An historical geography of landownership, landholding, and landscape in the barony of Demifore, county Meath: *circa* 1700 - *circa* 1830s

by

Úna Palcic, BA, H.Dip.Ed.

Thesis submitted to Dublin City University in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of:

Master of Philosophy (M. Phil)

Supervisor:

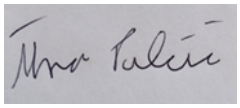
Dr. Jonathan Cherry, School of History & Geography, DCU

Submitted to Dublin City University

August 2021

Declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Master of Philosophy is entirely my own work, and that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed:  ID No.: 17213013 Date: 12 August 2021

Acknowledgements

My initial thanks are to Dr. Jonathan Cherry, my supervisor, for his guidance and encouragement over the past years. His good-humoured assistance and prompt return of chapter drafts have been greatly appreciated. Thank you.

The provision of a desk and computer facilities in the Postgraduate Research room in the School of History and Geography in St. Patrick's College is appreciated. I wish to thank Dr. James Kelly for such privileges. I also wish to thank Dr. Susan Hegarty of the School for her cartographic assistance.

The staff of the Registry of Deeds have always been attentive and made my time researching there much easier. I owe my thanks, in particular, to Ellen Murphy, archivist in the Registry of Deeds.

Other archival institutions have been visited – the National Library of Ireland, National Archives of Ireland, Meath County Library, Navan, (Local Studies section), Fingal County Library (Local Studies section) whose staff were always obliging and helpful.

My friends and family have been very supportive of my undertaking of this research. My brother, Ciaran, has endured endless questions and provided many answers, pertaining to his knowledge of Oldcastle and the area. My friend Kathleen Moran was of great assistance in the Registry of Deeds.

My final and most important thanks go to my husband Michael for his patience, encouragement and assistance. His help in the Registry of Deeds and the creation of the database were paramount to this research. My thanks also to my son, Dónal, and my daughter, Elizabeth, for their assistance and encouragement throughout my research.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction 1

1.1 Thesis aim, objectives and outline 1

1.2 Location and topography of Demifore 2

1.3 Settlement pattern of Demifore 5

1.4 Rural economy 7

1.5 Administration of the barony 9

1.6 Population of the barony, 1732 - 1821 10

1.7 Landownership in county Meath in the 19th century: setting the context for Demifore ... 11

1.8 Urban settlement in County Meath: setting the context 12

1.9 Conclusions 14

Chapter 2 Literature Review, Sources and Methodology 15

2.1 Introduction 15

2.2 Evolution of landownership in Ireland c.1500-c.1700 15

2.2.1 Schemes of Plantation 17

2.2.2 Cromwellian confiscation and re-settlement 18

2.3 Landlords and landlordism 19

2.4. Estate Management 22

2.4.1 Estate agents 22

2.4.2 Tenants and Land Tenure 24

2.5 Landscape Improvements 25

2.5.1 Demesnes 26

2.5.2 Mansion Houses 27

2.5.3 Landlord involvement in urban improvement 28

2.6 Sources and Methodology 33

2.6.1 Civil and Down Surveys 33

2.6.2 Registry of Deeds 35

2.6.3 Estate papers 41

2.6.4 Grand Jury Presentment Books 45

2.6.5 Ordnance Survey Archive 46

2.6.6 Griffith's Valuation 47

2.6.7 Other fragmentary research material 50

2.6.8 Fieldwork and observations 51

2.6.9 Impact of Covid restrictions 51

2.7 Conclusion 51

Chapter 3 Resident landowners and their principal leaseholders in the barony of Demifore c. 1700-1830s 53

3.1 Introduction 53

3.2 Impact of land settlements on the barony of Demifore 53

3.3 Principal landholders, circa 1700 54

3.4 The Naper Estate 56

3.4.1 Changing extent of the Naper estate 1660-1734 58
3.4.2 Land acquisitions and property of James Naper circa 1715 61
3.4.3 Financial uses of land and property 61
3.4.4 Acquisition of other Meath lands 62
3.4.5 Management of the estate 64
3.4.6 Tenurial arrangements 64
3.4.7 Under tenants 67
3.4.8 Rents and rental Income - Naper estate 1733-c.1830 68
3.4.9 Principal leaseholders 74
3.4.10 The Naper estate in the late eighteenth century 76
3.5 The Wade estate 80
3.5.1 Development of Crossakeel village 82
3.5.2 Tenurial arrangements 84
3.5.3 Financial uses of land 87
3.5.4 Principal leaseholders 89
3.6 The Tuite estate 93
3.6.1 Financial uses of land 93
3.6.2 Management of the estate 94
3.7 Demesnes and Big Houses 97
3.7.1 Loughcrew Demesne 97
3.7.2 Crossdrum House and demesne 103
3.7.3 Newcastle House and demesne 104
3.7.4 Lakefield House and demesne 106
3.7.5 Clonabraney House and demesne 108
3.7.6 Bobsville House and demesne 110
3.7.7 Belview House and demesne 112
3.7.8 Baltrasna House and demesne 114
3.8 Conclusions 115

Chapter 4 Absentee landowners and their principal leaseholders in the barony of Demifore circa 1700-1830s 118

4.1 Introduction 118
4.2 Fingal Plunkett estate 118
4.3 Management of the Fingall Plunkett estate 121
4.3.1 Tenurial arrangements on the Fingall Plunkett lands 122
4.3.2 Rental Income from the Demifore lands 123
4.3.3 Financial uses of land 124
4.3.4 Principal leaseholders/tenants 128
4.3.5 Early 19th century landownership: an overview 134
4.4 The Morgan estate 136
4.4.1 Management of the estate 137
4.4.2 Financial uses of land 138
4.4.3 Marriage settlement arrangements 140
4.4.4 Early 19th century landownership: an overview 141
4.5 Witherington/Bennett/Weld/Smyth/Piers estate 143
4.5.1 Gandern & Rawlins 144
4.5.2 Withrington 145

4.5.3 Bennett....146
4.5.4 Weld....148
4.6 Smith/Piers family....150
4.6.1 Tenurial arrangements....151
4.6.2 Financial uses of land....151
4.6.3 Principal leaseholders....154
4.6.4 Early 19th century landownership: an overview....154
4.7 Donnellan/Forde Estate....155
4.7.1 Management of the estate....156
4.7.2: Tenurial arrangements....156
4.7.3 Financial uses of land....157
4.7.4 Sale of the lands to the Forde family....159
4.7.5 Early 19th century landownership: an overview....159
4.8 The Peppard/Barlow Estate....160
4.8.1 Financial uses of land....162
4.8.2 Early 19th century landownership: an overview....162
4.9 O'Reilly estate....165
4.9.1 Tenurial arrangements....166
4.9.2 Financial uses of land by the Gay family....167
4.9.3 Financial uses of land by the Reilly family....168
4.9.4 Early 19th century landownership: an overview....169
4.10 Conclusion....170

Chapter 5 Growth and development of Oldcastle town c.1700 - c.1830s....174

5.1 Introduction....174
5.2 Origins and development of Oldcastle town from 1700-1778....174
5.3 Town and lands of Oldcastle pre-1778....179
5.3.1 Occupations and industry....179
5.3.2 Principal leaseholders....182
5.3.3 Turbary usage....183
5.3.4 Naper rental income from Oldcastle, 1733, 1768 and 1778....184
5.4 Oldcastle in 1778 – a snapshot....186
5.5 Oldcastle 1778-1830s....190
5.5.1 Rental Income from Oldcastle 1778-1824....194
5.5.2 Economic and trading spaces, 1778 to 1830s....199
5.5.3 Ecclesiastical spaces....200
5.5.4 Education....203
5.5.5 State Services....205
5.5.6 Oldcastle town in the 1830s and 1840s....206
5.5.7 Business premises in Oldcastle from House Books....209
5.6 Conclusions....210

Chapter 6 Conclusion....212

6.1 Introduction....212
6.2 Research findings....213
6.2.1 The landed estates....213

6.2.2 The landlord class 213
6.2.3 Management of the estates 214
6.2.4 Improvements in the rural landscape 216
6.2.5 Urban improvement 217
6.3 Areas for future research 218
6.4 Conclusion 218

Bibliography 220
Parliamentary Acts, Papers and returns 220
Primary Sources 220
Secondary Sources 221

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Location of Barony of Demifore in County Meath 3
Figure 1.2 Topography of eastern section of Demifore barony 5
Figure 1.3 Buildings by parish based on the Civil Survey, 1654 6
Figure 2.1 Example of filter under townland from the database 38
Figure 2.2 Extract from Griffith's Valuation 48
Figure 3.1 Pre-Cromwellian landholders in Demifore barony circa 1640 (acreages) 54
Figure 3.2 Dominant Post-Cromwellian landholders in Demifore circa 1660 (>500 acres) 55
Figure 3.3 Landownership in Demifore barony circa 1750 57
Figure 3.4 Distribution of Naper lands in Demifore barony circa 1660 59
Figure 3.5 Index to Demifore lands from 1778 survey 77
Figure 3.6 Townland of Knockbrack from 1778 survey 77
Figure 3.7 Townlands of Forkhill and Carnbawn from 1778 survey 79
Figure 3.8 First Edition OS map of Crossakeel, 1837 84
Figure 3.9 Landownership in Demifore barony circa 1830 96
Figure 3.10 Loughcrew demesne map 98
Figure 3.11 First Edition OS map of Loughcrew demesne, 1837 100
Figure 3.12 First Edition OS map of Crossdrum House, 1837 103
Figure 3.13 First Edition OS map of Newcastle House and demesne, 1837 105
Figure 3.14 First Edition OS map of Lakefield House and demesne, 1837 107
Figure 3.15 First Edition OS map of Clonabraney House and demesne, 1837 109
Figure 3.16 First Edition OS map of Bobsville House and demesne, 1837 111
Figure 3.17 First Edition OS map of Belview House and demesne, 1837 113
Figure 3.18 First Edition OS map of Baltrasnsa House and demesne, 1837 115
Figure 4.1 Down Survey map of Killalon parish 120
Figure 4.2 Killalon sub-denominations and surrounding townlands 121
Figure 4.3 Seraghstown, 1734 126
Figure 4.4 Down Survey map of Drumlerry 143
Figure 4.5 OS 1837 historic map – Drumlerry, Stonefield and Rahard 144
Figure 4.6 Cartouche title on Peppard estate map, 1822 163
Figure 4.7 Section of survey of Peppard estate map 164
Figure 4.8 Advertisement for sale of Peppard estate 165
Figure 5.1 Extract from Down Survey barony map showing Oldcastle townland 175
Figure 5.2 Down Survey Oldcastle parish map 176
Figure 5.3 Taylor and Skinner map showing Oldcastle 178
Figure 5.4 Sub-denomination of Mount Dutton 180
Figure 5.5 Map of Ballyneal showing bog areas 184
Figure 5.6 Oldcastle town and gardens 187
Figure 5.7 Town and lands of Oldcastle 189
Figure 5.8 Extract from William Larkin's map of Meath showing Oldcastle in 1812 191
Figure 5.9 OS map of Oldcastle, 1837 192

