

## The Earl of Thomond's 1615 Survey of Ibrickan, Co. Clare

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A transcription and discussion of an early seventeenth century survey of a Co. Clare barony. The chief value of the document is that it represents the earliest rent-roll detailing the Earl of Thomond's estate in Co. Clare and merits study not least because it is one of the most comprehensive surveys of its type for early seventeenth century Co. Clare. Furthermore, it may be used to ascertain the landholding matrix of Ibrickan and to identify the chief tenants.

Presented here is a survey undertaken of the barony of Ibrickan in Co. Clare in 1615.<sup>1</sup> The survey covered the entire 63 quarters of the barony. It is lodged at Petworth House archive among the collection of Thomond Papers there.<sup>2</sup> At present, our understanding of the changes in landholding for Ibrickan is hindered by the fact that the returns in the 1641 *Books of Survey and Distribution*<sup>3</sup> show that by that time proprietorship of the barony was exclusively in the hands of the Earl of Thomond and few under-tenants are recorded. Having a full list of the chief tenants which dates from the second decade of the seventeenth century augments our understanding of the changes wrought to landholding, inheritance and social relations in Gaelic regions at a critical juncture in Irish history following the battle of Kinsale.

This 1615 survey of part of the extensive estate of the Earl of Thomond serves to focus our gaze at a lower echelon of Gaelic society. The tenants enumerated comprised middle-sized proprietors and chief tenants, many of whom were allied by bonds of history and genealogy with the Earl of Thomond and, more broadly, the Uí Bhriain lineage which he belonged to.<sup>4</sup> The fact that the survey was taken at a time when Gaelic lordships were undergoing profound change in the new political and economic circumstances of early seventeenth century Ireland makes this hitherto unpublished survey a valuable source.

Our understanding of Gaelic land tenure and social hierarchies have been informed greatly over the past half century with the publication of primary source material at the

<sup>1</sup> The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of Martin Breen and Kenneth Nicholls in the preparation of this paper. The author also thanks Brian Ó Dálaigh for first bringing the survey to the author's attention, and to Alison McCann of West Sussex Records Office, for procuring a copy of the survey.

<sup>2</sup> See PHA MS C.27.A.60 [Ibrickane Survey].

<sup>3</sup> See R. Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey and Distribution, Being Abstracts of Various Surveys and Instruments of Title, 1636-1703, Vol. 4, Co. Clare* (Dublin, 1949), pp 413-438.

<sup>4</sup> On the fourth Earl of Thomond and his adoption of anglicising initiatives from the late sixteenth century see two recent studies that touch upon the Earl: Brendan Kane, *The politics and culture of honour in Britain and Ireland, 1541-1641* (Cambridge, 2010); and for a study of the anglicising policies of the fourth Earl of Thomond in the context of similar policies pursued by other Gaelic aristocrats see Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (Yale, 2012).



local and regional level.<sup>5</sup> The study of land records held at private collections such as the Petworth House archive in West Sussex, England, can further our knowledge of early seventeenth century Ireland.<sup>6</sup> Such sources throw new light on how local communities negotiated the 'transition' from Gaelic lordship and traditional sources of authority, to the growing realities of national administration and legislated authority within an emerging British kingdom. The development of regional trade networks and changes in land-holding and legal institutions furthered this change, and one way of charting these developments can be found in the corpus of correspondence and estate papers of the Earls of Thomond at Petworth House.

The original purpose of the 1615 survey was to subjoin a list of lands in Ibrickan, to survey the extent of the barony's quarters, and compute the value of the rents payable to the Earl. The survey also identified those lands on which an exemption from rent had been granted. In addition, the survey intended to set down the proprietorship of the barony's lands that had been confirmed to the fourth Earl of Thomond as part of the series of agreements that formed the Composition of Connacht in 1585.<sup>7</sup> This arrangement recognised the Earl's proprietorial rights over lands which, previously, were under his lordship but whose title was traditionally vested in the collective proprietorship of sept-lineages. Many of these lands were confirmed by letters patent to the Earl in 1621.<sup>8</sup>

In the eyes of the Earl and English officials, the chief sept-lineages held their lands not as freeholders *per se*; rather they had a 'freehold' interest in, but not over, land. Therefore land grants could be made by the Earl of the lands of these sept-lineages as he claimed that his ancestral right of paramount lordship over these lands translated into proprietorship under common law, and his dependents and followers were, *ipso facto*, his tenants.<sup>9</sup> All this, of course, was contrary to the system of Gaelic landholding whereby ruling families had lordship over (i.e. the right to levy tax and impose certain burdens such as military billeting) but not a private freehold interest in the land occupied by sept-lineages.

The 1615 survey is one of the earliest datable attempts of the Earls of Thomond of 'anglicising' their estate and its management. This rather drawn-out process occurred in line with changes then underway in tenurial arrangements, and the shift away from traditional lordship and inheritance practices to that based on the English feudal system of seignorial courts and the common law.

### *Petworth House, West Sussex*

The 1615 survey presented in the appendices has been transcribed from the original document located at shelfmark C.27.A.60 at the Petworth House archive. The original is

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, John Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1961); Gearóid Mac Niocaill, 'Seven Irish Documents from the Inchiquin Archives', *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 26 (1970), pp 47-69; Gearóid Mac Niocaill, 'Land Transfer in Sixteenth Century Thomond: The Case of Domhnall Óg Ó Cearnaigh', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, vol. 17 (1975) pp 43-5; Kenneth Nicholls, *Land, Law and Society in 16th Century Ireland* (Cork, 1976); Kenneth Nicholls, 'Gaelic landownership in Tipperary from the surviving Irish deeds', in W. Nolan & T.G. McGrath (eds), *Tipperary: History and Society* (Dublin, 1985) pp 92-103; and Patrick J. Duffy, 'Social and Spatial Order in the MacMahon Lordship of Airghialla in the Late Sixteenth Century', in Patrick J. Duffy et al. (eds), *Gaelic Ireland c.1250-c.1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001) pp 115-37.

<sup>6</sup> On the collection generally see Alf Mac Lochlainn, 'Papers at Petworth House', *Analecta Hibernica*, vol. 23 (1966) pp 303-05.

<sup>7</sup> See A. Martin Freeman, (ed.), *The Compossicion Booke of Conought* (Dublin, 1936). On the 1585 composition agreement and Thomond see Bernadette Cunningham, 'The Composition of Connacht in the Lordships of Clanricard and Thomond, 1577-1641', *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. xxiv, no. 94 (1984) pp 1-14.

<sup>8</sup> *Irish Patent Rolls of James I: 1603-1625* (Dublin, 1966) pp 493-4 [Pat. 18.].

<sup>9</sup> On the enumeration of the Earl's lands in Co. Clare see the inquisition taken into the lands held by Donough O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, dated 1 April 1619 (PHA MS B.26.T.16); and the inquisition post mortem of Donough (Donat) O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, dated 4 January 1624 (PHA MS 1141).



in a moderate state of preservation and written in a singular clear style in secretary hand; only a few words are illegible, however these do not alter the main substance of the text. Petworth House is the seat of the Earls of Egremont but the Thomond material deposited there owes its origin to Barnaby O'Brien, sixth Earl of Thomond, who left Bunratty in Co. Clare in 1646 and settled at Great Billing in Northamptonshire. Henry O'Brien, eighth Earl of Thomond, died without issue in 1741 and the title (2nd creation) became extinct in 1774. Whereupon Henry's death the Thomond estate passed to George Wyndham, third Earl of Egremont, who was obliged to take the additional name of O'Brien and was created Earl of Thomond and Baron of Ibrickan in 1756.<sup>10</sup> It is likely that during the course of the eighteenth century the O'Brien estate papers were transferred from Ireland to Petworth House. They remain there to this day and are available for public consultation only by prior arrangement with the archivist at the West Sussex Record Office.

