

The West Clann Chuiléin Lordship in 1586: Evidence from a Forgotten Inquisition

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An unpublished inquisition of the Court of Exchequer is used to shed new light on the inner workings of a sixteenth-century Gaelic lordship prior to the collapse of the Gaelic system. As a contemporary recording of native political organisation it provides valuable evidence on social hierarchies, economic organisation and place-names.

A remarkable inquisition of the Court of the Exchequer held at Galway and dated 27 January 1585 (*recte* 1586) has come down to us in transcribed form by the early twentieth century antiquarian Robert William (R.W) Twigge¹ and is collated amongst various documents in his unfinished work, *Materials for a History of Clann-Cuillein*.² R.W Twigge was one of several antiquaries whose interest centered on County Clare and who published articles of historical and genealogical interest.³ His contemporaries included George Unthank Macnamara who collaborated with R.W Twigge in his unpublished work *Materials for a History of Clann-Cuillein*⁴ and the prolific antiquary, George Thomas Westropp.

R.W. Twigge transcribed this inquisition because of its relevance to the McNamara (Mac Conmara) family and its connection with the history of *Clann Chuiléin*. The majority of inquisition material that has survived for sixteenth and seventeenth century County Clare is due to the efforts of James Frost who published, in abstract form, 218 *inquisition post mortem* cases in his 1893 *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, before they were destroyed in 1922.⁵ James Frost did not copy the 1586 inquisition document and so its unlikely survival can be credited to R.W. Twigge. The inquisition has remained unpublished⁶ and the only known copy is amongst the collection of documents in Twigge's *Materials for a History of Clann-Cuillein*, the hard-copy of which is to be found in the British Library.

¹ The inquisition can be found at R.W. Twigge, *Materials for a History of Clann Cuilein*, Add MSS 39260, Twigge Collection, British Library, pp 180-186. The date of the inquisition adheres to the old calendar and is recorded as: 'xxviii year of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth', which places the year as 1586.

² See the six volumes of this work at the British Library: R.W. Twigge, *Materials for a History of Clann Cuilein*, Add MSS 39260-39270, Twigge Collection, British Library. Also, the Local Studies Centre at Clare County Library, Ennis, holds microfilm copies of the volumes.

³ On R.W Twigge's publications see R.W. Twigge, 'Jacobite papers at Avignon', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol.10, 1913, pp 60-75; R.W. Twigge, 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, vol. 1, no. 2, (1910) pp 75-85; and R.W. Twigge, *The Pedigree of John MacNamara, Esquire, with some Family Reminiscences*, (1908, reprint Martin Breen, Ruan, 2006).

⁴ George Unthank Macnamara was an acquaintance of R.W. Twigge and both discussed historical issues through their letters to each other, some of which are preserved amongst Twigge's *Materials for a History of Clann Cuilein*. On George Unthank Macnamara see Peter Harbinson, 'George Unthank Macnamara (1849-1919): Corofin's Great Medical Antiquary', *The Other Clare*, vol.32 (2008) pp 38-46.

⁵ James Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, (reprint, Dublin, 1973).

⁶ In his 1896 book on the McNamara sept, N.C. MacNamara makes a brief reference to the inquisition. See N.C. MacNamara, *The Story of an Irish Sept: Their Character & Struggle to Maintain Their Lands in Clare*, (1896, re-published by Martin Breen, 1999) pp 16-56.

Serious historical research into the late medieval period in Clare is complex and fraught with difficulty. While this is not necessarily different from research concerning other Gaelic lordships, scholarly knowledge of the inner-workings of late medieval Gaelic lordships in Clare is limited. Detailed local studies are few and so researchers have to draw conclusions based on studies of analogous Gaelic lordships or try to infer from the historical record. The unearthing of this ‘forgotten’ inquisition allows researchers better engagement with a crucial period in the lordship of West *Clann Chuiléin* as it underwent dramatic change from a Gaelic-feudal polity to a shired county subject to English administration. The value of the inquisition in shedding light on Gaelic society in the immediate aftermath of the 1585 composition of Connacht is useful as the document crystallizes a snapshot of the inheritance of chieftain and territorial magnate, John McNamara *Fionn*, in January 1586.

This article proposes to investigate three aspects that can be distilled from the inquisition document. It will first give an overview of the structure of Gaelic lordship in the sixteenth century. This section draws on primary sources and research and relates them to three broad types of landholding – sept-lands, demesne lands and mensal lands – that can be distilled from the inquisition. The second part analyses the 1586 inquisition of John McNamara and details what information can be gleaned from it. This section investigates the make-up of the lordship in terms of tributary lands. The last section draws on place-name evidence in the inquisition document to identify naming conventions and hitherto unknown land denominations to contextualize the lordship. To this end, the inquisition provides a valuable snapshot of a Gaelic lordship still traditional in its governance and social structure. It is hoped that this article will provoke inquiry into the structure and workings of a little-studied area of Clare history, the Gaelic lordship of West *Clann Chuiléin*.

Political Economy of Lordship: Origins & Structure

A general survey of the land arrangements and inheritance customs that prevailed in Thomond during the late sixteenth century shows a complex matrix of land tenure that shaped the way the dynastic clans and vassal-septs were organised. The hierarchy among the clans was related to the extent of territory they controlled and how many dependent farmers and herds of cattle they possessed. Important sept branches of the lordly O’Brien (Uí Bhriain) and McNamara (Mac Conmara) clans held a *túath* as their patrimony, with lesser septs typically holding a *baile* or *leathbhaile*.⁷ On these lands the ruling clan lineage may grant immunities from tribute for septs that performed valuable services such as legal services or artisan crafts, but claimed at least a portion of their *túath* as mensal land for the direct support of the ruling household.⁸ At the *túath* level the ruling lineage was headed by the *ceannfine* who was the principal representative of his sept and was normally in a state of permanent alliance – or dependence – with his overlord clan chieftain.

⁷ A *baile* was the bailiwick of most sept-estates and comprised four quarters. Patrick Nugent points out that land size rested on the economic potential of land and hence a standard acreage of a quarter depended on qualitative factors such as productivity and presence of arable pasture, etc. In Clare, a common land unit was the *leathbhaile*, which comprised two quarters and was assigned to constituent septs of a ruling clan. See Patrick Nugent *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare and their territories 1100-1700 A.D.* (Dublin, 2007) pp 175-89. A land unit that was larger than the *baile*, but probably fell into disuse after the Anglo-Norman invasion, was the *trica cét*. The *trica cét* was subdivided into thirty ‘feeding places’ (*baile biadhtaigh*, *anglice* ballybetagh). The ballybetagh as an important property unit of a clan and would have been controlled by the clan chieftain who held sway over subordinate freeholders and tenants who worked on the ‘ballybetagh estate’. Patrick Dinneen, *Irish-English Dictionary* (Dublin, 1927) p. 1267 and Nerys, T. Patterson, *Cattle Lords and Clansmen: The Social Structure of Early Ireland*, (2nd ed., London, 1994) pp 170-1.

⁸ G.A Hayes-McCoy, ‘Gaelic Society in Ireland in the Late Sixteenth Century’, *History and Society*, no. 4 (1963) pp 45-61:48.

Gaelic lordships shared several similar characteristics to feudalism. The presence of a class of specialist 'service' clans that provided the ruling chieftain with administrative services in exchange for immunity from tribute suggests rulers were attempting to implement a primitive bureaucracy.⁹ Regional kings (*rí ruirech*) and their large vassals (*uirríthe*) were concerned with sub-infeuding the farming class of the lesser septs to ensure foodstuffs were supplied to the ruling lineage. This similarity with feudalism was driven by the fact that kindred groups operated in a subsistence pastoral economy with labour shortages where it was in the interests of large clans to promote kinship ties to retain followers in clan structures in order to 'bind' them to the ruling lineage. The rationale underlying this was to provide ruling clans with food-rents and tribute. In Gaelic Ireland, clients were the backbone of a chieftain's wealth and so the methods used by Irish chiefs echoed those of the Anglo-Norman feudal lords.¹⁰ However, the reliance on kinship ties and hereditary transmission of offices were fundamentally Gaelic.

Generally, Gaelic lordships were divided into four categories that had implications for inheritance. These included the mensal land (or *lucht tigh*); demesne lands; land of the freeholding septs (or sept-lands); and church (termon) lands. An overview of the types of land categories was recorded by Sir John Davies in a tract written on the laws of Ireland in c.1609:

The chief lord had certain lands in demesne which were called his loughy [ie. *lucht tigh*], or mensal lands wherein he placed his principal officers, namely his Brehons, his marshal, his cupbearer, his Physician, his surgeon, his Chronicler, his Rhymer, and others, which offices and possessions were hereditary and peculiar to certain septs and families...The tantist had also a special portion of land and a certain chiefry proper to the tantist, and within the limits of his portion he had also cuttings [ie exactions] and cosheries [forced hospitality]¹¹...The rest of the lands were distributed amongst several septs, every sept had a chief or ceannfinny [*ceannfine*] as they call him with a tantist of that sept, both which were chosen by the chief lord or captain of the country and likewise their several portions and chiefries. These captainships or chiefries were not partible but were entirely enjoyed by such as were elected thereunto. All the rest of the lands except the portions of the chiefs and tantists descended in course of gavelkind and were partible among the males only, in which division the bastards had their portions as well as the legitimate.¹² [spelling modernized]

⁹ I have borrowed the term 'primitive bureaucracy' from D. Blair Gibson as he refers to the change in social organisation of the chieftain-state of Muirchertach Mór Uí Bhriain in the early twelfth century, but is also relevant for the later medieval period. See D. Blair Gibson, 'Chiefdoms, Confederacies, and Statehood in Early Ireland', in Bettina Arnold (ed.), *Celtic Chiefdom, Celtic State: The Evolution of Complex Social Systems in Prehistoric Europe* (Cambridge, 1995) pp 116-28:127.

¹⁰ On feudalism in Gaelic Ireland see Tadhg O'Keefe, *Medieval Ireland: An Archaeology* (Dublin, 2000) pp 267. O'Keefe argues that a shift away from relationships based on clientship to that of labour services which is recognised as 'diagnostic feudalism' occurred around the time of the early Norse incursions (late 700s). These changes manifested themselves in the organisation and use of landscape (subdivision into spatial hierarchies such as the *triochcád* and *baile*) and the evolving role of kinship.

¹¹ According to Colm Lennon 'cosheries' or *cóisir* was almost identical to the *cuid óiche* in that it involved certain vassals to lay down a banquet for their masters and provide hospitality. During the sixteenth century these practices seemed to have increased as chieftains expanded the elaborateness of their trains of attendants and followers, Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest* (Dublin, 1994) p. 55.

¹² Sir John Davies, *Laws of Ireland*, 1609, published by Hiram Morgan (Cork, 2005); original text at National Archives, Kew, London SP 63/226 No.8.

The mensal land, or *lucht tigh*e, were attached to the office of the chief lord (ie. McNamara *Fionn*) and the tenants on these lands provided food rents to support the lord's household.¹³ The *luch tigh*e were noted by Sir John Davies in 1607 as being the private lands of the 'landed nobility' in Gaelic society and not subject to redistribution among the wider agnatic kin group, the *deirbhfhine*.¹⁴

The mensal lands were cultivated by landowning clans with the help of share-cropping labourers known to English sources as 'churles' dependent on the lord they followed.¹⁵ Minor septs (including those formerly independent) and free tenants worked on these lands and provided food rents to the ruling lineage. This may explain the presence of small freeholders in Quin parish such as the McClunes, O'Hartigans and O'Guaranes who probably situated on the mensal lands of the McNamara *Fionn* in close proximity of the clan's castle seats of Knappogue and Dangan-i-viggin.¹⁶ A chieftain's mensal lands were the 'core' land of the ruling lineage and was often where a clan's principal followers and kindred were located. The mensal lands were inheritable property attached to the office of clan chieftain (*tighearna*) in the case of the overlord clans, or the property of the *ceanfinne* in the case of the vassal-septs.

The demesne lands represented groups of 'ballybetaghs'¹⁷ which were attached to the office of the chief lord but were occupied by freeholders. It would appear that the chief lord had rights over these demesne lands such as food-rents, hospitality ('cuddie' or *cuid oidhche*)¹⁸ and other exactions, including the notorious 'coyne and livery' (viz. *coinnmheadh*, billeting of troops).¹⁹ Sixteenth and seventeenth century inquisition records often declared that a person was 'seized in fee' or had 'claimed' certain lands, indicating that they held only the 'rent and lordship' of the lands.²⁰ This followed the idea of lordship in the Gaelic sense, which was based on the ability of one ruling lineage that held the chieftaincy to levy exactions and grant privileges over lands that it both directly owned and indirectly controlled.²¹

The freeholding sept-lands were not distributed evenly throughout the lordship of West *Clann Chuiléin*. The sept-lands tended to be on the margins of the lordship and concentrated in *Tradraighe*, rather than at the lordship centre of Quin. Examples include

¹³ Patrick J. Duffy (ed.), 'Social and Spatial Order in the MacMahon Lordship of Airghialla in the Late Sixteenth Century', in Patrick J. Duffy, et. al. *Gaelic Ireland c.1250-c.1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001) pp 115-37:8. See also Katherine Simms, *From Kings to Warlords: The Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Late Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1987) pp 129-30.

¹⁴ See Sir John Davies' observations, *ibid.*, p. 130.

¹⁵ Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors 1447-1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* (London, 1998) chapter 2.

¹⁶ R.C. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution, Vol. 4, Clare* (Dublin, 1967) pp 142-4 & p. 146. Knappogue was still occupied by a McNamara as late as 1669 when a bond was issued by 'John MacNemara alias Macnemara of Cnappogue, Co Clare, esq., to Edmond Meara of £24.' The entry is curious as it is a possible reference to John McNamara being the acknowledged chief of the 'clan' at that time. Despite the prohibition of using Gaelic titles, it is reasonable to assume that they were used locally. John Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1961) No.1110, pp 361-2.

¹⁷ Derived from *Biadhthaigh* in Irish meaning 'feeding place'. The ballybetagh were agricultural producing lands. O'Keefe states that on the Anglo-Norman manors Irish 'betagh' tenants held their lands *en bloc* and whence the term, 'ballybetagh', *Medieval Ireland: An Archaeology*, p. 60.