List of Tables

Table 1.1 Mills of the barony, circa 1660 to 1854 8
Table 1.2 Barony of Demifore, population change 1841-1851 10
Table 1.3 Landowners with County Meath estates of over 5,000 acres (or worth over £5,000) in 1876 with details regarding their other Irish and British properties 11
Table 1.4 Profile of Meath towns circa 1841 13
Table 3.1 Resident landowners of 500+ plantation acres c.1700-1830s 56
Table 3.2 Changing extent of Naper lands in Demifore 1660-1734 60
Table 3.3 Principal Tenants: Longevity of tenure 65
Table 3.4 Rents (half year) from 1733 and 1768 69
Table 3.5 Sample of annual rent increases 1778-1798 69
Table 3.6 Tenant and annual rent increases 1778-1798 70
Table 3.7 Annual rental income, Naper estate Ireland, 1733-1774 70
Table 3.8 Annual rental income 1778-1798 71
Table 3.9 Sample of annual rent increases 1810-1824 72
Table 3.10 Annual rental income 1810-1824 73
Table 3.11 Wade Lands in Demifore, Kells and Morgallion baronies 81
Table 4.1 Absentee Landowners of 500+ plantation acres circa 1700-1830 118
Table 4.2 Fingall Plunkett Lands in Demifore & Kells baronies circa 1700-1750 120
Table 4.3 Rental income for selected years in eighteenth century 124
Table 4.4 Reilly rent - Killalon 129
Table 4.5 Seraghstown – Reilly Rent 131
Table 4.6 Galboystown: Chapman Rent 132
Table 4.7 Geighanstown - Hogan Rent 133
Table 4.8 Morgan lands circa 1730s 137
Table 4.9 Morgan leases in 1724 138
Table 4.10 Bennett leases to the Murphy family – 1722 to 1741 147
Table 4.11 Donnellan leases: 1726 to 1760 157
Table 4.12 Rental income and acreage per tenants' list, 1823 162
Table 5.1 Sample of occupations identified in Oldcastle pre-1778 181
Table 5.2 Urban rental income as a percentage of rural rental income on the Naper estate 185
Table 5.3 Oldcastle principal tenants and rents, 1733, 1768 and 1778 186
Table 5.4 Change in number of tenancies and of rental income – 1778 to 1824 194
Table 5.5 Comparison of tenancies and rental charges – 1778 to 1798 195
Table 5.6 Comparison of tenancies and rental charges - 1810 to 1824 196
Table 5.7 Sample of Oldcastle memorials 1708 - 1839 198
Table 5.8 Valuation of houses in Oldcastle in Griffith Valuation 207
Table 5.9 Middlemen in Oldcastle per Griffith Valuation 208

List of Plates

Plate 1.1 Outcrop on Loughcrew Hill 4
Plate 2.1 Extract from townland index Book 71 - Meath 37
Plate 2.2 Transcript Books 39
Plate 2.3 Example of a memorial 40
Plate 3.1 Loughcrew House 101
Plate 3.2 Loughcrew gate lodge 102
Plate 3.3 Crossdrum House 103
Plate 3.4 Newcastle House 105
Plate 3.5 Clonabraney House 108
Plate 3.6 Clonabraney farm buildings 109
Plate 3.7 Ardglasson cottages 110
Plate 3.8 Bobsville House showing part of garden wall 111
Plate 3.9 Bobsville gate lodge 112
Plate 3.10 Belview House 113
Plate 3.11 Baltrasna House 115
Plate 4.1 O'Reilly/Nugent tomb in Kilskyre graveyard 130
Plate 4.2 Ruin of old church in Kilskyre graveyard 135
Plate 5.1 House on Weavers' Row 197
Plate 5.2 Chapel Street showing Weavers' Row 197
Plate 5.3 Market Square, Oldcastle 199
Plate 5.4 Roman Catholic church building, Oldcastle 1815 202
Plate 5.5 Gilson endowed school, Oldcastle circa 1930 204
Plate 5.6 Dispensary building, Oldcastle 206
Plate 5.7 Former RIC barracks site, Oldcastle 206

List of Abbreviations

BSD	Books of Survey and Distribution
OS	Ordnance Survey
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
RD	Registry of Deeds

An historical geography of landownership, landholding, and landscape in the barony of Demifore, county Meath: circa 1700 - circa 1830s

Úna Palcic, BA, H.Dip.Ed.

Abstract

This thesis describes, details and maps the evolving patterns of landownership and landholding in, and the changing landscape of the barony of Demifore, county Meath during the period circa 1700 to circa 1830s. It traces the impact of the seventeenth century land settlements whereby the dominant Anglo-Norman landowning group was largely replaced by Cromwellian landowners and by other landowners from outside the barony, in particular, from Dublin. The thesis focuses on the largest landholders, namely those identified as holding 500+ plantation acres, who together owned over two-thirds of the barony. This was a diverse group, in terms of both their origins and the scale of the estates they held. While some of the landowners resided on their estates in the barony, others held their lands as absentee landlords. An evaluation of the estate management practices implemented by the landowners forms a central plank of this research, focusing on leasing policies, rental income and financial transactions. An assessment of the part played by the principal leaseholders and their influence on management practice is undertaken, revealing their central role in landholding during the period. While some of the research findings are based on surviving fragmentary estate and family papers, a significant proportion have emerged from a database compiled using a pioneering methodology in mining the memorials in the Registry of Deeds to their full potential. The research highlights how the ideals of 'improvement' impacted the barony during the period. Of particular note are the 'big houses' and their associated demesnes, constructed and laid down during the period, creating islands of aesthetically pleasing landscapes throughout the barony. The imposing mansion at Loughcrew belonging to the Naper family, the largest landowners identified in the barony, through to the more modest 'big houses' each conveyed the status, values and ideals of their owner. The reach of 'improvement' extended beyond the walls of the demesne into the wider countryside. The continuing importance of agriculture and, in particular, the part played by tillage and the associated mills as the focus of the local economy is also assessed. At the centre of this rural agricultural economy, the only town in the barony, Oldcastle, was gradually enlarged, modernised and improved during the period under the aegis of the Naper family, the urban tenants, the state and church, emerging as a significant market, educational and religious centre by the 1830s.

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the study of land ownership and landholding in the barony of Demifore, county Meath over the time period *circa* 1700 to *circa* 1830s. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, access to land provided power for certain sections of society, most notably the landlords and the principal leaseholders. This stratum of society was thus enabled to play an important role in shaping and influencing the local community, its economy and landscape. In the barony of Demifore, the Naper family were the principal resident landowners throughout the period. There were also other lesser landlords that included the Wades of Clonabreany, the O'Reillys of Baltrasna and the Rotherams of Crossdrum whose principal residences were located in the barony. Absentee landowners in the barony included the Fingal Plunketts and the Peppard/Barlow families. The other key actors in the landholding structure of the barony were the principal leaseholders and tenant farmers. Their relationship with the landlords was an important factor impacting on landholding and landscape as this thesis will highlight.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries agriculture formed the backbone of the rural economy and provided the main source of wealth and employment for the majority of the barony's inhabitants. The large mill complex at Millbrook, [1] built in 1774, and the other mills detailed in Table 1.1 illustrate the continued importance of tillage crops in the barony. The town of Oldcastle, the only urban centre in the barony, with its market house, fair green and various fairs provided a ready outlet for their produce and goods. Over the time period upon which this research is focused the town grew and modernised as a range of educational, religious, and administrative services and functions developed.

1.1 Thesis aim, objectives and outline

The principal aim of this thesis is to track land ownership and landholding in the barony of Demifore, county Meath, from circa 1700 to the 1830s. It will consider ownership and landholding structures, continuity and change, and by extension, landscape change. The control and ownership of land was the main driver of wealth and power during this period. There was little industry in Ireland that was not based on agriculture, therefore, the ownership of land was paramount to the economy of all areas of the country. The microcosm of influences seen in a small portion of the population such as in the barony of Demifore is a useful way of illustrating the economic and social factors impacting society in general. This thesis will continuously expose the interconnections of themes that impact

[1] Malachy Hand, 'History of Millbrook Mills 1774-1963' in *Riocht na Midhe*, Volume xxvi, (Meath 2015).

land ownership, namely, continuity and change in land ownership and landholding, landlordism, the economic influence of landholding size, the consequences resulting from changes in population and topographical variances that affect the agricultural economy of the area.

A number of objectives have been established to achieve this aim. These include:

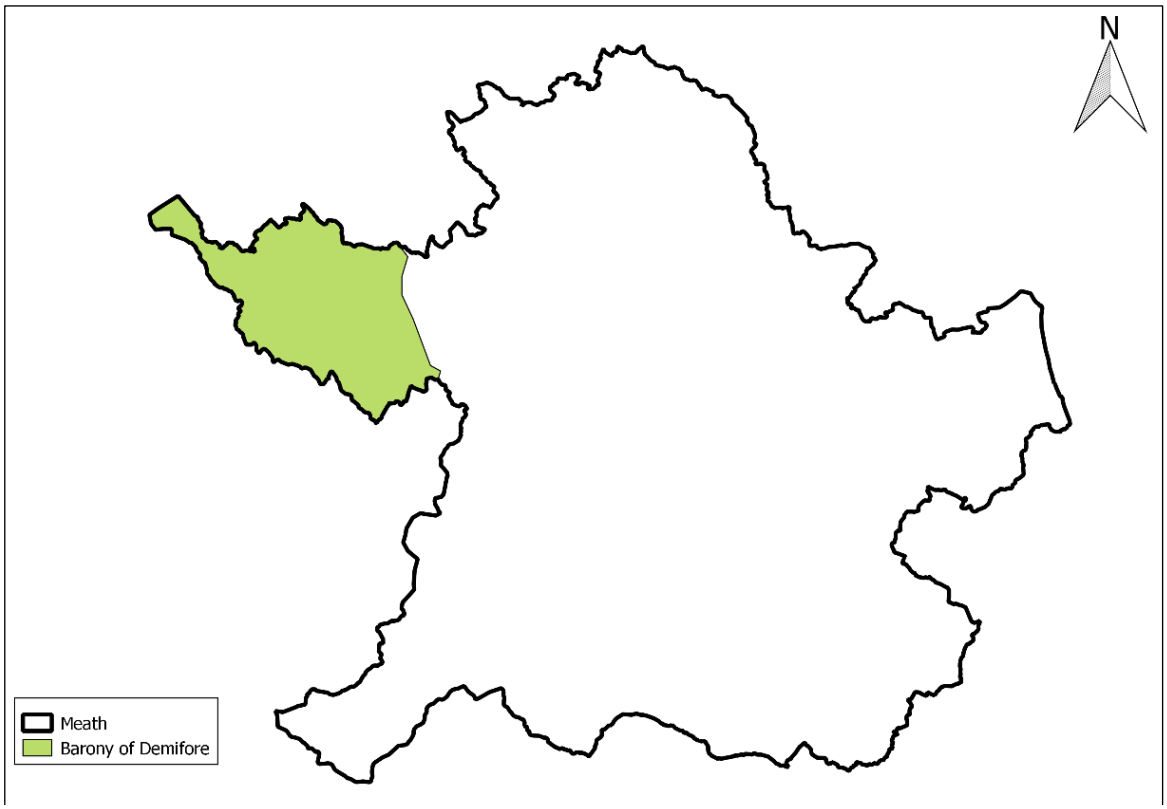
- An extensive literature review will be undertaken in chapter two in order to ascertain the existing research in related geographical and historical fields. This will provide a basis for contextualisation of the case study. An overview of the main bodies of source material employed and the research methodology will also be outlined.
- In chapter three, the estates of the resident landowners in Demifore barony holding over 500 plantation acres will be identified and examined covering the period 1700 to 1830s. The extent of their lands will be traced using maps and tables to illustrate the data from available documentary sources. The impact of the big houses and their associated demesnes on the landscape of the barony will also be evaluated.
- In chapter four, the estates of the non-resident landowners in Demifore barony holding over 500 plantation acres will be identified and examined covering the period 1700 to 1830s. Maps and tables will be used to trace the extent and management of the landholdings identified. Both continuity and change in ownership will be highlighted where applicable.
- In chapter five, the growth and development of Oldcastle, the only town in the barony, will be analysed in the period 1700 to 1830s. The role of the Naper family as landlords and agents of change will be examined. The role of other agents of change including the principal tenants, the middlemen, the church, and state will also be evaluated. Maps and tables will be utilised to illustrate the town's development as a market centre.
- Chapter six will summarise the main research findings and contribution of the thesis, and provide recommendations for future research in this area.

