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A Seventeenth Century Survivor:
The Political Career of Randal MacDonnell,
First Marquis and Second Earl of Antrim
(1609-83)

Volume 2
APPENDICES

1.1 = Summary of 1637 leases:
   /A -- Type of lease granted
   /B -- Occupation of Lessee
   /C -- Annual income in c.1637

1.2 = Listing of chief tenants and their subtenants in part of the barony of Dunluce

1.3 = Quantities of land held by chief tenants

1.4 = The 'Londonderry business':
   /A -- List of revenues available from Londonderry
   /B -- Details on Hamilton's patent
   /C -- Antrim's advice
   /D -- Hamilton's initial offer
   /E -- Assessment of the four offers

1.5 = Profiles of Antrim's creditors

1.6 = Occupations of creditors and amounts borrowed

1.7 = The 'Antrim plot'
### Appendix 1.1 - Summary of the 1637 leases

#### 1.1/A -- 1637 LEASES: TYPE OF LEASE GRANTED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GLENARM</th>
<th>DUNLUCE</th>
<th>KILCONWAY</th>
<th>CARY</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FEE FARM</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>21 YEARS</strong></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>41 YEARS</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OTHER</strong></td>
<td>1*</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1#</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1.1/B -- 1637 LEASES: OCCUPATION OF LESSEE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GLENARM</th>
<th>DUNLUCE</th>
<th>KILCONWAY</th>
<th>CARY</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>YEOMAN</strong></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENTLEMAN</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESQUIRE</strong></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CLERK</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOT STATED</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The length of this lease was not stated.
# This lease was for 31 years.
1.1/C -- 1637 LEASES: ANNUAL INCOME

GLENARM ---- 595 - 13 - 10
DUNLUCE ---- 1123 - 09 - 00 **
KILCONWAY -- 578 - 16 - 10
CARY -------- 126 - 15 - 00

TOTAL ---- £ 2424 - 14 - 08

SOURCES: P.R.O.N.I., D.2977 and D.265

** This figure includes £4-10-00 from the Long Liberties.
Appendix 1.2 = Listing of chief tenants and their subtenants, their occupation (where given) and the size of their holdings in a part of the barony of Dunluce.

The names of tenants who were probably catholic are marked in **bold**; the others were presumably protestant.

**BOYD** - **ADAM, THOMAS**  
John Harte; yeoman; 83 acres.  
Thomas Sterling; yeoman; 160 acres.  
['several men']; 259 acres.

**HAMBLE** - **ROBERT**  
Patrick Glan; husbandman; 120+283 = 403 acres.  
John More; yeoman; 138 acres.  
Robert Skeagh; husbandman; 347 acres.  
John Sterling; yeoman; 375 acres.

**HUTCHEN** - **WILLIAM**  
Robert Boyd and Hugh Moore; 697 acres.

**KELLSAY** - **GOWEN**  
John Dalap and John Lynn; 226 acres.  
James Gammock; 186 acres.  
Robert Henry and William Dick; 345 acres.  
James Parke; yeoman; 308 acres.

**KNOCKS** - **DANIEL**  
Robert More Smyth and others; 235 acres.

**LE SQUIRE** - **HENRY**  
Gowen Kelsey; 447 acres.  
#James McDonnell; esquire; 325 acres.  
#Robert Young; 127 acres.

**MACDONNELL** - **JAMES, ESQUIRE**  
Rory O'Mooney; 265 acres.  
Hugh Oge O'Quinn and Hugh McKale; 235 acres.

**McHENRY** - **JAMES (AND DONNELL McGEE)**  
Allastair McConnell and others; 269 acres.

**McHUGH** - **HUGH OGE (**MORRICE, PHILIP (deceased) AND **SHANE)**  
Simon Hillman; gentleman; 325 acres.  
John Montgomery; yeoman; 150 acres.  
Thomas Morehead; 270 acres.  
William Sterling; yeoman; 160 acres.  
[ ] Thompson; vicar; 124 acres.  
Thomas Wilson; husbandman; 122 acres.

**McNAUGHTEN** - **DANIEL, JOHN**  
James Hamilton, John Morton and others; 577 acres.

* Name does not appear in the Antrim leases preserved in P.R.O.N.I., D.2977 and D.265.
Robert Hunter and Gilbert Carr; 290 acres.
Finloagh McGalbreth; 261 acres.
Owen McHenry and others; 374 acres.
Richard McHenry and others; 457 acres.
John McMurphy (husbandman) and Brian O'Toole; 715 acres.
Art O'Nallan and [ ] O'Breman; 441 acres.
John O'Neill and others; 495 acres.
Robert Wallis and others; 386 acres.

McRICHARD - BRIAN (*DESMOND AND OWEN)
Archibald Sterling; 85+141 = 226 acres.
John Sterling; 103 acres.

#MO[O]RE - WILLIAM
John Nelvin and others; 742 acres.

O'SHEYLL - DANIEL/DONNELL (AND WILLIAM)
Thomas Bearde; yeoman; 242 acres.
Coole Bryan; 201 acres.
John and William Gates; 339 acres.
John Harte and others; 342 acres.
Hugh Pibbles [Peebles]; yeoman; 156 acres.
Hugh Pibbles [Peebles] and others; 337 acres.
Brian McClearey and others; 185 acres.
Knogher [sic] O'Joy and others; 240 acres.
['several men']; 239 acres.

PEBBLES - HUGH
John Smyth and others; 254 acres.

SHAW - HUGH
Thomas Fulton; 166 acres.
Knogher O'Can and others; 355 acres.
John Todd; 285 acres.

*WALKER - THOMAS
Thomas Young and others; 142 acres.

SOURCE: B.L., Harl. MSS 2138, ff 111-6; all acres are 'English'.

# Refers to land in the barony of Kilconway rather than Dunluce.
Appendix 1.3 - Quantities of land held by chief tenants

The names of tenants who were probably catholic are marked in **bold**; the others were presumably protestant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOWNLANDS*</th>
<th>QUARTERS#</th>
<th>ACRES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGNEW</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOYD</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUNLOP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAMBLE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAMILTON</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KELLSAY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAPP</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LE SQUIRE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGAN</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAGEE</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAGILL</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McALLESTER</td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td>9 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McHENRY</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McHUGH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McNAUGHTEN</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’CAHAN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>O’SHEYLL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHAW</td>
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<td>5 1/2</td>
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<tr>
<td>STEWART</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAAFFE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCES:** P.R.O.N.I., D.2977, D.265 and appendix 1.2

* = The average size of a townland varied from between 120-c.600 Irish acres. (Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, pp 19-20; B.L., Harl. MSS 2138, ff 111-6).
# = A quarter of a bally betagh which was usually composed of 16 ballyboes. Since the ballyboe reflected the quality and not the quantity of the land there was no standard size for a quarter of land. In one instance a quarter was equivalent to 81 acres; in another to 554 acres! (Gillespie, Settlement and Survival, pp 164, 166 and P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3B/22, f. 67v and /17, p. 55).
1.4/A -- List of revenues available from lands in Londonderry (probably drawn up late in 1637).

Town of Coleraine and surrounding 3,000 acres -- £2,200 with fishings of Bann and Lough Foyle 'so long as we have peace with Spain'

Town of Derry and surrounding 3,000 acres ------ £2,000 and the customs from the port

12 proportions which belong to 12 'several ---- £6,000 companies' (12 X £500)

TOTAL £10,200

Hamilton concluded that he would pay no more than £10,000 'and I know that the deputy nor none for him will give so much'.


---

1 According to Bishop Bramhall the customs, fishing and rents of Derry and Coleraine were worth (at most) £4,000, Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-42, pp 181-3; Moody, Londonderry Plantation, p. 395. Under the Londoners' control the fisheries of Derry and Coleraine were worth, by 1635, £1000 per annum and the customs (by 1614) were worth £700, Moody, Londonderry Plantation, pp 271-2.
1.4/B -- Memorandum (presumably prepared by Antrim late in 1637) for Hamilton of what was to be asked of the king regarding his patent for County Londonderry.

Hamilton was to request the following:
1. Rights to all ferries on the rivers Bann and Loughfoyle.
2. The right to nominate the captain of Culmore fort.
3. Rights to salmon and eel fishing on Bann, Loughbeg, Loughfoyle, and Lough Neagh with a proviso that no one could fish in Lough Neagh in the spawning season.
4. The assurance that salmon poachers would be fined.
5. The right to elect customs house officials, recorders and clerks of Derry and Coleraine.
6. To have the same privileges in appointing mayors, sheriffs and other officials in the towns as the city of London enjoyed and to keep courts, fairs and markets.
7. The right to be clerk of the market.
8. The right to seal leather and the liberty to erect tanneries.
9. A licence to retain and make wine and whiskey.
10. The right to license ‘maltsters’.
11. The right to transport corn or grain grown locally to any of his majesty’s dominions without licence when the price is under the rate set by statute.
12. The right to receive all felons’ goods, the fines of waifs and strangers, and forfeited recognizances from tenants who failed to appear in court.
13. The right to hold two annual quarter sessions for those on the Coleraine side of the mountain.
14. The liberty to make 12 manors of the 12 proportions and to keep a court there ‘for trial of any debt under £20’.
15. All liberties, royalties, privileges granted to the city of London in their patents.

1.4/C -- Antrim's advice on what was worth bargaining for (probably drawn up late in 1637).

1. Corporation and market town of Coleraine has 3,000 acres and paid £500 to the city of London. If the king refuses Hamilton the town at this rate 'I [=Antrim] would wish your lordship to double the said rent, rather than go without it'.
2. Offer up to £1,000 p.a. for Bann and Lough Foyle fishing rights (over previous 7-8 years the city of London received c.£800 p.a.).
3. If the king is reluctant to seal the bargain promise him £500 - £1,000 more than anyone else to be paid annually to the exchequer in Dublin or London so the king can pressurize the partners of the 12 companies to make leases.
4. If the king doubts that you will pay Antrim and Clandeboy's bond as security 'who are two that have the best means in the province of Ulster'.
5. Act with great care!

1.4/D = Details of an offer considered in c. November 1637 by Hamilton for County Londonderry including customs and fishing rights on the Bann and Lough Foyle. For his final offer see 1.4/E - OFFER II.

Customs of Derry ____________________ £2,800

Fishing of Bann and Loughfoyle
1. While there is peace with Spain ------- £1,300
2. During war with Spain -------------- £ 700

Town of Derry and surrounding 3,000 acres -- £ 800
(inhabitants pay £450 at present)

Town of Coleraine and surrounding 3,000 ---- £ 700
acres (inhabitants pay £400 at present)

12 proportions @ £300 ------------------- £3,600
(£120 paid at present)

TOTAL £9,200

1.4/E = An assessment of four offers made to the king for County Londonderry [by Wentworth] in October 1638.

The four propositions are recited with the following disclaimers: 1. Inheritance to be rated at 10 years purchase; 2. At the end of 21 years the land 'fairly and reasonably let, will yield £8,000 p.a. more than they now do'.

Offer I --- Made in a letter of 27 March 1637 by an anonymous individual (not Antrim):

£8,000 present rent @ 10 years purchase --- £80,000
£8,000 improvement on expiration of the term @ 5 years purchase
Fine
£20,000
£140,000

Offer II --- Made by Hamilton and Antrim (in December 1637-January 1638) this included customs revenues: 1

£12,000 present rent @ 10 years purchase ---- £120,000
improvement of £8,000 p.a. on expiration of the term, viz 41 years, @ 1 years purchase and 1/2 --- £12,000
Fine (deducting £6,000 allowed for first 6 months' rent) ------------------ £4,000
£136,000

On 27/2/38 the king was informed that Offer I was better than Offer II; but that both were 'artificially cooked'. Besides, the proposers knew that the customs must be excluded from the grants in which case both demanded £3,000 abatement in lieu of customs. Wentworth claimed the customs were worth £1365 per annum 'after a

Details of an offer for Londonderry made to the king, December 1637, (Sheffield City Library, Strafford MSS 3, f. 309). 1. £10,000 fine and £12,000 p.a. payable to the English Exchequer every May and November; 2. entry in May 1638 'the lessees only desiring the first half year rent free for the settling and disposing of the estate'; 3. King to receive rent arrears until then; 4. king to have benefit of the woods (lessees only want timber for building and firewood); 5. request that fish worth under 100 marks may be exported without charge; 6. lessees will maintain fort of Culmore.
medium of 5 years' and therefore attempts were being made to swindle the king. Both offers intended 'to turn [out] all the English planted in those parts without respect had to those very great sums by them expended' in improving the land. Furthermore they will discourage English planters and lose the king £6,000 - £7,000 per annum and will leave the people 'discontented' and 'affrighted by the example of that province in a manner all Scottish'.

Offer III --- Made by Sir John Clotworthy and the rest of the 'now occupants'.
£9,000 fee farm rent @ 10 years purchase ---- £ 90,000
Customs, £2,000 p.a. @ 10 years purchase ---- £ 20,000
Estimate that customs within 10 years will be worth £1,000 p.a. more @ 7 years purchase -------- £ 7,000
Estimate that customs within 20 years will be £1,000 p.a. more @ 5 years purchase -------- £ 5,000

£122,000

Though less lucrative, this offer recommended rather than Offer I or II since the continuity of the plantation would be ensured.

Offer IV --- Presented to the king by 'the writer' [Wentworth] for a 21 year lease:
£8,000 @ 10 years purchase -------------- £ 80,000
£8,000 for improvement @ 5 years purchase -- £ 40,000
Customs rated as in offer III -------------- £ 32,000

£152,000

This offer was more financially remunerative than I - III and tended to disperse 'the whole into many hands; the occupants smaller power will render them easier to be governed. And the trade by number of inhabitants be very much more increased'. Unlike I and II English planters would be encouraged and would be better able to 'temper' the 'Scottish or natives in those parts'.

Wentworth also wished the following cautions to be observed:
1. Like the customs, the fishings, rivers and waters 'together with the soil of them' were to go to the crown at £1,000 a year.
2. No grants in fee farm or leases were to be made for more than 21 years for then the lands were to pass to the duke of York.
3. 'That so great a power and command be not past forth of the crown to any other man whatsoever'.

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4. All patents and grants to pass through the great seal in Dublin, rather than in London, to avoid confusion.

