An Inventory of the Contents of Bunratty Castle and the Will of Henry, Fifth Earl of Thomond, 1639

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The career of Henry fifth Earl of Thomond is outlined and the means he employed in providing dowries for his five daughters commented upon. The significance of the Bunratty inventory of 1639 is assessed, particularly the light it sheds on interior furnishings, household organisation and farming practice. A comparison is also made between the households of the Earls of Kildare, Cork and Antrim and that of the Earl of Thomond at Bunratty.

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Henry O’Brien, fifth Earl Thomond (1624–39), drew up his last will and testament on 2 April 1639; having no male heirs, he left the bulk of his personal estate to his wife and five daughters. He died three weeks later and was buried in the tomb he had erected in honour of his father in St Mary’s Cathedral, Limerick. Without a male heir, his earldom and ownership of his principal residence, Bunratty Castle, passed to his brother Barnaby, who succeeded as sixth Earl of Thomond. To facilitate the transfer of property four men were appointed to make an inventory of all the movable goods the fifth earl was possessed of at the time of his death. The inventory, compiled in August 1639, three months after his decease, catalogued and valued the contents of the castle, stables and farm at Bunratty. This catalogue, which has only recently come to light, is a most revealing document, and is the closest we are ever likely to get to a tour of Bunratty castle during the residency of the Earls of Thomond. The internal furnishings of the principal chambers are recorded, together with the earl’s extensive collection of silverware, so that a vivid picture is created of the family’s affluence and lifestyle. By listing contents of bedchambers, kitchen and laundry an understanding is gained of the domestic arrangements and the many servants required for the effective operation of the household. Outside the castle the large numbers of horses, cattle and sheep are indicative of the farming activities engaged in for the support of the domestic economy. Bunratty, because of its size and wealth, was atypical of the castles of county Clare, nevertheless the inventory is important, because it provides the only indication we now possess of how the tower houses of the period were furnished and of how their households were organised. In order to set the document in its historical context it will first be necessary to look at the career of the fifth earl and subsequently to examine the provisions of his will.

Career and Will of Henry, Fifth Earl of Thomond

Henry, the fifth earl, had an uneventful career; he was too young to participate in the Nine Years War which ended in 1603 and had died before the outbreak of the 1641 uprising. He

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1West Sussex Record Office, Petworth House Archives, Ms B26/W16
3Huntingdon Record Office, Manchester Papers, Ms dd. M7/23
benefited in a real sense from the prestige and accumulated wealth of his father, Donough, the fourth earl. Donough had always been a staunch supporter of the English interest and was rewarded in later life by being appointed President of Munster. As a youth Henry was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford and later admitted a student of Trinity College Dublin. On the death of his father in 1624, he succeeded briefly as President of Munster. He had previously married Mary, daughter of Sir William Breton by whom he had five daughters. In September 1633 he was appointed to the king’s privy council. Henry enjoyed good relations with the administration in Dublin, particularly with the powerful Lord Deputy, Sir Thomas Wentworth, whom he acknowledged in his will by leaving him a jewel or piece of plate to the value of one hundred pounds. Ireland for once was at peace during his fifteen years as Earl of Thomond and in many ways Henry enjoyed the best years at Bunratty castle.

In his later years his principal preoccupation was searching out suitable English husbands for his many daughters. To provide them with dowries befitting their status, he was obliged to raise large amounts of cash. He did this by heaping debt upon the earldom through the wholesale mortgaging of property. As early as 1627, Henry mortgaged the entire manor and castle of Bunratty to raise a marriage portion for his first daughter the Lady Mary. Having no male heir, he was determined to squeeze as much money as possible out of the estate before passing it on to his brother Barnaby, who would succeed as sixth earl. In a conveyance of 1635 to Thomas Arthur, the well-known Limerick physician, we see the type of land deals he engaged in his quest for funds. He leased the lands of Creadlahmore and Portregue to Arthur for ninety-nine years at the rent of “a red rose in mid summer”, provided an initial payment of £1,050 was made. In other words, while Henry received an immediate and substantial cash payment, his successors could not expect any income from these lands for almost a century.

In his will Henry reminds us that he had already provided for two of his married daughters, the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth; but as a token of his love for them, he bequeathed a further two thousand pounds to the Lady Mary and four thousand pounds to the Lady Elizabeth. To his other three unmarried daughters, to further enhance their dowries, he left five thousand pounds to the Lady Margaret and two thousand pounds each to the Lady Ann and the Lady Honora. A total of fifteen thousand pounds extra debt on the estate in addition to the marriage portions already provided. Only after these sums were paid would the earldom pass to his successor. There is grave doubt that the sixth earl ever intended to honoured these debts. In any event, the outbreak of rebellion in 1641, so reduced his income, that the financial liabilities of the estate could not be met. The one husband, at least, came to Ireland in pursuit of his wife’s marriage portion is clear. The Lady Margaret was married to Edward Sommerset, Earl of Glamorgan; this gentleman came to Ireland in 1645 as an emissary of Charles I to negotiate a secret peace treaty with the Confederation of Kilkenny. His secret diplomacy having been exposed, he turned his attention instead to securing his wife’s dowry:

the portion of Glamorgan’s wife, assigned upon her intermarriage, not paid, some lands in the
county Clare assigned him during the non payment thereof, he sues the Supreme Council [of
Kilkenny] for granting their orders to enter possession of the said estate; the council did favour
his Lordship that far; his wife by this arriving to Ireland, pursuant to the former council’s order,
both peer and lady took their journey towards the county of Clare and seats himself at
Innishcahun[rode].

1Ivar O’Brien, O’Brien of Thomond, Chichester 1986, pp. 52–53.
2P.H.A. Ms B26/W16; see Appendix 2. Lady Mary married Charles Cockayne, first Viscount Cullen in 1627.
3Maurice O’Loughlin, Limerick; Its History and Antiquities etc. Dublin 1886, pp. 144–145.
Evidently land had been assigned to Glamorgan in lieu of dowery payment; however, in the disturbed conditions then prevailing in county Clare, it is questionable whether the peer and his lady benefited substantially from their marriage endowment.

Overall the will of the fifth earl does not impress. It is clear he maintained few of the links established by his father, either with the new English settlers of Munster, or with the social elites in Dublin or in London. It is evident also that relations with his wife were strained; he left to her just the third part of his movable goods, the minimum required by law, requiring of her to provide security for the same. Unlike his father Donough, Henry carried out no public works. There is not in his will a single bequest to a religious or charitable institution of any kind or any expression of concern for the welfare of the inhabitants of Thomond. The focus of the document is altogether too narrow, concentrating on the private concerns of family and estate while neglecting his duties as earl and man of public affairs.

Sequel 1657

The outcome of the attempts of Henry to provide for his daughters is best observed in the will of his brother Barnaby, who succeeded as sixth earl. The will, dated 1 July 1657, makes clear that although Henry had been dead for eighteen years the monies owing to his daughters had not been paid. Barnaby exonerated himself by claiming that the great sums charged on the estate by his brother were not paid because the lands and rents had been forcibly taken from him during the years of the wars of the Confederacy 1641–50. He further claimed that he had paid out of his own resources over £5,000 to satisfy the claims of servants and friends on his brother’s estate. He complained that since the war his estates were withheld from him ‘by the unexpected and unnatural actions of his nearest relatives’ to his personal loss of near £100,000! Evidently his nieces and their titled husbands, despairing that they would ever receive their inheritance, had taken steps to ensure the belated payment of their marriage portions. In sharp contrast to the thousands of pounds his brother bestowed on his daughters, Barnaby could only afford to leave £100 to his only daughter Penelope and a paltry four pounds for distribution among the poor. Clearly the combination of years of ruinous war in Ireland together with the heavy monitory demands of his relatives left him in greatly reduced circumstances; and while he made ever effort to secure the financial future of his son and heir Henry, the Thomond estate would, in fact, never again achieve the levels of prosperity experienced during the first four decades of the seventeenth century.

