

## Documents from the Thomond Papers at Petworth House Archive<sup>1</sup> [with index]

The Petworth House Archive (PHA) is an important and under-exploited repository for research into seventeenth and eighteenth-century Co. Clare. Petworth House, the historic seat of the earls of Egremont, holds primary source material relating to the estates of the earls of Thomond in North Munster, chiefly for Co. Clare but also Co. Limerick and Co. Tipperary. The material preserved at Petworth contains a range of material including estate management documentation, correspondence, accounts, legal papers, military, parliamentary papers, family history, maps and surveys.<sup>2</sup> Only a small proportion of the tens of thousands of documents in the archive relate to the earls of Thomond's Irish estates and the surviving 'Thomond papers' probably represent only a fraction of the original collection, loss and damage having taken its toll. Not all of the Thomond material is listed in the current Petworth catalogue; a large portion of the material is still available only in an unpublished early nineteenth-century manuscript catalogue.

For historians of Gaelic Ireland the Thomond papers are noteworthy as they contain detail on landholding at different social levels; key legal instruments such as inquisitions post mortem of Connor O'Brien (1581) third earl of Thomond, and Donough O'Brien (1624) fourth earl of Thomond, are preserved in the archive, along with petitions and leases of Gaelic freeholders. Freeholders of sept-lineages petitioned for restoration of their lands as they were increasingly disenfranchised in the new landholding matrix of seventeenth century Co. Clare. Such petitions provide a unique window on change in the decades following the Nine Years War. Thus Petworth House Archive is an important repository of seventeenth century material relating to Co. Clare, much of it unavailable elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> The value of the material does not simply lie in the contents of the documents themselves; many of the manuscripts also retain their original wax

- 1 The author is grateful for the assistance in the preparation of the paper by Brian Ó Dálaigh, Martin Breen, Dr Brendan Kane of the University of Connecticut and Alison McCann of the West Sussex Record Office. The author also wishes to acknowledge and thank Lord Egremont for his permission to reproduce material from the Petworth Archive.
- 2 Francis W. Steer & Noel H. Osborne (eds), *The Petworth House Archive: Vol 1: a Catalogue*, (West Sussex County Hall, Chichester, 1968), pp v-vi.
- 3 Some of the material from the Petworth House Archive has been microfilmed and is available for consultation at Co. Clare Library, Ennis.

seals. The manuscripts are available for public consultation only at the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester.<sup>4</sup>

This article pays particular attention to four documents from the Thomond papers at Petworth House Archive. As will be seen, they demonstrate the utility of the collection in understanding the critical juncture of 1581–1624 when the earldom of Thomond was held by Donough O’Brien, fourth earl. Donough, a loyalist and a principal architect of the transformation of Thomond from a Gaelic feudal polity to a shired county, was a scion of the ruling O’Brien (Uí Bhriain) dynasty which had renounced its claim to kinship under Henry VIII’s so-called ‘Surrender and Regrant’ scheme in 1543. The anglicisation process in Thomond has been explained primarily by exogenous factors such as the incorporation of market towns and settlement of English and Dutch planters.<sup>5</sup> The value of the Thomond Papers at Petworth is that the transition process which accelerated after the death of Connor O’Brien, third earl in 1581, can be elucidated by rare documentation issuing from both sidelined Gaelic septs and the small clique of Gaelic magnates who adjusted to the new political realities.<sup>6</sup>

The corpus of material that relates to the lesser Gaelic families of Thomond is particularly deserving of publication, not least on account of the social and economic information it contains. For example, the presence of specialist learned families such as the Uí Mhaoilchonaire, Mhic Bhruaidealha and Mhic Fhlannchadha is documented in various legal papers where they appear as witnesses and local officials of the earl of Thomond. Documents with unique references to landholding arrangements, kinship ties and local authority are reproduced here in full. Excerpted references from various documents are also presented.

### Thomond Papers at Petworth

The Thomond papers deposited in the Petworth Archive originate from the senior lineage of the O’Brien family (who claimed descent from high king

4 Documents in the Petworth Archive are available only by prior arrangement (two weeks in advance) with the archivist at the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester. Lord Egremont’s permission is needed for publication of all PHA documents

5 See, for example, Bernadette Cunningham, ‘Newcomers in the Thomond Lordship, c.1580–c.1625’ in *Dal gCais*, xi (1993), pp 103–111. In 1606 the earl of Thomond was commended by English officials for entertaining and receiving ‘as many English as he can any way draw unto him, and uses them so well that many resort thither’. Rev. C.W. Russell (ed.) *Calendar of the State Papers Relating Ireland of the Reign of James I: 1606–1608*, (London, 1874), p. 34

6 The issue of Gaelic magnates successfully adjusting to the increasingly fluid land market of the 1620s and 1630s *vis-à-vis* lesser sept-lineages is taken up by Patrick Nugent. Nugent labels lesser sept-lineages as ‘tradition-bound’ and characterized by communal land holding arrangements and generally located not in the ‘domain core’ of the Shannon estuarine lands from Ennis to Donass, but in the peripheral areas north of the domain. Patrick Nugent, ‘The interface between the Gaelic clan system of Co. Clare and the emerging centralising English nation-state in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century’ in *Irish Geography*, xl, 1 (2007), pp 79–98, pp 88, 95.

Brian Bóroimhe) relocating from their Irish estates, centred on the manor of Bunratty, to England. Bunratty Castle had originally passed from Clann Mhic Chonmara to the dynastic lineage of the Uí Bhriain during the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> As a chief dynastic family of north Munster since medieval times, the Uí Bhriain retained their prominence and independence as the ruling family of the Thomond Gaelic lordship until Murchadh Ó Briain renounced his claim to kingship and was created first earl of Thomond and first baron Inchiquin, in 1543.<sup>8</sup> It was not until Donough O'Brien, known to the English as the 'Great Earl',<sup>9</sup> firmly allied himself as a loyalist and supporter of English law and administration and commander of royal forces during the Nine Years War (1595–1603), that the former kingdom of Thomond underwent anglicisation.

During the Irish Confederate Wars (1641–1652) Barnaby O'Brien, sixth earl of Thomond, left Co. Clare after the surrender of Bunratty Castle to a Parliamentary force in 1646 and joined his wife and son Henry at Great Billing in Northamptonshire.<sup>10</sup> After the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, Barnaby's son Henry, the seventh earl of the Thomond, inherited his father's estate in Thomond which amounted to 85,000 acres in Co. Clare.<sup>11</sup> From this point the earls of Thomond held substantial interests in England and had become absentee landlords to their Irish estate, residing at Great Billing. In 1741 Henry O'Brien, eighth earl of Thomond,<sup>12</sup> died without issue and left his Irish estates to his nephew Percy Wyndham, son of his wife's sister. As a condition of the bequest, Percy was required to take the additional name of O'Brien and was created earl of Thomond and baron of Ibracken in 1756.<sup>13</sup> On the death of Percy without issue in 1774, the title of earl of Thomond became extinct and the estates passed to his nephew George Wyndham, third earl of Egremont.

Some of the documents contained in the Petworth House collection have been catalogued and are available for public consultation at the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester.<sup>14</sup> The Petworth House catalogue is testimony

7 George U. Macnamara, 'Bunratty, Co. Clare' in *Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society*, iii, 4 (1915), pp 220–286, p. 267. The background to this transfer is obscure and subject to conjecture. The annals of Friar John Clyn record that Bunratty was destroyed by a joint Mac Conmara and Ó Briain attack in 1332: 'Eodem vero tempore, castrum de Bonrat (quod multorum iudicio inexpugnabile videbatur); per O'Brein et Mc Nemare destruitur'. Annals of Friar John Clyn, *sub anno*, 1332.

8 John Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1961), no.885 [1 July, 1543], p. 272.

9 Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'From Gaelic Warlords to English Country Gentlemen: The O'Briens of Thomond 1543–1741' in *The Other Clare*, xxv (2001), pp 40–42, p. 41.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

11 *Ibid.*

12 Henry was created Viscount Tadcaster in 1714 and served as MP for Arundel 1710–1714 and Lord Lieutenant of Essex in 1722–1741.

13 *The Petworth House Archive: Vol 1: A Catalogue*, p. viii.

14 See *Ibid* and subsequent volumes (2–4) detailing the full archival collection. The fifth volume is available only in electronic form.

to the extent of the archival holding. The first volume (of five) was catalogued and published in 1968, and contained 2,050 entries covering 15,237 documents.<sup>15</sup> The catalogue of the main body of Irish interest material is still available only in a manuscript catalogue compiled in the early nineteenth century. Other contemporaneous manuscript sources useful for the study of early modern Co. Clare include the published *Inchiquin Manuscripts*,<sup>16</sup> invaluable in identifying Gaelic sept-lineages. The *Inchiquin Manuscripts* touches on leases, rental ledges and legal agreements for the barony of Bunratty and complement material in the Thomond papers at Petworth. The publication, in 1826, of James Hardiman's *Ancient Irish Deeds*,<sup>17</sup> which contains translations of Irish language sources such as *Suim Cíosa Ua Briain*<sup>18</sup> (rental of O'Brien) and *Suim Tigerna Meic na Mara*<sup>19</sup> (rental of lord McNamara) as well as 'brehon decrees' and land deeds, provide a corpus of documents for Gaelic nomenclature and toponymy. Added to this list is Seán Ó hÓgáin's *Conntae an Chláir*, which faithfully reproduces Gaelic genealogies from manuscripts and cogently identifies the progenitors of many local families in Co. Clare.<sup>20</sup>

Valuable sources for the study of Gaelic lordships include the 218 inquisition post mortem cases published by James Frost in 1893<sup>21</sup> prior to the destruction of the originals in 1922, the fragmentary survival of Chancery Pleadings<sup>22</sup> and Irish Fiant Rolls,<sup>23</sup> official correspondence in the *Calendar of State Papers of Ireland* and the *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*,<sup>24</sup> and the 1585 *Compossicion Booke of Conought*.<sup>25</sup> Other ancillary documents available to the historian of the lordships of Thomond and Clanricard include the 1585 list of 'the names of all the mackes and oes within the provenance [*sic*] of Connaught and Thomond'<sup>26</sup> held at the Archiepiscopal Library at

15 *Ibid.*, p. iv.

16 John Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts*.

17 James Hardiman (ed.), 'Ancient Irish Deeds and Writings Chiefly relating to Landed Property from the Twelfth to Seventeenth Century: With Translation, Notes and a Preliminary Essay' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, xv (1826) pp 1–95.

18 *Ibid.*, pp 36–43. Possibly of fifteenth century date.

19 *Ibid.*, pp 43–49. Possibly from the mid-fourteenth century.

20 Seán Ó hÓgáin, *Conntae an Chláir: a tríocha agus a tuatha*, (Baile Átha Cliath, 1938).

21 See James Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, (re-print), (Dublin, 1973), pp 268–337.

22 *Chancery Bills: Survivals from pre-1922 Collection*, [abstracted index] National Archives of Ireland.

23 *The Irish fiants of the Tudor sovereigns during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip & Mary, and Elizabeth I*, (Dublin, 1994).

24 *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509–1596*, (5 vols) preserved in the State Paper Department of H. M. Public Record Office, (London, 1860–1890) and J.S. Brewer & William Bullen Esq. (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1515–1624*, (6 vols, London, 1867–73).

25 A. Martin Freeman, (ed) *The Compossicion Booke of Conought*, (Dublin, 1936).

26 Lambeth Palace Library, Carew Ms 614 f. 25 [microfilm].

Lambeth Palace in London, and the Carew Manuscripts also at Lambeth, which contain genealogical and historical material relating to Munster.<sup>27</sup>

Several inquisition documents of the earls of Thomond are lodged at Petworth. Inquisitions investigated land title to ascertain whether any revenues or debts were owing to the crown on the death of a proprietor and served a broader purpose of recasting customary relationships to reflect common law feudal arrangements.<sup>28</sup> The inquisitions post mortem of Conor O'Brien, third earl of Thomond, dated 8 August 1581 (PHA Ms 1140) and Donough (Donat) O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond, dated 4 January 1624 (PHA Ms 1141) represent important touchstone documents for research into early modern Co. Clare. Likewise, the inquisition taken into the lands held by Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond, (PHA Ms B.26.T.16) on 1 April 1619<sup>29</sup> is of significance to understanding the landholding matrix of Co. Clare as this inquisition details lands claimed by freeholders as their hereditament.<sup>30</sup> Useful information can be gleaned from these for research into seventeenth-century Co. Clare. We read in an excerpt of the 1624 inquisition post mortem of Donough O'Brien the rent-charge levied on land quarters by the earl that was initially set down in the 1585 Composition Agreement:

...De et quarter terr in Rathmolanbegg quinque solid de et quatuor quarter terr in Ballysallagh five vigint solid & et ...de ex quarter terr in Carrigouran quinque solid ...et ex quarter terr in Urlinbegg quinque solid et ex quarter terr in Urlinmore quinque solid<sup>31</sup>

[the quarter of land in Rathmolanbegg [pays] five shillings and four quarters of land in Ballysallagh [ie. east and west Ballysallagh]<sup>32</sup> [pays] 20 shillings ... and the quarter of land in Carrigouran [pays]

- 27 See, for example, genealogical details of Gaelic families contained in Lambeth Palace Library, Carew Ms Vol. 599, f. 1r [microfilm] and Carew Ms Vol. 626.
- 28 On the role of inquisitions and their locations see Patrick Nugent, 'The interface between the Gaelic clan system of Co. Clare and the emerging centralising English nation-state in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century', pp 82–83.
- 29 An abstracted version of this inquisition is printed in John Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inquisition Manuscripts*, p. 325 [no. 1011].
- 30 An inquisition published by James Frost and dated 19 January 1622 sets out the names of the lands granted, by letters patent, to the earl of Thomond. The inquisition also details those lands contested by the Bishop of Killaloe and Mac Conmara Fionn of Dangan-i-viggin and other freeholders who claimed lands as their hereditament. James Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 295.
- 31 'Inquisition Post Mortem of Donough O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond', [1624] (PHA, Ms. 1141) [large rolled manuscript page five, top third of page].
- 32 East Ballysallagh was known as 'Ballysallagh mcEnerhine' in 1586 as the principal lineage of Clann an Oirchinnigh were seated there and had proprietorship of lands in Kilnasoolagh, Quin and Clonloghan parishes. On the 1586 inquisition into the lands of John McNamara, Lord of West *Clann Chuiléin* see Luke McNerney, 'The West *Clann Chuiléin* Lordship in 1586: Evidence from a Forgotten Inquisition' in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, viiii (2008), pp 33–62.

five shillings and the quarter of land in Urlinbegg [pays] five shillings, and the quarter land in Urlinmore [pays] five shillings].

The foregoing recalls the rent-charge of five shillings and that the lordship over these lands was taken by the earl of Thomond, being one of the reasons which prompted John McNamara to complain to Lord Burghley in 1588–9 that the earl had usurped his right of lordship over lands in the barony of Bunratty in the aftermath of the Composition Agreement.<sup>33</sup> Jurors scribed in inquisitions are a microcosm of the Gaelic social order. The line-up of members of the Gaelic learned class in what would be one of the last legal documents from Co. Clare to do so in such an extensive manner, reflect a bygone age where ruling Gaelic families patronised native learning. Customary officeholders such as *seanchaidhe*, *filedh* and *breitheamhan* are encountered in the 1619 inquisition under the guise of jurors:

Johan Mac Nemary de Montallon	Boetis Clanchy de Ballydonoghoro
Hugo Norton de Liffer <sup>34</sup>	Connor Roe mcTeige de Smithetowne
William Starkey de Dromolin <sup>35</sup>	Edmond O Hogan de Moehill <sup>36</sup>
Johan Mac Nemary de Ballynahinsy	Conor McRory de Corbally
Thady Mac Brody de Lettermoelane <sup>37</sup>	Terence McMorogh O Bryen de Cahermonagh
Hugo Mc Cruttin de Clandoyne <sup>38</sup>	Donat Clanchy de Donmacfelim

33 R.W. Twigge, 'Materials for a History of Clann Cuilein', p. 192 (BL, Twigge Collection, Add Ms 39260).

34 As New English tenants the Nortons were prominent in local administration and the mercantile elite of seventeenth century Ennis. Hugh Norton was appointed as the first provost of Ennis 1612, and Samuel Norton was recorded as a burgess in that year. 'Liffer' is the modern Lifford in Drumcliffe parish and a suburb of Ennis. See *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reigns of James I, 1611–1614*, (London, 1877), p. 293. Brian Ó Dálaigh, (ed.), *Corporation Book of Ennis*, (Dublin, 1990), p. 388.

35 From 1614 William Starkey was leasing Dromoland from the earl and he appeared in the 1626 rental of the Thomond estate as holding Dromoland (PHA Ms C27/A 39), [1626].

36 Edmond O Hogan belonged to the Uí Ógáin family of Rathblathmaic termon whose chief representative, Edmund McHugh O'Hogan, was recorded in 1641 as 'payeth a yearly chiefry to ye See of Killaloe' at ". Uí Ógáin and Uí Chiaróg lineages of Rathblathmaic termon held positions of high status on account of their ecclesiastical connections. On the Uí Chiaróg see Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, (Dublin, 1940), p. 311.

37 The McBrodys (Mhic Bhruaideadha) based at Littermoylan in Inchiquin barony were historian-chroniclers (*seanchaidhe*) and were active as a learned family when one of their members composed a praise-poem for Mathghamhain Ó Briain in c.1365–69. Littermoylan townland no longer exists but encompassed townlands around Slieve Callan in Inagh parish. See Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'The Origins of Clann Bhruaideadha' in *Éigse xxxi* (1999), pp 121–130, p.121.

38 The Mac Cruitín were recorded in the Irish annals with 'Kellach Mac Curtain, Chief Historian of Thomond' dying in 1376. The Mac Cruitín specialised in *seanchas* and were skilled in music, as an annalistic entry from 1404 testifies. Hugo Mc Cruttin of 'Clandoyn' (unidentified) was probably Hugh Cruttyne who held 'Tromroe' (modern Tromra) in Kilmurry Ibrickan parish in 1615. See 1615 survey of Barony of Ibrickan, PHA, Ms C.27.A.60.