1.2 Location and topography of Demifore

The barony of Demifore in county Meath is a half barony. The other half of the barony is located in neighbouring county Westmeath (see figure 1.1). Meath became a county in 1573 when a number of areas in Ireland were shired by the Tudor administration. Meath county contains 567,127 statute acres of which the barony comprises 43,582 acres (approximately 7.7% of the land in Meath). The barony is located in the north-western corner of the county. The topography of Demifore is dominated by a range of hills, Slieve na Calliaghe - also known as the Loughcrew Hills, which rise at their highest point to approximately 300 metres, comprising the highest ground in County Meath.

They date from the Lower Palaeozoic period and are composed of Silurian rocks, including greywacke, shale and siltstone. The bedrock is evident in outcrops which occur on the hills (see plate 1.1).[2]

Figure 1.1 Location of Barony of Demifore in County Meath



Source: Una Palcic, The development of the Naper estate during the eighteenth century in Meath History and Society, (2015).

The barony is strategically located on the watershed between the Boyne/Blackwater basin to the east and the Shannon basin to the west. Rising in the eastern part of the barony, the river Inny flows westward to Lough Sheelin on its long journey to the river Shannon. The Inny also forms part of the boundary of the barony on its north-western side. This river and its tributaries have always been important in the area by providing power for numerous mills and contributing in a significant way to the economy of the area.

The topography of the area is also made up of what is geologically termed kame and kettle country.[3] This type of landscape resulted from glacial deposition. Kames appear on the landscape as hummocked hills composed mainly of a mixture of gravels and sands, while kettles were formed

[2] Bettina Stefanini and Gayle McGlynn, (eds.) *Irish Quaternary Association Field Guide No. 29, North Meath* (2012), p.10.
[3] Robert Meehan, *The making of Meath: The county's natural landscape history*, (Navan 2012), p.33/65, hereafter cited as Meehan, *The making of Meath.*

when hollows were created where large lumps of ice had lodged and later melted. The barony features other examples of glacial deposition in the form of eskers and moraines. These features are important to the economy of the barony because they have provided gravel pits and quarries exploited over the centuries and this industry has continued up to the present day. The Ordnance Survey Field Books refer to a number of gravel pits, for example, in the townlands of Herbertstown, Hartstown and Gibbonstown in the parish of Killalon.[4]

Plate 1.1 Outcrop on Loughcrew Hill

Source: Ciaran O'Reilly.

This type of topography is also known for its associated wetland areas and lakes. The highest density of wetlands in county Meath is to be found in the barony.[5] An example of a small area of wetland in the area occurs at Baltrasna near Oldcastle and is noted by Meehan. Numerous lakes including Lough Sheelin, Lough Bane, White Lake, and the Ben Loughs are also integral parts of the landscape.[6] Lough Bane is situated between crag and tail ridges which are rocky hills covered in boulder clay and comprise another topographical feature of the locality.[7] Figure 1.2 illustrates the topography of part of the eastern section of the barony – the lake to the east is Lough Bane, the

[4] NAI, 4.1358, OS Field Book, Killalon parish.
[5] Meehan, *The making of Meath*, p.33.
[6] Meehan, *The making of* Meath, pp.32/33
[7] Ibid, p.57.

Ben Loughs form a group to the west of this lake, White Lake is to the north while part of Lough Lene can be seen to the south on the lower edge of the image.

Figure 1.2 Topography of eastern area of Demifore barony

Source: Geological Survey of Ireland, Annotation. Accessed 10/4/2020.

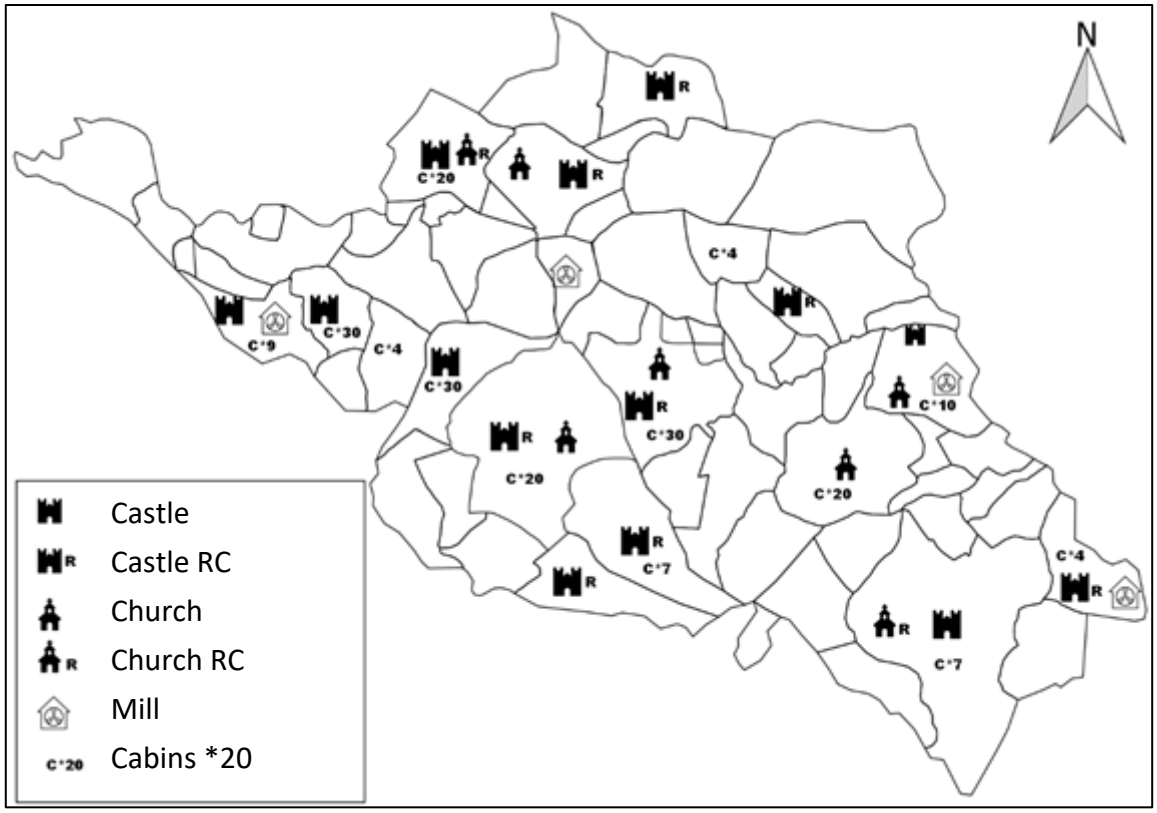
1.3 Settlement pattern of Demifore

Over the centuries the barony has always been a desirable place to live as is evidenced by the passage tomb cemetery crowning the Loughcrew hills dating from the Neolithic period. According to Herity, this cemetery originally comprised of more than fifty tombs[8] and is one of only four such cemeteries in Ireland. The presence of this large cemetery indicates that a significant population lived in the surrounding area during the Neolithic period. Brown earth soils cover these hills and are noted for their good drainage which may have attracted the early settlers.[9] The Bronze Age people also favoured living in the barony. An important stone circle is located on the lower slopes of Sliabh na Calliaghe in Ballinvalley and is evidence of their occupation of the area.[10] The Celts of the Iron Age continued the trend by choosing to reside there. There are 145 ringforts/raths listed for the barony in the Meath inventory.[11] Larkin's map depicting recorded earthworks clearly illustrates that Demifore had the highest density of raths in county Meath.[12] In their turn, the Anglo-Normans deemed the land of the barony as worthy of ownership. Nine motte and baileys and six

[8] Michael Herity, *Irish Passage Graves*, (Dublin,1974), p.55.
[9] Meehan, *The making of Meath* ,p.69
[10] Michael J. Moore, *Archaeological Inventory of County Meath* (Dublin,1987) p.40.
[11] Ibid, pp. 56-92.
[12] Arnold Horner, *Mapping Meath in the early nineteenth century an atlas of William Larkin's map of county Meath 1812*, (Dublin, 2007), p.42.

castles and castle sites are listed in the same inventory. These extant monuments demonstrate their preference for this area and are indicative of the esteem in which the land quality of the barony was held by its occupants over five millennia. The Anglo-Norman Plunkett family became the major landowners in the barony and owned 57% according to the Books of Survey and Distribution.[13] A notable feature of the barony is the proliferation of drystone walls surrounding the fields giving the area a distinctive appearance. These walls may point to the obvious absence of forested areas of which there is no mention in the seventeenth-century documents, the Civil Survey[14] or the Down Survey.[15] This absence of forestry and the presence of substantial field boundaries in the form of both bank and hedge and drystone wall are indicative of this intensive land use.