¹⁸ Kenneth Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2003) p. 37. The 'cuddies' were a universal custom and mainly consisted of entertainment for a night for the clan chieftain and his household and followers, levied on the houses of principal vassals of his lordship. Cuddies were also converted into a fixed charge and had to be paid whether or not the clan chieftain turned up.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38 and p. 224.

²⁰ Kenneth Nicholls, *Land, Law and Society in Sixteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 1976) p. 19.

²¹ Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland*, pp 34-40.

McEnerhiny and McClancy freeholders at Kilnasoolagh and Kilmaleery parishes, the O'Mulconrys at Feenagh parish, the O'Roddans at Kilfinaghta parish, the McBrodys at Kilraghtis parish, and the O'Mulqueenys at Templemaley.²² Individual septs had parceled territory according to their importance and historical status in the lordship which, in turn, rested on genealogical distance from the ruling clan and their ability to resist expansionary pressure from junior branches of the ruling clan.

The morphology of landholding among freeholding septs was an important factor in the relationship between hereditary sept-lands, territorial hierarchies and ruling families. In east Clare, the freeholding septs yielded a tribute to the McNamara *Fionn* as their overlords, not as their landlords. The infiltration of McNamara kinsmen in every *túatha* led to a confusing situation where some kinsmen held their lands in virtue of their status as freeholders while others occupied the land as demesne freeholders and were subject to rents and other exactions by the McNamara *Fionn*. Many freeholders such as the McEnerhinys held their sept-lands in right of 'owner in fee'²³ and would have had under-tenants and labourers to farm their estates; it was also not unusual that the sept-lands had a mix of economic activity such as cropping, pasture and, in the case of the McEnerhiny estate at Ballykilty, a water-mill.²⁴

The main septs that fell under this category in the lordship of West *Clann Chuiléin* were the septs of McClancy (brehons), McEnerhiny (originally erenaghs), O'Mulconry (poets and chroniclers), O'Hickey (physicians), O'Moloney, Cusack,²⁵ McBrody (historians and poets), O'Rodan (stewards), and O'Mulqueeney.²⁶ The fact that after the introduction of English common law in the late sixteenth century the heads of these septs are sometimes recorded as selling their patrimonial lands and using them as collateral in deals with New-English tenants, supports the view that freeholders were outright owners of the lands. The 'cesses, taxes, charges, exactions, cuttings' were paid to their overlord as a chieftain and *not* as a landlord.²⁷

The last category of land was that of church (termon) lands which were considered outside the secular landholding system. Ecclesiastical lands were farmed by erenaghs who, as the head-tenants of the land attached to the bishopric, were associated with families that were the social equivalents of the freeholdings septs.²⁸ Many church lands in West *Clann Chuiléin* were monastic lands such as the St Augustine monastery of

²² Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 94, p. 121, p. 128, pp 158-60, p. 164. Other minor clans such as the O'Hallorans of Ogonnelloe parish and the O'Slattery of Tulla parish would appear to have been under the lordship of the McNamara *Reagh* clan.

²³ See the *Inquisition Post Mortem* of 13th March 1606, which mentions 'Loughlen MacInerney, died at Ballysallagh, on the 12th of November 1572, then being owner in fee of Ballysallagh, Ballykilty with its water-mill, and of Carrigoran'. Frost, *County of Clare*, p. 280.

²⁴ On references to the water-mill at Ballykilty see for the year 1606 and the year 1635 when it is recorded 'two ploughlands of Ballykilty, and the two mills thereon standing', Frost, *County of Clare*, p. 280 & p. 329.

²⁵ The Cusacks were an old Thomond family known in Irish as Mac Íosóc. They appear in the 'McNamara rental' of c.1330 and were allied to the O'Briens in the sixteenth century. Patrick Woulfe also identifies an Anglo-Norman branch of Cusacks who settled in Meath and Leinster. See Rev. Patrick Woulfe, *Sloinne Gaedheal is Gall: Irish Names and Surnames* (Dublin, 1923) p. 254 & p. 385 and Nugent, *Gaelic clans of Co. Clare*, p. 232, p. 245.

²⁶ Nugent, *Gaelic clans of Co. Clare*, pp 200-01.

²⁷ The 1585 composition book of Connacht recorded that the freeholders of Thomond were to be acquitted of 'all manner of cesses, taxes, charges, exactions, cuttings, impositions purveying cutting, finding or bearing of soldiers and all other burdens whatsoever'. A. Martin Freeman (ed.), *The Compossicion Booke of Conought* (Dublin, 1936) p.15.

²⁸ Patrick J. Duffy (ed.), 'Social and Spatial Order in the MacMahon Lordship of Airghialla in the Late Sixteenth Century', pp 8-9. The erenagh was responsible to the bishop for the entire clan and he had lordship rights over his clan such as rents and services and in return the erenagh owed rent and services to the bishop. See Henry A Jefferies, *Priests and Prelates of Armagh in the Age of Reformations, 1518-1558* (Dublin, 1997) p. 125.

Inisgad (Canon's Island in the Fergus river),²⁹ the churches and monasteries at Dromcliffe, Quin, Clare Abbey, Tomfinlough and the island monasteries of Feenish and Inishloe.³⁰ Other lands included the ecclesiastical termon lands at Clonloghan that were recorded as 'in ecclesiastical fee' during the fifteenth century, and the glebes lands that existed at Kilnasoolagh and Kilmaleery.³¹

Structure of the West Clann Chuiléin Lordship in 1586

In Clare, the first series of inquisitions were held on the lands of Gaelic magnates well disposed to the New-English administration. The system spelt the end of Gaelic land tenure including the custom of 'gavelkind' – partible inheritance – after the first *inquisition post mortem* was held in November 1577.³² The purpose of an *inquisition post mortem* was to determine by a sworn jury, what revenues, if any, escheated to the crown on the death of a freeholder and what was the status of the land tenure in question.³³ The inquisition dealt with here was not an *inquisition post mortem* as it was taken during the lifetime of John McNamara at the Court of the Exchequer at Galway. The inquisition was likely to have been drawn up as part of the inquiries into the landholding arrangements that prevailed in Thomond for the 1585 composition agreement.

Inquisitions were an important tool of the new-English administration and a powerful means of extending political patronage. The establishment of English law and administration in the lordships in Clare came about after Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, progressed through Thomond in February 1576 and abolished the ancient customs of 'Coigny, Kernetty and Bonaght' and forced Conor O'Brien, the third Earl of Thomond, to acquiesce authority for the earldom to the new English administration.³⁴ The intervening period between 1576 and 1585 saw a transition in landholding by Gaelic freeholders as English common law began to erode, and replace, brehon law.

The 1585 composition sought to replace charges and military exactions that Irish lords and English garrisons imposed on the provinces, by converting them into a rent-charge levied on land.³⁵ This process was part of a wider push of spreading English law

²⁹ Dermot F. Gleeson, *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe* (Dublin, 1962) p. 33.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp 32-6.

³¹ See Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 157, p. 161, p. 169. The bishop of Killaloe's interest in Clonloghan amounted to 239 Irish acres in 1641. The bishop of Killaloe held 10,485 Irish acres, however the fourth Earl of Thomond detained many ecclesiastical lands for his own use, thus the territories associated with the bishopric must have been larger before the post-reformation granting of land to secular patrons, Nugent, *Gaelic clans of Co. Clare*, p. 201. On the detainment of ecclesiastical land by secular patrons in 1622 see Rev. P Dwyer, *Diocese of Killaloe from the reformation to the eighteenth century* (Dublin, 1878) pp 136-8.

³² See Frost, *History and Topography of Clare*, p. 268.

³³ See Patrick Nugent, 'The interface between the Gaelic clan system of Co. Clare and the emerging centralising English nation-state in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century', *Irish Geography*, vol. 40, no.1 (2007) pp 79-98:82. The historical value of the surviving *inquisition post mortem* abstracts have not been lost on historians who view the inquisitions as one of the best ways of assessing the fortunes of Gaelic freeholders. James Frost's recording of 218 inquisitions has left us with an extensive record of English administration in late sixteenth century Clare. Other sources for inquisition material are John Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1961) and Petworth House Archives, which preserve two inquisitions concerning Donough O'Brien, Fourth Earl of Thomond. See P.H.A. Bundle B.26.T16 (1 April 1619) and P.H.A No.1141, *Inquisition Post Mortem*, 4 January, 1624/5. I am grateful to Kenneth W. Nicholls for these references.

³⁴ During Sir Henry Sidney's circuit through Thomond he noted that he was accompanied by 'the two McNemarrows, by us called the East and West McNemarrows, chief gentlemen of that country, which if it were in quiet, they might live like principal knights in England'. J.S. Brewer & William Bullen Esq. (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth, 1575-1588* (London, 1868) p. 47.

³⁵ Bernadette Cunningham, 'Newcomers in the Thomond Lordship, c.1580-c.1625', *Dal gCais*, no. 11 (1993) pp 103-11:103. Also see Freeman, (ed.) *Composicion Booke of Conought*.

that sought to diminish the Gaelic magnates' authority and encourage local sept-heads to pursue freeholder status and break the patron-client dependence that they had with their overlords.³⁶ The 1585 composition agreement cajoled the Gaelic gentry to be fully enmeshed in feudal land tenure and it set out what lands were held free from crown rent and limited traditional impositions of dues and taxes over freeholders.³⁷ It is therefore notable that John McNamara refused to sign it.³⁸ Between 1585 and 1589 John McNamara complained to the English administration of the unfair nature of the composition agreement and the empowerment of Donough O'Brien in his position as Earl of Thomond. McNamara's grievance was related to the Earl's encroachment upon his lands and the Earl's connection to the influential houses of Kildare and Ormond.³⁹

John McNamara was the son of Teige McNamara who died in 1571. This lineage of the McNamaras were styled 'Mac Conmara *Fionn*, Lords of West *Clann Chuiléin*' and had their residence at the castles of Knappogue and Dangan-i-viggin.⁴⁰ John McNamara tenaciously held onto his status as clan chieftain until his death in 1602.⁴¹ The inquisition document dated 27 January 1585 (*recte* 1586) is of great historical value as it shows that the lordship of West *Clann Chuiléin* was stratified in its social divisions, and its administration by the ruling McNamara clan had parallels to feudalist methods of indirect rule. This situation grew out of the development of tribute-raising from vassal-septs after the McNamara emerged victorious in the wars against the Anglo-Normans of *Tradraighe* in the early fourteenth century, and their subsequent colonisation of the *Uí Bloid* lands of east Clare.⁴² The inquisition details a virtual 'who's who' in the lordship and identifies the principal vassals of the McNamara.

³⁶ Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland*, p. 241.

³⁷ Patrick Nugent, 'A Historical Geography of the Transformation in the Territorial Organisation of Gaelic Society in County Clare during the Early Modern Period' (unpublished PhD thesis, University College Cork) pp 310-11.

³⁸ Patrick White, (Rev) *History of Clare and the Dalcassian Clans of Tipperary, Limerick, and Galway* (Dublin, 1893) p. 202.

³⁹ According to a letter ascribed to John McNamara and dated to 3 March 1588-9 written at Ennistymon, McNamara wrote to Lord Burghley and stated: 'I thought yt necessarie on my parte hereby to acquaint your good Lordship with the unkynde dealinge of the right honourable Thearle of Thomondes my cozen choweth toward me, who rather practiseth howe to encroach upon my suiable [?] lyvinge'...[and] 'for that most and famoussest number of the lawyers of this land are allied to the Earl of Thomond through his marriage with the house of Kildare and his kindred with the house of Ormond, whereby I am forced to take refuge in the consciens of her Majesty's ministers of the Council in Ireland' (original spelling). McNamara also mentions the dissension between his father Teige and Conor O'Brien, the third Earl of Thomond. See Twigge, *Materials for a History of Clann Cuilein*, Add MSS 39260, Twigge Collection, British Library, p. 192. Twigge cites the original MSS: S.P.I. Elizabeth CX 411.A.

⁴⁰ By the 1400s *Uí Caisín* was called *Clann Chuiléin* and was the territory of the McNamara *Reagh* and McNamara *Fionn* clans. The division of *Uí Caisín* occurred after the death of the Lochlain Mac Conmara (d.1366). His two half sons, Teige and Aodh agreed to the division of lands which Teige retained the lands of West *Clann Chuiléin*. MacNamara, *Story of an Irish Sept* p. 138.

⁴¹ A curious report entitled 'A declaration of the qualities of the Lords, Captains, and gentlemen of Thomond, notable both spiritual and temporal' probably authored by Daniel Neylan, the son of John O'Neilan Protestant Bishop Kilfenora, has come down us. Written in c.1567 it uses colourful language to berate the nobility of Thomond and it refers to 'Maknymarra of the west Clancolene called Teigg' who is described the 'root of all stirring in Thomond'. Teige was the father of John McNamara. See K.W. Nicholls, 'A Commentary on the Nobility and Gentry of Thomond, Circa 1567', *The Irish Genealogist*, vol. 4. no. 2 (1969) pp 65-73. I am grateful for the identification of the author by K.W. Nicholls.

⁴² After the fall of Bunratty castle in 1332 the McNamara consolidated their position in east Clare and translated their newfound high-status by levying a tax over eight subjected *túatha* and styled it as *Suim Tigernais Meic Na Mara* (ie. 'Sum of the Lordship of MacNamara'). See Patrick Nugent, 'The Dynamics of the Clan System in Fourteenth Century Clare', in Ciarán Ó Murchadha (ed.), *County Clare Studies* (Ennis, 2000) pp 55-71; Lorna Molony, 'Conquered Lands: The Manifestation of MacNamaras' Clare c1250-c1500', *University of Limerick History Society Journal*, vol. 5 (2004) pp 101-15; 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', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xv (1828) pp 43-7.

The inquisition begins by stating the jurors, ‘by vertue of their othes [oaths] said that John mcNemarrae otherwise called mcNemarra Fynn cheife of his name is lawful and next heire to his Father Teige’. In typical fashion the jurors’ names were listed hierarchically, as would be expected in status-conscious Gaelic society. We find ‘Donogh mcClanchy of the Ownlyne’,⁴³ ‘Mahowne mcEnerhin of Ballysallaghe’,⁴⁴ and ‘Sollo O Molchoyne of Ballyolchoyne’⁴⁵ cited as the first three jurors. As expected, representatives of hereditary service clans penned their names: ‘Donyll O Hickye of Ballyhickye’,⁴⁶ ‘Ilund O Molchonre of Ardkyll’⁴⁷ and ‘Donyll mcClanchy of Kyllen’.⁴⁸ Missing from the line-up of jurors, but mentioned in the text are ‘Connor Ballowe O roddan’ and ‘Loghlin Reoghe O roddane’, representatives of the O’Roddan ‘steward-marshal’ sept⁴⁹ that formed part of the tribute-collecting apparatus of the lordship.⁵⁰ Also mentioned were representatives of the ‘O Iyedane’ (O’Liddy)⁵¹ and ‘O Mollowne’ (O’Moloney)⁵² clans who historically were important lineages in the lordship.