Donat Clanchy de Urlan	William mcTeige O Neland de Clonine <sup>39</sup>
Thady McMahone roe de Moghan	Jacobi Comyne de Donbegg <sup>40</sup>
Teige mcDonogh Mc Nemary de Moyreske	

The jurors' names help in understanding Gaelic nomenclature and toponymical information phonetically recorded in Jacobean English. Though fraught with inconsistencies, the spellings of Gaelic names by English officials prior to the great vowel-shift of seventeenth century English often preserved local pronunciations and idiosyncratic dialectic differences.<sup>41</sup>

The 1624 inquisition post mortem is also instructive in its list of jurors. Some of the lettering is illegible, but a selection of the jurors recorded testifies to the presence of hereditary Gaelic office holders:

Johan McNemarra of Mountallan<sup>42</sup>  
Boetius Clanchy of Knockfine<sup>43</sup>  
Donat Clanchy de Urlin<sup>44</sup>

*Annals of the Four Masters, sub anno, 1376, 1404.*

- 39 The O'Neylans (Uí Nialláin) were physicians to Earls of the Thomond. See Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'Doctors Donnell and James Neylond and the O'Briens of Thomond 1530–1599' in *The Other Clare*, xv (1991), pp 15–19.
- 40 The Comyn family were an Old English family long settled in Limerick. One the earliest references to them dates from 1306 when William Comyn of Ballygriffin succeeded his kinsman and namesake William. A genealogy of the family can be found in R.W. Twigge, 'Materials', (BL, Twigge Collection, Add Ms 39270, OO [large roll]).
- 41 K.W. Nicholls, 'The Protean placename' in John Carey, et. al., (eds), *Cín Chille Cúile: Texts, Saints and Places: Essays in Honour of Pádraig Ó Riain*, (Aberystwyth, 2004), pp 226–233, p. 226.
- 42 This was Sir John McNamara of Mountallan, who died 18 May 1632 without a male heir. John McNamara of Danganbrack and Boetius Clancy of Knockfin both featured as trustees in Sir John's legal conveyances. James Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, pp 318–319.
- 43 The McClanchys (Mhic Fhlannchadha) were a brehon (*breitheamhan*) lineage with branches in Killilagh parish and Tradraigue. Boetius Clanchy was an ally of the fourth Earl of Thomond, and represented Co. Clare at Perrott's Parliament in 1585 and was county sheriff in 1588. Boetius, seated at Knockfin in Killilagh parish, achieved notoriety by his attacks on Armada survivors. His correspondence to Sir Richard Bingham, written from the fields of Liscannor in west Co. Clare in September 1588, provides a first-hand account of the Spanish ships off the Co. Clare coast. Boetius was also forwarding reports from Nicholas Cahan of ships in the vicinity of 'Carrik ne Cowly'. The Gaelic annals place Boetius Clanchy's death as 1598, so the Boetius Clanchy mentioned here was the son of Boetius (d. 1598). *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reigns of Elizabeth*, 1588, August–1592 September (London, 1885), pp 29–31; *Annals of the Four Masters, sub anno 1598*; see also the Mac Fhlannchadha pedigree in R.W. Twigge, 'Materials', (BL, Twigge Collection, Add Ms 39270, EE [genealogical pedigree: large roll]).
- 44 Donat Clanchy was the chief representative of the Tradraigue branch of Siol Fhlannchadha and was recorded in the 1585 Composition Agreement as 'Donough mc Glanchi of the Urlin chief of his name'. See A. Martin Freeman (ed.), *The Compossicion Booke of Conought*, p. 11.

Johan McNemarra de Danganbrack<sup>45</sup>  
 Mauris O Milcounry de Shandangan<sup>46</sup>

The inquisition also is of interest due to its physical characteristics; the parchment is emboldened with a decorative heading complete with a well-preserved great seal.

Other important documents found amongst the Thomond papers include the 1626 rental of Henry O'Brien, fifth earl of Thomond (PHA Ms C27/A 39)<sup>47</sup> which details castles, lands and tenants on the Thomond estates in Co. Clare. The value of the 1626 rental lies in comparing the 1570 and 1574 castle lists<sup>48</sup> for Co. Clare with the 1626 rental to track proprietorial changes. The 1615 survey of the Thomond estate (PHA Ms C.27.A.60)<sup>49</sup> in the Barony of Ibrickan records the chief tenants and rents due and provides information that can be adduced regarding local toponymy: all sixty three quarters of Tuath Uí Bhracáin are accounted for and their proprietors recorded. A number of petitions and papers collectively throw light on land title and settlement of disputes in seventeenth century Co. Clare.<sup>50</sup>

45 John was the son of Seán Mac Conmara Fionn, Lord of west Clann Chuiléin (d.1602). R.W. Twigge, 'Materials', (BL, Twigge Collection, Add Ms 39260), p. 208.

46 This is Muiris Ó Maolchonaire, the professional poet-chronicler (*filíocht* and *seanchas*), who received as part of the 'forced exchange' of lands by the fourth Earl of Thomond, Shandangan in Kilmurry parish for Ardkyle in 1618 (PHA, Ms 5402).

47 Petworth House Archive, 'An abstract of such rents and renewes as doe belonge to the right Hon. Henrye Earle of Thomond [1626]', (PHA, Ms No. C27/A 39).

48 Martin Breen, 'A 1570 List of Castles in County Clare' in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, xxxvi (1995), pp 130–138 and R.W. Twigge, 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574' in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, i, 2 (1910), pp 75–85.

49 1615 Survey of the Barony of Ibrickan, (PHA, Ms C.27.A.60).

50 Examples to point to here include: 'Abstract of Patents granted to ye Earl of Thomond, reciting from 1 July 1543 to 7 March 1621/2' (PHA Ms 3081); 'Answers of the Earl of Thomond or Lord Inchiquin's claim to advowsons in Co. Clare' (PHA Ms 3181, 3182); 'Draft answer of Henry, Earl of Thomond to the bill of complaint of Thomas Comnyne alleging theft of wines' (PHA Ms 3200); 'Bill of complaint, answer and replication in suit, William Turvin v. Donnogh McMorrogh concerning right to operate ferries across the River Shannon between Limerick and Clare', post 1623 (PHA Ms 3195–3197); 'Petition of Samuel Mosely, vicar of Catherlogh, in suit, v. Sir Barnaby O'Brien, arising out of land alleged to be glebe, with writ, 18 July 1625' (PHA Ms 3902–3904); 'Papers in suit, Robert Sibthorpe v. Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Rowland Delahoyde and Nathaniel Lodge concerning the advowson of Tradery, Co. Clare', c.1630–35 (PHA Ms 1207); 'Papers concerning alleged unlawful seizure by Sir Daniel O'Brien, High Sheriff of Co. Clare, and Donnell O'Mulconery, sub-Sheriff, of the property of the murderers of James Morris which was claimed by Henry, Earl of Thomond', c. 1636–7 (PHA Ms 3917); 'Petition of Conell O Hehir of Rahmary, co. Clare, to the Earl of Thomond seeking restoration to him of lands held in wardship, during petitioner's minority by William Brikdall' (PHA, Ms 3959).

### Miscellaneous Petitions at Petworth

Other documents not reproduced in full here are touched upon as they also concern land proprietorship. For example, the letter missive from the Lord Chancellor of Ireland concerns the complaint of Patrick O’Meere regarding the possession of termon lands at Drumcliffe.<sup>51</sup> This document serves as a reminder of the role that coarbial families such as the Uí Mhaoir played in Co. Clare prior to the reformation. In the case of the Uí Mhaoir coarbs, their presence at Drumcliffe can be identified from frequent references to clerics of the family in the fifteenth century Papal Registers.<sup>52</sup>

Many traditional clerical families remained *in situ* on church lands after the establishment of the Church of Ireland, and actively petitioned Protestant bishops concerning their hereditary right to proprietorship of church lands. Consider the petition of Conor Kerroge recorded in Edward Worth, Bishop of Killaloe’s c.1661 account book. Conor claimed proprietorial interest over church lands at Rath parish, noting that his ancestors (the Uí Chiaróg) ‘for many years were tenants to ye Bishop...and y<sup>t</sup> his ancestors were clerkes to ye parish of Rath’.<sup>53</sup>

Interesting facts can be gathered from the 1634–5 letter missive of Patrick O’Meere regarding the seven quarters of Drumcliffe. The termon lands were leased by Mauritius (Murchadh) O’Brien, Bishop of Killaloe, to Daniel Neylan, Bishop of Kildare (d. 1603) for 99 years at a nominal rent before it was assigned to the fourth earl of Thomond.<sup>54</sup> The lease was proved invalid and surrendered to Lewis Jones, Bishop of Killaloe in 1634 who leased the lands to Boetius Clancy at £40 per annum. Patrick

- 51 See ‘Letter missive of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to the Earl of Thomond concerning the complaint of Patrick O’Meere; with answer’, c.1635–6 (PHA Ms 3915).
- 52 See, for example, the tussle over Drumcliffe rectory between a cleric of the secular Uí Ghriobhtha lineage and the Uí Mhaoir coarbs in 1443. ‘Lateran Regesta, 403: 1443–1444’, *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 9: 1431–1447* (1912), p. 371. On the identifiable coarbial families of Co. Clare see Dermot Gleeson, ‘The Coarbs of Killaloe Diocese’ in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxxix (1949), pp 160–169.
- 53 See Ms 1777, ‘Typescript copy of a survey of lands in the diocese of Killaloe made for Bishop Worth, 1661’, transcribed by (Rev) James B. Leslie (National Library of Ireland, 1936), p. 24. The original can be accessed at the library of the Representative Church Body, Dublin (Ms D.14/1).
- 54 This is cited in the letter missive: ‘part of the inheritance and demesne lands anciently belonging of the Bishopric of Killaloe, and that Daniel formerly Bishop of Kildare being possessed of the same by lease...to him thereof past and made by Mauritius sometime Bishop of Killaloe’. ‘Letter missive of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to the Earl of Thomond concerning the complaint of Patrick O’Meere; with answer’, c.1635–6, (PHA 3915). See also Rev. Philip Dwyer, *The Diocese of Killaloe from the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century*, (Dublin, 1878), p. 329. According to a 1625 Chancery Pleading the 7 quarters of ‘Dromcleiffe’ were the ‘ancient inheritance of the Earl of Thomond’ and that Henry O’Brien, fifth Earl of Thomond, holds no lease to the lands by Bishop of Kildare to whom the lands were initially demised by Mauritius Bishop of Killaloe. The fourth Earl of Thomond had thought to surrender the lands and accept a re-grant by letters patent. *Chancery Bills: Survivals from pre-1922 Collection*, No.131 [13 February 1625] (National Archives, Dublin).

O'Meere's complaint referred to his family (Uí Mhaoir) being tenants on the termon lands prior to the original lease made to the Bishop of Kildare.<sup>55</sup> The claim by O'Meere was launched as a suit at the Chancery Court probably under the auspices of the Earl of Thomond but was dropped when the earl and Bishop of Killaloe reached an agreement, presumably leaving O'Meere without recompense.<sup>56</sup>

Two other documents concerning alleged dispossession of freeholders' land by the fourth earl of Thomond can be profitably investigated. A petition from 1622 by Owen O Mallouny (PHA Ms 3193, 3194) that he, being a 'poor man', had as his demesne the half plough lands of Ballybrukan (Ballybroughan, Kilfintinan parish). In his appeal to the Lord Deputy he asked to be admitted as 'forma pauperis' and be appointed legal counsel in order to pursue his claim against the earl. A largely illegible letter entitled 'the answer of Owin O Mullowny' (PHA Ms 3194) notes that the aggrieved state of the petitioner, Owen O Mallouny, and that 'he will go to any summary counsel before the Judges' and, in the opinion of the author of the letter which was probably an official of the Lord Deputy, O Mallouny was 'purposely sett [*sic*] on to the claim, having one with case'.

Appeals to the Lord Deputy and the Court of Equity by Gaelic freeholders seeking redress was noted by German settler Matthew de Renzy who was surprised at the tenaciousness which freeholders pursued legal cases,<sup>57</sup> unsurprising given the high stakes involved in pursuing claims against titled magnates such as the earl of Thomond, who is aptly referred to in Owen O Mallouny's petition as 'a mighty adversary'.<sup>58</sup> It appears that Owen O Mallouny was successful in his petition as an 'Owen O'Molowney' was recorded proprietor of Ballybroughan and Kilmacreagh in Kilfintinan parish in 1641.<sup>59</sup> A similar petition concerning dispossession of John

55 The relevant section reads: 'O'Meere in the bill mentioned seised in his demesne unto him from his ancestors of the said town and lands,' *Ibid*.

56 Rev. Philip Dwyer, *The Diocese of Killaloe from the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century*, p. 329. On a different view on the Patrick O'Meere case see Dermot Gleeson, 'The Patron Saint of Dromcliffe' in *Molua* (1958), p. 47. Also see the Chancery Pleading by supplicant Patrick O Meere which mentions that the supplicant's father, [Donogh] 'was thrust out [with]...his family' by the commandment of Donough O'Brien, fourth earl. See *Chancery Bills: Survivals from pre-1922 Collection*, [G1] [undated] (National Archives, Dublin).

57 Mary O'Dowd, 'Gaelic Economy and Society' in Ciaran Brady & Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society 1534:1641*, (Dublin, 1986), pp 120–147, p.142. De Renzy was born in Cologne in 1577 and worked as a cloth merchant in Antwerp until he moved to London around 1604. He relocated to Ireland in 1608 where he lived for some time with the Mac Bruaideadha historian-chroniclers in Co. Clare from whom he learnt Irish. In this respect, he was atypical of most planter families given his engagement with Gaelic *literati* lineages such as Clann Bhruaideadha. See Brendan Ryan, 'A German Planter in the Midlands' in *History Ireland*, viii, 1 (Spring, 2000), pp 7–8, p. 7.

58 (PHA Ms 3193). The section reads: '[the] petitioner is a poor man unable having no means to sue his said land against such a mighty adversary and for that also he was thereof unlawfully dispossessed' [spelling modernized].

59 R. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution* [Vol. 4, Clare], (Dublin, 1967), p. 179.

McNemarra's lands at 'Ratifellan' (Rathfolan, Kilnasoolagh parish) by the fourth Earl of Thomond in 1623 mentions the presence of a watermill on his estate (PHA Ms 3186, 3187).<sup>60</sup> A favourable resolution must have been reached for Rathfolan Beg was in McNamara possession in 1641.<sup>61</sup>

Petitions by freeholders lodged in the Petworth Archive are not solely concerned with dispossession of ancestral lands by the fourth earl of Thomond. Petitions show that Henry O'Brien, fifth earl of Thomond, also had suits against him by freeholders described as 'poor and illiterate'.<sup>62</sup> We read a petition dated 1635 by Brien mcTerrelagh McBrien to the Lord Deputy who was aggrieved by the attacks of the earl of Thomond's servants on his tenants at Gortrahmorroghoe.<sup>63</sup> The petition is illuminating in its detail concerning the scene of the attack. The bailiffs of the earl came upon the petitioner's tenants when they were ploughing his lands and, threatening to take away the plough and garrons (Irish horses), caused the tenants to 'surrender and leave of their said intended work and for peace of their said throats' after which they fled to their houses causing the petitioner great 'loss and damage, he being but a poor and illiterate man'.<sup>64</sup> The petition requested that the lord deputy command the high sheriff to keep the petitioner, Brien mcTerrelagh McBrien, in possession of his land until the legal proceedings concluded and a precautionary order issued in the event of the earl's bailiff evicting the petitioner.

A final petition worthy of note is that of the Old English family of Fanning.<sup>65</sup> The Fannings, a Limerick merchant family, shared similar characteristics to other Old English families with landed interests in east Co. Clare such as the Arthurs, Coymns, and the native Gaelic merchant

60 The mill was located at Grannaghan in Tomfinlough parish. The petition relates to various lands in Quin, Tomfinlough and Kilconry parishes in the hands of John McNamara, son of Donogh McNamara of Rathfolan. Donogh died in c. 1606 leaving his son John nine months old and his inheritance being 'held of the right honourable Earl of Thomond' who later granted it to Sir John McNamara knight and others. John McNamara disputed the possession of some of the lands by the Earl seemingly on the basis that he was of lawful age to be seised of his father's lands.

61 R. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p.157.

62 It is uncertain whether the terms 'destitute' and 'poor and illiterate' refer to the social position of small freeholders or their immediate circumstance. As proprietors with some land they were not on the bottom rung of the social hierarchy and had the wherewithal to launch proceedings against the earl of Thomond. Whether it was their immediate circumstances of financial pressure that made them destitute or longer-term trends such as the fluidity of the land market and changing landholding matrix in east Co. Clare, it is certain that even from the mid-sixteenth century lesser sept-lineages were already experiencing difficulty in maintaining their social position. This accounts for the frequency in mortgage arrangements amongst members of sept-lineages to ensure some, albeit reduced, proprietorial interest in their former estates.

63 This place cannot be positively identified.

64 'The humble petition of Brian McTorlogh mcBrien a poor man', [Dublin Castle, 19 June 1635] (PHA Ms 3910).

65 'Hon. Earle of Thomond v/s ffannings and the aquavite' (PHA Ms 3923) [May 2 1638]

family of Creagh.<sup>66</sup> Based around Kilfinaghta parish the Fannings prospered on the back of an emerging, but still nascent, market economy of the early decades of the seventeenth century. Constituting a new class of prosperous tenants on the estates of the earl of Thomond, these families were poised to take advantage of financial distress of smaller Gaelic freeholders slow to adapt to the changed conditions and ostensibly altered landholding matrix<sup>67</sup>

In 1638 Henry O'Brien, fifth earl of Thomond, complained against Simon Fanning and petitioned to prevent his sons George and John Fanning selling aquavit in Co. Clare. In the lifetime of Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond, Simon Fanning procured a grant by letters patent for the license of wine and aquavit in Co. Clare which he sold in Ennis, Clare, Bunratty and Sixmilebridge. Simon Fanning's sons held an interest in the licence but part of Simon's interest in the license was conveyed to the earl whose interest apparently descended to his heir Henry O'Brien. After the earl died in 1624 Simon Fanning intended to 'defeat the supplicant [Henry O'Brien] of the benefit of that grant...in his Majesty's Court of Exchequer'. Henry O'Brien was claiming that the license lawfully descended to him, by virtue of his father's interest. Records of small scale production of aquavit date from the mid-fifteenth century, one of which is listed amongst a mortgage of lands of David O'Ferala in 1458.<sup>68</sup>

The Fanning petition is valuable beyond exposing the earl of Thomond's dealings with freeholders and Limerick merchants. The petition contains rare information on the presence of light industrial activity and the marketing of goods in early seventeenth-century Co. Clare.<sup>69</sup> It also touches on those elements of the market economy generally mentioned by historians only in passing: the role of territorial magnates in promoting, and controlling, systems of market exchange and the ever-increasing export trade of commercialised agriculture and small scale local production in a regional

66 See Rev. Patrick Woulfe, *Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall: Irish Names and Surnames*, [Genealogical Publishing Company re-print] (Baltimore, 1969), pp 224–25, 236–7, 239, 285–286.

67 Patrick Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare and their territories 1100–1700 A.D.* (Dublin, 2007), p. 201. Evidence on the scope of land transactions between the Old English merchant class and Gaelic freeholders and also between New-English and Dutch settlers and native landowners can be profitably gleaned from James Frost's abstracts of Co. Clare inquisitions. See James Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, pp 267–337.

68 James Hardiman (ed.), 'Ancient Irish Deeds and Writings Chiefly relating to Landed Property from the Twelfth to Seventeenth Century: With Translation, Notes and a Preliminary Essay', pp 50–51.

69 The production of aquavit is not mentioned in the accounts of the Corporation of Ennis for the early seventeenth century after the town was granted a weekly market in 1609 and received incorporation by royal charter in 1613. The 1642 Protestant Depositions can be used as a proxy for identifying industrial activity. The deposition of Dutchman James Vandelure of Sixmilebridge cites two water mills, a mill for bark, a malt house and a tan yard. Brian Ó Dálaigh, (ed.), *Corporation Book of Ennis*, p. 15; TCD, *Deposition of James Vanderlure Ms 829*, ff 061r-062v, [24 August 1642].

and national network of mercantile activity.<sup>70</sup> It is also significant that the earls of Thomond had developed interests in the commercialisation of alcohol and sought to retain their trading monopoly, especially in the newly incorporated towns of Clare, Ennis and Sixmilebridge.<sup>71</sup>

This article presents four transcribed documents from the Petworth Archives. The state of preservation of the documents transcribed here varies; there are difficulties deciphering chancery hand and archaic abbreviations; documents are damaged and folded. As a rule larger documents such as inquisition material are generally legible. The documents have been edited for ease of reading and the spelling modernised and contractions silently expanded. Placenames and personal names, however, retain their original spelling (see appendices).