Figure 1.3 Buildings by parish based on the Civil Survey, 1654



Source: Una Palcic, The Development of the Naper estate during the eighteenth century, in *Meath History and Society,* (2015).

[13] NLI, MS 974, 'Books of Survey and Distribution' for counties Louth and Meath, compiled circa 1703, listing proprietors of land in 1641 and grantees and lands granted in 1688 with acreages, hereafter cited as MS 974, BSD.

[14] R. C. Simington (ed.), *The Civil Survey, A.D 1654-1656,v:County of Meath,* (Dublin, 1940), hereafter cited as Simington, *The Civil Survey.*

[15] NLI, MS 715, Parish maps with terriers, showing the forfeited lands in County Meath, commonly known as the 'Down Survey', executed under the direction of Sir William Petty, 1657 and copied by Daniel O'Brien, 1786, hereafter cited as MS 715, Down Survey.

It thus comes as no surprise to find that the barony was also seen as desirable location by the seventeenth-century Cromwellian settlers. The Naper family were granted the barony of Demifore as part of the Cromwellian settlement. The settlement pattern of the barony is clearly illustrated in Figure 1.3. The Down survey map of the barony is used as a template to reveal the typical Anglo-Norman settlements clustered around castle and church based on the Civil survey data. The Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape chronicles the absorption of the Anglo-Norman settlement of the Plunketts in Loughcrew into the demesne lands of the Napers.[16] Sections of the Plunkett family became the main losers to the new Cromwellian settlers. The seventeenth-century documents, the Civil and Down surveys, provide the data on the settlement pattern of the barony. The Down Survey maps illustrate that small settlements were clustered around castle and church typical of the Anglo-Norman lordships.[17]

Figure 1.3 based on the Down Survey map uses the Civil Survey data on the dwelling houses and showed that the parishes of Moylagh and Killeagh had the highest density of housing.[18] Brian Graham's article on the medieval settlements of county Meath confirms this data and illustrates that the footings of the village at Moylagh may be seen in the field to the east of the castle.[19] While Figure 1.3 illustrates that these settlements were dispersed throughout the barony, the rising power and influence of the Naper family caused this pattern to change over time and effectually contributed to the rise of Oldcastle as an urban centre and the decline of Loughcrew, which was transformed into the demesne lands for the family. Some of the other earlier settlements disappeared altogether or retained their function as focal points of parishes. Overall, the settlement pattern is dispersed with the sole exception of Oldcastle, which functioned as the primary market centre in the barony.

1.4 Rural economy

While land in the barony is nowadays mainly used for pasture, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tillage was more important as is evidenced by the number of working mills noted in the Down and Civil surveys, with seven recorded in the latter document. Table 1.1 illustrates the continuing importance of the mills in the barony from the seventeenth century through to the early 19th century when the number of mills had increased to eleven as recorded on the 1837 OS map.

[16] Kevin Whelan, 'Towns and Villages' in F.H.A. Allen, Kevin Whelan and Matthew Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* (first edition Dublin, 1997) p.184.
[17] Down Survey maps (UCD)
[18] Simington, *The Civil Survey,*
[19] Graham, Brian, Medieval Settlements in County Meath, *Riocht na Midhe*, v,(1974), p.49

Table 1.1 Mills of the barony, circa 1660 to 1854

Civil Parish	Townland	Civil Survey	Down Survey	Naper Map 1778	O.S. Historic 6" 1837	Griffith Val. 1854	O.S. 25"
Diamor	Diamor				Corn Mill	Corn Mill	Diamor Corn & Saw Mills
	Philipstown		Mill in repair				
Kilbride	Castlecor				Mill	Corn Mill	Mill-disused
Killallon	Hartstown	Mill & fishing weir			Milltown Br. & Weir		
	Killacroy				Killallon Mill	Corn Mill	
Killeagh	Ballynacree				Corn Mill in ruins	Woolen Factory	Woolen Mills
	Halfcarton*	Tubrid Mill*		*Tubrid Mill *	Corn Mill	Corn Mill	Corn Mill
	Tubrid*	Tubrid Mill*					
	Tully***			2 Mills***	Corn Mill	Corn & Tuck Mills	
Loughcrew	Loughcrew	Corn Mill**		Mill	Corn Mill		
Oldcastle	Ballinvally				Corn Mill	Corn Mill	
	Newcastle				Corn Mill		
	Oldcastle		Old mill out of repair				
	Stonefield					Corn Mill	Corn Mill
	Tubride	Corn & Tuck Mill	Mill in repair	Flour Mill	Flax Mill & Flour Mill	Corn & Flour Mills	2 Corn Mills & 1 Saw Mill

Source: Compiled by Ciaran O'Reilly from the Civil Survey, the Down survey, MS 2754, Naper papers, OS historic maps 1837 and the Griffith's valuation, 1854.

The Down and Civil surveys also provided data on land quality by splitting it into profitable and unprofitable categories, with just under 6% of the barony classified as unprofitable. The central and northern areas had much lower percentages of unprofitable land than the hillier eastern section.[20]

In his early 19th century *Statistical Survey of Meath*, Thompson describes the barony as having a great variety of soils. He noted that there was more tillage in the northern and western sections than in the eastern end of the barony which bears out the earlier seventeenth century land classification.[21] He also noted that the flour mills at Millbrook near Oldcastle had given rise to an increase in wheat and barley growing.[22] A sense of the large scale of the milling operations may be noted from the fact that, by 1837 according to Lewis, these mills were employing 50 hands.[23]

In addition to the productivity of the lands in terms of tillage crops, including flax, the underlying geology also provided other forms of income. The Ordnance Survey Field Books of the 1830s illustrate the large number of gravel pits located in the eastern section of the kame and kettle country, while Lewis in 1837 also noted that good limestone quarries were located in the area.

1.5 Administration of the barony

The administration of the barony evolved over time. The barony's location on the frontier zone between Meath/Cavan and Leinster/Ulster has been an important factor in its history as it was on the marches of the Pale. Originally it formed part of the Gaelic lordship of the O'Reilly family of east Breifne. Meath was shired as a county, as were neighbouring Westmeath and Cavan, in 1579. This shiring of Ireland into counties resulted from the increasing role played by the Crown administration. Baronies as a land division came about as a result of the Norman invasion. In Meath, Hugh de Lacy, the Norman baron, divided his lands between his vassals into cantreds, a form of English land division which evolved into baronies under the Tudors.

The Cromwellian plantation used the system of baronies, subdivided into parishes and townlands as denominations for assessing the lands available resulting from the confiscations. The Civil and Down surveys were created by the Cromwellian administration as a means of calculating the lands to be planted. Civil parishes continued in use as administrative boundaries for the established church and for government data purposes down into the nineteenth century.

---

[20] Simington, *The Civil Survey*
[21] Robert Thompson, *Statistical survey of the county of Meath*, (Dublin, 1802), p21.
[22] Ibid, p.21
[23] Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, (London 1837), p.448.

The valuations of Ireland for taxation purposes, starting with the first act in 1826, utilised the barony as an administrative area and published its findings by barony and county.[24] The establishment of the Poor Law unions changed the administrative landscape dramatically as their divisions crossed county boundaries. Oldcastle became the centre of a Poor Law Union of the same name and included parts of neighbouring Cavan and Westmeath county. A large workhouse to accommodate the poor and destitute was built in the town. Similar workhouses were constructed all over Ireland.

1.6 Population of the barony, 1732 - 1821

Estimates of population for Meath based on the hearth tax returns and a religious census from 1732 allowed Peter Connell to map the data by barony. In 1732, these figures illustrate that Demifore was one of the least densely populated areas in the county with a density of less than 75 persons per square mile. The estimates for the period from 1732-1821 suggest that the barony's population had increased dramatically by 170%, the largest increase in Meath.[25] More reliable figures are available from the official census data starting in 1821. Table 1.2 provides an overview of the population of the barony by parish at the end of the time frame of this research in 1841 and illustrates the decline which resulted from the Great Famine. The overall decrease in population amounted to nearly 35%. This figure is higher than the loss for county Meath as a whole, recorded at 23%.[26]

Table 1.2 Barony of Demifore, population change 1841-1851

Summary	Population in 1841	Population in 1851	Change in population (1841-1851)	
Diamor	794	445	-349	(-44%)
Kilbride	294	214	-80	(-27%)
Killallon	1,853	1,558	-295	(-16%)
Killeagh	2,231	1,448	-783	(-35%)
Loughcrew	1,412	905	-507	(-36%)
Moylagh	2,769	1,938	-831	(-30%)
Oldcastle	3,571	1,936	-1,635	(-46%)
Total	**12,924**	**8,444**	**-4,480**	**(-35%)**

Source: Compiled by author from Census of Ireland 1851, part 1, area, population and number of houses by townlands and electoral divisions: County of Meath, HC> 1852-3 [373] xlvi.

[24] Frances McGee, *The Archives of the Valuation of Ireland, 1830-1865*, (Dublin, 2018), p.15 hereafter cited as McGee, *The Archives the Valuation*.
[25] Peter Connell, *The Land and People of County Meath, 1750-1850*, (Dublin, 2004), p.59-60, hereafter cited as Connell, *The Land and People of Meath.*
[26] Connell, *The Land and People of Meath*, p.226.

1.7 Landownership in county Meath in the 19th century: setting the context for Demifore

In order to provide some context for the examination of landownership in the barony of Demifore, an overview of landownership in county Meath in the 19th century is detailed in Table 1.3, which records the Meath acreages and land valuations of the principal landowners, namely those owning 5,000 acres or more. To provide a complete picture as to the property interests and values of the estates, table 1.3 also details the acreage and valuation of lands owned by these families in other parts of Ireland outside of county Meath, and in Britain.

Table 1.3 Landowners with County Meath estates of over 5,000 acres (or worth over £5,000) in 1876 with details regarding their other Irish and British properties

Landowners	Domicile	Meath Acreage	Meath Valuation	Total Acreage	Total Valuation
Earl of Darnley	Cobham Hall, Gravesend	24,463	£17,349	34,722	£37,350
James Lennox Naper	Loughcrew, Oldcastle	18,863	£15,581	19,039	£15,658
Marquis of Landsdowne	Bowood Park, Calne	12,995	£10,790	142,916	£62,025
Lord Athlumney	Somerville House, Navan	10,213	£11,131	10,487	£11,364
Viscount Gormanstown	Gormanstown, Balbriggan	9,657	£8,048	10,957	£9,364
Earl of Fingall	Killeen Castle	9,589	£8,680	9,594	£8,727
Rt. Hon. Col.Taylor	Ardgillan Castle Balbriggan	9,000	£6,227	10,261	£7,526
Robert Fowler	Rahinstown,Enfield	8,026	£6,884	8,026	£6,884
Christopher Armytage Nicholson	Balrath, Burry, Kells	7,693	£6,277	7,693	£6,227
Marquis of Headfort	Headfort House, Kells	7,544	£10,361	42,754	£39,606
John Joseph Preston	Bellinter, Navan	7,415	£6,839	7,415	£6,839
Marquis Conyngham	Bifrons, Canterbury	7,060	£6,670	166,710	£50,076
Henry Corbet Singleton	Aclare, Ardee	5,857	£4,731	5,857	£4731
Edward Rotheram	Crossdrum, Oldcastle	5,308	£5,036	6,598	£5,976
Robert Craven Wade	Clonebraney, Crossakiel	5,174	£4,593	9,596	£8,571
Hon. Mrs Corbally	Corbalton Hall, Tara	5,033	£5,220	5,033	£5,220
Thomas Gerrard*	Boyne Hill, Navan	4,748	£5,034	4,748	£5,034
John Arthur Farrell*	Moynalty, Kells	4,790	£5,000	4,790	£5,000

Source: Compiled by author from Bateman, The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland (1971).
*Estate, while under the 5,000 acres threshold, was valued at over £5,000.