### Historical context

The barony of Ibrickan (*Uí Bhracáin*) situates in western Co. Clare and traditionally formed one of the powerbases of the Uí Bhriain, whose other chief seat was in Inchiquin barony where the family held the 'well fortified island of Inchiquin' and, later, a towerhouse on Inchiquin lough; the former of which merited a reference in the mid-fourteenth century saga-text, *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*.<sup>11</sup> In Ibrickan were located several cadet branches of the Uí Bhriain and, as can be seen from the two lists of towerhouses of Co. Clare compiled in 1570<sup>12</sup> and 1574,<sup>13</sup> many were under the proprietorship of various Ó Briain kinsmen. Also located throughout the barony was the presence of important retainers and followers of the Uí Bhriain. These include the main branches of the Meic Giolla Phádraig<sup>14</sup> and Meic Giolla Riabhaigh lineages, both holding extensive lands under their cultivation. In the case of the Meic Giolla Riabhaigh they were notable enough to warrant as witnesses to the 1585 Composition of Connacht and possess towerhouse residences.<sup>15</sup>

There were other important lineages settled in Ibrickan barony, some of which were the professional Gaelic learned families. While the lands of the northern and western parts of the barony are known as *bréan-tír*, (foul land) and the landscape is pierced by the bleak Slieve Callan which rises to a height of 1,282 feet,<sup>16</sup> much of the fertile part of the barony was settled by learned families. Clann Bhruaidealha who served as chronicler-poets to the Earls of Thomond in the sixteenth century and, perhaps, to the Uí Chuinn of Inchiquin before that, held lands around and to the south of Slieve Callan.<sup>17</sup> They were

<sup>10</sup> Francis W. Steer & Noel H. Osborne (eds), *The Petworth House Archive: Vol 1: a Catalogue* (Chichester, 1968) p. viii.

<sup>11</sup> Seán Mac Ruaidhri Mac Craith, *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh: The Triumphs of Turlough*, Vol II, ed. Standish Hayes O'Grady (London, 1929) pp 85, 118. On the various Uí Bhriain fortified sites in and around Inchiquin lough see Dr George U. Macnamara, 'Inchiquin, County Clare', *Journal Royal Society of Antiquarians of Ireland*, vol. xxxi (1901) pp 204-364.

<sup>12</sup> See Martin Breen, 'A 1570 List of Castles in County Clare', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, vol. xxxvi (1995) pp 130-38.

<sup>13</sup> See R.W. Twigge, 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, vol. 1. no. 2 (1910) pp 75-85.

<sup>14</sup> Genealogies of the Meic Giolla Phádraig of Thomond may be consulted at Genealogical Office, Dublin, MS 16.

<sup>15</sup> A. Martin Freeman, (ed.), *The Compossicion Booke of Conought*, p. 11. See Twigge, 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574', p. 84.

<sup>16</sup> Máire MacNeill, *The festival of Lughnasa: A Study of the Survival of the Celtic Festival of the Beginning of Harvest*, (London, 1962) p. 193.

<sup>17</sup> On the detail of Clann Bhruaidealha in Ibrickan and on a discussion of their possible origins see Luke McNerney, 'Lettermoylan of Clann Bhruaidealha: A résumé of their landholding, topography & history', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, vol. 52 (2012) pp 81-113.



settled on the termon land of Dysert which stretched as far west as Lettermoylan on Slieve Callan.<sup>18</sup> Similarly Clann Chruitín, who in medieval times held the *ollamh*-ship of Thomond in history and music<sup>19</sup> were also settled in Ibrickan, their chief estate there being at Moyglass, west of Miltown Malbay.<sup>20</sup>

### Internal evidence

The significance of the Petworth House archive and its array of source material has been the subject of previous attention by this author.<sup>21</sup> It is worth noting that the archive contains much useful information relevant in the study of the transition of a Gaelic lordship to a shired county and the establishment of manorial courts, English legal institutions and commercialisation of estate management.<sup>22</sup> Petitions also survive from Gaelic proprietors who faced dispossession by the settlement of English and Dutch planters and the consolidation of the Earls of Thomond estates, especially those in proximity to the Thomond *caput* manor at Bunratty.<sup>23</sup> New forms of commercial and proto-industrial activity may be gleaned among the Thomond papers<sup>24</sup> and correspondence over land proprietorship and with *émigré* Irish also feature.<sup>25</sup> This material should be viewed in conjunction with printed manuscript sources such as the *Inchiquin Manuscripts*<sup>26</sup> and the *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland*<sup>27</sup> to provide a more complete picture of the process of change.

In light of this, the 1615 survey of the Earl of Thomond's estate in Ibrickan provides a useful set point of charting change at the local level with its minutiae of detail, and in comparing this to later surveys to determine changes in landholding. The question about the fate of some of the important sept-lineages who in former times were followers of the Earls of Thomond and provided professional services, such as the Meic Bhruaidealha chronicler-poets, can in some measure be answered when comparing their landholding in 1615 to that of later surveys.<sup>28</sup>

As a rich source of evidence concerning the make-up of the Earl of Thomond's estate in west Co. Clare, the 1615 survey reads like a microcosm of Gaelic society. Gaelic proprietors and the society they lived in was cohered by traditional ties of kinship and, perhaps on first glance, appeared impermeable to outside influence. The 1615 survey also shows signs of different agricultural practices and the references to 'waste' and land out of cultivation suggests that Ibrickan was relatively under-populated, a feature of Gaelic

<sup>18</sup> Lettermoylan can now be identified as the modern Knockalassa, Glennageer, Magherabaun and Ballynoe townlands around Slieve Callan.

<sup>19</sup> See *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub anno 1404.

<sup>20</sup> See Liam Ó Luaighnigh, *Dánta Aindréis Mhic Cruitín*, (Ennis, 1935).

<sup>21</sup> See Luke McInerney, 'Documents from the Thomond Papers at Petworth House Archive', *Archivium Hibernicum*, lxiv (2011) pp 7-55.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, the inquisition post mortem of Conor O'Brien, third Earl of Thomond, dated 8 August 1581 (MS PHA 1140); the inquisition taken into the lands held by Donough O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, dated 1 April 1619 (PHA MS B.26.T.16); and the inquisition post mortem of Donough (Donat) O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, dated 4 January 1624 (PHA MS 1141). Also see the 1618 Great Office for Inchiquin Barony (PHA MS 16.B.E).

<sup>23</sup> See PHA MS 5402; PHA MS 3186, 3187; PHA MS 1209.

<sup>24</sup> See PHA MS 3923; PHA MS 3195-3197.

<sup>25</sup> See the correspondence of Sir Barnaby O'Brien with Sir Dermot O Mallun, Baron of Gleanomalun and Cuerchy, in 1630-31 over lands around Killaloe. PHA MS C6.4, C13.34a.

<sup>26</sup> See John Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1961).

<sup>27</sup> See *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth*, [vols. 1-11], His Majesty's Stationery Office, London.

<sup>28</sup> Comparison may be made to the 1626 estate list of the fifth Earl of Thomond, Henry O'Brien, which is also preserved at Petworth House. See PHA MS C27.A.39. ['An abstract of such rents and renewes as doe belonge to the right Hon. Henry Earle of Thomond', 1626].



lordships.<sup>29</sup> It is also apparent that the preponderant form of economy was agro-pastoralism; that is, cattle raising and related activities such as 'boolying' or transhumance grazing on uplands during the summer. We can also gather that the rent for some quarters was in dispute and that tenants refused to 'pay but th[e] old accustomed rent'. Attracting new tenants appeared to have been a problem, and those tenants who refused to pay the new rent levy were kept on the land, 'for want of others that would pay the same'. By way of comparison, low population levels and untenanted lands also appear in the 1626 rental of Henry O'Brien, the fifth Earl of Thomond's estate.<sup>30</sup> It is instructive to compare the two surveys and ascertain the changes wrought in the relatively short time period between them. The 1615 survey records several quarters designated free from rent, a point that we will return to later. Again in reference to rent we read that at 'Moglassbegg' the rent was typically due on 'Gale Day', otherwise May 1st, traditionally the day when a tenancy commenced or ceased.