### Daninel (Daniel) O Mulconnery's Petition, 1638

The background to this petition<sup>72</sup> is that as a learned lineage the Uí Mhaoilchonaire held their principal estate at Ardkyle on lands of the Mac Conmara Fionn lordship of west Clann Chuiléin (upper and lower Bunratty).<sup>73</sup> Ardkyle is mentioned in the 1586 inquisition into the lands of John McNamara, lord of west Clann Chuiléin, and in common with the customary privileges of the Gaelic *literati* was held free from impositions

70 Gaelic lordships embraced proto-commercial policies in the later middle ages such as granting of trading privileges to merchants for financial return and, the case of the Mac Conmara lordship of east Co. Clare, monopolising their strategic position between Galway and Limerick which depended on the Gaelic hinterland for imports of hides and corn. Gearóid Mac Niocaill, 'Land Transfer in Sixteenth Century Thomond: The Case of Domhnall Óg Ó Cearnaigh' in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, xvii (1975) pp 43–5, p. 5. Also see Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'A History of Urban Origins and Village Formation in County Clare' in Matthew Lynch & Patrick Nugent (eds), *Clare: history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish County* (Dublin, 2008), pp 105–135. On the creation of markets see Patrick O'Flanagan, 'Markets and Fairs in Ireland 1600–1800: Index of Economic Development and Regional Growth' in *Journal of Historical Geography*, xi (1985), pp 364–378.

71 The development of markets and urban centres is a feature of the anglicisation process of Co. Clare and the chief manifestation of the 'plantation' of New-English and Dutch settlers in the newly incorporated market towns of Clarecastle (1606), Ennis (1609), and Sixmilebridge (1618). On the change of settlement activity in Munster wrought by New-English colonization such as communications, bridges, prevalence of domestic architecture and planting of orchards see Michael McCarthy Morrogh, 'The English Presence in Early Seventeenth Century Munster' in Brady & Gillespie, *Natives and Newcomers*, pp 171–190; *Report of Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of the Fairs and Markets in Ireland*, [1674], HC 1852–3, XLI, p. 66. On Sixmilebridge and the colonisation of Protestant settlers see Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'A history of Sixmilebridge, county Clare, 1603–1911' in Karina Holton, Liam Clare & Brian Ó Dálaigh (eds), *Irish Villages: Studies in Local History*, (Dublin, 2004), pp 243–280.

72 'The humble petition of Daninel oge O Mulconnery', [1638] (PHA Ms 5402).

73 The Uí Mhaoilchonaire produced bardic poetry (*filíocht*), a profession that they initially perfected in Roscommon where they served as master poets to the ruling Uí Chonchobhair dynasty. From c.1231 to 1482 the Uí Mhaoilchonaire of north Roscommon provided the hereditary *ollamh* to the ruling Uí Chonchobhair dynasty. Daniel P. Mc Carthy, *The Irish Annals: Their Genesis, Evolution and History*, (Dublin, 2008), p. 12.

and billeting.<sup>74</sup> The Thomond branch of the Uí Mhaoilchonaire at Ard Kyle were descended from the two sons of Torna Óg Ó Maolchonaire, Seán and Muiris, who flourished in the sixteenth century<sup>75</sup> making their presence in Co. Clare new in comparison to other families of native learning long settled in the county: Mhic Bhruaidealha, Mhic Chraith, Uí Íceadhá, Uí Nialláin, Uí Dhuibhdábhoireann, Mhic Chruitín, Uí Dhálaigh and Mhic Fhlannchadha.

The Uí Mhaoilchonaire of Ard Kyle are credited with penning several manuscripts in the sixteenth century and members of the family served as legal notaries.<sup>76</sup> We find Ilund O Molchonre of Ard kyll as a juror on the 1586 inquisition into the lands of John McNamara held at Galway.<sup>77</sup> Ilund, the son of Seán who held Rossmanager tower-house in Feenagh parish in 1570,<sup>78</sup> is known for his collaborative work with the Uí Dhuibhdábhoireann family in c.1569 on the law manuscript now known as Egerton 88 and also in copying the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* saga at the Uí Mhaoilchonaire school of history and poetry at Ard Kyle.<sup>79</sup> Gilla na Naomh Ó hUidhrín's poem *Tuilleadh feasa ar Éirinn Óigh* ('Further knowledge on young Ireland') and the now lost *Leabhar Oiris* whose exemplar was copied by the poet Dáibhí Ó Bruadair from a copy of the original written in 1611, were both produced at the Uí Mhaoilchonaire Ard Kyle school.<sup>80</sup> Domhnall Ó Maolchonaire composed the poem *Créad fá seachnaim síol Aodha?* ('Why do I avoid the descendents of Aodh?') for Seán Mac Conmara, probably on the latter's inauguration of the lordship in c.1571.<sup>81</sup>

74 On the lands of west Clann Chuiléin, including Ard Kyle, see Luke McNerney, 'The West Clann Chuiléin Lordship in 1586: Evidence from a Forgotten Inquisition', pp 33–62, pp 40–41, p. 43.

75 Paul Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning*, (Dublin, 1947), pp 34–48.

76 Various members of the Uí Mhaoilchonaire at Ard Kyle are noted as witnesses to deeds in Irish. See James Hardiman (ed.), 'Ancient Irish Deeds and Writings Chiefly relating to Landed Property from the Twelfth to Seventeenth Century: With Translation, Notes and a Preliminary Essay', pp 1–95. A land deed dated 1573 and written 'on the green of Bunratty' by Tornae (Torna) Ó Maolchonaire is of particular significance as the deed refers to the Rodan family ('*muintir Rodain*') as stewards of the Earl of Thomond and to references to local toponymy (Aylebeg in north-west Bunratty parish, the old orchard, etc), and the list of witnesses including Siacus Ó Conallain, vicar of Bunratty. *Ibid.*, pp 71–72.

77 R.W. Twigge, 'Materials', (BL, Twigge Collection, Add Ms 39260), pp 180–186, p.180.

78 Martin Breen, 'A 1570 List of Castles in County Clare', p.132.

79 Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'The Uí Mhaoilchonaire of Thomond' in *Studia Hibernica*, xxxv (2009/2010), pp 45–68, p. 52.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 51 and Kenneth W. Nicholls, 'The Irish Genealogies: Their Value and Defects' in *The Irish Genealogist*, v, 2 (1975), pp 256–261, p. 258. R.W Twigge quotes the colophon of the RIA Ms 23 L.37 as stating, 'This genealogy was copied by Daibhi O' Bruadar in the year 1671, the 8th March, from the Historical Book of Clann Uí Mhaoilchonaire which they compiled 60 years before that period i.e. in the year 1611 and was rewritten in Cork by John Stack [Seaghan Stac], in the year of Salvation 1708'. See R.W Twigge, 'Materials', (BL, Twigge Collection, Add Ms 39264), p. 16.

81 See RIA Ms 784 (q.v. Ms 23.G.9). For other manuscript versions see Russell Library Maynooth Ms M107. For a translation of the poem and historical context see Luke McNerney,

Set against this context the 1638 petition by Daniel O Mulconnery recounts the transfer of the Uí Mhaoilchonaire lands at Ardkyle to the earl of Thomond in 1618, in exchange for poorer lands at Shandangan in Kilmurry parish. Ironically this occurred two years after Muiris, father of Daniel O Mulconnery, drew up an agreement that allowed the transfer of Daniel Annierie Mc Nemarra's land to the earl of Thomond for his transgression of horse stealing,<sup>82</sup> and one year before Muiris witnessed an agreement for the transfer of John O Muldowney's (Seán Ó Maol Dhomhnaigh) land at Ballyhybroacharan to the earl.<sup>83</sup> Muiris must have undertaken this activity in his capacity as secretary to the earl, a point noted in the answer to Daniel O Mulconnery's petition which sets down five reasons to disavowal the petition.<sup>84</sup>

Daniel O Mulconnery's petition notes that prior to the forced exchange of lands by Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond in 1618, Daniel's father Muiris (ie. 'Morish') had conveyed the lands of Ardkyle, Carhowlegane (Carrownalegaun) and Crevagh to non-kin in order to retain them for usage and protect their title, possibly as a stratagem designed to evade compulsory acquisition by the earl. In a telling remark the petition notes that 'Donat, late earl of Thomond, having a great desire to gain and acquire the said lands ...in regard that they lay convenient and near to his land of his manor of Bunratty ...in the year 1618 [Muiris] was forced to give possession ...to the said Donat.'<sup>85</sup> Parallels can be drawn with the Uí Nialláin family of Ballyallia, a learned medical kindred, and the Mac Fhlannchadha brehon lineage of Killilagh parish in Corcomroe, both of whose leading kinsmen were allied to Donough O'Brien and prospered through their relationship with the earl: Dr James Neylan and Boetius Clancy benefited from adapting to the introduction of English law in Co. Clare as Neylan received lands from the dissolved Ennis Friary<sup>86</sup> and Clancy represented

'A sixteenth century bardic poem composed for Seán Mac Conmara, Lord of West *Clann Chuiléin*' in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, xxi (2010), pp 33–56.

82 (PHA Ms C.13.36). See petition reproduced in the appendices of this paper.

83 James Hardiman (ed.), 'Ancient Irish Deeds and Writings Chiefly relating to Landed Property from the Twelfth to Seventeenth Century: With Translation, Notes and a Preliminary Essay', pp 94–95.

84 The chief points of disavowal relate to the legitimacy of the exchange and that it was transacted by mutual consent. The answer refutes Daniel's view that the lands at Shandangan were 'not worth above £60'. The answer also makes a curious reference to the 1624 inquisition post mortem of Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond, in that Muiris was 'one of the jury who found the defendant seised' of Ardkyle. We find 'Mauris O Milcounry de Shandangan' a juror on the 1624 inquisition, as noted earlier in this article. See 'The humble petition of Daninel oge O Mulconnery', [1638] (PHA Ms 540), in the appendices of this article.

85 'The humble petition of Daninel oge O Mulconnery', [1638] (PHA Ms 5402).

86 R.W. Twigge, 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574', p. 84. In the 1574 survey of castles in Co. Clare it notes 'Th[e] abbaye of Inish' was held by 'James Nellan'. James Nellan was also credited with possessing Ballyally and Ballycarroll tower-houses. *Ibid*, p. 79.

Co. Clare at Perrott's Parliament in 1585.<sup>87</sup> This petition throws light on the dispossession of a learned lineage that formerly rendered services valuable in the Gaelic social context but were no longer needed in an anglicised county.

While bluntly open about the forced exchange of the lands with poorer lands at Shandgan (Shandangan), the petition reveals a more pressing theme: Wentworth's proposed plantation of Ireland.<sup>88</sup> Thomas Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland (1632–1640), proposed to raise revenue for Charles I and cement royal control over Ireland through extending plantations in Connacht and Co. Clare. The Stafford Survey of Connacht (1636–1640) sought to survey the proposed plantation lands and caused deep anxiety amongst Gaelic freeholders over legitimacy of title.<sup>89</sup> Uncertainty over land title was a catalyst for the 1641 rebellion and it is clear that this featured as a primary reason for the timing of Daninel O Mulconnery's petition in 1638 and his desire to establish title to the Uí Mhaoilchonaire estate at Ardkyle prior to a final plantation settlement.<sup>90</sup> The petition was not favourably acted upon for the Earl of Thomond remained in possession of Ardkyle in 1641 and 'Morris Conry', scion of the learned Uí Mhaoilchonaire historian-chronicler family, was listed as proprietor of Shandangan in Kilmurry parish in 1641.<sup>91</sup>

### The Case of Danniell (Daniel) Annierie Mc Nemarra, 1636

The 'Accusation of Mahowne McGillowoile'<sup>92</sup> highlights the plight of the accused in seventeenth-century Co. Clare and the enforcement of law on the earl of Thomond's manor.<sup>93</sup> Daniel Annierie McNemarra of Drumquin (Drumquin, Kilraghtis parish) was accused of stealing two horses from Mahon McEnerhiny of Ballekilltie (Ballykilty, Quin parish). Daniel Annierie McNemarra's theft resulted in his incarceration at Ennis<sup>94</sup> and proprietor-

87 James Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 98.

88 Wentworth established in July 1635 a commission for plantation in Connacht and in Co. Clare at Boyle, and grand juries were summoned for the counties in question. The juries were forced to find for the King, otherwise risk forfeiture of their property to the Exchequer. Edmund Curtis, *A History of Ireland*, (fifth edition, London, 1945), pp 240–241.

89 See the introduction of R. Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey and Distribution*.

90 Daniel O Mulconnery must have been well connected to local administration in Co. Clare as a Petworth document shows that he served as Sub-Sheriff of Co. Clare in 1636. See PHA Ms 3917.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

92 'The accusation of Mahowne Mc Gillowoile of Kalloraghis taken before me: October ye 22th: 1636', (PHA, Ms C.13/36).

93 For another petition in the Petworth House archives which casts light on the accused in seventeenth century Co. Clare, particularly in relation to adolescent misdemeanours, see 'The humble Petition of Loghlen McCnona' to the Earl of Thomond offering his interest in 'Ballymcunna' (2 qrs), 'Dromconnowra' (1/3 qrt), 'Ballygreifa' (1 quartermeer) in return for the 'bail of his son that is committed for a trifle with the poor boy that is committed for the like matter' (PHA Ms 3942) [date c. 1615–1624].

94 Once assizes were held in Co. Clare from the 1570s references to jails appear in the historical

ship of his lands forfeit to the fourth Earl of Thomond. The document, written in 1636, recalls the incident in 1616 with the chief purpose of ascertaining proprietorship of the land. Four deponent statements are given, the most detailed being Mahowne McGillowile's and Thomas McRedmund's statements which are in general agreement. The statement of 'fflan O Neil' crystallises a personal fact of the incident; the pleas of Daniel Annierie McNemarra's wife for relief of her husband imprisoned at Ennis.

The document highlights the administration of law in Co. Clare. For example, when McNemarra was found with the stolen horses he was brought immediately before a justice of the peace and imprisoned. It appears that the stolen horses left a track across Mahon McEnerhiny's land which facilitated the location of the horses and led to McNemarra's apprehension. McNemarra must have appeared before an assize where evidence was given against him and that it was the seneschal of the earl of Thomond's Bunratty manor, Captain Norton, who repossessed the land at Drumquin and parcelled it out to the tenants of the earl.

Forfeiture of land for a crime was not uncommon and other examples can be identified in the Thomond papers. Take, for example, PHA Ms C.13/35 (dated 1619) which states that James McInnerreny, who held the half quarter of 'Cnock I Slattry' (Knockslattry, Doora pairsh), a mill adjoining Dromoland and the half quarter of Ballykilty called Leacerrone Iraghteragh (Tomfinlough parish) was found guilty of man-slaughter for the killing of James Dixon who was part of Sir Robert Mcleanan's company.<sup>95</sup> This altercation would have placed James McInnerreny's lands at risk of forfeiture to his overlord, the earl of Thomond. Perhaps on account of James' literacy and therefore his right to claim benefit of clergy,<sup>96</sup> or because of

record for Ennis and Quin. Some early seventeenth century officials regarded the holding of assizes in Co. Clare an inconvenience, resulting in prisoners escaping from jails and that the 'Commissioners have been driven to keep their assizes in an open abbey' [i.e. Ennis Friary]. J.S. Brewer & William Bullen Esq. (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archbishopal Library at Lambeth, 1601-1603*, (London, 1870), pp 171 & 173. James Frost mentions that the English established a jail at Ennis in 1591 and that after the rebellion by Mahon O'Brien of Clondovan in 1586, seventy people were put to death at one assize. James Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 251. On the Ennis jail see Risteárd Ua Cróinín & Martin Breen, 'The hidden towers' in *The Other Clare*, xvi (1992), pp 5-10.

95 'Information about Land out of my Lords hands, No.32, Wm Brickdall' no date (PHA Ms C.13.35). Leacerrone Iraghteragh was recorded as Lecaroweighter in 1641 and formed part of Ballykilty. R. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p.152. Sir Robert Mcleanan's (*recte*, McLellanne) suffered other set backs in Co. Clare, including an attack by 'eight or nine gentlemen and freeholders of the sept of Macnamara who killed one and severely wounded another' of his company in 1628. *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland of the Reign of Charles I, 1625-1632*, Robert P. Mahaffy, (ed.) (London, 1900), p. 371.

96 See John Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts*, No.983, pp 312-313 and No.1481, pp 504-505. These references relate to the lands held by Conor O'Brien of Dromoland (d.1603) with the latter mentioning 'John McEnerhiny, 'prist' (*sic*) and James his son, for which they have a quarter of Dromolin in mortgage'. The former reference refers to a grant to James McEnerhine of 4 acres in Rathfolan by Conor O'Brien prior to 1603. In 1619 in an

his service to the Earl such as arbitration in land disputes,<sup>97</sup> James appears to have escaped with a fine and partial loss of land.<sup>98</sup> It appears that Daniel Annierie McNemarra was not so fortunate; his land was forfeited to the earl in a conveyance drawn-up by Muiris Ó Maolchonaire, and he was reduced to a tenant at will.

### McCloones of Ballymacloone, 1635

The document regarding the lands of the McCloone's in Quin parish was compiled in 1635 for the purpose of identifying how the proprietorship of the three ploughlands of Ballymacloone came into possession of Henry O'Brien, fifth Earl of Thomond.<sup>99</sup> The document also sets out the case of the unlawful mortgage of Ballymacloone to Old-English Limerick merchant Nicholas Strich by Loughlen McCloone during the lifetime of the fourth earl of Thomond (d. 1624).<sup>100</sup> Like many documents of Irish interest in the Petworth collection, much of it reflected agreements that were concluded during the earldom of Donough O'Brien (1581–1624) and clarification of those arrangements and legal title by Donough's heir Henry, the fifth earl of Thomond.

The significance of the document lies in its suggestion that the McCloone patrimony of Ballymacloone from the time of King Conor McTurloch O'Brien (d. 1539), was partially under mortgage and the McCloone's had become 'tenants at will'. This was a familiar occurrence in Gaelic social hierarchy. The seventeenth-century Irish genealogist Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh observed that 'it is a usual thing in the case of great princes, when their children and their families multiply, that their clients and followers are squeezed out, wither away, and are wasted'.<sup>101</sup> Such a process of social displacement was reflected in the case of the

inquisition into the lands of the fourth earl of Thomond, James claimed as his inheritance: '*quatron acr measure hibernor in Rathfoylane*' [4 acres of Irish measure at Rathfolan] linking him to the c. 1603 grant and son of cleric John McEnerhyn. In 1619 James, who was residing at Ballysallagh, also claimed 1 cartron of land at Shanaghcloyne (Ballynacragga). These references link James to John the cleric and he was probably the James who translated deeds from Irish to English at Limerick 1611. See Inquisition reciting the lands held by Donough O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, 1 April 1619 (PHA Ms B.26.T.16), [last page – five rows from bottom of parchment]; (PHA Ms C.13.35); James Hardiman (ed.), '*Ancient Irish Deeds and Writings Chiefly relating to Landed Property from the Twelfth to Seventeenth Century: With Translation, Notes and a Preliminary Essay*', pp 50–51.

