Kinalmeaky. Position in 1641: seignory owned by Boyle, Earl of Cork; closely settled with English tenants; Bandon well fortified and populous, the headquarters of Boyle's western estates.

- (1) Third son of Henry Becher, alderman of London and sheriff 1569; Becher pedigrees, Burke's Gentry, p.72; Dublin, Genealogical Office, MS 268, p.192; Ffoliot, Irish families, p.241; most detailed version, White, Historical Notes, p.185; London designation, DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.87; Hants, Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.454; SP/63/131/6.
- (2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.113; SP/63/131/6; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.454; Lambeth, Carew MS 631, f.24.
- (3) APC, 1588, p.95; SP/63/144/16; 146/45.
- (4) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.87.
- (5) SP/63/141/58.
- (6) SP/63/144/16; 146/45.
- (7) Payne, Description, p.11; Payne received freehold from Becher, Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 10/33; Payne appointed steward of Becher's household 1590; self-appointed constable of Castlemahon; after high-handed actions sacked by Becher on arrival 1591, Nottingham, Middleton MS 5/165/126.
- (8) P.R.O., PCC, 3 Nevell.
- (9) Henry's siblings included Edward Becher subsequent Munster escheator 1606-17, and Katherine who married Richard Richmond alias Shepherd, one of founders of Bandonbridge, White, Historical Notes, p.185.
- (10) N.L.I., MSS 6139, p.78; 6141, Gillabbey; in 1600s both Henry Becher and John Shepherd appealed to Lionel Cranfield for unspecified financial assistance in London case against each other, Kent R/O, Sackville MSS, EN, 338, 841.

- (11) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.155.
- (12) But Henry Becher still held freehold inheritance.
- (13) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.255.
- (14) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.232; possibly to Henry, son of Henry Becher: one genealogy states first Henry Becher died 1610, Ffoliot, Irish families, p.241.
- (15) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.293.
- (16) N.L.I., MS 6141, Gillabbey.
- (17) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.141.
- (18) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 17/136; 19/119; 20/36*; Atkins to Boyle, 4 June 1634, N.L.I., MS 13237 (18); Wiseman to same, 4 June 1634, *ibid* (20).

Castletown

Granted to William Carter of London(1). Previous owner FitzGerald Knight of Glin (Valley); situated north-west of Askeaton, Limerick. Knight of Glin attainted and executed for felony before Desmond rebellion; lands including Castletown leased to lord president Drury 1578, reversion to Arthur Carter, Munster provost-marshal, brother of William. Drury and Arthur Carter both died 1579(2). After Desmond rebellion generally assumed Castletown and all Glin estates now part of escheated land available for Munster plantation. Among potential undertakers from north-west were Lancelot Bostock, courtier, family connections north Wales; brother Hugh Bostock, half brother William Almer, and Gilbert Gerard, eldest son of Sir William Gerard late lord chancellor of Ireland; Hugh Bostock son-in-law to George Beeston of Beeston, Cheshire, also undertaker. Lancelot Bostock specifically applied for Knight of Glin's lands(3). Certificate August 1587 to Lancelot Bostock and George Beeston for 12,000 acres each, of Castletown and other Glin lands; certificate same date to Gilbert Gerard for another full sized seignory from Glin lands in Kenry barony. Glin castle and lands allotted to Robert Cullum, eventual Limerick undertaker at Ardagh, but later report included Glin in Bostock's and Beeston's seignory(4). 1589 enquiry: no answer. In 1587 heir to Knight of Glin restored to Glin castle and majority of lands. Castletown excluded from resumption; letters patent made out, but not delivered, to Lancelot Bostock and Sir George Beeston for seignory of 7,285 acres, July 1590(5). Castletown lands now claimed by William Carter by right of his brother. Successful: survey of lands in his possession 1590. William Carter received letters patent for seignory of 3,274 acres, 2 March 1592(6). (Lancelot Bostock died 1590; Beeston died before 1601.)(7) Carter promptly sold seignory to William Sanderson of London, March 1592(8). No evidence of settlement. No information concerning 1598 rebellion. In May 1602 Sanderson sold seignory to Anthony Aucher of Bishopsbourne, Kent. Aucher succeeded by son Sir Anthony Aucher 1610(9). 1611 survey:

demesne five ploughlands; one fee farm, 200 acres; no plantation conditions observed; full rent(10). Aucher selling small portions of land 1619(11). 1622 survey: seignory entirely leased to two Englishmen for 21 years; seven freeholders; seven copyholders; further 20 English families; castle well repaired; 40 new houses(12). In August 1622 Aucher sold seignory to Sir John Dowdall of Kilfinny, Limerick, for £2,800(13). Castletown settled on Dowdall's second daughter Elizabeth. In 1629 Elizabeth Dowdall married Hardress Waller of Kent who thereupon moved to Castletown; Boyle instrumental in proceedings(14). In 1630s Waller mortgaged three ploughlands of seignory to Boyle for £1,500(15). Position in 1641: owner Sir Hardress Waller; Civil Survey records lands as 2,451 acres, value £585. In depositions seignory losses claimed to be over £6,000; freehold property at Castletown claimed at £800 p.a.; castle richly furnished(16).

- (1) Further origins unknown; unlikely to be merchant identified by Rabb, Enterprize, p.261; in grant and sale Carter's status given as gent, DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.203; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.306.
- (2) DKPROI, 13th Rep., p.72; ibid, 16th Rep., p.147; Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.224; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.132; Bagwell, Tudors, 3, p.21.
- (3) Lancelot Bostock and George Beeston were Queen's gentlemen pensioners, respective biographies, Hasler, Commons, 1, pp.419, 457; Gilbert Gerard brother-in-law of William Almer of Pentyokin, Denbighshire, DNB, Gerard; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.42; SP/63/123/25; San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MSS 1841, 1843, 1846. Many other Bostocks in Ireland late 16th century, DKPROI, 15th Rep., p.144; ibid, 16th Rep., pp.90,244; Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.195; APC, 1598-99, p.702; for Beeston pedigree, G. Ormerod, The history of the County Palatine and city of Chester... (1819), 2, p.145.
- (4) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, pp.450, 452; SP/63/131/6; Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.140.
- (5) Ibid, pp.140, 151; DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.127; SP/63/154/39; 156/42; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.132.
- (6) DKPROI, 16th Rep., pp.147, 203; APC, 1590, p.32; ibid, 1591, p.84; SP/63/152/36; rough map of

seignory and recital of Carter's case, Greenwich, N.M.M., Dartmouth collection (16.L.33), P; Cal. Pat.Eliz., pp.223-24.

- (7) SP/63/172/58; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1603-06, p.116; Hasler, Commons, 1, pp.419, 457.
- (8) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.306.
- (9) Ibid; for Aucher pedigree, Burke's extinct baronetage (1844), p.28; Anthony Aucher's cousin married Sir Humphrey Gilbert.
- (10) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.254.
- (11) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.499.
- (12) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.133.
- (13) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.516; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, pp.18, 44; for Dowdall see Kilfinny seignory.
- (14) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, pp.312, 392; Cal.Pat.Chas., p.646; for Waller see DNB.
- (15) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 3, p.131; 1, 4, p.145.
- (16) Civil Survey, 4, pp.290, 292, 347, 353-55, 359, 361-62; T.C.D., MS 829, ff.284-90; Waller's full deposition total £11,443.

Clandonnell Roe (Torcraigh, Beacon's Fee Farm)

Granted to Richard Beacon(1). Previous owners Richard FitzGerald and Waterford old English; MacCarthys of Clandonnell and Clandermot. Lands situated around Stradbally, eight miles east of Dungarvan, Waterford; Bantry in west Cork; Castletown Bearehaven on Beare peninsula, west Cork. In 1587 Cork lands allotted to Edward Rogers of Carrington, Somerset, Roger Warre of Hestercombe, Somerset, and Robert Baynard of Hackham, Wilts; first two sons-in-law to John Popham, the attorney-general who led south-west undertakers in Cork(2). Waterford lands allotted as part of Knocknamona seignory to Sir Christopher Hatton early 1587(3). In July 1587 instructions for Cork lands to be restored to Earl of Clancare who claimed ownership; but order reversed and undertakers put into possession. Forceful campaign by Clancare to dispossess settlers(4). Rogers and Warre soon dissatisfied with seignory: complained lands inadequate, the place dangerous and remote; returned to England with 60 settlers and families, assigning lands to Alexander Clarke(5). 1589 enquiry: Clarke undertaken 4,000 acres but in possession of less because of intimidation from Clancare; no division to tenants; previously four families settled but departed after Clancare threats; Clarke intends to return to England to obtain patents and further tenants(6). Unlikely if Clarke ever returned to Munster. Clandonnell lands awarded to Richard Beacon, Munster attorney from 1586 and on previous commissions concerning plantation(7). By early 1589 Beacon granted Waterford lands(8). Letters patent to Beacon as undertaker of Cork and Waterford lands, 6,000 acres, 28 February 1591(9). Suffered depredations from local MacCarthys(10). Beacon deprived of attorneyship for corruption and misconduct 1591(11). In May 1592 sold Cork lands to Henry Goldfinch of London for £100(12). Goldfinch resident from July 1592; next year claimed large investment in seignory(13). Beacon retained Waterford lands until 1594 but eventually sold to persistent local claimant; this FitzGerald regranted land 1607(14). Before 1600 Goldfinch sold Cork lands of Clandonnell (around Bantry), excepting

Clandermot (around Bearehaven), to Sir Nicholas Browne, Kerry undertaker, for £300. Payment incomplete so Goldfinch re-entered but expelled by Brownes; long case throughout 1610s ended with Brownes confirmed in possession(15). 1611 survey: Cork lands: owners Valentine Browne minor (Clandonnell), Goldfinch (Clandermot); one lease, some English undertenants. Waterford lands: owner Thomas FitzGerald; majority of lands evicted and detained by local old English; full rent(16). In 1611 Henry Goldfinch leased the nine ploughlands of Clandermot to Englishman who sublet to Irish man 1612(17). 1622 survey: Waterford lands owned by Thomas FitzGerald; Cork lands by Browne; no information because commissioners unable to locate seignory(18). Henry Goldfinch died by 1617. His widow requested Boyle's assistance for her dower 1623(19). Son and heir Thomas Goldfinch of Trinity College, Cambridge, sold Castledermot lands to Boyle for £120 in 1629(20). Boyle leased lands for 21 years to Daniel O'Sullivan for £73 p.a. from 1632(21). In 1626 Sir Valentine Browne leased small portions of Clandonnell Roe to two Englishmen for 51 years(22). Position in 1641: majority of Cork lands owned by Sir Valentine Browne(23); Books of S and D record 13,999 acres in Clandonnell (4,731 acres unprofitable and 3,217 classified as wood grazeable). Remainder of Cork lands owned by Boyle, Earl of Cork, and leased to O'Sullivan. Waterford lands owned by several old English(24).

- (1) Queen's attorney for Munster from 1586; from Suffolk; educated Cambridge; author of tract on Irish policy, Solon His Follie (Oxford 1594); see DNB, Becon.
- (2) SP/63/131/6; 139/53; 141/57; lands measured at 10,884 acres 1586/87, SP/63/131/59; 133/96.
- (3) SP/63/131/6; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.451.
- (4) Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.175; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.208; SP/63/144/67; 145/19.
- (5) SP/63/141/58; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.130-31.
- (6) SP/63/144/67; for nature of Clancare threats, 145/19.

- (7) DKPROI, 16th Rep., pp.20, 161.
- (8) Granted before May 1589, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.184; copy of patent for both Waterford and Cork lands to Beacon as undertaker, April 1587, but date almost certainly far too early, Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, pp.371-76.
- (9) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.155; Hugh Cuffe unavailingly claimed Cork lands promised as compensation for losses from his Kilmore seignory, SP/63/175/29, 78.
- (10) SP/63/159/63; 178/64.
- (11) APC, 1591-92, p.94; DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.199.
- (12) Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, pp.377-79.
- (13) Ibid, pp.381-42; HMC, Salisbury, 4, p.355.
- (14) SP/63/175/78; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.113; Beacon living in Dublin 1595, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.292; another regrat of Waterford lands to FitzGerald, February 1609, Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, p.376.
- (15) SP/63/197/84; APC, 1613-14, p.415; ibid, 1616-17, p.337; ibid, 1618-19, p.68; HMC, Salisbury, 9, p.131; 21, p.278.
- (16) Cal. Carew, 1603-24, pp.256-57; P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; IA/48/69, no.9.
- (17) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, p.330.
- (18) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.144.
- (19) Thomas Goldfinch to Boyle, 20 June 1622, N.L.I., MS 13237 (2); Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 14/70.
- (20) Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, pp.351-53; N.L.I., MS 6142, pp.60-61; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, p.330; Boyle had bought four ploughlands of other lands near Bantry in 1615; let to Thomas White, ibid, 1, 1, p.89.
- (21) Ibid, 1, 3, p.32.
- (22) P.R.O.I., IA/48/63, no.348.
- (23) Assigned to younger brother Thomas Browne, P.R.O.I., IA/53/54, pp.412-16.
- (24) P.R.O.I., Books of Survey and Distribution, Beare and Bantry barony, Cork; for Waterford, Civil Survey, 6, pp.69-74.

Cloghley (Colony Fleetwood)

Granted to Thomas Fleetwood and Marmaduke Redmayne(1). Previous owner Patrick Condon; situated Cork/Waterford border, north of Blackwater River. Fleetwood in list of potential undertakers from Lancs and Cheshire, April 1586(2). Certificate August 1587 to Fleetwood, Redmayne and other gentlemen from north-west for any Waterford lands not already granted to Raleigh and Fitton(3). Further certificate 29 August 1587 to Fleetwood and unnamed associates for 22 ploughlands in Waterford(4). Letters patent to Thomas Fleetwood and Marmaduke Redmayne for seignory of 28½ ploughlands estimated at 12,667 acres in Waterford, 3 September 1587(5). Fleetwood and Redmayne promptly divided land: 23½ ploughlands for Fleetwood and 5 for Redmayne(6). In early 1589 Fleetwood and Redmayne credited with 3,000 acres each and 12 and 16 English persons respectively; another report 22 English persons each; Redmayne's men already dispossessed by Patrick Condon(7). 1589 enquiry: undertaken 12,000 acres for Fleetwood and 6,000 each for Redmayne, Christopher Carus and John Calvert; another answer has 12,000 undertaken by Fleetwood and 8,000 by Redmayne; only Redmayne in possession of Cloghley and five ploughlands; six Englishmen previously inhabiting expelled by Condon; Fleetwood no possession yet but has number of Lancashire gentlemen (18 named) waiting to go over(8). Neither Fleetwood nor Redmayne managed to get possession from Condon who was restored to lands 1590s(9). Thomas Fleetwood died 1603; succeeded by son Richard, created baronet 1611; a recusant(10). In 1610 Condon officially was granted all former lands which meant formal dissolution of Fleetwood's and Redmayne's, and Hyde's seignories(11). Sir Richard Fleetwood opened campaign to regain Munster lands 1611. At first obtained no lands, but did receive over £500 for quit claims, £400 of which from Boyle, 1612(12). Main suit against Condon; Fleetwood regained five ploughlands of original grant, 1618, including Cloghley. Case continued into 1620s but no further order(13). Because of uncertainty of title and likelihood of Fleetwood's small recovery being

lost again, 1622 commissioners decided seignory extinct(14). Despite commissioners' pessimism, Fleetwood retained his portion. Redmayne's descendants bought out(15). Sir Richard Fleetwood passed lands to younger brother, Thomas, 1623(16). Thomas Fleetwood lived at Ballindermon; in 1628 married Dorethy daughter of Sir Francis Kingsmill(17). Thomas Fleetwood died October 1631; son and heir Francis aged one month(18). Government anxious to find some portion of lands held in capite in order to acquire wardship and forestall guardianship of young Francis by his uncle, Sir Richard Fleetwood, the recusant. After careful instructions to escheator and selection of amenable jury, Crown case achieved(19). Francis Fleetwood's wardship eventually acquired by Sir Phillip Percival(20). Regrant to Fleetwood, 1638(21). Position in 1641: remnant of seignory owned by Francis Fleetwood, minor. In 1642 Cloghley castle taken by a Condon claiming it as ancient inheritance(22).

- (1) Fleetwood son and heir of John Fleetwood of Colwich, Staffs, and Penwortham Priory, Lancs; father's biography, Hasler, Commons, 2, p.132; pedigree and detailed account of plantation Fleetwoods, E.T. Bewley, "The Fleetwoods of county Cork", JRSAI, 38 (1908); Redmayne from Thornton, Yorkshire, DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.37.
- (2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.42.
- (3) Others Sir Richard Molineux, Roger Dalton, Christopher Carus and John Calvert, Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.453.
- (4) In fact most of lands in Cork, ibid, p.449; Lambeth, Carew MS 631, f.9.
- (5) Grant intended to be parcel of two seignories, one of 12,000 for Fleetwood and 8,000 for Redmayne, DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.37; grant included Mocollop, cont. four ploughlands, listed in Raleigh's certificate and patent, ibid, p.41; SP/63/131/6; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.452.
- (6) Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.131.
- (7) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.128; SP/63/141/58; same date Fleetwood listed with 2,000 acres at Mocollop; Redmayne with 2,400 acres, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.131-32.