The jurors can be divided into three categories. Predictably, two members of the learned brehon clan McClanchy (Mac Flannchadha) are represented and the list is

⁴³ This was ‘Donough McGlanchi of the Urlan chief of his name’ who was recorded in the 1585 composition agreement. McClancy freeholders were recorded as holding Urlan tower-house in 1570 and 1574. See Freeman (ed), *Composicion Booke of Conought*, p. 11; Martin Breen, ‘A 1570 List of Castles in County Clare’, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, vol. xxxvi (1995) pp 130-8;130 and R.W. Twigge, ‘Edward White’s Description of Thomond in 1574’, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, vol. 1, no.2 (1910) pp 75-85:77.

⁴⁴ This was ‘Mahon McEneerhney of Ballysallaght’ who was a juror at a 1598 inquisition. Mahon was sept-head of the Mac Oirchinnigh and he featured in three inquisitions in 1579, 1606 and 1632. The inquisitions detail a feud between senior and junior branches of the sept over the sept-estate, and the allegation that Mahon killed his cousin Loughlin with the aid of a galloglass mercenary in February 1573 at Carrigoran, in order to secure proprietorship of the sept-lands. Mahon (c.1548-1617) was recorded in the Fiants in 1577 (at Ballykilty) and 1589 (at Ballysallaghe). Mahon died in 1617 and his heir-at-law was John who, to secure his inheritance, lodged a pedigree at Dublin. See *The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns: During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Phillip & Mary, and Elizabeth I*, introduction by Kenneth Nicholls (Dublin, 1994) vol. 2, no. 3040 p. 406 & Fiant 5401, p. 96; Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 269 & p. 280; *Chancery Bills: Survivals from pre-1922 Collection*, B. No.228, National Archives of Ireland; Genealogical Office, Dublin, MSS 221, *Milesian Pedigrees*, Vol II, p.40.

⁴⁵ The forename Sollo is preserved several generations later in 1641 in Sollo O’Mulqueeny who held land at Cregavealcosha in Templemaly parish and nearby the sept’s ancestral estate at Ballymulqueeny. See Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 126.

⁴⁶ The O’Hickey (Uí hÍceada) were hereditary physicians in Thomond and their patrons were the O’Briens. The sept held their patrimony at Ballyhickey in Clooney parish up to 1641.

⁴⁷ Fr Paul Walsh suggests that the Thomond branch of the O’Mulconry (Uí Mhaoilchonarie) at Ardkyll were descended from the two sons of Torna Óg Ó Maoilchonaire, Seán and Muiris, who flourished in the sixteenth century. Fr Paul Walsh, *Irish Men of Learning* (Dublin, 1947) pp 34-48. Domhnall Ó Maoilchonaire compiled the poem *Créad fá seachnaim siol Aodha?* for his patron John McNamara (Seán Mac Conmara) possibly as an inauguration ode in c.1571. See RIA 784 (23/G/9).

⁴⁸ This could be ‘Donill mac Clanchie a prest’ who occupied ‘Ballineclohie’ (Stonehall, Kilconry parish) in 1570, Breen, ‘A 1570 List of Castles in County Clare’, p. 130.

⁴⁹ The O’Roddan were referred to in the fourteenth century *Suim Tigernais Meic Na Mara* (ie. ‘Sum of the Lordship of MacNamara’) as *Maoir mintire Rodain agus marasgáil*. See Hardiman (ed.), ‘Ancient Irish Deeds’ p. 43.

⁵⁰ The O’Roddans continued as a hereditary steward family down to the end of the Gaelic order. In 1573 they were recorded in a deed regarding the land of Conor McNamara of Aylebeg near Bunratty and are described as ‘the Rodan family the stewards of the Earl of Thomond’, Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 184.

⁵¹ The O’Liddy sept were a formerly important sept in Clare and they featured in the fourteenth century saga, *Cathréim Thoirdealbhaigh*. See Sean Mac Ruaidhri Mac Craith, *Cathréim Thoirdealbhaigh: The Triumphs of Turlough*, ed. Standish Hayes O’Grady (London, 1929), p. 30 & p. 113. The O’Liddy declined in status during the medieval period. No member of the family is recorded in the 1641 *Books of Survey and Distribution*. Also see a reference to ‘Muintir-Lideadha’ in John O’Donovan, (ed.), *The Topographical Poems of John O’Dubhagáin and Giolla Na Naomh O’Huidhrin* (Dublin, 1862) note 725.

⁵² The O’Moloneys were established as a sept of the *Clann Chuiléin* least as early as the fourteenth century. They are mentioned as supporters of the chieftain Maccon Mac Conmara at the battle of Corcomroe in 1317. See Mac Craith, *Cathréim Thoirdealbhaigh*, pp 96-7.

headed by ‘Donogh mcClanchy’ indicating his role as leading juror and paralleling his status in the social order. Other members of the secular Gaelic *literati* included one member of the noted poets and chroniclers, the ‘O Molchonre’ (Uí Mhaoilchonaire) of Ard Kyle,⁵³ and a member of the hereditary physician sept of ‘O Hickey’ (Uí hIceada). In the second category were the large freeholders that had a measure of independence in the lordship. These included three members of the ‘McEnerhine’ (Mac an Oirchinnigh) sept based in Kilnasoolagh parish,⁵⁴ one ‘O Molchoyne’ (Uí Mhaoilchaoinne) and several members of various ‘mac Conmarrae’ (Mac Conmara) branches.⁵⁵ The third category are harder to identify but appear to be important tenant-vassals such as ‘Connor McGylleduffe of Ballynegreggy’⁵⁶ and the two ‘O mongevans’ (Uí Mongabháin)⁵⁷ of Roynannae (Rineanna) and Leamenehe (Leamaneigh).

Evidence from the inquisition indicates the stratified nature of the lordship. The McNamaras employed hereditary service clans to collect tribute and perform administrative functions. While the inquisition stated ‘land which belongeth to mcNemarrae was and is holden by English tenure’ the daily functioning of the lordship, and the raising of revenue, was undertaken by the O’Roddans. We know from other documents that the O’Roddans served as tribute-collecting stewards of the McNamara – a point confirmed by the testimony of the two O’Roddans in the inquisition.

The sept-lands

Evidence points to a hierarchy in landholding that determined the distribution of wealth among vassal-septs. While landholding patterns do not neatly fall into three categories, we can speculate that the lordship was characterized by land occupied by (1) freeholding septs; the (2) mensal land of chieftain John McNamara *Fionn*; and the (3) demesne lands of McNamara sept branches.⁵⁸

The land of the freeholding septs were distributed in various parishes. A concentration of sept-land can be found in *Tradraighe*, though the pattern is not absolute. Using ownership analysis from the 1641 *Books of Survey of Distribution* it is clear that during this later period ownership of these lands was mixed but most freeholders recorded in 1641 were not McNamaras. Cautiously, if we apply this

⁵³ See Woulfe, *Sloinnté Gaedheal is Gall*, pp 607-08. The O’Mulconery school of history at Ard Kyle has been described as their most prestigious Munster school.

⁵⁴ On the origins of the Mac an Oirchinnigh see Luke McNerney, ‘Survey of the McNerney Sept of Thomond’, Part I, *The Other Clare*, vol. 31 (2007) pp 67-72 and idem, ‘Survey of the McNerney Sept of Thomond’, Part II, *The Other Clare*, vol. 32, (2008) pp 27-35.

⁵⁵ These include McNamara branches at ‘Moghan’, ‘Ballynegewne’, ‘Kilkyssyne’, ‘Twoamenlogh’. Other individuals recorded without surnames, but were likely to have been McNamaras, were located at ‘Clonlogha’ and ‘Castletonne’. Reference to ‘Mahowne og’ at Ballynecreggy could have been the son of the juror Mahowne McEnerhin of Ballysallagh, or alternatively, a junior McGylleduffe or McNamara.

⁵⁶ The MacGilladuffe’s received pardons for rebellion in 1585 and 1602 where they were described as ‘husbandmen’. A pardon from 1602 concerned three brothers who were possibly the sons of Conon: ‘Mahowne moile [*mall* – the slow] McConogher McGylliduffe of Ballynecreggy’, ‘Tirlagh gancagh [*gancagh* – the snub-nosed] McConnoghor of the same’ and ‘Teige cowny McConogher McGilliduffe of Ballinecregg’. The pardons show that the MacGilleduffs were probably free tenants at Ballynacraggie. See *The Irish Fians of the Tudor Sovereigns: During the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Phillip & Mary, and Elizabeth I*, No. 4753, p. 703 and No. 6617, p. 549.

⁵⁷ The modern form of the name is Mongovan. As an old Clare surname whose origin is obscure, Mongovan does not feature in the 1641 *Books of Survey and Distribution* or in the 1820s Tithes Applotment books or the 1850 Griffith Valuation in *Tradraighe*. In the latter source, a cluster of Mongovans were located in the parish of Kilmihil in Clonderalaw barony in the 1850s. In 1577 both Mongovans (Donogh and Donel) were pardoned and recorded as ‘husbandmen’ at Urlan, see *Irish Fians*, no. 3089, p. 417. See Woulfe, *Sloinnté Gaedheal is Gall*, p. 618.

⁵⁸ Enumerated with the demesne lands were four quarters that belonged to the bishopric of Killaloe.

assumption retrospectively to 1586, the land of the freeholding septs were not overly infiltrated by McNamara kinsmen, but largely controlled by members of vassals-septs.

The inquisition document shows that the lands of the freeholding septs were extensive and totaled around 142 quarters out of over 287 quarters of land that comprised the lordship.⁵⁹ The total acreage can be estimated at 17,803 statute acres (11,127 Irish acres) excluding 1,520 statute acres where uncertainty existed on the rent owed.⁶⁰ These were the lands that 'McNemarrae and his ancestors yearly Received and tooke up the Rent and Dutye resyted and sett downe upon the quarters of land'. Most of these lands comprised the patrimonial sept-land of vassal-septs. The main vassal-septs were independent of the McNamara *Fionn* in the sense that they were not his direct tenants. Rather, they owed him rent and duties – what is known as 'lordship rights'. This exchange underpinned the structure of lordship and was the basis of its existence. The main septs that fell into this category included the McClancys, McEnerhyns, O'Mulconrys, O'Hickeys and the Cusacks. These septs' patrimonial lands – as identified from their recording in 1641 – were enumerated in the inquisition document.

The lands of the McMahons at Clenagh in Kilconry parish were recorded but it is understood that they were generally under the suzerainty of the McMahon lordship of Corca Baiscinn.⁶¹ The sept-lands of other important septs such as the O'Roddans,⁶² O'Liddys⁶³ and O'Moloneys⁶⁴ were not returned in the inquisition, while the estate of the O'Mulqueenys at Ballymulqueeny in Templemaley was recorded under the category of 'always frely acquitted lands dischargd of and from all rents and demands of the said mcNemara'. From this complicated mix it is possible to distill several key points.

Cross referencing lands in the inquisition that fall under the category of owing rents and duties to John McNamara, to a 1622 inquisition which lists lands claimed by Donough McNamara *Fionn* of Dangan-i-viggin against the Earl of Thomond, we find that 34 of the 50 lands claimed fall under this category.⁶⁵ This relationship between those lands recorded as owing rents and duties to John McNamara in 1586 to the lands

⁵⁹ There is difficulty in arriving at exact figures given that some land denominations recorded in the inquisition are not cited with their number of quarters. Land denominations without any indications of size are excluded from these totals thereby making these figures under estimates. Estimates do not include the 26 quarters recorded as paying a rent to the Earl of Thomond as these generally duplicate quarters given as either part of the demesne or mensal lands of the lordship. The inquisition does not specify the quarters of the mensal lands so the overall total of quarters would be higher than the amounts given here.

⁶⁰ Acreage based on the returns in the 1641 *Books of the Survey and Distribution*.

⁶¹ McMahon lands recorded include Clenagh Mor, Clenagh Beg and Lismoyle in Kilmaleery parish.

⁶² The O'Roddans' sept-estate was located at Ballysheen and Ardmaclancy in Kilfinaghta parish, see Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 94 and Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare*, p. 77.

⁶³ The O'Liddys' patrimonial estate located at Ballyliddane (east and west) in Kilfintinan parish, *Simington, Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 179.

⁶⁴ The O'Moloneys held estates at Kilnacreegh in Kilfinaghta parish and at Ballybroughan in Kilfintinan parish, but their larger estates were located in the lordship of East *Clann Chuiléin* at Kiltanon in Tulla parish. Much of the east Clare hinterland was under the patronage of the McNamara *Reagh* clan who colonised east Clare after 1318 and displaced the *Ui Blóid* clans. On the McNamara *Reagh* clan see Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare*, pp 224-6, also Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 92 & p. 179.

⁶⁵ Nineteen freeholders of the McNamara *Fionn* clan filed claims against the fourth Earl of Thomond, including the chief of the sept, McNamara *Fionn* of Dangan-i-viggin who claimed 50 townlands and sub-denominations. These claims reflected the clan's assertion of lordship over freeholding sept-lands and which amounted to almost fifty per cent of the barony on Bunratty. The McNamara *Fionn* experienced a sharp decline in fortune after 1585 and by 1622 the Earl of Thomond was in receipt of many of the rents from these lands that traditionally were under the lordship of the McNamara *Fionn*. Four of these land denominations are also recorded as part of the inheritance of John McNamara and probably constituted his mensal lands in the 1586 inquisition document, leaving 12 land denominations unidentified. Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 295 and Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare*, p. 227.

claimed by Daniel, the son of John McNamara in 1622, supports the view that these lands constituted the 'lordship lands' that the McNamara *Fionn* exacted rents from but did not own outright. In the intervening period between 1586 and 1622, the McNamara *Fionn* lost the right to levy rents over these lands to the Earl of Thomond.