97 'A Register made by the Right Honourable Barnaby Earl of Thomond of all the Evidences and Writings at Bunratty, Anno 1640' (PHA, Ms.C.13.27 [nos. 56, 90, 114]).

98 Lecaroweighter was not in the possession of James Mc Innerreny or his heir in 1641 suggesting that this land may have been forfeit on account of his man-slaughter charge. R. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution* p.152.

99 'John McCloone his relation touching Ballymacloone' and 'James McEnerhyn his relation touching the above land' [5 August 1635] (PHA, Ms 3911).

100 Petworth House Archives, Ms 3911 [5 August 1635].

101 Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh cited in G.A Hayes-McCoy, *Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland, 1565–1603*, Edmund Burke Publishing, Dublin [re-print], 1996, p.52.

McCloones who held Ballymacloone under mortgage but had agreed to transfer it to the ruling lineage of the O'Briens (kings of Thomond and, after 1543, earls) as the original proprietor of the land, Donogh McCloone, conveyed it out of necessity on account of being destitute.

Economic pressures were increasingly acute for smaller sept-lineages as they came under pressure from expanding ruling lineages, a point attested by the fact that in 1586 Ballymacloon was part of the mensal lands of John McNamara, Lord of west Clann Chuiléin, whose principal seat was at Dangan-i-viggin.<sup>102</sup> By this date it is apparent that the McCloones were a tenant-sept of the ruling Mac Conmara Fionn, providing tribute and food stuffs, reflecting an increasingly sub-infeuded class of betagh<sup>103</sup> farmers. In this context the interests of ruling lineages was to promote kinship ties (imagined or real) to retain followers in clan structures in order to 'bind' them to the ruling lineage and ensure a steady labour supply.<sup>104</sup> In Gaelic Ireland, clients were the backbone of a lord's wealth and so the methods used by Irish chiefs echoed those of the Anglo-Norman feudal lords.<sup>105</sup>

We read that a parcel, or 'quartermeere' of land, was unlawfully mortgaged by Loughlen McCloone to Nicholas Strich,<sup>106</sup> and that John McNamara

102 Luke McInerney, 'The West *Clann Chuiléin* Lordship in 1586: Evidence from a Forgotten Inquisition', pp 45–48. On Dangan-i-viggin (Daingean Uí Bhigín) tower-house and its massive stone banqueting hall, large bawn and circular defensive outer tower see Risteárd Ua Crónín & Martin Breen, 'Daingean Ui Bhigin Castle, Quin, Co. Clare' in *The Other Clare*, x (1986), pp 52–53.

103 Betagh is derived from the Irish word *biatach* (food renderer) and sometimes Latinised in medieval documents as *betagii*. See, for example, H. S. Sweetman, *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland: 1285–1292*, (Liechtenstein, Kraus Reprint, 1974), pp 202, 205.

104 The basic objective of elite political action in medieval Ireland was the control of the productive units of farming society. The ideology that sustained ruling lineages was that kinship ties served as the 'glue' which bound the social relationships of ruling lineages and dependent septs together. Kinship helped legitimise the hierarchical-controlled supply of land, labour and cattle in the hands of ruling lineages, explaining the rationale behind the Gaelic obsession of genealogy. See D. Blair Gibson, 'Chieftdoms, Confederacies, and Statehood in Early Ireland' in Bettina Arnoldt (ed.), *Celtic Chieftdom, Celtic State: The Evolution of Complex Social Systems in Prehistoric Europe*, (Cambridge, 1995), pp 116–128, p.116. On the economy of Scottish Highland clans prior to 1745, but which is partially analogous to the kinship-based society of pre-seventeenth century Ireland see Robert A. Dodgshon, 'Modelling chieftdoms in the Scottish Highlands and islands prior to the '45' in Arnoldt (ed.) *Celtic Chieftdom, Celtic State*, pp 99–109.

105 On feudalism in Gaelic Ireland see Tadhg O'Keeffe, *Medieval Ireland: An Archaeology*, (Dublin, 2000), p. 267. Elements of feudalism such as primogeniture succession were generally rejected by Gaelic lords, but the process of alienating land to religious foundations, minting coins and binding tenants to the land can be regarded as pseudo-feudalist. The ideology of kinship, used to legitimise lordship and confer land title and privileges was, however, distinctly Gaelic.

106 Nicholas Strich (*recte* Stritch), from an Old English merchant family of Limerick, died on 23 September 1623 and was the mortgagee of numerous lands including Shandangan which was the townland Muiris Ó Maolchonaire received as part of his 'forced exchange' of Ard Kyle with the fourth earl of Thomond in 1618. Clearly, the financial interests of Nicholas Strich were intertwined in the land market of Co. Clare, much of which centered on the Barony of Bunratty and, probably of no coincidence, in the vicinity of the Thomond manor at which

of Dangan-i-viggin redeemed the mortgaged land. Minor Gaelic freeholders frequently mortgaged their lands to raise cash, a point attested in seventeenth-century inquisition material.<sup>107</sup> It was a common stratagem for freeholders to raise cash by mortgaging to Limerick city merchants, many of whom had entered the land market in the early seventeenth century at a time when rapid economic and political change was causing financial pressures on smaller freeholders in the barony of Bunratty.<sup>108</sup> Proximity to Limerick and its relatively capital-rich mercantile caste, coupled with the waning of traditional Gaelic structures and economy, must have contributed to this situation. That John McNamara redeemed the land suggests he retained a proprietorial interest; at any rate he was the principal landed proprietor of the parish and Lord of west Clann Chuiléin.<sup>109</sup>

It is also interesting to distil from the document the method employed to resolve the unlawful mortgage; that is, the nomination of 'indifferent men' to arbitrate. The men chosen for the purpose had strong links to the fourth earl of Thomond: John McNamara of Danganbrack was the son of John McNamara of Dangan-i-viggin and Lord of west Clann Chuiléin,<sup>110</sup> and James McEnerhini had served the earl on other occasions and had assisted in translating Irish property deeds relating to the Thomond estate in 1611.<sup>111</sup> The appointment of literate local men to arbitrate in such matters was common place and, in general, suited the earl's interests: the McCloones retained Cullenagh and part of Carrowgar in 1641, but Ballymacloon was held jointly by Thomas Arthur and Teige McNamara.<sup>112</sup>

The fortuitous reference in the document, and hitherto obscure, of an Irish indenture held by Henry O'Brien, fifth earl of Thomond, can be cross referenced with two deeds in Irish (dated 1542 and 1545) relating to the inheritance of the McCloones. These deeds were published by James Hardiman in 1826 (known as Egerton Charters), but the originals are now lost.<sup>113</sup> Though unlettered in Irish himself,<sup>114</sup> the presence of deeds

Stritch was obliged to render military service. See James Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, pp 299–300.

107 Patrick Nugent, 'The interface between the Gaelic clan system of Co. Clare and the emerging centralising English nation-state in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century', pp 90–91.

108 On different methods of land transfer (and inheritance) employed by Gaelic freeholders see Mary O'Dowd, *Power, Politics and Land: Early Modern Sligo, 1568–1688*, (Belfast, 1991), pp 69–76.

109 On McNamara's demesne and mensal lands in 1586 see Luke McInerney, 'The West Clann Chuiléin Lordship in 1586: Evidence from a Forgotten Inquisition'.

110 R.W. Twigge, 'Materials' (BL, Twigge Collection, Add Ms 39260), p 208.

111 James Hardiman (ed.), 'Ancient Irish Deeds and Writings Chiefly relating to Landed Property from the Twelfth to Seventeenth Century: With Translation, Notes and a Preliminary Essay', pp 50–51.

112 R. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 146.

113 See Hardiman (ed.), 'Ancient Irish Deeds and Writings', pp 55–58.

114 Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'The Uí Mhaoilchonaire of Thomond', pp 55–56.

written in Irish amongst the original collection of papers at Bunratty (none of which are now extant at Petworth) testifies to bilingual estate management. From comparison with the 1640 inventory of documents at Petworth Archive it is apparent that many of the documents listed have not survived.<sup>115</sup> There are no Irish language documents now extant at Petworth Archive despite at least one listed in the 1640 inventory.<sup>116</sup> It has been suggested that the deeds in Irish were handed over to Dean Smyth, later Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, sometime in the 1680s or 1690s and from whom they may have become in the possession of the antiquarian Tadhg Ó Rodaighe of Crossfield, Co. Leitrim. The deeds appear to have been transferred to Arthur Mahon (d. 1788) of Strokestown, Co. Roscommon, before ending up in the collection of James Hardiman.<sup>117</sup>

### **Petitions of Sir Dermot O Mallun, Baron of Gleanomalun & Cuerchy, 1630–31**

The petitions of Sir Dermot O Mallun, created Baron of Gleanomalun and Cuerchy<sup>118</sup> by King James I in 1622, are lodged in the Petworth archive.<sup>119</sup> These consist of letters from Sir Dermot in Brussels to Sir Barnaby O'Brien regarding his desire to acquire the four quarters of 'Glann I malowne' in Killaloe parish which was conveyed to the fourth earl of Thomond in 1606. The bundle of correspondence also consists of Sir Barnaby O'Brien's disavowal of Sir Dermot's petition to purchase his ancestral estates. This series of correspondence casts light on the role of an émigré Irish noble who found preferment in the ranks of foreign military forces on the continent from the 1590s to 1630s.

Unique information that can be gleaned from the correspondence

- 115 See 'A Register made by the Right Honourable Barnaby Earl of Thomond of all the Evidences and Writings at Bunratty, Anno 1640' (PHA, Ms C.13.27). Take, for example, the reference in the 1640 inventory to the deed of mortgage of Covarra mcShane to Mahon mcShane McInnrhiny of the lands of Cahirduffe (no.113) which were located in the vicinity of Ballynacragga in Kilnasoolagh parish. The original document of this mortgage cannot now be found in the Petworth archive. On the location of Cahirduffe see James Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 295.
- 116 The 1640 inventory lists (no.111) 'an Irish writing touching Clenaghmore'. I thank Kenneth W. Nicholls for his advice regarding the Petworth inventories. 'A Register made by the Right Honourable Barnaby Earl of Thomond of all the Evidences and Writings at Bunratty, Anno 1640' (PHA Ms C.13.27).
- 117 William O'Sullivan, 'The Book of Domhnall Ó Duibhdábhoireann, Provenance and Codicology' in, *Celtica*, xiii (1999), pp 276–292, pp 279–280.
- 118 Sometimes misinterpreted as 'Quirke'. There is no standard orthography for 'Glanomalun' and it is spelt in various ways in the documentation. It is also recorded as 'Glanmuntmalowne' (Gleann Muinntear Mhaol Dhomhnaigh). On 'Quirke' see Cathaldus Giblin, 'Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection *Nunziatura di Fiandra*, Vatican Archives: Part 8, Vols. 137A-147C', in *Collectanea Hibernica XII* (1969), pp 62–101 p. 66. For 'Glanmuntmalowne' see *Chancery Bills: Survivals from pre-1922 Collection*, No.131 [13 February 1625], National Archives, Dublin.
- 119 (PHA Ms C.6.4, C.13/34a).

highlights the tenacity of an Irish nobleman negotiating the purchase of his ancestral lands, as well as usage of his apparent Gaelic title.<sup>120</sup> Sir Dermot's correspondence also identifies notable persons in Co. Clare such as Sir John McNamara of Mountallon,<sup>121</sup> Donogh O'Grady and Mac-I-Brien of Arra, the latter two important local notables with respective landed interests in Tuamgraney and on the Tipperary side of the Shannon. The correspondence preserved at Petworth concerning Sir Dermot O Mallun's unsuccessful attempt to purchase the lands of 'Glann I malowne' (Gleann Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh) also gives us a taxonomy of places that comprised the thirteen quarters of land formerly under the proprietorship of the Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh lineage. A moiety of half of the land, in and around the parish of Killaloe, was conveyed to the fourth earl of Thomond in 1606 by the chief men of the ruling branch of Clann Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh.

Sir Dermot O Mallun, scion of the Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh sept, left Co. Clare at age fourteen to pursue a career on the Continent. Sometime before 1612 Sir Dermot was among the 'entretenedos cerca la persona' in the service of the archduke of Bavaria.<sup>122</sup> Sir Dermot had served in the Flanders for twenty years prior to 1612 in the capacity of a counsellor, lieutenant and first ordinary judge of the judiciary of Ghent, Douai and Orsi and was described as 'well versed in the languages and customs' of Belgium.<sup>123</sup> Being well-connected, with an uncle who was the papal Bishop of Killaloe but resident in Portugal, and counting the earls of Clancarty and Desmond among his kinsmen, Sir Dermot's petitions to Archduke Albert asserted that his ancestors were 'members of the Catholic League [and] were defeated and the heretics remained masters of the territory of Glean Omallun'.<sup>124</sup> Also that Sir Dermot was 'obliged to leave his country, at great danger to his life, and go and place himself under the protection of the King of Spain'.<sup>125</sup>

Sir Dermot, who had graduated in law from the University of Douai,<sup>126</sup> was married to a daughter of Artois (a dame of honour to the Infanta) and through this marriage acquired a large estate and sired seven children.<sup>127</sup>

120 Noted as 'chief and supreme of [the] sept' (PHA Ms C6/4).

121 Sir John McNamara of Mountallon, a Gaelic loyalist and ally of the Earl of Thomond, was granted, on 5 May 1627, a license to hold a market at Broadford, (called 'Allahan') and an annual fair on 11 November. See James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland of the Reign of Charles the First*, (London, 1863), p. 234.

122 Gráinne Henry, *The Irish Military Community in Spanish Flanders, 1586–1621*, (Dublin, 1992), p. 90.

123 Brendan Jennings (ed.) *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders 1582–1700*, (Dublin, 1964), pp 119, 130.

124 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

125 *Ibid.*

126 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

127 *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, Preserved in the public Record Office, 1647–1660*, pp 101–102 and Henry, *The Irish Military Community*, p. 89. Sir Dermot's eldest daughter Maria entered the Abbey of Avesnes to be educated in religion and virtue. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Sir Dermot received the dignity baron of Gleanomalun on 23 September 1622 by James I and his two sons, Albert and Francis, were recognised as heirs and granted denization, both having been born on the Continent.<sup>128</sup> In 1624 Sir Dermot, who was described as an ‘Irishman of the Order of Calatrava’<sup>129</sup> was in correspondence with the pope and his cardinal secretary of state, Ludovico Ludovisi. The pope forwarded a letter of recommendation to Sir Dermot for him to procure favour at the Spanish Court.<sup>130</sup> Pope Urban VIII held Sir Dermot in high esteem on account of the ‘great merit acquired by him in helping the Catholic religion.’<sup>131</sup>

By 1627 Sir Dermot was seeking a favourable return to Britain and had entered into correspondence with English officials at Westminster to assert his desire to return and serve under King James I, claiming to have ‘never born arms against the king’.<sup>132</sup> We learn that Sir Dermot was considered useful as he had ‘correspondence with all Europe’ and had rejected offers from the king of Spain to be made an earl or marquis on the grounds that foreign conferment of title would offend King James. He also rejected the Emperor’s offer to raise a regiment of 3,000 men and make him a member of the imperial Privy Council and Council of Wars.<sup>133</sup> Of particular relevance to Sir Dermot’s petitions of 1630–31, is the record that:

...He is near cousin to Lord Thomond [Henry O’Brien], who is at London. Sir Barnaby O’Brien, brother to the Earl, holds all Lord

- Dermot’s younger daughter Isabella was a nun of the Order of St Benedict and, along with Maria and Jeanne, was granted a half-yearly pension of 400 livres in 1642 in Brussels. See Jennings (ed.), *Wild Geese*, p. 357.
- 128 *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reigns of James I, 1615–1625*, (London, 1880), p. 392. It has been argued elsewhere that the expansion of titles of honour in Ireland by the Stuart Kings was based on practical considerations. The peerage in Ireland was greatly enlarged in the early 1600s as a means to curtail the influence of an independent Catholic powerbase and placate it and to harness the Irish aristocracy more closely to the Crown. See Charles R. Mayers, ‘The Early Stuarts and the Irish Peerage’ in *The English Historical Review*, lxxiii, 287 (April 1958), pp 227–251, p. 227.
- 129 Sir Dermot petitioned for this knighthood after his relatives in Ireland procured him the ecclesiastical endowment of Tomgraney (i.e. Tuamgraney) which had been redeemed in perpetuity by Catholic gentlemen from the possession of the English Crown for a sum of money ‘fearing least the endowment might fall into the hands of heretics’. As married men could not hold an ecclesiastical income unless they also held a military order, Sir Dermot engaged a public notary to record the attestation of his character by several Irish notables, and was granted the Order of Calatrava sometime between 1616 and 1618. The endowment of Tomgraney was worth 2000 crowns yearly in 1615. See Jennings (ed.), *Wild Geese*, pp 145–46, p. 163.
- 130 Giblin Cathaldus, ‘Catalogue of material of Irish Interest in the Collection *Nunziatura di Fiandra*, Vatican Archives: Part 1, Vols. 1–50’ in *Collectanea Hibernica*, i (1958), pp 7–136, pp 36, 59, 60.
- 131 Cathaldus Giblin, OFM, ‘Catalogue of material of Irish interest in the collection *Nunziatura di Fiandra*, Vatican Archives: Part 8, Vols. 137A–147C’, (1969), pp 66–67.
- 132 *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, Preserved in the public Record Office, 1647–1660*, p.102.
- 133 *Ibid.*

Glenomallun's lands, as he has been so long away. He would be ready to transact and agree for his lands upon reasonable considerations.<sup>134</sup>

This, however, was not to be. Perhaps unsurprisingly considering his personal networks and distinguished military career, Sir Dermot was in contact with leading men in Co. Clare regarding foreign military service. In 1633 Boetius Clanchy, scion of the Mac Fhlannchadha lineage from Corcomroe wrote to 'Baron Quirshe of Glenimulloon' recommending the bearer of the letter, Rossie O'Loughlin, as a potential recruit for service on the continent.<sup>135</sup> The émigré Irish strategy of advancing military careers in the service of France and Spain was already well established by the 1630s and demand for manpower in Europe was great due to the Thirty Years War.

In 1634, having failed to reach 'reasonable considerations' with Sir Barnaby O'Brien on the purchase of his ancestral lands Sir Dermot, as one of a handful of MPs of Gaelic stock, was summoned to attend the Dublin parliament.<sup>136</sup> Sir Dermot was unable to attend on account of ill health.<sup>137</sup> Many Irish nobles serving on the Continent maintained the practice of keeping genealogies and identified closely with their Irish lands, irrespective of decades of service abroad. When Sir Dermot died in 1639 his epitaph noted that he 'was exiled when a boy from my own country' and that, first and foremost, he was 'Baron de Glenomallun', his other titles of secondary importance.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the reign of Charles I, 1633–1647*, (London, 1901), p. 18. In a petition by Albert Baron Gleanomalun in 1640, the only surviving son of Sir Dermot, it was stated that Sir Dermot was active in sending intelligence about England and Ireland to King Phillip III of Spain in the 1610s, and that he 'caused many men to come from Ireland to these States; and upon different occasions he drew others of his nation in great numbers from Holland, by command of the Lady Infanta'. Brendan Jennings (ed) *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders 1582–1700*, p.313.