- (8) Enquiries answered by Fleetwood on behalf of syndicate, for himself and by Redmayne alone, SP/63/144/31-33.
- (9) DKPROI, 16th Rep., pp.37-38; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, pp.7-8.
- (10) Richard's mother daughter of Lancashire recusant, Bewley, "The Fleetwoods", JRSAI, 38 (1908); Cal. S.P.Dom., 1640-41, p.435.
- (11) JRSAI, 54 (1924), pp.140-41; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.194; for case see Carrignedy seignory.
- (12) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.27; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, pp.15-16, 35; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 4/48; 5/152; HMC, Salisbury, 21, p.341.
- (13) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 5/133; APC, 1618-19, pp.23-25, 301, 457; ibid, 1621-23, pp.13, 443; ibid, 1623-25, pp.23-24; SP/63/236/15, 15.1 (summary of case); P.R.O.I., IA/48/106, no.277 (p.898); JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.141.
- (14) Ibid.
- (15) For a small chief rent and sum of £300 to John Redmayne, Thornton, Yorks, Bewley, "The Fleetwoods", JRSAI, 38 (1908), pp.111-12.
- (16) P.R.O.I., IA/48/106, no.277 (pp.862-89).
- (17) Ibid (pp.889-98); after his death wife married Alexandre St Michel and had daughter who married Samuel Pepys.
- (18) P.R.O.I., IA/48/63, no.277.
- (19) HMC, Egmont, 1, pp.69, 72-74; B.L., Add. MS 46920A, f.30; P.R.O.I., IA/48/63, nos.279, 308.
- (20) Cal.Pat.Chas., p.600; HMC, Egmont, 1, p.99; B.L., Add. MS 46921, f.182.
- (21) Ibid, 46922, ff.6-7; P.R.O.I., IA/53/54, p.436.
- (22) B.L., Sloane MS 1008, f.62v.

Corgrig (Mount Trenchard, Shanagolden, Shanid)

Granted to William Trenchard of Cutheridge, Wiltshire(1). Previous owner Desmond; situated north Limerick; main castle in good repair(2). William Trenchard chosen by government to outline plantation offer to Dorset men 1586(3). Desired a full seignory himself; described as of "very able body, young and of good discretion"; had £1,000 in cash(4). First with Somerset contingent, then syndicate for Kerry lands, finally obtained seignory in Limerick as assignee of Richard Fynes. Certificate before September 1587(5). Letters patent to William Trenchard for seignory of 12,000 acres, 26 November 1587(6). Early 1589 report credits him with 37 people(7). 1589 enquiry: agent reported 14 tenants(8). William Trenchard died at sea on Crown service 1591; after dowries to two daughters, left property to son Francis, minor(9). In 1591 seignory, or portions, lost to local claimants, but in 1592 Privy Council ordered repossession for young Trenchard until cases tried(10). Seignory overrun 1598. In 1607 Francis Trenchard stated half seignory resumed by locals; desired survey and rent rebate(11). Inquisition of seignory 1610(12). 1611 survey: demesne 700 acres; three fee farms, 1,155; 17 leases (one Irish), 2,171 acres; evicted from seignory 17 ploughlands(13). Survey and regrant of seignory of 4,414 acres at lower rent, June 1612(14). Trenchards largely absentee. Francis Trenchard died May 1622; succeeded by son Francis 14 years(15). 1622 survey: undertaker's castle well repaired for £200; three freeholders, 1,160 acres; nine leases, 1,572; six copyholders, 400 acres; total of 37 tenants; four other castles well repaired, many houses built(16). In 1635 Boyle bought four and a half ploughlands of seignory(17). Francis Trenchard died 1636. Succeeded by brother Edward Trenchard; found to be a lunatic 1639; seignory passed to brother John Trenchard(18). Position in 1641: Civil Survey states seignory held by Col. John Trenchard in right of his brother Edward; records 2,252 acres in Connello, value £417(19).

- (1) Younger son of Sir George Trenchard of Wolfeton, Dorset; William Trenchard's will, P.R.O., PCC, 7 Harrington; Lloyd, Dorset Elizabethans, pp.206-10.
- (2) P.R.O.I., M.5039, p.117; M.5038, pp.24-29.
- (3) APC, 1586-87, p.9.
- (4) SP/63/139/53; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.243.
- (5) Ibid; SP/63/131/6.
- (6) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.50.
- (7) SP/63/141/58.
- (8) SP/63/144/25.
- (9) APC, 1591-92, p.311; will February 1591; proved February 1592, P.R.O., PCC, 7 Harrington.
- (10) APC, 1591-92, p.311.
- (11) HMC, Salisbury, 19, p.61.
- (12) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.5.
- (13) Ibid, no.6; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.253.
- (14) P.R.O., 31/8/201/p.502.
- (15) In Irish inquisition stated to be from Rodastone, Wiltshire, P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.35; in English inquisition from Stoke Rodney, Somerset, P.R.O., C/142/399/142; will in latter inquisition gives eldest son Francis all English lands (in Somerset and Wiltshire); leaves Corgrig seignory to second son Edward, aged nine; but profits to go to two youngest brothers until Edward Trenchard is 21 years.
- (16) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.90v; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.132.
- (17) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 4, p.65.
- (18) In English inquisition Francis Trenchard of Normanton, Wilts; leaves Corgrig to brother Edward Trenchard then aged 22 (as in fact father's will stipulated), P.R.O., C/142/530/167; Edward Trenchard certified aged 25, January 1639; seignory passes to brother John Trenchard, aged 23, *ibid*, C/142/567/88; Irish certificate of lunacy, P.R.O.I., IA/48/65, no.239.
- (19) Civil Survey, 4, pp.309, 313, 322-24, 327-28.

Currans (Lymricahill, Glade Herbert)

Granted to Charles Herbert of Hadnock, Monmouthshire(1). Previous owner Desmond's uncle and Kerry old English; situated central and east Kerry. Herbert joined relative Sir William Herbert in venture. Certificate to Charles Herbert for 6,000 acres, 31 May 1587(2). Letters patent for seignory in three portions, 3,768 acres, 6 March 1589(3). In residence at Currans early 1589. Acting as agent for neighbouring undertaker Sir William Herbert that summer(4). 1589 enquiry: six tenants; 50 English persons on seignory; reasonable stock(5). Seignory overrun 1598. Doubtful if Herbert then in residence: Currans reported quitted by Mr Williams(6). Charles Herbert reported resident in England December 1603(7). Succeeded by son Giles before 1607. Arrears discharged; rent abatement and further grants ordered to Giles Herbert 1607(8). By 1611 Currans castle rebuilt after 1598 demolition and new tenants planted(9). 1611 survey: demesne 150 acres; one fee farm, 200; 11 leases, 1,600 acres; three small tenures; rent abated(10). Grant to Giles Herbert of seignory lands 1613(11). 1622 survey: seignory 2,964 acres after evictions; one freeholder; 22 leaseholders and copyholders; four Irish tenants, 650 acres(12). Giles Herbert resident in Kerry mid 1620s(13). Before 1631 either sold or leased seignory to Dominic Roche, very likely the Limerick alderman and owner of Tarbert seignory, Kerry(14). Giles Herbert in Kerry 1640(15). Position in 1641: no direct evidence of ownership, but probably either Roche or Giles Herbert of Hadnock and Rhiwlas, Monmouthshire, still living early 1640s(16).

(1) Eldest son by second marriage of William Herbert of Coldbrook; Charles Herbert acquired Hadnock by marriage before 1585, Bradney, Monmouthshire, 1, pp.24, 189, 283; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.455; erroneously identified as third son of Edward Herbert of Blackhall, later to become Charles Herbert of Aston through his wife, Dictionary of Welsh biography, pp.348-49.

(2) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.455.

- (3) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.95.
- (4) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.134, 210.
- (5) SP/63/144/22.
- (6) SP/63/202/pt.3/117.1.
- (7) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1603-06, p.116.
- (8) Ibid, 1606-08, p.347; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.134.
- (9) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.174; 27 November 1611, SP/38/10 (Dockets).
- (10) P.R.O.I., IA/48/64, no.4; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.258.
- (11) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.242.
- (12) B.L., Add. MS 4756, ff.93v-94; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.137.
- (13) T.C.D., MS F.3.15, f.184.
- (14) Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, p.379.
- (15) P.R.O., 30/53/7/24.
- (16) Bradney, Monmouthshire, 1, p.24; 2, p.33.

Dunnaman (Downemeane, Ballyruston, Mylott)

Granted to George Thornton(1). Previous owner John Lacy; situated around Croom region, mid Limerick(2). Thornton servitor in Ireland from 1570s. Captain in Desmond rebellion. Provost-marshal of Munster from 1583. Temporary joint-governor of Munster 1584(3). Awarded custodiam of Limerick lands including portion of future seignory by 1584(4). Thornton married Eleanor Lacy of Athlacca, neighbouring old English family. Evidence of subsequent close connections with Lacy and other locals(5). Leased Bruff from Piers Lacy which became main residence(6). Received certificate for seignory September 1587(7). Letters patent to George Thornton for 1,500 acres, 2 November 1587(8). 1589 enquiry: no answers; summary credits him with six Englishmen on lands(9). In 1592 commission listed with four tenants. Appointed to Munster council 1593(10). Seignory overrun in 1598 as were leases of Adare and Bruff; among rebels Thornton's son-in-law John Bourke, subsequently executed 1607(11). Another daughter married 1) Daniel O'Brien of Carrigogunnel, Limerick, 2) Lord Bourke of Castleconnell; third daughter married James Casey(12). Thornton knighted by Essex 1599(13). Remained in Munster, based temporarily at Kilmallock. Petitioned for relief and grant of confiscated lands(14). Obtained custodiam of attainted land of Piers Lacy at Bruff(15). Failed to get grant thereof, but compensated by award of Dungarvan and other lands(16). In 1603 joint commissioner for Munster in lord president's absence; attempted to mediate with Cork citizens at time of James I's accession(17). Built castle at Ballygrenan(18). Sir George Thornton died March 1606(19). Succeeded by son Thomas aged nine; wardship to brother-in-law James Casey(20). Thomas Thornton educated at T.C.D.(21). Regrant of land 1610(22). 1611 survey: demesne 51 acres; three leases; rent abated(23). Thomas Thornton married Any Ny Mahon(24). 1622 survey: owner Thomas Thornton; no English tenants(25). From 1622-24 Thornton selling and mortgaging lands to urban old English. Thomas Thornton died June 1625; succeeded by son George aged two(26).

Wardship granted to Sir Philip Percival(27). Position in 1641: seignory owned by George Thornton of Dunnaman. Described as Irish papist by Civil Survey and credited with 1,183 acres, value £338; Books of S and D give him 2,104 acres (15 unprofitable)(28).

- (1) Origins unknown; not to be confused with the sea-captain George Thornton on service in Ireland at same period.
- (2) Downemeane modern Dunnaman, between Adare and Croom, west of Maique river; another portion of seignory, Uregare, two miles south west of Bruff; DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.42; Civil Survey, 4, p.148.
- (3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1590-1600, p.225; DKPROI, 13th Rep., p.212; ibid, 15th Rep., p.47.
- (4) P.R.O.I., M.5039, pp.25, 35, 186.
- (5) Jackson, Intermarriage, p.66; M. Tierney, Murroe and Boher (Dublin 1966), p.27; muster of Thornton's 25 soldiers, three of whom Lacys, SP/63/143/4; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1599-1600, p.417; ibid, 1600, p.485.
- (6) Thornton placed at Bruff from 1584, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.15; ibid, 1598-99, p.325.
- (7) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.449.
- (8) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.42.
- (9) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.258.
- (10) Ibid, 1592-96, pp.58, 132.
- (11) Ibid, 1598-99, pp.325, 330; ibid, 1600, p.242; Stafford, Pacata Hibernia, 1, p.61; B.L., Add. MS 31886, f.57; J. Ferrar, The history of Limerick (Limerick 1787), p.33; last two accounts state Burke to be Lord Brittas but GEC, Brittas, ignores him.
- (12) B.L., Add. MSS 4820, f.26; 31885, f.102v.
- (13) Ibid, Harl. MS 35, f.298v.
- (14) Cal. Carew, 1601-03, pp.32, 77, 295; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600, pp.36, 474; HMC, Salisbury, 14, p.198.
- (15) Lacy had been killed in the war and was half-brother of Thornton's son-in-law, John Bourke, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600, p.242; ibid, 1601-03, p.77.

- (16) Ibid, 1603-06, pp.105, 116, 155; Cal.Pat.Jas., pp.64, 70-71.
- (17) B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.51v.
- (18) Two miles south west of Croom, JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.133.
- (19) P.R.O.I., IA/48/84, no.13.
- (20) Ibid; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.98; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, p.487.
- (21) Alumni Dubliensis, p.811.
- (22) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, pp.487, 494; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.188.
- (23) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6 (transcript very incomplete); Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.254.
- (24) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.18.
- (25) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.133.
- (26) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.18; this inquisition provides full details of Thornton's land holdings.
- (27) Cal.Pat.Chas., p.85.
- (28) Civil Survey, 4, pp.127, 130-32, 134, 136, 148-49; P.R.O.I., Books of Survey and Distribution, Coshma barony, Limerick; both amounts include mortgaged property.

(1) Name spelt variously Mainwaring and Mainwaring; the authority for JMS. Roger Mainwaring (in connection) says name appears 111 different times in grant Edmund Mainwaring stated five shillings, Cheshire, but later referred to from Peter, Cheshire, 1288-1291, p. 20; 1291-1294, p. 294. Edward might have been son of Sir Godal Mainwaring who married sister of Sir Edward Piton, another Limerick inquisition, but does not appear in numerous Cheshire Mainwaring pedigrees. J.P. Garstang, East Cheshire 1288, 3, pp.154-57; 1291-1294, 3, pp.272-73.

Fedamore (Fanningstown)

Granted to Edmund Mainwaring of the Springe, Cheshire(1). Previous owners Desmond and one old English; situated eight miles south of Limerick city. Various Mainwarings in service in Ireland, 1540s-80s, but no evidence of Edmund(2). Edmund Mainwaring joined Sir Edward Fitton's north-west syndicate and after difficulties allotted small seignory; in occupation summer 1588(3). Granted letters patent for 3,747 acres, 24 October 1588(4). In early 1589 credited with 16 settlers(5). 1589 enquiry: demesne half a ploughland; allocated 1,000 acres to tenants; numerous law suits over lands; six English families, 24 Irish(6). Mainwaring lost much detained land in 1592 including Fedamore; henceforth residence at Fanningstown castle(7). In 1592 reported with nine tenants on seignory(8). Absentee late 1590s; his agent chief tenant William Mainwaring, quasi-criminal English background. Seignory overrun 1598(9). Edmund Mainwaring perhaps served in Irish wars; in 17th century mentioned as captain. 1611 survey: owner Edmund Mainwaring; demesne 200 acres; one fee farm 300; five leases (one Irish) 1,150 acres; evicted from seignory four ploughlands; rent abated(10). In 1620 sold whole seignory to Donogh, Earl of Thomond. Regrant to Thomond December 1620 to hold under conditions of plantation(11). 1622 survey: owner Thomond; one freeholder 375 acres; one lease 180 acres; few new buildings; evicted from seignory four and a half ploughlands(12). Position in 1641: owner Barnabas, Earl of Thomond; Civil Survey records seignory land as 1,818½ acres (including Fedamore), value £185(13).

(1) Name spelt variously Manwaring and Manneringe; one authority for DNB, Roger Manwaring (no connection) says name assumes 131 different forms; in grant Edmund Mainwaring stated from Springe, Cheshire, but later referred to from Peover, Cheshire, DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.88; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.494. Edmund might have been son of Sir Randal Mainwaring who married sister of Sir Edward Fitton, another Limerick undertaker, but does not appear in numerous Cheshire Mainwaring pedigrees, J.P. Earwaker, East Cheshire (1880), 2, pp.564-67; Ormerod, Chester, 3, pp.292-93.

- (2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1509-73; ibid, 1574-85, passim.
- (3) In early plans one of Fitton's junior associates, SP/63/144/15; 145/44.
- (4) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.88.
- (5) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.128.
- (6) Ibid, p.258; SP/63/145/44.
- (7) Fedamore case: Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.14, 421; SP/63/168/10.1; 172/58; APC, 1591, p.108.
- (8) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.58.
- (9) Anonymous chronicler of undertakers' flight in 1598 states of William Mainwaring: "I marvel at him more than at all the rest, considering his old occupation in England, acquainted with all robbers and thieves in the land, that the rebels in Ireland, brought up in the same school, would not favour him, or at least that he had none of his school-points to defend himself", ibid, 1598-99, p.325.
- (10) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.254.
- (11) Cal.Pat.Jas., pp.494, 500.
- (12) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.131.
- (13) How Fedamore regained unknown; Civil Survey, 4, pp.105, 106, 372, 375.