In terms of size, the most important were the sept-estates of the McEnerhins and McClancys in Kilnasoolagh and Kilmaleery parishes. The McEnerhiny estate is recorded as comprising two quarters at 'Ballysallagh mcEnerhine' which owed 6s and 8d sterling. The McClancy estate which comprised the quarter of 'Horlonn' (Urlan) owed 6s 8d sterling and the two quarters of Ballysallagh (west) owed 7s and 10d sterling and 8 'pecks of otts [oates] whereof the quarter of Horlonnbege [Urlan Beg] is to pay a third part'.⁶⁶ These were two important freeholding septs that owed a fixed rent to the McNamara *Fionn*.

The line-up of jurors in the inquisition makes it clear that the McClancys as brehon lawyers were the most important freeholding sept in the lordship, followed by the McEnerhins who held a large compact estate in Kilnasoolagh parish and provided three jurors to the inquisition.⁶⁷ Next in importance was probably the O'Mulconrys whose patrimony at Ardkyle in Feenagh parish where they kept a school of history was recorded as subject to McNamara's rent but uncertainty existed as to the amount. This was also true of the O'Hickeys of Ballyhickey in Clooney parish whose rents and duties were also uncertain, perhaps because the services that these two hereditary service clans performed were compensated through granting of immunities from rents and tribute, a common arrangement that existed in Gaelic lordships.⁶⁸ Lands of minor freeholding septs such as the Cusacks at Urboll (Whybogh)⁶⁹ in Killeely parish, and the O'Hurneys at Keevagh in Quin parish, were also recorded as yielding rents to John McNamara. Given that our identification of the location of septs is dependent on the parish returns in the 1641 *Books of Survey and Distribution*, it is probable that other septs held land in 'freehold' in 1586 but subsequently declined in fortune and are not recorded in 1641.⁷⁰

The absence of a contemporary list of freeholders in 1586 means that we are reliant on the 1641 returns as a point of comparison. Despite the obvious limitations with this approach, the broad socio-political hierarchy can be reconstructed. The chiefly household of the McNamara based at Quin parish was at the apex of the social hierarchy with landed interests and collateral branches dispersed throughout the barony of Bunratty. The major freeholding vassal-septs held compact estates at the *baile* level. This comprised the McClancys, McEnerhins, O'Hickeys and O'Mulconrys and probably some lands of the O'Moloneys whose main estate was under the lordship of the McNamara *Reagh* in East *Clann Chuiléin*. The O'Roddans could be included in this group given their hereditary role as steward-marshals, however their lands cannot be identified. Below this tier were lesser freeholding septs such as the O'Liddys who

⁶⁶ Eight pecks of oats is equivalent to about two bushels or approximately 30 kg.

⁶⁷ Viz. 'Mahowne mcEnerhin of Ballysallaghe', 'Shane mcEnerhine of Carrigere' and 'Thomas mcEnerhine of Kyllanesowlegh'.

⁶⁸ G.A Hayes-McCoy, 'Gaelic Society in Ireland in the Late Sixteenth Century', p. 48.

⁶⁹ The denomination no longer exists under this name, but was known as Whybogh in 1641 and Foybogh in 1659. The Cusack's had an interest there in 1641, though most (Mac) Cusack freeholders in 1641 were recorded in the nearby parish of Killeely where they were under the lordship of the McNamara *Reagh* clan, see Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 181 and pp 73-8.

⁷⁰ A notable example was the high-status O'Mulconry (Uí Mhaoilchonaire) hereditary chroniclers whose patrimony was at Adkyle in Feenagh parish, but which had become part of the estate of the Earl of Thomond by 1641, see Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 177. On the O'Mulconry see Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'The Uí Mhaoilchonaire of Thomond,' *Studia Hibernia*, 2009, [forthcoming].

appeared to have declined in status over the middle ages, and the Cusacks and O'Hurneys.⁷¹ An underclass of subinfeudated cultivators existed on the lands of these freeholding septs, some of who were members of the displaced *Uí Bloid* clans.⁷²

The lands that yielded rents and duties to John McNamara as the lord of West *Clann Chuiléin* also included obligations of service in lieu of rent. For example, a freeholder at Moyhi, an island near Limerick, was 'bound to maintaine and keape a cott or a boat upon his own [...] cost and chardgs to ferre the said mcNemarrae and his providgion up and down to Ryver of Sheannen'. The lordship resembled a hybrid-feudal mix that can be seen emerging in other late medieval Gaelic lordships. The use of fixed monetary payments assessed on the productivity of quarters – the basic property unit in Gaelic Ireland – along with rents payable in kind such as services (eg maintaining a boat on the Shannon), indicates sophistication in revenue collection and points to a level of complexity in assessing the rental levy on vassal septs.

The monetary assessments of over 287 quarters of land mentioned in the inquisition points to a deepening of monetary exchange rather than barter in Gaelic lordships, as well as a developed tribute collecting apparatus.⁷³ There appears to be no relationship between higher rent charges and certain sept-lands, though it does appear that the ten denominations that paid oats were all located in *Tradraighe*.⁷⁴ Moreover, even the high-status McClancy brehons were required to pay oats on their lands at Ballysallagh West and Horlonnbeg (Urlan Beg), while McEnerhiny freeholders who occupied 'Ballysallagh mcEnerhine' (Ballysallagh East) were exempt.

Overall the logic behind the computation of rents levied on various quarters must have been based on the agricultural potential of land as no pattern can be discerned from the inquisition; suffice to say that the highest rents were paid out of Ballyallia in Templemaley parish (24s 8d sterling) and Clenaghbeg in Kilmaleery parish (26s 8d sterling), reflecting a generalised geographical spread of rents levied on the freeholding septs of West *Clann Chuiléin*.

Demesne Lands

The second form of land tenure recorded in the inquisition document are lands described as 'the lawful and proper inheritance of the said John mcNemarrae'. These comprised of around 32¼ quarters (6,446 statute acres or 4,029 Irish acres)⁷⁵ and constitute the demesne lands. The division between demesne lands and mensal lands is

⁷¹ For a socio-political hierarchy that existed in 1641 in Clare which divides septs into controlling various land units such as *tríocha céad*, *túatha*, *baile*, quarter and half quarter, see Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare*, p. 221.

⁷² On the colonisation of east Clare by the McNamara after 1318 see Nugent, 'The Dynamics of the Clan System in Fourteenth Century Clare', pp 55-71; Aoife Nic Ghiollaímháith, 'Kings and Vassals in Later Medieval Ireland: The Uí Bhriain and the MicConmara in the Fourteenth Century', in Terry Barry, Robin Frame & Katherine Simms (eds), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland* (London, 1995) pp 201-16.

⁷³ A complex tribute-collecting apparatus had functioned since the mid fourteenth century. The purpose of the 'McNamara Rental' of c.1330 was to levy a tax over subjected *túatha* that formerly were controlled by the *Uí Bloid* clans. The annexation of *Uí Bloid* territories by the McNamara transformed them into a canopy-clan which maintained control by placing kinsmen on subject lands. This process echoed practices in feudalised systems by controlling subjected populations through extending a system of feudal obligation and military service on vassals. In the Gaelic context the principal difference was the role of kinship amongst prolific and expanding clans which settled their junior branches on subject territories.

⁷⁴ These denominations were Ballycasey in Drumline parish; Carrow-Ballymcneale in Tomfinlough parish; Rineanna in Kilconry parish; Clenagh Beg in Kilmaleery parish; Clenagh Mor in Kilmaleery parish; Lyssennynke a land division possibly in Kilmaleery parish; Ballysallagh West in Kilnasoolagh parish; Horlan Beg (Urlan Beg) required to pay a third part of rents and oats owed out of Ballysallagh West; Ballygirreen in Kilnasoolagh parish; and Latoon in Kilnasoolagh parish.

⁷⁵ Acreage based on the returns in the 1641 *Books of the Survey and Distribution*.

difficult to discern, but the high proportion of McNamara kinsmen holding these lands identified in 1641 may indicate that the lands were the demesne lands of the McNamara *Fionn* clan and populated by McNamara sept branches. That the inquisition does not list the rent payable out of these quarters suggests that non-fixed food-rents and services were collected from these lands. Essentially, the demesne lands were occupied by tenants of equivalent status as the rent-paying freeholder septs, except for differing tenurial conditions.⁷⁶

The demesne lands were scattered throughout the lordship and do not conform to any geographical locus. It can be speculated that these lands formed the ballybetagh⁷⁷ estate of the McNamara *Fionn* and was where McNamara collateral branches resided.⁷⁸ However, they are notably absent in Kilraghtis, Templemaley and Doorra parishes. This cluster of parishes in the historical division of Upper *Clann Chuiléin* (*Cloinne Chuiléin Uachtaraighe*) was the original *túath* where the McNamara Lord's of *Uí Caisín* had their chief seat prior to the fourteenth century.⁷⁹ The absence of demesne lands amongst these parishes suggests that those demesne lands that owed John McNamara unspecified food-rents, service and 'hospitality rights' were the residence of collateral McNamara septs. These septs consolidated their estates further from the historic 'core' of the lordship in Upper *Clann Chuiléin* on the former territories of the Anglo-Normans and their *Uí Bloid* allies in *Tradraighe* and *Uí Cearnaigh* after 1318. Over time these collateral McNamara branches gained a measure of autonomy from the chiefly McNamara lineage, ensuring separate tenurial arrangements.

The inquisition document also states that 'mcNemarres ancestors had alway[s] toward[s] the mariadge of every of their eldest daughters upon the whole Barrony the number of vi^{xx} coves or for every cove xxx^d st. in mony'. This custom is reminiscent of feudal practices of financing dowries for dynastic marriages. The practice is suggestive of the ambition of the McNamara *Fionn* in securing alliances through matrimonial diplomacy.

The Mensal Lands

The inquisition sets down a third form of land tenure. A list of seventeen lands constituted the mensal estate of the lordship. The lands would have been attached to the position of McNamara *Fionn*. The inquisition document hints at the semi-feudalised arrangements that prevailed and the 'chiefly right' that a McNamara *tighearna* had over these lands: 'the tounes or villadgs herafter ensuinge were bound to Keape and Beare the said mcNemarres horses and boyes with sufficient horsmeate and boyesmeate every Christmas and Ester when he Kepte any of the said feasts at his Howse or toune of the Degen'. Majority of the lands situated in the parishes of Clooney, Templemaley or

⁷⁶ P.J. Duffy, 'The Territorial Organisation of Gaelic Landownership and its Transformation in County Monaghan, 1591-1640', p. 8.

⁷⁷ Amongst this list of lands included 'Ramollune' (Rathfolan in Kilnasoolagh parish), 'Runnannae' (Rineanna in Kilconry parish), 'Dengen' and 'Cnappocke' (both in Quin parish), and 'Crattullagh Moyle' and 'Crattullagh Keyle' (both Killeely parish).

⁷⁸ See, for example, the reference in the genealogies to the McNamara sept-branch called *Sliocht Ráthmaoláin* in Seán Ó hÓgáin, *Conntae an Cláir: A Triocha Agus A Tuatha* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1938) p. 143. Also, see references to McNamara sept-branches occupying tower-houses at Dangan, Knappogue, Cratlomoyle and Cratlokeel in 1574. See R.W. Twigge, 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574', pp 75-85:79 (cf. *State Papers of Ireland: Elizabeth*, vol xlv, 35, 1).

⁷⁹ Prior to the fourteenth century their power-base included *An Túatha Mór*, which was co-extensive with the parishes of Tulla and part of eastern Quin and Clooney. See Ó hÓgáin, *Conntae an Cláir: A Triocha Agus A Tuatha*, p. 44 where it states that Upper *Clann Chuiléin* comprised the parishes of Kilraghtis, Templemaley and Clooney.

Kilraghtis, in what was the traditional patrimony of the McNamara. This contrasted to the demesne lands, which mainly located in other parishes of the lordship. The reference here to 'horsmeate' and 'boysmeate' was a common exaction imposed by Gaelic lords over their tenants on mensal lands and formed an important element in feeding the chiefly household. These arrangements also provided the McNamara a fixed supply of food that directly supported his household, as indicated by the reference to 'feasts at his Howse or toune of the Dengen'.⁸⁰

The McNamara *Fionn*'s residence at Dangan-i-viggen in Quin parish served as the centre of the lordship. The inquisition also noted that the McNamara *Fionn* held 'Cowrtes Barron' – his manor court – at Dangan. This situation has strong feudal parallels in terms of the chieftain's principal residence being the nerve-centre of the lordship and a place where hospitality was provided and judgments made. The reference to McNamara's 'kearntyes and huntsemen' having 'certain Dutys upon certiaine qrs of Land...untyll...cott off by statute' suggests that the household troops of the McNamara *Fionn* – 'kerntyes' (*ceitherne*)⁸¹ – were billeted on the *lucht tighe* lands of the lordship. The custom was likely to have been extinguished by English law after its introduction in Clare in 1577.

In addition to the seventeen land denominations listed as bound to render foot-rents to the horses and boys (attendants) of McNamara *Fionn*, the inquisition stated that 'mcNemarra hath of his owne Inherytance in the toune of Qwyne the number of iii^{xx} tenements and gardinge plots'. These must have also comprised part of the mensal estate that was attached to John McNamara's office as chief; and if we take all these references together it leaves the impression that the mensal estate of the chief of the McNamara *Fionn* was confined to Upper *Clann Chuiléin*. No *Tradraighe* parishes are enumerated in the list. Of the seventeen lands listed sixteen can be identified. According to the 1641 *Books of Survey and Distribution* these totaled 4,624 statute acres (2,890 Irish acres).

The mensal lands of the McNamara *Fionn* provided for his personal estate and were relatively extensive. However, the economy of the lordship was not simply based on food exactions from the mensal or *lucht tighe* lands. The levying of fixed rent charges on the lands of freeholding vassal-septs, and the less defined rents and foodstuffs exacted from the demesne lands of McNamara kinsmen, also contributed to the tribute that sustained lordship. This tribute was used to sustain McNamara hegemony and create patron-client links with kin and non-kin in order to control territory through local 'nodes' of power. This system operated as McNamara kin held land in each *túatha*, even in those traditionally associated with other septs. Tribute was used to perform the functions of lordship that included patronage of important freeholders such as poets and genealogists who legitimised McNamara suzerainty over subject clans, and brehon judges who codified legal agreements and arbitrated disputes. The McNamara developed an increasingly feudalistic outlook as they consolidated their position in the later middle ages and expanded the patronage of churches and received tolls from markets and revenue from trade monopolies.⁸²

⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that the inquisition provided for the freeholders who occupied the mensal lands to pay a yearly amount of 'sertaine pecks of otts' (*sic* oats) in lieu of paying the amount of horsemeat and boysmeat. This point makes clear the economy that operated in the lordship in the sixteenth century was regulated with the trappings of a feudal system of exchange and tribute-collection.