The survey also reveals interesting miscellanea regarding the topography of the surveyed quarters of Ibrickan. It is apparent that some of the quarters were waste and since May they had been converted into pasture, indicating seasonal pasturing on some of the more marginal lands. The reference to rent being paid in kind such as 'hoggs' and 'muttons' also serves as a reminder of the limited monetary economy that operated in Gaelic regions during the early seventeenth century. We also read that the rent of 53 quarters was commuted to pay 53 hoggs and 53 muttons annually, but the stipulation that such rent was payable when 'the whole land be inhabited' underscores the low tenant numbers and difficulty in attracting tenants to new leases.<sup>31</sup> A series of exemptions on certain quarters from paying rent meant that 51 of the 63 quarters paid £5 per each, totalling an annual sum of £255. The levying of £5 per quarter represents the composition charge which the fourth Earl of Thomond agreed to in 1585.<sup>32</sup>

### *Landholding of the learned class*

At this point it is useful to identify evidence that may be found regarding the composition of Ibrickan in terms of the lineage and status of the chief tenants set down in the survey. Turning to representatives of the learned class, Clann Bhruaidealha were one of the most prolific learned families settled in Ibrickan. As a learned poet-chronicler lineage with cognate branches at Dysert and Moynoe parishes, Clann Bhruaidealha featured among the professional *literati* whose patrons were the Uí Bhriain of Thomond.<sup>33</sup> In the 1615

<sup>29</sup> On population levels in seventeenth century Co. Clare see Patrick Nugent, 'The interrelationship between population and settlement in County Clare in the seventeenth century: The evidence from the 1659 "Census"', in Matthew Lynch & Patrick Nugent (eds), *Clare: history and society: interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish County* (Dublin, 2008) pp 79-104. Also see the point about the under population of Gaelic lordships in 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 120-47:129. It has been observed that the relatively low value of land in Gaelic Ireland probably reflected low demand and may also indicate low population levels, see K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2003) p. 81.

<sup>30</sup> PHA MS C27.A.39. ['An abstract of such rents and renewes as doe belonge to the right Hon. Henrye Earle of Thomond', 1626].

<sup>31</sup> Most of the new tenants of English and Dutch origin that settled on the estate of Earl of Thomond were attracted to the better land in southeast Clare and near urban centres such as Kilrush, Ennis and Sixmilebridge. See Bernadette Cunningham, *Clanricard and Thomond, 1540-1640: provincial politics and society transformed* (Dublin, 2012) pp 45-50.

<sup>32</sup> See Freeman, (ed.), *The Compossicion Booke of Conought*.

<sup>33</sup> See McInerney, 'Lettermoylan of Clann Bhruaidealha' pp 81-113. Also see Cuthbert McGrath, 'Materials for a History of Clann Bhruaidealha', *Éigse*, vol. 4, part 4 (1943-4) pp 48-66; and Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'The Origins of Clann Bhruaidealha', *Éigse*, vol. 31 (1999) pp 121-30. On Clann Bhruaidealha settled on the termon of Moynoe see Nollaig Ó Muraile (ed.), *Micheál Ó Cléirigh, His Associates and St Anthony's College, Louvain* (Dublin, 2008) p. 110.



survey Meic Bhruaidealha landholding concentrated on twelve quarters to the south and southwest of Slieve Callan and totalled over 9,500 acres or around a fifth of the entire barony.<sup>34</sup> Their main areas of landholding included: Donnsallagh, Shanavogh, Doonogan and surrounding five quarters,<sup>35</sup> Shandrum and Moyglass, Cloghaunnatinny, and Knockanalban. The 1626 rental of the fifth Earl of Thomond, published in this volume of the *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* by Martin Breen, corroborates Clann Bhruaidealha's strong presence in Ibrickan.<sup>36</sup>

We know from other sources that as members of the Gaelic learned class, Clann Bhruaidealha had considerable landholding at Lettermoylan, which formed part of Dysert termon and was mensal land of the Bishop of Killaloe.<sup>37</sup> For this reason Lettermoylan does not feature in the 1615 survey which only enumerates lands in Ibrickan. Furthermore, we know that members of the Clann Bhruaidealha who dwelt on Lettermoylan termon on the eastern slope of Slieve Callan, regarded their proprietorship as existing under special terms and they disputed the right of the Protestant Bishop of Killaloe in setting new leases in 1614 and 1617.<sup>38</sup> Lettermoylan probably owed its status as church land due to the presence of a Mac Creiche oratory church delineating it as termon (*tearmann*) land. A link between Clann Bhruaidealha and Mac Creiche sites, both in Ibrickan and farther afield in north Corcomroe, can be traced to medieval times.<sup>39</sup>

The 1615 survey makes mention of certain quarters exempt from rent. Of particular interest are the two references to 'Cnockinalbany' (now Knockanalban or Mount Scott) which were held by 'Teig mc Broady'. This is Tadhg mac Dáire Mhic Bhruaidealha who was first recorded as living there in 1586.<sup>40</sup> Modern Knockanalban is a large denomination consisting around 900 acres and a crannóg there is attributed to Clann Bhruaidealha.<sup>41</sup> Tadhg mac Dáire appears in contemporary documents as a witness and scribe, along with other literate members of Clann Bhruaidealha.<sup>42</sup> He rose to prominence for taking part in the poetical exchange with Ulster poets known as *Iomarbhágh na bhfileadh* ('Contention

<sup>34</sup> Computed using modern townland approximations of 1615 denominations.

<sup>35</sup> These included the five quarters of Carrowduff, Kildeema, Finnor More and Killargnayne (Killernan?) (all spellings modernized). See PHA MS C.27.A.60 [Ibrickane Survey].

<sup>36</sup> PHA MS C.27.A.39. ['An abstract of such rents and revenewes as doe belonge to the right Hon. Henrye Earle of Thomond', 1626].

<sup>37</sup> Edward Worth, Bishop of Killaloe (1660-1669) groups Lettermoylan as part of the termon of Dysert. 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, pp 31-3. Also see Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey and Distribution* [Vol. 4, Clare], 1967, p. 533 where Lettermoylan was held by the Bishop and recorded as a denomination in the parish of Dysert.

<sup>38</sup> National Library of Ireland: MS 45,686/1, 'Petition to the Lord Deputy and Council of John [Rider] Bishop of Killaloe', c.1614. Also see Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts*, p. 432. [no.1318]; and MS 1777, *Typescript copy of a survey of lands in the diocese of Killaloe made for Bishop Worth, 1661*, National Library of Ireland Manuscript Room, pp 31-2.

<sup>39</sup> See the reference to 'Thady Ybrodyga' (Tadhg Ó Bruaidealha) recorded in a papal petition to hold the rectory of Drumcreehy in Corcomroe in 1419, a church site associated with the coarb of Mac Creiche. *ASV Regestum Supplicationum*, 129f. 18v. On Drumcreehy and Clann Bhruaidealha, see McInerney, 'Lettermoylan of Clann Bhruaidealha', pp 86-7.

<sup>40</sup> See *The Irish Fiant of the Tudor Sovereigns During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip & Mary, and Elizabeth I*, Fiant, Eliz., No. 4860 [year 1586]. Knockanalban is also cited in the Latin works of Friar Antonius Bruodin, where he records that his great uncle, Tadhg mac Dáire Mhic Bhruaidealha held it: '*Momoniensium partes scriptis, & verbis tuebatur patruus meus magnus, bonae memoriae, Dominus Thaddaeus mac Bruodin, seu de Bruodin, Darij filius, Dominus de Monte Scoti*' [The cause of the people of Munster was defended through writings and (spoken) words by my great uncle of good memory, master Thaddaeus Mac Bruodin, or the Bruodin, son of Darius, (and) proprietor of Mount Scott]. Mount Scott is the alternative modern form of Knockanalban. Antonius Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis Libris x Constructum, in Duaeque Partes Divisum. Pars Prima Historica in Quinque Libros* (Prague, 1669) p. 851.

<sup>41</sup> Carol Gleeson, 'Knockanalban Crannog(s), Co. Clare', *The Other Clare*, vol.13 (1989) pp 32-4.