Inchiquin (Mogeley Raleigh, Lisfinny)

Granted to Sir Walter Raleigh(1). Former owner Sir John of Desmond, Earl of Desmond's brother, and other FitzGerald; situated Bride valley, Waterford, and west of Youghal, Cork(2). Raleigh fought in Desmond war; received custodiam of Great Island, Cork, 1581(3). From 1583 Raleigh prominent at Court. Applied for Munster land before September 1585(4). Chosen to lead south-west undertakers in articles of June 1586(5). In February Queen's letter for grant of three and a half seignories close to Youghal(6). Raleigh received certificate March 1587. Letters patent for seignory of 42,000 acres at specially low rent 16 October 1587(7). Early 1589 reported seignory peopled(8). 1589 enquiry: 14 freeholds and 133 other tenants, 65 with families(9). Raleigh briefly in residence 1588 and 1589. Mayor of Youghal 1589-90(10). Obtained leases of large amounts of church property(11). List of 35 leases awarded by Raleigh 1588-98(12). From 1594 whole seignory leased to various Englishmen(13). Agreement to sell seignory to iron projectors 1596 for £2,000 but deal not effected(14). Seignory overrun 1598(15). In December 1602 Raleigh sold seignory to Richard Boyle, clerk of Munster council, for £1,500(16). Raleigh attainted 1603 before final payment but Boyle paid outstanding £1,000 to Crown and received grant of seignory May 1604(17). Boyle married daughter of Sir Geoffrey Fenton and knighted 1603. Regrant through commission for defective titles, 1610(18). 1611 survey: freeholders 800 acres; four fee farms 1,000; 27 leases 6,340 (seven old English/Irish); 39 small tenures plus two English towns at Tallow and Lisfinny; evicted from seignory 13½ ploughlands; full rent(19). Same date 522 of Boyle's tenants mustered (13 old English/Irish)(20). Regrant of lands 1614(21). Created Lord Boyle 1616; Earl of Cork 1620(22). 1622 survey: 21 freeholders (two old English); 24 copyholders (three old English); 150 households at Tallow; 906 men mustered(23). New patents for lands 1629(24). Appointed lord justice 1629; lord treasurer of Ireland 1631. In mid 1630s forced to surrender and compound for church lands of

Youghal and Lismore(25). From 1638-41 resident in England.
Position in 1641: seignory owned by Earl of Cork; closely settled with English.

- (1) For Raleigh bibliography see Quinn, Raleigh, p.196; Quinn's book contains best account of Raleigh in Ireland.
- (2) Maps of confiscated lands, Inchiquin 1589 and Kinatallon, Greenwich, N.M.M., Dartmouth collection (16.L.33), nos.R, Z.
- (3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, pp.289, 344.
- (4) Perrot to Leicester, 23 September 1585, Oxford, Bodleian, Perrot MS I, f.164v.
- (5) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.88.
- (6) Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.131-32.
- (7) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.452; SP/63/131/6; DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.40; Cal.Pat.Eliz., pp.323-27.
- (8) SP/63/141/57.
- (9) SP/63/144/27, 28; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.170-72.
- (10) Quinn, Raleigh, pp.113-14; S. Hayman, Guide to Youghal and the Blackwater (Youghal 1860), p.24; Caulfield, Youghal, p.61.
- (11) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.42.
- (12) Cal.Pat.Eliz., pp.324-25; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.38.
- (13) Lessees respectively George Goring and Herbert Pelham 1594, Thomas Southwell 1596, Walter Borough 1598, William Jones 1600, William Newce 1600, N.L.I., MS 6141, Inchiquin; inventory of Raleigh's household effects and stock 1594, Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 29, in separate envelope "Raleigh inventory 1594".
- (14) N.L.I., MS 6141, Inchiquin; APC, 1595-96, pp.453-54.
- (15) Including 60 English households at Tallow, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.326.
- (16) Cal.Pat.Jas., pp.37-38; for Boyle see D. Townshend, The Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork (1904); T.O. Ranger, "The career of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork, in Ireland, 1588-1643" (Oxford D.Phil. 1958); N. Canny, The Upstart Earl (Cambridge 1982).

- (17) Cal.Pat.Jas., pp.41-43; relevant inquisition, April 1604, ibid, p.66; explanation of events, Ranger, "Boyle", pp.55, 71-78; Boyle had to pay about a further £1,500 to free estate from lessees.
- (18) Cal.Pat.Jas., pp.160-61.
- (19) Coverage decidedly incomplete, P.R.O.I., IA/48/69, no.9; IA/48/59, no.16; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, pp.255, 257.
- (20) Ibid, pp.88-91.
- (21) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.264.
- (22) Ibid, p.304; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, p.269.
- (23) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.96; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.142.
- (24) Ranger, "Boyle", p.241.
- (25) Ibid, Chapter Nine.

Kilcolman (HapHazard)

Granted to Edmund Spenser(1). Previous owner Sir John of Desmond, the Earl's brother; situated north Cork. After confiscation Kilcolman bestowed on Irish custodiam(2). In 1587 allotted to Andrew Reade of Faccombe, Hants, member of Popham's group(3). Received certificate March 1587(4). Late 1588/early 1589 Reade passed property to Spenser(5). Spenser former secretary to lord deputy Grey 1580. Received custodiams and Crown leases outside Munster early 1580s. On official duties in Munster from 1585. Appointed clerk of the Munster council 1588(6). 1589 enquiry: Spenser undertaken 4,000 acres but lacks 1,000; no tenants yet appointed; six households resident(7). Letters patent to Edmund Spenser for seignory of 3,028 acres, 26 October 1590(8). Built a fair stone house for residence(9). Spenser married Elizabeth Boyle 1594. Appointed sheriff of Cork 1598. Seignory overrun 1598. Edmund Spenser died London 1599(10). Succeeded by son Silvanus, minor; in England with family December 1603(11). Resident at Kilcolman by 1607(12). 1611 survey: owner Silvanus Spenser; demesne 300 acres; two fee farms, 800; four leaseholders, 1,000; two old English leases, 200; evicted from seignory 900; rent abated; most undertenants Irish(13). Spenser married Ellen Nagle, catholic; his brother also intermarried with local catholic family(14). 1622 survey: owner Silvanus Spenser; demesne 1,800 acres; leaseholders, 450; 16 unnamed freeholders and copyholders; convenient English house for undertaker(15). In early 1630s part of seignory sold to new English(16). Silvanus Spenser died 1634; succeeded by eldest son Edmund who continued the selling of land; in debt late 1630s(17). Regrant of seignory as manor of Kilcolman to Edmund Spenser, 18 February 1639(18). In August 1640 Edmund Spenser fell from horse, "much in drink", and broke his neck(19). Seignory passed to brother William, aged six in 1640(20). Position in 1641: seignory owned by William Spenser, minor. Books of S and D record him in possession of 1,984 acres (of which 286 acres unprofitable). His mother and Hugoline Spenser, first cousin, both

catholics(21).

- (1) The poet; definitive biography, A.C. Judson, The life of Edmund Spenser (Baltimore, USA, 1945).
- (2) APC, 1587-88, p.325.
- (3) SP/63/131/6; for Reade's landholdings in Hants, VCH, Hampshire (1911), 4, pp.316, 325, 363, 507.
- (4) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.449.
- (5) R. Heffner, "Spenser's acquisition of Kilcolman", Modern Language Notes, 46 (1931).
- (6) Judson, Spenser, passim.
- (7) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.198.
- (8) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.137.
- (9) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.143.
- (10) Judson, Spenser, passim.
- (11) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1603-06, p.116.
- (12) B.L., Add. MS 19868, f.65.
- (13) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.256.
- (14) Slightly different genealogies in DNB; JCHAS, 24 (1918), p.112; White, Notes, 3, p.270; Notes and Queries, 162 (1932), pp.110-260.
- (15) JRSAI, 54 (1924), pp.143-44.
- (16) Analecta Hibernica, 20 (1958), pp.59, 67.
- (17) Wiseman to Boyle, 4 June 1634, N.L.I., MS 13237 (20); Analecta Hibernica, 15 (1944), p.339; 20 (1958), p.70; Whalley to Boyle, 21 July 1640, N.L.I., MS 13237 (25); T.C.D., MS 824, f.112; St Leger bought four ploughlands of seignory but not castle or lands of Kilcolman as sometimes reported.
- (18) P.R.O.I., IA/53/55, p.78.
- (19) Whalley to Boyle, 26 August 1640, N.L.I., MS 13237 (25); Grosart, Lismore, 2, 4, p.123.
- (20) JCHAS, 3 (1894), p.97.
- (21) P.R.O.I., Books of Survey and Distribution, Fermoy barony, Cork.

Kilfinny (Kilmacow, Knock Billingsley, Mount Southwell)

Granted to Henry Billingsley, alderman of London(1). Previous owners John Supple, Earl of Desmond, Limerick old English; situated south-east of Rathkeale, Limerick. Henry Billingsley potential undertaker with Oughtred-led syndicate to plant Limerick and Kerry, May 1586(2). His goods transported to Munster by Oughtred early 1587(3). Alderman Billingsley received certificate May 1587(4). Henry Billingsley granted letters patent for seignory of 11,800 acres, 2 May 1588(5). Grantee probably the alderman but possibly Henry Billingsley the younger; certainly from 1590s government regarded the son as the undertaker(6). In early 1589 seignory credited with 137 settlers(7). 1589 enquiry: seignory divided; 35 tenants (31 with families, 7 Welsh); 17 servants in Billingsley's household; summary records 36 English(8). In 1592 seignory listed with 66 tenants(9). Billingsley lost heavily against local land claimants, 1592(10). His investment in plantation praised by government; but doubtful if resident for any length of time(11). Before 1598 Billingsley sold and leased land at Kilfinny to Joshua Aylmer, member of original Oughtred syndicate. Aylmer resident at Kilfinny when seignory overrun 1598(12). In 1601 Henry Billingsley reported to be anxious to reinhabit seignory, but still in England December 1603(13). Henry Billingsley the younger knighted 1603. His father died 1606(14). By 1608 seignory sold to Sir John Dowdall of Piltown, Waterford(15). 1611 survey: demesne 820 acres; seven fee farms 5,020, on which 12 undertenants (three old English/Irish); 17 leases, 1,897 (six old English); evicted from seignory 1,960 acres; rent abated(16). Sir John Dowdall died February 1613; succeeded by son Sir John Dowdall. Younger Sir John married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Thomas Southwell of Poulnalong, Cork(17). 1622 survey: demesne 840 acres; six freeholders 4,454 (two old English) with 58 undertenants; 16 leases 3,020 (seven old English/Irish) with 34 undertenants; eight copyholders 780 acres with 15 undertenants; strong house at Kilfinny built for £700(18). In 1622 Dowdall bought Castletown seignory,

Limerick, for £2,800, in part financed by selling Piltown lease to Boyle for £1,800(19). Sir John Dowdall died April 1623. Succeeded by wife and five daughters, co-heirs(20). Eldest Ann married John Southwell, son of Edmund Southwell of Castlematris, Limerick; heir to most of Kilfinny. Second daughter married Sir Hardress Waller and received Castletown seignory; three remaining daughters married old English; received portions of Kilfinny seignory(21). In 1638 regranted to John and Ann Southwell of seignory; Sir John Dowdall's three younger daughters to be bought out for £1,500(22). Position in 1641: owners John and Ann Southwell, though Lady Dowdall possessed Kilfinny castle and jointure. Spirited defence of Kilfinny by the old lady in 1642; she claimed losses of £5,000 (including £2,500 for castle and 12 houses, and £590 p.a. from jointure). Ann Southwell's depositions included loss of estate from father, £350 p.a. In 1650s seignory owned by Ann Southwell and second husband Piggott; Civil Survey records 2,695 acres, value £800(23).

- (1) Eminent mathematician and scholar; Goldsmiths Co.; sheriff of London 1584; alderman 1585; lord mayor 1597; MP 1604; died 1606, DNB; Aubrey, Lives, 1, p.100. Eldest son Henry Billingsley; in 1580s resident at Penhow, Monmouthshire, recently purchased by father; neighbour of Sir William Herbert, Kerry undertaker; young Billingsley married Welsh family, Bradney, Monmouthshire, 4, pp.195 (pedigree), 286, 292.
- (2) Group included William and Robert Billingsley; former younger brother of young Henry Billingsley, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.51; Visitations of Somerset, 1623 (Harl. Soc. 11), p.7.
- (3) Anderson, Letters, pp.105-06.
- (4) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.450; SP/63/131/6.
- (5) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.68.
- (6) APC, 1592-93, p.162; Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.351; elder Billingsley had granted his Irish lands to son well before his death in 1606, below n.14.
- (7) SP/63/141/58; same time described as well peopled, 141/57.
- (8) SP/63/145/40-42; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.258.

- (9) Ibid, 1592-96, p.58.
- (10) SP/63/168/10.1; 172/58.
- (11) APC, 1592, p.42; ibid, 1592-93, p.162; Billingsley resident initially then returned to England; his house occupied by Henry Oughtred 1592; Billingsley reported intending to return 1593 but unlikely if did; later his house occupied by Aylmer, Nottingham, Middleton MSS Mi Da 57c, d.
- (12) Aylmer member of Oughtred syndicate, May 1586, Cal. S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.51; SP/12/189/6; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.325; SP/63/246/79.
- (13) HMC, Salisbury, 11, p.94; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1603-06, p.116.
- (14) DNB; will, P.R.O., PCC 91 Stafford; also in inquisition, P.R.O., C/142/297/154; printed Howard, Genealogica, I, pp.252-55; Lady Billingsley's will, P.R.O., PCC 3 Huddlestone.
- (15) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.127. Dowdall from Limerick old English family but protestant; army officer; after Desmond rebellion desired grant of escheated land but disappointed; Munster councillor 1604; author of tract concerning reform in Ireland, Cal. S.P.Ire., 1608-10, p.126; ibid, 1574-85, p.232; B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.156v; tract, Royal MS 18. A.LVI.
- (16) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.253.
- (17) P.R.O.I., IA/48/84, no.36; IA/48/110, no.15; Southwells from E. Anglia, Lodge, Peerage, 6, p.7n.
- (18) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.92; JRSAI, 24 (1954), p.135.
- (19) See Castletown seignory; Piltown sale, Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, p.264; 1, 2, pp.18, 44.
- (20) Will, P.R.O.I., IA/48/110, no.15.
- (21) Lodge, Peerage, 6, pp.15-16; Jackson, Inter-marriage, p.78.
- (22) P.R.O.I., IA/53/54, pp.496-98.
- (23) Civil Survey, 4, passim; B.L., Sloane MS 1008, ff.66-69v; T.C.D., MS 829, ff.138, 256; Hickson, Ireland, 2, p.94.

Killorglin (Castle Conway)

Granted to Jenkin Conway(1). Previous owner Earl of Desmond; situated boundary between Desmond and Kerry(2). Conway attached himself to Walsingham; in Ireland known as "Walsingham's man". Soldier in Ireland in 1583 and member of Ormonde's company(3). In October 1584 petitioned Walsingham for grant of Killorglin; awarded custodiam by July 1585. Throughout mid 1580s Walsingham firm patron(4). Conway received certificate of lands, 25 July 1587(5). Described as gentleman and soldier in allotment 1587; later in 1580s referred to as Capt. Conway(6). In early 1589 report: "for his portion, which is very small, I think peopled"(7). 1589 enquiry: no answer. Sheriff of Desmond 1588(8). Delayed taking out letters patent until lands surveyed in 1592 at 516 acres rentable land(9). Letters patent for seignory of 1,304 acres, of which 476 arable, to Capt. Jenkin Conway, 6 November 1592(10). In 1592 reported to have one tenant(11). On military service Athlone 1596(12). Clancare survey 1598 depicts Conway's seignory(13). In 1598 seignory overrun; Conway's castle burnt August 1600(14). Three of his brothers (Hugh, Edward and William) also settled in Kerry. Jenkin Conway married Mary Herbert; one son, two daughters(15). Jenkin Conway died before February 1601; succeeded by son also Jenkin(16). 1611 survey: demesne 400 acres; five tenants 126 acres; full rent(17). Inquisition in 1612 and regrant October 1613 provides more detailed information about seignory and Conway's other holdings: seignory contained nine ploughlands: 476 arable, 60 pasture, 342 mountain and 426 bog(18). Jenkin Conway married Avis Dalton of Knocknamona seignory, Waterford; one son, two daughters, one of whom married Capt. Edward Vauclier, the other Daniel O'Sullivan. Son Edward married Katherine Ryves; two daughters, one of whom married Blennerhasset who owned Killorglin estate later 17th century(19). 1622 survey: seignory contained 1,304 acres; one freeholder; one lease; five other tenants(20). In 1628 Jenkin Conway appealed to Lord Conway to favour unspecified suit, claiming kinship, "though perhaps now unknown or forgotten"(21).

