

ACCOUNT OF SIR TOBY CAULFIELD RENDERED TO THE IRISH  
EXCHEQUER, RELATING TO THE CHATTEL PROPERTY OF THE  
EARL OF TYRONE AND OTHER FUGITIVES FROM ULSTER IN  
THE YEAR 1616. COMMUNICATED BY JAMES F. FERGUSON,  
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Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone—the principal subject of the following document,—seems to have been the victim at one time of a severe, and at another of a totally opposite course of policy. By Elizabeth, in the early part of her reign, he was the object of as much favour as was granted to any of her Irish subjects; but towards the close of her life he experienced that measure of justice which her Majesty appears to have conceived to be due to him who was, as she has expressed it, “the most ungrateful viper to us that raised him, and one that hath so often deceived us.”<sup>a</sup> By king James the Earl was confirmed in his title and estates, and his Majesty seems thereafter to have been disposed to act under the impression that conciliation would have a more salutary effect upon this chieftain than coercion, and we therefore find his deputy, Lord Mountjoy, acting under his royal master's directions, stating to Sir Henry Docwra that “wee must have a care to the publique good, and give contentment to my lord of Tyrone, upon which depends the peace and securitie of the whole kingdome.” It was soon found, however, to be a matter of some difficulty to “give contentment to my lord of Tyrone;” it was a contentment that was to be obtained by nothing less than the total overthrow of the English rule and government in Ireland. A few traces of this Earl's history may be gathered from the legal records of Ireland. The proclamation made in Ireland upon the death of Elizabeth, giving public notice of James's accession, bears among others the signature of the Earl of Tyrone, and affords evidence of his acknowledgment of James's regal power in Ireland, and of his promise to yield the last drop of his blood in his service.<sup>b</sup> The record upon which that proclamation is enrolled contains, amongst other public documents of a similar nature, one of the 20th Feb. 1604, revoking all commissions of martial law, “the country being settled and in good

<sup>a</sup> “Miscellany,” published by the Celtic Society of Dublin, p. 314.

<sup>b</sup> This proclamation has been printed in the unpublished Calendar of the Patent Rolls of the Chancery of Ireland, at p. 413.—A Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of the Irish Chancery from the year 1300, being the earliest period at which

quiet," but stating that it shall not abrogate the authority of martial law which had been given to the Earl of Tyrone and others. In reliance on the authority acquired by this instrument the Earl thought fit to hang one of Sir Henry Docwra's guides, saying in his excuse that "My lord (Mountjoy) had given him auctoritie to execute martiall lawe, and this was a knave taken robbingge a priest, and therefore worthyly put to death."

On the festival of the Holy Cross, in the autumn of the year 1607, the Earl, his Countess, and several of their children, accompanied by the Earl of Tyrconnell, his family, and many of their adherents, embarked in a vessel then lying in Lough Swilly, in Ulster, and set sail for Rome; <sup>c</sup> and thereupon proclamation was made that the King had taken into his hands all the *lands* and *goods* of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, Cowconaght Oge Magwire,<sup>d</sup> and their other fellow-fugitives, and that he would preserve in their estates and protect all the inhabitants of those counties who held under the persons who had thus forfeited.<sup>e</sup> These *lands* were granted to the London Companies and to others, and the *goods* to which the proclamation refers, as well as the rents and revenues of the fugitives, form the subject of the following record.

The extent of the landed estates anciently possessed by the O'Neils and their adherents has been made known to us by the Irish Record Reports. The record now produced conveys some intimation of the nature and amount of their personal property.

they commence, to the end of Henry the Eighth's reign, has been published. That of James the First's reign has been printed but not published. It is much to be desired that the Patent Rolls of the period intervening between the end of Henry the Eighth's and the beginning of James the First's reigns should be laid before the public.

<sup>c</sup> Tyrone died at Rome on the 28th July, 1608: and Tyrconnell in the same city on the 20th July, 1616.

<sup>d</sup> Cuconnaught Oge Maguire, (who had succeeded to the lordship of Fermanagh on his brother Hugh Maguire being killed in a duel by Sir Warham St. Leger,) died at Genoa on the 12th of August, 1608. See the encomium upon him in the Annals of the Four Masters, p. 2367, where the Editor has appended a pedigree of his descendants, now reduced to poverty.

<sup>e</sup> Proclamation made at Rathfarnham, near Dublin, on the 7th Sept. 1607, wherein it is stated that, notwithstanding the sudden departure of the Earl of Tyrone, &c. lately embarked at Lough Swilly, the inhabitants of Tyrone and Tyrconnell shall not be disturbed in the peaceable possession of their lands, so long as they demean themselves as dutiful subjects.—Calendar to Patent Rolls of the Irish Chancery, temp. James I., p. 419.

TRANSCRIPT OF AN INROLMENT UPON THE REMEMBRANCE ROLL  
 “EX PARTE CAPITALIS REMEMORATORIS” OF THE EXCHEQUER  
 OF IRELAND OF THE 8TH YEAR OF JAMES THE FIRST, HILARY  
 TERM, 1610, MEMBRANE 79.

TIRONE, ARMAGH, COLRANE.

(Inrolment of foreign account at the request of Sir Tobie  
 Calfield, Knight.)