<sup>42</sup> Literate members of Clann Bhruaidealha are frequently found in legal instruments in both the *Inchiquin Manuscripts* and



of the Bards') in c.1616.<sup>43</sup> Tadhg mac Dáire's role in the contention is regarded as somewhat of a revisionist, defending his patron the Protestant Donough O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, at the expense of professional deference and unity with Ulster poets. While never recognised as the official *Mac Bruaideadha de jure*, that appellation being held by kinsmen of a Meic Bhruaideadha branch of the line of Maoilín,<sup>44</sup> Tadhg mac Dáire cultivated a close personal relationship with the Earl of Thomond that stretched back to the Earl's childhood. Tadhg mac Dáire's grand nephew Friar Antonius Bruodinus, writing in Prague in the 1671, claimed:

*...Catholico ritu Baptizatus, as tandem delicate lactatus, nutritus per annos 7 in Domo viri illustris, Domini Cornelij Clanchi, Domini de Inse & Finola Bruodin ejus uxoris. Crescente aetate Principis pueri, parentis jussu, Dominus Thadeus Bruodinus Finola frater, curam illius accepit, illumque sub sua disciplina in diversis hiberniae locis, in quibus studuit, per annos 14 habuit, tandem mortuo Catholico suo parente, Juvenis Comes 21 circiter tunc agens annum, in Angliam, cum suo Praefecto Bruodino navigavit; ubi persvasione Thomas Butler, Ormaniae tunc potentissimi Comitis (ut Reginae favores sibi conciliaret) a fide defecit Catholica. Post dutos tandem annos in Hibernia Comes una Thadeo Bruodino, Catholico suo Praefecto venit; ubi Thadeus ex illustrissima Mohuniorum familia uxorem duxit.*<sup>45</sup>

[(Donough O'Brien was)...baptized under the Catholic rite, delicately nursed, nurtured for seven years in the house of that illustrious man, Master Cornelius Clanchi, master of Ennis, and Finola Bruodin, his wife. Over the course of the boy prince's years, master Thady Bruodin, the brother of Finola, received the care of him by order of his parents, and kept him for fourteen years under his tutorage at diverse places in Ireland, where he studied; when at last his own Catholic parent died, the young earl, at about the age of 21 years, sailed for England with his guardian Bruodin; whereupon through the persuasion of Thomas Butler, at that time the powerful Earl of Ormond, he forsook the Catholic faith (in order to commend himself to the Queen's favours). Finally after two years to Ireland the Earl, together with Thady Bruodin, his Catholic guardian arrived; whereupon Thady Bruodin took a wife from the most illustrious family of the Mahons.]<sup>46</sup>

The survey of Ibrickan shows that for 'Cnockinalbany' (Knockanalban) 'Teig McBready holdeth for which he payeth not rent'.<sup>47</sup> The point is re-iterated later on in the survey when it computes the eight quarters of Ibrickan which were exempt from paying [either] 'hoggs nor muttons' and included Knockanalban.<sup>48</sup> Knockanalban was still rent free in

also in the collection of Irish deeds printed by James Hardiman. See Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts* [nos. 890; 920; 930; 936; 937; 952; 964; 966; 975; 980; 981; 984; 995; 999; 1003; 1008; 1011; 1018; 1021; 1025; 1029; 1030; 1044; 1318; 1321; 1344; 1483]; and 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 61, 67, 80, 81, 84.

<sup>43</sup> See Joep Leerssen, *The Contention of the Bards* (London, 1994). On his learning and erudition in Latin, Greek and Irish see the writings of Antonius Bruodinus in *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis Libris x Constructum*, pp 851-2 and also in his other work, written under pseudonym, Cornel O'Mollony, *Anatomicum Examen Enchiridii Apologetici* (Prague 1671) p 116.

<sup>44</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub anno 1599, 1602.

<sup>45</sup> O'Mollony, *Anatomicum Examen Enchiridii Apologetici*, pp 112-13.

<sup>46</sup> Author's translation.

<sup>47</sup> See PHA MS C.27.A.60 [Ibrickane Survey].

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*



1626 when the fifth Earl of Thomond's rental listed the occupant there as 'Teig mc Brodies widdowe' and no rent was recorded.<sup>49</sup> This latter reference confirms that Tadhg mac Dáire died shortly after composing a poetic eulogy on the death of his patron the Earl of Thomond in 1624/5.<sup>50</sup> From the 1615 survey it can be seen that over 'seven quarters of land' were held by Tadhg mac Dáire such as Doonogan (legend attributes the towerhouse there to him),<sup>51</sup> and which totalled approximately half of the Clann Bhruaidealha estate in Ibrickan. The elite literate class which the bardic poets and chroniclers embodied possessed a degree of wealth and privilege which included immunity from rent and tribute.<sup>52</sup> In his Latin works, Friar Bruodinus makes other allusions to the status and privileges enjoyed by Clann Bhruaidealha such as an annual income from their aristocratic patrons and exemption from having to provide quartering rights for military hostings.<sup>53</sup>

As we have discussed, the 1615 survey provides useful information on the status of the learned Gaelic class and sheds light on specific aspects of their landholding and privileges. Notably, the anglicising policies of the fourth Earl of Thomond which have received attention by scholars<sup>54</sup> were promulgated concurrently with the continuation of traditional rights and privileges accorded to the Gaelic learned class. In the case of Tadhg mac Dáire and Knockanalban, these privileges were retained even after the death of the Earl in 1624.<sup>55</sup>

The 1615 survey also contains reference to the learned Meic Cruitín who, much like Clann Bhruaidealha, appear as historians in west Co. Clare and specialised in *seanchas* and chronicling. Various members of the lineage feature in the annals as early as 1354.<sup>56</sup> In common with other members of learned class, Clann Chruitín were skilled functionaries combining several traditional arts such as history and music and attained the prestigious post of *ollamh*, being styled in the annals '*ollamh Tuadhmumhan le seanchas*'.<sup>57</sup> Clann Chruitín held hereditary lands in Corcomroe which centred on the quarters of Laghvally and Carrowduff in Kilmacrehy Parish. The landholding of this branch of Clann Chruitín is exemplified in an inquisition dated 5 September 1618 which was compiled as part of the abortive surrender and regrant of Co. Clare. It may be simplified and shown as follows:

<sup>49</sup> PHA MS C27.A.39. ['An abstract of such rents and renewes as doe belonge to the right Hon. Henrye Earle of Thomond', 1626].

<sup>50</sup> See Brian Ó Cuív, 'An elegy on Donnchadh Ó Briain, fourth earl of Thomond', *Celtica*, vol. 16 (1984) pp 87–105.

<sup>51</sup> RIA, *Ordnance Survey Ireland: Co Clare Extracts*, vol 2, pp 510–11 ['Extract of a letter from Mr E. Curry to George Smith Esq. College Green, Dublin, dated at Limerick 8 July 1835']. I wish to thank Brian Ó Dálaigh for this reference; and also see Theophilus O'Flanagan, 'Advice to a Prince', *Transactions Gaelic Society*, vol. 1 (1808) p. 27.

<sup>52</sup> It would appear that the poetic class were not always immune from ecclesiastical tax and parochial tithes. Over the course of the medieval period the Church attempted to levy taxes and other dues on them. In a synod held at Limerick in 1453 some of the ordinances decreed that doctors and poets, for example, were bound to pay tithes on their goods, despite the contrary custom that had prevailed. John Begley, *The Diocese of Limerick, Ancient and Medieval* (Dublin, 1906) p. 293.

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, Bruodinus, *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis Libris x Constructum*, p. 771; and O'Mollony, *Anatomicum Examen Enchiridii Apologetici*, pp 40–1.

<sup>54</sup> See, for example, Cunningham, *Clanricard and Thomond, 1540–1640* and 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', *Irish Geography*, vol. 40, 1 (2007) pp 79–98.

<sup>55</sup> The evidence for this is the 1626 rental of the fifth Earl of Thomond's estate which notes that Knockanalban was held rent free by 'Teig mc Brodies widdowe'. See PHA MS C27.A.39. ['An abstract of such rents and renewes as doe belonge to the right Hon. Henrye Earle of Thomond', 1626].