Regrant of lands August 1639(22). Position in 1641:
seignory owned by Jenkin Conway, son of original undertaker.

- (1) From Wales but precise origins unknown; refers to Sir William Herbert as cousin so possibly s. Wales; but more likely n. Wales; in 1628 Conway's son in Kerry wrote to Lord Conway as a "poor kinsman", Conway to Sir William Herbert, 20 February 1590, P.R.O., 30/53/7/3; SP/63/246/43.
- (2) Castle large but wasted 1584, P.R.O.I., M.5037, p.18.
- (3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, pp.432, 439.
- (4) Ibid, pp.531, 572; Conway in possession by autumn 1584, P.R.O.I., M.5037, p.19; SP/63/112/86; Cal. S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.426.
- (5) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.448.
- (6) SP/63/131/6; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.2.
- (7) SP/63/141/57.
- (8) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.135.
- (9) Ibid, 1592-96, pp.2, 48.
- (10) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.213.
- (11) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.58.
- (12) Ibid, p.509.
- (13) Lambeth, Carew MS 625, f.35.
- (14) Stafford, Paceta Hibernia, 1, p.238.
- (15) Family genealogy, Hickson, Kerry Records, pp.50-51; Smith, Kerry, p.52; B.L., Add. MS 4820, f.59v; Smith wrongly states first Jenkin Conway's wife daughter of Sir William Herbert, but probably close relative.
- (16) HMC, Salisbury, 11, p.96.
- (17) P.R.O.I., IA/48/64, no.4; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.258.
- (18) P.R.O.I., IA/48/64, no.6; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.268.
- (19) Hickson, Kerry Records, pp.14, 50-51; Hickson, Ireland, 2, p.120; Vauclier describes dashing escape in 1642, saving his life from pursuing rebels

by leaping into the sea and swimming a mile, T.C.D., MS 828, ff.284-85; transcribed, Hickson, Ireland, 2, pp.125-27.

(20) B.L., Add. MS 4756, ff.94-94v; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.138.

(21) This sad little letter couched in tone of elegant self deprecation: "I living a long time here in darkness and far remote from the state and that more eminent sphere wherein your lordship is a lucent star ... humbly pray your lordship to cast some beam of your bright countenance on my suit", SP/63/246/43.

(22) P.R.O.I., IA/53/55, pp.183-85.

Kilmore (Kilbolane, The Great Wood, Cuffe's Wood)

Granted to Hugh Cuffe of London(1). Previous owners Thomas FitzGerald and David FitzGibbon, lord of the great wood; situated north Cork(2). Cuffe not mentioned in any of syndicates formed by potential undertakers. Kilbolane first allotted as parcel of Limerick undertaker Henry Oughtred's seignory, May 1587(3). By September 1587 Kilbolane awarded to Cuffe(4). Letters patent to Hugh Cuffe for seignory of 12,000 acres, 14 November 1587(5). Brother Phillip Cuffe of Woolstone, Berks, allotted lands in Cork but eventually incorporated in Hyde's seignory(6). Cuffes attempted to deprive Gould of Tarbert seignory in Kerry in order to place Phillip; unsuccessful(7). Then challenged Beacon for west Cork seignory; unsuccessful(8). Phillip Cuffe dropped hope of becoming an undertaker. Hugh Cuffe in residence at Kilbolane by 1588(9). In early 1589 seignory reported as "poor and unpeopled" but another summary stated 74 English people settled(10). 1589 enquiry: five freeholders, one farmer and 15 copyholders settled; Cuffe claims will have 100 English persons on seignory by November 1589; within a year 100 Englishmen(11). In 1590 Cuffe evicted from Kilbolane and major portion of seignory by William Power by virtue of wife, Ellen FitzGibbon, niece to Thomas FitzGerald(12). In compensation government offered seignory of Clandonnell Roe but already occupied by an undertaker; then granted other confiscated land but Cuffe quickly evicted by local owners(13). Rumoured Cuffe wishing to sell seignory for £500 in 1592; Willoughbys of Wollaton, Notts, interested(14). Protesting at insufficient recompense in 1594, Cuffe claimed to have spent £700 and settled near 200 persons(15). Eventually in 1597 Cuffe received grant of Broghill, north Cork(16). Hugh Cuffe sheriff of Cork 1592; member of Munster council probably from early 1590s, certainly by 1600(17). Lived on his seignory at Newtown(18). Seignory overrun in 1598. Cuffe removed to Kilmallock; briefly town's commander. Only son killed. Between 1599-1602 in England for long periods; despite vow not to return to Ireland, back in Munster 1602(19). Likely author

of policy study for Munster plantation after the war(20). Sold 10 ploughlands of seignory to Lord Audley, army captain(21). Hugh Cuffe died before November 1607(22). Left seignory divided between two daughters married to Charles Coote and Sir Francis Slingsby, both army captains(23). Coote sold his portion to Audley. 1611 survey: owners, Audley's son Sir Mervyn Audley and Sir Francis Slingsby; no demesne; three fee farms, 2,400 acres; five leases, 1,450; most undertenants Irish; evicted from seignory 14 ploughlands; over half rent abated(24). Audley created Earl of Castlehaven 1616; died 1617; succeeded by son Mervyn. Regrant proposed 1619(25). 1622 survey: owners, Earl of Castlehaven and Sir Francis Slingsby, but latter's portion only covered by commissioners: no residence which Slingsby excuses by his attendance at Haulbowline; three freeholders 900 acres; six farmers; 14 copyholders(26). Castlehaven absentee on English estates 1620s. Sold portion including Broghill to Thomas Stephens who sold to Boyle for £3,500 in 1622; boundary troubles with Sir William Power; purchase completed by 1627(27). Boyle intended land for third son, subsequently Lord Broghill. Grant to Broghill of manor of Broghill and Rathgogan 1630(28). At Earl of Castlehaven's trial reported he had turned catholic though inconsistent in choice of religion. Executed for buggery 1631(29). Succeeded by son James, catholic. Regrant to Castlehaven of Irish lands in 1633 included castle and six ploughlands of original seignory, but apparently these sold to local buyers before 1641(30). Sir Francis Slingsby died before 1641; some portions sold to unknown buyers; remaining pieces held by Henry Slingsby, catholic. Position in 1641: seignory owned by Boyle, Henry Slingsby and local men. Books of S and D credit Henry Slingsby with 6,622 acres in Orrery and Kilmore barony (of which 159 acres unprofitable)(31).

(1) Family details unknown; kinsman Capt. John Cuffe in Ireland 1560s, his son James a settler on Hugh Cuffe's seignory, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1509-73, pp.210, 213, 284, 356; SP/63/144/26; Hugh's brother, Phillip Cuffe, a frustrated potential undertaker from Woolstone, Berks; Cuffe a prominent Somerset

name but no direct link established; Hugh Cuffe married Horsey family, probably from Dorset; Lodge reports Cuffes came from Somerset and Northampton, Peerage, 6, p.55; Cuffe designated from London, SP/63/131/6; wife still living in London 1592, Nottingham, Middleton MS Mi Da 57d.

- (2) FitzGerald also known as Thomas ne Scarty/Nescarty and Thomas McShane McMaurice; FitzGibbon as David Encorrig.
- (3) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.448.
- (4) Also to Oughtred same MS but Cuffe successful, SP/63/131/6.
- (5) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.44.
- (6) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.452 (for Derbyshire read Berkshire, Lambeth, Carew MS 631, ff.1-27); SP/63/131/6.
- (7) SP/63/180/50; HMC, 15th Rep., Appendix 3, p.296.
- (8) SP/63/175/29, 78; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.266; APC, 1591, p.383.
- (9) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.51; P.R.O.I., IA/30/28, no.724.
- (10) SP/63/141/57, 58.
- (11) SP/63/144/26; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.258.
- (12) FitzGerald one of eight specifically excluded from act of attainder 1586, APC, 1590, pp.37, 44, 130; ibid, 1613-14, pp.529, 602; Egerton to Burghley, 16 April 1590, San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 1729; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.574; Cal.Pat. Eliz., p.203; DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.154; full account, P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16.
- (13) Above n.8; SP/63/174/73, 75; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.257.
- (14) Thomas Willoughby to Percival Willoughby [1592], Nottingham, Middleton MS Mi Da 57d.
- (15) SP/63/174/71, 71.2, 73.
- (16) DKPROI, 17th Rep., p.80; Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.497; Broghill had been allotted to Thoman Hannam of Wynborne, Dorset, in 1587 but evidently he withdrew, SP/63/131/6.
- (17) JRSAI, 35 (1905), p.47; APC, 1591, p.383; B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.147v.

- (18) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.331..
- (19) HMC, Salisbury, 11, pp.94, 359; ibid, 12, p.581; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600, pp.116, 185, 305, 324; ibid, 1600-01, p.298; B.L., Harl. MS 697, ff.11, 59.
- (20) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600, pp.379, 400-03.
- (21) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.139; below n.24; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1601-03, p.501; GEC, Castlehaven; Audley's boundaries established 1608, 1614, Cal.Pat.Jas., pp.127, 270.
- (22) SP/63/222/180.
- (23) Coote later Sir Charles Coote, GEC, Mountrath; Slingsby knighted 1605; constable of Haulbowline fort, Cork harbour from 1600s, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, p.87; B.L., Add. MS 4784, f.96.
- (24) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.256.
- (25) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.436.
- (26) B.L., Add. MS 4756, ff.94v-95; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.139.
- (27) N.L.I., MSS 6142, pp.25-26; 6897, February 1627; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, pp.64-65, 72, 74, 79, 118-22, 129, 136, 140, 208-09.
- (28) Cal.Pat.Chas., p.491.
- (29) State Trials, 3, p.410; GEC, Castlehaven.
- (30) P.R.O.I., IA/53/54, p.295.
- (31) P.R.O.I., Books of Survey and Distribution, Orrery and Kilmore baronies, Cork.

Kinalmeaky (Half barony/cantred of Kinalmeaky)

Granted to Hugh Worth of Somerton, Somerset(1). Previous owner Conor O'Mahony; situated mid Cork. Associate with Phane Becher of London and Michael Sidenham of Chellworth, Somerset; together allotted Kinalmeaky barony in 1587 certificates; Becher and Worth for 12,000 acres each and Sidenham 6,000(2). Eventually divided between Worth and Becher, each receiving 14,000 acres; Worth the northern half of the barony. Worth in residence 1587 but no divisions; a few families placed. After commission's decision autumn 1588, Kinalmeaky forcibly occupied by Daniel O'Mahony until March 1589(3). Letters patent to both Worth and Becher of Kinalmeaky, 30 September 1588(4). By 1589 Worth an ill man; sold seignory to Sir Richard Grenville, 20 April 1589(5). Worth died before September 1589(6). Grenville bought with intention to place his brothers-in-law, but as his own half seignory of Kerrycurrihy increasingly challenged, decided to develop Kinalmeaky intending it for his second son, John(7). 1589 enquiry: 12,000 acres originally passed to Worth; no division to tenants; one or two families settled by Worth; Grenville promises full complement by next year(8). Grenville's terms for new settlers published 1589(9). Grenville bought lands off Roche near Fermoy; 1591 got lease and prospect of fee farm of Fermoy abbey lands and Gillabbey outside Cork; built on both sites, resided at latter(10). Sir Richard Grenville died at sea 1591. Irish lands passed to son John, then to eldest son Bernard after John Grenville's death at sea 1595(11). No sign of widespread settlement before seignory overrun in 1598(12). In late 1600s evidence of Bernard Grenville's increasing interest in Munster: appointed to Munster council 1606; knighted by lord deputy 1608; rumoured to become lord president(13). Grenville's house at Fermoy; made no residence for himself at Kinalmeaky but leased out entire seignory by 1610(14). 1611 survey: owner Sir Bernard Grenville; no demesne or undertaker's residence; one fee farm, 1,500 acres; six leases (one old English), 5,040; 24 undertenants; 45 tenements (a few old English); evicted from seignory 2,200 acres; rent abated; many Irish undertenants(15). In 1610s Grenville absentee;

Roger Braban his agent in Munster. Regrant of Fermoy and Gillabbey 1612; in 1618 granted manor courts for Kinalmeaky(16). By 1619/20 Grenville in debt; accepted Boyle's offer of £3,500 for seignory, but instead sold to Sir Lionel Cranfield for same price plus loan, June 1621(17). 1622 survey: owner Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex; two fee farms, 6,500 acres; six leases (one old English), 5,690 acres; 90 undertenants; some further Irish undertenants(18). In 1623 Middlesex sold seignory to broker who sold to Boyle for £4,775(19). Position in 1641: seignory owned by Boyle, Earl of Cork, part of western estates intended for second son; closely settled with English.

- (1) Robert Strode, the Limerick undertaker, owned Somerton manor; Humphrey Worth lessee of rectorial estate in Somerton, followed by another Hugh Worth 1602-04; relationship of the Cork undertaker to these Worths uncertain, VCH, Somerset, 3 (1974), p.138; Som.Rec.Soc., 69 (1969), p.29.
- (2) SP/63/131/6; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.454; Worth also separate certificate for 12,000 acres at Inishannon; ibid, p.451.
- (3) SP/63/144/16; 146/45; 148/36.
- (4) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.87.
- (5) N.L.I., MSS 6141, Gillabbey; 6139, pp.85-91.
- (6) SP/63/146/45.
- (7) SP/63/148/36.
- (8) Ibid.
- (9) Payne, Description, p.8.
- (10) SP/63/155/14, 17; 157/19; DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.164; Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.195; HMC, Salisbury, 4, p.98; N.L.I., MS 6139, p.86.
- (11) Rowse, Grenville, p.339.
- (12) In account of plantation's disruption no mention of Grenville's seignory.
- (13) B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.157v; Add. MS 4784, f.96v; P.R.O., SP/46/72, f.105.
- (14) Ibid, f.103v; N.L.I., MS 6139, pp.29-32.

- (15) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.255.
- (16) Cal.Pat.Jas., pp.220, 372.
- (17) N.L.I., MS 6141, Gillabbey.
- (18) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.95; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.142.
- (19) N.L.I., MSS 6141, Gillabbey; 6142, pp.85-91; further details on Cranfield purchase Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, passim; Kent R/O, Sackville MSS, passim; Ranger, "Boyle", pp.211-12; Prestwich, Cranfield, pp.384-85.

Knockainy (Goldsworth, Kilmanahan)

Granted to Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsorth, Cheshire(1). Previous owners Desmond, his brother Sir John and Limerick old English; situated east of Bruff on boundary of Limerick and Tipperary, and 40 miles distance at Kilmanahan, north west Waterford(2). Fitton served as pay official in Ireland but failed to succeed father as vice-treasurer; retired to Cheshire(3). In 1586 selected to explain plantation scheme to gentlemen of the north west; formed syndicate himself; appointed joint leader of north west contingent in June 1586 articles(4). Received certificate in London for two full seignories for himself and associates, February 1587; crossed to Munster with syndicate(5). Granted letters patent for seignory of 11,515 acres, 3 September 1587(6). Sir Edward Fitton made residence at Kilmanahan but returned to Cheshire October 1587 complaining of legal difficulties over possession of lands; left brother Alexander as agent(7). Doubtful if Sir Edward ever returned to Munster. Claimed to have spent £1,000 on plantation by December 1588; stated 14 tenants on seignory and 40 people in Waterford household(8). In early 1589 credited with 68 English persons(9). 1589 enquiry: demesne three ploughlands; four freeholders, 10 ploughlands; 11 leases, 13 ploughlands; undertaker with large household; 70 people in all; summary lists 24 English(10). In 1592 reported seignory had 20 tenants(11). Some English at Kilmanahan killed in winter raid by Irish 1596(12). Sir Edward's son, Capt. Edward Fitton, in Ireland late 1590s; Limerick sheriff 1598; in vicinity when seignory overrun 1598(13). In 1600s Sir Edward Fitton apparently anxious to re-establish seignory for son(14). Central manor of Knockainy passed by Sir Edward to brother Alexander Fitton, November 1603(15). Sir Edward Fitton died 1606; will instructed Irish lands to be sold(16). His son, resident Cheshire, obtained regrant of seignory 1607, then promptly sold Limerick and Tipperary lands to Donogh Earl of Thomond (Cullen, 1,400 acres) and local old English; Waterford lands to Sir James Gough(17). Alexander Fitton died 1609, in possession of Knockainy but had sold 1,332 acres of manor

to local old English. Succeeded by son Francis who married Joan Lacy(18). 1611 survey: Waterford lands: owner Sir James Gough; demesne 300 acres, three leases 300 acres. Limerick and Tipperary lands: owners Thomond and local old English; in Thomond's possession 800 acres; three fee farms 660; evicted from seignory three and a half ploughlands; full rent(19). 1622 survey: Knockainy owner Francis Fitton; castle much decayed. Cullen owner Thomond with 1,400 acres; 50-60 tenants; new castle at Cullen cost of £1,000. Other lands to old English including two ploughlands for Sir James Gough in Waterford; rent abated(20). Francis Fitton died 1627 possessed of Knockainy; succeeded by son Alexander, 14 years, who later married daughter of Sir Thomas Browne of Hospital, Limerick(21). Alexander Fitton died before 1634; succeeded by widow and brother William Fitton as joint owners of Knockainy. William Fitton married daughter of Sir Edward Trevor. Despite catholic mother described as protestant, though equivocal action after 1641 suggests crypto-catholic(22). In late 1630s William likely borrowing heavily: bonds at Limerick staple of £3,100 to Limerick city old English(23). Position in 1641: William Fitton and sister-in-law Annabel Gould owners of Knockainy; Civil Survey records 2,600 acres, value £390 (of which 1,300 acres mortgaged for £1,800); in depositions Fitton claims losses of £1,822 plus freehold worth £800 p.a.; adds spurious claim to original seignory lands(24). Civil Survey records Patrick Gough at Kilmanahan, Waterford, 383 acres, value £80; Gough's entire estate in region 2,288 acres, value £300; comparable figures from Books of S and D are 268 acres and 2,219 (of which 259 acres unprofitable)(25); Civil Survey records seignory land in Tipperary as 2,270 acres of which Barnabas Earl of Thomond in possession of Cullen, 1,500 acres, value £100, and Sir John Magrath, catholic, for 770 acres value £90(26).