The accompt of Sir Thobie Calfield, Knt. for all suche some  
 and somes of money as have come to his handes and are anye  
 waye chargable uppon him for all maner of rents whatsoever  
 paiabil in monye, corne, and other pvisions and victuells in the  
 Counties of Tirone, Armaghe, and Colrane for the eascheated  
 landes fallen to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> by the attainder of the troytor thearle  
 of Tirone, aswell for a remainder of the sayde rents due for half  
 a yeare ended at Holontide 1607, left untaken up by the said  
 traitor at the tyme of his flight, as also for the growinge rents of  
 the sayd landes for three whole yeares beginnyng at Holontide  
 aforesaide 1607 and ended at the same feaste 1610, from which  
 tyme the sayd Sir Tobias hath given up his charge of receipts in  
 regard the said eascheated lands are graunted away from his  
 Ma<sup>tie</sup> free from paying eanie rents for fower yeares then next  
 ensuing; as likewise for the goodes of the said traitor and other  
 ffugitives that went with him, whiche were seised on by this  
 accomptant, to his highnes use, and for a ffyne ymposed one the  
 said Counties of Tirone and Armagh for the releivinge of traitors  
 after the revolt of Odoghortie,<sup>f</sup> whiche was levied by this ac-  
 comptant together with the yssue and paym<sup>t</sup> of pte therof, and  
 the remaynder restinge in this accomptant's hands on this ac-  
 compte to be paide to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> use, the p<sup>t</sup>iculers wherof here-  
 after doe ensue.

Before the charge of this accompt be examined, consideraçon  
 is to be had of the manner of the charge of those Irish rents and  
 duties, which are as followe:—

<sup>f</sup> Sir Cahir O'Doherty: see hereafter, p. 87.

First,<sup>e</sup> there was no certeine portion of lande sett by the traitor Tirone to any of his tenants that payed him rente.

Secondlie, suche rents as he reserved were paid to him ptellie in money and ptellie in pvisions of victuells, as oates, oatmele, butter, hogges, and muttons.

Thirdlye, the money rents that were so reserved were chargeable on all the cowes that were milche or in calfe which grazed on his lands, after the rate of xijd. a quarter le peece, w<sup>ch</sup> cowes were to be numbred but twise in the yeare by Tirone's officers, viz. at May and Halontide, and so the rents were levyed and taken up at the sayd rate for all the cowes that were so numbred, except onlye the heads and principall men of the Creats,<sup>f</sup> who, in regarde of theire inablinge to live better then the comon multitude under them whome they caused willinglye to paye the said rente, were usuallye allowed a fowerth<sup>g</sup> pte of the whole rents, w<sup>ch</sup> rise to dccli. Irish every yeare, ore there abouts, *communibus annis*, which they deteyned on theare owne hands by direccon from the lo. deputy, and so was neaver receaved. And for the butter and other victuelinge pvisions they were onlye payed by suche as they tearmed horsmen, called the Quynnes, Hangans, Donelands, and Devlins, which were rather at the discreation of the givers, who strove who should give most to gaine Tiron's favor then for any due claime he had to demaunde the same.

Fourthlie, all the cowes for w<sup>ch</sup> those rents are to be levied must be counted at one daie in the whole country, which re-

\* It is probable that the Brehon was the only law then of force in Ulster: if so, it does not seem to have recognised "fixity of tenure," "tenant right," and such like.

<sup>f</sup> *Creaghts*. This appears to have been a term not only applied to the herdsmen or care-takers of the droves of cattle, which formed the chief part of the wealth of the Irish chief, but to the cattle also. In a proclamation of General Ginkel's, in Story's "Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland," page 162, it is directed "that all persons, whether known by the name of rapparees, volunteers, creights, or others, shall return quietly to their respective parishes," &c.; and in the same work, at page 16, the same word is again thus described: "and some call them creaghts, from the little huts they build so conveniently with hurdles and long turf, that they can remove them in summer towards the mountains, and bring them down to the vallies in winter."

<sup>g</sup> The "money rents" received by the accountant for one year exceeded 2000*l.* and the one-fourth which was allowed to the principal men of the creaghts would amount, as he has stated, *communibus annis*, to about 700*l.*

quired much travell and labor, and many men to be put in trust with that accompte, so as that cuntry, which is replenished with woods, doe greatlie advantage the tenaunts that are to paie their rents to rid awaie their cowes from that reckoning,<sup>h</sup> and also to suche overseers to be corrupted by the tenants to mitigate their rents by lesseninge the true number of their cattle, whiche must needes be conceived they will all indevor to the uttermost, beinge men as it were without conscience, and of poore estate, apt to be corrupted for smale bribes, w<sup>ch</sup> they maye the more easilie doe in regarde that the bordering lordes adjoyninge are ready to shelter their cowes that should paie those rents whereby they may pcure those tennants to live under them.

Fyfylie, this rente is uncertaine because by the custome of the cuntry the tenants may remove from one lo. to another everye halfe yeare, as usuallie they doe, w<sup>ch</sup> custome is allowed by authority from the state.

In consideration of w<sup>ch</sup> pmiss this accomptaunt, desirous to understande what course he shoulde holde in collecting and levyinge the said rents and duties, acquainted the right ho<sup>ble</sup> the lo. dep<sup>tie</sup> therew<sup>th</sup>, who wished him not to inovate any manner of collecting or gathering the said rents, or to laye any heavier burdens or impositions on the tenants then were imposed on them formlye by Tyrone; but that he should make it appeare unto them that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> would be better and more gracious landlord to them in all respectes then Tyrone was or could be, and directed this accomptant to pccede in his charge of collecting the said rents till his Ma<sup>tie</sup> did otherwise dispose of them, w<sup>ch</sup> hetherto he hath don with his best abilitye, both for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> benefitt and the quiett and ease of those subjects, as by the accompt heareafter declared more playnlye doeth appeare.

First, the saide accomptant is to be charged with all suche

<sup>h</sup> In this expression, "to rid awaie their cowes from that reckoning," we discover one of the many expedients by which the native Irish were wont to avoid the payment of their rent. It is shewn by the record set forth in the text that the rent payable to O'Neil by his tenants, as an equivalent for the use and occupation of his land, was for the most part paid to him in cattle, and it also thereby appears to have been the custom of the country to make a demand of this rent from the tenants at two stated periods of the year; upon which occasions they drove their cattle from the territory of that chieftain to whom the rent was due, to the land of "a bordering lorde," for the purpose of avoiding the fulfilment of their engagements.

some of ready money as have come to his hands and are otherwise chargeable upon him for the casual rents of the escheated lands come to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> as before, in the said counties of Tyrone, Armagh, et Colrane, viz.—

Money received:—

For the remaine of the rentes due for halfe a yeare ended at Halontide, 1607, w<sup>ch</sup> were lefte unlevied by the traitor Tirone at the tyme of his flight . . . . ccxlvij li. iij s. vj d. Irish.