Looking specifically at those landowners domiciled in Demifore, James Lenox Naper is listed as owning over 18,000 acres in the county.[27] While the majority of their lands were in the barony of Demifore, the Naper family also had substantial landholdings in the neighbouring barony of Kells Upper. Robert Craven Wade of Clonabreany possessed significant lands in the eastern area of the barony, bordering on Kells Upper barony where he also held lands. He is listed with 5,174 acres in

[27] John Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*, (Leicester, 1971), reprinting of 4th Edition, 1883. P.328

Meath.[28] Edward Rotheram of Crossdrum, near Oldcastle is listed with 5,308 acres in the county.[29] While the acreage of land owned is often cited as an indicator of status, it is of course the valuation that provides a more significant indicator of the economic status of the landowner.[30]

The majority of the landowners listed were resident in county Meath with just two living in England, the Earl of Darnley and the Marquis of Landsdowne. The Earl of Darnley is listed as owning 9,306 acres in Kent worth £20,000, a valuation significantly more than his Meath lands centred on Athboy. The Marquis of Lansdowne, who is the biggest landowner shown in table 1.3, also held lands in counties Kerry, Laois, Limerick and Down as well as his English estates.

1.8 Urban settlement in County Meath: setting the context

The origins, development and modernisation of many Irish country towns was often a result of the agency of the local landowning family. Such towns are often depicted as 'landlord towns'. In county Meath for example, Kells, Oldcastle or Slane and their growth in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was influenced by their landlord owners. Yet the origins of towns is much more varied. Kells, for example, is of monastic origin while Trim developed as an Anglo-Norman town dominated by Hugh de Lacy's formidable castle on the river Boyne. According to Royle, in the early censuses of Ireland including that of 1841, small towns were defined as places with twenty or more houses and recorded their population totals separately from their townlands.[31] Table 1.4 utilises Royle's methodology by listing the forty-four Meath town populations and the number of houses from the 1841 census figures and includes Lewis's descriptions of their functions. The table clearly indicates the importance of weekly markets to a town's development. The five largest towns in Meath, including Oldcastle the largest urban settlement in the barony of Demifore, are the only ones classified as market centres and all have populations of over 1,500. The holding of annual animal fairs demonstrates the importance of the livestock trade and it is notable that the fairs were mainly held in the large market towns and those defined as post-towns.

Post towns developed on the important mail coach roads of that period. Duleek is defined as a village in Lewis but is the only other town on the table with a population over 1,000. It was located on the main road from Dublin to Belfast. Being positioned on a mail-coach road was an important

[28] Ibid., p.459
[29] Ibid., p.387
[30] McGee, *The Archives of the Valuation*, p 15.
[31] Stephen A. Royle, 'Small Towns in Ireland, 1841-1951 in Howard B. Clarke, Jacinta Prunty and Mark Hennessy (eds), *Surveying Ireland's Past: Multidisciplinary Essays in Honour of Anngret Simms,* (Dublin 2004) p. 536.

Table 1.4 Profile of Meath towns circa 1841

Town	Population	# houses	Lewis Entry	Town	Population	# houses	Lewis Entry
Navan	5,628	927	M&P town, 4 annual fairs	Wilkinstown	218	46	
Kells	4,205	605	M&P town, 6 annual fairs	Kilcock (Rathcore parish)	210	43	
Trim	2,269	353	M&P town, 5 annual fairs	The Little Furze (Athlumney)	204	43	
Athboy	1,826	307	M&P town, 4 annual fairs	Stamullin	198	37	
Oldcastle	1,508	244	M&P town, 3 annual fairs	Mornington	188	41	
Duleek	1,158	218	Parish, 4 annual fairs	Kildalkey	179	30	4 annual fairs
Bohermeen	831	159		Rathmolyn	176	25	
Longwood	587	117		Gormanston	160	21	
Dunboyne	571	110	1 annual fair	Ballivor	158	30	
Slane	555	75	Post town, 4 annual fairs	Kilskyre	156	29	Parish (post-town Crossakeel)
Ratoath	533	94		Greenoge	154	25	
Dunshaughlin	524	88	Post town	Ballynee	147	23	
Drumcondra	419	68		Kilmessan	138	25	
Nobber	384	66	Post town, 1 annual fair	Kilmainham Wood	137	21	
Ashbourne	375	50	Post town, 5 annual fairs	Julianstown	130	20	
Innfield (Enfield)	375	49	Post town	Moynalty	130	21	Post town
Crossakeel	316	52	Post town, 3 annual fairs	Donacarney	129	29	
Summerhill	287	46	Post town, 4 annual fairs	Kilberry	128	26	
Carlanstown	282	47	Village, 4 annual fairs	Yellow Furze	127	23	Village, 4 annual fairs
Factory (Athlumney)	271	41		Tara	126	23	
Clonee	255	44	Post town	Siddan	121	20	
Skreen	235	43	Parish, 3 annual fairs	Ardcath	103	20	

Source: Compiled by author from Lewis Topographical Dictionary and 1841 census figures. Note: M&P town = Market & Post town.

factor for many of the towns listed in table 1.4. Other examples include Moynalty on the Bailieborough to Dublin road via Kells, and Enfield on the mail-coach road from Dublin to Kinnegad. The main routes which passed through Meath were the roads from Dublin to Belfast, Enniskillen and Sligo. Oldcastle, as will be discussed in detail later in this thesis, was located on the Dublin to Sligo route.

1.9 Conclusions

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the landlords and their principal leaseholders were the dominant landholders in Demifore barony. This thesis will explore the role of the largest landowners, the Napers and the Wades, and examine evidence of the landscape changes which they initiated in the construction of big houses and their associated demesnes. Away from their rural holdings, they also contributed to urban development in their promotion of the growth of the urban centres of Oldcastle and Crossakeel. Of course, not all of the land in Demifore was held by those domiciled in the barony, and this thesis will consider the extent of these non-resident estates, and how their management differed compared to those held by resident landlords. Besides the landowners, the principal leaseholders also exerted their influence during the period by increasing their landholdings and, by extension, their socio-economic status. This found its fullest landscape expression in their attempts to emulate the landowners' status through the construction of their own big houses and demesnes.

The next chapter of this thesis examines a range of themes from the existing academic literature identified as relevant to the aim of this thesis and outlines the main bodies of source material and methodologies used in carrying out the research on which it is based.

Chapter 2 Literature Review, Sources and Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the extant literature pertaining to the themes chosen for the research topic. The review will use a thematic approach as a basis of providing a more thorough understanding of the published material. The themes which have been selected are the evolution of landownership in Ireland between 1500 and 1700; landlords and landlordism; estate management; landscape improvements and landlord involvement in urban improvement. The review will illustrate how historical geographers, historians and other academics have engaged with these themes in the last number of decades. The chapter will conclude by detailing the main bodies of primary and secondary sources consulted which provided the main research material and will illustrate how they were utilised in the compilation of this thesis.

2.2 Evolution of landownership in Ireland c.1500-c.1700

The Anglo-Normans/Old English and Gaelic lordships dominated land ownership in Ireland up to the changes initiated by the Tudor administration in the late fifteenth century. The Anglo-Norman families had their origins in the twelfth century Norman invasion and the land grants issued under the English lordship of Ireland. Beckett states that 'The authority of the royal government, with its capital in Dublin, extended nominally over the whole country, but was effective only within a relatively small area, significantly referred to as … the English Pale.'[32] The Geraldine rebellion of the 1530s led to the introduction of the policy of 'surrender and regrant' by which the Tudor monarch, Henry VIII obliged the lords to submit to the crown.[33]

Another instrument of control was the Commission for Defective Titles, an executive court which was reconstituted under Wentworth, the Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1634.[34] This was the Crown's answer to the Grace (a reform sought by Catholics) which allowed that a sixty-year title was sufficient to prove ownership. Kearney states that 'Wentworth had opposed this Grace on the grounds that at one stroke it would cut off the Crown from 'discovering' alienated land and from raising rents when defective titles were enrolled.'[35] The administration's policy was to increase revenue through increased Crown rents and alienated lands.

---

[32] J.C. Beckett, *The making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923,* (London, 1966), p.14 hereafter cited as Beckett*, Modern Ireland.*
[33] Ibid, pp.17-18.
[34] Hugh F. Kearney, *Stafford in Ireland 1633-1641*, (Cambridge, 1959), p.81, hereafter cited as Kearney, Stafford.
[35] Ibid, p.81

The dramatic changes in landownership which occurred in Ireland as a consequence of English policies are evident in all the provinces of Ireland. Prior to the 'official' plantations which resulted from the confiscation of land due to rebellions, other factors were involved in land transfers. The expansion of the Pale under the Tudor administration in the sixteenth century was aided by the availability of lands due to the dissolution of the monasteries. These extensive Church lands were often awarded to New English officials and soldiers associated with the Dublin administration.[36]

Nolan points to the changing pattern of landownership demonstrated in county Carlow in the early seventeenth century. He states that 'Rathvilly expressed in its landownership patterns more than any other of the Carlow baronies, the new Ireland which was being forged through 'legal' and commercial plantation in the years preceding the conflagration of the 1640s.'[37] An example from the Rathvilly barony is provided by Whelan who details the origins of the settlement of New English in Hackettstown established by Thomas Watson under a lease from the Earl of Ormond in the early 1630s.[38]

Arnold Horner points out that the biggest problem for the Dublin administration in the sixteenth century was in meeting the need for data on the principal settlements and areas controlled by the local lords. He observed that, 'Throughout this prolonged period of intermittent instability, in the midlands as well as in other frontier parts of Ireland, the English authorities in Dublin and London faced the challenge of obtaining reliable information on the territories over which they wished to exert control.'[39]