(1) Eldest son of Sir Edward Fitton, former lord president of Connaught and vice-treasurer of Ireland; died 1579; DNB, both father and son entries; Hasler, Commons, 2, p.124; family pedigree, Earwaker,

- East Cheshire, 2, pp.564-67; Ormerod, Chester, 3, pp.292-93.
- (2) Castle ruinous, P.R.O.I., M.5039, pp.12-13; 5038, pp.5-9.
- (3) See above n.1; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, p.175.
- (4) APC, 1586-87, p.9; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.42; SP/63/124/87.
- (5) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.446; SP/63/131/6; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.252, 392; syndicate members, ibid, 1588-92, p.168.
- (6) DKPROI, 16th Rep., pp.35-37.
- (7) SP/63/146/53; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.426.
- (8) Ibid, 1588-92, p.87; in February 1588 listed 47 people on seignory including 25 horsemen, SP/63/133/44.
- (9) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.128; SP/63/141/57, 58 (60 persons).
- (10) Answered by Alexander Fitton in Munster and Sir Edward in England, SP/63/144/15; 146/53; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.258.
- (11) Ibid, 1592-96, p.58.
- (12) Grosart, Lismore, 2, 1, p.10.
- (13) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.325-26; ibid, 1600-01, p.6.
- (14) Ibid, 1603-06, p.305; HMC, Salisbury, 10, p.18.
- (15) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.130.
- (16) P.R.O., PCC, 19 Stafford; inquisition, P.R.O., Wards/21/91.
- (17) JRSAI, 54 (1924), pp.129-30; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.111; P.R.O.I., IA/48/69, no.9; inquisition, IA/48/84, no.19.
- (18) Ibid; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.130; P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.42.
- (19) Cal. Carew, 1603-24, pp.254, 257; P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6; IA/48/69, no.9; Francis Fitton at Knockainy not covered.
- (20) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.89v; JRSAI, 54 (1924), pp.129-30.

- (21) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.42; B.L., Add. MS 4820, f.25v; Edward and Nicholas Fitton held land in Limerick 1620s but precise connection with Knockainy Fittons unknown, Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 14/88, 123; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, pp.38, 41.
- (22) Genealogical information from B.L., Add. MS 31885, ff.103v-09; Ormerod, Chester, 3, pp.292-93; T.C.D., MS 839, f.310v.
- (23) B.L., Add. MS 19843, ff.4, 77v; one £2,100 bond was for £1,000 loan on mortgage, Civil Survey, 4, p.101.
- (24) Ibid, pp.95, 98, 100-01; T.C.D., MS 829, ff.310-11.
- (25) Civil Survey, 6, pp.89-91; P.R.O.I., Books of Survey and Distribution, Glenahiry barony, Waterford.
- (26) Civil Survey, 2, pp.23, 56, 60; Thomond's possible holdings of seignory land in Limerick unable to be traced.

Knocknamona (Castle Dalton)

Granted to Sir Christopher Hatton, lord chancellor of England(1). Previous owners Desmond and FitzGerald; situated north west of Dungarvan, Waterford. Hatton appointed joint leader of north west contingent in June 1586 articles(2). Received certificate February 1587(3). Early 1589 surveys reported seignory peopled at full; 200 persons settled(4). Letters patent for seignory of 10,910 acres, 18 June 1589(5). 1589 enquiry: three freeholders; 30 more settlers (nine Welsh); 53 old English tenants; large house for undertaker being built at Cappoquin(6). Hatton died 1591. Inventory at death revealed enormous debts; among valuation of property, "Ireland" £2,000 (7). Seignory surveyed by Munster officials: found that Hatton had spent £1,090 on buildings and stock; in possession of 5,328 acres; remainder claimed and occupied by locals(8). Irish lands passed to his nephew Sir William Hatton who sold to relative Roger Dalton of Kirby Misperton, Yorkshire, for £1,600 in 1594. Year earlier Sir William had sold small portion to Englishman who sold out to Dalton July 1594 for £180(9). Roger Dalton among north west potential undertakers in 1586(10). With other north west gentlemen received certificate for confiscated lands in Waterford August 1587, but none left after major undertakers satisfied(11). Dalton bought seignory after selling up in England 1594; moved his household to Knocknamona(12). Roger Dalton died c.1596. His will 1595 left small portions of seignory to younger sons; main lands to son and heir Roger Dalton, minor(13). Widow Alison protested against local land resumption 1597(14). In 1598 seignory reported deserted by English settlers; but in 1600 Alison Dalton given ward for Knocknamona. She claimed £1,000 lost from rebellion and her living to value of £3,000 wasted by rebels(15). In 1600s Alison married Sir George Flower, army captain(16). In 1610 Flower and wife, on behalf of Roger Dalton, protested at eviction of 2/3 original seignory granted to Hatton; sought rent abatement(17). 1611 survey: owner Roger Dalton; demesne 500 acres; two fee farms 600; five leases (one old English)

1,600+; 16 small tenures (one Irish) 327 acres; many Irish undertenants; large amounts evicted from seignory; rent abated(18). Regrant to Roger Dalton of seignory lands January 1613(19). Roger Dalton married Ursula Baggot. He died 1622, leaving seignory to son Richard Dalton, Boyle's godson(20). 1622 survey: Knocknamona unrecorded(21). In 1610s and 1620s Roger and then Richard Dalton borrowing money, and mortgaging and leasing property to Boyle and Sir Richard Osborne. After various disputes final settlement in 1635. Dalton sold out entirely: western lands to Boyle; Knocknamona and remainder of seignory to Osborne(22). Grant through commission for defective titles to Sir Richard Osborne of Knocknamona May 1639(23). Richard Dalton died 1639(24). Position in 1641: main castle and slight majority of seignory owned by Sir Richard Osborne. Civil Survey records 2,665 acres in possession of Sir Richard and second son Nicholas Osborne of Cappagh; Boyle's portion 2,025 acres(25).

- (1) Standard biography, E. St John Brooks, Sir Christopher Hatton (1946); most recent, A.G. Vines, Neither fire nor steel (Chicago 1978).
- (2) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.88.
- (3) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.451; SP/63/131/6.
- (4) SP/63/141/57, 58.
- (5) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.103.
- (6) Answered by William Edwards, Hatton's agent, SP/63/144/73; old English tenants include four Daltons not to be confused with later new English owner of seignory.
- (7) San Marino, Huntington, Ellesmere MS 6233.
- (8) SP/63/163/11.2.
- (9) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1601-03, pp.603-04; N.L.I., MS 6142, p.152.
- (10) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.42; biography, Hasler, Commons, 2, p.9.
- (11) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.453.

- (12) Hasler, Commons, 2, p.9.
- (13) P.R.O., PCC, 25 Cobham.
- (14) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1601-03, pp.603-04.
- (15) Ibid; Cal. Carew, 1589-1600, pp.396, 422; Cal.S. P.Ire., 1598-99, p.326.
- (16) P.R.O.I., IA/48/69, no.9.
- (17) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 3/66.
- (18) P.R.O.I., IA/48/69, no.9; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.257.
- (19) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.237.
- (20) APC, 1628-29, p.41; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 16/160.
- (21) Inexplicable: commissioners certainly traversed the land, Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, p.54.
- (22) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 3/80; 6/113; 7/18; 16/94, 160; 17/98; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, pp.113, 176; 1, 2, pp.249, 255, 315; 1, 4, pp.126, 210; APC, 1628-29, p.41; N.L.I., MS 6142, pp.121-25.
- (23) P.R.O.I., IA/53/55, p.255.
- (24) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 20/94.
- (25) Civil Survey, 6, pp.32-54; Boyle had further 4,645 acres in Decies barony not part of seignory lands; Osborne held long leases from FitzGerald of Dromana of 2,035 acres; Nicholas Osborne's deposition records losses of £4,750 after rebellion, T.C.D., MS 820, f.26.

LoughGur (Bourchier's Hall)

Granted to Sir George Bourchier(1). Previously Earl of Desmond's manor situated three miles north of Bruff, Limerick(2). Bourchier soldier in Ireland from 1568. Received grants of land in midlands; in command of forts in Leix and Offaly(3). Knighted 1579. Colonel in chief in Munster 1580; recommended to be Munster president 1582(4). Custodian of confiscated Limerick lands including future seignory by 1580(5). Confirmed in possession 1584(6). MP for King's County 1585/86. Supported Earl of Ormonde's land claims in parliament concerning Desmond attainder; consistent ally of Ormonde(7). Bourchier's marriage to daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham linked him to Court; personal backing from Queen for grant of confiscated lands 1586(8). Early 1587 replaced Sir Rowland Stanley as joint leader of north west contingent of undertakers(9). Letters patent for seignory of 12,880 acres, 2 November 1588(10). In early 1589 reported as not sufficiently peopled(11). 1589 enquiry: in possession of 1/3 of seignory; rest disputed; seven leases; 60 Irish tenants(12). In 1592 appointed Master of the Ordnance for life(13). Member of Irish council by 1592(14). Not normally resident at LoughGur; Richard Rowley tenant in late 1590s. Seignory overrun 1598(15). In lieu of debts from Crown remitted arrears of seignory rent 1603(16). Sir George Bourchier died September 1605. Succeeded briefly by son Thomas who died October 1605. Succeeded by Sir George's second son John(17). John Bourchier army captain; applied for land as servitor in Ulster plantation. Successful: granted 1,000 acres in Armagh(18). In 1610 received pension for Crown debts owed to father; arrears on LoughGur also waived(19). Knighted early 1611. 1611 survey: demesne 14 acres [sic]; fee farm, 1,000 acres; leases, 3,700 acres; small tenures 23; evicted from seignory 2,588 acres; rent abated(20). Sir John Bourchier MP for Co. Armagh 1613(21). Complained acreage of Munster seignory overestimated; new survey ordered 1613. Survey commissioners' conclusion that undertaker's rent no more than £150(22). Sir John Bourchier died March 1615(23).

Succeeded by brother Henry; educated T.C.D.; Fellow of T.C.D. late 1600s(24). By 1617 Henry Bouchier living in London; scholar and bibliophile; frequently corresponded with Ussher(25). Knighted 1621. Member of 1622 commission to visit Ireland; on Munster survey team(26). 1622 commission: owner Sir Henry Bouchier; demesne 900 acres, castles unrepaired; six freeholders (four old English) 2,340 acres; eight leases (three old English) 4,160 acres; many houses(27). Bouchier succeeded to earldom of Bath 1637. On Privy Council 1641(28). Position in 1641: seignory owned by Earl of Bath, absentee. Civil Survey records Limerick estate at 6,971 acres plus five houses and gardens in Kilmallock, value £775.9.8(29). LoughGur castle withstood long siege before yielding September 1642(30).

- (1) Third son of Earl of Bath; GEC, Bath; life briefly recounted by J. Roberts, "Career of William Bouchier, third earl of Bath", Devon. Assoc., 102, 103 (1970/71); see also R. Langrishe, "The Bouchier tablet in the cathedral church of St Canice, Kilkenny, with some account of that family", JRSAI, 34, 35 (1904-05).
- (2) Details of castle 1584, P.R.O.I., M.5038, p.10; information on castle and surrounding antiquities, M.J. & C. O'Kelly, Illustrated Guide to LoughGur (Cork 1981).
- (3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, passim.
- (4) Ibid, pp.250, 383; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.299.
- (5) P.R.O.I., M.5039, pp.12-15; SP/63/133/7.
- (6) Cal.Pat.Eliz., p.79; SP/63/113/6, 14.
- (7) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.53; ibid, 1600, p.97.
- (8) Ibid, 1574-85, p.270; ibid, 1586-88, p.89.
- (9) APC, 1586-87, p.364.
- (10) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.90.
- (11) SP/63/141/57.
- (12) SP/63/144/23; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.258.
- (13) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.212.

- (14) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.527; Langrishe, "Bourchier tablet", states councillor from 1589, JRSAI, 35 (1905).
- (15) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.325; erroneous report that Bourchier killed at Blackwater, *ibid*, p.244.
- (16) *Ibid*, 1603-06, p.77.
- (17) *Ibid*, pp.314, 316, 343; P.R.O.I., IA/48/84, no.30; for Sir George Bourchier's sons, GEC, Bath.
- (18) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, pp.367, 428; *ibid*, 1611-14, p.130.
- (19) *Ibid*, 1608-10, pp.438, 442; *ibid*, 1611-14, pp.49, 62; petition of Capt. John Bourchier, 30 January 1610, SP/63/240; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.173.
- (20) Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.255; no full report in transcript of inquisitions, P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6.
- (21) GEC, Bath.
- (22) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.251; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.411; *ibid*, 1615-25, p.143.
- (23) Inquisitions, P.R.O.I., IA/48/84, no.30.
- (24) GEC, Bath; Alumni Dublinenses, p.83; brief sketch of Henry Bourchier's life in introduction by O'Brien, Advertisements, in mistaken belief Bourchier author.
- (25) R. Parr, The Life of James Ussher... (1686), *passim*.
- (26) GEC, Bath; B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.133.
- (27) *Ibid*, f.90; JRSAI, 54 (1924), pp.130-31.
- (28) GEC, Bath.
- (29) Civil Survey, 4, pp.36, 95, 100, 103-05, 130, 159, 162-63, 166, 206, 275, 278, 372, 375, 385, 392, 394.
- (30) Grosart, Lismore, 2, 5, p.102; B.L., Sloane MS 1008, ff.31-33v.

Mallow

Granted to Thomas Norris(1). Previous owner Sir John, brother of Earl of Desmond; situated mid Cork on Blackwater valley. Norris vice-president of Munster from December 1585 acting as brother's deputy. In November 1584 president Sir John Norris recommended escheated portions to be allotted for the presidency, naming Mallow among other lands. Request repeated 1586 and 1587(2). Thomas Norris awarded custodiam; but Mallow allotted to England attorney-general, John Popham, who received certificate March 1587(3). Same time Thomas Norris reported Popham wishing to withdraw and himself applied to be undertaker for Mallow(4). Letters patent to Thomas Norris of Mallow seignory 6,000 acres, c.1588(5). Norris knighted December 1588. In early 1589 seignory said to be well peopled(6). 1589 enquiry: no answer. Norris accused of favouring local inhabitants(7). He married Bridget, daughter of Sir William Kingsmill of Hampshire. Norris appointed lord president of Munster 1597. Seignory attacked in 1598, but castle, which Norris had built, not taken. Norris charged with pusillanimity in face of rebels. He died of wounds August 1599(8). Heir daughter Elizabeth, a minor(9). His widow submitted valuation of Mallow in 1599: demesne, 3,000 acres, 1,000 of which a park, rest enclosed; remaining 3,000 acres leased to value of £700 p.a. before the rebellion; claimed Sir Thomas had spent £5,000 on the undertaking(10). Lady Thomas Norris converted catholic by 1602(11). Wardship of daughter first to uncle Sir Francis Kingsmill, but regained by Lady Norris 1604(12). In 1606 Mallow castle well built but still unrepaired from rebellion(13). Elizabeth Norris married Sir John Jephson 1607. Jephson from Hampshire, a captain in Ireland during nine years war(14). Appointed member of Munster council 1607; Dublin council 1609(15). 1611 survey: owner, Sir John Jephson; demesne, 1,000 acres; three fee farms, 916; 12 leaseholders, 2,449; 25 copyholders; no land evicted; full rent(16). Later inquisition gives further details, October 1611(17). Regrant of Mallow seignory 1612(18). Jephson burgess in Mallow town charter 1612. Resident at

Mallow 1610s. Reconfirmed Mallow 1619(19). From 1620 onwards largely resident in England. MP in English parliament 1621; appointed to commission to survey Irish affairs 1622(20). 1622 survey: undertaker has "a goodly, strong and sumptuous house"; demesne 800 acres; four freeholders, 1,400; 30 leaseholders, 2,620; 57 copyholders; Mallow a fair town consisting of 80 sufficient English houses and inhabited with English (21). Seignory evaluated 1623, for Boyle's unsuccessful purchase attempt(22). Lady Jephson died July 1624 "and Sir John a sad man"(23). Regrant ordered of Mallow to Jephson 1630(24). In 1630 Jephson sold abbey lands in Limerick, inherited from Norris(25). From 1634-37 Boyle attempted again to buy Mallow, but refused Jephson's price of £18,000(26). Sir John Jephson died 1638. Son William inherited aged 28(27). MP in Long Parliament. In September 1641 removed family to Mallow(28). Position in 1641: seignory owned by William Jephson recently taken up residence. In size little changed from days of original grant. Mallow described as one street of near 200 English houses. Main castle said to be very strong and well appointed(29).