⁸¹ The *ceitherne* were light troops and usually played an auxiliary role to the professional *gallóglaigh*, or heavily armed gallowglass soldiers, which were deployed by Gaelic chiefs in the later medieval period.

⁸² K.W. Nicholls states that the right of pre-emption and trading monopolies was enforced by Gaelic lords in their

We cannot be sure which septs populated the mensal lands but evidence from other lordships indicates that those tenants that dwelt on the mensal lands were subject to the burden of heavy tribute. An example here are the McClunes who occupied Carrowgeare in Quin parish in 1641 and which comprised part of the inheritance of John McNamara.⁸³ The McClunes occupied the lower tier of the social hierarchy as they were not a hereditary service clan but rather a ‘tenant-sept’ on the mensal estate of the clan chieftain.⁸⁴ However, they were significant enough to be mentioned as small freeholders in 1641. The mensal estate of John McNamara in 1641 was worked by a mix of tenant-septs and an underclass of propertyless cottiers who evade mention in contemporary records.⁸⁵

Comparison with the freeholders recorded in 1641 reveals that part of the mensal lands were occupied by hereditary service clans under privileged tenurial conditions. These included the O’Hickey physicians of Ballyhickey in Clooney parish, McBrodry historians at Ballyogan in Kilraghtis parish, and the O’Neylan hereditary medical clan who occupied Ballyallia and Ballymacahill in Kilraghtis parish.⁸⁶ These clans rendered important services to the ruling McNamara and occupied a position of high-status in the lordship. It was common for chiefly families to settle important followers and hereditary service clans on their mensal estates – or *lucht tige* lands – and this is probably the reason why a high proportion of these clans occupied the aforesaid lands.

We know from an inquisition taken in August 1624 that when John McNamara *Fionn* died on 28 February 1602 he was the owner of Dangan and Knappogue, as well as a water mill and gardens and two-thirds of the tolls and customs of Quin, among other lands.⁸⁷ These lands were the core lands of John McNamara’s mensal estate and as clan chief he had access to the trade revenue from Quin, bolstering his monopoly position in local markets. This underscores the feudalized nature of the lordship as a system of regulated trade. The McNamara lordship was founded on a clan system of

territories. In various lordships freeholders were required to sell goods at fixed prices to their lords, or to give their lord the first offering of such goods. Also, Gaelic lords granted trading privileges to merchants for financial return – classical rent-seeking behavior – which provided an income to the lord, Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland*, pp 43-4.

⁸³ Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution, Clare*, p. 146.

⁸⁴ The existence of Ballymacloon townland in Quin parish points to a sept formerly important but had declined in status by the early modern period. The McClunes do not feature in the fourteenth century *Caitheáin Thoirdealbhagh*, and by 1641 were not in possession of their namesake Ballymacloon. See R. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p.146. An interesting document survives, dated 5 August, 1635, where two freeholders Donogh and Loughlen McCloone, had interests in Ballymacloone and Cullenagh in Quin parish. The document indicates that the McCloone patrimony, from the time of King Conor McTurloch O’Brien (d.1539), was partially under mortgage and the McCloone’s became ‘tenants at will’. This relationship extended to the time of the fourth Earl of Thomond and in 1635 James McEnnerhiny testified regarding his arbitration between Loughlen McCloone who had unlawfully mortgaged land in Ballymacloone, and the fourth Earl. The land was originally in the proprietorship of the McCloones but had passed to the Earls of Thomond, thus reducing the McCloones to the status of tenants. Petworth House Archives, MSS. 3911.

⁸⁵ This underclass of tenants was probably counted in the population totals in the 1659 ‘census’. In this ‘census’ the principal freeholders—most of whom were minor gentry – were recorded as ‘tituladoes’, while the population totals for each townland referred to a head-count of male tenants, big and small.

⁸⁶ Dr James Nellan held the tower-house of Ballyallia and also Ballycarroll in Templemaley parish in 1574. See R.W. Twigge, ‘Edward White’s Description of Thomond in 1574’, p.79. This branch of the O’Neylans collaborated with the Earls of Thomond and conformed to the established church in the sixteenth century. Dr James Nellan was one of the beneficiaries of the confiscation of monastic lands and an ostensible supporter of the anglicized ‘new order’. The O’Neylans prospered during the transition from Gaelic feudalism to an anglicised county and this was largely due to their alliance with Donogh O’Brien, Fourth Earl of Thomond, and their previous grants of pre-Reformation ecclesiastical land in Kilfenora Diocese. Nugent, *The Gaelic clans of Co. Clare*, pp 228-9.

⁸⁷ The other land denominations in the ownership of John McNamara at the time of his death included Cratloe Moyle, Garryncurra, Carrowancloughy, Ballymorris, Tomfinlagh, and Ballymulchana. These lands were part of the mensal estate of John McNamara and were, under common law, inherited by his eldest son, Donald (Domhnall *Fionn*), Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 300.

kinship and dependence which sustained the preeminent position of the chiefly McNamara lineage at Dangan. The system increasingly relied on income from monopolized trade and regulated markets from the late middle ages as the McNamara chiefs embraced elements of the feudal economy and took advantage of their strategic location between the mercantile cities of Limerick and Galway.⁸⁸

The Free Demesne Lands

The 1586 inquisition details a list of 63 land denominations, which constituted 103 quarters and totaled 17,254 statute acres (10,784 Irish acres).⁸⁹ These lands were 'freely acquitted and discharged of and from all rents and demandes'. It is impossible to identify the tenurial arrangements with certainty, but the fact that some of these lands were reserved for ecclesiastical use (eg. 'Clonloghline' 1 qrt; 'Kymaliere' 1 qrt; 'Kyllanesowlaghe' 1 qrt; 'Carowdorane' 1 qrt)⁹⁰ and that some of the lands listed were those of the high-status hereditary service clans, suggests that these lands constituted the demesne lands of the lordship.⁹¹

It is not known whether these lands differed in tenure to the previous list of demesne lands predominately populated by McNamara sept-branches. The lands were freely acquitted of rents and demands and so such tenurial conditions may point to these lands being occupied by freeholders who owed unspecified services. Few demesne lands were located in Kilmurry-na-gall or Kilfinaghta parishes possibly on account of the Earl of Thomond holding lands in these parishes. Also, some of the lands probably overlapped with the lordship of East *Clann Chuiléin*, whose chiefly family were the McNamara *Reagh* based at Mountallon.

This second list of demesne lands that were free from tribute may have included an estate for the *tánaiste* of John McNamara *Fionn*. It was not until August 1585 that chieftains had to abolish the 'names styles and titles of captainships, tanistships and all other Irish authorities and jurisdictions...together with all elections and customary divisions of land' (spelling modernised).⁹² Therefore this extensive list of 103 quarters may have encompassed the *tánaiste* estate.⁹³ A comparison of the 63 land denominations with the 1641 *Books of Survey and Distribution* suggests that less than a third were in

⁸⁸ A reference from 1312 in the *Annals of Inisfallen* states that a public highway was located near 'Cuinche' (ie. Quin) and presumably linked the cities of Limerick and Galway. The strategic position of Quin – the heart of the West *Clann Chuiléin* lordship – was an avenue for the export of foodstuffs from the Gaelic hinterland to markets at Limerick and Galway for produce such as hides and corn. The West *Clann Chuiléin* lordship was particularly connected to trade with Limerick and this would have boosted the Gaelic economy and deepened market exchange. See Gearóid Mac Niocaill, 'Land Transfer in Sixteenth Century Thomond: The Case of Domhnall Óg Ó Cearnaigh', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, vol.XVII (1975) pp 43-5:45.

⁸⁹ Acreage based on the returns in the 1641 *Books of the Survey and Distribution*.

⁹⁰ It appears that these lands belonged to the Bishop of Killaloe. The Bishop of Killaloe would have continued the practice of the pre-Reformation bishops of deriving part of the diocesan revenue from ecclesiastical lands farmed by hereditary tenants on termon lands and under the stewardship of local erenagh headmen.

⁹¹ Some church lands appear under the category of sept-lands. The inquisition mentions the denominations of 'Glann' and 'Moynintervalowne', with the former yielding '11s 8d & chief rent to Bishop of Killaloe', and the latter yielding '16s 8d & chief rent to Bishop of Killaloe'. Both of these lands were located in Clareabbey, a parish that comprised extensive termon lands. The inclusion of these lands amongst the sept-lands may reflect their dual obligation to yield 'secular' rent to the McNamara *Fionn*, and a rent to the Bishop Killaloe. The Earl of Thomond was the chief landholder in Clareabbey 1641, reflecting earlier land grants to the Earls of Thomond after the religious houses were dissolved in the mid-sixteenth century. On the identification of Glann and Moynintervalowne, see Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 321.

⁹² Freeman, (ed) *The Compassion Booke of Conought*, p. 17.

⁹³ While there is no direct evidence of this, it is worth recounting that John McNamara *Fionn* had five sons, viz: Cúmheda (d.1587), Domhnall *Fionn* (d.1643), Ruadhri (d. after 1641), John Óg (d. after 1641) and Tadhg (d. after 1636). In 1602, John McNamara *Fionn*, in a deed, granted certain lands to Sheeda Cam McNamara and Galfridus Mulchony to be held in trust for his son Donald (Domhnall *Fionn*). The lands included Cratloe

the proprietorship of McNamara freeholders. While there is a limit as to how much can be extrapolated from the 1641 *Books of Survey and Distribution*, the fact that the Earl of Thomond and other septs held majority of these lands in 1641 is suggestive of these lands comprising part of the lordship's demesne, rather than mensal, estate. The nature of the tenure is, however, difficult to ascertain. The ecclesiastical lands in the Kilnasoolagh, Kilmaleery and Clonloghan parish cluster were held by episcopal tenure and belonged to the bishopric of Killaloe. We could expect that ecclesiastical lands were farmed by hereditary tenants attached to the church lands and under the stewardship of a local erenagh.⁹⁴

The point that these lands were freely acquitted and discharged from all rents and demands clearly indicated that the lands held some status in the lordship. Analysis of these lands show that two were the patrimonies of the high-status service clans such as Ballyallia (sept-lands of the medical O'Neylan sept) and Ballyhicky-by-west (sept-lands of the physician O'Hicky sept). Ballyallia and Ballyhicky also feature in the towns and villages who owed John McNamara rents and services and which probably comprised his mensal lands, so their inclusion as free lands is ambiguous, perhaps suggesting special tenurial arrangements. Other septs that occupied these demesne lands in 1641 (and presumably in 1586) included the O'Mulqueenys at 'Ballymulchynne' in Templemaley parish, O'Neylans at 'Roslovan' in Kilraghtis parish and McEnerhyns at 'Dowre' in Templemaley parish and at 'Lysconnogher' at Clonloghan. The mixed nature of these lands could indicate overlap between demesne lands and those of the freeholding septs.

The free-lands do not conform to any particular geographical pattern but are dispersed throughout the lordship. This suggests that the lands constituted part of the demesne estate of the McNamara *Fionn* and were exempt from fixed rent. The extensive nature of these lands, and the fact that few service clans were settled on them, allows us to conclude that whatever the tenurial conditions that prevailed, these were separate to the mensal estate of the McNamara *Fionn*.

Overlordship: Earl of Thomond

The final tier of lands enumerated in the inquisition document were lands 'subjected to the Erles rent Chardg'. These lands owed a rent to Donough O'Brien, fourth Earl of Thomond, who claimed revenue from these lands as 'his ancestors had recieved and tooke up a yearly rent Chardge upon certaine quarters of land'. These lands consisted 19

Moyle, Garryncurra, Carrowancloghy, Ballymorris, Tomfinlagh, and Ballymulchana. These lands were part of the mensal estate of John McNamara. Also, in 1601, he enfeoffed his son John Óg on Knappogue castle and the lands of Dromullan, Ballyroughan, Coolbane and Ballymulcanna. See Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 300 & p. 302. On a pedigree of the McNamara *Fionn* see Twigge, *Materials for a History of Clann Cuilein*, Add MSS 39270 (rolls), Twigge Collection, Vol. XII. Larger pedigrees, etc., British Library.

⁹⁴ Investigation of the fifteenth century Papal Registers for the parishes in *Tradraighe* does not show an obvious hereditary incumbency of an erenagh sept. The Mac an Oirchinnigh (McEnerhiny), while originating as an erenagh sept in the twelfth century, were not by the later middle ages a defined erenagh sept in *Tradraighe*. Numerous references to Mac an Oirchinnigh clerics holding benefices in Kilnasoolagh, Kilmaleery and Clonloghan is suggestive of an important vassal-sept who sought numerous appointments for local benefices, not least because of the opportunity for patronage and the sept's proximity to these parishes. See Luke McInerney, 'Clerics and Clansmen: Vicarages & Rectories of *Tradraighe* in the Fifteenth Century', in this issue of the *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*. The 1586 inquisition recorded Carrigoran and Kilnasoolagh belonging to the bishopric of Killaloe. McEnerhiny freeholders may have yielded a rent to the Bishop of Killaloe and potentially acted as erenaghs, as by the sixteenth century erenaghs were ecclesiastical tenants and paid a chief rent to the diocesan bishop. This is in line with the reorganisation of the episcopal economy at the 1210 Synod of Connacht where the termon lands were vested in bishops and the coarb and erenagh became principal tenants of the diocesan bishop.

land denominations that totaled approximately 26 quarters and 8,624 statute acres (5,390 Irish acres).⁹⁵ The majority situated in *Tradraighe*. Many of these lands were owned by the Earl of Thomond in 1641, suggesting that the lordship of the lands had passed from the McNamara *Fionn* to the Earl before 1622 as five of these lands were claimed by the then McNamara *Fionn* in that year as under his lordship, hinting that the Earl of Thomond had usurped the rents from these lands.⁹⁶

The imposition of rent on these lands was in line with other Gaelic lordships where traditionally the provincial king – the *rí ruirech* – demanded rent from Gaelic magnates and often kept a demesne in every *túatha* of the subject lordship. The inquisition also stated that the ‘Erles ancestors upon the decease of every McNemarrae had and received a kind of duty called borowe, which is a certaine number of Cowes taken by complusary meanes, or for every Cowe xxxd’.⁹⁷ This is clear reference to the *boroimhe*, or cattle-tribute, famously imposed by Brian Ború in the eleventh century to assert his suzerainty and from which coined his name.⁹⁷ A residual collection of this tribute was still extant in 1586, though its conversion into a monetary sum hints at the increasingly monetised economy of the lordship.