<sup>56</sup> See E.J. Gwynn (ed.), *Fragmentary Annals from the West of Ireland, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 37 C (1926) pp 151–3:153. The reference was an obit of 'Eagd Mac Crutyn' (Aodh Mac Cruitín) in 1354. Also see *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub anno 1376.

<sup>57</sup> *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub anno 1404, 1434, 1436.



Solmon McCruttin of Laghtvally and part of Carrowduff  
 Hugh Oge McCruttin of part of Laghtvally  
 Moelmury McCruttin of part of Laghtvally  
 Teig McCruttin & Connor McCruttin of part of Carrowduff  
 Shanah McCruttin of part of Carrowduff  
 Hugh na Tauny<sup>58</sup> McCruttin of part of Carrowduff  
 Connor McCruttin of part of Carrowduff.<sup>59</sup>

Clann Chruitín's proprietorship at Kilmacrehy continued into the 1640s.<sup>60</sup> In the 1615 survey a Hugh Cruttyne is recorded holding Tromroe (now Tromra<sup>61</sup>), although unlike Tadhg mac Dáire Mhic Bhruaidealha at Knockanalban, Clann Chruitín did not hold Tromroe rent free. The reason for this is uncertain, but it is possible that they were not accorded the same privileges as Clann Bhruaidealha by the seventeenth century as their standing had diminished since former times.

As a literate member of a learned family Hugh was active in drawing up deeds and other legal instruments, such as a deed of arbitration in 1600.<sup>62</sup> It is highly likely that Hugh Cruttyne was the 'Hugo Mc Cruttin de Clandoyne' who was empanelled as a juror on the 1619 inquisition into the lands of the fourth Earl of Thomond, a position that he shared along with other members of the learned class.<sup>63</sup> Clandoyne is an unidentified land division presumably in the vicinity of Tromra.<sup>64</sup> There is little doubt that the Meic Cruitín continued in their ancient professional role as historian-chroniclers as we learn from a remarkable reference found among the 1641 depositions. At the siege of Ballyallia castle in Co. Clare, English settler John Ward observed that:

Hugh Mc Crutten did use to take a note in writing of as many of the besiegers as were either hurte or killed against the said Castle openly extolling them for their valour & good service in assaulting the said Castle, to noe other purpose (as this deponent then understood) but to give intimation thereof to the rest of the Country & to encourage them to like rebellious actions.<sup>65</sup>

This is first hand proof that Hugh Mc Crutten (Aodh Mac Cruitín) was following the family's professional calling as chroniclers well into the seventeenth century, even after

<sup>58</sup> Hugh na Tauny can be identified in the Clann Chruitín genealogy printed by John O'Hart. While the genealogy appears to conflate some of the later descendants and inserts additional generations, it does identify a Hugh na Tuinnidhe ('na-tuinnidhe': of the den) of the early seventeenth century. Interestingly, according to O'Hart an ancestor of Hugh na Tuinnidhe was 'Seanchuidh' a chronicler. He may be identified as 'Sencha Mac Cruitín ollamh Tuadhmumhan' whose obit was recorded in the annals in 1434. See John O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees* (fifth edition, vol. 1, Dublin, 1892) pp307-08. On the unpublished manuscript genealogies of Clann Chruitín see RIA MS H 25 (30) and RIA MS E.iv.3, p.10 and *Annals of the Four Masters sub anno 1434*. I thank Kenneth Nicholls for the reference to the unpublished sources.

<sup>59</sup> PHA MS 16.B.D.2 [Great Office of Corcomroe Barony, 5 September 1618]. I thank Kenneth Nicholls for this reference.

<sup>60</sup> In 1641 only 'Solloman Cruttin' was recorded as holding part of 'Killaughvalley' (i.e. Laghvally). See Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution, Co. Clare*, p. 238.

<sup>61</sup> Tromra towerhouse was an O'Brien stronghold held by 'Teige macConnoghor [O'Brien]' in 1574. Tromra was recorded as early as 1277 when the O'Briens there received 12 tuns of wine yearly as payment from the merchants of Galway for the protection and safe passage of goods. James Hardiman, *The History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway* (Galway, 1820, reprinted 1958) p. 55. Twigge, 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574', p. 84.

<sup>62</sup> Gearóid Mac Niocaill, 'Seven Irish Documents from the Inchiquin Archives', *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 26 (1970) pp 47-69:59.

<sup>63</sup> PHA MS B.26.T.16, [1, April 1619].

<sup>64</sup> It could be the modern Glendine in Kilfarboy parish.

<sup>65</sup> TCD MS 829, fol. 81v [617] 25/4/1643 Deposition of John Ward.



their traditional patronage had evaporated. The fact that the lands of Clann Chruitín were not recorded as rent free, unlike Knockanalban of Clann Bhruaidealha, suggests that as a learned family they had lost much of their former patronage and commensurate status. The recording of Hugh Mc Crutten extolling the Confederate Irish in assailing New English settlers must be one of the last references to the *seanchaidh* class, trained in the classical tradition, and being called upon to act in their capacity as Gaelic *literati*. In later times the area around Tromra was closely associated with Aodh Buidhe and Aindrias Mac Cruitín, antiquarian poets to the Mac Donnells of Kilkee and O'Briens of Ennistymon, and whose poems and activities echoed that of their forebears' position as a family of the Gaelic learned class.<sup>66</sup>

### *Other lineages*

It is worth to briefly touch upon several other landowning families at this juncture. Chief among those recorded in 1615 were the Meic Giolla Phádraig, Meic Giolla Riabhaigh, Meic Catháin and other families such as the Meic Gormáin<sup>67</sup> and Uí Choimín. All of these families may be categorised as locally important middle-tier landholding lineages. They would have, in turn, leased out lands to lesser kinsmen and followers. Some lineages, such as the Meic Giolla Riabhaigh at Cragbrien and Teermaclane in the barony of the Islands,<sup>68</sup> and the Meic Catháin at Inis Cathaigh and Ballykett in the barony of Moyarta,<sup>69</sup> held towerhouses in 1574. By 1626 proprietorship of many towerhouses throughout Co. Clare had passed to New English settlers and held under lease from the Earl of Thomond.<sup>70</sup>

The survey furnishes us with detail concerning the fluid land market that characterised the early seventeenth century. For example, several non-Gaelic individuals are mentioned; Blake, Delahoyd, Bourck and Bilingsly. All represented outside interests that were involved in mortgaging lands from the Earl of Thomond, many of which were formerly the possession of Gaelic freeholders who had experienced financial distress or had slipped down the social hierarchy. The land market of the seventeenth century witnessed much change and along with English law and the introduction of English and Dutch settlers to spur mercantile growth, outside capital became increasingly sought after by native

<sup>66</sup> Brian O'Looney, *A Collection of Poems Written on Different Occassions by the Clare Bards in Honour of the MacDonnells of Kilkee and Killone, in the County of Clare* (Dublin, 1863) pp.iii-v; also see Ó Luaighnigh, *Dánta Aindréis Mhic Cruitín*.

<sup>67</sup> The Meic Gormáin were an important family locally and their chief estate was at Cahermurphy in Kilmihil parish. According to a poem ascribed to Tadhg mac Dáire Mhic Bhruaidealha, the Meic Gormáin settled in Ibrickan in the twelfth century after being dispossessed by the Anglo-Normans of their original estate in Leinster. One of their number, Mallaghlen Mac Gorman, submitted to King Henry VIII's officials in Dublin in 1544, two years after the submission of Murchadh Ó Briain. The record of the submission was not recorded in the State Papers but survived in a private collection. See John O'Donovan, *Ordnance Survey Letters: The Antiquities of County Clare* (Ennis, 2003) p. 279. On the Meic Gormáin submission, including an earlier submission dated 1395 by 'Coueva Mac Gorman of Hybrekane and his son Melachlin', see Rev. Myles V. Ronan, 'Some Medieval Documents', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, ser. 7, vol. vii (1937) pp 229-41:230, 234. Also see their genealogy at RIA MS 23.F.14, p. 286.