SOURCE: Valuation of several propositions made to the king for the lands and customs belonging to the Londoners sent to Laud, 30 October 1638 (B.L., Add. MSS 21,125 ff 1-4v).
Appendix 1.5 - Alphabetical Profiles of Antrim's Creditors


ACTON, SIR WILLIAM - From London, knight, by bond dated 11 August 1628, payable 15 February 1639 for payment of £1000; paid £530.

ALLEN, RICHARD - Owed £57; paid £---.

ARTON, ROBERT - From Libert County Antrim, gentleman granted in 1681 yearly rent charge of £10 from lands in the barony of Glenarm until debt of £100 repaid.1

AYLMER, JOHN - Owed £153; paid £---.

BABINGTON, URIAGH - Owed [amount not stated]; in August 1667 he was granted a very favourable lease in the Long Liberties.

BADLY, EDWARD - And Hugh Potter of London, gentlemen, by bond, payable 12 November 1639 for payment of £200; paid £200.

BAGGER, JOHN - Owed [amount not stated].3

BAMBRIDGE, JOHN - 'Doctor of physicke', by bond dated 11 May 1638, payable 13 November 1638 for payment of £100; paid ---. John Benskin was his executor and claimed £104; petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in c.1661.4

BARLOW, SIR JOHN - See WIMBLEDON.

BARNES, WILLIAM - Owed [amount] not stated]. Petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in c.1661; Simon Barnes petitioned the king again in July 1663.5

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1 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/‘Dunluce Barony 1700s and 1800s’.
3 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 325.
4 Ibid.
BARRABAY, MRS - Widow (from Coleraine?), [by bond], £600 for payment of £300; paid.6

BANABY [ ] - Owed £80.7

BARRINGTON, RICHARD - From London, esquire, by bond dated 3 August 1638, payable 5 December 1638 for £500; paid. Mr SMITHSBY took out a third bond on York House in Mr Barrington's name.

BARRY, CHRISTOPHER - See CLERKE, ROGER.

BARTAND, ROBERT - By bond of £860 for payment of £432-14-00 borrowed; Robert Barane was owed money in 1642.8

BASSE, EDWARD - From London, semster, by bond (£480] dated 17 August 1638 payable 31 May 1639 for payment of £244; paid £100. By bill (£200] dated 6 August 1638 payable 25 December 1638 for payment of £100; paid £---. Owed a further £45 [bond was £100]; paid £---. Basse was owed money in 1642. Between 1651 and 1658 £5040 was paid, or assigned to by various individuals, to Basse (out of sale of the king's goods) by the Commonwealth. Basse petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in October 1660 and July 1663.9

BEALE/BEAL, NICHOLAS - Haberdasher of hats, by bond [for £600] dated 6 August 1638, payable at Walter Kennedy's house in Dublin on 20 November 1639 for payment of £348-13-0; paid ---. Still owed money in 1642.10

BEALING, ROBERT - By bond dated 17 August 1638, payable 13 February 1639 for payment of £124-16-0; paid ---.

BEDINGFIELD, HUMFREY - From London, goldsmith, by bond [for £80] dated 16 August 1638 payable 31 May 1639 for payment of £40; paid £---.

BELL, JOHN - Owed £300 (after 1660).

BELLEM, ROBERT - On bond of £200 for payment of £124-16-0.

BELLINGHAM, SIR DANIEL - Owed £720. At the Restoration he also appears to have guaranteed other debts.11

6 In May 1637 a William Barrabay was mayor of Coleraine, Moody, Londonderry Plantation, pp 282, 450. 7 Not given in Hill, MacDonnells. 8 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42. 9 Ibid.; P.R.O., S.P. 28/350/9, ff 42-54; Cal. S.P. Ire. 1660-2, p. 70; Cal. S.P. Ire. 1663-5, p. 342. 10 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 475 - gives the name as 'Boale' and the amount as £348-0-0; H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42. 11 Ormonde MSS, iii, 179.
BINAGE, JAMES - Owed £100.

BISHOP, FRANCIS - Guaranteed Monnox.

BETON[?], WILLIAM - On bond of £2000 for payment of £1000.

BLISS, EDWARD - Owed £344.


BOWES, FREDERICK - Stocking seller, by bond dated 14 August 1638, payable 15 February 1639 for payment of £225-11-0.

BOWEN, ROBERT - Payable May 1639 £432-14-0; paid £432-14-0.

BOYD, ROBERT - From Glenarm. Bond of £640 for payment of £360 which was guaranteed by Alexander and as security Antrim mortgaged in April 1675 866 acres in Glenarm.13

BRADBO(U)RNE, EDWARD - Guaranteed Acton. Petitioned king c.1661.14

BRADBOURNE, HUMPHREY - He guaranteed Jacob, Barrington, Eldred, Badly and Potter. By bond [for £2400] dated 11 August 1638, payable 5 November 1639 for payment of £1251-10-03; paid £1251-10-03.15 In 1652 £800 was paid to George Boul administering of Humphrey Bradbourne (out of sale of the king's goods) by the Commonwealth. Edward and John Bradbourne petitioned king in October 1660 and c.1661. John was the plaintiff (Antrim and countess Ellis, defendants) in a decree pronounced in the Dublin high court of chancery in 1672.16

BRANGAN, ALDERMAN - From Dublin; by bond, £2,000 for payment of £1,000, dated 1638; paid.

BRIGHAME, RICHARD - Owed £190; paid L---.

12 Hill, MacDonells, p. 325.
13 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/'Dunluce barony, 1700s and 1800s'. For a detailed history of the Boyds see Hill, Stewards of Ballintoy, pp 20-2.
14 Hill, MacDonells, p. 325.
15 Ibid., p. 475 - gives the amount as £125-0-0.
BROOKESES - [Glenarm tenants?]; owed £360.

BROUGHTON, MURRAY OF - Owe £500.

BUITHILL, RANDAL - Landowner from Glenarm; by bond of £400 for payment of £200. Bond guaranteed by Alexander and as security Antrim mortgaged in April 1675 866 acres in Glenarm.17

BURKE, MARGARET - Owed £31-14-0; paid £---.

BURLINGTON, EARL - Owed £100.

BUSHELL, PETER - On bond of £100 for payment of £53.

CARLTON, THOMAS - Guaranteed Jacob. Carleton paid John Jacob £656 in discharge of a bond of £1200 and therefore Antrim owed him the £656. Petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in October 1660 and c.1661.18

CECIL, SIR EDWARD - See WIMBLEDON.

CHAMBERLAIN, THOMAS - Woollendraper, by bond dated [August 1638] payable May 1639 for payment of £428; paid £420. J. Chamberlain petitioned king c.1661. John Chamberlain was plaintiff (Antrim and John Bradbourne defendants) in a decree pronounced in the Dublin high court of chancery in 1675.19

CHAPMAN ALS WARD, ELINOR - Seamstress, by bond, payable 3 November 1639 for payment of £153; by bond dated [for £2000] 13 August 1638, payable 20 November 1639 for payment of £1026-07-0. Elinor Chapman petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in October 1660 and c.1661.20 See also HENRY WARD.

CHAPMAN, JAMES - Owed £700; petitioned king c.1661 on behalf of Randal Bird. Plaintiff (Antrim and others, defendants) in a decree pronounced in the Dublin high court of chancery in 1677.21

CHURCHMAN, JOHN - See RANALD GRAHAM.

CLAY, RICHARD - Goldsmith, by bond dated 17 August 1638 payable 31 May 1639 for payment of £42-8-0; paid £---.

17 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/'Dunluce barony, 1700s and 1800s'.
18 Cal. S.P. Ire. 1660-2, p. 70; Hill, MacDonnells, p. 325.
20 Hill, MacDonnells, pp 325, 475 - gives the amount as £102-0-0; Cal. S.P. Ire. 1660-2, p. 70.
21 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 325; P.R.O.I., Rolls Office, Chancery Decree Books, 1669-85, MS 1A.49.129, f. 54.
CLERKE, ROGER and BARRY, CHRISTOPHER - Mercers, by bond [£400] dated 13 August 1638 payable 14 November 1639 for payment of £218; paid £218. Roger [Church?] and Christopher Barry were owed money [a further £200?] in 1642. Christopher Barry petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in c.1661 and July 1663.22

CLERK, SIR WILLIAM - Bond (14 July 1663) between Antrim (as the principal) with Anes MacDonALD, Sir James MacDonald of Sleat, and Donald MacDonald to Clerk secretary to George Duke of Albemarle for payment of £500 sterling.23

COLISON, JOHN - Owed £26; paid £--- and Mr Shitart's debt of £15; paid L---.

COLVILL, ROBERT SIR - From Gallgorm, County Antrim who also enjoyed extensive estates in County Down; a Cromwellian captain during the 1650s; high sheriff of County Antrim in 1670. Bond of £--- for payment of £700. In May 1639 Sir Henry O'Neill leased Glencurry [c.13 townlands] to Alexander Colvill (Robert's father) for 99 years with the provison that if Sir Henry or his heirs paid Colvill £2000 within 5 years the lease should revert to him. Before October 1641 lands in barony of Dunluce were leased by Antrim to Alexander Colvill for 99 years on payment of £1000. In 1667 Antrim and Rose mortgaged the same lands to Robert Colvill for £1200 and an annual rent of £5; Colvill then alienated the lands to Richard Newton.24

COOKE, MATTHEW - See WILLIAM TAYLOR.

COOPER, EDMUND - From Newhall, by bond dated 18 August 1638 payable 30 November 1639 for payment of £250; paid £250. Probably the son of John Cooper (gardener at Newhall), who in the 1650s begged to be allowed the annuities, that had been granted to him by Antrim and the duchess which had never been paid.25

CORSSELLIS/CORSSELLIS/COXELLIS, ABRAHAM - of London, gentleman, by bond [for £400] dated 11 May 1638, payable 16 November 1638 for payment of £200; paid

22 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42; Hill, MacDonnells, p. 325; Cal. S.P. Ire. 1663-5, p. 342.
23 S.R.O., G.D. 201/1/78.
£200. By bond [for £200] dated 12 May 1638, payable 13 November 1638 for payment of £100; paid ---. Owed money (£104) in 1642. Charles and Abraham Corsellis were his executors and petitioned the king for Antrim’s restoration in October 1660 and c.1661.26

COOPLY, EDWARD - Owed £12,944. Antrim assigned him £1500 per annum out of [his wife’s] jointure estate in England until the debt was repaid and as collateral mortgaged Bramshill. In 1638 Cooply took legal action (in the court of chancery) against Antrim, Alexander MacDonnell, Stewart and Moore. The debt was paid in 1640.27

CUNNINGHAM, SIR DAVID - An important Ayrshire landowner, London merchant and minor court favourite. Owed £1000. William Morehead took the bond in the name of Sir David (unknown to him). When the Irish rebellion broke out Morehead ‘supposing his debt in danger’ told Sir David of the bond. Sir David never asked Antrim for the principal or interest but begged the Commonwealth to be allowed the rents from Wallingford house. He appears to have controlled at least one of the duchess’s nineteen houses on the Strand during the 1650s.28

CUNNINGHAM, JAMES - Bond, dated 25 March 1645 between Antrim and Patrick Murray, earl of Tullibardine, and James Cunningham, secretary of the earl of Irvine for payment of £700 for the payment of £350 by 1 January.29

DALBY, MATTHEW - Housekeeper of Newhall, by bond dated 18 August 1638 payable 30 November 1639 for payment of £62; paid £62. During the 1650s Dalby (aged 60) requested the annuities that had been granted to him by Antrim and the duchess and which had never been paid.30

DAWSON, FRANCIS - Claimed in 1642 that Antrim owed him money. See HENRY DAWSON.31

26 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42; Cal. S.P. Ire. 1660-2, p. 70; Hill, MacDonnell’s, p. 325. In September 1650 £300 was paid to Nicholas Corsellis by the Commonwealth, P.R.O., S.P. 28/350/7, f. 31. 27 P.R.O., L.C. 4/217; Since the debt was paid off by a lump sum, instead of installments, the charge of £605 was abated and £11215 was paid. 28 Gerald E. Aylmer, The King’s Servants: the Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-42 (London, 1961; 2nd edn. 1974), p. 320; Gillespie, Colonial Ulster, p. 149; N.L.S., MS 3139, ff 85-6, 96-7; Committee for Compounding, III, p. 2185; P.R.O., S.P.23/237/31A (f. 93); P.R.O., S.P.23/237/31 (ff 84v-89v). 29 N.L.S., MS Ch. 2473. 30 Petition to the commissioners of Haberdashers Hall, undated (P.R.O., S.P. 23/71/p.731). 31 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42.
DA/OWSON, HENRY - Skinner and citizen of London; on bond of £300 for payment of £152; owed a further £800 (some of the duchess's houses along the Strand were offered as collateral). In reward for drawing Antrim's 'delinquency' to the attention of the committee of compounding he was briefly granted the rents from York House (between November 1645 and December 1646). In 1656 £60 was paid to Henry Dawson (out of sale of the king's goods) by the Commonwealth.32

DARCY, PATRICK - (1598-1668). A catholic lawyer from Galway; M.P. for Navan in 1634 and 1640; he was present at the 1637 releasing on the Antrim estates. In 1636 he had been disqualified from practicing at the bar (having crossed swords with Wentworth over the plantation of Connaught) and Antrim lobbied for, and eventually secured, his restitution. He was an active confederate during the 1640s; during the 1650s his lands were confiscated; at the Restoration he returned to the bar. Bond [for £2,000] for payment of £1,000, dated 1638; £200 paid.33

DEES, JAMES - Owed £235.

DEBOUSYE, FREDERICK - Owed £225-11-00. Deboules[?] was owed money in 1642.34

DEBOUSYE, ALEXANDER - Owed £400. Deboules[?] owed money in 1642.35

DEPLUROS, EDWARD - Owed £161; paid L---.

DOUCHE, HENRY - Linendraper, by bond dated 16 August 1638 payable 31 May 1639 for payment of £240; paid £240.