The inquisition document alludes to the imposition of ‘bonought’ on McNamara lands in the event of a ‘rysing owte’ against the Earl’s enemies. One footman upon every quarter of inhabited land in the lordship was to be supplied with victuals for two days and the cost borne by McNamara. The potential for resistance to this imposition was partly mitigated by the division of responsibility: ‘but if they were to stay any longer than ii days, then the said Erle was not onely bound to find them meate and drinke upon his owne Chardge but also to give McNemarrae a lyeinge [ie ‘cuddie’ or payment] for every such tyme’. The Earl of Thomond was also bound to give McNamara a third of all war booty captured. While it is difficult to estimate how militarised the West *Clann Chuiléin* lordship was, a document written forty years earlier in c.1540 assessed the military strength of McNamara and the Earl of Thomond. The document recorded ‘McNemarry, lord of Clinchollan 200 h[orse], 1b[attle of galloglass] and DC [600] k[ern]’.⁹⁸ The estimated military strength of the ‘lord of Thound’, Murrough O’Brien, was ‘200 h[orse], 2 b[attles of galloglass] and DC [600] k[ern]’.⁹⁹

The McNamara had consolidated their position in east Clare in the late Middle Ages and were the principal vassal of the O’Brien kings of Thomond. The McNamara, however, experienced a lessening of influence after Murrough O’Brien, as part of Henry VIII’s ‘Surrender and Regrant policy’, relinquished his former Gaelic title for that of Earl in 1543. The ability to muster vassal clans for military service and billet troops on vassals was an essential requisite in imposing authority by Gaelic rulers. As the position of the O’Briens strengthened during the sixteenth century this obligation – which resembled feudalism despite the fact that the McNamara did not hold their lands by

⁹⁵ Acreage based on the returns in the 1641 *Books of the Survey and Distribution*.

⁹⁶ See Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 295. The five land denominations were: Cratloemore, Portdrine, Ballycorey, Shandangan and Ballymacnevan (spelling as per Frost).

⁹⁷ Frost, *History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 176. It was the poet MacLiag who is traditionally ascribed as recording the famous tribute of cattle collected from the kings of Ireland and brought to Kinchora, the palace-fort of Brian Ború.

⁹⁸ L. Price, ‘Armed Forces of the Irish Chiefs in the Early 16th Century’, *The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. lxii (1932) pp 202-07:204. The contemporary source stated that, ‘a batayle of Galoglas by 60 or 80 men harneysed on foot w[i]th sparres everi one wherof hath his knave to beare his harneys wherof some have speares some have bowes.’ The McNamara *Fionn* would have raised 80 galloglass plus one retainer for each galloglass soldier, as well as 200 horsemen and 600 kern, with the total force being 960 men-at-arms.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

right of military service - also strengthened. We can estimate that in 1586 the McNamara *Fionn* was required to raise around 300 foot-soldiers to support the Earl of Thomond's military campaigns.¹⁰⁰

Summary of Landholding in the Lordship

The West *Clann Chuiléin* lordship rested on three tiers of landholding. These included the lands of the freeholding septs who paid a rent and, in some instances, food-rents to the chieftain of the McNamara *Fionn*. While their historical independence from the ruling McNamara lineage meant that their tribute was fixed and lands separate from the lordship's demesne lands, they were an essential part of the lordship as the McNamara extended his 'lordship' over them - ie. right to claim a chief rent from certain quarters and military service on behalf of the Earl of Thomond. As a result of the composition agreement in August 1585, the McNamaras lost their lordship rights to take rents from these lands as in 1622 Daniel (Domhnall) McNamara *Fionn* of Dangan-i-viggin claimed a great many of these denominations from the Earl of Thomond.¹⁰¹

The second tier comprised the demesne inheritance of the McNamara *Fionn* and was heavily populated by junior McNamara sept branches. These freeholders probably owed food-rents and services but this is not specified in the inquisition. In the later section of the inquisition an extensive (second) list of demesne lands is recorded though it is now difficult to ascertain whether the tenurial condition there differed from the first list of demesne lands. Amongst these lands four quarters belonged to the bishopric of Killaloe and presumably owed a chief rent, or foodstuffs, to the Bishop of Killaloe.

The third tier of lands in the lordship were the mensal lands of the McNamara *Fionn*. These lands were attached to his chieftaincy and directly provided foodstuffs to the ruling household. On the mensal lands were settled the O'Hickey, O'Neylan and McBrody hereditary professional families. The mensal lands were the most compact of the three types and confined to parishes in Upper *Clann Chuiléin*. In addition, the McNamara *Fionn* also received duties from trade in the villages that fell within his lordship and had the right to billet his kerns (foot-soldiers) and huntsmen upon certain lands in the lordship, as well as the right of lodgings for his retinue on the mensal lands.¹⁰²

Over and above these three tiers of land were the over-lordship rights of the Earl of Thomond. The Earl claimed rents from 26 quarters of land, many of which located in *Tradraige*, near the ancestral mensal lands of the O'Brien kings and in close proximity to the fourth Earl of Thomond's manor-house at Bunratty.¹⁰³ In this context, the Earl of Thomond was asserting his traditional privilege as the *rí ruirech* and right to collect tribute from his vassal *uirríthe*, the McNamara *Fionn*. The reference to the Earl receiving, by compulsory means, a tribute of cows or *boraimhe* on the death of a

¹⁰⁰ Calculated from the stipulation that one footman upon every quarter of inhabited land in the lordship was to serve the Earl of Thomond. Overall there were over 287 quarters of land recorded for the lordship.

¹⁰¹ Frost, *A History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p. 295.

¹⁰² This is probably the reference to towns and villages that were bound to keep McNamara's horses and boys with horsemeat and boysmeat (ie. foodstuffs) every Christmas and Easter when he kept feasts at Dangan. We can recognise this as the custom of *cuid oidhche* or 'cuddie' - forced hospitality and exaction of food-rents from the base population and client-septs.

¹⁰³ The lands that owed tribute to the Earl of Thomond in the southern estuarine lands of *Tradraige* are mostly not displayed on the map in this article as they overlap with the sept-land and demesne denominations in the lordship. Lands subject to the Earl's rent charge but which are not identified on the map under this category include: Ballintea, Ballymorris, Portdrine in Kilfintinan parish; Cratloekeel, Cratloemoyle, Foybogh in Killeely parish; Ballymarkahan in Quin parish; Kilkishen in Kilmurry-na-gall parish; Ballyvorry in Kilconry parish; and Clenagh Beg in Kilmaleery parish.

McNamara chieftain alludes to a separate tribute-raising system that the Earl employed. This picture presents a hierarchical division of lordship whereby the Earl of Thomond asserted his right to levy tribute on the lands of vassals and enforced this with a parallel administrative system that used coercive means when necessary. As the main Gaelic loyalist in North Munster, the fourth Earl of Thomond greatly strengthened his position over subordinate chieftains like the McNamara *Fionn* and significantly encroached on their traditional patrimonies. The Earl conveniently used his position as an English-appointed Earl to assert his authority; though he was careful to still patronise Gaelic poets who acted as his propagandists.¹⁰⁴

Nomenclature Evidence from the 1586 Inquisition

The inquisition abounds with references to now forgotten names of plough-lands and land-quarters. Some of these have been identified, while many are subject to conjecture. Nomenclature evidence provides information on the lineage-based society that prevailed up to the early seventeenth century in Clare. Naming conventions in Gaelic Ireland placed a priority on genealogical relationships, not least because this served to differentiate land between septs and define property and lineage rights.

The usefulness of the 1586 inquisition in providing a ‘window’ on such naming practices is apparent. The inquisition mentions numerous genealogically-inspired territorial divisions that include: ‘Mowghan McGyllemoyle’ which may have located near Quin parish, ‘Ballysallagh McEnerhine’ which was East Ballysallagh in Kilnasoolagh parish, ‘Mowgehane McTeige’ in Quin parish, ‘Sleight Teige Dalle’ probably in Bunratty or Drumline parish, ‘Slieght donyell backaghe’ in Kilfintinan parish, and ‘Moynervalowne’ in Clareabby parish. An intriguing reference also exists in the form of ‘Clonyskribberre’, which was located in the vicinity of Tomfinlough parish.

If we take the first land denomination by way of example it is reminiscent of a formerly important sept in West *Clann Chuiléin*. The McGyllemoyle featured as allies in the fourteenth century saga, *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*.¹⁰⁵ Only one freeholder of the name was recorded in 1641 and that was at Carronaglogh in Doora parish, presumably the remnant of their ancestral patrimony in former times.¹⁰⁶ In this respect the McGyllemoyle demonstrate the fate of lesser septs in a lordship where expanding successful lineages squeezed out formerly important septs. Other names for land denominations such as ‘Mowgehane McTeige’¹⁰⁷ and ‘Sleight Teige Dalle’ possibly refer to more recent patrimonies of individuals. In the case of ‘Sleight Teige Dalle’ this refers to the descendants of ‘Teige *Dall*’ (the blind), and ‘Slieght donyell backaghe’ refers to the descendants of ‘Donal *Bacach*’ (the lame).¹⁰⁸

The presence of ‘Clandonyllbwy’ in Clonloghan parish points to a two quarter landholding division there, at the *leathbaile* level, which historically was the patrimony

¹⁰⁴ Bernadette Cunningham, ‘Newcomers in the Thomond Lordship, c.1580-c.1625’, p. 105.

¹⁰⁵ See Mac Craith, *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, p. 114.

¹⁰⁶ Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 137. The name is anglicised to Normile or Normoyle. The Irish form is Mac Giolla Mhaoil. A similar sounding surname exists in Clare, Mac Confhormaoile (ie. the hound of Formoyle, a place in Clare) and which Woulfe regarded as a probable branch of the McNamara. Formoyle is probably located in Inch parish in Inchiquin barony where one freeholder, Phillip MacEnormoyle, resided in that parish in 1641; in the vicinity three other kinsmen were located confirming the historic connection there. The relationship between the two surnames is unknown, but Woulfe suggests that Mac Giolla Mhaoil was *once* used in Clare, inferring its rare usage in modern times. It survived in the form of Normile and Normoyle into the mid-nineteenth century in Quin, but is a rare surname. Woulfe, *Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall*, p. 339 & p. 376., also see Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, pp 536-8.

¹⁰⁷ Alternatively this could be a reference to Mooghaun townland in Tomfinlough parish.

¹⁰⁸ See Rev. Patrick Dinneen, *Irish-English Dictionary* (Dublin, 1927) p. 304 & p. 67.

of the descendents of Donal *Buidhe* (the yellow-haired).¹⁰⁹ It is not known what the hereditary surnames were of these lineage groups; it could be supposed that some were local McNamara lineages. The stamping of their names on territorial divisions indicates the reverence that Gaelic society had for kinship and its association with land and patrimony.

The second type of land division indicates a more settled presence of a lineage group. For example 'Ballysallagh McEnerhine', which occupied two quarters, tallies exactly with the reference in 1641 to Ballysallagh East which was two quarters totaling 264 Irish acres.¹¹⁰ This division was the sept-land of the McEnerhiny lineage in Kilnasoolagh parish and was where Mahowne McEnerhin, juror in the inquisition, resided.¹¹¹ The division is notable because it differentiated the second (western) part of Ballysallagh which comprised the estate of the brehon McClancy clan who held their principal residence nearby at Urlan Mor towerhouse.¹¹²

The inquisition also notes another division based on lineage proprietorship though its antiquity is not known. The reference to 'Moynintervalowne' suggests the presence of the Muinntear Mhaol Domhnaigh or the household of the O'Moloney clan in Clareabby parish and probably constituted termon land. The nomenclature of Gaelic surnames shows that prefixes with 'Muinntear' attached emerged after the eleventh century.¹¹³ While this does not definitively date this territorial division, it suggests that this territory may have adopted the prefix during the Middle Ages as it became attached to a leading lineage of the Uí Mhaol Domhnaigh. The land denomination known as 'Clonyskribberre' in the vicinity of Tomfinlough parish refers to the scribe's meadow (*Cluain a Scribhire*) and could have a possible medieval ecclesiastical connection. The reference offers a glimpse into medieval society and the presence of scribes – the *literai* of the day – drawing their living from agricultural lands.

The third type of naming convention used is that which refers to the ancestral sept-land of a local lineage. Such names are frequently incorporated in townland names of septs at the *baile* level. It is likely that most of these names are derived from the late middle ages when septs themselves became more established and independent from their parental clan lineage. Examples that are found in the inquisition, but which have not survived in the name of modern townlands, include Carrownaballyheynean, Fahyallorane and Knockslattre. Knockslattre (hill of Uí Slatraigh) was known as Knocklatter in 1641 and situated in Doora parish and belonged to a leading branch of the McEnerhiny sept.¹¹⁴ Carrownaballyheynean was possibly located in Clooney parish

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹¹⁰ Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 159. Ballysallagh East was held in common between five related McEnerhins and Sir Daniel O'Brien in 1641.

¹¹¹ This was the 'Mahone McEnerney of Ballysallagh' who was a juror at a 1598 inquisition. See Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts*, No. 936, p. 294.

¹¹² The 1641 *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 159 divide Ballysallagh West into four plough-lands, ie. Trincastlan, Ranaghan, Trin McMikle and Chaghre Monghan. The first division refers to one-third of the *caisleán* - or castle - and is a direct reference to the fields around Castlekeel which was then a McClanchy fortified residence at Ballysallagh West. See Breen, 'A 1570 List of Castles in County Clare', p. 133.

¹¹³ T. Whitely Moran, 'The Medieval Gaelic Genealogies III', p. 10.