In an effort to solve this problem the English authorities commissioned a number of surveys of Ireland focusing on a line south of Strangford Lough to Killary harbour which resulted in maps of the coastline and other areas. John Travers, Master of the Ordnance produced a map of Irish ports in 1543.[40] Sidney, lord deputy of Ireland (1565-71 and 1575-8) engaged the services of Robert Lythe

[36] William J. Smyth, 'Ireland A Colony Settlement: Implications of the revolution in military-administrative, urban and ecclesiastical structures, c. 1550 to c. 1730' in Terry Barry, (ed.) *A History of Settlement in Ireland*, (London, 2000), p159.
[37] William Nolan, 'County Carlow 1641-1660: Geography, Landownership and Society' in Thomas McGrath (ed) *Carlow History and Society* (Dublin, 2008), p.382.
[38] Oliver Whelan, *Landholding in the new English settlement of Hackettstown, Co. Carlow, 1635-1875,* (Dublin,2019), p.13.
[39] Arnold Horner, *Mapping Laois from the 16th to the 21st century*, (Dublin, 2018), p.8, hereafter cited as Horner, *Mapping Laois.*
[40] William J. Smyth, *Map-making Landscapes and memory A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland c. 1530-1750*, (Cork, 2006), p.30.

to carry out a series of surveys during the period 1567-1571 which provided maps and data on the principal settlements and routeways. The shiring of Ireland formed an important part of this survey process and thus enabled the authorities to consolidate their administrative control.[41] An important result of these surveys was a map of Ireland produced by Lythe, a copy of which is called the Petworth map. This is of great significance, including 1,100 place names, even though there is scant detail on Ulster and north Connaught.[42]

2.2.1 Schemes of Plantation

The notion of plantation as a policy existed in the early sixteenth century. Andrews stated that as early as 1515 a scheme of settling Englishmen in Ireland was recorded.[43] The first area to undergo plantation was the counties of Laois and Offaly resulting from confiscation of the lands. Detailed topographical maps of these two counties are extant and probably date from the later sixteenth century.[44] The Munster plantation followed later in the century as a consequence of confiscation resulting from the Desmond rebellion. Foster states that this settlement initiative had lasted more tenaciously than contemporaries and historians had allowed.[45]

The establishment of the Presidency of Connaught led to the written surveys of 1577 and 1585, known as the Composition of Connaught, which served to consolidate the ownership of lands in the hands of the State and local landlords. Smyth points out that the more detailed written version of 1585 provides details not seen on maps.[46] The plantation of Connaught as envisaged by Wentworth ran in to serious opposition most notably from the Earl of Clanricarde who was a loyal subject of the Crown.[47] Galway and Mayo were hardly affected as is evident from the Books of Survey and Distribution but there was some success in the other counties of Connaught.[48] The Transplantation to Connaught resulting from the Cromwellian settlement occurred later in the seventeenth century.

The Ulster plantation was made more difficult by the lack of detailed maps which were available for other areas of Ireland. The map-maker Richard Bartlett accompanied Lord Mountjoy on his

---

[41] Ibid, p.38.
[42] Horner*, Mapping Laois,* p.16.
[43] John Andrews, 'Plantation Ireland A review of settlement history' in Terry Barry, (ed.), *A History of Settlement in Ireland*, (London, 2000), p.140.
[44] J.H. Andrews and Rolf Loeber, 'An Elizabethan map of Leix and Offaly: cartography, topography and architecture' in (eds), William Nolan and Timothy P. ONeill*, Offaly history and Society*, (Dublin, 1998), p.252.
[45] R. F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972,* (London,1989), p.13.hereafter cited as Foster, *Modern Ireland*
[46] William J. Smyth, *Map-making Landscapes and memory A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland c. 1530-1750*, (Cork, 2006), p.74.
[47] Kearney, *Stafford,* p.90.
[48] Kearney, *Stafford,* pp.101-102.

military campaigns in Ulster and produced the first recognisable maps of the area.[49] When the plantation was envisaged a commission was appointed to sit in Dungannon to undertake a survey by inquisition by interviewing locals.[50] The later Bodley survey that commenced in 1609 was to be accompanied by barony maps which were to indicate and name all townlands.[51] Margey states that these maps drawn by barony areas provided detail not only on the escheated land but also illustrated the physical landscape.[52] The 1622 Commission initiated a more detailed survey of the lands and commissioned Thomas Raven to take charge. He is credited with producing the more ornate maps of this survey but possibly not the sketch maps.[53]

2.2.2 Cromwellian confiscation and re-settlement

The Cromwellian plantation which originated from the confiscations resulting from the Rebellion of 1641 had a profound effect on the socio-economic geography of Ireland. Cromwell had run up large debts during the English Civil War and devised a plan to pay for them using some 2.5 million acres of Irish land. Persons known as 'Adventurers' were given the lands as security for loans to the Cromwellian administration. The Act of Settlement introduced in 1652 proposed to settle the debts due to the Adventurers but also money due to the soldiers of Cromwell's army.[54] The Civil and Down surveys were utilised to provide written and cartographic data for the Cromwellian settlement while the various elements of the Williamite settlements concluded with the Trustees sales at the turn of the new century.

By the late seventeenth century the ownership of land was now vested in a privileged few who were seen as alien by the native population due to ethnic and religious differences. In 1641 according to Beckett some three-fifths of Irish land was under Catholic ownership which indicated that the New English had already gained a strong foothold but that this had been reduced to one-fifth as a result of the Rebellion of 1641.[55] The seventeenth century historical GIS data from the Down survey indicates that Catholic ownership stood at 42.2% prior to 1641 while Protestant ownership was shown as 42.1% which differs from Beckett's figures.[56] The figures from 1670

[49] Jonathan Bardon, *The Plantation of Ulster*, (Dublin, 2011), p.113 hereafter cited as Bardon, *Ulster Plantation.*
[50] Bardon, *Ulster Plantation,* p.114.
[51] Ibid, pp. 122-123.
[52] Annaleigh Margey, 'Representing plantation landscapes: the mapping of Ulster, c.1560-1640' in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne, *Plantation Ireland settlement and material culture, c.1550-c.1700,* (Dublin, 2009), p.151 hereafter cited as Margey, *Plantation landscapes*
[53] Margey, *Plantation landscapes*, p.156.
[54] Beckett*, Modern Ireland*, p.107.
[55] Ibid, pp. 120-121.
[56] Down Survey of Ireland, tcd.ie. Accessed on 2/12/2019.

illustrate a dramatic decrease in Catholic ownership to 16.6% and a consequent rise in Protestant ownership to 69.8%.[57] Simms states that the effect of the later Williamite settlement was to reduce the land held by Catholics further to just 14% at the turn of the eighteenth century.[58] The influx of a large new wave of settlers from England dramatically altered land ownership control from the Anglo-Norman and Gaelic lordships to that of a predominantly alien landlord elite.

2.3 Landlords and landlordism

As W. J. Smyth has observed for Kilkenny, the new settlers included all types and led to the breakup of the old land ownership framework. He observed that the transition from a declining 'feudalised' order to a more modern capitalist order led to the emergence of a new power base based on the state, county, parish and landlord.[59] The socio-economic status of Irish landlords usually derived from the size of their estates and the income available from their lands. The owners of smaller estates of approximately 500 acres and over were known as the lesser landed gentry while the premier estate owners were sometimes titled peers like the Downshire family whose lands amounted to 100,000 statute acres.[60] Dooley states that by the mid-nineteenth century there were some 7,000 estates in Ireland.[61] Nolan and Jones-Hughes in their work noted that land valuation provides a better indicator than estate size of the income which could be derived from the land.[62] Wilson in his analysis for county Meath of Bateman's work stated that there were 88 proprietors included for the county.[63] Analysis of these figures illustrates that just twenty of these owners were furnished with a rental income of £5,000 or over (see table 1.3 in chapter 1). In county Down, Lindsay Proudfoot has highlighted that 83% of land there was owned by just 23 of the largest landowners.[64]

Besides economic differences, the landlord class were also composed of those of varying origins and ethnicity. According to Lindsay Proudfoot, the origins of the main landowning families in county

[57] Down Survey of Ireland, tcd.ie. Accessed on 2/12/2019.
[58] J.G. Simms, 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691-1714' in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (eds*), A new History of Ireland, IV, Eighteenth Century Ireland 1691-1800*, (Oxford, 2009), p.12.
[59] W.J. Smyth, 'Territorial, Social and Settlement Hierarchies' in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds*), Kilkenny History and Society*, (Dublin, 1990), p.46.
[60] W. A. Maguire, *The Downshire Estates in Ireland 1801-1845 The management of Irish landed estates in the early nineteenth century,* (Oxford, 1972), p.8 hereafter cited as Maguire, *Downshire estates*.
[61] Terence Dooley, *The Big Houses and landed Estates of Ireland: A Research Guide*, (Dublin, 2007), p.9.
[62] William Nolan, *Fassadinin Land, Settlement and Society in South-East Ireland 1600-1850*, (Dublin, 1979) and Tom Jones Hughes, *Landholding, Society and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Ireland: a historical geographer's perspective,* (Dublin, 2004).
[63] Thomas M. Wilson, 'The Great Landowners of Meath, 1879' in *Riocht na Midhe,* vii, (1980/1981), p. 103.
[64] Lindsay Proudfoot, 'Land ownership and Improvement ca.17001845' in Lindsay Proudfoot, (ed.), *Down History* and Society, (Dublin, 1997), p.208, hereafter cited as Proudfoot, *Landownership and Improvement*.

Down dated to the land settlements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[65] Using the Griffith valuation he assessed the ethnic origins and social status of the owners of estates of ca.500 acres. The English/Scots amounted to 76% while the Gaelic Irish/Old English accounted for the remaining 24%.[66] Here again is illustrated the pattern of redistribution of lands on ethnic and religious grounds. Nolan in his work in Kilkenny clearly demonstrated the redistribution of the Gaelic and Anglo-Norman owned lands to new owners based on ethnic and religious differences.[67] On the other hand, Harvey states that the gentry of eastern Galway in the eighteenth century were a diverse group in both their origin and religion.[68] All of this illustrates that the landlord class were not the homogenous group usually depicted in the writings of the late nineteenth century.