DUART, JAMES/JACQUES - One of the king's jewelers. By bond [for £1,000] dated 13 August 1638 payable 14 November 1639 for payment of £543-15-0; paid £---. Between 1651 and 1652 £800 was paid to Jasper Duart assignee of James (out of sale of the king's goods) by the Commonwealth. James Duart petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in July 1663 and claimed that he was owed £543-15-00. In August 1678 Antrim promised to pay the outstanding sum to James Duart of Antwerp. When

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33 D.N.B. 'Darcy', p. 496; O'Malley, 'Patrick Darcy', pp 91-109.
34 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42.
35 Ibid.
he failed to do so Duart sued him in the High Court of Chancery.36

DUNLOP, HUGH - From Glenarm. Bond of £840 for payment of £422; guaranteed by Alexander and as security Antrim mortgaged in April 1675 866 acres in Glenarm.37

DUNSANY, LORD - Patrick Plunkett (d.1668), ninth Baron Dunsany, succeeded his father in 1603 and was one of the most influential men in the Pale. By bond, £6,000 for payment of £3,000, dated 1638; the collateral was the sureties of the estate and charged on barony of Cary; £3,000 paid. His son Edward Plunkett of Castlecor married Lady Catherine MacDonnell in 1639. His wife Lady Dunsany was Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Heneage of Haynton in Lincoln, and she was owed a further £800.38

DYNHAM, LADY - Owed £270; paid ---.

EDGAR, [ ] - From London, gentleman, by bond [for £400] payable August 1638 for payment of £232; paid ---.

EDLYNE, EDMUND - Chandler, by bond dated [August 1638] payable May 1639 for payment of £140-18-0; paid £---.39

ELDRED, RIVET - From London, gentleman, by bond dated 10 June 1639, payable 12 November 1639 for payment of £300; paid £300.

EMILE, THOMAS - Claimed in 1642 that Antrim owed him money.40

FAGE, THOMAS - 41

[F]ABBBS, MATTHEW - On bond of £120 for payment of £62.

FAWYELL, ALEXANDER - Owed £69.

FITZGERALD, LADY - Wife of George Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare who was a gentleman (extraordinary) of the privy chamber; extensive estates in the province of

37 For a history of the Dunlops see [anonymous], 'Gleanings in Family History from the Antrim Coast' in U.J.A., 1st series, viii (1860), pp 200-1; Hill, Stewarts of Ballintoy, pp 29-30; P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/‘Dunluce barony, 1700s and 1800s’. 38 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 250.
39 Ibid., p. 476 - gives the amount as £140.
40 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42.
41 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 325.
Leinster and considerable influence in East Ulster; owed £100.42

FLAGER, ROBERT - From London, esquire, by bond dated 4 March 1636, payable 6 June 1636 for payment of £50; paid ---.

FRANKLIN, HAMMOND - From London, by bond dated 27 August 1638, payable 29 May 1639 for payment of £500; paid.

FROGPOOLE, R. - 43

GARRET, GEORGE - Woolen draper, by bond [for £200], payable 1 November 1639 for payment of £120-16-0; paid ---.

GARNO~, MARTIN - From Ballow, County Antrim, gentleman owed £300. Antrim conveyed to him land in the barony of Dunluce free of rent until the debt was repaid. Once the debt was repaid Garnon~ was allowed to hold the land for a further 61 years at £66-13-4 rent.44

GEE, [RALPH] - In February 1641 Antrim had Gee arrested 'for uttering many scandalous speeches' against him. In 1648 his three daughters petitioned the English house of lords for £1600 owed to them (as Ralph’s heirs) by Antrim; and requested an allowance out of Antrim’s English estate.45

GLASSE, JOHN - [Tenant in the barony of Kilconway]; 6 May 1639 for payment of £318; paid.

GOLDING/GELDYNGE, PETER - From London, gentleman, by bond [for £1000] dated 1638, payable 14 February 1639 for payment of £500; paid. Petitioned the king for Antrim’s restoration in October 1660, c.1661 and July 1663.46

GOFF, [ ] - Owed £200.

GOMSTONE/GOMBLEDON, WILLIAM - Milliner, by bond dated 11 August 1638 payable 14 November 1639 for £119-03-06; paid £---. Gombledon petitioned the king for Antrim’s restoration in October 1660 and was the plaintiff (Antrim and John Bradbourne, defendants) in a decree

42 P.R.O., L. C. 3/1, f. 25v; Gillespie, Colonial Ulster, pp 93, 95, 100.
43 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 325.
44 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/‘Dunluce barony, 1700s and 1800s’.
45 Lords in. Ire., i, 148-9; H.M.C., rep. 7, part I, p. 68.
pronounced in the Dublin high court of chancery in 1670.47

GRAHAM, SIR JAMES - Early in 1666 Lady Antrim apologized that she was unable to repay Sir James his money (amount and terms not stated) 'till her business was ended at the court of claims'.48

GRAHAM, RANALD (alias CHURCHMAN) - Ranald Graham (alias) Churchman and Daniel Holting on bond penalty for payment of £2096. Graham and John Churchman (executors for Ozias Churchman) owed £1028 in 1642; they petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in October 1660 and c.1661.49

GREEN, JOHN - From London; possibly a member of the king's household; by deed of mortgage for payment of £900; paid £900.50

GRINDER, RALPH - Upholsterer, by bond dated 9 August 1638, payable 6 November 1638 for payment of £200; paid £200. By bond dated 9 August 1638, payable 20 May 1639, for payment of £561-18-0; paid £561-18-0. Grinder appears to have been owed a further £1600 (or possibly £800) which was outstanding in 1642. Between 1651 and 1652 £269 was paid to Ralph Grinder out of sale of the king's goods) by the Commonwealth. Mary Grinder petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in October 1660, c.1661 and July 1663.51

HAMILTON, LADY ALICE - By bond, 9 June 1641, for £1600 'for wool, hides and lead' bought of her. Antrim

48 Lady Antrim to Lady Graham, 14 March 1644 (Hunt., H.A. 15,229).
49 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42; Cal. S.P. Ire. 1660-2, p. 70; Hill, MacDonells, p. 325.
50 P.R.O., L.C. 3/1, f. 25v; 'The two pendant pearles given my Lady by the Queen, and hangings of [the story of] Alexander, pawned for this £900. I paid the interest and yet the party hath sold the goods...so that the bill of sale, and bond of redemption, is not taken up, because the party ought to be sued, to produce upon his oath what he sold the goods for, he sold them without the owners privity, and his interest was paid him'. Believed Mr Bishop the solicitor involved in this; 'John Trayleman found for redemption'. Hill, MacDonells, p. 474.
promised payment in accordance with the regulations laid down by the statute of the staple.52

HAMilton, Sir Claude - Owned property in County Tyrone and was owed money [amount not stated] by Antrim; in 1647 his heirs asked for an allowance from Antrim’s English estates.53

HAMilton, Sir James [1st Viscount Clenadeboy] - Originally from Ayrshire he had acted as James VI’s agent in Dublin and London; in 1605 he had forced Con O’Neill to grant him large areas of his estates in County Down and became one of the leading landowners in East Ulster. By bond, £1,000 for payment of £500, dated 1638; L500; paid.54

Hagar[N?], Robert - Bond of £100 for payment of £50.

Harper/Harbye, Robert - [Tenant from barony of Kilconway]; by bond [for £1000] dated 1638, payable 7 March 1639 for payment of £500; paid.

Harvey, Robert - From London, gentleman, by bond dated 14 June 1638, payable 16 November 1638, for payment of £500.

Hatton. [Sir Thomas?] - A gentleman of the privy chamber; owed £80.55

Hay, John - Bond of £25. Bond guaranteed by Alexander and as security Antrim mortgaged in April 1675 866 acres in Glenarm.56

Heath, Robert - Owed £30; paid £---. A retainer of the earl of Cork; he enjoyed successively the posts of solicitor-general, attorney-general, chief justice and a judge of the king’s bench. A Thomas Heath pursued Antrim at the Restoration.57

Hellingsworth, Daniel - And his partners, woolen drapers, by bond dated 30 August 1638, payable 20

52 Transcripts of bonds of staples, 1639 (B.L., Add. MSS 19,843, f. 94). I am grateful to Brian MacGrath for bringing this to my attention.
53 H.M.C., rep. 6, app., p. 164; Gillespie, Colonial Ulster, p. 216.
54 Stevenson, Scottish Covenanters, pp 8-9; Hill, Montgomery Manuscripts, pp 50, 133. Hamilton is discussed at some length in Gillespie, Colonial Ulster.
55 Not given in Hill, MacDonnells. P.R.O., L.C. 3/1, f. 24v; Aylmer, The King’s Servants, p. 368.
56 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/Dunluce barony, 1700s and 1800s’.
57 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 325; Aylmer, The King’s Servants, pp 112-3, 118, 177-8, 305-6.
November 1639 for payment of £1028; paid £1028; at Walter Kennedy’s house in Dublin.

HERRIOTT, ALEXANDER – One of the king’s jewelers; by bond dated 16 August 1638 payable May 1639 for payment of £69; paid £---.58

HIGGINSON, RICHARD – Claimed in 1642 that Antrim owed him money.59

HILL, ARTHUR – (1600-63). A lawyer and youngest son of Moses Hill and a maternal second cousin of Antrim’s; married to Lord Justice Parson’s daughter; high sheriff of County Antrim in 1634; Antrim requested the wardship of Lord Iveagh for him in 1639; raised a regiment during the 1640s; during the 1650s he built up his estate – in 1657 he was awarded 3,000 acres in County Down – and was elected M.P. for Belfast in 1654; at the Restoration he was confirmed in his possessions.

He was awarded the rental paid by Robert Adair of Ballymena in consideration of the £635 he lent to Antrim in August 1637. In April 1650 Hill petitioned the council of state about the £5,566 (plus interest) owed to him by Antrim (by statute staple dated January 1639 and payable December 1639) which had not been repaid. The council ordered that the full amount plus interest be paid to him out of ‘the sequestrations of the estates in Ireland liable to the said statute staple’ and in September 1650 paid him £6,000.60

HOARE, Mrs – Owed £90.

HOOKE, JOHN – Possibly a gentleman of the privy chamber; owed £53; paid £---.61

HOWETT, MARY – Owed £300; paid £---.

HUBERT, RICHARD – Owed £162; paid £---.62

58 P.R.O., L.C. 3/1, f. 4v.
59 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42.
61 P.R.O., L.C. 3/1, f. 24v.
62 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 476 gives the amount as £161.
HUSTON, Captain - [Probably William Houston; high sheriff of County Antrim in 1676]; owed £200. In February 1666 William Houston leased 3 townlands in the parish of Dunaghy and 11 townlands in the parish of Rasharkin all in the barony of Kilconway for 99 years; his entry fine was £1,000 and his annual rent £40. In September 1666 he was granted a further three townlands in the parish of Dunaghy for 99 years at a rent of £12 for first 11 years. If Antrim paid Houston £150 before May 1675 the deed became void; otherwise Houston was to hold the lands for the remainder of the term at an annual rent of £4. In October 1672 he was granted the req charges from the townlands in Liskiney for 5 years at £29 per annum or until sum of £145 lent to Antrim was paid off.63

HUTTON, [ ] - By bond, £400 for payment of £200; paid.

JACOB, SIR JOHN - From London, knight and 'council clerk extraordinary', by bond (£1200), payable 13 October 1638 for payment of £600; paid £656 by CARLETON.64

JERMYN, HENRY - See ST. ALBANS

JOHNSON, EDWARD - Musician in the king's household; guaranteed Flager.65

JUNSMISE[?], FRANCIS - On bond of £880 for payment of £44[0] [sic].

KANNON, [ ] - By bond, £1,800 for payment of £900; paid.

KELSO, HENRY - By bond, £200 for payment of £100; paid.

KENNEDY, WALTER - Owed £1200; he held land near the village of Armoy in the parish of Billy in fee farm; also owned a house in Dublin. Kennedy was of Scottish extraction and married a daughter of William Boyd of Dunluce.66

KIPP, WILLIAM - Owed £183-08-0; paid £183.67

LATH, JOHN - Guaranteed Acton.

LAVARANRIE, LISHEL[?] - On bond, penalty; amount not stated.

64 Aylmer, The King’s Servants, pp 93, 280.
65 P.R.O., L.C. 3/1, f. 7.
66 Hill, MacDonnells, pp 64, 440; ibid., Stewarts of Ballintoy, pp 13-4.
67 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 476 gives the amount as £183.
LAVARANRIE[?]/LABERAUM, JOHN - On bond of £80 for payment of £40.

LAWRENCE, ADAM - Merchant, from London by bond [£1,000] dated 9 August 1638, payable 11 December 1638 for payment of £513; paid £332-13-0. In September 1650 £200 was paid to Adam Lawrence by the Commonwealth.

LAWRENCE, JOHN - Jeweler, by bond dated 17 August 1638 payable 31 May 1639 for payment of £99-16-0; paid £--.-. In 1651 £470 was paid to John Lawrence, executor of Alexander Herriott, (out of sale of the king's goods) by the Commonwealth. John Lawrence petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in October 1660 and July 1663.

LEGG, JAMES - From London, gentleman, by bond dated 11 May 1638, payable 13 November 1638 for payment of £100; paid £100.

LEGG, THOMAS - Owed £100.

LEGGE, RICHARD - Owed money in 1642.

LEIGH, JOHN - Guaranteed Harper and Potter.

LIBART/LYBARTE/LILARD, JAMES - From London, gentleman, by bond dated 11 May 1638, payable 16 November 1638 for payment of £100; paid £--.-. Lybarte owed money in 1642.

LILE, MARY - 72.

LIMPSON, JOHN AND FRANCIS - Owed £440.

LISLE, LAWRENCE - By bond payable 30 August 1639 for payment of £108; paid.

LONGFORD, SIR HERCULES - Originally from Devon he owned land in south-west Antrim and was an M.P. 1640-1; high sheriff of County Antrim, 1661; owed £300-73

LOVETT, RICHARD - Goldsmith, by bond [for £600] 15 August 1638, payable 20 May 1639 for payment of £379; paid £159.

68 P.R.O., S.P. 28/350/7, f. 31
70 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42.
71 Ibid.
72 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 325.
73 Gillespie, Colonial Ulster, pp 42, 131, 176; High Sheriffs, p. 79.
LOVETT, THOMAS - Owed £120-15-0; paid £---.74

LUESTELL, JOHN - Owed £253.

McCOLUM, JOHN OGE - tenant with holdings in baronies of Dunluce and Cary; by bond, £120 for payment of £60; owed £80[?].75

MACDONALD, DONALD OF CLANRANALD, MACDONALD, JAMES OF SLEAT and MCDONNELL, ANEAS - An indenture (11 October 1676) between Antrim, Aneas McDonnell, Sir James McDonnell and Donald McDonald recited a bond of £1000 (dated 1663) with WILLIAM ROSS for the payment of £500. Since the bond was not honoured and the guarantors were sued, Antrim was obliged to protect them by granting them all his lands in the Long Liberties for 99 years at a peppercorn rent with a provision that the debt must be satisfied by June 1678.76 Also see WILLIAM CLERK.