<sup>136</sup> *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the reign of Charles I, 1633–1647*, pp 18, 59–60. Wentworth summoned a Parliament in 1633 which lasted until 1635. Initially the Catholic interest was placated with the promises of 'Graces' or concessions, but difficulty arose when the conditions of the Graces were changed and Parliament passed an act establishing a Commission for Defective Title under which each land grant made in the previous sixty years was to be examined. Edmund Curtis, *A History of Ireland*, pp.240–241.

<sup>137</sup> See the claim of Sir Dermot O'Malun, baron of Gleanomalun, to sit in Irish parliament and the reference therein which stated: 'he would if his health did permit' (The National Archives, Kew, SP 7/25, ff 295, 296). Amongst the published papers of the Earl of Strafford is a list of the delegates of the 1634 Irish Parliament and that 'Lord of Glean Molune and Cuerchy' was noted as absent. William Knowler, *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, with an Essay towards his Life by Sir George Radcliffe: From the Originals in the Possession of his Great Grandson the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Malton, Knight of the Bath*, Vol.1., William Bowyer printer (London, 1739) p. 283. As early as 1614 Sir Dermot was described as 'infirm and in danger of death on account of his advanced age'. Brendan Jennings (ed.) *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders 1582–1700*, p. 143.

<sup>138</sup> Gráinne Henry, *The Irish Military Community in Spanish Flanders, 1586–1621*, p.86. Sir

The correspondence of Sir Dermot O Mallun to Sir Barnaby O'Brien presented here consist of four documents: a letter from Sir Dermot to Sir Barnaby concerning his proposal to purchase the lands; a copy of the original 1606 conveyance between the co-heirs of the Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh sept and Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond, transferring half of the thirteenth quarters of land to the earl; Sir Barnaby's refusal letter; and an indenture by co-heirs of the Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh sept conveying their title of Gleanomalun to Sir Dermot.

Sir Dermot's letter to Sir Barnaby (PHA Ms C6/4) states his intention to purchase the four quarters of 'Gleanomalun' and two quarters of 'Clonfada' in Killaloe parish which were conveyed by the Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh co-heirs in 1606 to the earl whose interests descended to the earl's son Sir Barnaby. Sir Dermot, recalling the 1606 agreement, makes a point in stating that whilst his Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh kinsmen conveyed half of the lands 'without my consent as chief and supreme of their sept in Gleanomalun' to Barnaby's father on 23 September 1606, that subsequently in 1631 (see a draft of the transfer in PHA Ms C13/34a) they consented to transfer their interest in the remaining moiety to Sir Dermot. According to Sir Dermot his Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh kinsmen disavowed the 1606 agreement on account of the earl's 'sinister counsel of his honour's officers' and had reneged on the agreement to allow the portion of lands occupied by the Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh sept to remain rent free. It was alleged that the earl begun charging rent on those quarters after the first six years. Sir Dermot, signing himself as 'Gleanomalun and Cuerchy', also refers to his desire for the purchase of the lands in that he 'desire[d] only to have possession since I have my creation in the same and not any benefit I ever expect for me or my only son'. Clearly, Sir Dermot's elevation to the title Glenomalun made him conscious of securing land to his otherwise landless peerage.

The 1606 indenture between the Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh co-heirs and Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond,<sup>139</sup> stands out amongst surviving petitions lodged at Petworth on account of its subtle reference to Gaelic social structures. For example, the indenture was signed by three leading members of the Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh sept who conveyed their interests and title in half of the thirteen quarters to the earl and his heirs. The division of the title to the land between the Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh sept and the earl was to be recorded by 'Connor Brodyn otherwise McBrodye

Dermot's only surviving heir was Albert, baron Gleanomalun, who was recorded as in London in 1641, passing through on his way to Spain where he was waylaid on account of 'a long illness' and wished to return to Flanders and serve in the army. This is the last reference to Albert amongst the documents relating to the Irish regiments in the Flanders. Brendan Jennings (ed) *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders 1582-1700*, pp 330-331.

139 (PHA Ms C.13/34a).

and Teig McBrodyn',<sup>140</sup> members of the celebrated Mac Bruaideadha learned family, court poets to the earl.<sup>141</sup>

The employment of learned Gaelic *literati* speaks volumes about the social context that the earl operated in during the first decade of the seventeenth century; the old Gaelic order, while in decline, still constituted the cultural *milieu* that even an anglicised Gaelic magnate such as the earl recognised. The 1606 indenture also stipulated that in the event of the lands occupied by the Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh being offered in mortgage or any other conveyance, they are to be first offered to the earl. In like manner, if any of the 'Malowns shall die without lawful issue and heirs then all their possessions, lands, tenements...remain to the said Earl and his heirs'. The Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh sept agreed to the same charges levied on their half of the land as that of the earl. The indenture set down the sum of £200 sterling for the conveyed lands.

Sir Barnaby refused the offer to transact the lands of 'Gleanomalun' and 'Clonfada' in Killaloe parish.<sup>142</sup> His gave as his principal reason that the lands were 'conveyed [to] me by my father and forsoever the Malownes complained to your lord'. Sir Barnaby made the point that his father 'did deal nobly in what he undertook' and that he loathed to part from anything his father, the fourth earl, had left him and hence was 'forborne to set any price' on the lands. Sir Barnaby was conscious that Sir Dermot wanted the 'plough land as having relation to [his] barony' and curiously acknowledges that the Protestant Bishop of Killaloe coveted the lands also, presumably as they featured as temporal lands of the bishopric.<sup>143</sup>

The last document is a copy of the agreement drawn up for the purpose of Sir Dermot being conveyed the remaining lands of the Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh sept in his capacity as 'chief and supreme of [the] sept'.<sup>144</sup> The signatories to the deed were the 'co-heirs' of the sept<sup>145</sup> (agnatic kin-

140 Teig McBrodyn featured in a land transaction also in 1606, in which he was enfeoffed by leading members of the Mac Mathghamhna lineage on 3 ½ quarters of land in Clonderalaw. His residence was given as 'Corkanalabuna' (Knockanalban) in Kilmurry Ibrickan parish. John Ainsworth (ed), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts*, p. 303. On the Mac Bruaideadha literary activities see Bernadette Cunningham, 'The historical annals of Maolin Óg Mac Bruaideadha, 1588–1603' in *The Other Clare*, xiii (1989), pp 21–24.

141 Brian Ó Cuív, 'An elegy on Donnchadh Ó Briain, fourth earl of Thomond' in *Celtica*, xvi (1984), pp 87–105.

142 See his letter, PHA Ms C.6/4

143 Rev. Philip Dwyer, *The Diocese of Killaloe from the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century*, p. 137. Gleanomalun was recorded as temporal land belonging to the Bishopric of Killaloe that were detained by secular patrons in 1622. In Killaloe parish the lands included: 'Glanamuntermalone, Finleh, Ballinreehy or Balliduffey, Craiglegh, Balliteig, Clonfadda, Lickinbana'. The Earl of Thomond was recorded as the detainer of 'Glanamuntermalone'.

144 (PHA Ms C13/34a).

145 This reference implies partible inheritance (Irish 'gavelkind') operating amongst Gaelic freeholders in Co. Clare during the sixteenth century. On a discussion of partible inheritance in Thomond see Kenneth W. Nicholls, 'Land, Law and Society in Sixteenth Century Ireland', (Dublin, 1976), pp 3–26, p. 18. Other Gaelic land practices such as redemption were practiced

group, *derbhfine*) who repudiated the 1606 agreement with the fourth earl of Thomond on the basis that ‘no conditions of the said deed was ever observed by the said Earl or Sir Barnaby being his said son’. These remarks echoed Sir Dermot’s initial letter to Sir Barnaby which complained of ‘sinister counsel’ undermining the Earl’s agreement with the Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh sept as akin to ‘strangers without any observations of the conditions of the ... indenture.’<sup>146</sup>

This indenture from 1631 must have been procured prior to Sir Dermot’s resolve to transact with Sir Barnaby for the four quarters of ‘Gleanomalun’ in Killaloe parish, commensurate with his creation as ‘Baron of Gleanomalun’. The indenture contains references to Gaelic toponymy such as ‘Garanboy’, ‘Balecorney’ and ‘Clonfada’, all denominations in Killaloe parish that can be identified in subsequent records.<sup>147</sup> The nomenclature of Gaelic names such as ‘Owney mcloughlen O malun’ (Uaithne mac Lochlainn Ó Maol Domhnaigh) is worth noting, not least because of the resonance of kinship and patrilineal identity in a society where descent conferred legitimacy, proprietorship and patronage.

### Concluding remarks

The petitions presented here offer a glimpse into the working administration of the estates of the fourth and fifth earls of Thomond. Fascinating miscellanea can be pointed to, such as the role of members of the learned Gaelic families in arbitrating land agreements and acting as notaries and witnesses. In this vein we read the role Muiris Ó Maolchonaire had in drawing up land conveyances for Donough O’Brien, fourth earl of Thomond, before he himself was subject to an exchange of lands that his son later sought recompense for. That Muiris served as the earl’s secretary highlights the anomalous relationship between the anglicising earl and his retention of members of the native *literati* such as the Mac Bruaideadha poets who composed an elegy on his death in 1624.<sup>148</sup> A comprehensive study of the life of Donough O’Brien that accounts for his almost schizophrenic embrace of New-English and Dutch Protestant settlers into Thomond alongside his employment of native *literati* and traditional Gaelic symbols of authority, is yet to be written.<sup>149</sup>

in Co. Clare into the seventeenth century. On the latter point see the redemption of land on Mayday in the 1614 deed in Irish concerning the Mac Mathghamhna family of Clonderalaw in Co Clare in Gearóid Mac Niocaill, ‘Seven Irish Documents from the Inchiquin Archives’ in *Analecta Hibernica*, xxvi (Dublin), pp 47–69 p. 59.

146 (PHA Ms C6/4) [1 June 1631].

147 See. R. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, Killaloe parish.

148 Brian Ó Cuív, ‘An elegy on Donnchadh Ó Briain, fourth earl of Thomond’. On the Mac Bruaideadha see Róisín McLaughlin, ‘A threat of satire by Tadhg (Mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha’ in *Ériu*, lv (2005), pp 37–57.

149 A glance at the 1624 will of the fourth earl of Thomond shows that his office holders had English surnames and Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, acted as executor of the will. This is in

Historians would be well served by greater recourse to this repository of material. It is hoped that the documents reproduced here encourage a more detailed survey and publication of Petworth material pertaining to the Thomond estates. Examples for future work that could be commended to the historian include a translation of the 1624 Latin inquisition post mortem of Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond, and a transcription of the 1619 inquisition into the earl's lands. Publication of further documents contained in the archive would be of great benefit, not least because the historiography of Co. Clare would be much advanced by more frequent reference to this extraordinary archive.

contrast to the will of Murrough O'Brien in 1551 which does not mention any individuals from outside of Thomond. See Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'From Gaelic Warlords to English Country Gentlemen: The O'Briens of Thomond 1543–1741' and Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'A comparative study of the wills of the first and fourth Earls of Thomond' in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, xxxiv (1992), pp 48–63. For articles that touch on the life and actions of Donough O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, see Andrew O'Regan, *Thomond and the Tudor Crown: Enforced Change in a Gaelic Lordship* (Unpublished PhD thesis, UCD, 1987); and Brendan Kane, *The Politics and Culture of Honour in Britain and Ireland, 1541–1641*, Cambridge University Press (Cambridge, 2009) pp 158–180. The latter contains references to the earl's interest in asserting legitimacy through genealogies and divining points from antiquarian works in advancing his political aspirations. Also note the evidence presented by the earl in 1601 as to why Thomond should not be annexed to Connacht. Various points can be evinced, including the similarity of Irish spoken in Thomond and Munster, and the etymological origin of the place-name Thomond: 'Twoghwenne' viz north Munster, purported, and so continued these 1,300 years'. One wonders whether the evidence submitted owes its precision to a member of the Mac Bruaideadha family, possibly Tadhg mac Dáire Mac Bruaideadha, employed by the earl. See J.S. Brewer & William Bullen Esq. (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1601–1603*, pp 171–176.

## Documents

1 DANINEL O MULCONNERY'S PETITION, 1638  
(PHA Ms 5402)

*The humble petition of Daninel oge O Mulconnery*

To the Right Honourable the Lord Deputy and the rest of his Majesties Commissioners of Plantation

Showing to your honours that about 24 years since Morish O Mulconery your petitioner's father for the natural love and affection he did bear to your petitioner and for other valuable causes and considerations him moving did by his deed dated the 4th day of April Anno Domini 1614 give and grant to Teige Mac Mohona Mac Conmara and Teige O Brien Mac Donnogh their heirs and assigns the town and lands of Ardkeile being in the estimation one ploughland or thereabouts, the town and lands of Carhowlegane containing one ploughland and the town and lands of Crevagh being one ploughland all lying in the county of Clare and barony of Bunratty to the sole and immediate use of your petitioner and the heirs male of his body in remainder as by the said deed dated as aforesaid may appear by virtue of which feoffment the said feoffees became seised of the premises to the use of your petitioner as aforesaid and to other uses in remainder in the said deed contained.

Be that so it is, may it please your honours that the right honourable Donat, late earl of Thomond, having a great desire to gain and acquire the said lands from your petitioner's said father in regard [that] they lay convenient and near to the lands of his manor of Bunratty [and] having several times treated with your petitioner's father for purchasing the said lands and could not compass his intent, at last in a compulsory manner and as your petitioner is given to understand, by restraining your petitioner's said father from his liberty, your petitioner's said father long after the said ffeement made viz: in the year 1618 was forced to give the possession of the premises, so conveyed to the use of your petitioner as aforesaid, to the said Donat, late earl of Thomond in exchange of the lands of Shandangane. Shandangane, the land of Craganeowen and two quartermeers of land in Culleane, all being [tear] ploughlands or thereabouts and lying in the county of Clare; your petitioner sayeth that the said lands given by his said father and estated upon your petitioner as aforesaid are worth £200 per annum and the said lands given by the said earl not worth above £60.

The premises considered for as much as his majesties as the grand office lately taken entitled to all the said county of Clare to the end that your supplicant may upon settlement of the plantation in those parts partake of the benefit of his majesties grace and have his proportion out of his own land estated to him as aforesaid to the end he may not be concluded or loose his

said lands upon settlement of the said plantation, he humbly prayeth your honours to direct a missive letter to the now earl of Thomond requiring him to answer the premises and show cause wherefore your petitioner should not be restored to the said lands to him estated as aforesaid and the said earl enter to the said lands exchanged and he shall pray, etc....

Endorsed: Copy of the petition of Danyell oge O Mullconry 29 November 1638

*Instructions to answer Daniell O Mulconrys petition*

[PHA 5402]

1. First to answer that the exchange was made by mutual consent, and at the earnest desire of the petitioner's father, who was willing to remove himself further off for his ease and better convenience in regard of his extraordinary expenses (as he pretended) suffered so near Bunratty by visitations of friends and others unlooked for and in respect of the goodness of the exchange to him given.
2. That the lands given in exchange was at the time of making thereof, as good in value and of as good or better considered and greater quantity than the lands of Ardkeile, and the rest by the petitioner under challenge.
3. That the exchange stood firm without question till the death of the late Earl who died seised of the premises and by whose death the defendant as his son and heir entered thereunto had his livery for the same, and is ever since quietly possessed, and that the petitioner's father was one of the Jury that found the defendant seised.
4. That the said late Earl presently after the said exchange past, the same by letters patent from the late Majesty King James of famous memory, under whose title the defendant also holdeth the said lands.
5. That there was no such estate made to the petitioner as he pretends, will prove hereafter manifest for no such thing was every thought of neither will the petitioner's father as the defendant believeth acknowledge any such thing; and if any deed or feoffment be now produced the defendant hopes to prove it forged and merely intended by the petitioner thereby to gain some composition from the defendant to relieve his present necessities having run himself into extraordinary debts and other extravagant troubles by his unthrifty and dishonest courses, whereby the greater part of the lands exchanged to his father are enjoyed or by him otherwise disposed off. That there was no compulsory or coercion used towards the petitioner's father (as the petitioner falsely and scandalously urgeth) is undoubtedly certain; for besides the reason of convenience sought by his father to gain the said exchange (who was not also ignorant of his majesty's paramount title to the lands questioned). He likewise considered the advantages he might gain thereby, by endearing and insinuating himself into the late Earl's love and service; who accordingly preferred him before his betters and employed him in his secretes occasions, wherein he was not forgetful

to make use for his own best profit: and the defendant in pursuance of the favour and respect his said late father extended to the petitioner and his father, did also himself advance the same by divers ways, to their benefit, since his father's death, for which they thus ungratefully spurn at him, wherein he hopeth of remedy. To traverse the value of the land, estimated by the petitioner treble the worth thereof, and to stand to all advantages of the exchange, seisen and title of his Majesty by letters patent etc., and if possible to get view of the deed and mark the perfection thereof with... present...[illegible]

2 THE CASE OF DANNIELL ANNIERIE MC NEMARRA, 1636  
 (PHA Ms C.13.36)  
 22 October 1636

*The accusation of Mahowne Mc Gillowoile of Kalloraghis  
 taken before me: October ye 22th: 1636*

Who saith that about 20 years ago Danniell Annierie Mc Nemarra of Drumquin did steal 2 horses from Mahon Mc Enerhiny of Ballekilltie; his cause of knowledge is because one John Mc Moiler, and Teige Mc Donnell Leagh and Teig O Tarmon came unto him, and told him that horses were stolen, and the track left upon of his land, and unless he could put the track of his land, he should be liable to pay for the horses, whereupon he following the track with the rest, found the said Danniell Annierie with the said horses in a bush, and being apprehended, and brought before a Justice of peace confessed the fact, and was presently sent to prison: and saith that at the next Assizes himself gave evidence for his Ma<sup>ts</sup> against the said Danniell, & after he went away heard that the said Danniell was condemned.

*The accusation of Thomas Mc Redmund of Castletowne taken as aforesaid*

Who saith that he hath heard as a general report both from the said Mahowne Mc gillowoile and others that the said Danniell Annierie did steale 2 horses from Mahon Mc Inernhiny: and as he heard he was arraigned and condemned but who were judges [at] that assize, or shirriff that year, he remembeth not: and further he saith that when Captain Norton was then seneschal for that manor of Bunrattie under the late Earl of Thomond, the said Earle did give Captain Norton a warrant to enter upon ye said Danniell Annierie's lands of the cartron of Drumquin, whereupon Captain Norton gave a warrant unto this deponent and Walter Mc Tybott (then his Lord's servants for the said manor) to take possession for his Lords use, which they did and kept possession thereof a month, and then gave it up unto Roarie mc Donnogh Mc Shidae upon conviction, to redeliver it again, except the said Danniell Annierie agreed with the said Earle for the land. After this the said Danniell gave this Deponent a pied ox to move his lordship that he should enjoy the land during his own life,

whereupon he went to the Earle and persuaded his lord that the said Danniell might so enjoy it and thereupon the said Earle sent Morris O Mullconry to draw a writing wherein the said Danniell Annierrie became tenant in the lands unto his Lord (during his life) for some small acknowledgment: which writing the said Morris hath still in his custody.