Inventory of Bunratty Castle, 1639

Turning now to the inventory - the more interesting of the two documents, we get a fascinating view of the contents of Bunratty castle. The castle’s silver collection, containing over 140 pieces and weighing some two and a half thousand ounces is first described. The collection is divided into those items bearing the ‘London touch’ or hallmark and the plate made at Dublin which was without ‘touch’. The English plate is valued at a shilling an ounce more than the Irish plate, presumably because it had a higher silver content. The outstanding piece of the collection was a gilded silver basin and ewer, weighing over 132 ounces and valued at £33 3s 9d. The total bullion value of the silverware was put at £773 7s 4d. however, had the collection survived into modern times, in terms of its aesthetic quality and historic interest, the collection would have been truly priceless.


[10] An abstract of the will of Barnaby, sixth Earl of Thomond, can be found among T.J. Westropp’s ‘Notes on Clare’, R.I.A., Ms 3A 39, f. 326.
The first room of the castle to be inventoried was the dining room; it was hung with eleven pairs of tapestries, a large Turkey carpet covered the floor; round about were couches, arm chairs, cupboards, brass candlesticks and Spanish tables. Counting the chairs, the room could accommodate some forty people. However, there was no single great table around which the guests could sit; there were eight individual tables, which would suggest that at meal time diners were dispersed about the room. Most items appear to have been the worst for wear: the tapestries had lost their colour; the carpet had holes in it, and an old wind instrument was out of repair. The impression created is of a household that had seen better days. This impression of neglect and even decay is reinforced in the other rooms of the castle where many items are described as being old, worn or moth eaten. With the impending hand over of the castle to the earl's brother, there was probably little incentive to renew furniture or interior decoration.

Chambers of the Towers

Most of the chambers of the towers were given over to bedrooms. The basic rooms, most likely those of servants, were furnished with a bed, bed covering, stool and cupboard and were valued at between one and two pounds. The better appointed rooms had fireplaces in them and as well as their furniture were decorated with wall hangings, curtains and carpets. These were probably the bedrooms of the earl's daughters and their contents were valued at about ten pounds each. The third chamber of the east tower was a special bedroom; its contents were valued at £73.6s.8d. way above any other room in the castle; it was almost certainly the bedroom of the earl and his lady. The room was hung with rich auras curtains and tapestries and had as a centre piece a bed of dark orange velvet trimmed with gold and silver loops, with matching stools, chairs and cupboard cloths. Above the earl's chamber in the east tower was another richly furnished bedroom, its contents were valued at £14; it was most likely the bedroom of a daughter or close female relative as it was the only chamber to contain a looking glass.

Through close examination it is possible to trace the footsteps of the inventory takers as they proceeded around the castle. They began in the lower chamber of the 'west' tower. There are two west towers in the castle, however, the tower nearest the main entrance is the one most likely intended, what might be more accurately designated the northwest tower. Three rooms were inventoried in this tower before the inventory takers proceeded across the great hall to the 'south' tower. The same problem arises with identification here; which of the south towers are intended? The southwest tower most likely, because no mention is made of the chapel or chaplain's bedroom in the southeast tower. The chapel and chaplain's bedroom were omitted possibly because their contents belonged, not to the earl, but to his chaplain, Mr Fenner. Three rooms were inventoried in the 'south' tower, the lowest one was without a fireplace while the upper chambers both contained fireplaces. The chambers with the fireplaces are probably the rooms that today constitute the apartments of the south solar. The inventory takers then retraced their steps across the great hall to the 'east' tower - more accurately the north east tower. This tower contained the earl's well furnished bedroom. Five rooms, three with fireplaces, were inventoried here, making this the largest and most occupied part of the castle. The rooms of the east tower almost certainly made up the private apartments of the earl and his lady and can be identified with the suite of rooms referred to today in the tourist literature as the apartment of the north solar; except that there were no sitting or dining rooms in the complex all the chambers were given over to bedrooms.

Great Hall and Main Guard

The contents of the Great Hall, the most imposing chamber of the castle, are a considerable disappointment. There is nothing to indicate that the earl sat in state here,
receiving rents, administering justice or dining with his favoured guests. In the centre of the hall stood a shuffleboard table the seventeenth century equivalent of a modern snooker table. Players pushed wooden disks with long cues into numbered boxes to register scores. About the room was a drawing table, a pair of playing tables, four rough hewn forms and some leather stools. The place had all the appearance of a large games' room where the bored retainers of the household relaxed in the evening time. Several old muskets and visorless helmets were also noted by the inventory takers. However, the value of the contents amounted to a mere two pounds. The furnishings of the Great Hall, or rather the lack of them, is in keeping with a feature of the earl's character noted earlier in his will, namely his lack of public persona. Bunratt Castle was not an open house where public business was transacted, but rather a private residence where the earl lived aloof from the people.

The old dining room can be identified with the chamber today called the Main Guard. Again this room was sparsely furnished, containing a single table, an imitation Turkey carpet, a lantern no longer serviceable and interestingly two small clocks. A distinction is made between the old and new dining rooms. The new dining room was the first to be inventoried and the room most in use; where was it located? When Donough O'Brien, the fourth earl, moved his principal residence from Clonroad to Bunratt in the 1580s, he carried out many alterations to the original structure. He bricked up the great northern arch of the castle and created several new rooms in the space between the projecting northern towers. The floor space at the same level of the main guard was used as the new dining room being nearest to the kitchens in the courtyard. Regrettably all the sixteenth and seventeenth century fabric of the castle was swept away in the 'restorations' (I use the term in its loosest meaning) carried out in the late 1950s, so that today one has little idea of how the place looked or functioned in the time when the earls of Thomond resided at Bunratty.

Stables, Kitchen and Laundry

The great stable was one of the wonders of Bunratty. Up to sixty horses could be stabled at any one time. The stable stood in front of the south west tower, on the ground now occupied by the old Ennis-Limerick road. It was a two storey structure; servants were housed on the first floor and in the roof space of the attic - an ideal location as the rising heat from the horses kept the rooms above warm during the winter months. Fifteen rooms were enumerated above the stables; each contained a bed and bed clothes, but the better ones had chairs, tables and cupboards; their contents are indicative of the home comforts of the more ordinary mortals of the period.

A great deal of the domestic activity took place outside the castle down in the courtyard. The kitchen for obvious safety reasons was located there; accommodation for its staff, included a cook's chamber and a chamber for the clerk of the kitchen. There are few surprises regarding kitchen utensils except perhaps for the dearth of crockery, pewter ware of all kinds predominated.

Located also in the courtyard was the castle's laundry. The officials went to considerable trouble to list the many kinds of linen in the laundry. There was damask, diaper, dowlas, holland, fine French cloth, coarse French cloth, Irish cloth and coarse Irish cloth. In fact one wonders if at least one of the inventory takers was not a cloth merchant of some kind.


\[2\] For latest account of works carried out in 1956–59 see Bernard Share, Bunratt, Rebirth of a Castle, Dingle 1995, pp. 105–143.

\[3\] Chris O'Mahony and Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'A Seventeenth Century Description of County Clare', Duá ÍsIs, 9(1988), 28; an eye-witness account of the numbers of horses in the stables at Bunratty.
Textiles were prized in the seventeenth century and the contents of the laundry were valued at over sixty pounds. It is not certain where in the courtyard the kitchen and laundry were sited. In Richard Ball's plan of Bunratty Castle an unusual structure, described as 'a platform with several offices underneath it' is depicted between the east wall of the castle and the river, so it is possible that the kitchen and laundry were located there.