Academic scrutiny of the economic relationship between landlord and tenant on which landlordism was based in Ireland was limited up until Pomfret's work on the land struggle was first published in Princeton in 1930.[69] This work provided an impetus for further studies on the same topic. Barbara Solow's publication in 1971 added more focus to the study of the land question in Ireland in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[70] Notably, neither of these historians were Irish which may point to a reluctance on the part of Irish academics to engage with the somewhat emotive subject of land ownership at this time. The enduring legacy of these works was to view the landlord class in a negative way as the oppressors of the tenantry. Pomfret's observation that ''it was customary for the landlord to rent simply the naked land. In most countries the lessee obtained not only the use of the land but of appurtenances such as stables, farm buildings, fences and so on" indicates his less than positive view of the landlord class and of how the tenants were unjustly treated because of this system.[71]

Barbara Solow commented on another negative aspect of the relationship between landlord and tenant when she mentioned that the MP for Dundalk, Sharman Crawford introduced a land bill in 1835 which would provide compensation for improvements made by tenants.[72] This bill was

[65] Proudfoot, *Landownership and Improvement*, p.205.
[66] Ibid, p.211.
[67] William Nolan, *Fassadinin Land, Settlement and Society in South-east Ireland 1600-1850,* (Dublin,1979)/ p.78 hereafter cited as Nolan*, Fassadinin.*
[68] Karen Harvey, 'Landlords and Land usage in eighteenth century Galway' in Gerard Moran and Raymond Gillespie (eds). *Galway History and Society,* (Dublin, 1996) p.297.
[69] John E. Pomfret, *The struggle for land in Ireland 1800-1923*, (Princeton, 1969) hereafter cited as Pomfret, *The struggle for land*.
[70] Barbara Solow, *The Land Question and the Irish Economy 1870-1923*, (Harvard, 1971) hereafter cited as Solow, *The Land Question*
[71] Pomfret, *The struggle for land,* p.20.
[72] Solow, *The Land Question*. p.4.

ultimately unsuccessful, as were subsequent bills introduced by Crawford. She also stated that the 1843 Royal commission on land, known as the Devon Commission recommended some measures to deal with the land question and established the notion that defects in land tenure were at the root of Ireland's economic difficulties.[73]

Later works served to challenge this negative view and turn the tide to a more positive way of assessing the landlord class. The works of historical geographers and historians such as Tom Jones Hughes, William Nolan, W.A. Maguire, James Donnelly and others led to a more revisionist version of the landowning class. The historical geographer Tom Jones Hughes brought this subject to the fore when he published articles on landholding and settlement focusing on different regions of Ireland. He was the first to map what he called estate cores and boundaries by using the first edition large scale Ordnance Survey maps and the Griffith Valuation records. The valuation records allowed him to chart the land values and illustrate the definitive land values of estates in the mid-nineteenth century. His work published in various journals and books was brought together in a festschrift style of publication in 2010.[74] His regional studies included one on landholding and settlement in counties Meath and Cavan which is highly relevant to the research undertaken in this study. In it, he examined how the natural divide between the physical landscapes of Leinster and Ulster affected landholding and settlement in these counties.[75]

Similarly, the historical geographer P.J. Duffy chronicled the changes in land ownership in county Cavan from the early seventeenth century Ulster plantation through to the mid-nineteenth century land valuations in a series of maps. He observed that the essential difference between the Ulster and Cromwellian plantations was that the Ulster plantation placed an emphasis on settlement whereas the Cromwellian did not. Duffy's work carefully mapped how consolidation of estates in county Cavan took place over the time period.[76] William Nolan's study of the barony of Fassadinin in county Kilkenny provides an in-depth analysis of the changes in landownership resulting from the land settlements and other land transactions. He was fortunate that documentary evidence was available for the early part of the seventeenth century from the Ormonde records, allowing him to chart the ownership of Fassadinin from the early seventeenth century right through to the

[73] Ibid, pp.12-13.
[74] T. Jones Hughes, *Landholding, Society and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Ireland: A historical geographer's perspective*, (Dublin,2010), hereafter cited as Jones Hughes, *Landholding, Society and Settlement.*
[75] Jones Hughes, *Landholding, Society and Settlement*, p.84.
[76] P.J. Duffy, 'Perspectives on the Making of the Cavan Landscape' in Raymond Gillespie, (ed), *Cavan Essays on the history of an Irish county*, (Dublin, 1995), p.23.

nineteenth century. He was able to utilise the Griffith valuation to provide a definitive conclusion to his study. The papers from the Wandesforde estate also provided valuable data on the barony.[77] Nolan's focus on individual estates facilitated a more detailed analysis of landownership and the practices involved in estate management.

While many Irish landlords resided on their properties, a number ran their estates as absentees residing either on other properties in Ireland or outside the country entirely. Landlords were absent from their estates for various reasons. Some owned estates in other parts of Ireland, some owned estates in Great Britain, some resided elsewhere because of the Penal laws of the eighteenth century, and others were merchants living in Dublin or other towns and cities. Proudfoot mentions that large sums of money from rent rolls were submitted to England and that, by the late 1770s, this amounted to £700,000 a year.[78] Many landlords had lands and residences in England and resided there rather than in Ireland. Malcomson observed that it was prudent for Catholic landlords to absent themselves during the period 1704-1782 and provides the example of the titular viscounts of Kenmare as an example.[79]

2.4. Estate Management

There were many different aspects involved in the management of an estate ranging from the collection of rents, correspondence, leasing and legal issues, overseeing improvements, maintenance of the demesne lands, representation in local government and the work involved in the day to day running of the lands.

2.4.1 Estate agents

Some landlords were quite involved in the management of their estates but more often than not the main body of the work was performed by agents. A good example of how this operated is demonstrated in the Gore-Booth estate in Sligo which was managed by the agent, George Dowdell, appointed in 1823, who also managed other estates in county Sligo.[80] The landlord Sir Robert Gore-Booth was resident and correspondence with his agent revealed his active involvement.[81] The most obvious role of an agent is that of a collector of rent but their duties were manifold and included

[77] Nolan, *Fassadinin*, p.201.
[78] Proudfoot, *Land ownership and Improvement*, p.204.
[79] A.P.W. Malcomson, 'Absenteeism in Eighteenth Century Ireland' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, vol.1 (1974), p.17 hereafter cited as Malcomson, *Absenteeism*.
[80] Gerard Moran, *Sir Robert Gore-Booth and his landed estate in County Sligo, 1814-1876: Land, famine Emigration and Politics*, (Dublin, 2006), p13, hereafter cited as Moran*, Gore-Booth landed estate.*
[81] Moran, *Gore-Booth landed estate*, p13.

managerial, social and political components. Smith points out that Thomas Bermingham "fulfilled the role of not only a, collector of rent, but also a manager, a dispenser of charity and an architect of 'improvement".[82] Donnelly stated that agents came from three main sources – the landowner's family, the landed gentry and the legal profession.[83] The choice of agent was particularly important for the absentee landlord. Malcomson referred to the importance of the income threshold or the holding of a certain amount of leasehold property in order to participate in the Grand Jury as relevant to agent choice in this context.[84] Eligibility for the Grand Jury provided the juror with a degree of local political influence and would be of particular importance if the landlord was an absentee. Barnard stated that many agents served as grand jurors, magistrates and militia officers enabling them to acquire influence and power in their localities.[85]

The social status of an agent was also important especially if it allowed him to build a fine house and go hunting with the landlord as highlighted in Ciaran Reilly's work on the land agents in King's County.[86] He also pointed to the fact that the majority of agents were Protestant.[87] This would have set them aside as sharing a similar ethnicity to the landlord class. A notable example from this group is William Stuart Trench whose family had strong connections with titled nobility and the Established church. Trench's father was Church of Ireland dean of Kildare.[88] Prior to his appointment as agent for the Landsdowne estate in 1849 he had worked as agent on the Shirley estate in Monaghan and also managed the Digby estate in Offaly and the Bath estate in Monaghan while agent on the Landsdowne estate.[89] William Reilly who spent thirty years as chief agent on the scattered Downshire estates came from a family of the lesser gentry in county Down and provides another example of this type of agent.[90] Because of the extensive nature of the Downshire property it meant that at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were ten agents employed.[91]

---

[82] Cathal Smith, *Thomas Bermingham: nineteenth century land agent and 'improver'*, (Dublin, 2018), p.8, hereafter cited as Smith, *Thomas Bermingham: land agent.*
[83] James Donnelly, *The Land and the People of Nineteenth Century Cork: the rural economy and the land question*, (London, 1975), p.179.
[84] Malcomson, *Absenteeism*, p.30.
[85] Toby Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland, The Irish Protestants 1649-1770*, (Dublin, 2003), p.209 hereafter cited as Barnard, *New Anatomy of Ireland*.
[86] Ciaran Reilly, *The Irish Land Agent, 1830-1860: the case of King's County*, (Dublin, 2014), p. 47 hereafter cited as Reilly*, Irish Land Agent*.
[87] Reilly, *Irish Land Agent,* p.42.
[88] Gerard J. Lyne, *The Landsdowne estate in Kerry under W.S. Trench 1847-72,* (Dublin, 2001), pp. xlv-xlvi. Hereafter cited as Lyne*, Landsdowne Estate*
[89] Lyne, *Landsdowne estate*, pp.xlv-xlivii.
[90] Maguire*, Downshire estates*, p.163.
[91] Ibid, p.184.

Maguire details that these agents came from different social backgrounds, with varying qualifications and included attorneys, surveyors, military men and sons of agents.

The sons of agents sometimes followed in their fathers' footsteps and became land agents. An example is Thomas Bermingham, agent for the Clonbrock estates of the Dillons, who was the son of Walter Bermingham, onetime land agent to Lord Clanricarde. As Smith points out, he would have been exposed to the expectations and demands of the job through the work of his father.[92] Similarly, the two sons of W.S. Trench acted as his assistants; his eldest, Thomas Weldon on the Digby and Bath estates, and his younger son John Townsend on the Kerry estate. When Stuart Trench died, he was replaced by his son John Townsend on the Landsdowne estate in Kerry.[93]

Opportunities were available for agents to install themselves on farms with long leases and low rents on the estates that they managed. They could also provide the same opportunities for their relations and friends.[94] Power mentioned that some of these head-tenants acted as agents for their landlord and uses the example of the Nagles in county Tipperary.[95] Here the Nagles acted as agent for their landlord, Lord Cahir, providing the family with power and influence at a local level.[96]

2.4.2 Tenants and Land Tenure

The system of leaseholding which was in use during the period of this study led to the dominance of principal leaseholders/head-tenants holding large areas of land. This was due to the practice of leasing whole townlands and sometimes a number of townlands to one leaseholder. Some of them lived in the areas where they were leasing the lands but others lived elsewhere. Some of the leases were very favourable to tenants because the leases were in perpetuity and for lives renewable, effectively allowing the tenant ownership rights.

Thomas Power observed that many units in Tipperary consisted of whole townlands and some of multi-townland units.[97] He also points to the fact that this led to head-tenants/leaseholders holding large tracts of land and provides examples of the Nagles and Keatings holding over 1,000 acres.[98] William Nolan in his study of the barony of Fassadinin observed that the townland was the primary

[92] Smith, *Thomas Bermingham: land agent*, pp.25/26.
[93] Lyne, *Landsdowne estate*, pp.xlv-xlivii.
[94] Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland*, p.228.
[95] Thomas P. Power, *Land, Politics and Society in eighteenth-century Tipperary,* (Oxford, 1993), p.133 hereafter cited as Power*, Land, Politics and Society*.
[96] Power, *Land, Politics and Society*, p.133.
[97] Ibid, p.129.
[98] Ibid, p.130.

letting unit. Utilising a survey of the estate undertaken in 1746, Nolan identified the principal leaseholders and tenants-at- will. Some held large acreages, namely, the Denn and Brennan families. In a later survey of 1812 which included townland maps Nolan illustrated that sixty-six per cent was held in leaseholdings of 100 acres or over.