*The accusation of Walter Mc Tybbot of Killraghtis taken as aforesaid*

Who saith that heard that Danniell Annierrie did steal 2 horses from Mahon Mc Inerhiny, and that he was arraigned and condemned for it: and further saith that Captain Norton by the late Earl's directions gave him, and Thomas Mc Redmund a warrant to take possession of the said Danniell's land of Drumquin, and 2 half carrameers more, whereupon they entered upon the land and took possession thereof for his lord's use and kept it in their possession until they gave it unto. And agrees with the former deponent to that end.

*The accusation of fflan O Neiland of Rossclenan taken as aforesaid*

He saith that he heard for a general report that the said Daniel Annierrie did steal 2 horses from the said McInerhiny, and was arraigned, and did know that he was in goal, and that his wife went up and down the town of Enish to beg relief for her husband: and did also know that the late Earle of Thomond's servants had possession of the said Daniell his lands.

October ye 25th: 1636

May it please your lord therefore the examinations lately took concerning Danniell Annierrie McNemarra's lands of Drumquin.

Hughe [?]

3 McCLOONES OF BALLYMACLOONE, 1635  
(PHA Ms 3911)

*5th August 1635*

*John McCloone his relation touching Ballimccloone*

Imprimis his saith and so will confidently maintain and sufficiently prove that Donogh McCloone being the possessor and true inheritor of the 3 ploughlands of Ballimacloone descended to him from his ancestors (being their proper inheritance) conveyed the said land unto Donogh mcTurlogh O Bryen, father unto Donat second Earl of Thomond and issued unto him his right title and interest of and in the above land from not long after the said Donogh mcCloone being destitute of a settled place made suite unto the said Donogh O Bryen to become tenant in the said land for yearly rent and reservations which was acquitted of him who during the remainder of his time continued tenant in the premise paying and duties

unto the said Donogh O Bryen and after his decease to Donat second Earl of Thomond son and heir of Donogh O Bryen as aforesaid through which means his posterity as tenant at will enjoyed the said land 3 ploughlands of Ballimcloone paying and being liable to such rent and impositions as was reserved upon them by Donat second Earl of Thomond, Donogh Earl of Thomond, and Donat late Earl of Thomond. All which the relations hereof will manifestly prove.

[on side of document]: as may approved by a certain[?] Irish indenture in the possession of Henry now Earl of Thomond

*James McEnnerhiny his relation touching the above land*

As he saith that Loughlen McCloone late of Cullinagh parcel of the said 3 ploughland of Ballimacloune mortgaged a quartermeere of the said land unto Nicholas Strich late of Limerick which by the said Loughlen's allowance redeemed by John McNemarra late of Dangenivigeene. The said Loughlen being sensible of his error in immortgage the land aforesaid without power or authority from the late Earl to whom the land properly belonged, submitted himself by petitioning unto the late Earl pretending that mere necessity and poverty enforced him to immortgage the lands and in his supplication requested that the difference should referred to 2 indifferent men to be composed which upon John McNemarra late of Danganbrack deceased and James McEnerhini were by uniform consent of the said late Earl and Loughlen elected for dividing that difference; who made an order therein which now remains in my Lord's hands; wherein the circumstance of the matter contained.

4 SIR DERMOT O MALLUN, BARON OF GLEANOMALUN & CUERCHY, 1630–31  
(PHA Ms C6/4)

Rightful worshipful and much respected cousin, my silence that hereunto proceeded not of fault of memory of the obligation, and natural inclination I owe to my deceased right honourable lords, your father, and brother and to all your most noble ancestors, but rather that I feared my service, and letters should not be acceptable to you, being absent for so many years and now with this peace between our king and these parts, and understanding also by Mr James Aylmer, that you will embrace my service, and letters, I make bold to offer you by those unadorned lines in English, in which I have but little skill, my humble duty and give notice how my kinsman in my absence, and without my consent as chief and supreme of their [sept] in Gleanomalun and other lands annexed, have passeth [*sic*] over their deeds indented to my most honourable Lord your father for the half of the said lands, and received an indenture under his honour's hand, and seal, bearing date the 23 September 1606 to maintain them quietly, and their

issues, upon his own costs, and charges in the other half of the said lands, which half they possessed freely for six years, without paying any penny out of the same, until by some sinister counsel of his honour's officers, they were constrained to pay these eighteen years past, rents for the said half, as much as strangers, without any observation of the conditions of the afore-said indenture; for which they procured a claim to be entered in due called back their said deeds, and passed over others to me of their interest in the same, which I have with the said indenture of his honour; and desiring to enter in amiable composition with you for the other half, or rather for the only four quarters of the very Glean, and two quarters of Clonfada, the revenue of which (if we agree) I will leave to Sir John Macnamary my cousin, during his life, desiring only to have the possession, since I have my creation in the same, and not for any benefit I ever expect for me, or my only son, which will not forsake what he have here by his mother, for a hundred times so much, and if your worship be pleased to remit our agreement, for the said six quarters, to Mr Teig O'Brien your uncle, MacIbrien Arra, and Donogh O Grady, which are nearer to you, than to me, and most worthy worshipful men of equity; I am content to conclude with you, for the said, six quarters and referring all other circumstances herein, to the bearer Mr Longe, to insinuate to you from me to avoid prolixity expecting your speedy answer, and resolution by the said bearer for to be sent unto me by the way I ordained with my love and humbled duty to your worship and honourable lady, I take leave and remain forever.

Your worship's most humble cousin and servant to command  
 D.Gleanomalun and Cuerchy  
 Bruss[els] The first of June 1631.

(PHA Ms C.13/34a) [23 September 1606]

*A draft of the articles whereby the Lord of Maloune would pretend a title to  
 the lands of the Glen*

Articles indented of covenants grants agreements and were now concluded and agreed upon betwixt the Right honourable Donatus Earl of Thomond on the one party and Owhny mcLoughlen I Malowne, Donogh mcOwne I Mallowne, Owne mcTeig I Mallowne for them and the rest of their sept on the other party to be performed the one to the other, as hereafter followeth at Limerick the 23 day of September 1606. et Regni Regis nostri Jacobi Anglie and Francie et Hibernie quarto, et Scotie, 40th

First to the said Ownhye mcLoughlen I Malowne, Donnogh mcOwne I Malowne and Owne mcTeig I Malowne do for them all hereby promise conclude covenant and agree to and with the said Donatus Earl of Thomond and his heirs that they the said Ownhye Donnogh and Owne O Malown shall in convenient time convey and pass on in form of law to the said Donatus Earl of Thomond his heirs and assigns and at the said

Donatus his proper costs and charges the one moiety or half in deal of the thirteen quarters of land here under expressed, and all their title use right and possession in the same viz.

The one moiety or half of the four quarters of land with the appurtenants commonly called Glane I Maloune the one moiety of the quarter of land with the appurtenants commonly called Fynlea More the one moiety or half of the quarter of land with the appurtenants commonly called Balliegwhyte, the one moiety of half of the two quarters of land with the appurtenants commonly called Clonfada, the one moiety or half of the quarter of land with appurtenants commonly called Balyconrie the one moiety or half of the quarter of land with appurtenants commonly called Lackamore and Balligirine the one moiety or half in deal of the quarter of land with appurtenants commonly called Gortmagie, the one quarter of land commonly called Barnie Carigie and the one moiety or half of the quarter commonly called Gortnyckally the one quarter of land commonly called Garranbuye with the appurtenants all which lands, tenements and hereditaments lieth in the parish of Killalowe within the County of Clare betwixt the lands of Twoghogonollye on the north and the lands of Ohartersyn on the south, the lands of Killaloe on the east to the lands of Glannegalagh on the west. Secondly it hath been hereby agreed covenanted and concluded and promised be the said Ownhye Donnogh and Owne for them and their heirs that if they or any of them or any of their sept shall in anytime hereafter convey away and pass any part or parcel of their land [in] simple mortgage or otherwise to any person or persons whatsoever than to one of the Malownes, that the first offer of the said bargain and sale or any land tenements or hereditaments of their so to be conveyed away and made over as is aforesaid, and shalbe made to the aforesaid Earl and his heirs he or they paying unto them or they so bargaining, interchanging or selling any parts of their lands so much as another would, and further the said Ownhy Donoghoe and Owne do for them and their heirs hereby covenant grant promise condescend conclude to and with the said Earl and his heirs and every of them that if it shall here after chance or happen that the same sept of the Malowns shall die without lawful issue and heirs then all their possessions lands tenements and hereditaments whatsoever being or lying in the said County of Clare shall remain to the said Earl and his heirs for ever to his and their proper use and behoof in consideration whereof the said Earl doeth hereby for him and his heirs faithfully promise covenant and conclude and agree to and with the said Ownhy ye Donnogh and Owne and the rest of their sept that the said Earl and his heirs and every of them shall at his and their own proper costs expenses and charges answer for, [ ]ad to his power to withstand any person or persons that would in any time hereafter shew, implead, molest vex or trouble the said persons or their sept or any of their issues in any part or parcel in the said thirteen quarters of land to be divided betwixt the said

Earl and them and the said Earl and his heirs shall at his and their proper costs and charges in convenient time prosecute for the recovery of all such possessions as now wrongfully are holden by any person or persons from those parties or their sept or any of them and what lands or tenements of the said thirteen quarters as now remaineth in their hands and which shall be so recovered, shall within forty days next after such recovery at their pleasures equally divided betwixt the said Earl his heirs and the said parties by Connor McBrodyn otherwise McBrodye and Teig McBrodyn or other indifferent persons and as both those parties shall elect and make choice of that is to say the one moiety thereof to the said Earl or his heirs and the other moiety to be assigned to the said Ownhye Donnogh and Owne and to their issues forever and the said Earl doth for him and his heirs and assigns hereby covenant grant promise conclude and agree to and with the said Ownhye Donoghoe and Owny and their heirs and their sept and that what ordinary or extraordinary charge or charges whatsoever as shall hereafter be fallen or growing due upon the one moiety of the said thirteen quarters of land the same shall be from time to time answered and paid by the said Earl his heirs and assigns his and their tenements according the proportions of that land so to be divided and allotted to the said Earl his heirs and assigns.

And further the said Earl doth for him and his heirs covenant grant promise conclude and agree to and with the Owyny Donnoghoe and Owny O Maloune and their heirs and sept that he the said Earl and his heirs shall hence forwards to his and their power assist and defend the said Owyny Donnoghoe and Owny their heirs and their sept in all their just causes and lawful possessions against all the disturbance of any person or persons whatsoever pretending their disqueath, vexations molestations or trouble therein, either by suit or otherwise to the performance of which articles covenants and agreements aforesaid by each party the one to the other as either of them have bind themselves the one to the other his heirs and assigns in the sum of two hundred pounds of current money sterling in England and each likewise to either parts of this indented articles interchangeably set their hand and seals dated at Limerick the 23<sup>rd</sup> Day of September 1606.<sup>150</sup> Both indentures are bundled together on the same shelf-mark: C.13/34a. et regni nostril Regis Jacobi, Angliae, Franciae et Hiberniae quarto et Scotia xl vt. Supra. Being present at the signing sealing and delivery hereof we whose names do ensue.

Thomond

John McNamarie and John Sarsfield

Robert Sparcke

<sup>150</sup> The second almost identical indenture also records this as 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1606, irrespective that the date appended on the front title bears 22 September 1606 and entitled: 'Copy of an agreement betwixt Earl of Thomond and the O Mallownes about your lands if ye Glann' [contractions expanded]

(PHA Ms C6/4) [c.1630–31]

My Lo[rd] you have so often visited my friends with letters and myself now by your letters I received by what long of your noble love and respect to our name as I cannot but return you these lines in thanks for all your courteous remembrances. I shall be glad as any friend you have to do you any friendly offices I may, and so I pray assure yourself as for the lands your Lordship desires, they were lands that were conveyed me by my father and howsoever the Malownes complained to your Lordship. I doubt not but my father did deal nobly in what he undertook. And now my Lord though I have ever been so far from parting from anything my father such left as I have suggest (though upon much importunity) forborne to set any price upon them, yet in regard your Lord so much desires these plough lands as having relation to your Barony, and that you are pleased solicit for them in so fair a way. I shall be content for £800 to let you have my whole right and interest in them. I doubt not but if it were known to the Bishop of Killaloe that I would at all part with them but that he would soon come to my price which here I set you but my respects rather incline me to your Lordship whose desire seems so earnest for them, and withal so I consider, in respect of the denomination of your honour, that I will not be guilty of so much discourtesy to you as to forgo them to any till you have had the refusal, and therefore upon the undertaking of this bearer I have given you my resolution as I believe at an indifferent rate, and shall desire your answer herein, that I may otherwise husband them to the best advantage I can. And I shall entreat you to believe that it is my desire to satisfy your demand which hath haled me to this unthrifty way of selling what my father left me, wherein if you heed[?] not. I shall desire your silence wishing your Lord much happiness and resting ever ready to lay hold on any occasion which may continue your love which shall most willingly be embraced by your Lordship's affectionate kinsman and servant.

B:B

(PHA Ms C13/34a) [1631]

*Instruction for to be amended passeth in due form of law, by an expert lawyer*

Be it known unto all men by these presents that we Owney mcLoughlen O Malun, Owen mcTeige O Malun, Mahon mcDonogh mcDoen oig O Malun, Dermod mcOwen mcTeige O Malun, Conor mcMorogh O Malun, Donogh McConor O Malun, Loughlen mcShean O Malun, Dermod mcDoen[?] moeal O Malun, and John Caragh O Malun, gents of the county of Clare, the 6th day of -- 1631 do revoke call back and disannul the indentured deed, passeth over by Owney mcLoughlen, Donogh mcOwney and Owen mcTeige O Malun, unto the right honourable deceased Donatus Earl of Thomond bearing date at Limerick the 23th day of September 1606 by cause no condition of the said deed was ever observed by the said Earl, or

Sir Barnaby Brien being his son, and do hereby convey and pass over in fee simple and in due form of law, unto the right honourable Sir Dermod O Malun, knight, Lo. Baron of Gleanomalun, Chief and supreme of our sept, and to his heirs and assigns for ever, all our interest, titles, uses and rights in the fourteen quarters of land here under expressed viz. four quarters of Gleanomalun with the appurtenants the quarter of Fenlemor with the appurtenants, the quarter of Balegouhy with the appurtenants, the two quarters of Clonfada with the appurtenants, the quarter of Balecorney with the appurtenants, the quarter of Lacavoar and Baleguery with the appurtenants, the quarter of Gortvage with the appurtenants, the quarter of Gortnacoely with the appurtenants, the quarter of Gortein[?] with the appurtenants, the quarter of Garanboy, with the appurtenants as also our interest and rights in all other lands, that are wrongfully detained from us, and our sept, by any person or persons, all which lands, tenements and hereditaments lieth in the parish of Killalowe in the said county of Clare, betwixt the lands of Tuogonoly on the north, and the lands of [blank] on the south, and the lands of Kilalowe on the east, to the lands of Gleanagaleagh on the west, and we the said coheirs do oblige our person, persons goods, and heirs to the performance of all the premises hereof to the said Lo. Baron, his heirs, and assigns for ever in the sum of two thousands pounds sterling current money of, and in, England, and have to this indentured deed, set our hands, and seals dated at [blank] day of [blank] 1631 et regni Regis nostri Caroli Anglie Francie, Scotie et Hiberniae anno etthas.

Being present at the signing, sealing and delivery hereof, we whose names do ensue.

#### APPENDIX

##### **A partial list of the pre-1641 Thomond Papers for Co. Clare, Co. Limerick and Co. Tipperary in the Petworth House Archive<sup>151</sup>**

- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| 1579–1597    | Papers in suit, William McShane v. George Blunt, re lands at Annaghmore, co. Clare, and Mahon v. 3rd Earl of Thomond. PHA Ms 1193.                |
| 8 Aug 1581   | Inquisition post mortem relating to the estates of Connor, late earl Thomond, taken at 'le wynd Mill iuxta Limbrycke in Com 'Clare'. PHA Ms 1140. |
| 17 Aug. 1585 | Certified copy (1836) of, and undated extract from, indenture   |

<sup>151</sup> This catalogue listing Irish material relating to Co. Clare, Limerick and Tipperary for the pre-1641 period, has been excerpted from *Catalogues of the Petworth House Archive* (Vols. 1–4). Not all of the Thomond Irish material is listed in the catalogue as a large portion of the material is still listed only in the early nineteenth century manuscript catalogue at Petworth. The material from the published catalogues, and from the manuscript catalogue, may only be consulted at the West Sussex Record Office at Chichester.

- of composition, 17 Aug. 1585, between the Crown and 'Donnoghe' earl of Thomond and others, providing for a rent charge on lands in Thomond in lieu of certain taxes. PHA Ms 1582, 1583.
- Sept-Oct 1592 Petition and order in dispute, John Fitzmorisha Gerald v. Edmond Mainwaringe, concerning land at Fendamora, co. Limerick. PHA Ms 1196, 1197.
- Early 17th cent. Petition of Conell O Hehir of Rahmary, co. Clare, to the earl of Thomond seeking restoration to him of lands held in wardship, during petitioner's minority, by William Brikdall. PHA Ms 3959
- Early 17th cent. Draft deeds of conveyance: 1) from Walter Ashpool to Donat, earl of Thomond, and 2) Sir William and Pierce Harpool to an unspecified person. Both concerning 'the Towne and lands of Kynnagh ...', Co. Carlow. PHA Ms 5408.
- 20 March 1607/8 'A note of an amendment in some points ...' (20 March 1607/8) desired concerning conveyances by Sir William Harpoole to Sir Adam Loftus of the Manor of Carlow and by Loftus to Feoffees of Donat, earl of Thomond; also an order, 24 May 1610, of Lords Deputy and Chancellor prescribing the conditions for sale from Loftus to the Earl of Thomond of the former's 'estate in the Manor of Catherlagh'. PHA Ms 5407.
- 1608-12 Quietuses for crown rents: Fedamore and Faningstowne, Co. Limerick 1604-8, 1608-12. PHA Ms 342
- c.1610 Contemporary attested copy of a grant 11 November 1610, by Thomas Roch(e) of Limerick, gent., to Kennedy McTieg O'Bryen of Kilmastulla of 'the one moytie of Kilmastulla', Co. Tipperary. PHA Ms 5388.
- 24 Dec 1615 Letter from Donough earl of Thomond to Francis Edgworth, Clerk of the Hanaper at Dublin praying for 'Dispach of the liberatees'. PHA Ms 3192.
- 1615 Survey of Barony of Ibrickan. PHA Ms C.27.A.60.
- 19 Sept 1617 Letter from the earl of Thomond to Terlagh O'Bryen and Mr. Boetin about the exchange of Ballymoroghow for Ballyportrea. PHA Ms 3949.
- 1 April 1619 Inquisition taken at Castlebank on 1 April 1619 on lands held by Donough O'Brien, fourth earl of Thomond. PHA Ms B.26.T.16.
- 24 May 1619 Tibbott McRiccard confession in 1619 touching my lord's rights to lands out of his possession about Belahinane. PHA Ms C.13.35
- 16 Feb 1620/1 Summons to George Butler, high sheriff of Limerick, to summon a jury at the Abbey of St Frances [*sic*], in the city

- of Limerick, to proceed upon an enquiry. PHA Ms 1703.
- 1622 Petition of Owen O'Mallouny concerning alleged unlawful dispossession by the earl of Thomond of land in Ballybrukan; with copy answer. PHA Ms 3193, 3194.
- June 1622 Order in arbitration by Sir Daniel O'Brien, Kt. and Boetius Clanchy, esq., between Donat, 3rd earl of Thomond and Moyler McShean, David McRedmond and Moyler McRedmond concerning title to lands at Poulmore, Kynahow, alias Beallagymanbegg, and Cule Theamrogg in Barony of Bunratty, Co. Clare. PHA Ms 5411.
- Post 1623 Bill of complaint, answer and replication in suit, William Turvin v. Donnogh McMorrogh concerning right to operate ferries across the River Shannon between Limerick and Clare. PHA Ms 3195–3197.
- Post 1623 Copy of petition of John McNemarra of Ratifellan, co. Clare, concerning his alleged wrongful dispossession by the earl of Thomond of a watermill and lands; with draft reply of the earl of Thomond. PHA Ms 3186, 3187.
- 10 Jan 1624/5 Petition of Roger Skiddy of Dublin concerning money owed to him by Donat, late earl of Thomond. Endorsed with order. PHA Ms 3900.
- 13 July 1625 Copy of interim order concerning Redmond Bourke McMoylery's possession of lands called Lackenegrenan, co. Limerick, disputed by Sir Barnaby Brien. PHA Ms 3901.
- 1625 Draft indenture of defeasance to be made in September 1625 between Rt. Hon. Henry, 4th Earl of Thomond and Phillipp O'Dwyer, esq., of Ballynyda, Co. Tipperary, concerning bond for assuring payment of a rent charge due to Thomond out of O'Dwyer's lands in the Barony of Kilanmanagh, Co. Tipperary. PHA Ms 5413
- 1625 Petition of Samuel Mosely, vicar of Catherlogh, in suit, v. Sir Barnaby Brien, arising out of land alleged to be glebe. With writ, 18 July 1625. PHA Ms 3902–3904.
- 1625 Petition of Henry, earl of Thomond to the Privy Council about the questioning of the Court of Wards and Liveries in Ireland as to his rights in the Baronies of Bunrattie and Islands, co. Clare. With a certificate of the Court, Michaelmas Term, 1625. PHA Ms 3958.
- 1626 'An abstract of such rents and renenewes as doe belonge to the right Hon. Henrye Earle of Thomond' [1626]. PHA Ms C27/A 39.
- 1627–1630 Papers in suit, Andrew Donellay v. Gilbert Warter [or Walter] and associated suit, Bourke v. Walter concerning lands called Cullen and Kilnegonyeny. PHA Ms 1206.