MACDONNELL, ALEXANDER - Antrim's brother and later third earl of Antrim. He guaranteed Robert Harvey, Franklin, Lawrence, Woodward, Maxwell, Smithsby, Barrington, Legg, Bambridge, Corsellis, Libart, Niccolles, Stoddard, Borrage and Dunsany. He was protected by the mortgage of Cary in November 1637.

MACDONNELL, SARA [ALS CONNOR/McCARTHY] - By a bond 4 July 1637 she granted her inheritance of £2,000 to her brother; she was to receive £200 per annum from the rents and an allowance of £100 per annum until she married 'according to her rank and quality'. The money was granted on the condition that it be used to pay for 'the manor and house of the land in the County of Meath'.77 In March 1666 she was granted a lease of half of the townland of Ballyreagh, Dunluce for nine years at 6d rent 'if demanded'.78

MacNAUGHTEN, MRS [KATHERINE] - Widow, tenant with farms in the baronies of Cary and Dunluce. By bond of £1,800 for payment of £900, dated 1638; paid. Bond (22 February 1636) of £1,440 for payment of £720 (due before 15 November 1637) never honoured. In August 1672 Antrim was sued by Bartholomew MacNaughten and the High

74 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 476 gives the amount as £120. A Mrs Lovett appears to have been one of the duchess' servants, Committee for Compounding, III, p. 2182.
75 Not given in Hill, MacDonnells.
76 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/1/'Early documents from the Hambros Bank Box'; P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/'More than one barony'.
77 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/'Various Old Numbers - Upper Dunluce barony'.
78 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/3/6A/1.
Court of Chancery decreed that he pay the outstanding debt plus interest which he had done by June 1675.79

McNEIL, ROBERT - From Coleraine owed £484 by 20 March 1682. Robert Cusack, John MacNaughten and John McColum guaranteed the debt.80

MANBELEHANP[?], JOHN - Owed £600.

MARTIN, EDWARD - Owed £420-10-0; paid £---.81

MASSON, DR JOHN - ‘A legacy’ of £500; paid.

MATTHEW, GABREYLL - Owed £99-16-00.

MAXWELL, JAMES - By bond dated 1638, payable 9 November 1638 for payment of £6000; paid £5000. Maxwell on bond of £12000 for payment of £6000. A groom of the bedchamber who lent the king large sums of money and held lands in Derbyshire where he manufactured iron.82 In 1639-40 Maxwell threatened them with legal action. Antrim and the duchess then begged Hamilton to intervene on their behalf and to ask Maxwell not to press for the principal but to accept the interest and to ‘forebear the principal until we can sell Bramshill and the [family] jewels’.83

MIDDLETON, HENRY - From London, gentleman, by bond [for £2000] payable February 1639 for payment of £110; still owed money in 1642.84

MILLER, RICHARD - Mercer, by bond [for £1040] dated 11 August 1638 payable 13 May 1640 in Alderman Watson’s house, Dublin for payment of £520; paid. By bond [for £3500] dated 11 August 1638 payable 13 May 1640 in Alderman Watson’s house, Dublin for payment of £1668; paid. Died before 1642 but was still owed money.85

MONNOX, MARY - Widow, by bond dated 6 Sept., 1638, payable 8 March 1639 for payment of £500; paid.

MOORE, JOHN - Physician from London and tenant in the baronies of Kilconway and Dunluce. He guaranteed Robert Harvey, Franklin, Maxwell. Protected by the mortgage of the barony of Cary in November 1637.

79 P.R.O.N.I., D.1375/3/40/1.
80 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/’Dunluce barony, 1700s and 1800s’.
81 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 476 - gives the amount as £420.
83 S.R.O., G.D. 406/1/8175 and /1172.
84 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42.
85 Ibid.
MOREHEAD/MOOREHEAD/MOORHEAD, WILLIAM - From London, merchant by bond dated 1638, payable 20 July 1639, for payment of £1000; paid. Still owed money in 1642.86 Petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in c.1661 and July 1663. Acted as executor to SIR DAVID CUNNINGHAM.87

MUDDREMAN, EDWARD - Tenant in County Londonderry; owed £145; paid £—.

MURRAY, PATRICK - See JAMES CUNNINGHAM.

NELSON [ ] - Tenant in County Londonderry; owed £100.

NICHOLL, FRANCIS - Owed £328-11-0; paid £—.

NICHOLS, EDWARD - 88

NICOLLES/NICHOLS, NICHOLAS/NICK - From London, gentleman, by bond [for £400] dated 14 July 1638, payable 16 November 1638, for payment of £200; paid £—; later claimed he was owed £206-03-04 plus a further £100. Nicolas petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration c.1661.89

NOTT, SIR JAMES - Owed £1900.


O'DIMSY, RICHARD AND HUGH - Bond of £40. Bond guaranteed by Alexander and as security Antrim mortgaged in April 1675 866 acres in Glenarm.91

O'NEILL, LADY MARTHA - Antrim's mother-in-law lent him and, together with William McCullough, guaranteed debts to the tune of £2,000 after 1652.92

PARRETT, [William] - [From County Antrim]; by bond, £3,500 for payment of £1,800, dated 1638; £1600 paid; £200; paid.93

86 Ibid.
87 Hill, MacDonnell, p. 325; Cal. S.P. Ire. 1663-5, p. 342.
88 Hill, MacDonnell, p. 325.
89 Ibid.
90 Ibid.
91 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/'Dunluce barony, 1700s and 1800s'.
92 Ibid.
93 Hogan, Letters 1642-6, p. 7.
PARSONS, SIR WILLIAM - (c.1570-1650). A client of the first duke of Buckingham; surveyor general; master of the court of wards (1625) which he had suggested establishing; lord justice; wealthy land owner with estates in Counties Wicklow, Kildare, Meath, Cavan, Cork, Tipperary, Limerick and Fermanagh; owed £100.94

PEEBLE[S], [ROBERT of the 'Leny' in barony of Dunluce or HUGH PEOPLES who held land in fee near Dervock.] Bond for payment of £70, guaranteed by Alexander and as security Antrim mortgaged in April 1675 866 acres in Glenarm [5/4/75].95

PHELPS, THOMAS - A County Londonderry landowner; owed £310; paid £---.96

PINDAR, SIR PAUL - (c.1565-1650). From Yorkshire; involved in the Levant trade; knighted 1620; 1623 lieutenant of the tower; 1624-5 granted alum farm with rental of £11,000 per annum; 1638-9 lent the exchequer £50,000 and continued to lend the king money during the 1640s; in 1639 his estate was valued at £236,000 but in 1650 he died in debt. By bond dated [for £2700] 1638, payable 30 November 1639 for payment of £1357; paid to January. By bond dated 15 August 1638, payable 16 November 1639 for payment of £4000.97

PLUNKETT, PATRICK - See DUNSANY.

PURBECK, VISCOUNT, JOHN VILLIERS - (c.1591-1657). Elder brother of the duke of Buckingham (Katherine's brother-in-law); member of the prince of Wales's bedchamber; married Sir Edward Coke's daughter; intermittently insane. Owed £1000.98

POLLEXFIN, [ ] - [From Dublin]; by bond, £200 for payment of £100, dated 1638: paid.

POTTER, HUGH - From London, esquire, by bond dated 7 March 1639 £250; paid. Also see BADLY.

POPE, ROBERT - Mr SMITHSBY took out a second bond on York house in his name.

QUESTELL, JOHN - From London, merchant, by bond (£500) dated 1638, payable 30 August 1639, for payment of £255; paid ---.

94 Hill, Montgomery Manuscripts, p. 159; D.N.B. 'William Parsons'.
95 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 440; P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/'Dunluce barony. 1700s and 1800s'.
96 Gillespie, Colonial Ulster, pp 23, 25, 130.
97 D.N.B. 'Paul Pindar'.
98 D.N.B. 'John Villiers'.

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RAMSAY, ROBERT - Taylor, by bond [for £800] 15 August 1638, payable 20 November 1638, for payment of £394-17-0; paid £394-17-0. By bond [for £2120] payable 20 May 1639, for payment of £1000; paid £1000. By bond payable 20 May 1639 for payment of £1066; paid £1066-13-0. A further bond of £2000 (21 July 1638) for the payment of £1000 was never honoured. On Ramsay’s death it passed to Robert and Henry Thompson who assigned it to Humphrey Adby, a London merchant. In November 1656 Alexander MacDonnell agreed to pay Adby £1000 plus £300 in interest.99

RAWDON, GEORGE - (1604-1684). Originally from Yorkshire; Rose O’Neill’s uncle; first baronet of Moira; agent for Conway’s estates in County Down; lived at Brookhill near Lisburn and near St. Martins-in-the-fields in London. He was an M.P.; raised a regiment in 1641; parliamentary commissioner for revenue during the 1650s; a commissioner for settling the land question in 1660. He guaranteed Bealng. Antrim and Rawdon plaintiffs (John Bradbourne and John Osborne, defendants) in a decree pronounced in the Dublin high court of chancery in 1672.100

READ, RICHARD - From London, mercer, by bond [£400] dated 11 August 1638 payable 14 November 1639 for payment of £201; paid ----. Owed money in 1642.101 Read was his executor.

ROBINS, ELAIS - Owed £1400.

RO[R]AN, ROBERT - Amount owed not given.

ROSS, JOHN - [From Glenarm] bond for £100 for the payment of £50-10-00; a Samuel Ross was owed money in 1642; John Overman acted for John Ross at the Restoration and claimed £52.102

ROSS, Captain WILLIAM - Died c.1663. At the Restoration Ross was described as ‘a zealous pursuer of my lord of Antrim’s affairs’.103 In addition to lending Antrim

99 Hill, MacDonnells., p. 475 gives the name as ‘Frederick’; H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42; P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/ ‘Dunluce Barony’.
101 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42.
102 Hill, MacDonnells., p. 325; H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42.
103 Hamilton to Ormond, 10 February 1663 (Bodl., Carte Ms 32, f. 275-v).
money, he badgered leading political figures for his restoration and acted as his messenger and agent. However when Antrim failed to reward Ross for his loyalty he complained to Ormond and Anglesey who put pressure on the marquis to repay the £4000 he owed. In November 1677 Alexander MacDonnell assigned his marriage portion of £3,000 (paid in three annual installments) to Mary Ross for an equivalent sum owed to her father. She was also granted (on 28 November 1677) lands and tenements in the towns of Glenarm, Larne and numerous other townlands in the barony of Glenarm valued at £300 for 99 years in return for any bonds she held. The following day she was granted lands and tenements in the towns of Glenarm, Larne and numerous other townlands in the barony of Glenarm for 98 years 11 months at an annual rent of £200. In July 1681 Antrim agreed to pay Francis Ross £100 then £200 per annum (the yearly rent charge from 24 quarters of land in the Long Liberties) for 7 years to pay off the £1500. In return Ross agreed to acquit Antrim of a debt of £500 (guaranteed by MACDONALD and others) and a further debt of £1000 for payment of £500 due to WILLIAM CLERKE (inherited by Thomas Flemming and his wife) and another one for £1300.104

ROUES, [ANTHONY] - [Co-clerk of the pipe]; guaranteed Borrage.105

RUSDININ [?], GEORGE - Owed £280.

RUSSELL, PETER - Upholsterer, by bond dated [August] 1638 payable 30 November 1639 for payment of £53; paid £---.

ST. ALBANS, EARL OF, HENRY JERMYN - (d.1684); owed £[1]300. A great favourite of Henrietta Maria's who helped Antrim secure his patrimony at the Restoration. In an agreement [post 1660] between Antrim, Alexander and St. Albans it was established that the sum of £1330-8-0 should be paid off at the annual rate of £80.106

SCUDMORE, RICHARD - Owed £56; paid £---.

SHARPE, THOMAS - Owed £118; paid £---.

104 Hamilton to Ormond, 17 January 1663 (Bodl., Carte Ms 32, f. 247v); C.S.P.I., 1662-70, p. 452; Memoranda by Ross to Ormond, [1668] (Bodl., Carte Ms 36 f. 634); Anglesey to Antrim, 4 January 1668 (Bodl., Clarendon Ms 87, ff 1-1v); P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/1; P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/ 'More than one barony'.
106 See p. 393 above. P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/ 'Various old Numbers - Upper Dunluce Barony'.
SHAW, [HUGH/William/John] - By bond, £140 for payment of £70; paid. Rent discharge (1676) to pay £300 owed to William Shaw, County Down.107 Similar rent discharge (1681) [£40] to John Shaw of Ballygelly out of lands in the barony of Glenarm for the repayment of £400.108

SHORELY, ELIZABETH - Owed £40; paid £---.

SHUTTER/SCHOOTER, ALEXANDER - Shoemaker, by bond [for £200] dated 17 August 1638, payable 31 May 1639, for payment of £106; paid ---. His executor claimed £166.

SMITH, WILLIAM - [From Glenarm?]; guaranteed Warren.

SMITH, THOMAS - Secretary to the Lord Admiral; £25; paid.109

SMITHSB[0]Y, THOMAS - The king's saddler, by bond dated 3 August 1638, payable 5 February, 1639, for payment of £1000; paid £1000. Owed a further £1495-13-04. Mr Smithsby took out three bonds on York House: the first in his own name; second with POPE and the third with BARRINGTON. He guaranteed Eldred, Badly and Potter. Petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration c.1661.110

SORNES, SIR THOMAS - Owed £1668 and £520. Thomas Sonnes signed petition and Sir Thomas Soames petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in October 1660.111

SPARKE, JOHN - Owed £83; paid £---.

STEWART, ALEXANDER - By bond (1638), £600 for payment of £300; £100 paid.