<sup>68</sup> Twigge, 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574', p. 84. On the Meic Giolla Riabhaigh of Cragbrien see the award dated 19 February 1589 between Donough O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, and Conor McGillarewgh regarding the castle and lands of Cragbrien. The award stipulated that 'McGillarewgh' was to hold the castle and lands for life, after which they would revert to the Earl. See Petworth House archive MS C.13.36 [no.5]. I wish to thank Kenneth Nicholls for providing me with this reference.

<sup>69</sup> Twigge, 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574', p. 80.

<sup>70</sup> PHA MS C27.A.39. ['An abstract of such rents and renewes as doe belonge to the right Hon. Henrye Earle of Thomond', 1626].



proprietors to fund the costs of defending land title and maintaining their social position. Mercantile families such as the Blakes of Galway<sup>71</sup> became established in the land market on the Earl of Thomond's estate in the beginning of the seventeenth century when the merchant, Valentine Blake, served as Sir Turlough O'Brien's (d.1623) attorney in 1605 on matters concerning land in Corcomroe.<sup>72</sup> Subsequently, the Blake family developed interests in Co. Clare and by 1638 numerous lands were under their proprietorship, though several were in dispute with the original owners.<sup>73</sup>

Sir Rowland Delahoyd was a prominent favourite of the Earl of Thomond and came from Old English stock in Co. Meath.<sup>74</sup> He is first recorded in c.1600 where he featured in a land deed of Donough O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond.<sup>75</sup> In 1607 he was granted land around Tyredagh in Tulla parish.<sup>76</sup> Delahoyd was very involved in the land market and local administration in seventeenth century Co. Clare, and he appeared in a number of land deeds and trust arrangements drawn up relating to freeholders on the estates of the Earl of Thomond.<sup>77</sup> He received a large parcel of land on the former termon of Tulla in the 1620s and his sons held land in Quin and Tulla parishes in 1641.<sup>78</sup> Despite being in receipt of substantial lands on the estates of the Earls of Thomond (including church land)<sup>79</sup> and one of the chief proponents of the Earl's anglicisation policies, it is notable that his son Oliver Delahoyd joined with the Catholic forces in the 1641 insurgency.<sup>80</sup>

Another lineage of note that features in the 1615 survey is the Meic Catháin family who were historically associated with Inis Cathaigh. The Meic Catháin served as coarbs (*comharbaí*) of Inis Cathaigh, one of the earliest references to the family being a papal document from 1418.<sup>81</sup> The 1615 survey notes a 'More ny Cahane' (Máire Ní Chatháin) who was widowed and occupied lands to the south of Miltown Malbay at 'Cloghanes', now in Kilmacduane parish but bordering on Kilmurry-Ibrickan parish. Cross referencing with ecclesiastical documents reveals that she was possibly the wife of one of the coarbs of Inis Cathaigh such as Nicholas Cahan who was inducted as the coarb of St Seanán in 1582 by the Archdeacon of Killaloe under the episcopal seal of Mauricius, Bishop of Killaloe.<sup>82</sup> The link can be shown over a successive generation as it was recorded in Bishop Worth's notebook from c.1661 that 'Morene Cahan [Máirín Ní Chatháin] alias MacKensie, [was] the daughter of Nicholas Mac Cahan Corrubbe of Kilrush' and she was living as a widower at Clannaddune in the parish of Kilmacduane aged 75

<sup>71</sup> On their connections to Galway see Hardiman, *History of the Town and County of Galway*, pp 7-10, 54.

<sup>72</sup> MS 45,694/4 [1605], National Library of Ireland [Inchiquin Manuscripts].

<sup>73</sup> PHA MS 3924 [1638] Papers in suit, Sir Valentine Blake v. Murtagh Moriertagh, concerning lands in Cappagh, Co. Clare.

<sup>74</sup> Rev. Patrick Woulfe, *Sloinne Gaedheal is Gall: Irish Names and Surnames* (Baltimore, 1969) pp 241-2. Delahoyd (*de la Hide*) was an early Anglo-Norman surname recorded in Dublin from the thirteenth century.

<sup>75</sup> MS 45,639/3, National Library of Ireland [Inchiquin Manuscripts].

<sup>76</sup> James Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare* (Dublin, 1894) p. 283.

<sup>77</sup> See, for example, the National Library of Ireland, MS 45,680/6; MS 45,701/1; MS 45,048/1; MS 45,139/1-6; MS 45,140/3 [Inchiquin Manuscripts].

<sup>78</sup> An inquisition in 1636 details the lands held by Sir Rowland Delahoyd which he conveyed to Oliver Delahoyd, Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, pp 323-4.

<sup>79</sup> Parcels of Termon Tulla came into the possession of Sir Rowland Delahoyd in the seventeenth century. For a listing of lands in his hands see PHA MS B.16.B [Inquisition of Tulla Barony, 20 March, 1621].

<sup>80</sup> TCD MS 829, fol. 17v, 677 [Deposition of Francis Bridgman, 21-3-1643].

<sup>81</sup> 'Lateran Regesta 198: 1417-1418', *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 7: 1417-1431* (London, 1906) p. 100. The papal document refers to 'Philip Maickeheachayn' who held the 'wardenship' of Inis Cathaigh. The 'wardenship' was probably synonymous with the coarbship.

<sup>82</sup> Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae, Vol. V* (Dublin, 1860) pp 66-7.



years.<sup>83</sup> Given that the daughter of the coarb of Inis Cathaigh lived in the same parish as More ny Cahane half a century later suggests that they both shared a familial link to the Meic Catháin coarbs. Alternatively they may have been the same person but in the absence of further evidence it is difficult to verify this.

The transcription of the placenames in the survey cause little difficulty in identification. All of these can be considered original forms in that they were likely to have been copied down by an Irish speaking steward in the employ of the Earl of Thomond. Examples found in the 1615 survey include 'Inishkearagh Iland' which is a phoetic attempt of *Inis Caorach* or Mutton Island, west of Quilty, and 'Cnockinalbany' the Irish form of which is *Cnoc an Albanaigh*. We also read 'Kearrow Keale', or *Ceathrú Caol*, and now anglicised as Carrowkeel, and 'Molesggy', the Irish form of which is *Maigh Loiscthe* and anglicised as Molosky. These serve as examples of the retention of Irish phonetics in placenames and the manner in which the writer attempted to reproduce anglicised versions that approximated their Irish forms.

Inishkearagh, which we touched upon above, is noted in the list along with additional detail. In comparison to other denominations we are, rather fortunately, furnished with miscellanea that received the attention of the compiler of the survey. It appears that Inishkearagh remained in the hands of the pre-1615 tenants because a man named 'Walter the fisher' left his tenancy (and presumably the island) and the remaining tenants refused to pay the new rent charge, being content only with the accustomed rent. This interesting detail confirms that the economy of Ibrickan was also based on maritime activities, and we may take it that whoever the tenants were on the island of Inishkearagh they must have depended on the Atlantic for sustenance as the island is under 160 acres in size. There is little doubt that the primary living would have been from the sea and to this end the recording of a fisherman among the Earl's tenants makes an intriguing reference to, and corroboration of, alternative forms of economy in seventeenth century Ibrickan.

### Concluding remarks

The primary usefulness of the 1615 survey is that it captures, at an early date, the chief tenants for every land quarter in Ibrickan barony. Perhaps it is slightly paradoxical that in west Clare, one of the most Gaelic and insular parts of the county, the landed hierarchy of Ibrickan comes to light in such a vivid way thanks to the survival of this rental. Impressively, the list contains different sources of information useful to the historian; the topographical and administrative, as well as the genealogical and social.

The transition period after the battle of the Kinsale and the establishment of English law and administration across all Ireland has begun to receive greater attention by scholars. Much can be learned by studying both the macro changes to economy and society and the attendant affect at the level of the *locale*. We can learn much from Petworth House archive material which help cast light on some of the farthest recesses of Gaelic society at this period of great transition. The Earls of Thomond, in adopting a course of estate improvement and consolidation, changed the social landscape of Co. Clare and much of the customary institutions and bonds which underpinned it. However, those changes that were wrought also provide an opportunity to study aspects of Gaelic society at the cusp of rapid change, and to this end the 1615 survey presents one of a few unique windows on early seventeenth century Co. Clare.