¹¹⁴ In an undated Chancery Bill, but probably from the late sixteenth century, 'Mahowne McInerryney' was alleged to have killed his cousin, with the aid of a galloglass mercenary, in 1573 at Carrigoran. Mahon, who was the same Mahon cited in the 1586 inquisition as a juror, held Knockslattre(ry) at that time. In 1619 Tibbot McRiccald alleged that Mahon had seized Knockslattre on the pretence that it had descended to him in right of his mother, sister to Tibbot's father, Riccard Roe McMolery. In 1641 Knocklatter (*sic* Knockslattre) was joined to Kilnahow and occupied by Loughlin McInerney. Loughlin was a notable freeholder of the sept and served as the seneschal of Inchiquin's Manor Court at Corofin in 1670. See *Chancery Bills: Survivals from pre-1922 Collection*, B. No.228, National Archives of Ireland; Petworth House Archives, C.13.35 (dated 24 May 1619); Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution*, p. 131; and Ainsworth (ed.), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts*, No. 1359, p. 449. On Loughlin see also Luke McInerney, 'Survey of the McInerney Sept of Thomond', Part II, p. 30.

and referred to one quarter of a *baile* (*ceathramha*) of the homestead of Uí hÉanáin, while Fahyallorane (field of Uí hAllmhurán) probably located in the vicinity of Clooney parish. Nomenclature evidence can expose hitherto unknown territorial divisions below the *baile* level and reflect the link between kinship and territoriality in late medieval Clare.

Concluding Remarks

The 1586 inquisition is important on a number of levels, not least because this is the first time that it has been the subject of inquiry. As this article demonstrates the inquisition is useful in determining the social hierarchy that existed in the West *Clann Chuiléin* lordship prior to its demise on the death of John McNamara *Fionn* in 1602. The list of jurors is akin to a 'roll call' of the most important freeholders in the lordship and reads exactly as one would expect in a society where social relations were shaped by kinship (real or imagined).

From the inquisition we learn that the high-status brehon clan of McClancy were regarded as the principal freeholding sept in the lordship. They head the list of jurors and arbitrated the determination of rents on lands. The McEnerhiny sept of Kilnasoolagh parish were regarded as a leading landholding sept in the lordship with three representatives cited as jurors (Mahowne, Shane and Thomas) and a land division named after them ('Ballysallagh mcEnerhine'). The McEnerhiny also feature as arbitrators determining rents on land. The O'Mulqueenys had high standing as an important freeholding sept with a genealogical connection to the McNamara lineage, and the steward-marshal sept of O'Roddan played an important role in collecting tribute in the lordship. The hereditary chroniclers, the O'Mulconry, are noted in the list of jurors and expectedly cite their residence as Ardkyle, the home of their famous school of history and poetry.

In these respects the inquisition does not offer any surprises. What the inquisition does offer is information on the breakdown of landholding within the lordship. We now have a rough idea of the location of lands that yielded tribute and also the existence of at least three tiers of landholding in the lordship. The presence of land associated with the freeholding septs confirms that the politically important vassal-septs of the lordships had a measure of independence and were obliged to pay a fixed tribute. This arrangement suggests defined tribute payments that had probably evolved over the later medieval period. That these rents were defined in monetary terms is strong evidence of a partly monetised economy in a Gaelic lordship which must have existed parallel to traditional barter and compulsion-force methods that operated in hybrid-feudal lordships.

The identification of three tiers of landholding in the lordship: freeholding sept lands, demesne lands and mensal lands were characteristic of differentiated land tenure arrangements. These also found expression in the different rents (monetary and foodstuffs) owed to the chiefly McNamara *Fionn*, as well as exactions such as *cuid oidhche* and the billeting of troops on mensal lands and right to the tolls and trade monopolies of local markets. The inquisition hints at a complex patchwork of different obligations that underpinned the lordship's political-economy and which encompassed both secular and ecclesiastical lands.

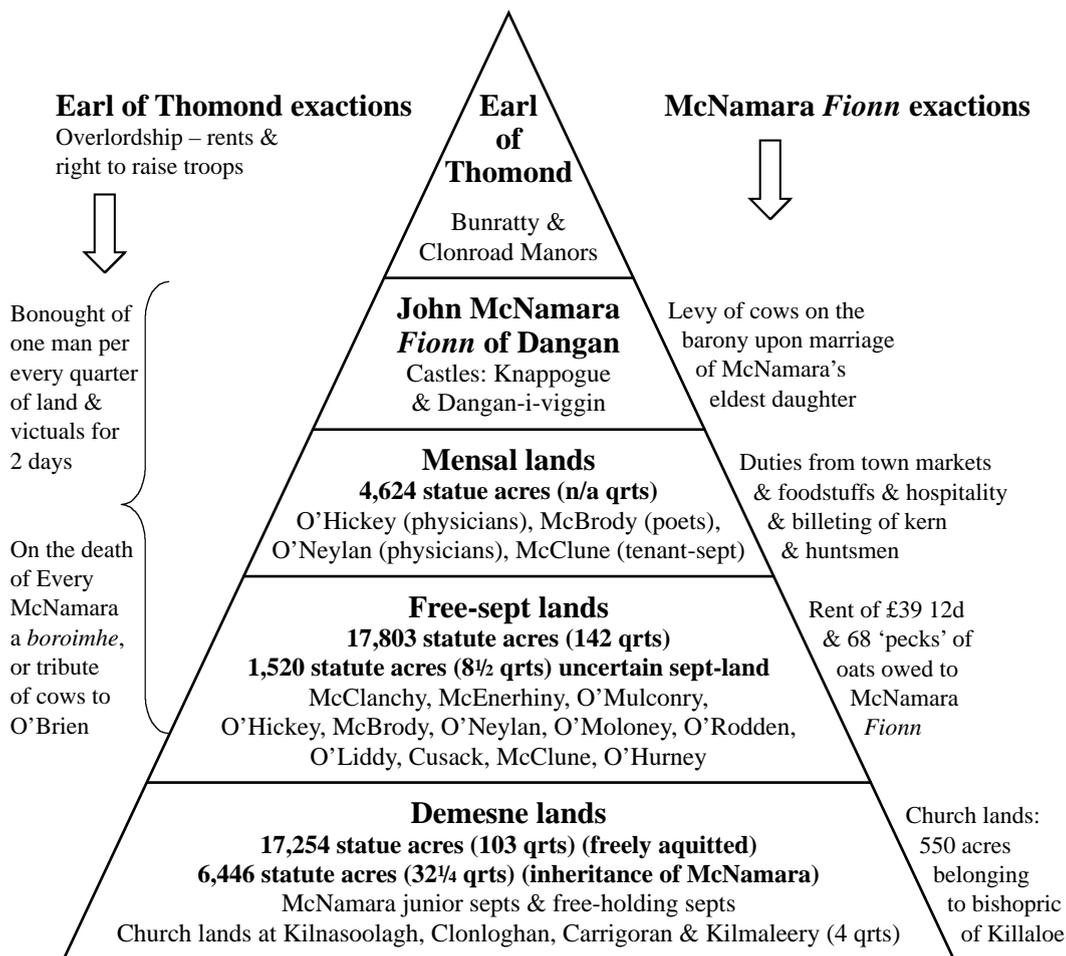
From this information we can conclude that the lordship was a structured polity with a clear administrative centre at the castle of Dangan-i-viggin. Moreover, the lordship displayed feudal characteristics such as defined rents for vassal-septs, the obligation to

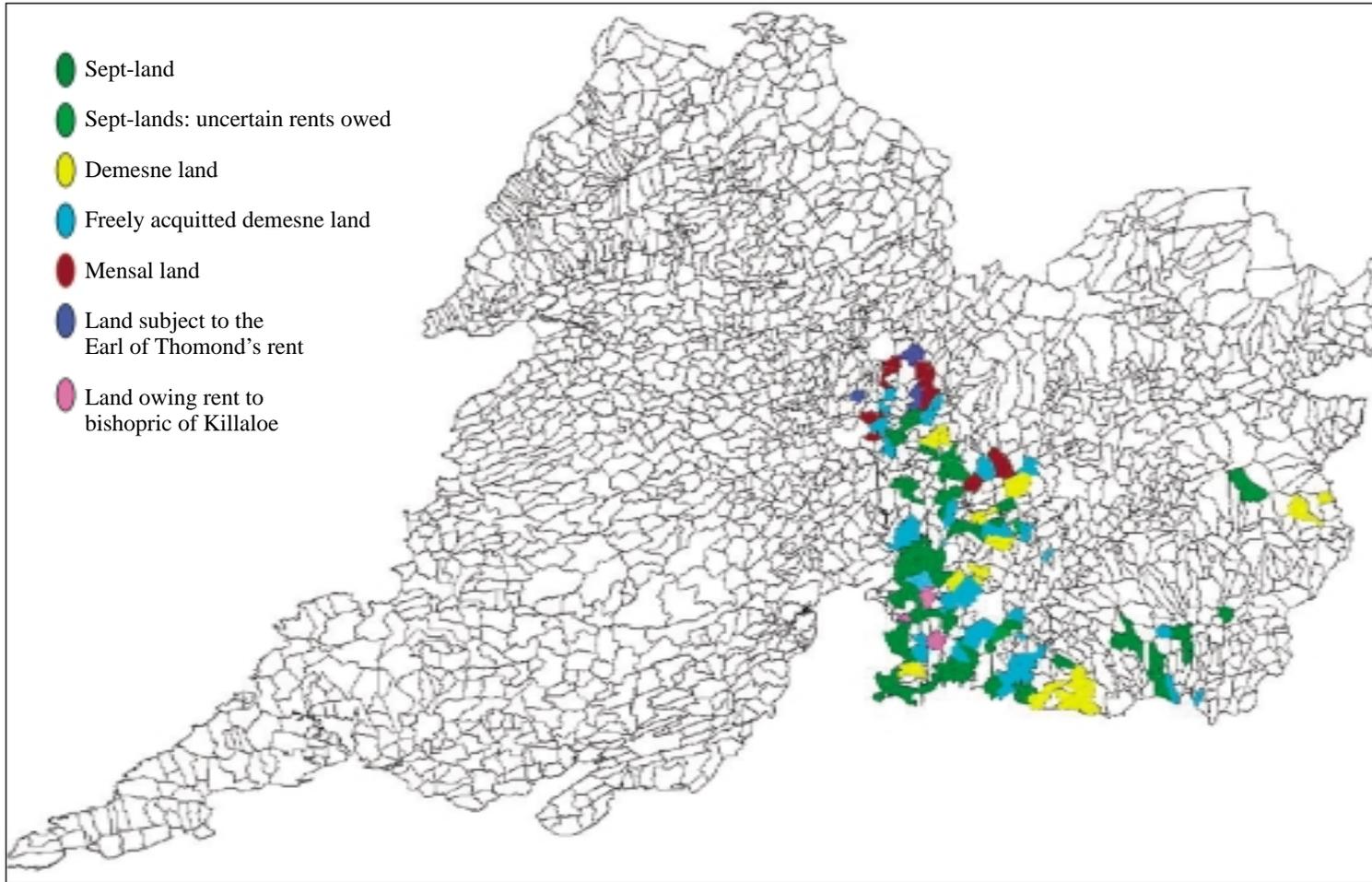
billet troops on freeholder's lands, and a tribute-collecting apparatus administered by steward-bailiffs. Also existed were different tenurial conditions for professional and *literati* families that served the administrative and status needs of the ruling McNamara *Fionn* and who transmitted their highly valued (and guarded) knowledge by hereditary means. This rested on a system of tribute and obligation to the ruling lineage, but the role of kinship as an ordering principle was important and was reflected in the naming conventions of land denominations. The inquisition is a rich source of rare information; no other surviving inquisition for sixteenth century Clare is so vivid in its detail. The chance recording of the inquisition by R.W. Twigge is testimony to his value as an antiquary and offers the local historian a unique 'window' on the sixteenth century Gaelic lordship of West *Clann Chuiléin*.

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Socio-political hierarchy of the lordship of West *Clann Chuiléin*, c.1586





Recorded lands in the 1586 inquisition that were under the **lordship** of John McNamara *Fionn*, chieftain of West *Clann Chuiléin*

Inquisition of the Court of the Exchequer held at Galway, 27 January, 28th Elizabeth (1586).

An inquisition taken at Galway the xxviiith of January Anno Dni 1585, and in the xxviii yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of god Queen of England France and Ireland defender of the fayth etc. before Sr Richard Bingham Knight Chiefe Comissioner of Connaught & Thomond Thomas Dillon Esquire Cheife Justice of the said Province and others her Majesties Comissioners appointed in that behalfe by vertue of a commission from the L. Deputie baringe date at Dublin the xiiii day of December 1585 and by the othes of these persons of the Barony of Dengeny Vigen in the County of Clare whose names hereafter ensueth here viz: -

<i>Donogh mcClanchy of the Ownlyne</i>	}	<i>Jur</i>
<i>Mahowne mcEnerhin of Ballysallaghe</i>		
<i>Sollo O Molchoyne of Ballyolchoyne</i>		
<i>Shane mcDonoghe of Carnvealle</i>		
<i>Connor mcGylleduffe of Ballynegreggy</i>		
<i>Connor mcDonnoghe of Kylbrenane</i>		
<i>Mahowne mcLoghlyne of Mylocke</i>		
<i>Donyll O Hickye of Ballyhicky</i>		
<i>Donell O mongevan of Roynannae</i>		
<i>Donnogh O meghan of Crattalloghe</i>		

<i>Ilund O Molchonre of Ardkyll</i>	}	<i>Jur</i>
<i>Shane mcEnerhine of Carriggere</i>		
<i>Rory mcDonnoghe of Corbally</i>		
<i>Mahowne mcConmarrae of Moghan</i>		
<i>Cowarrae mcShane of Ballynegewne</i>		
<i>Mahonne mcDonnoghe of Kilkysyne</i>		
<i>Shane Enloghe of Twoamenlogh</i>		
<i>Morrertaghe mcDonnoghe oge of Clonlogha</i>		
<i>Mahowne oge of Ballynecreggy</i>		
<i>Donogh O mongevane of Leamenehe</i>		

<i>Tiege O meghane of Dromconnor</i>	}	<i>Jur</i>
<i>Thomas mcEnerhine of Kyllanesowlegh</i>		
<i>Donell mcTeige of Castletonne</i>		
<i>Donyll mcClanchy of Kyllen</i>		

W^{ch} Jury by vertue of their othes said that John mcNemarrae otherwise called mcNemarra Fynn cheife of his name is lawfull and next of heire to his Father Teige mcNemarrae deceased and that the Lordship and land which belongeth to mcNemarrae was and is holden by English teanure and not by Irish custome.