STEWART, ARCHIBALD - He replaced John MacNaughten as the first earl's factor and served his son until his death in c.1665. He was one of Antrim's most trusted friends and faithful advisors, liaising with his business associates in London, Edinburgh and Dublin and carrying messages between the earl and Wentworth, Hamilton and the king during the Bishops' Wars. He organised the defence of the earl's estate after October 1641 and was commissioned to raise a regiment; though he subsequently quarreled with his Scottish masters during the 1640s, his guiding hand minimized the disruption on the Antrim estates. He guaranteed Lawrence, Acton, Jacob, Smithsby, Pindar, Morehead, Golding, Barrington, Niccolles, Stoddard, Borrage, 107 Ibid.
108 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/1; Gillespie, Colonial Ulster, pp 76, 118, 139.
109 Aylmer, The King's Servants, p. 360.
110 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 325; Aylmer, The King's Servants, p. 321.
111 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 325; Cal. S.P. Ire. 1660-2, p. 70.

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Flager, Nott, Hellingsworth, Beale, Grinder (Mary and Ralph), Chapman, Bowes, Ward, Bradbourne, Ramsay, Bealing, Clay, Lawrence, Douche, Chamberlain, Herriott, Cooper, Dalby, Read, Gomstone, Clerk and Barry, John and Francis Sympson, Duart, Taylor, Cooke, Bowen, Edlyne, Russell, Van Belamy, Basse, Bedingfield, Dunsany, Brangan, Darcy, Stewar, Parrett, Polllexfin, MacNaughten, Hamilton, Wallace, McColum, Kelso, Hutton, Kannon, Barrabay and Shaw. He was protected by the mortgage of the barony of Cary in November 1637. Plaintiff (Antrim, defendant) in a decree pronounced in the Dublin high court of chancery in 1669.112

STODDARD, PENELOPE - From London, spinster, by bond (£600) dated 19 June 1638, payable 21 November 1638, for payment of £300; paid £300. Petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in c.1661.113

SWALL, JOHN - 114

SYMPSONS, FRANCIS AND JOHN - Jewelers, by bond dated 13 August 1638 payable 14 November 1639, for payment of £440-10-0; paid £---.

TAYLOR, WILLIAM AND COOKE, MATTHEW - Mercers, by bond (£300) dated 15 August 1638 payable 16 May 1639, for payment of £150; paid £---. [Dame] Taylor was owed money in 1642 and Sarah Taylor petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in c.1661.115

TRAYLMAN, JOHN - Agent for the duchess of Buckingham; he leased the manor of Dalbye-Super-Wolds, Leicester, from her in 1636 for 21 years. He lived in York House from c.1631 and during 1650s requested the annuity of L100 that Antrim and the duchess had awarded him but never paid. During the later 1630s he guaranteed Robert Harvey, Franklin, Monnox, Lawrence, Harper, Potter, Acton, Jacob, Warren, Wakeman, Woodward, Maxwell, Smithsay, Wimbledon, Pindar, Questell, Golding, Eldred, Badly, Potter, Legg, Bambridge, Corsellis, Libart, Nicolles, Stoddard, Borrage, Nott, Hellingsworth, Beale, Grinder (Mary and Ralph), Chapman, Bowes, Ward, Bradbourne, Ramsay, Garret, Lovett and Basse. He was protected by the mortgage of the barony of Cary in November 1637. In October 1660 he petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration.116

112 ibid. Stewarts of Ballintoy.
115 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42; Hill, MacDonnells, p. 325.
116 Declaration by Francis Morely. 23 October 1651 (P.R.O., S.P. 23/114/p.641); Committee for Compounding.
TRAYLMAN, ROGER - Guaranteed Harvey.

VAN BELAMY, PETER - Picturemaker, by bond dated [August] 1638 payable 31 August 1639, for payment of £30; paid £--.

VAMBOLEMP/VONBELCAMP, JOHN - Owed £30: petitioned king c.1661.117

VANDIKE/VAN DYCK, SIR ANTHONY - [Painter; (1599-1641); court painter 1635-40] £222; paid £--.

VILLIERS, JOHN - See PURBECK.

WAKEMAN, ANNE - From parish of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, London, by bond [for £300] dated 23 August 1639, payable 31 August 1639, for payment of £150; paid. Shee petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in c.1661.118

WALLACE, MRS - Widow [from Dunluce?], by bond, £300 for payment of £150, dated 1638; paid.

WARD, ELINOR - See ELINOR CHAPMAN.

WARD, HENRY - Milliner, by bond dated 14 August 1638, payable 15 February 1639 for payment of £121-5-0; paid £121-5-0. Owed £544-17-0 in 1642. Elinor Ward (see CHAPMAN) petitioned the king for Antrim's restoration in c.1661.119

WARREN, GARVIS - From London, gentleman, by bond dated 1638, payable 13 August 1639, for payment of £100; paid £16.

WAVIN, JAMES - Bond of £200 for payment of £100.

WEIRE, AGNES [ALS MILLER] - Bond of £800 for payment of £405. Bond guaranteed by Alexander and as security Antrim mortgaged in April 1675 866 acres in Glenarm.120

WESTON, WILLIAM [SIR] - Owed £500; paid £500. A gentleman waiter in the king's household.121

117 Hill, MacDonnells, p. 325. 118 Ibid.
119 Ibid.; H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42.
120 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/'Dunluce barony, 1700s and 1800s'.
121 P.R.O., L. C. 3/1, f. 33; Gillespie, Colonial Ulster, pp 45, 47.
WILLIAMS, RICHARD - Claimed in 1642 that Antrim owed him money.122

WHELER, THOMAS - Guaranteed Borrage and Flager.

WHITE, SIR CHARLES - From Leixlip, County Kildare; his wife Dame Ursula (deceased) entered into a bond with Alexander and Antrim for £2000. In July 1685 Charles demanded payment of the principal plus interest and the court ordered that Alexander pay £800 plus £16-13-8 in legal expenses which he did in 200 installments.123

WIMBLEDON, VISCOUNT, SIR EDWARD CECIL - (1572-1638). Third son of Lord Burghley; naval and military commander served on the continent; a Buckingham favourite; 1630-8 governor of Portsmouth; a privy councillor and well liked by Charles I; his third wife was the daughter of Sir Edward Zouch (from whom Antrim bought Bramshill). By bond dated [9 June] 1638, payable 10 Dec., 1638 for payment of £1000; paid £200. Sir John Barlow of Pembroke, Wales, was Wimbledon’s executor and in August 1677 (after being sued) Antrim promised to pay him the outstanding £800 in 200 annual installments. In August 1680 Antrim leased Barlow 16 quarters of land in barony of Dunluce for 99 years at peppercorn rent towards this.124

WOLSTENHOME, SIR JOHN - (1562-1639); merchant adventurer from old Derbyshire family; knighted 1617; customs farmer. Owed £2000; paid £2000.

WOODWARD, HUGH - From London, gentleman, on bond [for £1000] for payment of £500; paid. William Fleming, Baron Slane, guaranteed a bond of £660 between Antrim and Hugh Woodward (dated May 1636). Antrim failed to honour his debts and so Slane was liable for them. In 1638 James MacDonnell of Glengarry and Daniel MacNaughten guaranteed a bond [for £660] for payment of £300. In 1695 MacNaughten ordered to honour the debt. In c.1661 Woodward petitioned the king for Antrim’s restoration.125

122 H.L.R.O., Main Papers, 4/2/42.
123 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/’More than one barony’.
124 For a detailed account of his career see Charles Dalton, Life and Times of Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon... (2 vols., London, 1885); P.R.O.I., Rolls Office, Chancery Decree Books, 1669-85, MS 1A.49.129, f. 61; P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/’Dunluce barony, 1700s and 1800s’; P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/’Various Old Numbers – Upper Dunluce barony’.
WOODSIDE, ROBERT - From Drumnall. Bond of £40, guaranteed by Alexander and as security Antrim mortgaged in April 1675 866 acres in Glenarm.126

YATE, THOMAS - 127

Between c.1635 and c.1665 Antrim borrowed money from over 220 individuals.

126 P.R.O.N.I., D.2977/3A/‘Dunluce barony, 1700s and 1800s’.
127 Cal. S.P. Ire. 1660-2, p. 70.
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SOURCE: Appendix 1.5 and Hill, MacDonnell's, pp 473-7.
Appendix 1.7: The 'Antrim plot'

Antrim's assertions in May and August 1650 that Charles I had wanted to use the earl of Strafford's 'new Irish army' against his English parliament in the spring of 1641 have been accepted almost verbatim by later historians including (to name but a few) S. R. Gardiner, Thomas Birch, Robert Dunlop, Aidan Clarke and Caroline Hibbard.1 Only Sir Richard Cox, writing in 1689, suggested that 'this information cannot be true'.2

More recently, however, the accepted historical orthodoxy has been challenged by Professors Conrad Russell and Michael Perceval-Maxwell.3 Russell suggested that 'Antrim's plot' was simply a figment of the earl's fertile imagination. Certain facts suggested to Russell that Antrim was not 'the


2 He offered a threefold explanation: firstly, Ormond and Antrim could never have worked together; secondly, it would have been impossible to raise 12,000 men 'without noise and time'; thirdly, not even Charles would have been so 'rash and imprudent' as to put 'the kingdom of England in a flame' while he was away in Scotland, Cox, Hibernia Anglicana, ii, 209.

3 Russell, 'The British Background', pp 166-182; Michael Perceval-Maxwell, 'Charles I and the Irish Conspiracy in 1641' (Unpublished paper presented at a conference entitled 'One Imperial Crown: The multiple kingdom of seventeenth century Britain' held at Urbana-Champaign, 3-6 April 1990). I am grateful to Professors Russell and Perceval-Maxwell for kindly sharing their views on this matter with me and to Professor Perceval-Maxwell for allowing me to cite from his paper.
confidential accomplice of the king portrayed in his confession’ and that the king ‘had no need whatsoever to stir up a hornets’ nest by attacking it with an Irish army’. He noted that the king failed to interfere with arrangements for the export of the disbanded troops; he argued that the unrevealing nature of Antrim’s correspondence with Hamilton (in June and July 1641) is significant; and he pointed to the fact that the political situation in Scotland and England was, over the summer of 1641, shifting in Charles’ favour. In short, he concluded that Antrim’s confession ‘should not be believed unless contemporary confirmation can be found’.4 Perceval-Maxwell agreed with Russell’s arguments and added two more of his own: that Charles was not conspiring with the Irish at all in the early months of 1641, and that ‘Ormond’s behaviour during the summer does not bear out Antrim’s version of events’. He therefore concluded that Antrim fabricated the story in 1650 ‘in order to save himself from the wrath of the Commonwealth officials’.5

Getting to the bottom of such a sensitive issue is - in the absence of unequivocal contemporary testimony - virtually impossible. Any attempt to do so must therefore re-examine all of the available evidence, however scrappy, indirect and ambiguous, from the 1640s, 1650s and 1660s.

5 Perceval-Maxwell, ‘Charles I and the Irish Conspiracy in 1641’.

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Since all other evidence is circumstantial, we must begin with the declarations Antrim made in 1650 and the context in which he made them.6 The marquis had been in communication with the parliamentary commanders in Ireland, Colonel Michael Jones and his brother Henry Jones, bishop of Clogher, from the autumn of 1648; and in London his agent and friend Abbot Patrick Creelly had been negotiating on his behalf with select parliamentary Independents from December 1648.7

6 These declarations are printed in Cox, Hibernia Anglicana, ii, 206-9 and Hill MacDonalds, pp 448-51. Cox printed Antrim's 'information' without indicating his source; however manuscript versions of it have been found in two locations.

A copy of Antrim's 'discourse' which was endorsed by the earl of Orrery (in 1661) as 'the copy of that paper which was delivered to me by lord bishop of Clogher' is among the Irish state papers, see, Cal. S.P. Ire., 1660-2, p. 208/P.R.O., S.P. 63/306/47 (f. 92).
2. The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
(i) A document entitled 'the substance of the earl of Antrim's declaration', now housed among the duke of Ormond's papers, includes the transcripts made by Henry Jones, John Reynolds and Henry Owen of Antrim's disclosures; Antrim's declaration that their accounts were truthful and accurate; and a detailed account (not reproduced by Cox) of his trip to London in December 1650, see Carte MSS 28, ff 365-6v.
(ii) Valentine Savage, who had made an almost verbatim copy of Jones's original transcript for Broghill (probably 1 above), then made a further copy (this time from memory) which was later sent to Ormond, see 'The substance of an examination...of Antrim', 'about midsummer 1650' (Carte MSS 65, ff 508-9).
(iii) A further copy, written from memory (found among Clarendon's papers), adds the information - without giving a date - that Antrim actually met with Ormond at Castlehaven's house (presumably at Maddenstown) in County Kildare. For details see Viscount Montgomery's account of how he secured a copy of the declaration, received 26 September/6 October [1651?] (Bodl., Clarendon MSS 40, ff 151-2).

7 See pp 313-22 above.
After the Cromwellian invasion of Ireland Antrim demonstrated his willingness to collaborate by helping to betray Ross (and possibly Wexford) to Cromwell in October 1649. In March 1650 he made a formal alliance with the Cromwellians.8

Antrim now spent nearly two months with the main parliamentary army in County Meath and, according to one source, made Ireton's tent 'his sanctuary'.9 He was on equally friendly terms with other Cromwellians and on 9 May was in the company of two of them - Colonel (later Sir) John Reynolds and Bishop Henry Jones - at Miltown, County Meath. In the course of their conversations Reynolds and Jones asked him whether Charles I had commissioned the Irish to rebel in October 1641; Antrim claimed that he 'knew nothing of any such commission' but added that 'before the said rising of the Irish in Ireland' Charles had instructed him not to disband Strafford's 'new army' but rather to increase it from 8,000 to 20,000, to arm it 'out of the store of Dublin' and - 'if occasion should be for so doing' - to use it against parliament. Two days later Antrim met again with Jones and Henry Owen (another Cromwellian officer). On this occasion Antrim 'freely' discussed the instructions he had received from the king in the spring of 1641, his meetings with Ormond,

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8 See pp 335-6, 341-2 above.