**Bunratty Farm**

The farm was concerned primarily with the production of large numbers of livestock; 131 horses are recorded, 153 cattle and 1,065 sheep. Horses, needless to say, were the most highly prized of the animals, accounting for £509.15s. compared with £272 for the cattle and £132.16s.8d. for the sheep. In an era when most people journeyed on foot, horses conferred prestige and defined social status. The earl kept quality blood stock in his stables. The best of the horses were valued at about nine pounds, but he also kept the more mundane coach and waggons horses. Eight horses were required to pull the earl's coach, which may be a reflection on the condition of the roads or alternatively a wish to overawe the natives as he travelled from Bunratty into Limerick or to the county assizes in Ennis. More horses were kept at Bunratty than social ostentation or economic necessity dictated. This was because in time of war horses were an important military resource. When in 1646 the Parliamentarian forces seized Bunratty, they were able to remount sixty of their men with the horses they found in the stables of the castle.

By comparison relatively few cattle were raised. Only 35 milch cows are noted; they provided dairy products for the household with perhaps some surplus for the market. The cows were most likely of the improved English variety imported by the fourth earl and were valued at double the 'Irish beeves' which were marked down at a pound a beast. Wool, a valuable exportable commodity, was produced in quantity. The flocks of sheep produced 182 stones (1.2 metric tons) of wool in 1639. In the same year the 449 breeding ewes, served by 22 rams, produced 253 lambs, which is a ratio of only .56 lambs per breeding ewe, indicating poor flock management and a lambing rate far below what a modern farmer might expect.

There is no evidence of tillage or grain production in the inventory, which is strange considering that Bunratty was situated in the heart of the famed corcas lands (cornach, fertile meadow lands), the most renowned grain producing lands in county Clare. Perhaps this was because the inventory was taken in August before the harvest was in, with the result that the barns were still empty. Waggons horses and draught oxen, however, are recorded, indicating that ploughs and other farm machinery were in use and almost certainly that the earl was engaged in the large scale production of grain.

**Books and Jewels**

Probably the most tantalizing of all the entries is the one concerning books. Two hundred books of all sorts are noted and valued at a mere shilling a volume. Unlike the effort expended in describing the contents of the laundry, not a single book is named or described. That Bunratty contained a library of two hundred books is impressive. However, no specific room in the castle

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14West Sussex Record Office, Petworth House Archives C27/H/2.
15O'Brien, O'Brien of Thomond, p. 72.
17See Perceval-Maxwell, Irish Rebellion of 1641, p. 39, where the author draws the opposite conclusions.
was set aside as a library. Were the books therefore scattered in lots about the castle? Or coming in the inventory, as they do, after the cattle and sheep, were they stored in some outhouse? Probably not, Henry was certainly literate, having attended Oxford and Trinity College, Dublin, and may have enjoyed reading. Moreover, his chaplain Mr Fenner would have acted as tutor to his five daughters and thus would have required books for educational purposes as well as for the conducting of religious services. However, one cannot help but wonder if there were manuscript volumes amongst the books. Had any of the manuscripts from the dissolved monasteries found their way into the library at Bunratty? In what languages were they written? Did any volume contain a book of annals, the genealogy of the Dáil gCais or bardic poetry in praise of O’Brien’s illustrious ancestors? Alas! at this remove we may only speculate.

As a personal memento, Henry bestowed a small piece of jewellery on each of his daughters. The Lady Ann received a great sapphire jewel, the Lady Margaret a chain of diamonds, the Lady Elizabeth a chain of pearls and the Lady Honora a small cross, set with diamonds. A note on the margin informs us that Honora did not collect her piece of jewellery until 1645, six years after her father’s death. She may have been resident in England during this time as she was married first to Sir Francis Inglefield of Wootton-Basset, Wiltshire and secondly to Sir Robert Howard, son of the first Earl of Berkshire. Honora appears to have remained on in Ireland because she was the last O’Brien resident of Clare Castle, having remained there right through its siege by the Cromwellian commander General Ludlow in 1650. Ludlow admits to having been moved by the lady’s tears after he accused her of protecting the cattle of the vanguished Irish under the pretence that they belonged to her.

Comparisons and Conclusions

The early seventeenth century was a period when Irishmen of noble birth felt themselves obliged to possess the latest in contemporary fashions and to furnish their houses in the opulent styles of their English counterparts. How then did Bunratty compare with the great houses of Ireland: with the Earls of Antrim at Dunluce for instance, or the Earl of Cork at Lismore or the Earls of Kildare at Maynooth? An inventory of Maynooth taken in 1578 illustrates one luxurious interior of the period. There were ‘six tapestry pieces in the great gallery and twenty three arras hangings in the great chamber’; the main bedroom boasted ‘a state bedstead with changeable canopies of blue taffeta and matching curtains’. There could hardly be a greater contrast between Maynooth and the internal decoration of Bunratty, where the principal chambers of the castle, i.e. the Great Hall and Main Guard, did not exhibit a single wall-hanging.

The contents of the earl’s bedroom at Bunratty bears some comparison with those of contemporary noblemen. The bed chamber of Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, contained ‘four pieces of hangings, two joined curtains, two carpets, one bedstead, a feather bed, a small white caddow, fine curtains with valance, one embroidered chair, one great green chair, two small green silk stools, two tables’ and other assorted furniture. Boyle, who died in 1645, was regarded as the richest man in Ireland; he was a close friend of the fourth earl of Thomond but not apparently of Henry the fifth earl.

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19O’Brien, O’Brien of Thomond, p. 84.
21Glin, Irish Furniture, p. 5.
22See O Dálaigh ‘A Comparative Study of the Wills of the First and Fourth Earls of Thomond’, Nth. Munster Antiq. J. 34(1992), 49-50, where Lord Boyle is appointed an executor of the fourth earl’s will but is completely absent from the will of the fifth earl.
The contents of Dunluce castle, county Antrim, provide another point of comparison. The possessions of the Earl and Duchess of Antrim, who spent a number of years in London, represented the height of contemporary fashion. The quantities of tapestry were such that there was not sufficient wall space to display them. The presence of maps, a telescope and two globes at Dunluce suggest an interest in scientific discovery and a level of sophistication completely absent from Bunratty. There were also at Dunluce some exquisite pieces of furniture, in particular the ornate cabinets of ebony and ivory, which were the prized pieces of the mansion houses of the period\textsuperscript{23}. Luxury items of this quality were beyond the reach of the earl of Thomond. The sparsely furnished interiors of Bunratty castle bespeak of low economic performance and a provincialism born of poor commercial and social interaction with the cosmopolitan centres of Dublin and London.

The Earl of Thomond was clearly not in the same category as the Earls of Antrim, Cork or Kildare. By the standards of contemporary noblemen Thomond's personal possessions were modest. The total value of his movable goods amounted to £3,292.9s.7d. which included £1,153.6s.3d. in cash. The average value of the inventories of Scottish peers of the years 1610–37 was £10,309, a sum considerably greater than Thomond's meagre accumulation. He appears poor when compared to Lord Boyle, Earl of Cork, who had an income of £18,250 a year. A better comparison is probably the Scottish planter, the Earl of Abercorn, whose goods were valued at £2,679 at the time of his death in 1617\textsuperscript{24}. The overall picture that emerges then, is of an estate hopelessly mismanaged and over burdened with debt, with Thomond quite prepared to sacrifice the long term solvency of the earldom for the short term expedience of allowing his daughters to enter the genteel society of the English aristocracy.