- (1) One of the famous Norris brothers; see DNB for himself and brother Sir John Norris lord president of Munster; in general for Mallow seignory, M.D. Jephson, An Anglo-Irish Miscellany (Dublin 1964); H.F. Berry, "The manor and castle of Mallow in the days of the Tudors", JCHAS, 2 (1892); "The English settlement in Mallow under the Jephson family", *ibid*, 12 (1906).
- (2) SP/63/112/78; 113/6; 115/41, 42; Oxford, Bodleian, Perrot MS I, ff.103-03v, 164v; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, pp.406-07; SP/63/123/47; 125/37; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.89, 125, 324.
- (3) SP/63/131/6; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.453; Popham from Wellington, Somerset, DNB, Hasler, Commons, 3, p.235.
- (4) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.278.
- (5) Date between May 1587 and December 1588, DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.76.
- (6) DNB; SP/63/141/57.

- (7) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.322, 430.
- (8) DNB; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.316, 323, 325, 391.
- (9) Her age variously said to be four and a half and 10 years at father's death, P.R.O.I., IA/48/65, end of vol., unnumbered inquisition concerning Jephson's abbey lands in Limerick (n.d.).
- (10) HMC, Salisbury, 9, p.390; B.L., M.485/14.
- (11) Cal.S.P.Dom., 1601-03, p.259.
- (12) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1603-06, p.163.
- (13) Ibid, p.469.
- (14) See above n.1.
- (15) B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.152v; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, p.218.
- (16) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.256.
- (17) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.21; Berry "English settlement", JCHAS, 12 (1906), p.9.
- (18) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.240.
- (19) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.303; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.483.
- (20) Ranger, "Boyle", pp.206-08.
- (21) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.96v; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.143.
- (22) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 13/179 (rental); 14/228; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, p.133; 2, 3, p.124.
- (23) Ibid, 2, 3, p.124.
- (24) Cal.Pat.Chas., p.562.
- (25) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 3, p.187; 1, 4, pp.122-23.
- (26) Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, first Boyle letter book, 1629-34, p.753; second Boyle letter book, 1634-41, pp.131-32, 172-73.
- (27) Inquisition, August 1638, P.R.O.I., IA/48/61, no.498; William Jephson, DNB.
- (28) H.W. Gillman, "The rise and progress in Munster of the rebellion 1642", JCHAS, 2 (1896), p.66.
- (29) Ibid, JCHAS, 1 (1895), p.542; Verney, Memoirs, 2, p.49.

Mayne (Meane, Mahoonagh)

Granted to Henry Oughtred(1). Previous owners Earl of Desmond and Limerick old English and Irish. Lands situated south east of Newcastle in Connello barony, Limerick(2). Oughtred prominent Southampton merchant and shipowner; previous interests in overseas exploration, privateering and piracy(3). Stepfather to Sir William Courtenay and uncle to Robert Strode, fellow Limerick undertakers(4). Strong links with Henry Billingsley, another Limerick undertaker(5). Oughtred organised syndicate of 18 as undertakers for Kerry and Limerick, May 1586(6). In June 1586 articles joined with Courtenay and Edward Unton as leaders of Connello undertakers(7). Oughtred crossed to Munster early 1587(8). Received certificate for full sized seignory May 1587(9). In early 1589 credited with 22 settlers(10). 1589 enquiry: two freeholders, 10 copyholders settled; undertaker's house half built; 1,000 marks already spent on project by Oughtred(11). In 1592 report credited with eight English tenants(12). Same year reported resident with family at Billingsley's house in Kilfinny seignory(13). Oughtred granted letters patent for 11,958 acres, February 1593(14). Knighted in Ireland 1594(15). Bought nephew Robert Strode's seignory of Beaully in 1595(16). Oughtred in Munster fairly continuously from 1592; built a fair house for his residence at Mayne(17). In 1598 seignory overrun. Oughtred and family fled to Limerick(18). Sir Henry Oughtred died at Limerick June 1599(19). Lady Oughtred in England December 1603(20). Before 1609 she sold Mayne and Beaully seignories to neighbouring undertaker, George Courtenay(21). 1611 survey: demesne 300 acres; two fee farms (one old English) 540; 12 leases (seven old English) 2,490; evicted from seignory 4,000 acres; rent abated(22). 1622 survey: demesne 60 acres, Mayne castle unrepaired; eight freeholders (two old English) 3,120; 16 leases (six old English) 3,240; four copyholders 540; two Irish tenants 99 acres(23). Position in 1641: seignory owned by George Courtenay, resident at Newcastle, Limerick.

- (1) Probable son of Sir Anthony Oughtred, Anderson, Letters, p.103n.
- (2) Around Desmond's manor of Mayne of which castle a shell by 1584, P.R.O.I., M.5038, pp.37-40.
- (3) Hasler, Commons, 3, p.539; sketch of Oughtred's Munster undertaking by Quinn, "Munster plantation", JCHAS, 71 (1966), pp.25-27; K.R. Andrews, Elizabethan Privateering (Cambridge 1964), pp.48, 202-05; Rabb, Enterprise, pp.152, 393.
- (4) Devon R/O, 1508 (M) Irish Deeds, 6; J. Roberts, "A notable Devon knight, Sir William Courtenay", Devonshire Assoc., 88 (1956); Oughtred brother-in-law and constant enemy of Marquis of Winchester, HMC, Salisbury, 13, p.230; Anderson, Letters, p.103n; GEC, Winchester.
- (5) In early plans often mentioned together; on Oughtred's first visit to seignory, took Billingsley's goods as well, Anderson, Letters, pp.105-06; later £600 in specie, APC, 1586-87, p.191; example of early amity, HMC, Salisbury, 13, p.231.
- (6) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.51; among names were following Oughtred relations: Courtenay, Strode, John Seymour and William Paulet, the last two probable relations by marriage, Anderson, Letters, p.103n.
- (7) SP/63/124/87.
- (8) Bureaucratic hindrances to his transportation recounted in Quinn, "Munster plantation", JCHAS, 71 (1966), p.26.
- (9) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.448; SP/63/131/6; allotted lands included Kilbolane subsequently granted to Hugh Cuffe.
- (10) SP/63/141/58.
- (11) Answered by Oughtred in London; agent in Limerick, SP/63/144/11, 11.1.
- (12) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.58.
- (13) Nottingham, Middleton MS Mi Da 57d.
- (14) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.219; Devon R/O, 1508 (M), Irish Deeds, 2.
- (15) Strictly between February 1593 and February 1594, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96, p.200.
- (16) Devon R/O, 1508 (M), Irish Deeds, 6.

- (17) APC, 1595-96, p.193; P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, Jas. I, no.6.
- (18) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.317, 325.
- (19) P.R.O.I., IA/48/84, Jas. I, no.15.
- (20) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1603-06, p.116.
- (21) SP/63/227/143; henceforth took name of George Oughtred Courtenay; for subsequent ownership see Newcastle seignory.
- (22) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.253.
- (23) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.91; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.134.

Molahiffe (Cosmaine)

Granted to Sir Valentine Browne and second son Nicholas Browne(1). Previous owners O'Donoghue Mor and MacCarthys; situated around Killarney, Kerry. Sir Valentine previous experience in Ireland as auditor in 1550s; in 1584 member of Munster survey commission. In 1585 MP Dublin parliament. Instrumental in framing articles of settlement and advising government on early plantation plans. Eventually became leading undertaker and head of Kerry planters 1586. On several commissions concerning Munster plantation(2). Nicholas Browne sheriff of Kerry 1586(3). Awarded Currans in early 1587 allotment but portion transferred to Charles Herbert(4). Brownes provisionally allotted Molahiffe lands but claimed by and restored to Earl of Clancare, who then granted property to Brownes by mortgage 1588; attempted redemption by subsequent MacCarthys until 1630s(5). Nicholas Browne disappointed in hopes of marriage to Clancare's daughter; instead married daughter of O'Sullivan Beare(6). Letters patent to Sir Valentine Browne and Nicholas Browne for seignory of 6,560 acres, 26 October 1588(7). Seignory reported to be "peopled"; and with 20 people, early 1589(8). 1589 enquiry: no answer. Sir Valentine Browne died February 1589(9). Nicholas Browne wrote interesting tract on Kerry political divisions 1597(10). Clancare survey, 1598, covered Browne lands(11). Seignory overrun in 1598(12). Nicholas Browne given a company 1601(13). Knighted. In September 1606 died in London, probably a catholic; left five sons and four daughters(14). Succeeded by son Valentine aged 10; wardship granted to Sir Geoffrey Fenton who sold to Thomas FitzGerald(15). Valentine Browne educated T.C.D., 1610; Gray's Inn, 1612(16). 1611 survey: owner Valentine Browne, minor; demesne 1,200 acres; brothers of Valentine fee farms 1,200; five leases 1,100; no copyholders; some Irish undertenants(17). In 1612 Crown rent lowered but Browne to perform plantation conditions within seven years(18). New survey and grant of seignory estimated at 3,280 acres, May 1612(19). Inquisition in 1618 revealed extent of Browne estates in Kerry: 162 ploughlands, of which seignory a

modest portion(20). On inheritance Browne found fault with past record of feoffees in trust(21). Regrant 1620(22). Created baronet February 1622 via offices of Boyle; cost to Browne of £400(23). 1622 survey: owner Sir Valentine Browne; three castles as residences; four freeholders, 1,500 acres; 41 leases (eight old English), 3,000+ acres; including demesne seignory about 6,000 acres; 40 good English houses at Killarney(24). Sir Valentine married 1) Elizabeth FitzGerald, daughter of attainted 14th Earl of Desmond; three sons, three daughters. 2) Shiela MacCarthy, daughter of Lord Muskerry; one son, two daughters(25). Children brought up catholics; Sir Valentine probably catholic(26). Sir Valentine Browne died at Mollahiffe, July 1633(27). Succeeded by son Sir Valentine(28). Crown officials frustrated by local juries over establishment of correct tenure(29). Sir Valentine Browne married Mary MacCarthy, sister of stepmother, 1635; two sons, two daughters(30). Regrant of lands July 1637(31). Sir Valentine Browne died apparently catholic in Kerry, April 1640. Succeeded by son Valentine aged two and a half(32). Scramble after wardship; unclear who finally obtained it(33). Position in 1641: owner Sir Valentine Browne, minor. Steward and overseer Edmund Hussey joined rebellion, as did Sir Valentine's uncles, Capt. James Browne and Nicholas Browne(34). Books of S and D record Sir Valentine Browne's lands in Kerry at 42,205 acres (of which 2,365 unprofitable)(35).

(1) Sir Valentine of Hoxton, Middlesex, and Croft, Lincs; eldest son of Sir Valentine Browne, Croft, Hasler, Commons, 1, p.506; family genealogy, A.R. Maddison, Lincolnshire Pedigrees (1902), p.180; Smith, Kerry, pp.39-46; Cusack, Kerry, pp.202-05; GEC Kenmare. Younger Sir Valentine married sister of Sir Nicholas Bacon.

(2) Chapters 1 and 2.

(3) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.314.

(4) SP/63/131/6; Currans seignory.

(5) Chapter 3.

(6) SP/63/140/7.

- (7) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.89; Cal.Pat.Eliz., pp.170-71.
- (8) SP/63/141/57, 58.
- (9) Will concerns dispersal of English estate alone; Irish lands already to Nicholas Browne who also received some property in England, P.R.O., PCC 35 Leicester; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.120; English inquisition, P.R.O., C/142/221/103; Sir Valentine's third son, Sir Thomas Browne, settled at Hospital, Limerick, and had three sons and five daughters married to English, Irish and old English; he died 1640, B.L., Add. MS 4820, f.25v.
- (10) J. Buckley, "Munster in AD 1597", JCHAS, 12 (1906).
- (11) Lambeth, Carew MS 625, ff.25v-42.
- (12) O'Sullivan Beare tells of heroic defence to death by Nicholas Browne at Mollahiffe, but probably transposes defence by ward at Castlemaine, Kerry, Byrne, Ireland, pp.116-17; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.325.
- (13) Ibid, 1601-03, p.61.
- (14) Portions of land left to all sons; money to daughters; will, July 1606, P.R.O.I., IA/48/109, no.15; inquisition 1607, ibid, IA/48/89, nos.5, 6.
- (15) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.92; P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16.
- (16) Alumni Dublinenses, p.105; D.F. Cregan, "Irish catholic admissions to the English Inns of Court, 1588-1625", Irish Jurist, 5 (1970).
- (17) P.R.O.I., IA/48/64, no.4; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.258.
- (18) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.253; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.248.
- (19) Ibid, p.236; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.138.
- (20) P.R.O.I., IA/48/64, no.10.
- (21) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 8/182, 200; 10/23.
- (22) Cal.Pat.Jas., pp.367, 479-80.
- (23) Ibid, p.519; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, p.29.
- (24) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.138; B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.94.
- (25) Ibid, 4820, f.32.
- (26) Difficult to determine: Sir Valentine not a member of Munster council, to be expected if protestant; yet reported anti-catholic, c.1630, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1647-60, p.141; it has been assumed all Brownes

catholics from first intermarriage with local Irish, Butler, Confiscations, pp.130-31.

- (27) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, p.103.
- (28) See indenture, December 1631, P.R.O.I., IA/48/107, no.348; *ibid*, IA/48/109, no.48; if all the Browne lines died in Munster, inheritance to go to William Browne of Croft, Lincs.
- (29) HMC, Egmont, 1, p.75.
- (30) P.R.O.I., IA/48/109, no.88; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 4, p.100.
- (31) P.R.O.I., IA/53/54, pp.412-16.
- (32) Will, April 1640, P.R.O.I., IA/48/109, no.88; will's five executors catholics; inquisition October 1640, *ibid*, IA/48/64, no.88; B.L., Add. MS 4820, f.40v.
- (33) Guardians appointed in will were executors and Earl of Ormonde; Earl of Cork advised to try for the wardship, Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 21/12. Sir Valentine Browne was sent to T.C.D. in 1650s, but 1658 inquisition described him as catholic, P.R.O.I., IA/48/89, no.1.
- (34) T.C.D., MS 828, ff.124, 199, 208, 251.
- (35) In addition Thomas Browne had 4,501 acres and Nicholas Browne 1,110 acres; total Browne holdings, including 13,999 acres in Cork, were 61,815 acres (of which 7,126 unprofitable) in 1641, P.R.O.I., Books of Survey and Distribution, Kerry, Cork.

Newcastle (Polycastro)

Granted to Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, Devon(1). Previous owners Desmond and Limerick old English; situated around Newcastle, Connello, Limerick(2). Courtenay stepson of Henry Oughtred, fellow Limerick undertaker(3). Member of Oughtred-led syndicate to plant Kerry and Limerick May 1586. With Oughtred and Unton appointed leader of undertakers for Connello in June 1586 articles(4). Allotted seignory in Connello before September 1587(5). No sign of settlement until 1590s. In early 1589 reported Courtenay not yet come over(6). 1589 enquiry: no answer; summary states seignory allotted but Courtenay never proceeded with the enterprise(7). Attitude soon reversed: applied for letters patent in 1590; granted for seignory of 10,500, September 1591(8). Doubtful if Sir William Courtenay ever lived in Munster; not in residence when seignory overrun 1598(9). In England December 1603(10). Bestowed seignory on third son George in early 17th century(11). Before 1609 George Courtenay bought Mayne and Beauily seignories from Lady Oughtred and henceforth took name of George Oughtred Courtenay(12). 1611 survey: demesne, 1,400 acres with fair castle and many houses; one fee farm, estimated 350 acres; eight leases (three old English/Irish) estimated 1,820; evicted from seignory 890 acres; rent abated(13). George Courtenay sheriff of Limerick 1613; responsible for controversial parliamentary election returns(14). Regrant of his three seignories ordered 1621(15). 1622 survey: demesne 240 acres with large repaired castle; 13 freeholders (three old English/Irish) 3,460; 18 leases (six old English) 4,600; 24 copyholders estimated 500 acres; sufficient houses; rent abated(16). George Courtenay married Katherine daughter and co-heir of Sir Francis Berkeley of Askeaton seignory; after death of her brother she succeeded to her quarter of Askeaton, 1626(17). Courtenay sold Askeaton property to Boyle for £850 in early 1630s(18). Sold approximately 10 ploughlands of Limerick lands to nine local buyers in 1620s and 1640/41 for estimated £2,000(19). Regrant of his seignories ordered 1628. Regrant from

commission for defective titles of seignories as three manors, 1638(20). George Courtenay reported crazy in 1639 but debility temporary(21). Had three sons: George, William and Francis; one son's estate reported to be worth £500 p.a. in 1640(22). Position in 1641: seignory owned by George Courtenay. Civil Survey records entire Limerick property to be 13,576 acres, value £2,216(23). George Courtenay died 1644(24); succeeded by William, died 1651, and Francis, died 1659, whereupon Limerick property reverted to Courtenays of Powderham, Devon(25).