Also for rents by him received for the said landes and otherwise chargeable on him for a whole yeare ended at Halontide 1608 . . . . . m<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup>cij li. ix s. viij d. Irish.

For the like rents by him received and otherwise chargeable on him for a whole yeare ended at Halontide 1609

m<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup>vijclxij li. xvj s. xd. Irish.

And also for the said rents by him received and otherwise chargeable on him for a whole yeare ended at Holantide 1610, from which tyme this accomptant hath given up his charge of the said receipts . . . . . m<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup>vijclxvij li. xvs. vj d.

In all amountinge, in currant monye of Ireland, to the some of . . . . . vijm<sup>l</sup>clxj li. vj s. vj d.

Dutye butters, oats, meale, muttuns, and hogges received out of the said lands, viz.—

Also he is to be charged with the price of dutie butters, oates, meale, and muttuns and hogges by him received during the three yeares aforesaide out of the pfitts of the said eascheated lands, viz.—

Butters, w<sup>ch</sup> were so ill made after the cuntry manner as they were scarce worth any money, yet were they sold att the rate of xvs. a barrell, viz. xxx. tonne ore thereabouts, w<sup>ch</sup>, at vj li. ster. a tonne, cometh to . . . . . clxxx li. ster.

Oates received in the same tyme for the like duties, aboute 300 barrells at vij d. ster. a barrell . . . . . x li. ster.

Oatmeale also received in the said tyme brought in raskans w<sup>ch</sup> were ccxl. making by estimacon cxx. barrells at iij s. ster. the barrell . . . . . xvij li. ster.

Muttuns received in the sayd tyme, 300 at ij s. ster. a peece  
xxx li. ster.

Hogges likewise receaved in the said tyme lxxij. at iij s. ster.  
a peece . . . . . x li. xvj s.

In all ccxlviiij li. xvj s. sterling, faç Irishe

cccxxxj li. xiiij s. viij d.

Certeine goods of the traitor Tyrone and other fugitives that  
were w<sup>th</sup> him, seised on by this accomptant and disposed by  
him by direcçon after the flight of the said trator, w<sup>ch</sup> were  
valued at the sevall rates within written as followeth, viz.—

And further he is to be charged with the price of the goods of  
divers fugitives that ran away with the traitor Tirone, viz.—

Of the goodes that belonged to the COUNTESSE of

TIRONE, viz.—

Cowes xxxij. wherof xij. were claymed by Nicholas Weston  
and James McGyns<sup>i</sup> were restored by the lo. dep<sup>ts</sup> warrant, so  
rcm̃ xx. rated at xv s. a peece . . . . . xv li.

Plough mares with coltes, v. at xl s. a peece . . . . . x li.

Ten heifers at x s. a peece . . . . . c s.

One garron . . . . . xxxij s. iiij d.

Steires, ij. at xij s. iiij d. a peece . . . . . xxvj s. viij d.

Calves, xij. at iij s. a peece . . . . . liij s.

Sheepe, w<sup>ch</sup> all dyed and yealded nothing . . . . . nil.

In all . . . . . xxxv li. xij s.

THEARLE of TYRONE's goods, viz.—

Smale stiers, ix. at xs. . . . . iiij li. xs.

lx. hogges at ij s. vj d. . . . . viij li. xs.

Two long tables xs. ij long formes vs., an old hedsted iij s.  
an old trunk iij s., a long stoole xij d., viij. hogsheads xij s., diñ  
c<sup>th</sup> hoppes xxx s., iij. hogsheads of salt xxvij s. vj d.; all valued at  
iiij li. xij s. vj d.

A silke jackett . . . . . xiiij s. iiij d.

Eight vessells of butter conteyning iij. barrells diñ lxvij s. vj d.

ij. iron spitte . . . . . ij s.

A powdring tubbe . . . . . vj d.

Two old chestes . . . . . iiij s.

A frying pan and a dripping pan . . . . . iij s.

Five pewter dishes . . . . . vs.

<sup>i</sup> i. e. Magennis. The Countess was Catharine Magennis.

A baskett ij d., a combe and a combe case xvij d.	xx d.
Two dosen of trenchers and a baskett . . . . .	x d.
ij. pbarr ferris . . . . .	vj s.
A box and two drinking glasses . . . . .	xv d.
A trunke, j. paire of red taffata curtens, j. other paire of greene satten curtens . . . . .	iiij li. vs.
A brasse kettle . . . . .	vij s. vj d.
A payer of covyrons . . . . .	vs.
Two basketts with certaine broken earthen dishes and some wast spices . . . . .	ij s.
Dim pounce of white and blew stanche . . . . .	iiij d.
A vessell with ij. gallons of vineger . . . . .	ij s.
xvij. pewter dishes . . . . .	xv s.
iiij. glasse hottells . . . . .	xvij d.
ij. stone jugges, whereof on broken . . . . .	vj d.
A litle iron pott . . . . .	xvij d.
A greate spitt . . . . .	xvij d.
vj. garrons at xxx s. a peece . . . . .	ix li.
xix. stud mares, wherof two were claymed by Nicholas Weston, which were restored him by warrant, being pved to be his owne, and so remayneth xvij. wherof ten rated at 1 s. a peece, xxv li., and vij. at xl s. a peece, xiiij li.; in all . . . . .	
xxxix li.	
Working mares vj. whereof claimed by Nicholas Weston one, and by Laghlen Ohagan j., w <sup>ch</sup> they pved to be there owne, and were restored by warrant, and so rem <sup>d</sup> 4 at xxx s. a pece . . . . .	
vj li.	
Coltes of a yeare olde, at xx s. a peece, ix. . . . .	ix li.
Younge colts newlye foled, xvij. at ten shillings a peece . . . . .	ix li.
xx. field cockes of wheate, by estimacon 30 barr, at v s. a barr . . . . .	vij li. x s.
In all . . . . .	cviij li. xj s. xj d.