Acknowledgements

The will of the fifth Earl of Thomond is published courtesy of Petworth House Archives, West Sussex, as are Illus. 1 and 2 (see pp. 158 and 159), and the inventory of Bunratty through the good offices of the Huntingdon Record Office, Cambridgeshire, England.

APPENDIX I

This paper would have been greatly improved, if the writer had received the active cooperation of the management of Bunratty castle. If it had been possible to gain access to the rooms in Bunratty, not normally open to visitors, the sequence of rooms in the inventory might have been established. However, despite a formal letter of application and several phone calls, this writer, having come especially from Dublin, found that they were largely unconcerned about such matters at Bunratty and no special access was provided. Regrettably, therefore, only those rooms where there is little doubt concerning recognition are identified in this appendix.

For the sake of clarity spelling has been modernised, except in a number of instances where the meaning is uncertain or where there is no immediate modern equivalent; punctuation has been introduced and capitalisation normalised. Spelling of the names of persons and places appear as they are in the original documents.


\textsuperscript{24}Perceval-Maxwell, \textit{Irish Rebellion of 1641}, p. 40.
Inventory of Bunratty Castle 1639

An inventory of all the goods and chattels of which the right honourable Henry late Earl of Thomond was possessed of at the time of his death, taken and the appraising made by us Sir Richard Southwell and Sir Hardress Waller, Knights, John Hunt and Adam Cusack, Esquires, at Bunratty the 7th of August 1639, by virtue of a commission to us directed out of his Majesty’s court of prerogative and faculties dated 9th July 1639.

London Touch
One voyder knife weighing 051
One dozen of trencher1 plates 177
Seven dishes of the smallest sort 091
Five dishes of the second sort 141
Seven dishes of the third sort 125
Three dishes of the fourth sort 123.5
Two small flagon pots 069
Six tuns2 for beer weighing 038
One standing salt and 3 trencher salts 037
Two small beer bowls 018
One silver voyder3 077
Twenty three silver slip spoons 040
One other beer bowl 012.25
One small basin and ewer 056
Three porringers4 025

[Total] 1080.75 ounces

1080 ounces and 3 quarters of London touch at 4s.10d. the ounce amounts to £261.3s.7d.

One silver basin and ewer gilt, both weighing 132 ounces and 3 quarters amounts at 5s. per ounce to £33.3s.9d.

Plate Made at Dublin Not Touch
One dozen of trencher plates of Dublin making 147
Six small dishes weighing 117.5
Four dishes of the second sort 092
Eight dishes of the third sort 300.5
Six dishes of the fourth sort 344.5
Six dishes of the fifth sort 482
One great standing salt cellar 057
One campin salt and cup 014
Two basins weighing 132

1Large plates for serving.
2Beer cask or tankard.
3A tray in which dirty dishes etc. were placed during or after a meal.
4Small dish with handles for soup or porridge.
Four flagon pots 249
Two small Spanish ewers 049.75
Two beer tankards weighing 040
Six boats for vinegar 009.5
One dozen of trencher salts 026
One wine bowl and aquatint\textsuperscript{5} cup 011
Six fruit dishes 125
One sugar hoe and small spoon 024
Six saucers weighing 037
Six candlesticks 241

In all 2499.25 ounces

2499 ounces and a quarter of Irish plate at 3s.10d. the ounce is £479.0s.4d.

All the plate amounts in the whole to £773.7s.8d.

In the Dining Room\textsuperscript{6}

11 pairs of tapestry hangings which have lost their colour 30.0.0.
1 large old Turkey table carpet\textsuperscript{7} with holes in it 4.0.0.
4 small Turkey carpets for cupboards 5.0.0.
1 old green cloth couch 0.6.8.
1 couch, 2 chairs with arms, 10 small chairs,
18 stools, 6 low chairs all of thrum\textsuperscript{8} 6.10.0.
1 pair of large brass andirons\textsuperscript{9} 2.10.0.
1 pair of iron dogs with iron fire shovel and thongs 0.5.0.
6 gilt pasteboard\textsuperscript{10} arms for candles 0.9.0.
1 twigge screen 0.0.6.
1 plain plate cupboard, 1 small round table, 8 old Spanish tables 1.10.0.
1 old wind instrument out of repair 1.10.0.
1 old green frieze turn screen for the door 0.5.0.
1 old branch candlestick of brass 0.10.0.

Sum total £52.16s.2d.

In the Lower Chamber of the West Tower

1 old bedstead without a head, 1 broken leather stool, 1 broken thrum Stool, 1 old cupboard,
1 old bed and bolster\textsuperscript{11}, 1 white rug 2.0.0.

\textsuperscript{5}Etching with acid on metal to achieve watercolour effect.

\textsuperscript{6}One of the rooms added to the castle by the fourth earl; it was contained within the space under the great northern arch of the castle. The dining room was one of the additions demolished during the restorations of the late 1950s.

\textsuperscript{7}A thick fabric, usually of wool, used to cover tables, cupboards, beds etc.

\textsuperscript{8}A fringe of short unwoven threads.

\textsuperscript{9}A pair of metal stands in a fireplace to support logs.

\textsuperscript{10}Stiff board formed from layers of paper pasted together.

\textsuperscript{11}Long narrow pillow or cushion.
In the Second Chamber of the West Tower

5 old pair of Portugese sumpter\(^{12}\) clothes set up for hangings
1 coarse green cloth bed, laced, with a counterpoint\(^{13}\), a chair and two low stools suitable
1 feather bed, a linen quilt and a bolster and 2 pillows
2 old window curtains of striped stuff\(^{14}\), 1 livery cupboard\(^{15}\)

Sum total

£11.3s.0d.

In the Upper Chamber of the West Tower

1 old bed with old green satin valance\(^{16}\) and taffeta curtains, 1 old green sarcenet\(^{17}\) quilt
2 blankets, 1 feather bed, 1 bolster and 1 pillow all old
4 small pairs of old hangings, 1 small livery cupboard, 1 old thrum chair
1 small carpet of Turkey work\(^{18}\), 2 old striped stuff curtains for windows

Sum total

£5.6s.8d.

In the Lower Room of the South Tower

1 old bedstead, 1 old bed bolster and a white rug

£. s. d.

1.0.0.

In the Second Chamber of that Tower

3 small pairs and a half of old hangings, 1 bed, counterpoint, 1 chair, 2 low stools and a cupboard cloth, all of red Irish cloth trimmed with statute lace; two small Turkey work cupboard carpets, 1 round table, 1 feather bed, 1 linen quilt, 2 pillows, 1 bolster, 2 blankets, 1 livery cupboard; iron fire shovel and tongs

10.0.0.

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\(^{12}\) Fabric made for the interior of a travelling waggon to make it more comfortable for the occupants.

\(^{13}\) Another word for counterpane or bedspeed.

\(^{14}\) Woolen fabric or material.

\(^{15}\) A press for clothes.

\(^{16}\) Piece of material hung along the edge of a bed or canopy.

\(^{17}\) A fine soft silk originally of Italy.

\(^{18}\) A pile material made in Norwich, England, of richly coloured wools, in imitation of carpets imported from Turkey.
In the Third Chamber of that Tower\textsuperscript{19}
4 small pairs of old hangings, 1 violet
coloured coarse Irish cloth bed, trimmed
with statute lace, 1 counterpoint, 1 chair,
2 small stools and a cupboard cloth suitable,
1 feather bed, 1 old linen quilt, 1 bolster,
a blanket and 2 pillows, 1 Turkey work
cupboard carpet, iron fire shovel and tongs 10.0.0

In the Lower Room of the East Tower
1 small cupboard, 1 old bedstead, one old bed
and bolster, 1 old white rug 1.10.0.