- (1) E. Cleaveland, A genealogical history of the ... family of Courtenay (Exeter 1735); Roberts, "Sir William Courtenay", Devon. Assoc., 88 (1956); "Career of the third earl of Bath", *ibid*, 103 (1971); Courtenay had large financial resources.
- (2) Newcastle had been Desmond's principal manor in Connello; castle large with many buildings but ruinous after the wars, P.R.O.I., M.5038, p.33.
- (3) Cleaveland, Courtenay, p.296.
- (4) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.51, 89.
- (5) SP/63/131/6.
- (6) SP/63/141/57.
- (7) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.258.
- (8) APC, 1590-91, p.75; DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.167.
- (9) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.325.
- (10) *Ibid*, 1603-06, p.116.
- (11) Eldest son William served in Ireland; knighted 1599; died unmarried 1603; succeeded by second son Francis; their father, Sir William, married secondly a recusant 1598 and died a catholic in 1630, Roberts, "Sir William Courtenay", Devon. Assoc., 88 (1956); George Courtenay Lord Pembroke's page in 1600s, Cal.S.P.Dom., 1603-10, p.191.
- (12) See Mayne and Beaully seignories.
- (13) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.253; large discrepancies between calendar and transcription.

- (14) P. FitzGerald and J.J. McGregor, The history of Limerick (Limerick 1826), 2, appendix xlvihi; Cal. Pat.Jas., p.397; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, pp.360-64, 438-43.
- (15) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.512.
- (16) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.91v; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.134.
- (17) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, Chas. I, no.27; see Askeaton seignory.
- (18) Grosart, Lismore, 1, 3, p.192; N.L.I., MS 6897 (end of vol.),
- (19) Devon R/O, 1508 (M), Irish Deeds, 11-17, 18a-21; Begley, Diocese of Limerick, p.200.
- (20) Cal.Pat.Chas., p.336; P.R.O.I., IA/53/55, pp.52-54.
- (21) Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 20/55.
- (22) Ibid, 19/64; 20/152.
- (23) Civil Survey, 4, passim.
- (24) In 1642 reported George Courtenay, constable of Limerick castle, had there 1,000 foot of own tenants and two troops of horse, commanded by his sons, A great defeat given to the rebels in Ireland by master George Courtenay... (1642), V & A Library, Forster collection, 4472, Vol.2.
- (25) Lodge, Peerage, 6, p.18n.

Pollycurry (Robins Rock)

Granted to Arthur Robins(1). Previous owners James Barry, Richard Barrett and other old English; situated around Nohavel, 10 miles east of Kinsale, Cork. Robins a professional surveyor and measurer of lands; assisted on Peyton survey of Munster escheated lands 1584(2). On commission to divide and measure lands into seignories 1586. Continued measuring throughout 1587; instrumental in determining layout of future seignories(3). Became an undertaker by May 1587(4). Suspected of inaccurate measuring to favour fellow undertakers, but still employed by government(5). Allotted lands around Nohavel before September 1587(6). Letters patent for Pollycurry seignory estimated 1,800 acres(7). 1589 enquiry: no division to tenants because of land controversies; four English persons and 20 local families on land; two crops harvested(8). Arthur Robins died before December 1590; left seignory to Arthur Hyde the younger, son of Arthur Hyde undertaker in north Cork, in consideration for borrowed money. In 1589 suit by James Barry of Pollycurry for restoration of lands on account of special exemption from act of attainder. Favourable response by Privy Council, but Barry unable to enter until early 1592 because of Munster council's support of Hyde and consequent inaction. Hyde soon restored on false claim, but finally evicted and Barry repossessed 1596(9). Hyde continued as undertaker for remaining 1,200 acres. Did not reside since succeeded to father's seignory in north Cork(10). Seignory overrun in 1598. 1611 survey: owner Arthur Hyde; no demesne; three leases (one old English), 1,200 acres; Pollycurry evicted; full rent but unpaid for many years(11). 1622 survey: recital of original grant to Robins and loss of Pollycurry, but commissioners ignorant of subsequent fate of seignory(12). Between 1630-34 seignory sold to Thomas Daunt of Tracton abbey and Gortegrena(13). In 1638 regrant to Daunt of all seignory land minus Pollycurry; created manor of Nohavel(14). Position in 1641: seignory owned by Thomas Daunt of Gortegrena. Losses of £1,563 in depositions(15).

- (1) Origins unknown.
- (2) DKPROI, 15th Rep., p.59.
- (3) See above Chapter 2.
- (4) Signs Denny's certificate, Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.451.
- (5) SP/63/137/21; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.403.
- (6) SP/63/131/6.
- (7) [c.1588], DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.76.
- (8) SP/63/144/72.
- (9) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.231-32; ibid, 1588-92, pp.15, 206, 515; SP/65/13, no.4; SP/63/168/10.1 (p.234); APC, 1590-91, pp.119-20; ibid, 1591, p.311; ibid, 1591-92, p.42; ibid, 1592, p.75; ibid, 1596-97, p.78.
- (10) See Carrignedy seignory.
- (11) P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, no.16; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.256.
- (12) JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.144.
- (13) Inquisition for Daunt 1630 does not include any seignory land, P.R.O.I., IA/48/62, no.220; list of undertakers, pre 1634 probably 1631, has Daunt in possession, Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, p.377; Daunt descendant of one of original settlers under St Leger in Kerrycurrihy, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.199; Daunts from Owlpen, Glos, Ffoliot, Irish families; Burke's Gentry, p.215.
- (14) P.R.O.I., IA/53/55, p.108.
- (15) T.C.D., MS 824, f.127.

Rathurde (Annesley's Lot)

Granted to Robert Annesley of Newport Pagnell, Bucks(1). Previous owners Desmond and John Browne; situated close to Limerick city(2). Annesley army officer during Desmond rebellion(3). No information on initial participation. 1589 enquiry: no answer; not in summary. Robert Annesley granted letters patent for seignory of 2,599 acres, 22 October 1589(4). Lost land evicted in 1590s(5). No further information until 17th century. 1611 survey: owner Robert Annesley; no demesne; two freeholders; four fee farms, four ploughlands; evicted from seignory one and a half ploughlands; over half rent abated(6). Inquisition in 1616 reveals Annesley had sold most of seignory to Earl of Thomond and Limerick old English. Lands now claimed by Limerick corporation(7). Robert Annesley's eldest son Francis in Chichester's service 1600s; knighted 1616; senior Dublin official; created Lord Mountnorris 1629. No record of any involvement in remnant of father's seignory(8). 1622 survey: commissioners reported whole seignory sold in parcels; new owners unknown though two buyers James Gould and Donogh, Earl of Thomond; two tenants(9). Position in 1641: seignory sold to local buyers: six portions to Nicholas Bourke, James Gould's daughter wife to George Ingoldsby, Barnabus Earl of Thomond, James Bourke, Lady Castleconnell and John Creagh: total of 716 acres. Remaining buyers untraced(10).

- (1) Younger son of George Annesley of Newport Pagnell and Linford, Bucks, Dublin Genealogical Office, G.O., 205, p.96; Lodge, Peerage, 4, p.108; The visitation of the county of Buckinghamshire, 1634, Harl. Soc., 58 (1909), pp.141-42; GEC, Mountnorris.
- (2) Portions within city liberties, P.R.O.I., M.5039, pp.26, 130, 170; M.5038, p.97.
- (3) Lodge, Peerage, 4, p.108.
- (4) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.105.
- (5) SP/63/168/10.1; 172/30,58.

- (6) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.6; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.254.
- (7) P.R.O.I., IA/48/66, no.12; IA/48/84, no.29; copies, B.L., Add. MSS 31885, ff.202v-203; 47052, provisional no.44.
- (8) Sources in n.1 above place Francis as son and heir of Robert Annesley the undertaker; elsewhere stated Francis Annesley son of Thomas Annesley, High Constable of Newport Hundred and brother of the undertaker, G. Lipscombe, History of Buckinghamshire (1847), 4, p.280; DNB, Annesley.
- (9) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.93; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.136.
- (10) P.R.O.I., Books of Survey and Distribution, Limerick city liberties, Limerick; Civil Survey, 4, pp.474, 482.

1610, pp. 58, 369; 1610, 1568-92, p.237; Cal. Carew, 1575-84, p.450; SP/53/131/6; 139/70, 71; Carew states Ormonde chief rents in Kerry also granted to Ormonde but no evidence of possession; when claim made in 1660s by then Duke of Ormonde, based upon supposed Elizabethan grant, it was rejected. F. Carew, The Life of James Duke of Ormonde (Oxford 1851), 1, p.cv; Harvard, "Kerry", p.206.

141 CKPROI, 16th Sep., p.159; acreage underestimated; probable amount over 20,000 acres; no complete survey of Tipperary lands made. The 1386/87 commission being obstructed by local officers, Cal. S.P. Ire., 1386-88, p.376; 1610, 1568-92, pp.132, 257.

Swiffin (Mount Ormonde)

Granted to Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde(1). Previous owners Burkes and Desmond; situated in Clanwilliam, Tipperary, and county of cross of Tipperary. After Desmond rebellion, Ormonde claimed some of Tipperary lands as parcel of his palatinate. His faction in 1586 parliament forced promise from lord deputy that Ormonde's rights to Tipperary lands would not be compromised by acts of attainder(2). In June 1586 articles north west contingent of settlers allocated escheated lands in Tipperary as well as Limerick and Waterford. Certificate to Henry Slingsby February 1587 of Tipperary lands for 8,000 acre seignory. But earlier order that escheated land in Tipperary to be granted to Ormonde to hold as undertaker(3). 1589 enquiry: no answer. Letters patent granted to Earl of Ormonde for seignory of 3,000 acres 26 April 1591(4). In 1597 Ormonde lost 1,050 acres evicted(5). No further information on seignory until 17th century. 1611 survey: owner Earl of Ormonde; demesne 400 acres; fee farms 300; six leases 1,200; evicted 106 acres; small rent abatement(6). 1622 survey: not covered. Position in 1641: seignory owned by James, Earl of Ormonde(7).

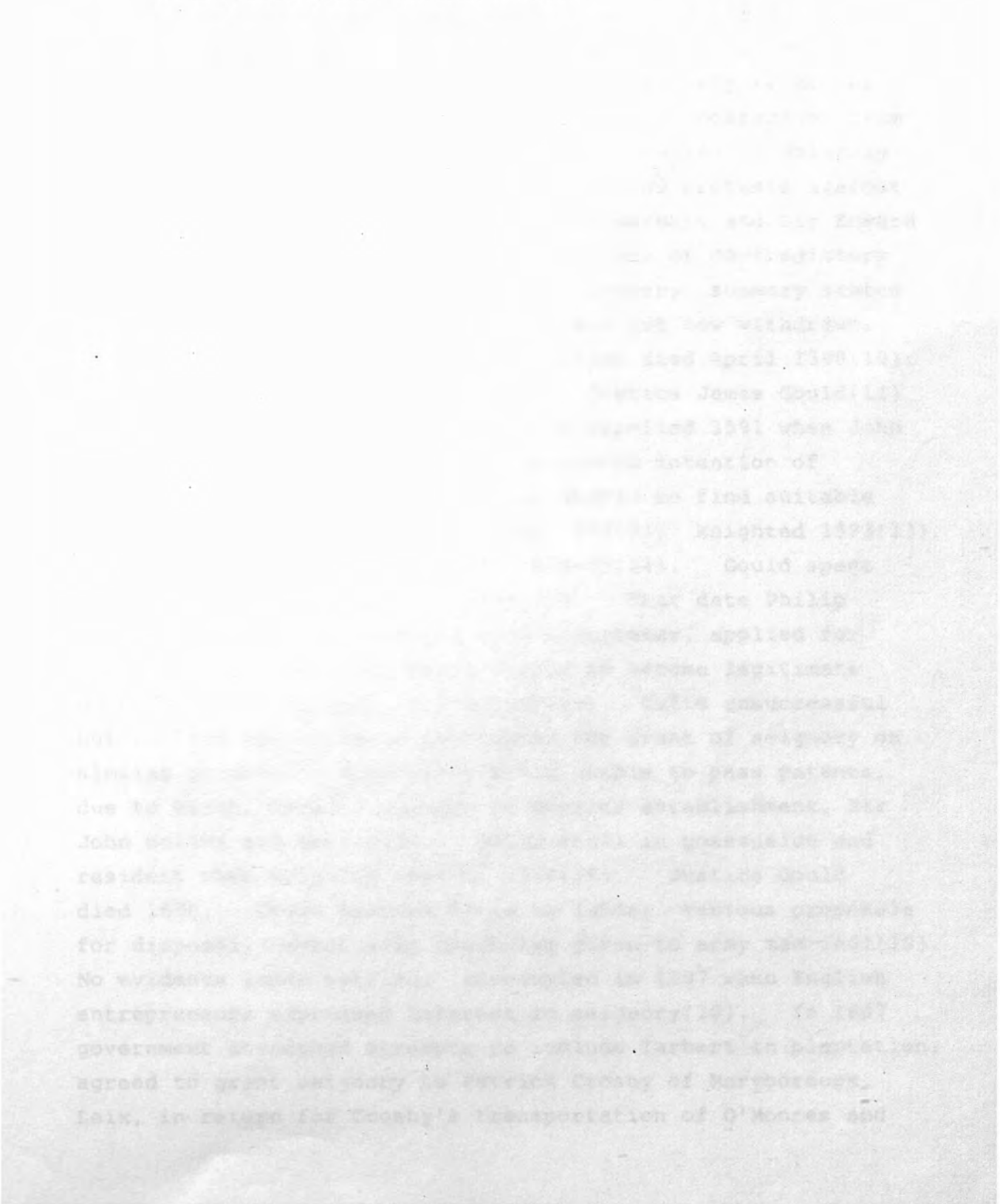
(1) DNB; GEC, Ormonde.

(2) SP/63/113/15; 114/53; 118/73; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, pp.52-53.

(3) Ibid, pp.88, 369; ibid, 1588-92, p.257; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.450; SP/63/131/6; 139/70, 71; Carte states Desmond chief rents in Kerry also granted to Ormonde but no evidence of possession; when claim made in 1660s by then Duke of Ormonde, based upon supposed Elizabethan grant, it was rejected, T. Carte, The Life of James duke of Ormonde (Oxford 1851), 1, p.cv; Barnard, "Petty", p.206.

(4) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.159; acreage underestimate; probable amount over 20,000 acres; no complete survey of Tipperary lands made, the 1586/87 commission being obstructed by Earl's officers, Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.276; ibid, 1588-92, pp.132, 257.

- (5) Case: APC, 1591, p.126; ibid, 1592, p.176; Cal. S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.16; Chatsworth Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, p.379.
- (6) Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.257.
- (7) Nine portions can be identified in Civil Survey, 2, giving total of 3,650 acres, but 16 portions of original grant unidentified.



Tarbert

In possession of Denzil Holles of Irby Lincolnshire(1). Previous owner Desmond; situated on Shannon estuary near Limerick border, Iraghticonnor barony, Kerry(2). Great contention over award of seignory(3). After wars custodiam to Sir Geoffrey Fenton; promised a grant 1585/86(4). Certificate of August 1587 included Tarbert in Sir William Herbert's portion; but area allotted separately to Holles before September 1587(5). Denzil Holles in possession from September 1587 as undertaker for 3,000 acres(6). Unlikely if Holles ever resident(7). In early 1589 protests against seignory lands withheld by Sir William Herbert and Sir Edward Denny; Herbert explains confusion because of contradictory certificates(8). 1589 enquiry: no answer; summary states Holles in possession for last two years but now withdrawn, disliking Crown rent(9). Denzil Holles died April 1590(10). No patent yet issued for seignory. Justice James Gould(11) quickly obtained possession 1590 but expelled 1591 when John Holles, son and heir of Denzil, announced intention of undertaking seignory(12). Holles unable to find suitable tenants 1592. Captain in Ireland 1593-94; knighted 1593(13). Sold seignory to Gould for £56, 1593-95(14). Gould spent £45 on buildings until June 1595(15). That date Philip Cuffe, brother of Hugh Cuffe Cork undertaker, applied for Tarbert on grounds that Gould unable to become legitimate undertaker, being born in Ireland(16). Cuffe unsuccessful but in 1598 Fenton again petitioned for grant of seignory on similar grounds. Apparently Gould unable to pass patents, due to birth, despite support of Munster establishment, Sir John Holles and Cecil(17). Gould still in possession and resident when seignory overrun 1598(18). Justice Gould died 1600. Crown assumed title to lands; various proposals for disposal; eventually custodiam given to army man 1601(19). No evidence lands settled; unoccupied in 1607 when English entrepreneurs expressed interest in seignory(20). In 1607 government abandoned attempts to include Tarbert in plantation; agreed to grant seignory to Patrick Crosby of Maryborough, Leix, in return for Crosby's transportation of O'Moores and

Leix Irish to Tarbert(21). Most transported by 1609(22). Grant to Patrick Crosby of manor of Tarbert at £5 p.a., June 1609(23). Patrick Crosby died October 1610; succeeded by son Pierce, prominent soldier(24). Some O'Moores clandestinely returned to Leix in 1610s(25). Before 1632 Sir Pierce Crosby sold Tarbert to alderman Dominic Roche of Limerick; some Leix Irish still on lands(26). Position in 1641: lands no longer considered plantation seignory. Owned by Dominic Roche, protestant in 1650s. Books of S and D record 4,047 acres (24 acres unprofitable)(27).