9 Examination of bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, 1 February 1661 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1660-2, p. 208/P.R.O., S.P. 63/306/45 (f.87)).
how he had proposed to implement 'the business' and why his plan had failed.10 To support his account of events which had (after all) occurred nine years previously, he produced 'the letters of credence' which Charles I had given to his messenger (Thomas Bourke). Finally he authorized Jones, who did 'endure the same into writing' to inform Oliver Cromwell and Henry Ireton of his disclosures.11

There was then apparently a three month hiatus before the matter was raised again - during which time Antrim was present in the parliamentary camp at the siege of Carlow (July 1650) and did his utmost to persuade his former followers to surrender peacefully and quietly to the English invaders.12 Then on 22 August the details of the 'Antrim plot', recorded by Jones in May, were corrected and signed by the marquis before being sent to leading Cromwellians including Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill. The same day he was issued with a pass (signed by Jones) allowing him to travel to England to compound for his estates and another (signed by Ireton) 'that he might go among his tenants' to

10 For a discussion of this see pp 124-6 above.


12 Petition of Adventurers and soldiers, [26 July] 1663 (Cal. S.P. Ire., 1663-5, pp 214-7 and Bodl., Carte MSS 44, ff 394-5); Some observations of adventurers and soldiers on the estate claimed by Antrim, [1661] (Bodl., Carte MSS 44, ff 328-31); Petition of Adventurers and soldiers to Charles II, [August, 1663] (ibid., ff 376-7); Hill, MacDonells, p. 336.
raise money for his trip. These permits— together with the substantial Cromwellian pension he subsequently received—were, however, specifically stated to be his reward for 'the singular service' he had done the army 'since the first day they came before Ross'. They were not blood-money for having sold out on the late king.13

Two tentative conclusions can be drawn from this. Firstly, Antrim was rewarded for his services as a collaborator and not as an informant. Secondly, and more significantly, he apparently had no need to 'curry favour' with the Commonwealth by implicating Charles I in popish plots since he already enjoyed a good working relationship with leading Cromwellians in Ireland—especially with Ireton, who held him in 'some esteem...and some tenderness'.14

So much for the 'hard evidence'. Unfortunately to date no testimony from the crucial year 1641 has been unearthed which either supports or refutes Antrim's assertions. Russell and Maxwell have both argued that Antrim's failure to discuss Charles I's proposals with his mentor, the marquis of Hamilton, in the two letters which he wrote to him on 3 June and 19 July 1641 is significant.15 But does this absence of evidence

13 The substance of the earl of Antrim's declaration, undated (Bodl., Carte MSS 28, f. 366) and see pp 340, 347, 357-9 above.

14 Commissioners in Dublin to the lord lieutenant, 8 January 1652 (Dunlop, Commonwealth, i, 124).
necessarily constitute evidence of absence? On the one hand, Antrim was always reluctant to commit any sensitive, confidential matters to paper: for example after the First Bishops’ War he requested permission to visit Hamilton in person since ‘I have much to say to your lordship which I cannot trust to paper’.16 On the other, a mysterious hiatus of fifteen months (between April 1640 and June 1641) in their otherwise regular correspondence suggests that there may once have been other letters, particularly in the crucial period of spring 1641 - letters which could well, however cryptically, have referred to the king’s instructions - which have now perished.17 To place undue reliance upon the silence of the Hamilton papers would therefore be unwise.

Equally problematic are the depositions and confessions later taken from individuals who would no doubt have been privy to the ‘Antrim plot’ (if it existed). Consider, for instance, the testimonial provided by Colonel John Read, a Scottish court catholic who had been dispatched, with his uncle Sir Henry Bruce, by the king to Ireland in 1639 to assist Antrim with his preparations for the First Bishops’ War


16 Antrim to [Hamilton], 13 July 1639 (S.R.O., G.D. 406/1/1164).

17 Prior to this, the largest ‘gap’ in their correspondence was a mere four months - and that, too, may be caused by the loss of some intervening letters.
and had remained in Ireland to accept a commission in Strafford's 'new army'. After being captured and tortured by the lords justices in March 1642, Read 'confessed he knew of this plot ever since the disbanding [of] our Irish army'.

It could therefore be argued that he had learnt of Charles I's plans to use Strafford's army against his parliamentary opponents some time in May or June 1641 - at precisely the time Antrim was in a quandary about how to proceed next, and might therefore have asked the advice of an intimate of the king experienced in the ways of war.

A similar argument could be applied to the assertions of Sir Phelim O'Neill (another of Antrim's confidants) at his trial in 1653, that he had been informed of a plot by Lord Maguire and Roger Moore about 'a quarter or half a year' before the rebellion broke out (that is between April and July 1641).

The naming of Lord Maguire as the source was significant, because he was the man whom Antrim had nominated to secure fresh instructions from Charles precisely around this time.

18 A Continuation of the Tryumphant and Courgious [sic] proceedings of the Protestant Army in Ireland ...(London, 1 April 1642), pp 3-4; Hibbard, Popish Plot, p. 117; Montagu MSS, pp 154-5; 'Case of the Roman Catholics of Ireland' (Bodl., Rawlinson B.482, p. 18).

19 After his capture Read was sent to London and imprisoned in the Tower; he later - late 1643 or early 1644 - escaped from the Tower and fled to Oxford. He was then implicated in a plot to hand London over to the crown, The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer...Tuesday 2 = Tuesday 9 January 1644, pp 289-90.

20 Examination of Sir Phelim O'Neill, 23 February 1653 (T.C.D., MS 836, ff 167-8).
The main problem with these confessions, however, is that Read and O'Neill did not specifically identify 'this plot' as being Antrim's, as opposed to any of the other conspiracies being hatched early in 1641. They might also have meant the 'Colonels' plot' or, more likely, the 'O'More-Maguire' plot, which had been brewing since February 1641 and ultimately led to the Ulster rebellion. Once again the material is ambiguous.

If recollections from the 1650s are inconclusive, the same is true of material dating from the 1660s. But, in the absence of conclusive contemporary evidence, it also merits examination.

Let us begin with Antrim himself. In July 1660 he was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London charged with 'aspersing the memory of the late king in reference to the scandal raised against him of being author of the Irish rebellion'. Six months later the English privy council wrote to the Irish lords justices requesting that all material relating to the case should be sent at once to London. In February 1661 Henry Jones, bishop of Clogher, Michael Boyle, bishop

21 For a discussion of the various plots see Clarke, Old English, pp 154-8; Gillespie, 'End of an Era', pp 192-4, 202-4; FitzPatrick, Seventeenth century Ireland, chapter 6; Casway, Owen Roe O'Neill, pp 46-51.

22 Ormond to Clarendon, 27 October 1663 (Bodl., Carte MSS 143, f. 201).

23 Ormond and lords justices to Bennet, 31 July 1663 (Bodl. Carte MSS 44, ff 370-3).
of Cork, the earl of Orrery (formerly Lord Broghill), Henry Owen and Valentine Savage, men who had either heard Antrim's assertions in person or had seen transcripts of them, were questioned by officials in Dublin.24 Their testimonies agreed in substance—though not always in detail—with the printed version of the 'Antrim plot': for instance, Michael Boyle testified that Antrim also discussed the matter with Ireton and Colonel Venables during the siege of Carlow (July 1650) and he further asserted that 'Charles (calling him Stewart) employed him over into Ireland before the rebellion to prepare the people in the north and to stir them up to a rebellion'.25

24 Examination of bishop of Clogher, 1 February 1661 (Cal. S. P. Ire., 1660-2, p. 207; P.R.O., S.P. 63/306/44 (ff 85-v)); Examination of Orrery, 4 February 1661 (ibid., p. 208; P.R.O., S.P. 63/306/46 (f.89)); Examination of bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, 1 February 1661 (ibid., p. 208; P.R.O., S.P. 63/306/45 (f.87)); Examination of Colonel Henry Owen, 4 February 1661 (ibid., p. 209; P.R.O., S.P. 63/306/47 (f. 92v)); Examination of Clogher, 14 February 1661 (ibid., p. 217; P.R.O., S.P. 63/306/60 (f. 113)). Their examinations were then forwarded to London, Cal. S.P. Ire., 1660-2, p. 293. Richard Baxter claimed that at the Restoration Antrim 'was forced to produce in the... House of Commons, a letter of the king's [Charles I], by which he gave him order for his taking up arms; which being read in the House, did put them into a silence', Reliquiae Baxterianae; or, Mr Richard Baxter's narrative of the most memorable passages of his life and times... (London, 1696), part III at p. 83 and ibid., A Vindication of the Royal Martyr Charles I from the Irish Massacre in the Year 1641... (3rd edn., London, 1704), pp 2-3.

25 However Bishop Boyle also asserted that Ireton and Venables were aware that Charles I—'a man of such wisdom'—would never have considered using Antrim in the first place, Examination of bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, 1 February 1661 (Cal. S. P. Ire., 1660-2, p. 208/P.R.O., S.P. 63/306/45 (f.87)).
In May 1661 Antrim's case was referred to the Irish council and the marquis was released in order to appear before the Irish lords justices within six weeks. He arrived in Dublin in June having already denied (in a letter to Ormond) that he had accused the king of fomenting the October 1641 rebellion in Ireland:

'I have been accused of laying an assertion on the late king concerning the Irish rebellion. I may have been apt enough to do things indiscreet but to commit an action so abominable as the relating of a falsehood against so gracious a prince is baseness so horrid and so far from my intentions, that it never entered into my thoughts'.26

This was a new charge and in July, during his examination by Sir William Domville and John Temple, Antrim again denied it categorically. On this, as we have seen, he appears to have been telling the truth.27

But he then went on to state that 'he never had any message or direction from his late majesty to... raise any forces within this kingdome to any such purpose or intent as to keep in awe the parliament'. He also denied that Bourke, Digby or Hamerton had brought him instructions 'about the keeping up the 8000 men that were raised by the late earl of Strafford...nor about employing them in any service'. Moreover while he admitted having been in Ireton's camp, he denied having discussed the matter with

26 Antrim to Ormond, 24 April 1661 (Bodl., Carte MSS 44, f. 334).
27 See pp 126-30 above.
Clogher, Owen and Reynolds.28 In a second examination in May 1662 he further asserted that he was only acquainted with Ireton 'in relation to his own subsistence' and that he had never written to Ireton, Cromwell or Michael Jones.29

Since the restoration of Antrim's estate largely depended on his answers, his set of denials are understandable; but, as evidence from 1650s together with that of other ex-Cromwellians (discussed above) clearly illustrates, he was blatantly lying both about his relationship with Ireton and about not making a declaration in May 1650. This in turn suggests that he may also have been lying when he denied any knowledge of Charles I's instructions in the spring of 1641.

Yet the lies worked. In late October 1662, Ormond informed Charles II that 'what he is committed for in England, when it came to be examined here, was not found to be of weight to bring him to trial'.30 And while investigations into Antrim's behaviour during the 1640s were continued for another three years, the 'Antrim plot' was never mentioned again. The contradictory quality of these restoration sources, and the curious circumstances in which Antrim was finally (in 1665) restored (discussed in chapter 10), are in


30 Ormond to Charles II, 20 October 1662 (Bodl., Clarendon MSS 78, f. 39).
themselves revealing, since they suggest that every effort was made to fudge the truth about Charles I’s negotiations with Irish papists in 1641 in an effort to avoid blackening the late king’s reputation even further. But once again, the evidence is inconclusive.

So, for the sake of argument, let us adopt a counterfactual approach and suppose the case to be proven. Then, despite Russell’s scepticism, the king’s choice of Antrim as his agent in 1641 would have seemed natural when one remembers the eagerness with which he had backed – even against the advice of his representative in Ireland – the earl’s proposal to invade Scotland in 1639.31 And, of course, Charles was also to support later (and not dissimilar) invasion ‘plots’ orchestrated by the earl in 1642, in 1643 and in 1644-5; and he was privy to numerous other conspiracies hatched by his supporters against his Scottish and parliamentary opponents between 1639 and 1641, including one which proposed using the English army to intimidate the Long Parliament into releasing Strafford.32 Repeated involvement in ‘plots’ clearly demonstrate that Antrim, like his master, revealed in

31 See chapter 3 above.

intrigue of this nature. So the 'Antrim plot' certainly cannot be dismissed on a priori grounds.

But what of logistics? Would it have been technically possible to have re-mustered the demobilized (though highly trained) 'new army'?33 The order to disband the troops was issued on 8 May 1641 together with royal permission for select officers to ship 8,000 foot to the continent; and within a month the men had been demobilized 'with reasonable content to the common soldier'.34 No doubt some of the disappointed recruits simply wended their way home, but a significant number converged - much to the horror of the authorities - on Dublin in search of alternative employment.35 The original plan had been to export the entire army to serve in the continental armies of

33 According to St. Leger 'The state of this army is now such for so many of them as are armed, so that I do not care who sees them...no prince in the Christian world hath...better men, nor more orderly', St. Leger to Ormond, 22 August 1640 (Bodl., Carte MSS 1, f. 231). Gillespie, 'End of an Era', p. 201.

34 Charles I to Ormond, 8 May 1641 (Bodl., Carte MSS 1, f. 381); Ormond to Vane, 10 June 1641 (ibid., MSS 1, f. 426). Clarke, Old English, pp 154-6.

35 For instance in June it was reported that 100 men from Colonel Chichester's regiment were in Newry with their officers: 'I cannot judge their inclinations to be willing to remain here, being they are all so persuaded that Dublin will afford them better means of subsistence', [An officer in command of the Newry garrison] to [Theophilus Jones], [c.June 1641] (Bodl., Carte MSS 1, f. 425v). The lords justices reported how in June 'a popish priest or friar had been tampering with some of the late disbanded army here, that they might not depart this kingdom, [for] any foreign employment, and that they should rather live at home although they live on bread and milk', lords justices to Vane, 3 August 1641 (B.L., Eg. MSS 2533, ff 121-2).

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Philip IV of Spain; but this was then vetoed by both the English and Irish parliaments. In London it was argued that:

'It was never fit to suffer the Irish to be promiscuously made soldiers abroad, because it may make them able to trouble the state when they come home. Their intelligence, and practice, with the princes whom they shall serve may prove dangerous to that kingdom'.

In Dublin it was feared 'that the carrying away [of] so many men from thence may beget some inconvenience to this kingdom'. But finally, late in August, 4,000 men were given permission to be shipped abroad. Of these, although only 300 soldiers (led by Colonel George Porter) arrived in Spain, a further 900 were embarked in Galway and Dublin.

36 The Spanish ambassador in London and Philip IV were both delighted by this windfall of freshly trained Irish soldiers, Cárdenas to council of state, 5/15 July 1641 (A.G.S., Eo. 2522 unfol.); Consulta of council of state, 12/22 August 1641 (A.G.S., Eo. 2522 unfol.). Bigby, Anglo-French Relations, p. 123; Loomie, 'Spanish Faction', pp 36-49.