In the Second Room of the Tower
1 old green cloth bed laced with an old silk
lace, 1 old red cloth counterpoint, 1 old
Turkey work carpet for a cupboard, 1 livery
cupboard, 1 old feather bed bolster, pillow
and blanket, 1 old thrum wynt\textsuperscript{20} stool,
1 small iron andirons with fire shovel and
tongs tipped with brass, 1 coarse stuff
window curtain 4.0.0.

In the Third Chamber of that Tower\textsuperscript{21}
2 Pairs of hangings, 1 arras\textsuperscript{22} curtain,
a chimney piece of tapestry, 2 Turkey work
foot carpets 3.0.0.
1 rich tawny\textsuperscript{23} velvet bed, laced with gold and
silver lace, trimmed with loops and buttons
and double valance with a deep gold and silver
fringe; 2 low stools, 2 high stools, a chair,
a cupboard cloth, a cushion, and a seat for a
close stool; all of tawny velvet and suitable
to the bed, one satin quilt stitched with
silver and gold twist 66.6.8.
1 feather bed, 1 bolster, a linen quilt and 2
blankets 3.0.0.
Iron fire shovel and tongs tipped with brass
1 livery cupboard with a Turkey work cupboard
carpet 1.0.0.

Sum total £73.6s.8d.

\textsuperscript{19}Probably the apartment of the south solar.
\textsuperscript{20}Meaning unclear; maybe variant of 'wind' meaning turned, coiled or twisted.
\textsuperscript{21}The north solar, the private apartment of the earl and his lady.
\textsuperscript{22}Wall hanging named originally after town of Arras in northern France famous for its tapestry.
\textsuperscript{23}Light brown to orange colour.
In the Fourth Chamber of the East Tower
4 pairs of old small hangings, 1 old field bed
of black damask24 with velvet valance, trimmed
with gold and black silk edging, a chair and
two stools of printed velvet suitable, 1 black
sarcenet quilt stitched with yellow silk
1 feather bed, bolster, a linen quilt, 2
pillows and 2 blankets, 1 pair of small
brass andirons with brass fire shovel and
tongs, 1 livery cupboard, 1 Turkey work
cupboard carpet, 1 looking glass

In toto
£14. 0s.0d.

In the Fifth chamber of the East Tower
A truckle bed25, a bed bolster, pillow,
an old rug, a livery cupboard

In the Old Dining Room26
A Spanish table, a Turkey work carpet, a pair
of iron andirons, fire shovel and tongs, 2
small clocks and a lantern not serviceable

In the Hall27
A shuffleboard table28, 1 drawing table, 1 small
round table, 4 rough hewn forms, 2 old leather
stools, 1 pair of playing tables, 5 brass
sprigs for lights and several old murrions29
and muskets

In the castle totalis
£189.12s.6d.

In the First Room Over the Stables
1 blue old Irish cloth bed trimmed with
statute lace, a chair, two stools and a
counterpoint all moth eaten, a bed bolster
and pillow, a window curtain of striped
stuff, an old cupboard, a small table and
a pair of iron dogs

In the castle totalis
£. s. d.

24 Reversible fabric, usually linen, with pattern woven into it, originally of Damascus, Syria.
25 Low bed on wheels, stored under a larger bed, usually for servant.
26 The vaulted chamber now called the main guard.
27 The Great Hall.
28 Games table on which players push wooden disks with long cues towards marked numbered boxes.
29 A kind of helmet without visor used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
In the Inner Second Chamber
A truckle bed, a flock\textsuperscript{30} bed and bolster and an old caddow\textsuperscript{31}  

In the Third Chamber
A blue Irish cloth bed trimmed with broad sky coloured silk lace, a counterpoint, a chair and two stools suitable, a feather bed, two bolsters, a pillow, a cupboard cloth suitable to the bed, 1 Turkey work carpet for a cupboard, 2 old red stools, iron fire shovel and tongs and a pair of iron and iron, a little cupboard and an old red chair  

In the Fourth Chamber
A canopy bed of old green taffeta, trimmed with silk and silver lace, and 2 small old green satin stools, a feather bed, bolster, pillow, an old green rug, a blanket, a livery cupboard, a Turkey work cupboard carpet and a pair of old iron and irons  

In the Fifth Chamber
1 old bedstead, 1 old feather bed and bolster, 1 old flock bed and bolster, an old caddow and blanket  

In the Sixth Chamber
1 old blue cloth bed, a feather bed moth eaten, a feather bed, bolster, pillow an old rug, a pair of old iron and irons [and] tongs  

In the First of the Garret Chambers
An old frieze bed, a bed bolster, an old rug, a small table and cupboard, an old leather stool  

In the Second Room
An old flock bed, bolster, an old rug  

In the Third Chamber
An old bed, bolster and an old caddow  

In the Fourth Chamber
A bedstead with green old curtains and valance, a feather bed, bolster, an old rug, a leather chair and a thrum chair

\textsuperscript{30}Waste fabric such as wool or cotton used for stuffing mattresses.
\textsuperscript{31}A rough woolen rug or mantle of Irish manufacture used as a bed covering and much exported during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
In the Fifth Chamber
2 old beds, a bolster, an old bed with green
frieze curtains, an old caddow and blanket,
two leather chairs, an old cupboard, a
little table and a pair of iron dogs
1.5.0.

In an Inner Chamber
A flock bed bolster and caddow
0.6.8.

In the Sixth Chamber
An old bedstead, a bed, bolster, an old red rug,
1 leather stool and a round table
0.15.0.

In the Seventh Chamber
An old bedstead, a bed, a feather bolster, a
flock bolster, a pillow, 2 blankets, an
old red rug, 3 old stools, a small round
table, an old cupboard and an old Turkey
work cupboard carpet
1.5.0.

In the Eight Chamber
An old bed, bolster, caddow and blanket, 2 old
thrum stools and a small round table
0.15.0.

The rooms over the stables amount to
£29. ls.8d.

In the Wardrobe
37 old stools of frame work and thrum, 4 old
cloth stools, 4 old armed chairs, covered
with black, 5 old small chairs
3.15.0.
5 pairs of brass small andirons broken,
1 pair of great brass broken andirons
2.0.0.
1 new red cloth bed trimmed with yellow silk
lace and fringe, a counterpane, a chair
and two stools suitable
8.0.0.
23 pairs of the better sort of coarse hangings,
7 pairs of old rotten hangings, 2 old velvet
window cushions, 6 needle work small cushions,
3 murry32 coloured cushions for windows, 4
other window cushions of several colours
and an armour parcel gilt33
42.0.0.
5 Spanish leather covers for cupboards and
for tables
2.0.0.
1 large Turkey work carpet, 1 lesser carpet

---

32Of the colour of the mulberry, purple red, also cloth of this colour.
33Partially gilt, especially inner surface.
of the same work, 1 cupboard Turkey work carpet, 1 green carpet of broad cloth and three small carpets of the same
1 feather bed, 1 sarcenet quilt for a cradle,
1 flock bed and a flock bolster, 2 pillows

Sum total £63.15s.0d.

In the Kitchen and Scullery
9 dozen of old pewter dishes of all sorts,
1 dozen and 8 saucers, 5 paste plates,
14 round pie plates
5 old kettles, 3 skillets
3 French pots and 6 iron pots
5 small brass pans, 1 kettle with the slaughter man, a little brass pan for the poultry house
4 trencher plates of pewter, 1 mortar, 3 pairs of iron racks, 13 spits of all sorts
5 dripping pans, 2 frying pans, 3 pair of pot hooks, 5 iron crooks, 3 cleavers, 4 mincing knives, 1 beef fork, 2 bread graters, 2 pair of iron dogs, 1 bar of iron, 1 slice, 1 fire fork, 2 gridirons, a rake for the oven, 3 brass skinners, 2 other skinners with iron handles, 1 brass ladle, 5 basting ladles with iron handles

Sum total £14.0s.0d.