## MURTOGHE QUYNNE's goods, viz.—

One hacknye . . . . .	xl s.
One garron . . . . .	xxvj s. viij d.
xxvij. cowes at xv s. . . . .	xxj li.
xiiij. calves a iiij s. . . . .	lvj s.
ij. steires . . . . .	xl s.
xxiiij. sheepe at xvij d. . . . .	xxxvj s.
lx. swine at ij s. vj d. . . . .	vij li. x s.
In all . . . . .	xxxviij li. viij s. viij d.



## SHANE OHAGAN's goods, viz.—

Cowes, 20 at xv s.	xv li.
vj. garrons at xxvj s. viij d.	viij li.
xxxviij. sheepe at xvij d.	lvij s.
xxxv. swine at ij s. vj d.	iiij li. vij s. vj d.
Barly, ix. cleves at xij d. a peece	ix s.
Butter, xx li. w3t. at j d. a pound	xx d.
A horse loade of butter conteining by estimation cxxiiij. w3t.	
at j d. the ( <i>blank</i> )	xv s.
An old chest	xij d.
4 payer of yron handelocks at xvj d. a paire	v s. iiij d.
4 olde calivers, at ij s. vj d. a peece	x s.
ij. old headpecce at ij s. viij d. a peece	v s. iiij d.
ij. targates at iij s. iiij d. le peece	vj s. viij d.
A melting ladle	iiij d.
ij. old capcases	xviij d.
A small brasse kettell	vij s.
An old sword	ij s. vj d.
An Irishe harpe	x s.
In all	xxxiiij li. xix s. ix d.

## TEIG O'KENAN's goods, viz.—

xv. cowes at xv s.	xj li. v s.
Calves, viij. at iiij s.	xxxij s.
One garron	xxvj s. viij d.
One hackney	xl s.
40 sheepe at xvij d.	lx s.
Swyne, 25 at ij s. vj d.	lxij s. vj d.
In all	xxij li. vj s. ij d.

## HENRY HAGAN's goods, viz.—

One garron	xxvj s. viij d.
vj. cowes	iiij li. x s.
Two calves	viij s.
xxtie sheepe	xxx s.
In all	vij li. xiiij s. viij d.



20 hogsheds of baie salt at viij s. a hogshed . . .	viij li.
j. brasse pott . . . . .	vj s.
j. brewing copper kettell . . . . .	xx s.
j. smalle yron kettle . . . . .	iiij s.
2 payer of sheetes . . . . .	xs.
In all . . . . .	iiij <sup>xx</sup> li. iiij s. x d.

## ARTE OGE O'NEALES goods, viz.—

xvj. cowes . . . . .	xij li.
iiij. calves . . . . .	xvj s.
ij. stud mares with colts, at xl s. a peece . . .	iiij li. xs.
Working mares with colts, xxxv s. a peece . . .	lxx s.
vj. swyne . . . . .	xv s.
j. barrell of butter, by estim . . . . .	xv s.
In all . . . . .	xxij li. vj s.

## HENRY HOVENDEN'S goods, viz.—

xvij. cowes . . . . .	xij li. xv s.
ij. steeres . . . . .	xxvj s. viij d.
10 calves . . . . .	xl s.
ij. mares with colts, at xl s. a pece . . . . .	iiij li.
ij. garrans . . . . .	liij s. iiij d.
ij. coltes, at a yeare and dī, at xx s. . . . .	xl s.
ij. other mares and a garron, at xxvj s. viij d. . .	iiij li.
32 sheepe, at xvij d. . . . .	xlviij s.
liij. swyne . . . . .	ciiij s.
A greate kettle . . . . .	xs.
A litle kettle . . . . .	v s.
An iron trevett . . . . .	xvj d.
An yron candlestick . . . . .	xij d.
Butter, by estim 2 barī, at xv s. . . . .	xxx s.
ij. small salmon netts . . . . .	xiiij s. viij d.
vijj. olde calivers . . . . .	xx s.
ij. olde swordes . . . . .	v s.
In all . . . . .	xl li. xiiij s.

Also for the price of 7 cowes taken up from Patrick Welshe, w<sup>ch</sup> belonged to his sonne in lawe that fled with Tyrone . . . cv s.

All which goodes of the ffugitives aforesaid amount to the  
some of iiij<sup>o</sup>xiiij li. x s. steř, fač Irish . . . . .<sup>1</sup>

A fine imposed on the inhabitants of the Countē of Tyrone  
and Armagh for releiving traitors:—

And lastlye the said accomptant is to be charged with so  
muche by him levyed and taken up from thinhabitants of the  
Counties of Tirone and Armagh in the yeare ended at Michmas  
1609, for releiving of certeine traitors adherents of Odogherties,  
after the killing of the traytor, for a ffine imposed on them by  
the right ho<sup>ble</sup> the lo. deputie and counsell, two hundreth pounds  
steř, fač Irishe . . . . . cclxvj li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Soñ of all the charge and receipts aforesaid, viz.—In

Casuall rents of the sayd escheated lands

viiij<sup>mil</sup>clxj li. vj s. vj d.

Butters, oates, meale, muttons, and [hogges] receaved by this  
accompt<sup>t</sup> for duties rated . . . . . cccxxxj li. xiiij s. viij d.

The goods of the traitor Tyrone and other fugitives that were  
w<sup>th</sup> him, receved by this accompt<sup>t</sup> and valued at . . . . . Dlj li. vj s.