37 Sir Benjamin Rudyard. His speech made in answer to the Spanish and French Ambassadors...August 28 1641 (London, 1641), pp 3-4. Russell, 'The British Background', p. 178

38 Lords justices to Vane, 3 August 1641 (B.L., Eg. MSS 2533, ff 121-2); Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47, p. 338; Gillespie, 'End of an Era', p. 201.

39 Vane to Ormond, 20 August 1641 (Bodl., Carte MSS 1, f. 436).

40 The 900 never sailed, due firstly to contrary winds and then to the outbreak of the rebellion. It is noteworthy that Cárdenas spent 58,600 escudos (out of the 70,000 sent) or roughly £14,000 (!) arranging these levies. He had clearly anticipated a far larger army being ready to leave Ireland, Cárdenas to Philip IV, 8/18 May 1644 (A.G.S., Eo. 2522 unfol.); Loomie, 'Alonso de Cárdenas', p. 293.
'new army' were evidently still available for service; and shipping was ready for at least some of them. They and the others milling around Dublin and the Pale could just as easily have been shipped for England under Antrim's command in the transport vessels which he had built in 1639 to ship his forces to Scotland.41

In the event these men instead formed the backbone of the armies raised by the confederate catholics; but that was only after Ireland had been plunged into turmoil by the outbreak of rebellion in October 1641. For it must always be remembered that the 'Antrim plot', even if it existed, was never more than a plan. Nevertheless, while not conclusive, the balance of evidence indicates clearly enough that it was not just a figment of Antrim's imagination.

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P.R.O.31/3/87-8 - Ibid., Mar. - Oct. 1648
P.R.O.31/8/198 - Transcripts of Digby MSS, 1605-95

S.P.18/9 ff 223-5 - Account of Irish prizes taken to Ostend and Dunkirk, 1649-50
S.P.19/140/18 - Proceedings of the committee for advance of money
S.P.23/71-2, 79, 81, 86, 89, 96-7, 114, 125, 128, 131, 135, 245-7, 237, 251-2, 256-7 - Papers of the committee for compounding with delinquents, 1643-59
S.P.25/14, 32, 64-6, 70, 75, 96 - Records of the council of state, 1650-4
S.P.28/350/7, 9 - Commonwealth exchequer papers: financial papers relating to Ireland, 1648-57
S.P.29/16, 28, 78, 82, 379 - State papers, domestic, 1660-76
S.P.44/13, 18, 23, 28 - State papers, domestic, Charles II, entry books
S.P.63/242, 244-5, 249, 260-5, 267-9, 271-4, 276-9, 288, 290-4, 300, 304-23, 326, 329, 338, 342-3, 345-8 - State papers, Ireland, 1626-83
S.P.94/42 - State papers, Spain 1640-9
S.P.105/16 - Gerbier’s entry book, 1639-40

OXFORD:

Bodleian Library:

Carte MSS:
1-51, 60, 63-70, 118, 142-5, 199, 214-5, 220-1 - Letters and papers of Ormond, 1633-87
80 - Wharton papers
83-4 - Letters and papers of the French ambassador, 1644-7
156-7, 160-1 - Registers of Irish petitions, 1649-50
159, 164-5 - Registers of army orders

474
225 - Papers designed to vindicate Charles I in the matter of the Irish rebellion, 1641

Rawlinson MSS:
A. 14 - Proposals concerning the division and leasing of confiscated land, 1654
A. 22 - Instructions for an expedition from Carrickfergus to the islands of Mull and Skye, 1654
A. 54 - List of Irish conspirators, 1657
B. 482 - The case of the Roman Catholics in Ireland
B. 507 - Letters and papers relating to the Irish rebellion, 1641-6
C. 841 - Letter giving an account of Antrim's trial, 1663
D. 742 - Eighteenth century letter discussing the blank commissions given to Antrim by Charles I

Other collections:
Ballard MSS 53 - Sir Edmund Walker's papers
Clarendon MSS 7-87, 98 - State papers of the earl of Clarendon, 1635-67
Eng. Hist. MSS C.37 - Copies of some of Ormond's official letters, 1639-79
Eng. Misc.C.208 - Accounts of the household of the duchess of Buckingham, 1629-34
Fairfax MSS 32 - Correspondence, 1641-8
Nelson MSS Dep.C.154, 163-5, 172, 174
Tanner MSS 57/2, 58/2, 59/1B, 60/2, 61, 62/1, 62/2

Christchurch:
Sir Robert Brown's correspondence

SHEFFIELD:
City Library:
E.M. 1281, 1284/b, 1317-8, 1368, 1486, 1354/3 - Elmirsth collection (Pye deposit)
Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments 3-12, 14-22, 24, 34, 40 (Stafford papers)

III - SCOTTISH ARCHIVES

EDINBURGH:
National Library of Scotland:
MS 79, 81 - Morton papers, 1620-48
MS 577 - Watson collection
MS 3139 - Cunningham of Robertland correspondence, 1636-97
MS 3368 - Scottish historical letters and documents, 1608-1745
MS 3784 ff 29-47 - Nineteenth century copies of papers belonging to the first three earls of Antrim
MS Ch. 2473 - Bond, 1644

Advocates MSS
Adv. MSS 26.2.7 - Papers relating to the MacDonald family
Adv. MSS 34.6.11 - A History of the Gordon family
Adv. MSS 35.5.3 - Letters (copies) to the fifth earl of Argyll, c.1642

Wodrow MSS
Wod. Fo. 65-6 - Miscellaneous church and state papers, 1639-50

Scottish Record Office:
G.D. 16 - Airlie MSS
G.D. 34 - Hay of Hayston papers
G.D. 39 - Glencairn muniments
G.D. 44 - Huntly MSS
G.D. 45 - Dalhousie MSS
G.D. 52 - Forbes MSS
G.D. 112 - Breadalbane MSS
G.D. 201 - Clanranald papers
G.D. 220 - Montrose Ms.
G.D. 406/1 - Hamilton MSS
G.D. 406/M1 - Miscellaneous Hamilton MSS
G.D. 406/M9 - Ibid.

R.H. 1/2/452-3 - Guthrie castle papers, 1637-62
R.H. 15/91/33 - Papers relating to the plantation of Ulster, 1611-7

West Register House:
Film R.H. 4/124 - Edmonstone of Duntreath muniments

IV - CONTINENTAL AND NORTH AMERICAN ARCHIVES

BELGIUM -- BRUSSELS:
Archives Générales du Royaume:
Secrétairerie d'Etat et de Guerre:
42-47 - 'Registres aux ordres', 1642-50
232-44 - Correspondence of Castel Rodrigo and Archduke Leopold William with Philip IV, 1644-9

Conseil Privé Espagnol:
1573-4 - Letters on military matters between Spain and Flanders, 1629-48

FRANCE -- PARIS:
Bibliotheque Nationale:
Fonds Français:
9691, 10,772, 15,994, 15,996-16,002, 17,979, 20,674 - Correspondence of French ambassadors in England and Scotland, 1645-64
Ministère des Affaires Etrangères:

Correspondance Politique, Angleterre:
Côtes 48-60 - Letters from various people (including Dumoulin and Talon) relating to events in Ireland, 1646-7

ITALY -- ROME (on microfilm in the N.L.I.)
Archivio della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide:
Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali:
vols 14, 102, 105-6, 129, 134, 138 - Letters, reports and other documents relating to Irish affairs, 1632-55

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana:
Barberini Latini MSS:
3603, 3631, 4729, 5253, 6485, 6768, 6827, 8222-3, 8238, 8642, 8649, 8651, 8653, 8655, 8671, 8672, 8673 - Letters to Cardinal Barberini concerning Irish affairs and despatches from London, 1638-62

Nunziatura di Fiandra:
vols 27, 32-3, 45 - Letters relating to Irish and English affairs, 1645-9

SPAIN -- MADRID:
Archivo Histórico Nacional:
Sección de Estado:
Libros 264, 372, 715, 961, 964, 966, 975, 978-9 - Miscellaneous documents relating to Ireland and to Irishmen in Spain, 1636-49

Legajo 1411 - Correspondence of Castel Rodrigo with Philip IV, 1646-7

SPAIN -- SIMANCAS:
Archivo General:
Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas:
Legajos 3A/937, 956, 993, 1049, 1851, 2871 - Accounts of T. López de Ulloa, 1642-51
Legajos 3A/1762, 1856 - Accounts of H. de Benero, 1651-6
Legajos 3A/3141 - Accounts of D. Enríquez de Castro, 1653-4

Guerra Antigua:
Legajos 1566-70, 1572, 1597-9, 1601-2, 1608, 1615 - Documents concerning Irish troops in, and for, the armies of Spain, 1645-6

Secretaría de Estado:
Flandes y Holanda
Legajos 2061, 2064-6, 2068, 2071-3, 2098, 2163-5, 2251, 2254, 2256 - Troops musters for Irish regiments in Flanders and letters on raising Irish troops for Flanders, 1644-53

Inglaterra
Legajos 2521-2526, 2565-6, 2576 - Reports and letters from Foissotte, Torre, Biraven, Cardenas and the relevant consultas of the Spanish council of state, 1636-48

Roma
Legajos 3016-21 - Despatches relating to Ireland from the Spanish ambassador in Rome, 1647-50

Tribunal Mayor de Cuentas:
Legajo 4A/2635 - Secret accounts of Diego de La Torre, 1645-9

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA -- SAN MARINO,
CALIFORNIA:
Huntington Library:

Ellesmere collection:
E.L. 7060 - An indictment against Strafford

Hastings MSS:
H.A. box 7-10 - Irish papers, 1640-1660
H.A. 14,987 - 'A particular of ye walled citties...', 1643
H.A. 15,001 - Proclamation of the supreme council, 1644
H.A. 15,229-34 - Letters from Rose O'Neill, 1666-1684
Pamphlets and Newspapers (with location):

All published in London unless stated.

Another Extract of more letters sent out of Ireland, Informing the condition of the kingdom as it now stands (1643) C.U.L., HIB.7.643.3

Articles of Impeachment against George Lord Digby...(28 February 1642) C.U.L., HIB.7.642.12

A Briefe Relation of some affaires and transactions civill and military, both foraigne and domestique..., no 17 (B.L., Burney 34A/35A)

Certaine Informations from severall parts of the Kingdome..., nos 22 (B.L., E.55(4)), 25 (B.L., E.59(21))

A Collection of certain horrid murders in several counties of Ireland committed since the 23 of October 1641... (1679) N.L.I., Thorpe VI

A Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages from both Houses of Parliament..., no 13 (B.L., E.121(11))

A Continuation of the Diurnall Occurrences and Proceedings of the English Army against the rebels in Ireland...From 1 April, to this present 1642 (1642) B.L., E.143(23)

A Continuation of the Diurnall Passages in Ireland...Being sent from the Lord Antrim...to...Rutland, dated February 25, 1641 (1641[-2]) B.L., E.137(28)

A Continuation of the Tryumphant and Courigious [sic] Proceedings of the Protestant Army in Ireland... (1 April 1642) B.L., E.141(21)

A Continuation of very Good Newes from Ireland... (1642) N.L.I., Lough Fea V

Continued Heads of Perfect Passages in Parliament and Proceedings of the Councell of State and the Army..., nos 3 (B.L., E.529(30)), 4 (B.L., E.530(4))

A Copie of Certaine Letters; which manifest the Designe of the late plot discovered plot... (10 February 1643) B.L., E.81(16)

A Copie of a Letter from the Lord Intrim [sic] in Ireland to the Right Honorable Earle of Rutland, bearing date the 25 day of February Anno Dom. 1642... (1642[-3]) B.L., E.138(7)
The Court Mercurie relating for Newes. The most remarkable passages of the King's army as also some newes from foraine parts communicated to both houses of Parliament for Truth from divers parts of this kingdom, nos 6 (B.L., E 6(3), 10 (B.L., Burney 14A)

The Daily Proceedings of His Majesty's fleet on the narrow seas, from 17 October to 15 November....(18 November 1642) B.L., E.127(25)

A Declaration of the Commons assembled in Parliament concerning the rise and progresse of the Grand Rebellion in Ireland...with some letters and papers of great consequence of the Earl of Antrim's...(25 July 1643) C.U.L., HIB.7.643.29

A Declaration by the Irish Armie in Ulster: Sent to the Parliament in a letter from William Basil....(1650) N.L.I., Thorpe V

A Declaration made by the rebels in Ireland... (Waterford, 1644; reprinted London [19 November] 1644) B.L., E. 17 (14)

A Declaration of the Lords and Commons in Parliament... (1641[-2]) N.L.I., Thorpe I

A Declaration of the Lords of His Majesty's Privie-Council in Scotland: and Commissioners for conserving the Articles of the Treaty...Together with a treacherous and damnable Plot of the Irish, English and Scottish Papists... (27 June 1643) B.L., E.56(9)

A Declaration of the Proceedings of the New model'd Army in the Kingdom of Scotland, against the Irish Army, under the command of Generall Kilkettoo... (22 February 1646[-7]) B.L., E.378(11)

A Declaration sent to the King of France and Spayne, From the Catholiques or Rebels in Ireland... (Paris, [14/24 April 1642; reprinted London, 1642) B.L., E.145(7)

The Demands of the Rebels in Ireland unto the state and counsell of Dublin, 3 February 1641[-2](1641[-2]) N.L.I., Thorpe I

A Diary, or an Exact Journall Faithfully communicating the most remarkable proceedings in both Houses of Parliament..., no 42 (B.L., E.271(17))

The Earl of Glamorgan's Negotiations and colourable commitment in Ireland demonstrated....(17 March 1645) R.I.A., Box 41 (45)

The English and Scottish Protestants happy Triumph over the rebels in Ireland... (4 June 1642) B.L., E.149(24)
Estat general des affaires... Gazette, nos 34, 40, 68, 89 (Bodl., Antig.d.F)

An Exact and full relation of the great victory obtained against the rebels at Dungan's Hill in Ireland... (19 August 1647) N.L.I., Thorpe IV

An exact and true relation of the late plots which were contrived and hatched in Ireland... (1641) B.L., E.173(30)

An Exact relation of all such occurrences as have happend in the severall counties of Donegal, Londonderry, Tyrone and Fermanagh in the North of Ireland...By Lieutenant Collonell Audeley Mervyn, the 4 of June 1642 (1642) B.L., E.149(34)

A Full Relation of the Late Expedition of...Monroe...with their severall marches and skirmishes with the bloody Irish rebels...And a letter from the Lord Digby...sent to the Duchess of Buckingham... (27 August 1644) C.U.L., HIB.7.644.16

A Full Relation, not only of our good successe in general, but how, and in what manner God hath fought his own cause (1642) B.L., E.145(14)

Full Satisfaction concerning the Affaires of Ireland: As they relate to the marquesse of Ormonde's transactions, with the Lord of Inchiquin... (1648) B.L., E.536(14).