W^{ch} Jury by vertue of their othes said that John mcNemarrae otherwise called mcNemarra Fynn cheife of his name is lawfull and next of heire to his Father Teige mcNemarrae deceased and that the Lordship and land which belongeth to mcNemarrae was and is holden by English teanure and not by Irish custome.

And further they saie by vertue of their othes that the said mcNemarrae and his ancestors yearly Received and tooke up the Rent and Dutye resyted and sett downe upon the quarters of land ensuinge:

First viz. the quarter of Kylbrenanbegg yearly the summe of o.xii^s iiiii^d ster.

In the q^r of Kylbrenan more o.iii^s iiiii^d.

In the ii q^rs of BallymcCahall xii^s iiiii^d.

- In the qr Kylpheelim vi^s.*
In the q^r of Dromgrannagh vi^s ster.
In the q^r of Ballycraghane vi^s ster.
In the ii qr^s of ..y...laghe xii^s iii^d.
In the quarter and a half of Ballyogane xii^s iii^d.
In the q^r of Ballynefunshen xii^s iii^d.
In the q^r of Ballycarrowlie xii^s iii^d.
In the q^r of Garroroghe xii^s iii^d.
In the ii qr^s in Dromconnor xii^s iii^d.
In the vi qr^s in Ballaly xxiii^s viii^d.
In iii qr^s in Beallycowry xii^s iii^d.
In a quarter and half in Cappagnecowly vi^s. viii^d.
In ii qr^s of Ballycaslaine nevenmanaghe vi^s viii^d.
In the ii qr^s of Fennanaghe and Ballyorly vi^s viii^d ster.
In the iii qr^s of Ballymyseonny xvii^s viii^d.
In the q^r of Cowlesamroge x^s x^d.
In the q^r of Ballycreghan begg xii^s.
In the q^r of Cahairgreddane vi^s viii^d.
In ii qr^s of Shendengen xii^s.
In the iii qr^s of Ballyvicklowne xii^s.
In iii qr^s of Cryve xii^s.
In one q^r di of Barnkyllyne v^s x^d.
In ii qr^s of Ballykyell vi^s viii^d.
In ii qr^s of Mowghan mcGyllemoyle xii^s.
In the q^r of Aghrynaghmore xii^s.
In the ii qr^s of Trowghe xii^s.
In the half q^r of Glanlonn v^s x^d.
In the q^r of Ballycarhinnegycloghe vi^s.
In the q^r of Ballycarryncrownne vi^s.
In the q^r of Ballycannan xii^s.
In the q^r of Knockynissyn xii^s.
In the ii qr^s of Glancrosse xii^s.
In Carrowegeare iii^s.
In Carrow Cloneyllen iii^s.
In the q^r of moyhi which is an Iland nere Lymbrycke the freholder whereof was always bound to maintaine and keape a Cotte or a boat upon his own pper Cost and Chardgs to ferre the said mcNemarrae and his providgion up and down the Ryver of Sheannen to such place and at such tymes as he thought good or in default of no maintaineinge the same the said Freholder to pay yearly the sum of xii^s st.
In the q^r of Kylfintenan v^s x^d.
In the iiiii qr^s of Ballyntlevae xx^s.
In the ii qr^s of Urboll xii^s.
In the v qr^s of Annaghbeg xx^s.
In the ii qr^s of Ballychonnyne xii^s.
In the ii qr^s of Ballybane xi^s viii^d.
In the q^r of Ballyglasne v^s x^d.
In the q^r of Aylodowane v^s x^d.
In Carrownenellane v^s x^d.

In the ii qr^s of Clonmannaghe xi^s viii^d.
In the ii West qr^s of Sleight Teige Dalle xiii^s iiiii^d.
In the iii qr^s of Ballycasye xxviii^s iiiii^d and viii pecks of Otts owt of the same.
In the ii qr^s of Tullaghbargae xi^s vi^d.
In the q^r of Tullaghglasse v^s x^d.
In the q^r of Kylloloe xi^s viii^d.
In the ii qr^s of Clandonyllbwy xxi^s viii^d.
In Carrowe-Ballymcneale xi^s viii^d and viii pecks of Otts.
In the quarter of Dromgoyle x^s vi^d.
Inqr^s de of Roynannaghe xxviii^s and viii pecks of Otts.
In ii qr^s of Ballyvirry xiii^s iiiii^d.
In Carrowe Lysmoyle vi^s viii^d.
In the quarter of Clynaghmore xi^s viii^d and viii pecks of Otts.
In the ii qr^s of Carrikegerre xi^s viii^d.
In the ii qr^s of Clynaghbegg xxvi^s viii^d and viii pecks of Otts.
In the quarter of Ballymcknavyne xiii^s iiiii^d.
In the q^r of Horlonn vi^s viii^d.
In the q^r of Ardberragha iiiii^s.
In the q^r of Lyssenrynke xi^s viii^d and viii pecks of Otts.
In the ii qr^s of Ballysallaghe vii^s x^d and viii pecks of Otts wherof the qr of Horlonnbege is to pay a third parte and the said Ballysallagh to answer twoe parts.
In the q^r of Augyerreragh v^s.
In the ii qr^s of Ballysallagh mcEnerhine vi^s viii^d.
In the q^r of Ballychonyllae iii^s iiiii^d.
In the quarter of Dromhollowne ii^s iiiii^d.
In the q^r of Ballygerryne v^s x^d and iiiii pecks of Otts.
In Carrowmore lattoune xi^s viii^d and viii pecks of Otts.
In the ii easte qr^s of lattoune xi^s viii^d.
In the ii quarters of Rathmollane more vi^s viii^d.
In the ii qr^s of Ballyvannowan xi^s viii^d.
In the iiiii qr^s of Glann xi^s viii^d and a certaine Chief rent to the Bysshop of Kyllalowe.
In the v qr^s of moyntervalowne xvi^s viii^d and a certaine Chief rent to the said Bysshop.

And further the said Jury by vertue of their othes saie that the qr^s of land ensuinge is the Lawfull and proper Inherytance of the said John mcNemarrae viz:
Creglie one q^r Gortmaige i q^r A. moa i qr Crattallagh Moyle and Crattallagh Keyle one q^r Portryne ii qr^s Carrowncarrae one q^r Ballymorrish ii qr^s Gortfynn i q^r Dengen ii qr^s Cnappocke iiiii qr^s Crannaghanne iii qr^s wherein the Bysshop of Kyllalowe hath Cheifly. Cullenaghe and Kyldromae i q^r Mowghane mcGyllemoyle half a quarter, Fea half a q^r Mockrishe i q^r Cappaghvickowlye q^r Ballycartlaghe i q^r Ramollune i q^r Carrownekyilly i q^r 1/4 Ballykeallyby west one q^r Inchevicknaghten i q^r di Rynnannae one q^r and Cahirshaghenis i q^r.

And further they said by vertue of their othes that the qrt^s of land followinge was subjecte to the said mcNemarras Rent and that they knowe not certaine howe much he had or oght to have in any of the said qr^s and therfor doe referr the same to the due prowfe and testimonyall of these men whose names ensure and knoweth beste how much the said Rent was viz.

First they referred the rent of the ii qrs of Carnvalle to the testimonyall of Connor Ballowe O roddan, Donagh Fynn O Mollowne, Teige O lyedane, and McEnerhine.

The ii qrs of Tawnaghe we referr to the testimoniall of Donogh mcShane and Loghlin Reoghe O roddane.

The quarter and half of Ballyhickie we referr to the testimoniall of the said Loghlin Reoghe, Rory mcDonoghe and Sorre O mulchyne.

The ii quarters of Ardkyll and Cryve to the testimoniall of Donnogh O mougevan, mcEnerhine, Donoghe O Vaghery and mcClanchy.

The ii quarters of Ballymolkree to the testimoniall of Loghlin Reoghe, Rory en Rough and Shane O hickie.

And the qr of Knockyslattre to the testimoniall of Loghlin Reoh O roddane and mcEnerhine.

And further the said Jury saie by vertue of their othes that the said mcNemarres ancestors has always towards the mariadge of every of their eldest doghters upon the whole Barrony the nomber vi^{xx} Cowes, or for every Cowe xxx^d st. in mony.

And further saie that the townes or villadgs hereafter ensuinge were bound to keape and Beare the said mcNemarres horses and boyes with sufficient horsmeate and boysmeate every Christmas and Ester when he kepte any of the said feasts at his Howse or toune of the Dengen (and not els) viz.

Ballyhickey, Tawnaghe, Carrogeare, Kilbrenanbeg, Levally, BallymcCahall, Ballycowry, Ballyaly, Dromconnor, Killeylim, Dromgrannagh, Ballycraghanmore, Moytullaghe, The qr and half of Ballyogane, Carrowbarnefunshine, Carrowenegararrowkylly, and Carrowe Ballycarrowle.

And saie that the Freholders of these qrts of land before recyted compounded to pay yearly to the said mcNemarrae and his heirs certaine pecks of otts, as before upon certaine qrs of land they are sett down, in lewe of the said Horsmeate and boyes meate which they were wont to pay as aforesaid.

And also they saie that the said mcNemarrae his kearntyes and huntessen has certain Dutys upon certaine qrs of Land in the said Barrony untyll the same and such lyke wer cott off by statute.

And saye also that every mcNemarrae had all felons goods which hapned or chaused to fall in the said Barrony and all other fynes customs and annercements that did growe from tyme to tyme within the same.

And did lykewise keape Cowrtes Barron from tyme to tyme within the said Barrony.

And also saie that the said mcNemarra hath of his own Inherytance in the towne of Qwyne the nomber of iii^{xx} tenements and gardinge plotts wherof nowe many are fallen to ruyne and decay.

And further saie by vertue of their othes that these qrs of Land ensuinge was always freely acquitted and discharged of and from all rents and demands of the said mcNemara – viz.

The q^r of Kyllyan, Dowre iii q^rs Dowarte, Ballyaly i q^r Ballymulchyne i q^r Dromlowne and Roslovan i q^r Ballydufe Clonkerry one q^r Kockasson and Knockowgh-yll one q^r Ballydassee ii q^rs Ballymally one q^r Aghliske i q^r Ballycory i q^r Corbally ii q^rs Carrownaballyheyman one q^r Carrowneglogh one q^r Carrowe Ballymarkaghan one q^r Mowgehane McTeige ii q^rs Dromcyann di q^r Keave ii q^rs Alecklewe di q^r Ardnewillane di q^r Carrowreowe i q^r Ballyvroherane i q^r Crattallagh iii q^rs Lorgae ii q^rs Kylmacoyll one q^r Ballynerneatagh iiiii q^rs and vii q^rs from Fwybaghe to Lymbrycke which is within the liberties of the same.

Rossemennaghar ii q^rs Carrowneleagan one q^r Bonratty i q^r Ballynegewne ii q^rs Ballworyertae i q^r Carrownkylley i q^r Gortereae i q^r Ballychare i q^r Clonyskribberre di q^r Dromlyne iiiii q^rs Fynaghe ii q^rs Ballycowgeaghe iii quarters Carrowbane and Carrowcloae ii q^rs Ballykeally i q^r Fynishe i q^r Ballynowskynnae iii q^rs Lyssconnoghor di q^r.

Clonloghlin i q^r belonginge to the Bysshoprycke of Kyllalowe, Kylmaliere i q^r belonging to the said Bysshoprycke, Kyllannesowlaghe i q^r belonginge to the said Bysshoprycke, Carrowdorane i q^r belonginge to the said Byssoprycke.

Anganaghe i q^r Ballynecregge iii q^rs Lyssduf iii q^rs laking the iiiiith parte of a quarter, Kylkerane i q^r manisbegg and manismore ii q^rs maddarrae ii q^rs Ballyhicky by west ii q^rs Fahyallorane i q^r Kylkysshine ii q^rs.

And further they saie by vertue of their othes that the Erl of Thomond and his ancestors had received and tooke up a yearly rent Chardge upon certaine quarters of land in the said Barrony of DengenyVygen, the names wherof with the summe of Rent due are hereafter recyted. And saie also that the said Erles ancestors upon the decrease of every mcNemarrae had and received a kind of duty called a borowe, which is a certaine number of Cowes taken by compulsory means, or for every Cowe xxx^d.

And also they saie that the said Erles ancestors had at all tymes, when and at what tyme he wold goe of a Jurny against any of his enemyse a rying owte upon the said mcNemarras Country onely of footmen, that is to say, one footman upon every q^r of Land inhabyted in the said Barrony with victuals for ii dayes but if there were to stay any longer then ii dayes, then the said Erle was not onely bound to find them meate and drincke upon his owne Chardge but also to give mcNemarrae a lyinge for every such tyme.

And was further bound to give him the third parte of all booties and spoyels which they Channed to get untyll the lyke customes were extinguished and put backe by statute.

The names of the q^rs subjected to the Erls rent Chardg viz

In Ballykeallagher xiii^s iiiii^d.

In Carroweardcarne xiii^s iiiii^d.

In one quarter in Ballyhine xiii^s iiiii^d.

In iii q^rs in Ballyally xx^s.

In every the iii q^rs of Ballycowry xiii^s.

In every the thre q^rs of BallymcCormae xiii^s.

In Ballyworyertae xiii^s iiiii^d.

In Ballywirry xiii^s iiiii^d.

In ii q^rs in Clynaghbege xiii^s iiiii^d.

In the half q^r of Illamaknavyne vii^s iiiⁱd.

In Shendengen xii^s viii^d.

In the ii q^rs of Kylkysshine ii^s viii^d.

In the q^r of Ballymarcaghan xi^s iiiⁱd.

In the half q^r of Fwybagh vii^d.

In the half q^r of mcGylleduffe viii^d.

In the half q^r of Crattallagh moyle and Crattallaghe kyle xv^s.

In the ii q^rs of Portryne ii^s viii^d.

In the iiiⁱ q^rs of Sleight donyll backaghe xvi^s viii^d.

In ii q^rs in Ballymorish ii^s viii^d and in Ballyntlevae iii^s.

In Witness wherof as well as the said Comissioners as also the said Jurors have to these presents sett their Seals the sayme yeare above wrytten.