A ffine imposed on thinhabitants of the Counties of Tirone  
and Armagh for releiving of traitors . . . . . cclxvj li. xiiij s. iiij d.

In all . . . . . ix<sup>mil</sup>cccxj li. xiiij d.

Remittals and abatem<sup>t</sup> of Rents, viz.—

The sayd accomptant prayeth to be allowed the sevall somes  
of money hereafter expressed, viz. for—

First the sayd accomptant prayeth to be allowed the sevall  
somes of money hereafter expressed, w<sup>ch</sup> were by him remitted  
and given away by speciall warrant and directions of the right  
ho<sup>ble</sup> the lo. deputie to the psons undernamed, being principall  
gent. of the cuntry, out of the rents w<sup>ch</sup> they were to paie to his  
Matie for pte of the foresaid escheated and attainted lands, pte lie  
to content them after the flight of the traitor Tirone, and tel ye  
also at the revolte of the traitor Odogherty, whereby they were

<sup>1</sup> The sum in Irish money is here omitted from the record. It ought to have  
been 551*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

drawne to live more peaceably and subject to his Maties lawes, by whose powers and credicts in the cuntry the sworde men and yll disposed psons there (who were abundant in those cuntries) were kept back from manye outrages that they were ready and inclinable unto in those daungerous times, viz. to—

Capten Tirlagh O'Neale, his brother Neile O'Neale, for the rent of the castell of Newton, towne of Strabane, v. ballybetaghs of land, w<sup>th</sup> the rents of so manye tenants as fed 600 cowes on the said lande, w<sup>ch</sup> formlye payd rent to his Mat<sup>ie</sup> and was remitted unto him, viz. for two yeares beginn from Halontide 1608, being after the revolt and killinge of the traitor O'Dogherty,<sup>k</sup> and ended at Halontide 1610, at cxx li. ster p anñm  
ccxl li. ster.

Sir Cormack M<sup>c</sup>Baron,<sup>l</sup> for so muche remitted in pte of his rente due to his Mat<sup>ie</sup> for ij. yeares ended at Halontide 1609, towards the paym<sup>t</sup> of his charges in the castle of Dublin, and to helpe to beare his charges into England, as also to the ladye his wife, after his departure, for their releif . . . . . iiij<sup>xx</sup> li. ster.

Brian Crossagh O'Neale, sonne to the said Sir Cornuck, being a younge man verye like to have joyned with Odoghertie, who, by his birth and estimation, was able to drawe a great many of idle fellowes after him to comitt villeny; and therefore he had bestowed on him, the better to content him, the rents of one ballybetaghe of lande, w<sup>ch</sup> yelded xli. p anñ from the tenants, for two yeares ended at Halontide 1610, wherby he was retained in dutifull obedience . . . . . iiij<sup>xx</sup> li. ster.

The said Sir Cormuck's lady allowed the rent of cxx<sup>tie</sup> cowes for ij. yeares ended at Halontide 1610 . . . . . lvij li. ster.

Henry M<sup>c</sup>Shane O'Neale, beinge a principall man of that name, allowed the rent of 200 cowes at xli. p anñ for two yeares ended at Halontide 1610 . . . . . iiij<sup>xx</sup> li. ster.

Con M<sup>c</sup>Shane O'Neale, brother to the said Henry, allowed to drawe so many tenants to him that payed xx li. p anñ for

<sup>k</sup> The king's forces under Sir Robert Wingfield, chief marshal of Ireland, and Sir Oliver Lambart, encountered Sir Cahir O'Doherty under the rock of Doon, near Kilmacrenan, co. Donegal, and he was there slain. This occurred on the 5th July, 1608, according to an inquisition quoted in a note to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 2363, but the annalist himself says the 18th of the same month.

<sup>l</sup> Cormac mac Baron was a brother of the Earl of Tyrone.

theire cowes on pte of the said lands for the said ij. yeares

xl li. steř.

Art M<sup>e</sup>Baron O'Neale, an abatem<sup>t</sup> of three ptes of his rents of iiij<sup>xx</sup> li. p anñ for the said ij. yeares . . . . . cxx li.

Con M<sup>e</sup>Tirlagh O'Neale and his three brothers, an abatem<sup>t</sup> of 40 li. p anñ, being ij. third partes of their rents, viz. for the said ij. yeare . . . . . iiij<sup>xx</sup> li. steř.

Hugh M<sup>e</sup>Shane O'Neale, his brother and kinsemen, and to Phelim M<sup>e</sup>Cormack Toole O'Neale and his kinsmen, in consideraçon of taking of Shane Carrght, brother to O'Callane, cheif rebell next Odoghertie, remitted theire rents for ij. yeares ended at Halontide 1610, at xx li. p anñ . . . . . xl li. steř.

Donnell O'Neale and his three sonnes, in regarde of theire fidelity in the tyme of Odoghertie, remitted their rents at xx li. p anñ for the sayd two yeares . . . . . xl li.

Cap<sup>en</sup> O'Cor remitted the rent of l. cowes for 3 yeares ended at Hallontide 1610, in regarde that he had much credit among the swords men and was a principall leader in Tirone's rebellion, and yet did behave him selfe very dutefully after the flight of Tirone, and in Odogherties rebellion, and did then and ever since pforme good service by intelligeñ, at x li. p anñ

xxx li. steř.

Mary O'Neale, daughter to Sir Cormuck M<sup>e</sup>Baron, freedome for the rent of 50 cowes for ij. yeares ended at Hallontide 1610, at x li. p anñ . . . . . xxx li. steř.

Cowconoght Odevan, fredom for 50 cowes for two yeares ended at Halontide 1610, for his maintenance in the colledge at Dublin, the better to incorage others to conforme them selves in civillitye and religion, at x li. p anñ . . . . . xx li. steř.

Shane O'Donell, for the like consideraçon and the same tyme at the sayd rate . . . . . xx li. steř.