In the Clerk of the Kitchen’s Chamber
A bedstead, bed bolster, pillow and caddow, a flock bed, a bolster and an old caddow

In the Cook’s Chamber
2 flock beds, a bolster and an old caddow

Total value of the kitchen £15.10s.0d.

Laundry: In the Laundress Chamber
A drawing table with a frame, 2 old feather beds, 2 bolster, a white rug and a caddow, an old flock bed and bolster, a brand iron, iron fire shovel and tongs, 2 brass skillets, 1 iron kettle and an iron pot

2.0.0.
In the Laundry House
1 big chest bound with iron for linen,
several tubs and other vessels belonging
to the laundry

[Total]
2.10.0.

£. s. d.

The Linen
Damask: 4 table cloths, 4 cupboard cloths,
4 dozen of napkins, 2 towels, 1 old broken
table cloth, 2 old broken cupboard cloths
Diaper: 6 table cloths, 15 cupboard cloths,
6 towels, 30 dozen of napkins most of
them old
Dowlas: 12 old pair of sheets, 3 pairs of
pillow beers, 3 short table cloths, 6
cupboard cloths
Holland: 10 pair of sheets well worn, 8 pair
of old pillow beers, 14 pair of the better
sort of Holland sheets, 11 pair of pillow
beers and 2 long towels for sewers
Coarse French cloth: 5 pairs of worn sheets
2 pair of pillow beers, 15 cloths for a hall
table, 5 short table cloths
A finer sort of French cloth: 9 short table
cloths, 17 cupboard cloths, 10 pillow beers
Irish cloth: 8 towels, 15 pillow beers,
8 dozen of napkins
Coarse Irish cloth: 4 pillow beers, 30 pair
of sheets, 13 dozen of napkins

Sum total
£58.11s.0d.

Total value of the linen and goods in the
laundry amounts to

£61.1s.0d.

Wool of this Year
124 stone, 2 lbs of the best sort at 9s. per stone
26 stone and 6 lbs cast wool at 5s. per stone
15 stone, 13 lbs lamb’s wool at 5s. per stone
16 stone of locks at 2s. per stone

£70.9s.6d.

In the Stable and Park at Bunnatty
5 horses in the stable
8 coach horses and coach

£. s. d.
44.0.0
80.0.0

34 A coarse kind of linen much used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, named after the town of Doulas in Britany.
35 Pillow cases.
36 Over calculation by approx. £2.8s.5d.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 waggon horses and wagon</td>
<td>15.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 breeding mares that have colts</td>
<td>97.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 mare colts of a year old</td>
<td>9.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 geldings of a year old</td>
<td>4.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 stone colts in the island</td>
<td>4.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mares with 2 sucking colts fallen</td>
<td>8.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the last winter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 mares without colts</td>
<td>60.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mare 2 years old</td>
<td>1.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 gelding 2 years old</td>
<td>1.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 geldings</td>
<td>33.0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Island of Inishmore\textsuperscript{37}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 old coach horse and 1 white stallion not useful</td>
<td>3.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 stone horses of 5 year old</td>
<td>35.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 stone horses of 4 year old</td>
<td>20.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 geldings 5 years old</td>
<td>8.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 horse colts of 3 year old</td>
<td>7.10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Total] £431.10s.0d.

In Inish Carke Island\textsuperscript{38}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 mares of 4 year old of which 1 hath a foal</td>
<td>24.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mares of 5 year old</td>
<td>7.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mares of 3 year old</td>
<td>10.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 geldings 3 year old</td>
<td>10.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 gelding of 5 year old</td>
<td>4.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 geldings of 2 year old</td>
<td>6.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 mares of 2 year old</td>
<td>11.5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 old mares of which one hath a foal</td>
<td>6.0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Total] £78.5s.0d.

The horses, mares and geldings amount to £509.15s.0d.

**Cows**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35 milch cows</td>
<td>64.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 heifers of a year old</td>
<td>15.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 steers of a year old</td>
<td>6.15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 bull calves of a year old</td>
<td>1.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bull of 3 year old</td>
<td>1.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bull of 2 year old</td>
<td>1.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bull ready to die</td>
<td>0.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 Irish beees</td>
<td>36.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 steers of 3 year old</td>
<td>12.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 draught oxen</td>
<td>92.0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{37}An island in the Shannon Estuary adjacent to Bumratty, which today, because of silting and land reclamation, forms part of the mainland.

\textsuperscript{38}An island farther out in the estuary, which is now similarly incorporated in the mainland.
16 oxen 4 and 5 year old
1 steer of 2 year old

Sheep
449 breeding ewes
116 ewe hogget[s] of a year old
225 wethers of 1 and 2 year old
22 rams
253 lambs of this year

In all

£272.0s.0d.
£.s.d.
67.7.0.
14.0.0.
33.15.0.
6.6.8.
11.8.0.

£132.16s.8d

[Books]
200 books of all sorts

£10.0.0.
£.s.d.

Jewels
A chain of diamonds and a chain of pearls left by legacy unto the Lady Margaret and the Lady Elizabeth, daughters to the earl of Thomond late deceased.
A small cross set with small diamonds left by legacy to the Lady Honora.39
A gold signet
A small ring of diamonds
An earring with a diamond sparkle
3 small wynt gold rings
A great sapphire jewel left by legacy to the Lady Ann.

Sum total of the jewels besides what was left by legacy is

£11.15s.0d.

Summa Totalis of this inventory of the goods amounts to

£2139.3s.4d.

In money

£1153.6s.3d.

Summa Totalis

£3292.9s.7d.

12 several suits of clothes with several stockings, garters and hoses,40 shirts and other linen, appointed by the said late earl not to be inventoried or appraised but to be distributed as his executors should think meet.

[Signed] Richard Southwell
Hardress Waller
Adam Cusack

39Marginal note: D[one] D[edit] to the Lady Honora by my Lord's command, 1st January 1645, as and by note under her Ladyship's hand for receipt thereof from J. Hunt.
40A garment, stockings, covering the legs and reaching up to the waist; worn with a doublet.
Illus. 1. Richard Ball's sketch-plan of Bunratty Castle, c.1670. (Courtesy of Petworth House Archives; photo: John O'Brien)
Illus. 2. Richard Ball's sketch-elevation of Bunnarty Castle, c.1670. (Courtesy of Petworth House Archives; photo: John O'Brien)
APPENDIX II

Will of Henry, Fifth Earl of Thomond

In the name of God, Amen. I Henry Earl of Thomond being weak in body but of full and perfect memory (thanks be to God there for) do hereby disanull and revoke all former wills and do make my last will and testament this second day of April Anno Domini 1639; in the fifteenth year of our sovereign Lord Charles by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland defender of the faith etc. in manner and form following:

First I commend my soul into the hands of almighty God and my body to be buried in decent manor fitting my degree in my father’s monument in the cathedral church of Lymericke at the discretion of my executors hereafter named.