- June 1628 Bonds of John Laffman, gent., of Ballynacloghie and Rathcloghyn Co. Tipperary. a) 2 June 1628 to Thomas McEdward Butler in the penal sum of £200 sterling (for performance of agreement of equal date); b) 19 May 1631 to Peter Butler of Shamballyduffe in the penal sum of £18 sterling (for payment of loan of £9). PHA Ms 5405.
- 1629 Rental of Sir Barnaby O'Bryen's lands in Munster and Thomond. PHA Ms 343.
- 1629 Concluding page of petition for a writ of subpoena to be directed to Sir Barnaby Brien and others in connection with a suit involving a bond for £40. PHA Ms 3905.
- c.1630 Petitions of Connor McConsidine, sen. and jun., to Henry, earl of Thomond, seeking leases of land and opportunities of serving the earl. PHA Ms 3943, 3944.
- c.1630-1635 Papers in suit, Henry, earl of Thomond v. Henry White, William Oxford and James Tanner concerning sheep and monies in the custody of Thomas Luther, dec'd. PHA Ms 1207.
- 1630 Sir Dermot O Mallun Baron of Gleanomalun and Cuerchy 1630-31. PHA Ms C6/4, C13/34a.
- c.1630 Memorandum on the state of the cause defending in Chancery between Henry, Earl of Thomond and Archibald, Archbishop of Cashell concerning the lands of Killmore and Ballymorrish, co. Tipperary; with a draft petition of the Earl. PHA Ms 3907.
- 1631 Papers in suit, Robert Sibthorpe v. Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Rowland Delahoyde and Nathaniel Lodge concerning the advowson of Tradery, co. Clare. PHA 3908.
- 1632 Complaint of Tirlagh McBryan of Castletown, co. Limerick, against Sir Rowland Delahoyd concerning chief rents; with his answer. PHA Ms 1208.
- 1633-1637 Papers in suit, Henry, earl of Thomond v. Andrew Skiddie concerning the latter's retention of documents. PHA Ms 3909.
- 26 Oct 1634 Memorandum relating to a lease, 10 April 1630, of land called Fornaght in the Baronies of Ilands and Clare that shall not be alienated to Henry, earl of Thomond or any of his family. PHA Ms 3179.
- 24 May 1634 Writ of summons to Parliament at Dublin addressed to Henry, earl of Thomond. PHA Ms 3935.
- 1634-1635/6 Complaint of Donnagh McNemarra of Ballimorris, co. Clare, against Richard Keateing concerning rent claimed for the earl of Thomond; with answer and record of court proceedings. PHA Ms 1209.
- 11 June 1635 Acknowledgement to Henry earl of Thomond of full

- payment and satisfaction made to Melaghlen O Caffoe for his interest in the land of Moughavald, Co. Clare, released to Donat, late earl of Thomond. PHA Ms 5401.
- c.1635 Petition of Mourtough O'Bryan to Henry, earl of Thomond, claiming lands at Lishine also claimed by Dirmound McBryan. PHA Ms 3945.
- 1635 Copy of petitions to the lord deputy of Ireland of Brien McTerrelagh McBrien concerning the molestation of his tenants at Gortrahmorroghoe by the servants of the earl of Thomond. Both endorsed with letter missive of Lord Wentworth. PHA Ms 3910.
- 1635 Papers concerning alleged wrongful detention by the earl of Thomond of lands called Roscleane, co. Clare, belonging to Morrogh McDermott. PHA Ms 3913.
- 1635 'John McCloone his relac'on touching Ballimacloune', and 'James McEnnerhiny his relac'on touching the above land'. PHA Ms 3911.
- 1635 Letter missive of Lord Wentworth and other papers concerning alleged debts of Henry, earl of Thomond (as his father's exor. and heir) to Frances, widow of William Faninge of London, barber-surgeon. PHA Ms 3912.
- 1635, 1636 Papers concerning alleged wrongful detention by the earl of Thomond of lands in co. Clare belonging to Dermott McTirlagh O'Brien. PHA Ms 3914.
- 1635/6 Letter missive of the lord chancellor of Ireland to the earl of Thomond concerning the complaint of Patrick O'Meere; with answer. PHA Ms 3915.
- c.1636 Complaint of John Tobine, Ownie McSwynye and Walter Tobine of Ballybought, co. Tipperary against Henry, earl of Thomond, concerning dispossession; with answer. PHA Ms 1210.
- c.1636 Copy of letters, 18, 25 May 1636, relating to a lease of lands at Kilmastulla, co. Tipperary. PHA Ms 3180.
- 1636 Papers in suit, Sir Daniel O'Brien v. Henry, earl of Thomond, concerning lands in co. Clare. PHA Ms 3916.
- 1636 Plea in suit, Henry, earl of Thomond v. Daniel McNemarra. PHA Ms 3918.
- 1636, 1637 Papers concerning alleged unlawful seizure by Sir Daniel O'Brien, high sheriff of co. Clare, and Donnell O'Mullconery, sub-sheriff, of the property of the murderers of James Morris which was claimed by Henry, earl of Thomond. PHA Ms 3917.
- 10 Oct 1637 Submission of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy to arbitration in a dispute with Henry, earl of Thomond concerning the

- boundary between their lands. PHA Ms 3922.
- 1637 List of the jury to appear before the Lord Deputy of Ireland at Castle Bank, 22 Aug 1637; general replication of the Earl to the suit of [blank] 'after ye Grand Inquisition was found'. PHA Ms 1704, 1705.
- 1637 Papers in suit, Henry, earl of Thomond v. Daniel and Donnogh O'Brien concerning an agreement made by the defendants with Donat, late earl of Thomond. PHA Ms 3919.
- 1637 Petition of Connor O'Brien concerning money owed by Henry, earl of Thomond for timber; with the Earl's answer. PHA Ms 3920.
- 1637, 1638 Papers in suit, John Stakepolle of Limerick v. Henry, earl of Thomond and Derby Hurly concerning possession of lands at Cloncross, co. Clare. PHA Ms 3921.
- 1637-1638 Accounts for legal costs in suits of Henry, earl of Thomond. PHA Ms 1211.
- 1638 Draft bill of complaint of Henry, earl of Thomond, against Simon Faning, and draft petition of the earl to prevent George and John Faning selling aquavite in co. Clare. PHA Ms 3923.
- 1638 Probate, 1 Dec. 1624, of will, 28 Nov. 1617, of Donatus, earl of Thomond; with certified copy, 15 Nov. 1638, of act of probate. PHA Ms 1600, 1601, 1624, 1638.
- 1638 Papers in suit, Sir Valentine Blake v. Murtagh Moriertagh, concerning lands in Cappagh, co. Clare. PHA Ms 3924.
- 1638 Bill of complaint of Andrew Creagh of Limerick against Henry, earl of Thomond, concerning money owed by the earl. PHA Ms 3925.
- 1638-1639 Papers concerning claim of Henry, earl of Thomond, against Daniel Neyrie [Annie] McNemarra, for possession of lands called Dromquynhie, co. Clare. PHA Ms 3926, PHA Ms C.13.36.
- 1638-1639 Papers in suit, Henry, earl of Thomond v. Donnogh McNemarra, concerning lands of Ballyishine and Shandagen. PHA Ms 3927.
- June 1638 Memorandum of affidavit by James Bourke of Limerick, esquire, concerning his right as heir to his mother's property of lands called DunKipp (alias DowneKipp) etc. in Co. Limerick. PHA Ms 5412.
- 2 June 1638 Witnessed record of affidavit by Lawrence Knowles, gent., that Sir Barnaby Brien, Kt. was possessor and inhabitant of the lands of Kinnagh and Tomgroth alias Tomogroth both in Co. Carlow. PHA Ms 5409.
- 1638 Copy of a petition of Henry, earl of Thomond, to the

- Commissioners for Remedy of Defective Titles, made concerning land at Dola (alias Tualick) and Fedamore both in Co. Limerick, then in the possession of James Delea and others; also a copy of Commissioners' order made 6 July 1638. PHA Ms 5410.
- 1638–1639 Copy petition of Daniel O'Mulconnery to the lord deputy and commissioners of Plantation concerning a forced exchange of lands with Donat, 3rd earl of Thomond and seeking restoration of his original lands of Ardkeile, Crivagh and Carhowlegan, also original letter missive of the lord deputy; instructions for, and copy of Thomond's answer. PHA Ms 5402.
- 2 April 1639 Will of Henry, earl of Thomond. PHA Ms 1602.
- 24 July 1639 A list of those to be served with the order of the Commissioners for the Remedy of Defective Titles '... to contrybute to the passing of the pattent to my lord ...' Almost all those on the list are tenants of the Manor of Carlow. PHA Ms 5406.
- 1639 Memoranda, and abstract of letters missive procured against the earls of Thomond. PHA Ms 1212.
- c.1639 Draft answer of Henry, earl of Thomond and Kennedy McBrien to the bill of complaint of the widow of Terlogh McBrien concerning Rynanna and Innish. PHA Ms 3928.
- Ante 1640 Petition of John McRedmud to the earl of Thomond seeking balance of a debt, and employment. PHA Ms 3946.
- 22 April 1640 Copy of order regarding money payable by Patrick, Lord Kerry to Barnabas, earl of Thomond arising from the executorship of the estate of Henry, late earl of Thomond. PHA Ms 1213.
- 1640 A Register made by the Right Hon. Barnaby earl of Thomond of all the evidences and writings at Bunratty. PHA Ms C.13.27.
- 1640 Memorandum of witnesses to prove the land near Ennis, co. Clare, held from Samuel Sage. PHA Ms 1214.
- 17th cent. Answers of the earl of Thomond to Lord Inchiquin's claim to advowsons in co. Clare. PHA Ms 3181, 3182.
- 17th cent. Copies of report on disputed ownership of land at Caronusk'en, co. Clare, involving the bishop of Killaloe and the earl of Thomond. PHA Ms 3183, 3184.
- 17th cent. Interrogatories concerning the precedency of the earldoms of Thomond and Clanricarde. PHA Ms 3185.
- 17th cent. Petition of Tirlagh McAnlowne McBrien for remedy against alleged wrongful possession by the earl of

- Thomond of lands in co. Limerick; with instructions and draft reply. PHA Ms 3188–3190.
- 17th cent. Copy of bill of complaint of Donnogh O’Bryen against James Bourke concerning a loan of £100 and the alleged cutting by the Earl of Thomond of timber purchased with the loan. With copy of bond, 17 June 1623. PHA Ms 3198, 3199.
- 17th cent. Draft answer of Henry, earl of Thomond to the bill of complaint of Thomas Comnyne alleging theft of wines. PHA Ms 3200.
- 17th cent. Abstract of Pattents granted to ‘ye Earle of Thomond’, reciting from 1 July 1543 to 7 March 1621/2. PHA Ms 3081.
- 17th cent. Petition of Loghlen McCnona to the Earl of Thomond offering his interest in lands in Morgudh in return for the ‘baylle’ of his son and another youth committed ‘for a triffle’. PHA Ms 3942.
- 17th cent. Draft particulars of estates in co. Clare [not detailed]. PHA Ms 1449.
- 17th cent. List of properties in cos. Clare, Tipperary, ‘Cross Tipperarie’ and Limerick, with notes of rent charges, fishing rights, etc. PHA Ms 3070.
- 17th cent. Memoranda [small value] of lands in Ireland and of lands yielding no rent. PHA Ms 3016.

### **Miscellaneous materials relating to Co. Clare**

- 1645 Luke Gernon’s letter to ‘my Lord of Thomond about the abolition of c’missioners in ye Gouvernements’. PHA Ms 2957
- 1659 Copy of action for recovery against Henry, earl of Thomond in respect of the manors of Bunratty, Crowraghan, Inishdyman, the late dissolved monasteries of Clare, Channons Island and Inisherone, and other properties in co. Clare. Hilary Term, 1658/9. PHA Ms 1215.
- 20 June 1683 Inspecimus of an inquisition post mortem relating to the estates of Donat, late earl Thomond, taken at Castle Bank, Co. Clare, 4 Jan 1624/5. PHA Ms 1141.
- 1893 Certified extract from the ‘Book of Survey and Distribution – Co. Clare’ concerning Cloundrelaw Barony. PHA Ms 1493.

# Index

- Advowsons 50  
Albert, Archduke 28  
Annaghmore 44  
Ardkeile 35–6, 50  
Ardkyle 14n46, 19–20, 20n74,  
20n76, 21, 21n84, 22, 25n106  
Arra, Mac-I-Brien of 28, 40  
Arthur family (Co. Clare) 17  
Arthur, Thomas 26  
Arundel 9n12  
Ashpool, Walter 45  
Avesnes, Abbey of 28n127  
Aylebeg 20n76  
Aylmer, James 39
- Balecorney 33, 44  
Baleguery 44  
Ballekilltie 37  
Ballekilltie [Ballykilty] 22  
Balliduffly 32n143  
Ballieghwyhe 41  
Balligirine 41  
Ballinacloone 38–9, 48  
Ballinmorris 47  
Ballinreedy 32n143  
Balliteig 32n143  
Ballyallia 21  
Ballyally 21n86  
Ballybought (Co. Tipperary) 48  
Ballybroughan [Ballybrukan] 16  
Ballybrukan 46  
Ballycarroll 21n86  
Ballydonoghoro 12  
Ballygreifa 22n93  
Ballygriffin (Co. Limerick) 13n40  
Ballyhybroacharan 21  
Ballyishine 49  
Ballykilty 23, 23n95  
Ballymacloone 24–6, 38  
Ballymcunna 22n93  
Ballymoroghow 45  
Ballymorrish (Co. Tipperary) 47  
Ballynacloghie (Co. Tipperary) 47  
Ballynacragga 24n96, 27n115  
Ballynahinsy 12  
Ballynyda (Co. Tipperary) 46  
Ballyportrea 45  
Ballysallagh [aka Ballysallagh  
McEnehrine] 11n32, 24n96  
Balyconrie 41  
Barnie Carigie 41  
Beallagymanbegg 46  
Belahinane 45  
Benedictines 29n127  
Bingham, Sir Richard 13n43
- Blake, Sir Valentine 49  
Blunt, George 44  
Boetin, Mr (1617) 45  
Book of Survey and Distribution,  
Co. Clare 51  
Bóroimhe, king Brian 9  
Bourke (1627–30) 46  
Bourke, James 49, 51  
Boyle 22n88  
Boyle, Richard (earl of Cork)  
33n149  
Brikdall, William 14n50, 45  
Broadford [Allahan] 28n121  
Brodyn, Connor 31  
Brodyn, McBrodye 31  
Brodyn, Teig 32  
Bunratty 50–1  
Bunratty barony 9–10, 12, 18–19,  
20n76, 21, 25n106, 26–7,  
35–7, 46  
Burghley, Lord 12  
Butler, George 45  
Butler, Peter 47  
Butler, Thomas McEdward 47
- Cahan, Nicholas 13n43  
Cahermonagh 12  
Cahirduffe 27n115  
*Calendar of State Papers of Ireland*  
10  
*Calendar of the Carew*  
*Manuscripts* 10  
Cappagh 49  
Carew Manuscripts 11  
Carhowlegan 50  
Carhowlegane 35  
Carhowlegane [Carrownalegaun]  
21  
Carlow, Co. 45  
Caronusk'en 50  
Carrigouran 11  
Carrowgar 26  
Cashell, archbishop of 47  
Castlebank 45  
Castletown (Co. Limerick) 47  
Castletowne 37  
Catherlogh (Co. Clare?) 14n50  
Catholic League 28  
Chancery Pleadings 10  
Channons Island 51  
Charles II, King 9  
Charles I, King 22  
Clancarty, earls of 28  
Clanchy (Clancy), Boetius 12–13,  
13n42–3, 15, 21, 30, 46
- Clanchy, Donat 12–13, 13n44  
Clاندoyne 12  
Clann Bhruaideadha 16n58  
Clann Chuiléin 14n45, 19, 25–6  
Clann an Oirchinnigh 11n32  
Clanricard, earls of 10, 50  
Clarecastle 19n71  
Clare, Co. 14–15, 16n57, 18, 20  
Cloncross 49  
Clonderalaw 32n140, 33n145  
Clondovan 23n94  
Clonfada [Clonfadda] 31–2,  
32n143, 33, 40–1  
Clonine 13  
Clonloghan 11n32  
Cloundrelaw barony 51  
Comnyne, Thomas 14n50, 51  
*Composicion Booke of Conought*  
10  
Comyne, Jacobi 13, 13n40  
Comyn, William 13n40  
Confederate Wars 9  
Corbally 12  
Corcomroe 21, 30  
Corkanalabuna [Knockanalban]  
32n140  
Coymn family (Co. Clare) 17  
Craganeowen 35  
Craiglegh 32n143  
Creagh, Andrew 49  
Creagh family (Co. Clare) 18  
Crevagh 21, 35  
Crivagh 50  
Crossfield (Co. Leitrim) 27  
Crowraghan 51  
Cuerchy 27  
Culleane 35  
Cullen 46  
Cullenagh 26  
Cullinagh 39
- Daingean Uí Bhigín [Dangan-i-  
viggín] 25, 25n102, 26, 39  
Danganbrack 14, 26, 39  
Delahoyde, Sir Rowland 14n50,  
47  
Depositions (1641) 18n69  
Desmond, earls of 28  
Dola [aka Tualick] (Co. Limerick)  
50  
Donbegg 13  
Donellay, Andrew 46  
Donmacfelim 12  
Donnogh, Ownhye 41–2  
Donoghoe, Ownhye 42