Owen M<sup>e</sup>Iyor the like . . . . . xx li. steř.

Rory M<sup>e</sup>Crely the like . . . . . xx li. ster.

Donnell Oge O'Conry, sonne to Donnell O'Conry, the like

xx li. steř.

Tirlagh O'Gormly, for the like remittall in regarde of his faithfull service at the rebellion of Odoghertye, at x li. p anñ for ij. yeares ended at Halontide 1610 . . . . . xx li.

Jenkyn O'Devyn, for the like service, the like remittall

xx li. steř.

The lands of Clonawlie, in the countye of Armaghe, being found for the lo. primate on the office taken for the said attainted lands before the right ho<sup>b</sup>le the lo. deputy, were assigned over to him for 3 halfe yeares ended at Halontide 1610, here demaunded in allowance because it is pcell of the charge aforesaid, at xl li. p añ . . . . . iiij<sup>xx</sup> xli. steř.

The rent of the baronie of the Maugherye in the countie of Colrane, being given to the Londoners for this last halfe yeare ended at Halontide 1610, here demaunded in allowance, being pcell of the former charge . . . . . cli. steř.

In all remitted in rents as before pticulerlye appeareth, m<sup>c</sup>ccxlvij li. steř, fač Irishe . . . . . m<sup>v</sup>j<sup>l</sup>xiiij li. Iř.

Soldiors raised for extraordinary service upon the flight of the traitor Tirone, and the revolt of the traitor Odoghertye, payed out of the duty victuells and ffugitives' goods before charged, viz. by—

Capten Edmond Leighe, deceased, late high sherif of the county of Tyrone, for the paie of xxtie warders putt into the castle of Dunganon immediatlye after the flight of Tirone, viz. for 42 dais ended the vj. of November 1607, at vj d. steř le peece . . . . . xxj li. steř.

Sir Thomas Phillipps for a warde of xij. men w<sup>ch</sup> he put into Logheinsshellin about the same tyme by the lo. deputies direccon, at vj d. le peece p diem, for 90 daies ended at January 1607 . . . . . xxvij li. steř.

Patrick Crelic, for the paie of eight men put into the forte of Pontderune by his lo. p<sup>s</sup>ent direccon, viz. for c. dayes ended in Februarye 1607, at vj d. le pece p diem . . . . . xx li. steř.

Sir Tobias Calfield, knight, for the paie of 8 men putt into Maghirlecowe by like direction, for 120 daies ended in February 1607, at the like rates . . . . . xxiiij li. steř.

Patrick Cartan, for the paie of 20 kerne w<sup>ch</sup> he commaunded by the lo. dep<sup>ts</sup> direction to psecute Brian M<sup>c</sup>Art's sonne and Arden M<sup>c</sup>Collo O'Hanlon, who went into accon of rebellion presently after the flight of Tyrone, for 91 dayes ended in February 1607, at iiij d. le peece p diem . . . . . xxx li. vj s. viij d. steř.

Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Cawell and Laughlen O'Hagan, for the paie of 40

men in Bonaght,<sup>m</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> they raised and employed at and about Dungannon upon the revolt of the traitor Odoghertye, where they remayned for defence of those ptes, and to conduct victuells to the army in Tireconell, viz. for 90 daies ended in September 1608, at 4 d. le pece p diem . . . . . lx li. steř.

Neile Offlagan and Fardorogh O'Hanlon, for the paie of 40 men by them levyed by the lo. deputies direction to psecute Patrick Oge O'Hanlon and Arden McCollo, two notable traitors, who, with their adherents, comitted many outrages in killing, burning, and spoyling in the cuntries of Tyrone and Armagh, viz. for 74 daies ended in January 1609, at iiij d. le pece p diem  
xlix li. vj s. viij d.

In all cclv li. xiijs. iiij d. steř, fač Irishe cccxl li. xvij s. ix d.

#### Works and fortifications:—

Paid also by this accomptant for the victueling of two men that wrought in making the bridges at Charlem<sup>t</sup>, and other workes about the forte, for 90 daies in Maye, June, and Julye, 1609, at iiij d. le pecee p diem . . . . . iiij<sup>xx</sup> li.

Dieting for Irishe soldiours sent into Sweden,<sup>n</sup> paid out of the duty victuells and ffugitives' goods, viz.—

Also paide by this accomptant for the victuelling of certeine men taken up in the counties of Tyrone and Armagh in the somers 1609 and 1610, viz.—

<sup>m</sup> "Bonaght was an exaction imposed at the pleasure of the lord for maintenance of his horsemen, his foot called galloglasses, and his other light-armed foot called kerns, and these soldiers . . . were sometimes called Bonaghts."—(Harris's Ware's Antiquities, p. 74.) This payment or exaction is more properly called Bonaghtie.

<sup>n</sup> Upon the Remembrance Roll, *ex parte capitalis rememoratoris*, of the Irish Exchequer, anno 15 Jac. I. mem. 35, there is enrolled a grant made to Captain John Sanford and his heirs of certain mountain lands, bogs, and woods, in the province of Ulster, "in consideration of his absence during the distribution of the escheated lands in Ulster, in consequence of which no portion was assigned to him, he being then engaged in conducting the loose kerne and swordsmen of that province to the service of the King of Sweden, disburthening the country by that means of many turbulent and disaffected persons, who would otherwise have troubled the peace." A payment of 800*l.* was made from the revenue of England "towards the charge for apparel, victuals, and other necessities for a certain number of soldiers levied out of Ireland for the service of the King of Sweden," by an order of the 25th February, 1609. *Issues of the Exchequer*, by Frederick Devon, Esq.



For the dyett of 80 of the said soldiors taken up in somer 1609, for 16 daies, during w<sup>ch</sup> tyme they were kept in prison at Dunganon and Armagh and Charlemount till they were sent awaye, at iiij d. le peece p diem . . . . . xxj li. vjs. viij d.