A Geographical Description of the Kingdom of Ireland (1642) B.L., E.149(11)

Good and Bad Newes from Ireland: in a letter of credit from Youghall, not forged, as most of the pamphlets lately published...The Particulars are these...The good newes...the bad newes... (14 March 1641[-2]) B.L., E.138(18)

Good Newes from Ireland. Being a true and exact relation of two great victories...sent in a letter from Captain Courtney at Dublin to M. Snow... (21 November 1642) B.L., E.127(33)

A Great Victory at Sea against the Irish Rebels by Captaine Robert Dare commander of the English, where were taken the Earl of Antrim his great ship... (9 February 1647[-8]) N.L.I., Lough Fea X

A History or Brief Chronicle of the Chief Matters of the Irish Warres... (1650) N.L.I., Thorpe V

The Irish Monthly Mercury. Issue 1 (Cork; reprinted London, 1649) N.L.I., Lough Fea XII
The Kingdomes Faithfull and Impartiall Scout..., no 11
B.L., E.529(11)

The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer. Sent abroad to prevent misinformation..., nos 21 (B.L., Burney 16A), 24 (B.L., E.55(8)), 25 (B.L., E.59(11)), 26 (B.L., E.59(22)), 38 (B.L., E.81(13)), 42 (B.L., E.31(21)), 50 (B.L., E.42(28)), 52 (B.L., Burney 18A), 62 (B.L., E.54(9)), 84 (B.L., E.21(11)), 164 (B.L., Burney 22A), 290 (B.L., E.476(39)), 316 (B.L., E.560(16))

The Last Newes from the North. Shewing...Their full intentions to march speedily against Montrose. Killeaton. Antrim. with the rest of that barbarous crew... (19 February 1646[-7]) B.L., E.377(14)

The Last Speeches And Confession of the Lord Maguire: the Irish Generall. that was hanged at Tyburne. and drawn. and quartered on Thursday last. the 20 February 1644 (24 February 1644[-5]) B.L., E.270(19)

Late and Lamentable News from Ireland. wherein are truly related. the Rebellious. and Cruell Proceedings of the Papists there... (1641) B.L., E.179(13)

A Letter from the Attourney of Ireland concerning the taking of the Towne of Wexford by storme. on 11 of October last... (1649) N.L.I., Lough Fea XII

A Letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. to the Honorable William Lenthall...Giving an account of the Proceedings of the Army there under his Lordship's command... (1649) N.L.I., Lough Fea XII

Letters from the marquis of Argyle... Intercepted by Sir Richard Willys (Oxford, 1645) B.L., E.278(25)

A Letter from Sir Lewis Dyre to the Lord Marquis of Newcastle giving his Lordship an account...of the king's affairs in Ireland... (The Hague, 10/20 July 1650) N.L.I., Thorpe V

A Letter of Great Consequence; sent by the Honorable Robert Lord Monro...to the Committee for Irish Affairs of his taking the Earl of Antrim. about whom was found divers papers which discovered a dangerous plot... (8 July 1643) C.U.L., HIB.7.643.17)

A Letter written from Sir Willias Parsons. one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. to Sir Robert Pye... (1642) B.L., E.142(20)

The London Post: Faithfully communicating his Intelligence of the Proceedings. and many other memorable passages. certified by letters and
advertisements..., nos 2 (B.L. E. 6(28)), 17 (B.L. E.22(21)), 26 (B.L. E.271(9)),

The Marquesse of Ormond's Proclamation concerning the Peace concluded with the Irish Rebels... (27 February 1649) N.L.I., Thorpe IV

Mercurius Aulicus. Communicating the intelligence and affaires of the court, to the rest of the kingdome..., B.L., E.302(14)

Mercurius Britanicus. Communicating the affaires of great Britaine: For better information of the people...nos 28 (B.L., E.39(5)), 78 (B.L., Burney 20A)

Mercurius Civicus. London's Intelligencer or Truth impartially related thence to the whole Kingdome to prevent misinformation..., nos 9, 34, 63 (B.L., E. 4 (28)), 127 (B.L., Burney 22A)

Mercurius Diutinus, or Collector of the affaires of great Britaine and martiall proceedings in Europe..., no 11 (B.L., Burney 14A)

Mercurius Hibernicus, or the Irish Mercurie..., (14 February 1645) B.L., E.269(16)

Mercurius Hibernicus: or, a discourse of the late insurrection in Ireland... (Bristol, 1644) B.L., E.52(17)

Mercurius Militaris or The Armies Scout communicating from all parts of England, Scotland and Ireland, all martiall enterprises, designs and successes..., no 3 (B.L., E.469(10))

Mercurius Politicus..., no 13 (B.L., Burney 34A).

Mercurius Veridicus or, True Informations of speciall and remarkable passages..., no 22 (B.L. E.302 (10))

A Message from both Houses of parliamant sent to the King and Queen's Majesties touching certain letters lately intercepted... (1642[-3]) N.L.I., Thorpe II

The Military Scribe Publishing his true war-like relations to the people..., no 6 (B.L., E.40(10))

The Moderate Intelligencer: Impartially communicating Martiall Affaires to the Kingdomes of England..., nos 58 (B.L., Burney 23A), 68 (B.L., Burney 23A), 71 (B.L., Burney 23A), 75 (B.L., Burney 21A), 76 (B.L., Burney 23A), 79 (B.L., Burney 23A), 80 (B.L., Burney 23A), 81 (B.L., Burney 23A), 88 (B.L., Burney 23A), 90 (B.L., Burney 23A), 102 (B.L., Burney 29A), 103 (B.L., Burney 29A), 104 (B.L., Burney 29A), 118 (B.L., Burney 29A), 119 (B.L., Burney 29A), 140 (B.L., Burney 29A), 148
(B.L., Burney 29A), 161 (B.L., Burney 29A), 182 (B.L., Burney 29A), 189 (B.L., E.470(1)), 193 (B.L., E.474(3)), 194 (B.L., Burney 29A), 196 (B.L., E.477(14)), 204 (B.L., E.543(3)), 212 (B.L., E.550(19)), 221 (B.L., Burney 33A), 229 (B.L., Burney 33A), 233 (B.L., Burney 33A)

The Moderate: Impartially communicating martial affaires to the kingdom of England, ..., no 52 (B.L., E.564(1))

More Good Newes from Ireland, in two Letters from Dublin....(16 May 1642) C.U.L., HIB.7.642.65

A More Perfect and Particular Relation of the late great Victorie in Scotland obtained over Montrose and the rebels, by forces under the command of... David Lesley (25 September 1645) R.I.A., Box 40 (44)

Murder will Out; or The King's Letter, justifying the Marques of Antrim, and declaring that what he did in the Irish Rebellion, was by direction from His Royal Father and Mother, and for service of the Crown.... (1663) N.L.I., Thorpe V (reprinted Edinburgh, 1689 and London 1698) N.L.S., 1.24 and N.L.I., Thorpe IV

A New Declaration of the last affairs in Ireland shewing the great overthrow given the Irish rebels.... (2 May 1642) B.L., E.146(9)

New Treason Plotted in France....; likewise a letter sent from the Coucill of Scotland, to the House of Commons, June 20 concerning the Earl of Antrim's answer and answer to the Scots concerning the said of Earl of Antrim (1642) B.L., E.153(19)

Newes from Dunkirke. Being a Speciall Relation of certaine passages there, Wherein is discovered the intentions and agitations of divers of this kingdom.... ([10 November 1642]) B.L., E.126(43)

No Pamphlet but a detestation against all such pamphlets as are printed concerning the Irish Rebellion, plainely [sic] demonstrating the falsehood of them.... (1642) B.L., E.134(3)

Occurrences from Ireland, no 3 B.L., E.146(8)

O'Neale and Colonel Brunslow, Cheife of the Rebels in Ireland....As also a description of the taking of a ship upon the Coasts of Barbary bound with letters of commendations to the king of Spaine.... (1642[-3]) B.L., E.138(31)

An Ordinance and Declaration of the Lords and Commons.... (20 October 1642) B.L., E.123(22)
Papers concerning the debates of the Parliament of Scotland, about sending to the Kings Majesty: And how Colkittoth, is with his Army within 30 miles of Edinburgh... (18 February 1646[-7]) B.L., E.377(8)

Papers from the Scots Quarter, containing some passages concerning the king, the estates of Scotland, the garrisons, the armies, and the proceedings for the settling of the kingdomes in peace (14 October 1646) B.L., Burney 25A

The Parliament Scout: Communicating His Intelligence to the Kingdome..., no 1 (B.L., E.56(7))

A Perfect Account of the daily Intelligence [sic] from the army in England, Scotland and Ireland..., nos 10 (B.L., Burney 37A), 16 (B.L., Burney 37A)

A Perfect Diurnall of some Passages in Parliament. And from other parts of this kingdome..., nos 2 (B.L., Burney 16A), 27 (B.L., E.252(18)), 29 (B.L., Burney 18A), 39 (B.L., E.252(30)), 50 (B.L., E.254(2)), 55 (B.L., E.254(20)), 68 (B.L., Burney 37A), 81 (B.L., Burney 38A), 82 (B.L., Burney 20A), 90 (B.L., E.260(18)), 168 (B.L., Burney 25A), 181 (B.L., Burney 26A), 184 (B.L., Burney 26A), 199 (B.L., Burney 26A), 280 (B.L., E.526(40)), 297 (B.L., E.529(9)), 313 (B.L., Burney 33A)

A Perfect and Particular Relation of the severall marches and proceedings of the Armie in Ireland: From the taking of Drogheda to... the taking of Wexford,... (1649) N.L.I., Thorpe V

A Perfect Narrative of the Battell of Knocknones, within the county of Cork and Province of Munster on Saturday the thirteenth of November betwixt Parliament's Forces under the command of Lord Inchiquin...: And the forces of the Irish rebels under Lord Taaff... (1647) N.L.I., Thorpe IV

Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies Journall in Parliament..., nos 111 (B.L., E.527(21)), 122 (B.L., E.529(32)), 130 (B.L., Burney 33A), 145 (B.L., Burney 33A)

Perfect Occurrences of Parliament And Chief Collections of Letters from the Armie..., nos 7 (B.L., E.322(32)), 12 (B.L., Burney 20A), 16 (B.L., Burney 24A), 18 (B.L., Burney 24A), 25 (B.L., E. 252(43)), 32 (B.L., Burney 21A), 33 (B.L., Burney 17A), 37 (B.L., Burney 25A), 38 (B.L., Burney 22A)

Perfect Passages of Each Days Proceedings in Parliament..., nos 2 (B.L. Burney 36A), 28 (B.L., E.260(32)), 29 (B.L., E. 260(36)), 41 (B.L., E.262(38))
The Perfect Weekly Account concerning speciall and remarkable passages from both houses of parliament... (B.L., E.536(10))

The Petition of the Committees for Ireland... (Oxford. 1642) N.L.I., Thorpe II

A Plot Discovered in Ireland... Also a greate defeate to the rebels coming into Scotland by the Earle of Argyle (1644) N.L.I., Lough Fea VII

The Protestants Wonderment, or, A Strange and unheard of Oraison put up by the Papists, found in the pocket of Captain James Rauley, a Rebell in Ireland... (1642) B.L., E.136(13)

A Relation of the Particulars of the reduction of the greatest part of the province of Munster in Ireland... (1649) no 14 (B.L., Burney 33A)

A Relation of the Present state and condition of Ireland... (1641[-2]) N.L.I., Thorpe I

A Relation of the sundry occurrences in Ireland, from the fleet of ships set out by the adventurers... (1642) N.L.I., Lough Fea III

A Remonstrance of the Barbarous cruelties and bloody murders committed by the Irish Rebels... (12 June 1644) B.L., E.50(31)

A Remonstrance of the Right Honourable James Earl of Castlehaven and Lord Audley concerning his imprisonment in Dublin and escape from thence (Waterford, 1643) B.L., E.95(14)

A Renowned Victory obtained against the rebels on the first day of June, neere Burros, the Duke of Buckingham's Castle, by the valour of these noble and valient commanders:... wherein is manifested how the Lord Don-luce tooke the Lord Dunsmay prisoner... (9 June 1642) B.L., E.150(8)

The Scottish Dove... Brings Intelligence from the Armies of both kinndomes, and relates other passages observable, for Information and instruction,... nos 29 (B.L., E. 45(5)), 43 (B.L., E.3(3)), 45 (B.L., E.7 (45)), 147 (B.L., Burney 25A), 153 (B.L., Burney 25A)

Several Letters of Great Consequence intercepted by Colonel Milton... concerning Irish forces to be brought into England... (17 February 1645[-6]) B.L., E.322(32)

Several Proceedings in Parliament..., nos 21 (B.L., Burney 34A/35A), 23 (B.L., Burney 34A/35A), 40 (B.L., Burney 34A/35A), 78 (B.L., Burney 37A)
A Short view of the Life and Death of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham... (1642) R.I.A., Box 26 (30)

Sir Benjamin Rudyerd his speech made in answer to the Spanish and French Embassadors request for our souldiers at their disbanding (28 August 1641) B.L., E.199(E)

Speciall Passages and Certain Informations from several places, collected for the use of all that desire to bee truely informed, nos 6 (B.L., E.118(10)), 7 (B.L., E.118(45)), 39 (B.L., E.101(39))

The Spie, communicating intelligence from Oxford..., nos 3 (B.L., Burney 14A), 12 (B.L., Burney 14A)

State of the Papist and Protestant Properties in the kingdom of Ireland, in the year 1641...and how disposed in 1653...and how disposed in 1662 (1689) N.L.I., Thorpe VII

The Taking of Wexford. A letter from an eminent officer in the Army, under the command of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland... (1649) N.L.I., Lough Fea XII

A True Copie of two letters brought by Mr Peters, this October 11 from my Lord Forbes... (1642) N.L.I., Thorpe III

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