And whereas I the said Henry Earl of Thomond in and by one indenture bearing date the sixth day of March in the second year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King Charles, the king’s most excellent majesty that now is, made between me the said Henry Earl of Thomond of the one part and Sir Edward fitz Harryes Baronet, George Courtney of Newcastle in the county of Limericke Esq., Rowland Delahoyde of Tiredaghe and Boetius Clanchy of Knockefin in the county of Clare Esquires of the other part, have for the considerations therein expressed, granted, bargained, sold, infoiffed and confirmed unto the said Sir Edward fitz Harryes, George Courtney, Rowland Delaheide and Boetius Clanchy and their heirs all that the lordships, castle and manor of Bunrattie in the said county of Clare with all and singular the rights, members and appurtenances thereof and divers and sundry other manors, lordships, castles, towns, messuages, lands, tenements, dissolved abbeys, monasteries, religious houses, rents, yearly sums of money, weirs, fishings, rectories, advowsons, tithes and hereditaments, both spiritual and temporal in the same indenture expressed, and all other my manors, lordships, castles, towns, land, tenements, rents and hereditaments whatsoever within the realm of Ireland to have and to hold the said premises unto the said Sir Edward fitz Harryes, George Courtney, Rowland Delaheide and Boetius Clanchy and their heirs to the several uses, trusts, intents and purposes in the said indenture mentioned, expressed, limited and declared, as by the said indenture, to which relation being had, more particularly doth and may appear; I the said Henry Earl of Thomond do hereby ratify and confirm the said indenture and all and every the limitations therein expressed and contained, and do further by this my last will and testament declare that all such of my lands, tenements and hereditaments which did not pass by the said indenture, and all the lands, tenements and hereditaments in the kingdom of Ireland whereof I the said Henry Earl of Thomond am now seized or possessed or whereof I the said Henry Earl of Thomond do receive the issues or profits, or whereof I the said Henry Earl of Thomond, before the finding of the late great assize, was reputed to be seized of any estate of inheritance, shall remain, come and be to the said feoffees in the said indenture nominated and appointed and to their heirs to and for the raising of such sum and sums of money for my daughters in the said indenture named in such order and manner as hereafter by this my last will and testament is declared; and after the said portions and sums of money levied and paid then to the use of Sir Barnaby Bryen and the heirs males of his body begotten or to be begotten, and for want of such heirs, to such person and persons and their heirs and to his and their use and uses respectively in such manner and form as in and by the said indenture is limited and appointed.

16 March 1627.
And whereas since the making of the said indenture I have married two of my daughters viz. the Lady Mary and the Lady Elizabeth to honourable persons and have fully satisfied and paid the portions agreed upon and concluded upon their said marriages, whereby my said daughters can claim no sum or sums of money by the said indenture, I the said Henry Earl of Thomond according to the power reserved unto me by the said indenture do devise and bequeath unto my said two daughters out of my said lands as a token and remembrance of my love unto them these sums following viz. unto the said Lady Mary the sum of two thousand pounds sterling and unto the said Lady Elizabeth the sum of four thousand pounds sterling.

And I do likewise further devise and bequeath unto each of my other three daughters viz. the Lady Margaret, the Lady Ann and the Lady Honnora as an increase and further augmentation of the portions limited unto them by the said indenture these sums following viz. unto the said Lady Margaret the sum of five thousand pounds sterling; unto the said Lady Ann the sum of two thousand pounds sterling; and unto the said Lady Honnora the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, which several sums of money I do hereby limit and appoint to be paid out of my said lands, before that the said Sir Barnaby Bryen or his heirs males of his body shall receive any of the rents, issues and profits thereof, except that the said Sir Barnaby do satisfy and pay unto my said daughters the several sums of money aforesaid before that the same can be raised out of the said lands.

Provided always and it is my intent and meaning that my said daughters or their heirs receiving the said sums of money limited unto them as aforesaid shall permit and suffer the said Sir Barnaby Bryen and the heirs males of his body and for want of such heirs, the other persons and their heirs in the said indenture named to have and enjoy all such lands of mine as are now in mortgage with James Bourke of Limericke Alderman, Pierce Creagh fitz Andrew of the same Alderman and Thomas Arthur, doctor of physic or with any other, to their or any of their uses in such manner and form as in and by the said indenture is limited and appointed together with all other my lands, tenements and hereditaments within the kingdom of Ireland and accordingly I do as much as in me lieth, devise unto the said Sir Barnaby and the heirs males of his body the said lands in remainder as aforesaid.

Item I the said Henry Earl of Thomond do hereby give and bequeath unto my said two daughters, the Lady Margaret and the Lady Elizabeth, two whole parts of all my movable goods and chattels and personal estate whatsoever as well within this kingdom as within the kingdom of England, to be equally divided between them; the other third part to remain to the use of the countess my wife during her life, for so long as she shall continue unmarried and after her decease or upon her intermarriage with another husband, the said third part I do hereby ordain to revert and come back to the said Lady Margaret and Lady Elizabeth my daughters aforesaid to be equally divided between them.

Provided always and my meaning is that my said wife shall give good security before she be possessed of the said third part or any part thereof, that the said third part shall immediately after her decease or intermarriage with another husband revert and come either in specie or according to its true value unto my said two daughters according to this my will.

Item I ordain that my funerals be solemnised after a decent manner by my executors without any vain ostentation.

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3The substantially larger legacy of the Lady Margaret probably reflects her intended marriage with Edward Somerset, the future Earl of Glamorgan.
Mary, daughter of Sir William Breteon.
Item I bequeath unto my very good lord, the Lord Deputy⁶, as a token of my love, a jewel or a piece of plate, price one hundred pounds sterling, which I do ordain my executors to buy and deliver unto him.

Item I bequeath unto my uncles Mr Teige O Bryen and Sir Daniell O Bryen one hundred pounds sterling a piece and to each of my nephews Hary Bryen and Sir Donogh Mc Cartie the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, which several sums I ordain my executors to so pay according to this my will.

Item I bequeath unto the now bishop of Limericke⁷ the sum of one hundred pounds sterling which I ordain my executors to pay according to this my will, desiring his lordship to preach my funeral sermon.

Item I bequeath unto my said two daughters, the Lady Margaret and the Lady Elizabeth, my chain of diamonds and my chain of pearls to be divided between them by equal portions.

Item I bequeath unto Sir Phillip Mannearing a diamond ring of fifty pounds sterling price, and unto Sir George Radcliffe another diamond ring of the like price, and do ordain my executors to see the said rings bought and delivered according to this my will.

Item I bequeath unto Sir Phillip Percivall two bay race horses that are now in the stable and ordain my executors to see them delivered.

Item I bequeath unto Sergeant Eustace the second best horse in my stable and ordain my executors to deliver the said horse.

Item I ordain that the countess my wife, my daughters and the Lord Gerrard⁸ with their servants shall have funerals according as my executors shall think fit.

Item I ordain that my sister Sanchier shall have funerals for herself, son and daughter and servants according as my executors shall think fit.

Item I ordain that my Lord of Inchiquyne shall have funerals for himself and three servants, and that my uncles Mr Teige O Bryen and Sir Daniell O Bryen; Sir Edward fitz Harryes, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Rowland Delahoeide, Mr Courtney, Mr Sergeant Eustache, Mac I Bryen and Mr Boetius Clanchie shall have funerals for themselves and two servants apiece.

Item I ordain funerals for doctor Higgin and his man, for John Mason, John Horsey and George Colpes, and funeral suits and clothes for everyone of my servants according to their degrees and funerals for my chaplain Mr Fenner.

Item I ordain funerals for James Bourke, doctor Arthur and Pierce Creaghe for themselves and one servant le piece.

Item I do ordain and charge my executors to cause my own statue, carved in robes, sword and crownet, to be erected and placed standing at the head of my father’s statue from the ground up, and my brother’s statue according to his degree standing at my father’s foot, and that they cause my grandfather and great grandfather’s statues to be erected upon the broad stone that is fixed over my father with an altar between them kneeling, on both sides thereof, in their parliamentary robes, swords and crownets according to their degree, and this and all needful reparations fitting for the further beautifying of the monument at Limericke to be done by my executors.