Also for the dyett of 72 of the said men taken up in somer 1610, w<sup>ch</sup> were kept in prison at Armagh for 18 daies till they were sent away, at iiij d. le peece p diem . . . . . viij li. ijs.

In all, xxix li. viij s. viij d. steř, facieñ Irishe

xxxix li. iiij s. xd. ob.

Part of the fugitives' goods before charged in this accompt given away and disposed of ptely by warrants and directions of the right ho<sup>ble</sup> the lo. deputy and counsell, and ptlye by his lo<sup>ps</sup> direction as for the considerations w<sup>thin</sup> mentioned and expressed, viz.—

Sir Tobias Calfield, knight, to whom the goods that belong to the Countesse of Tirone were given by the right ho<sup>ble</sup> the lo. dep<sup>tie</sup>, in consideration that the said Sir Tobias kept Conne O'Neale, sonne to the said Earle, for 3 yeares ended at Michmas last 1610, and founde him meate and drinke, and therfore heere demaunded in allowance at the rates before charged for them in his accompt, being . . . . . xxxv li. xij s. steř.

Also delived to the wife of Teig O'Kena, at the request of the Earle of Thomond, to whome shee is allied, in consideration that the said earle alleged that the said Teig sent him intelligence of importance from beyond the seas, all her husband's goodes w<sup>ch</sup> before are charged in this accompt, and so heere allowed at

xxij li. vjs. viij d. steř.

To Henry McShane O'Neale, a principall man of that name, to relive his poore estate, out of the goodes of Shane O'Hagan, so muche as are valued at . . . . . xx li. steř.

To Henry Hovenden's wife and children for her reliefe, and to mainetaine her children at schoole, all her husband's goods, for w<sup>ch</sup> only payed 20 mks steř, the whole being valued at 40 li. xiiij s. steř, and before charged in this accompt, so as shee is allowed clerely of the said goods, by vertue of a concordatum of the right ho<sup>ble</sup> the lo. dep<sup>tie</sup> and counsell dated the 21 of September 1609, w<sup>ch</sup> is here allowed, the some of

xxvij li. vijs. iiij d. steř.

To Laghlen O'Hagan, given so muche of his brother's goods

as were valued at lxxix s. ix d. steř, in consideration that the cunstableship of Dunganon was taken from him,

lxxix s. ix d. steř.

To Murtoogh O'Quin's wife, given so muche of her husband's goods to relieve her as amounted to xij li. viij s. viij d. steř.

Also given to the Spainard's wife and children, all her husband's goods for their releife, w<sup>ch</sup> are valued and before charged at . . . . . cxij s. steř.

Also given to Henry Hagan's wife and children, all her husband's goods, at the suite of her ffather, Sir Ogh O'Hanlon, when he surrendered all his lands to the kinge, w<sup>ch</sup> are before charged and here allowed at . . . . . vij li. xiiij s. viij d. steř.

Also given Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Vaghes goods to his wife and children for their releife, before charged and heere allowed at xxxiiij s.

Also given to the Lady Pawlett, wife to Sir George Pawlett<sup>o</sup> deceased, in regard of her miserable estate after the death of her husband, certeine goods of the traitor John Bathe w<sup>ch</sup> rested in his possession till his death, and are pcell of the goods before charged in this accompt, as amounted to the some of lx li. steř.

Also the goods of Arte Oge O'Neale, being formerly given by him to his three children before his flight, was, on their humble suite to the right ho<sup>ble</sup> the lo. deputye, restored to them for their releife by his lo<sup>ps</sup> direction, therefore here allowed at the rates they are before charged, beinge . . . . . xxij li. vj s. steř.

To John Cornwall, subshreiffe of Tyrone at the tyme when the earle fled, given to him out of Tyrone's goodes, in regarde of his greate travell and paines then taken for his Ma<sup>ty</sup> service, so muche as wee valued at . . . . . x li. steř.

To Brian M<sup>c</sup>Neale, ensigne to Sir Henry Oge O'Neale, in regarde of mony he receaved when his capten was killed, out of the fugitives' goodes, the value of . . . . . vj li. steř.

Also given for the reliefe of Art Oges sonnes and Oghy Oge O'Hanlon's children, being boeth sent to Sweden, out of the said fugitives' goodes . . . . . xx li. steř.

Also there were deliv<sup>d</sup> to divers captens, pte of the fugitives' goods in consider<sup>n</sup> of their travell and charges susteyned

<sup>o</sup> Sir George Pawlett, the governor of Derry, was killed at the outbreak of O'Doherty's rebellion, on the 3d May, 1608. See *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 2363.

in going to manye places of the cuntry for the setting and establishinge therof uppon their owne charges immediatlie after the flight of Tyrone, viz. to—

Capt. Edmond Legh, who was then sheriffe of Tyrone	xxx li.
Sir Frances Roe . . . . .	xij li. ij s.
Sir Thomas Phillipps . . . . .	xij li.
Sir Richard Hansard . . . . .	vj li.
In all . . . . .	lxj li. ij s. steř.

In all given to the psons before named out of the ffugitives' goods before charged by vertue of the lo. deputies direccon, the some of three hundred seventene pounds iiij s. j d. steř, facieñ Irishe . . . . . iiij<sup>c</sup>xxij li. 18 s. ix d.

Ready monye paid by this accomptant into his Mat<sup>s</sup> receipt of Excheq<sup>r</sup>, viz.—

And lastlye the said accomptante demaundethe allowance for redye money by him payd to Sir Thomas Ridgwaye, knight, vicethrēr and thrēr at Wares in Ireland.

The xiiij<sup>th</sup> daie of December, 1608, on the said Mr. Thrēr's acquittance . . . . . m<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup>ccclvij li. vj s. iij d.

The 18<sup>th</sup> of December, 1609, on another acquittance of the said Mr Thres . . . . . m<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup>iiij<sup>c</sup>iiij li. ij s. vj d.