DOCUMENTS FROM THOMOND PAPERS, PETWORTH HOUSE ARCHIVE

- Douai 28  
 Dromconnowra 22n93  
 Dromolin [Dromoland] 12, 12n35, 23n96  
 Dromquynhie 49  
 Drumcliffe 12n34, 15, 15n52  
 Drumquin 22, 37–8  
 DunKipp [DowneKipp] (Co. Limerick) 49
- Edgworth, Francis 45  
 Egerton 88 (manuscript) 20  
 Egerton Charters 26  
 Egremont, earls of 7  
 Ennis 12n34, 18, 18n69, 19, 19n71, 21–2, 23n94, 38, 50
- Faninge, Frances 48  
 Faninge, William 48  
 Fanning, George 49  
 Fanning, John 49  
 Fanning, Simon 49  
 Fanningstowne (Co. Limerick) 45  
 Fanning, George 18  
 Fanning, John 18  
 Fannings family (Co. Limerick) 17–18  
 Fanning, Simon 18  
 Fedamore (Co. Limerick) 45, 50  
 Feenagh 20  
 Fendamora (Co. Limerick) 45  
 Fenlemor 44  
 Fiant Rolls 10  
 Finleh 32n143  
 Fornaght 47  
 Franciscan abbey (Limerick) 45  
 Frost, James 10, 11n30  
 Fynlea More 41
- Galway, Co. 20  
 Garanboy 33, 44  
 Garranbuye 41  
 Gerald, John Fitzmorisha 45  
 Gernon, Luke 51  
 Ghent 28  
 Glanamuntermalone 32n143  
 Glannegalagh 41  
 Glann I malowne [Gleann Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh] 28  
 Gleanagaleagh 44  
 Gleanomalun and Cuerchy, barony of 31, 33, 39, 44, 47. *See* O Mallun, Sir Dermot [Dermot] (baron of Gleanomalun and Cuerchy)  
 Gleanomalun [Glanomallun, Glean Omallun] 27, 27n118, 28, 33, 39–40  
 Gortein 44  
 Gortmagie 41  
 Gortnacoealy 44
- Gortnyckally 41  
 Gortrahmorroghoe 48  
 Gortrahmorroghoe (location uncertain) 17  
 Gortvage 44  
 Grannaghan 17n60  
 Great Billing (Northamptonshire) 9
- Hardiman, James 10, 26  
*Ancient Irish Deeds* 10  
 Harpool, Pierce 45  
 Harpool, Sir William 45  
 Henry VIII, King 8  
 Hurly, Derby 49
- Ibracken, baron of (see Wyndham (O'Brien), Percy) 9  
 Ibrickan barony 14, 14n49, 45  
 Ilands, barony of 47  
 Inagh 12n37  
 Inchiquin, 1st baron 9, 14n50  
 Inchiquin barony 12n37  
*Inchiquin Manuscripts* 10  
 Inishdyman 51  
 Inisheronane 51  
 Innish 50
- James I, King 27, 29  
 Jones, Bishop Lewis 15
- Kalloraghis 37  
 Keateing, Richard 47  
 Kerroge, Conor 15  
 Kerry, Lord Patrick 50  
 Kilanmanagh (Co. Tipperary) 46  
 Kilconry 17n60  
 Kildare (diocese) 15, 15n15, 16  
 Kilfinaghta 18  
 Kilfintinan 16  
 Killaloe, bishop of 11n30, 28, 32, 32n143, 43, 50  
 Killaloe (diocese) 12n36, 15n54  
 Killaloe (parish) 27–8, 31–2, 32n143, 41, 44  
 Killaloe [parish] 33  
 Killalowe 41  
 Killilagh 13n43, 21  
 Killmore (Co. Tipperary) 47  
 Killraghtis 38  
 Kilmacreagh 16  
 Kilmastulla (Co. Tipperary) 45, 48  
 Killmore and Ardagh (diocese) 27  
 Kilmurry 14n46, 21–2  
 Kilmurry Ibrickan 32n140  
 Kilmurry Ibrickan parish 12n38  
 Kilnasoolagh 11n32, 17, 27n115  
 Kilnegoneny 46  
 Kilraghtis 22  
 Kinnagh 49
- Knockfin [Knocfine] 13, 13n42–3  
 Knowles, Lawrence 49  
 Kynahow 46  
 Kynnagh 45
- Lacavaor 44  
 Lackamore 41  
 Lackenegrenan (Co. Limerick) 46  
 Laffman, John 47  
 Lambeth Archiepiscopal Library 10  
 Leacerrone Iraghteragh [Leclarowighter] 23n95  
 Leagh, Teige Mc Donnell 37  
 Lettermoilane 12  
 Lickinbana 32n143  
 Lifford [Liffer] (Co. Clare) 12, 12n34  
 Limerick city 26, 45–6  
 Limerick, Co. 18, 25n106, 39–40, 43, 45, 49, 51  
 Liscannor 13n43  
 Lishine 48  
 Littermoylan 12n37  
 Lodge, Nathaniel 14n50, 47  
 Loftus, Sir Adam 45  
 Ludovisi, Ludovico 29  
 Luther, Thomas 47
- Mac Brody, Thady 12  
 Mac Bruaideadha family 16n57, 32  
 Mac Bruaideadha poets 33  
 Mac Conmara Fionn lordship 19, 25  
 Mac Conmara Fionn (of Dangan-i-viggin) 11n30  
 Mac Conmara Fionn, Seán 14n45  
 Mac Conmara lordship 19n70  
 Mac Conmara, Seán 20  
 Mac Conmara, Teige  
     Mac Mohona 35  
 Mac Curtain, Kellach 12n38  
 Mac Fhirbhisigh, Dubhaltach 24  
 Mac Fhlannchadha lineage 21, 30  
 Mac-I-Brien of Arra. *See* Arra, Mac-I-Brien of  
 Mac Mathghamhna lineage 32n140, 33n145  
 Macnamara sept 23n95  
 Mac Nemary, Johan 12  
 Mahon, Arthur 27, 44  
 Mainwaringe, Edmond 45  
 Malowne, Owne mcTeig I 40–2  
 Maloune, Glane I 41  
 Malowne, Owghny mcLoghlen I 40  
 Malowns sept 32, 40–1, 42n150, 43  
 Mauritius [Murchadh], Bishop  
     Brien 15, 15n15, 16

- McBriean, Tirlagh McAnlowne 50  
 McBrien, Brien McTerrelagh 48  
 McBrien, Kennedy 50  
 McBrodyn, Connor 42  
 McBrodyn, Teig 32, 32n140, 42  
 McBrodys (Mhic Bhruaidealha) (Littermoylan, Co. Clare) 12n37  
 McBryan, Dirmoud 48  
 McBryan, Tirlagh 47  
 McClanichys (Mhic Fhlannchadha) 13n43  
 McCloone, Donogh 25, 38  
 McCloone, John 38, 48  
 McCloone, Loughlen 24–5, 39  
 McCloone sept 24–5, 38  
 McCnona, Loughlen 22n93, 51  
 McConside, jun., Conor 47  
 McConside, sen., Conor 47  
 Mc Cruttin, Hugo 12, 12n38  
 McDermott, Morrogh 48  
 mcDonogh Mc Nemary, Teige 13  
 McEnerhiny [Mc Enerhiny, Mc Inerhiny], Mahon 22, 37–8  
 McEnerhiny, John 23n96, – 24  
 McEnerhiny [McEnerhine, Mc Innerreny, McEnerhini], James 23, 23n96, 24, 24n98, 26, 39, 48  
 Mc Gillowiole, Mahowne 37  
 McHugh O'Hogan, Edmund 12n36  
 McMahone, Thady 13  
 Mc Moiler, John 37  
 McMorogh O Bryen, Terence 12  
 McMorrogh, Donnogh 46  
 McMoyley, Redmond Bourke 46  
 McNamara [MacNamara, McNamarra], Sir John [Johan McNemarra] 10, 12–13, 13n42, 14, 14n45, 17, 17n60, 19–20, 25–6, 28, 28n121, 39–40, 42, 46  
 McNamara, Teige 26  
 McNemarra, Daniel 48  
 Mc Nemarra, Daniel Annierie 21, 24, 37–8, 49  
 McNemarra, Daniel Annierie 22  
 McNemarra, Donnagh 47  
 McNemarra, Donnogh 49  
 mcOwne, Donogh 40  
 mcOwney, Donogh 43  
 McRedmond, David 46  
 McRedmond, Moyler 46  
 McRedmud, John 50  
 Mc Redmund, Thomas 37–8  
 McRiccarrd, Tibbott 45  
 McRory, Conor 12  
 mcShane, Covarra 27n15  
 mcShane McInnrhiny, Mahon 27n15  
 McShane, William 44  
 McShean, Moyler 46  
 Mc Shidae, Roarie mc Donnogh 37  
 McSwynye, Ownie 48  
 mcTeige, Connor Roe 12  
 mcTerrelagh McBrien, Brien 17  
 Mc Tybbot, Walter 38  
 Mc Tybott, Walter 37  
 Mhic Bhruaidealha family (Thomond) 8, 20  
 Mhic Chonmara, Clann 9  
 Mhic Chraith family 20  
 Mhic Chruitín family 20  
 Mhic Fhlannchadha family (Thomond) 8, 20  
 Moehill 12  
 Moghan 13  
 Montallon 12  
 Morgudh 51  
 Moriertagh, Murtagh 49  
 Morris, James 14n50, 48  
 Mosely, Rev. Samuel 14n50  
 Moughavald 48  
 Mountallon 13n42, 28, 28n121  
 Moyreske 13  
 Neylan, Bishop Daniel 15, 15n54, 16  
 Neylan, Dr James 21, 21n86  
 Nine Years War 7  
 Northamptonshire 9  
 Norton, Captain (Bunratty, 1636) 37–8  
 Norton, Hugo 12, 12n34  
 Norton, Samuel 12n34  
 Ó Briain, Mathghamhain 12  
 O'Brien, Donough (Donat) (2nd earl of Thomond) 38–9  
 O'Brien, Connor (3rd earl of Thomond) 7–8, 11, 44, 46, 50  
 O'Brien, Donough (Donat) (4th earl of Thomond) 7–8, 9, 11, 11n30, 12, 13n43, 14n45, 15, 15n54, 16, 16n56, 17, 17n62, 18, 21, 21n84, 22, 22n93, 24, 24n96, 25n106, 26–9, 31, 33, 33n149, 34–5, 38, 40, 42–3, 45–6, 48–9, 51  
 O'Brien, Henry (5th earl of Thomond) 14, 14n47, 14n50, 15n54, 17–18, 24, 33, 39, 46–51  
 O'Brien, Barnaby (6th earl of Thomond) 9, 14n50, 30–2, 32n143, 33, 44, 46–7, 49–50  
 O'Brien, Henry (7th earl of Thomond) 9  
 O'Brien, Henry (8th earl of Thomond) 9, 9n12  
 O'Brien, Connor 49  
 O'Brien, Conor 23n96  
 O'Brien, Daniel 49  
 O'Brien, Dermott McTirlagh 48  
 O'Brien, Donnogh 49  
 O'Brien family (Thomond) 8  
 O'Brien, King Conor McTurlogh 24  
 O'Brien Mac Donnogh, Teige 35, 40  
 O'Brien, Mahon 23n94  
 O'Brien, Murrough 34n149  
 O'Brien, Sir Barnaby 27, 29–30, 32  
 O'Brien, Sir Daniel 46, 48  
 Ó Bruadair, Dáibhí 20  
 O'Bryan, Mourtough 48  
 O'Bryen, Donnogh 51  
 O Bryen, Donogh 38–9  
 O Bryen, Donogh mcTurlogh 38  
 O'Bryen, Kennedy McTieg 45  
 O'Bryen, Terlagh 45  
 O Caffoe, Melaghlen 48  
 O'Dwyer, Phillip 46  
 O'Ferala, David 18  
 O Grady, Donogh 40  
 O'Grady, Donogh 28  
 Qhartersyn 41  
 O Hehir, Conell 14n50, 45  
 Ó hÓgáin, Seán 10  
*Conntae an Chláir* 10  
 Ó Hogan, Edmond 12, 12n36  
 Ó hUidhrín, Gilla na Naomh 20  
 O'Loughlin, Rossie 30  
 O Mallouny [O Mullowny], Owen 16  
 O'Mallouny, Owen 46  
 O Mallun, Albert 29, 30n135, 31n138  
 O Mallun, Francis 29  
 O Mallun, Isabella 29n127  
 O Mallun, Maria 28n127  
 O Mallun, Sir Dermot [Dermod] (baron of Gleanomalun and Cuerchy) 27–8, 28n127, 29, 29n129, 30, 30n135, 30n137, 31–3, 39, 44, 47  
 O Malun, Connor mcMorogh 43  
 O Malun, Dermod mc Doen[?] moeal 43  
 O Malun, Dermod mcOwen mcTeige 43  
 O Malun, Donogh McConor 43  
 O Malun, John Caragh 43  
 O Malun, Loughlen mcShean 43  
 O Malun, Mahon mcDonogh mcDoen oig 43  
 O Malun, Owen mcTeige 43  
 O Malun, Owney [Owney] mcLoughlen [mcloughlen] [Uaithne mac Lochlainn Ó Maol Domhnaigh] 33, 43  
 Ó Maolchonaire, Domhnall 20

DOCUMENTS FROM THOMOND PAPERS, PETWORTH HOUSE ARCHIVE

- Ó Maolchonaire, Muiris 33  
 Ó Maolchonaire, Muiris [Mauris  
   O Milcounry] 14n46, 20–1,  
   21n84, 22, 24, 25n106  
 Ó Maolchonaire, Seán 20  
 Ó Maolchonaire, Torna Óg 20  
 Ó Maolchonarie, Torna (Torna)  
   20n76  
 Ó Maol Dhomhnaigh, Seán  
   [John O Muldowney] 21  
 O'Meere, Patrick 15, 15n54, 16, 48  
 O Molchonre, Ilund 20  
 O'Mulconery, Donnell 14n50  
 O Mulconery, Morish 35  
 O'Mulconnery, Daniel 50  
 O Mulconnery, Daninel [Daniel]  
   21–2, 22n90, 35–6, 38  
 O'Mullconery, Donnell 48  
 O Mullconry, Morris 38  
 O'Neylan (O Neland), William  
   mcTeige 13, 13n39  
 Ó Rodaighe, Tadhg 27  
 Orsi (Belgium) 28  
 O'Shaughnessy, Sir Roger 48  
 O Tarmon, Teig 37  
 Oxford, William 47
- Perrott's Parliament 13n43, 22  
 Petworth House Archive *passim*  
 Phillip III, King 30n135  
 Poulmore 46
- Quin (Co. Clare) 11n32, 17n60,  
   22, 23n94, 24
- Rahmary 14n50, 45  
 Rathblathmaic 12n36  
 Rathcloghyn (Co. Tipperary) 47  
 Rathfolan Beg 17  
 Rathfolan [Ratiffellan] 17, 17n60,  
   23n96  
 Rathmolanbegg 11  
 Ratiffellan 46  
 Renzy, Matthew de 16, 16n57  
 Roch(e), Thomas 45  
 Rodan family 20n76  
 Roscleane 48  
 Roscommon, Co. 19n73  
 Rossmanagher 20  
 Rynanna 50
- Sage, Samuel 50  
 Sarsfield, John 42  
 Shamballyduffe 47  
 Shanaghcloyne [Ballynacragga]  
   24n96  
 Shandagen 49  
 Shandangan 14n46, 21, 21n84,  
   22  
 Shandangane 35  
 Shandgan [Shandangan] 22  
 Sibthorpe, Robert 14n50, 47  
 Síol Fhlannchadha (family, Co.  
   Clare) 13n44  
 Sixmilebridge 18, 18n69, 19,  
   19n71  
 Skiddie, Andrew 47  
 Skiddy, Roger 46  
 Slieve Callan 12n37  
 Smithetowne 12  
 Smyth, Bishop (Kilmore and  
   Ardagh) 27  
 Southwell, Sir Richard 14n50, 47  
 Spanish Armada 13n43  
 Sparcke, Robert 42  
 Stafford Survey of Connacht 22  
 Stakepolle, John 49  
 Starkey, William 12, 12n35  
 Stafford, earl of 30n137  
 Strich, Nicholas 24–5, 25n106,  
   39  
 Strokestown (Co. Roscommon)  
   27  
*Suím Cíosa Ua Briain* 10  
*Suím Tigerna Meic na Mara* 10  
 Surrender and Regrant scheme 8
- Táin Bó Cúailnge* 20  
 Tanner, James 47  
 Terlogh, McBrien to the bill of  
   complaint of the widow of 50  
 Theamrogg, Cule 46  
 Thirty Years War 30  
 Thomond 7–8, 14, 25n106,  
   34n149, 42, 47, 50  
 Thomond, earls of (see under  
   O'Brien for individual earls)  
   7–11, 13n39  
 Tipperary, Co. 28, 51  
 Tobine, John 48  
 Tobine, Walter 48
- Tomfinlough 17n60  
 Tomgraney ([Tuamgraney]  
   29n129  
 Tomgroth (Co. Carlow) 49  
 Tomogroth (Co. Carlow) 49  
 Tradery (Co. Clare) 14n50, 47  
 Tradraighe 13n43, 13n44  
 Tromra [Tromroe] 12n38  
 Tuamgraney 28  
 Tuath Uí Bhrcáin 14  
 Tuogonoly 44  
 Turvin, William 14n50, 46  
 Twoghogonollye 41
- Uí Bhriain dynasty 8–9  
 Uí Chiaróg family 15  
 Uí Chiaróg family  
   (Rathblathmaic, Co. Clare)  
   12n36  
 Uí Chonchobhair dynasty 19n73  
 Uí Dhálaigh family 20  
 Uí Dhuibhdábhoireann family 20  
 Uí Ghríobhtha lineage 15n52  
 Uí Íceadha family 20  
 Uí Mhaoilchonaire family  
   (Thomond) 8, 19, 19n73, 20,  
   20n76, 21–2  
 Uí Mhaoir family 15, 15n52, 16  
 Uí Mhaol Dhomhnaigh sept  
   28, 31–3  
 Uí Nialláin family 20–1  
 Uí Ógáin family (Rathblathmaic,  
   Co. Clare) 12n36  
 Urban VIII, Pope 29  
 Urlan 13  
 Urlin 13  
 Urlinbegg 12  
 Urlinmore 12
- Vandelure, James 18n69
- Warter [or Walter], Gilbert 46  
 Wentworth, Thomas 22, 22n88,  
   30n136, 48–9  
 West Sussex Record Office 8–9  
 White, Henry 47  
 Worth, Bishop Edward 15  
 Wyndham, George (earl of  
   Egremont) 9  
 Wyndham (O'Brien), Percy 9