<sup>83</sup> Clannaddune is a mis-transcription for Cloonreddan in Kilmacduane parish in Moyarta. 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. 60.



## Appendix 1

*Petworth House Archive, shelfmark: C.27. A. 60<sup>84</sup>*

[page 1: facing page]

The number of quarters in the barony of Ibreckane & howe they are sett at this instant being the xiii of June 1615.

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Iho.

A note of the number of quarters of Ibreckane and howe they be sett at this instant being the 13<sup>th</sup> of June 1615. Together with the seaven quarters of Corcomroe adjoyned to the manor house of Moy Ibreckane.

Ffirst the seaven quarters of Corcomroe joined to the Moy, existed in the hands of Donogh m<sup>c</sup> Gillapatrik who yields thaccompt of the rent thereof to Mr Delahoyd to yo<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>r</sup>

## Ibreckan Land

- |                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 2. Moy tow quarters             | These tow quarters are sett by my Lo. Bryen to Donagh m <sup>c</sup> Gillapatrik and his brethren= ten[an]ts the rent thereof besids his 100 pounds whereof demand not accompte. |
| 3. Killfearboy one quarter      | Existed in the hands of the Danyies for the rent layd downe by M <sup>r</sup> Blake vizt x pounds by the yeare, a hogg and a mutton.   |
| 5. The ffyntraghks tow quarters | Existed in the hands of Danell Liah m <sup>c</sup> Gillapatrik John m <sup>c</sup> Gillapatrik and others of that sept for the former rent.                                      |
| 6. Baly mc vaskyn one quarter   | Remayned in the hands of Sheane m <sup>c</sup> Gillapat= trick and Gilladuff m <sup>c</sup> Morogh for the rent aforesaid.   |
| 7. Kearrow keale one quart      | This quarter existed in the hands of <del>Don</del> Teig m <sup>c</sup> Gillapatrik for the rent aforesaid   |
| Leacka more half of a quart     | payd.  |
|                                 | This half quarter existed in the hands of Danell O Heliry for the accustomed rent as aforesaid.  |

<sup>84</sup> All parentheses in the document have been inserted by the author.



8. The other half of the said Leackamore being one half quarter  
Existed in the hands of Teig m<sup>c</sup> Gilla=patrick and John m<sup>c</sup> Gillapatrik pastu=ring the same but not inhabited for the farm rent.
11. Liggard and Killcorkrane three quarters  
These are in the hands of Donogh m<sup>c</sup> Gillapatrik paying the rent aforesaide.
13. Glean downe and Cloghane more tow quarters  
These were in the hands of Donogh m<sup>c</sup> Gillariogh late desceased and after him ~~the hands of his sonnes, till they were~~ sett of late by my Lo: Bryen to Ed=mond Comyne.

[page 3 of original]

15.  $\frac{1}{3}$  The Keahrowgarr Cnock an Loskreayine and Dugh contayning in all towe quarters and the third pt. of a quarter  
These existed in the hands of Donogh ogh m<sup>c</sup> Gillarioghs sonnes.
16. Cnock in Any one quar=ter  
Existed in the hands of Barnaby m<sup>c</sup> Broady John an Tlery and Teig o Sheasnane.
19. Cahir Rush and ffreagh containing three quarters  
These are held by M<sup>r</sup> Blake for which he payeth not rent.
- Dunsalagh one quarter  
This quarter is held by Dary m<sup>c</sup> Danell m<sup>c</sup> Broady and Fynyne m<sup>c</sup> Dermody<sup>85</sup> for the rent aforsaide.
21. Sheanvoyhe one quarter  
This quarter is in the hands of Conor m<sup>c</sup> Broady for the rent aforesaide.
- Keahrowduff, Killdyma, Curr, Dunogane, ffinuremore, the 26 $\frac{1}{3}$  Fyanes, and Killargnayne, containing in all five quarters, one half quarter, and the third pte of a quarter.  
These existed in the hands of Teig m<sup>c</sup> Broady for the rent aforsayde.
- 27 Sheandrum and th[e] halfe of Moglass contayinyng one quarter of waste land  
These tow halfe quarters of waste land were till May last pastured by Teig m<sup>c</sup> Broady for the rent aforesaide.

<sup>85</sup> He was of the Meic Giolla Phádraig; he, his father and grandfather (Gilladuff) are all styled of 'Downsallagh' in the funeral entry of his grandson Derby Fitzpatrick (d.1637) of Lisdoonvarna. See Genealogical Office Funeral Entries, vii, p.317. I thank Kenneth Nicholls for this reference. The Meic Giolla Phádraig lineage may be traced from this Fynyne or Florence to his father Dermot, grandfather Gilladuff (of Downsallagh), g-grandfather Rory, g-g-grandfather Gilliduff, g-g-g-grandfather Matthew, to his father Connor an aigeantagh, son of Connor Mór. See Genealogical Office, Dublin, Ms 16. Also see John O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees: Or, the Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*, p.451.



- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 29. Keahrowe ny Grey and the other half quarter of Mo= glass contayining three half quarters. | These are in the hands of Danell grwoma o macknyedy and his son for the rent aforsayde.   |
| 31. Scrapwill and Cluonlagh= een contayining tow quarters                                     | These are in the hands of James Boork for which I receive noe accompte.   |
| [page 4 of original]  |   |
| 32. Cnock na hoylly one quarter   | This is in the hands of Cnonor Gormane for the rent aforesayde.   |
| 33. Moglassbegg one quarter uninhabited always  | This waste quarters rent was payde by the holders of Cnocknahoylly and Cloghan weeliteny till allhalowtid last and since till May last past pastured by James Comyne chattle for which he payde the last May gaoles rent. |
| 34. Cloghanweelityny one quarter  | This quarter till May last was in the hands of Dermod m <sup>c</sup> Broady, and since in the hands of James Comyne.  |
| 36. Keahrowanlogayne and ffinore begg contain= ing tow quarters                               | These tow quarters existed in the hands of Teig m <sup>c</sup> Ea till May last and then had putt of the quarter of ffyn ore begg and by means whereof it now lieth waste.  |
| 39. Balym <sup>c</sup> ear and Keelty three quarters  | These three quarters existed in the hands of James Comyne, Downe m <sup>c</sup> teig m <sup>c</sup> Gorman and Mortagh m <sup>c</sup> Gorman the saide Downes sonnes.   |
| 42. Cloghanushy consisting of three quarters  | These three quarters are sett by my Lo. Bryen to Mahown Mergagh <sup>86</sup> m <sup>c</sup> Gillapatrik of late for the rent aforsad.  |
| 43 Killcolyhaine one quarter  | This quarter being always uninhabited is pastured by Danell m <sup>c</sup> Scanlane and others paying the rent thereof as befitted till May last.   |
| 44. Cnocknynaff and ffyan one quarter   | This quarter is holden by John O Griphe and Donogh m <sup>c</sup> Dywe.   |
| 48. The Cloghanes four quarters   | These were in the hands of the widdowe More ny Cahane till last May and then sett by my Lo. Bryene to one Rob Hybert.   |

<sup>86</sup> A phonetic rendering of *meirgeach*, i.e. pock-marked.