Item I ordain and my will is that my executors shall pay and discharge all my debts that to them shall appear due by specialties or other legal or just proof and that the said debts, the legacies and funeral expenses and other disbursements by this my will bequeathed and

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⁶Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.
⁷George Webb, Bishop of Limerick, 1634–42.
⁸Dutton, third Baron Gerard of Gerard’s Bromley, Staffordshire, husband of the Lady Elizabeth.
ordained shall by my executors [be] satisfied, paid and discharged, out of my revenue and growing rents of all my lands wheresoever in the county of Clare, Limerick or elsewhere within this kingdom.

Item I ordain bequeath and my will is that Sir Rowland Delahoid shall hold during his natural life the several lands of Cahirsagheesle, Foggie and Loghane at the several rents and duties now respectively reserved out of the said several farms.

Item I ordain bequeath and my will is that doctor Daniel Higgin my physician shall during his natural life hold and enjoy rent free his several farms of Errenagh and Killmastol in the county of Clare and crosses of Tipperary.

Item I ordain and my will is that Darby McGillireagh shall hold and enjoy his farm of Cappaghnegeregh and Burrin for twenty one years to begin immediately after my decease, paying thereout yearly the sum of ten pounds sterling and duties as he is accustomed.

Item I ordain and it is my will that Richard Keating shall hold and enjoy for the term of twenty one years, to commence presently after my decease, his farm of Ballyneacraghy at the yearly rent of fifty pounds per annum with duties and performing such conditions, covenants as are usually contained in the leases by me granted to other tenants and paying half the arrears now due upon him out of the said farm and to be discharged of the other half.

Item I ordain and my will is that Robert Hibbert shall hold and enjoy the quarter of Bearmeefshin during his life at the rent he now pay[s].

Item I ordain, bequeath and my will is that Mortio Moriarty shall have the sum of one hundred pounds sterling paid him presently after the perfecting and clearing of his accounts which my executors are to see performed, and I ordain and my will is that the said Mortio shall have and receive yearly after my decease for his maintenance during his life the sum of seventy pounds sterling at the usual feasts by equal moiety being the rent reserved and payable for and out of the lands of Doonbegge, or so much out of the farms of Captain Norton, in case he shall not receive the same out of Doonbegge aforesaid.

Item I do ordain and my will is that Terlough O Teige shall during his life receive and take to his use for his maintenance out of the rents of Feenagh and Rath the sum of twenty and five pounds sterling per annum, half yearly at the usual feasts of the year.

Item I do ordain bequeath and my will is that John Capleman shall during his life have, receive and take for his maintenance out of the rents of Crovraghan, half yearly by equal portions at the usual feasts of payment, the sum of twenty pounds sterling.

Item my will is and so I ordain and bequeath that Thomas Kercher shall hold, have and enjoy to him, his executors and assigns for the term of one and twenty years, to commence after my decease, the castle and half quarter of Cratellagh Keale rent free.

Item my will is and so I ordain and bequeath that George Bradford shall hold his farm, now in his occupation, for his maintenance rent free during his life, to begin presently after my decease.

Item I bequeath, ordain and my will is that John Mason shall have receive and take out of the rent reserved upon Noghoval the sum of ten pounds sterling yearly for his maintenance during his life, to begin after my decease, and to have his diet and lodging in the house of Bunratty so long as housekeeping shall continue there.

Item I ordain, bequeath and my will is that William Newman shall during his life after my decease have and enjoy his farm of Inishladrom freely discharged and exonerated of and from the rent upon him reserved by his lease thereof.

Item my will is and so I ordain and bequeath that Thadie Bryen shall have, take and receive the sum of ten pounds sterling yearly for his maintenance during his life out of the rents accruing in the barony of Ibrechane, to begin presently after my decease.
Item I ordain, bequeath and my will is that Dennis Hickey shall during his life have, take and receive the sum of ten pounds sterling yearly out of the rent reserved upon Captain Norton for and out of the lands of Moegh, to begin presently after my decease.

Item I do ordain, bequeath and my will is that John Horsey shall have, take and receive yearly the sum of forty marks sterling after my decease out of the rents of Six mile bridge for his maintenance for so long as he shall have relation or dependency upon the house and not otherwise.

Item my will is and so I ordain and bequeath that John Peppard shall for his maintenance have, take and receive during his life the sum of ten pounds sterling out of the rents of Ennish, to begin presently after my decease.

Item I bequeath, ordain and it is my will that all the household and waged servants depending upon the house at the time of my decease shall not be removed but shall have their diet and lodgings for one whole year, next after my decease, doing their duties as becometh, and shall have their wages double paid at the year’s end, and the arrears justly due unto them of their wages, to be discharged and paid by my executors.

Item I ordain, bequeath and my will is that William Brickedall shall hold possess and enjoy the several farms of Bellachoricke and Cahircalla now in his occupation for and during the term of one and twenty years to commence and begin presently after my decease, paying the rents and duties hitherto reserved and accustomed by him to be paid out of the said farms and performing all conditions and covenants as other lessees are tied unto by their leases from me.

And I do hereby ordain and my expressed will is that my wife, daughters, brother, feoffees of trust, executors and all others who are or shall be interested in this my last will shall duly and punctually perform these provisions I have made for the maintenance and reward of my servants, followers and dependants, that have so long followed and served my father and myself and that nothing may hinder them of taking benefit of my legacies to them made as aforesaid.

And I do hereby ordain, make, nominate and appoint my very good lord and cousin Patrick Lord Baron of Kerry and Lickesnawe, my brother Sir Barnaby Bryen knight and my son in law Charles Corkanie Esquire9, executors of this my last will and testament, upon whom I wholly lay the burden to see my said will performed and accomplished in all and every particular.

And I do hereby give and bequeath unto each of them the sum of one hundred pounds sterling towards their funerals for themselves and their servants.

Item I bequeath unto my daughter Honnora, a small diamond cross jewel which I have and unto my daughter Ann a tablet sapphire which I also have.

I ordain and my will is that Darby Hurley shall have, take and receive to his use during life, out of the growing rents of Innish, the sum of ten pounds sterling yearly for his maintenance, to begin presently after my decease.

And I bequeath unto Roger O Hallurane the sum of twenty nobles to be paid unto him by my said executors.

Item I ordain and my will is that Robert Hibbert shall have, hold and enjoy the half quarter of Aherynaghmore now in his holding during his life rent free.

In witness that this is my last will and testament, I the said Henry Earl of Thomond have hereunto put my hand and seal the day and year first above written.

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9Charles Cockayne, first Viscount Cullen, first husband of the Lady Mary, whom she married in 1627, died 1642.
Item I ordain and it is my will that Daniell O Bryen, son to Mac I Bryen shall after my
decease have, take and receive out of the growing rents of Cullisteige the sum of twenty
pounds sterling per annum towards his maintenance and education beyond seas in the wars
during life. (Thomond)

Signed sealed and perfected by the right honourable Henry Earl of Thomond within named
in the presence of us the witnesses undermenamed being thereunto called by the said earl: R.
Delahoide, Daniell Higgin, Edward Fenner, W. Brickedall, Robert Hibbert, John Horsey, T.
Kercher, Mortho Moriarty, Therlagh O Teige.

And also being present when the words betwixt the sixth and seventh and twentieth lines
were inserted viz. (together with all other my lands, tenements and hereditaments within the
kingdom of Ireland) and likewise the words interlined betwixt the thirtieth and one and
thirtieth lines that is to say: (provided always and my meaning is that my said wife shall give
good security before she be possessed of the said third part or any part thereof, that the said
third part shall immediately after her decease or intermarriage with another husband, revert
and come either in specie or according to its true value unto my said five daughters,
according to this my will). By the direction and appointment of the said earl we whose names
doth ensue: Daniell Higgin, John Horsey, W. Brickdall, Mortho Moriarty, Robert Hibbert, T.
Kercher, Therlagh O Teige.