- (1) Eldest son of Sir William Holles of Houghton, Notts; detailed account of family in A.C. Wood (ed.) Memorials of the Holles family, 1493-1656 (Campden Soc., 54, 1937); Denzil Holles held lands worth £400 p.a. excluding main family estates held by father who died 1591; half of Denzil's lands came from mother's inheritance in Cornwall; see also GEC, Clare; Hasler, Commons, 2, p.330.
- (2) Castle gutted 1584; manor valued by 1584 commissioner at £70, P.R.O.I., M.5037, pp.20-21.
- (3) In first eight years claimed by Holles, James Gould, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Sir William Herbert, Sir Edward Denny and Phillip Cuffe.
- (4) SP/63/131/33; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, p.81.
- (5) Cal. Carew, 1575-88, pp.453-54; SP/63/131/6.
- (6) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.411; ibid, 1588-92, p.134; lands measured by Jobson 1586/87 at 3,762 acres; stated by Robins to be 2,020 plus waste; by Gould to be 4,000 acres; in 1631 put at 4,422 acres, SP/63/131/59; 133/96; APC, 1597-98, p.437; Chatsworth, Lismore MSS, Boyle patent book, p.379.
- (7) In early 1589 described as "now going over" but by this date was withdrawing from venture, SP/63/141/57; APC, 1590-91, p.113.
- (8) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.160; APC, 1587-88, p.320; SP/63/132/25; 144/2; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, pp.453-54.
- (9) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.258; Sir William Herbert said Holles gave up seignory out of pique at Denny retaining neighbouring land, SP/63/146/41.
- (10) Wood, Holles family, p.68.

- (11) Second justice of Munster 1589-1600; had petitioned for Munster escheated land, 1583, SP/63/99/5-10.
- (12) Ibid, 156/21; APC, 1590-91, p.113; ibid, 1591, p.249; when John Holles inherited from his grandfather, his estate £5,000 p.a., Wood, Holles family, p.94.
- (13) Ibid, chapter 12; APC, 1591-92, p.236.
- (14) SP/63/180/50; Holles claimed family spent £1,000 on Munster venture, HMC, Salisbury, 8, pp.246-47.
- (15) SP/63/180/50; Holles alleged claimed himself spent £1,000 on buildings, SP/63/184/3.
- (16) SP/63/180/50.
- (17) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1598-99, pp.81, 142, 145-56, 220, 247, 391, 426; SP/63/184/3; APC, 1597-98, p.437; HMC, Salisbury, 8, pp.246-47, 262.
- (18) "Sir Geoffrey Fenton may have seignories now good cheap", wrote Gould after October 1598, Cal.S.P. Ire., 1598-99, pp.282, 325.
- (19) William Stafford served 1601-03; discharged 1603 and returned to England, ibid, 1601-03, passim; ibid, 1600, pp.343-44; APC, 1600-01, pp.397-98.
- (20) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, p.125.
- (21) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.115; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, p.140; Crosby of Irish descent (which he attempted to conceal) but a protestant, ibid, 1600-01, p.118; ibid, 1601-03, pp.195-96; Smith, Kerry, p.54 and Lodge, Peerage, 3, p.321 accept his claim to be an Englishman from Crosby, Lancs.
- (22) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, pp.95, 140, 190-91, 194, 221, 245, 362, 444, 464-65; ibid, 1608-10, pp.216, 240, 247, 264.
- (23) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.141.
- (24) Inquisitions, P.R.O.I., IA/48/89, no.7; IA/48/64, no.3.
- (25) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1608-10, p.453; ibid, 1615-25, pp.121, 395; ibid, 1625-32, p.389.
- (26) Knowler, Strafford, 1, p.69.
- (27) P.R.O.I., Books of Survey and Distribution, Kerry.

Tralee (Denny Vale)

Granted to Edward Denny of Bishop's Stortford, Herts(1). Previous owner Earl of Desmond; situated coast of Kerry(2). Denny previous interest in Irish colonisation and overseas exploration(3). Arrived in Ireland with lord deputy Grey 1580. Army captain; fought in Desmond rebellion(4). With Sir Francis Walsingham, cousin, allotted Tralee early 1587. Denny in possession by March; certificate May 1587(5). Efforts as undertaker praised September 1587(6). Letters patent to Edward Denny for seignory of 6,000 acres plus Desmond's Kerry services, 27 September 1587(7). Knighted 1588; sheriff Kerry 1589. Early 1589 report that seignory well settled(8). Continual quarrels with Kerry undertaker Sir William Herbert(9). 1589 enquiry: seignory divided: three freeholders, three leases, 12 copyholders, 12 cottagers; Denny and freeholders well stocked(10). Denny on Azores expedition 1591; throughout 1590s largely absentee(11). In 1592 four tenants listed(12). Seignory overrun 1598. Denny's house in Tralee Abbey and 50 English houses ruined(13). Sir Edward Denny died February 1600 in England(14). Son and heir Arthur Denny, minor. Widow petitioned for relief: claimed Sir Edward's losses in Ireland to be £2,450; Tralee residence to cost £600 to repair; plea for rent reduction(15). Arthur Denny living in Kerry from 1605. Further petitions for rent reduction accepted 1609(16). 1611 survey: demesne 900 acres; three fee farms, 910; 24 leases; 17 small tenures; many Irish undertenants; rent abated(17). In 1612 Denny surrendered rights of Desmond's services; confirmed by inquisition 1613(18). Appointed burgess of new corporation Tralee 1612(19). Accusations of sharp tactics against tenants(20). Arthur Denny lived at Carrignafeely; married Elizabeth daughter of Miles Forest of Marbourne, Huntingdon(21). Journeyed to England for cure to sickness 1617(22). Arthur Denny died July 1619 in Kerry. Succeeded by son Edward, 14 years; wardship granted to Sir Robert Loftus(23). Arthur Denny's widow married Thomas Harris, son of Sir Edward Harris, chief justice of Munster (24). 1622 survey: seignory held by Harris in

right of wife; five freeholders, 1,050 acres; 20 leases, 2,410; 15 copyholders; 80 new houses, 32 of which in Tralee(25). Edward Denny married Ruth Roper daughter of Lord Baltinglass 1625. Knighted 1626. Rebuilt great castle of Tralee and lived there from 1628(26). Sir Edward Denny sheriff 1634; made contentious return of county MPs(27). Regrant of seignory 1639(28). Denny's household possible puritan inclinations(29). Position in 1641: seignory owned by Sir Edward Denny. Stepfather Sir Thomas Harris commanded Tralee castle in long 1642 siege while Denny with lord president at Cork(30).

- (1) Married daughter of Piers Edgecumbe, Cornwall; Denny youngest son of Sir Anthony Denny one of Henry VIII's courtiers and Privy Councillor, DNB; for Edward Denny (born 1547), GEC, Norwich; Hasler, Commons, 2, p.29; H. Denny, "Pedigree of some East Anglian Dennys", Genealogist, N.S., 38 (1922), p.20; "Biography of Sir Edward Denny", E. Herts. Arch. Soc. Trans., 2, pt.3 (1904), pp.247-60; Hickson, Kerry records, pp.136-42.
- (2) Castle ruined, 1584, P.R.O.I., M.5037, p.10.
- (3) Intended to join Essex in Ireland 1573; sailed with Sir Humphrey Gilbert 1578; both Gilbert and Raleigh first cousins, above n.1.
- (4) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1574-85, pp.249, 389; related by marriage to Grey.
- (5) SP/63/131/6; Cal. Carew, 1575-88, p.450; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.278; excellent map of Tralee seignory 1587, P.R.O., MPF 309.
- (6) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1586-88, p.410.
- (7) DKPROI, 16th Rep., p.39.
- (8) GEC, Norwich; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.160; SP/63/141/57.
- (9) See Chapter Three.
- (10) SP/63/144/10, 24; Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, p.169.
- (11) HMC, Salisbury, 10, p.59; Denny MP in England 1593 and 1597, Hasler, Commons, 2, p.29.
- (12) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1592-96; in Denny's case the number must refer to leaseholders only.

- (13) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1600, p.366; Stafford, Pacata Hibernia, 1, p.102; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.136.
- (14) GEC, Norwich.
- (15) HMC, Salisbury, 10, p.59; 15, p.114; 16, pp.325, 429-30; B.L., M.485/22; APC, 1600-01, p.103.
- (16) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1606-08, pp. 256-57, 393, 558; ibid, 1608-10, pp.121, 190; Cal.Pat.Jas., p.135; B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.113.
- (17) P.R.O.I., IA/48/64, no.4; Cal. Carew, 1603-24, p.258.
- (18) Cal.Pat.Jas., p.252; P.R.O.I., IA/48/64, no.8.
- (19) Cal.S.P.Ire., 1611-14, p.303; unlikely to have been provost, pace Cusack, Kerry, p.241.
- (20) B.L., Harl. MS 697, ff.113, 170v; Chatsworth, Lismore Papers, 6/93; APC, 1616-17, pp.221, 403.
- (21) Howard, Genealogica, 3, p.76; Caulfield, Kinsale, p.342.
- (22) B.L., Harl. MS 697, f.113.
- (23) Howard, Genealogica, 3, p.76; Hickson, Ireland, 2, p.102; Grosart, Lismore, 1, 1, p.250; Cal.Pat. Jas., p.557.
- (24) Harris from Corworthen, Devon, Caulfield, Kinsale, p.342; Howard, Genealogica, 3, p.76.
- (25) B.L., Add. MS 4756, f.93v; JRSAI, 54 (1924), p.136.
- (26) Howard, Genealogica, 3, p.76; GEC, Norwich.
- (27) Smith, Herbert corres., p.81.
- (28) P.R.O.I., IA/53/55, pp.86-88.
- (29) From 1640 tutor to Denny's sons was Devereux Spratt, later an independent minister, Spratt, Autobiography, p.9.
- (30) T.C.D., MS 828, ff.124, 127, 255 (Lady Harris' deposition for £2,000 losses including jointure of £500 p.a.).

TABLE ONE: POPULATION IN 16th CENTURY

	A	B	C	D	E
Ardagh	-	-	-	-	-
Askeaton	-	(30)	-	20	21
Ballygibbon	20	5	0	4	8
Ballymacdonnell	-	-	-	-	-
Beauly	-	-	-	-	-
Carrigaline	-	145	145	50	-
Carriglemlery	-	0	0	-	-
Carrignedy	24	50	40	40	48
Castleisland	-	20	-	25	35
Castlemahony	12	10/6	6	6	-
Castletown	-	-	-	-	-
Clandonnell Roe	-	-	-	5	-
Cloghley	22	(25)	6	6	-
Corgrig	37	24/14	14	14	21
Currans	-	6/50	50	15	-
Dunnaman	-	-	6	6	4
Fedamore	-	-	6	6	9
Inchiquin	-	147/65	120	110	-
Kilcolman	-	6	-	6	-
Kilfinny	137	40/35	36	35	66
Killorglin	-	-	-	1	1
Kilmore	74	21	21	21	-
Kinalmeaky	-	2	-	25	-

	A	B	C	D	E
Knockainy	60	54/70/14	24	15	20
Knocknamona	200	30/20	20	20	-
Lough Gur	-	7	8	8	-
Mallow	-	-	-	12	-
Mayne	22	12	-	8	8
Molahiffe	20	-	-	20	-
Newcastle	-	-	-	-	-
Pollycurry	-	4	-	4	-
Rathurde	-	-	-	-	-
Swiffin	-	-	-	-	-
Tarbert	-	-	-	-	-
Tralee	-	24/30	30	30	4
Total:				512	245

A - Popham/Fitton report, early 1589. People. SP/63/141/58.

B - Undertakers' answers to 1589 enquiry. Various units: people, tenants, etc. SP/63/144-46.

C - Summary of answers 1589. Various units. SP/63/147/51.1. (Cal.S.P.Ire., 1588-92, pp.257-58)

D - Modern estimate of households in 1589.

E - Commission's report, 1592. Tenants.

TABLE TWO: POPULATION IN 17th CENTURY

	A	B	C	D	E
Ardagh	6	-	25	-	10
Askeaton	38	87	45	-	55
Ballygibbon	-	7	4	-	-
Ballymacdonnell	15	19	21	-	10
Beaully	4	(Incorporated Newcastle seignory)			
Carrigaline	23	31	-	-	40
Carriglemlery	8	16	-	-	-
Carrignedy	-	-	-	-	-
Castleisland	15	21	18	-	23
Castlemahony	73	57	381	594/629	600
Castletown	2	16	34	80	70
Clandonnell Roe	1	-	-	-	-
Cloghley	-	-	-	-	-
Corgrig	20	30	43	-	42
Currans	16	23	23	-	25
Dunnaman	1	7	-	-	-
Fedamore	5	5	2	-	7
Inchiquin	79	480/522	195	906/935	900
Kilcolman	6	-	18	-	10
Kilfinny	32	56	137	-	118
Killorglin	6	9	6	9	10
Kilmore	10	31	23	-	30
Kinalmeaky	72	58	142	-	178

	A	B	C	D	E
Knockainy	3	9	60	-	70
Knocknamona	22	34	-	-	25
Lough Gur	-	24	14	-	20
Mallow	44	32	83	100	160
Mayne	7	(Incorporated Newcastle seignory)			
Molahiffe	10	20	84	98	95
Newcastle	7	55	95	160	150
Pollycurry	2	-	-	-	-
Rathurde	1	2	2	-	6
Swiffin	-	10	-	-	-
Tarbert	-	-	-	-	-
Tralee	45	29	72	86	90
Total:	573	1210	1527	2097	2744

A - Recorded English tenants and undertenants, 1611 inquisitions, P.R.O.I., IA/48/59, 64, 66, 69.

B - Musters, 1611, Cal. Carew, 1603-24, pp.253-58, 88-91, 121-22.

C - Recorded total residents, 1622, B.L., Add. MS 4756, ff. 88-97v.

D - Musters, 1622, *ibid*; additional figures for Boyle's musters, Grosart, Lismore, 1, 2, pp.52, 54.

E - Modern estimate for English households in 1622.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>APC</u>	<u>Acts of the Privy Council of England</u>
B.L.	British Library
<u>Cal. Carew</u>	<u>Calendar of the Carew MSS</u>
<u>Cal.Pat.Eliz.</u>	<u>Calendar of patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland, Elizabeth</u>
<u>Cal.Pat.Jas.</u>	<u>Calendar of Irish patent rolls, James I</u>
<u>Cal.Pat.Chas.</u>	<u>Calendar of patent and close rolls of chancery, Charles I</u>
<u>Cal.S.P.Dom.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, domestic</u>
<u>Cal.S.P.Ire.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland</u>
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
<u>EHR</u>	<u>English Historical Review</u>
<u>HMC</u>	<u>Historical Manuscripts Commission</u>
<u>IHS</u>	<u>Irish Historical Studies</u>
<u>JCHAS</u>	<u>Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society</u>
<u>JRSAI</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</u>
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, England
<u>Proc.RIA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</u>
P.R.O.I.	Public Record Office, Ireland
T.C.D.	Trinity College, Dublin

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Add. MS 48017	Miscellaneous
Cotton MS Titus B.12	Early plantation plans
Egerton MS 80	Miscellaneous
Harleian MS 35	Tract by Herbert ("Croftus")
Harleian MS 697	Munster Council Book
Harleian MS 1877	Early plantation plans
Harleian MS 2048	Exports
Harleian MS 3292	Miscellaneous
Lansdowne MS 57	Munster commission 1588
Lansdowne MS 78	Miscellaneous
Lansdowne MS 238	Tract by Bacon
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Sloane MS 4786	Early plantation plans
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HCA/30/636	Abraham voyage
P.C.C. MSS	Wills
C/142	Inquisitions
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MPF	Maps

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