[page 5 of original]

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 49. The quarter of Molesggy                        | This quarter is in the hands of More ny Cahane and Danell m <sup>c</sup> Syanlane.   |
| 51. Killardy tow quarters                          | These tow quarters are sett by my Lo. Bryen to one Bilingsly <sup>87</sup> whereby= doth not accompt to me.  |
| 52. Glassghlowne one quarter                       | This quarter is in the hands of one Con <sup>r</sup> m <sup>c</sup> donogh og for the rent aforesaide.   |
| 53. Cahyr In lyain one Quart                       | This Cahir an lyane was held by Rory m <sup>c</sup> Craih and Will[iam] m <sup>c</sup> Craih till now of late it is bestowed by my Lo: Bryen upon Bryan m <sup>c</sup> Mo=howny, sonne to Teig Keagh m <sup>c</sup> mohony |
| 55. Balyarde tow quarters                          | This Balyarde is in the hands of Rory m <sup>c</sup> ffloyn m <sup>c</sup> Craih and Morish O Galnane, for the rent aforsayd.  |
| 56. Drumannaffaryhy one quarter                    | This quarter is holden in the hands of Rory m <sup>c</sup> Craih for the said rent.  |
| 58. Koahrow more and Koahrow Clonogh tow quarters. | These towe quarters are holden by Teig og o Hwohnye for the rent aforsayde.  |
| 59. Tuloher one quarter                            | This quarter Lorkanduff holdeth for rent as the rest of the country.   |
| 60. Cnockinalbany one quarter                      | This quarter Teig m <sup>c</sup> Broady holdeth for w <sup>ch</sup> he payeth noe rent   |
| 61. Emlagh one third pte of quarter                | This third part of a quarter John an Tlery o Sessnaine holdeth.  |
| 63. Tromroe tow quarters                           | These towe quarters of Tromroe are sett by yo <sup>r</sup> hono <sup>r</sup> by a lease unto Hugh Cruttyne for which he payeth his rent yearly to M <sup>r</sup> Delahoyde to yo <sup>r</sup> hono <sup>r</sup> use.       |

<sup>87</sup> Sir Henry Billingsly was a prominent planter in Co. Limerick. This individual may have been a kinsman of his.



[page 6 of original]

Inishkearagh lland bea  
ing ye name of half quarter

This Inishkearagh is in the handes  
of th[e] old tenants therof till May last,  
since Walter the fisher went from  
thence, and noe rent accepted at their  
hands, for they would not pay but  
th[e] old accustomed rent, or else depart  
wherfore we refferred to accept that  
rent till yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> will had bene  
further knowen: and kept them in  
the land for want of others that  
would pay for the same.

\_\_\_\_\_ the whole number of the  
quarters in Ibreackain & Tromro besides  
Inish Kearagh in all is —

63 quart [illegible striked out]

of three score and one quarters (being the whole barony of Ibreckane beside Tromroe) therbee  
eight quarters which payd neyther hogge nor muttons, so that resteth to paye fiftye  
and three quarters which are to paye p[er] annum 53 hogge and 53 muttons, when th[e]  
whole land be inhabited. Of the sayd 53 quarters ther be tow quarters in  
hande of James Bourck which payeth noe rent, and the rest being 51 quarters payth [£]5  
of each quarter yearly.  
Suma p anum [£]255-

The names of the eight quarters w<sup>h</sup>  
Paieth hoggs nor muttons

Moye Killardy	ii quarters ii qr	the rents and pondage of these four quarters are reserved for my Lo: Bryen
Ffreagh Caherruish	ii quarters i quarter	these three quarters noe payeth ney= ther rent nor poundage but to M <sup>r</sup> Blake
Cnockinalbany	i quarter	in the hands of Teig m <sup>c</sup> Broady.



Appendix 2

*Barony map of County Clare*

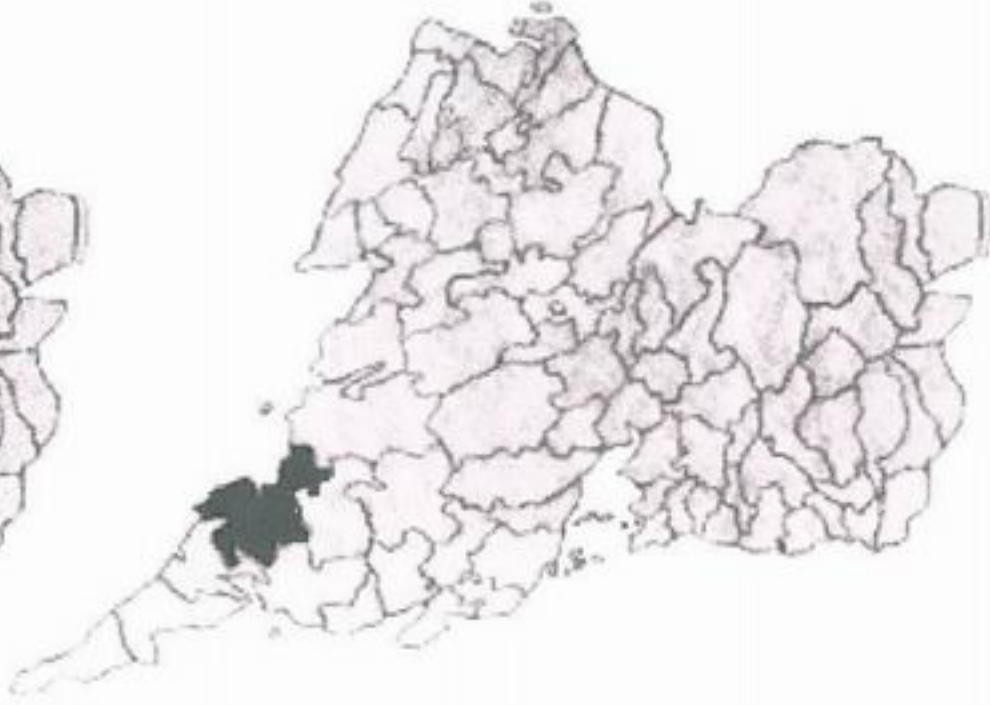


Parishes of Ibrickan

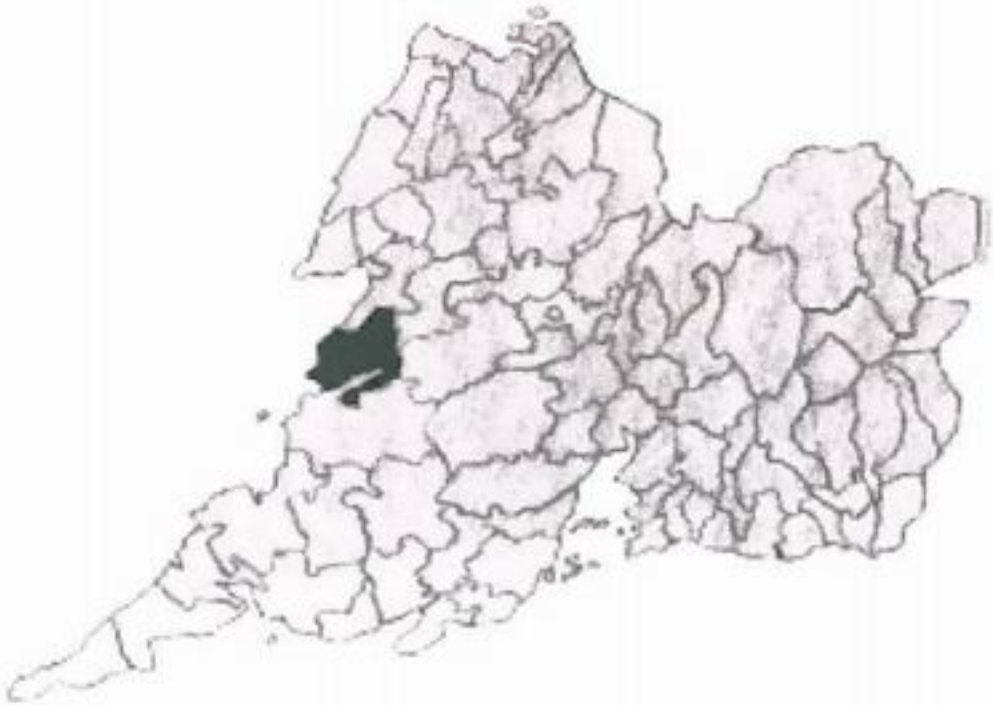
*Kilmurry-Ibrickan parish*



*Killard parish*



*Kilfarboy parish*





## Appendix 3

Petworth House Archive MS C27.A.60 [example page]

- In the year of 1599 number of quarters of Ibrickan and some  
 1599 to sell at this instant being 1599 to 1599.  
 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some  
 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some
- First the house quarters of Ibrickan and some  
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2. 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some  
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7. 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some  
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8. 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some  
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9. 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some  
 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some
10. 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some  
 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some
11. 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some  
 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some
12. 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some  
 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some
13. 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some  
 1599 to 1599 in the house quarters of Ibrickan and some