In all, as by the said acquittances redy to be shewen appeareth iiij<sup>m</sup>vij<sup>c</sup>lxj li. xs. ix d.

Sum total of all the allowances and payments aforesaid, viz.—

Remittalls and abatem <sup>t</sup> of rents . . . . .	m <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>c</sup> lxiiij li.
Enterteinm <sup>ts</sup> of soldiors entred in paie on the flight of Tirone and revolte of Odoghertye . . . . .	cccxli. xvij s. ix d.
Workes and fortifications . . . . .	iiij <sup>xx</sup> li.
Victueling of Irishe soldiors sent in Sweden . . . . .	xxxix li. iiij s. x d.
Giftes and restitution of fugitives' goods . . . . .	iiij <sup>c</sup> xxij li. 18 s. ix d.
Readye mony payd into the receipt . . . . .	iiij <sup>m</sup> vij <sup>c</sup> lxj li. xs. ix d.
In all . . . . .	vij <sup>m</sup> cccviij li. xij s. j d.

And so remayneth in the hands of this accomptant and chargeable on him to his Mat<sup>e</sup> use the some of m<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup>ij li. ix s. j d. Iř.

Whereof is allowed to this accomptant by vertue of a concordat of the lo. deputie and councell, the tenor wherof followeth in theis wordes, viz. By the lo. deputie and councell. ARTHURE CHICHESTER. Whereas uppon the flight of the traitor Tyrone, I, the deputie, enteringe into consideration how fitt it was to ap-  
 poynt some man of sufficiencie to take the cheefe charge and supintendancie of suche landes, rents, and territories as belonge to the said traitor in the counties of Tirone, Armagh, and Col-rane, made choice of Sir Toby Calfield to take uppon him that charge, who, w<sup>th</sup> good care and diligence, greatlye to the further-  
 ance of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> service, hath not onlye for theis three yeares past collected and gathered the rents yssuinge out of the said landes and territories to his Ma<sup>ties</sup> use, but also with greate wise-  
 dome and sufficiencie dischargd the trust reposed in him in the supintendancie aforesaid, and furthermore hath, within the sayd tyme, bin at extraordinarie charges in buildinge of bridges, high waies, and strenghtning of the ffoart of Charlamount, and building of a howse with in the same, for all w<sup>ch</sup> he hath humblie  
 craved allowance; wherof havinge considered, wee have thought good, and do so conclude, condescend, and agree by theis our  
 tres of concordatum, that he shall have as of his Mat<sup>e</sup> bountye and reward the some of one hundred pounds English for evye  
 of the sayd three yeares, making in harps in the whole the some of ffowre hundred pounds, to be allowed him in the ffoote of his  
 accompts, w<sup>ch</sup> he is now to passe before you. Theis are accord-  
 ingly to require and authorise you, uppon the passing of the sayd Sir Toby his accompts, to give him allowance of the sayd  
 some for the consideracons aforesayd, and for your so doinge theis our tres of concordatū shall be to you sufficient warrant and  
 discharge. Yeoven at Dublin the xvj<sup>th</sup> of December, 1610. Thomas Dublin Canc., Humfery Winch, John Denham, Fraun-  
 cisse Auger, Henrye Power, Garrott Moore, Richard Cooke, Adam Loftus, John Kinge. §— ccccli. Irish. To our  
 trustye and welbeloved the lo. chancellor and the rest of the commissioners appoynted for taking of his Mat<sup>e</sup> accompt w<sup>th</sup>in  
 this realme.

And so rem<sup>n</sup> in the sayd accompt<sup>r</sup> hands      m<sup>d</sup>cij li. ix s. j d.

Which some of one thowsand six hundred and two pounds, nine shillings, and one pennye currant monye of Ireland, was

payd unto the handes of Sir Thomas Ridgwaie, knight, vicethrē and generall receiver of his Matē rents and reveanues in Ireland, as by his acquittance, dated the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> day of December, 1610, emongest the rest of the pcells and vouchers of this accompt rem̃ in the office of Xp̃ofer Peyton, auditor of that realme, appeareth.

xviiij<sup>vo</sup> Dec. 1610. This accompt wee have taken and examined accordinge to the paper booke of Sir Toby Calfield, knight, exhibeted to the lo. deputy and us the commissioners, the x<sup>th</sup> of December, 1610, and according to the charge and allowance made there uppon, wee do acquite and discharge the sayd accomptant. Witnes our handes this xviiij. of December, 1610. Tho. Dublin Canc., H. Winch, Jo. Denham, Fra. Aungier, Ri. Cooke, Jo. Kinge, Jo. Davys, W<sup>m</sup> Peyton, Ja. Ware.

T'm̃io Sēi Hillarij, 1610.

INDENTURE ENUMERATING VARIOUS LANDS IN CIRENCESTER,  
4 HEN. VIII. (1489.)

From a contemporary copy of Court Roll, on vellum.

Cirencestria. Halimot tent' ibidem xv<sup>mo</sup> die mensis Augusti  
anno regni regis Henrici vij<sup>mi</sup> quarto.

Ad istud Halimot venerunt Agnes Arnold vidua per Johannem Jones attornatum suum et Johannes Crocker in propria persona sua et in plena curia monstraverunt coram sectatoribus Halimoti prædicti quamdam Indenturam, et pecierunt a domino Abbate et sectatoribus predictis Indenturam illam irrotulari in Rotulis Curie: cujus Tenor sequitur in hæc verba.

This endenture, made the vij<sup>th</sup> daye of the moneth of August, the yere of the reigne of Kyng Henri the vij<sup>th</sup> afir the Conquest the iiij<sup>th</sup>, by twene Agnes Arnold wydowe, late the wyfe of Thomas Arnold of Circeter, of that one partie, and John Crocker of Circeter foresaide, of that othir partie, Witnessithe, That the saide John Crocker owithe to the saide Agnes Arnold