The provision of leases was an important aspect of estate management especially because leases were legally binding documents. The Penal Laws which restricted Catholics to a 31 year leasehold in the early eighteenth century became common practice as revealed in the memorials in the Registry of Deeds. Earlier in the century the leases were usually for a period of 31 years and/or lives. Some leases allowed for the insertion of a new life when someone had died on payment of a fine. These leases gave the tenant virtual control of the lands involved. Maguire states that in the nineteenth century there were three ways that a tenant could hold land – by a written lease, or 'at will' or from year to year. He explained that an 'at will' tenancy had no finishing date but that the others had a terminal date.[99]

The lease stated the rent to be charged, the extent of the time period and sometimes the acreage was included. Some leases illustrated that the landlord provided for a graded increase in rent over the years usually as an aid to the implementation of the improvement clauses.[100] Many leases included covenants which aimed to impose the landlord's control over his lands. The covenants usually referred to aspects of improvement - the enclosures of fields by quicksets, the planting of trees, an enclosed orchard, the building of a house and offices.[101] Many leases included the rights of the landlord to game, quarries, turbary and timber as outlined in the Downshire estate leases.[102]

2.5 Landscape Improvements

The land settlements of the seventeenth century led to dramatic changes in the appearance of the landscape. This transformation was manifested in the construction of big houses, the ornamentation of the demesne lands and the establishment and improvements of urban settlements. The new owners if they were resident preferred to live apart from their tenants. The emergence of the 'big house' which replaced the tower house and house cluster of the earlier period helped to transform the relationship between the various people and elements of the landscape. These changes expressed their hegemony and control of landscape and society. Reeves-

[99] Maguire, *Downshire estates,* p.108.
[100] Power*, Land, Politics and Society*, p.167.
[101] Maguire, *Downshire estates*, p.111.
[102] Ibid, p.110.

Smyth points to the destruction of many of the medieval villages where now all that remains are the characteristic ruins of tower house and church dotting the Irish countryside.[103]. Dooley notes that 'by locating their houses amidst hundreds of acres of parklands and gardens, by building high demesne walls or surrounding their houses with woodland (or doing both) landlords had physically distanced themselves from the local community.'[104] Kevin V. Mulligan in his analysis of some aspects of the demesne landscapes of county Meath in the eighteenth century stated that there was a strong relationship between the location of the medieval manor and some later country house demesnes.[105]

2.5.1 Demesnes

These lands as defined by Reeves-Smyth were the manor lands farmed directly by the lord which had evolved from medieval times as separate social and economic areas incorporating woodland, farm land, gardens and ornamental grounds.[106] Vandra Costello has observed that the idealistic demesne was centred on the landlord's great house while the fecundity of the demesne was illustrated by the multiplicity of its food sources.[107] Costello also pointed to the impact of the 'Grand Tour' on those who visited the classical gardens of France and Italy and also the influence of friends and colleagues.[108] Proudfoot estimated that the acreage of lands given over to demesnes amounted to roughly 0.4% of county Down based on the first edition of the six inch Ordnance Survey maps. This illustrates that it was a relatively small amount even though their conspicuousness on the landscape may have led people to think otherwise.[109] More than 300 demesnes may be identified in the landscape of county Meath today.[110] The main components of the demesne landscape comprised the same characteristic features – walled gardens, parklands, home farms which included extensive farm buildings and woodland areas, often surrounded by walls only broken by entrances with attendant gate lodges.[111]

---

[103] Terence Reeves-Smyth, 'Towns and Villages' in F.H.A. Allen, Kevin Whelan and Matthew Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*, (Cork, 1997), p.187.
[104] Terence Dooley, *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland,* (Dublin, 2001), p.18 hereafter cited as Dooley*, Decline of the Big House.*
[105] Kevin V. Mulligan, 'Aspects of continuity and change in the eighteenth century country house demesne in *Meath'* in *Meath History and Society,* (Dublin, 2015), p.331, hereafter cited as Mulligan, *Aspects of continuity and change.*
[106] Terence Reeves-Smyth, 'The Natural History of demesnes' in John Wilson Foster and Helena C.G. Chesney (eds), *Nature in Ireland*, (1997), p.549.
[107] Vandra Costello*, Irish Demesne Landscapes, 1660-1740*, (Dublin 2015), p.21 hereafter cited as Costello, Irish *Demesnes.*
[108] Costello, *Irish Demesnes*, p.46.
[109] Proudfoot, *Land ownership and Improvement,* p.214.
[110] Mulligan, *Aspects of continuity and change*, p.342.
[111] Ibid, p.343.

2.5.2 Mansion Houses

The landlord's private residence became the focus of the demesne landscape. The mansion house or big house of the landlord was often cut off by high walls surrounding the demesne lands and obscuring the residence from the local inhabitants.[112] The size of mansions varied greatly and was dependent on the amount of resources available to the owner. The smaller 'big houses' were usually built by the lesser gentry, the principal leaseholders and middlemen but still form an important cohort of mansion houses. Foster observed that 'the most striking inheritance of the age is the less grandiose: the countless classic, small Irish houses.'[113] Many of these houses still grace the countryside and are a notable feature of the first edition Ordnance Survey maps because of their accompanying demesnes. Dooley states that there were probably about 4,000 big houses in the twenty-six counties in c. 1860.[114]

The buildings which replaced the Norman-style tower houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries heralded a new departure in architectural design. Bence-Jones observed that the surviving houses from the seventeenth were not fortified but he pointed to the fact that many of these houses were demolished or substantially altered and enlarged in the eighteenth century. The influence of Classicism and Palladianism styles of architecture introduced by the architects Pearce and Castle had profound effects on Irish country houses of the eighteenth century.[115] Francis Johnston continued the Classical tradition into the nineteenth century alongside the neo-Gothic style which became quite popular.[116]

Many 'big houses' and smaller houses were constructed in the eighteenth century. One example is that of Charlesfort House in Martry, county Meath. Building began in 1742 from a design of Richard Castle's commissioned by the landlord Charles Tisdall to replace the older family residence, Mount Tisdall.[117] Tisdall had travelled extensively in Europe and was the owner of popular architectural texts which may have influenced his decision to build a new house.[118]

---

[112] Dooley, *Decline of the Big House*, p.18.
[113] Foster*, Modern Ireland*, p. 191.
[114] Dooley, *Decline of the Big House*, p.11.
[115] Mark Bence-Jones*, A Guide to Irish Country Houses*, (London, 1988), Introduction, xiv.
[116] Ibid, xvii-xviii.
[117] Marion Rogan, *Charles Tisdall of county Meath, 1740-51*, (Dublin, 2014), p.44 hereafter cited as Rogan, *Charles Tisdall*.
[118] Rogan, *Charles Tisdall*, pp.42-44.

2.5.3 Landlord involvement in urban improvement

The formation of the Irish urban network was influenced by successive colonisation movements. The proto-towns existing prior to the arrival of the Normans were based in Gaelic monastic sites or Viking sea-ports.[119] The settlements introduced by the Anglo-Normans usually based around castle and church were mainly located in the east and south of the country.[120] Jones Hughes, writing in 1960, points out that towns are always subject to change and that this is reflected in their morphology and buildings - 'A town, like any other form of settlement, is an organic growth and this is reflected in the nature and layout of its component parts - dwellings, public buildings and streets.'[121]

Simms reiterates Hughes' comment by noting that 'the imprint of the past is particularly expressed in the historic cores of our towns.'[122] Similarly, Graham and Proudfoot refer to how 'the townscape can be read as a historical document.'[123] These geographers point to the importance of the historical origins and later evolution of Irish towns. The wars and disturbances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to the destruction of many settlements and the subsequent renewal of town building through the process of the English administration's policy of reconquest and plantation.[124] Graham and Proudfoot state that Tudor policy 'began the process of re-establishing and initiating the urban system that exists today.'[125]

The second half of the sixteenth century was notable for the introductions of towns as part of the policy associated with plantation. In the Laois/Offaly plantation, Maryborough, now Portlaoise and Philipstown, now Daingean were planned as fortress towns. Horner uses illustrations of three maps from the 1560s and the 1570s of the planned fortress town of Maryborough to demonstrate the importance of this strategic site.[126] The larger urban centres of Cork, Youghal and Limerick served as refuges for the settlers from the unrest following the planation of Munster. The adventurer, Richard Boyle who acquired vast estates in Munster in this period set about restoring some towns

---

[119] Anngret Simms, 'The Origin of Irish Country Towns' in Anngret Simms and J.H. Andrews, (eds), *Irish Country Towns*, (Cork, 1994), p.13 hereafter cited as Simms, *Origin of Irish towns*.
[120] Simms, *Origin of Irish Towns*, p.17.
[121] Jones Hughes, *Landholding, Society and Settlement*, p.240.
[122] Simms, *Origin of Irish Towns*, p.11.
[123] B.J .Graham and L.J. Proudfoot, 'Urban Improvement in Provincial Ireland 1700-1840' in *Irish Settlement Studies*, *No. 4*, p.59 hereafter cited as Graham and Proudfoot, *Urban Improvement*.
[124] Simms, *Origin of Irish Towns*, p.13.
[125] B.J. Graham and L. Proudfoot, 'Landlords, Planning and Urban Growth in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland' in *Journal of Urban History, 18:3*, (1992), p.309 hereafter cited as Graham and Proudfoot, *Landlords Planning and Urban growth*.
[126] Horner, *Mapping Laois*, pp. 12-13.

as well as planning new ones. The town of Bandon is an example of a 'new' town developed by Boyle into a significant market town on the river Bandon.[127]

The Ulster plantation introduced a more formalised policy of towns as a central part of the colonisation process. Hunter points to the original plan of 1609 which envisaged that twenty-five incorporated towns should be established and also mentions that the locations chosen were often on traditional sites such as castles or monastic sites demonstrating the importance of developing already existing urban sites.[128] He also commented that only fourteen of these towns received charters.[129] He provides the example of Virginia which did not receive a charter notwithstanding its proposed development as a third plantation town in county Cavan.[130] The developments resulting from the later plantations continued to use existing village and towns as centres for increased urbanisation. Graham and Proudfoot stated that 'The period between the Williamite land settlement of the 1690s and the Great Famine of the 1840s was one of the most significant in Irish urban history.'[131] The triad landscape of big house, demesne and village/town was evident in the expansion of urbanisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Landlord involvement in the expansion of urban development increased in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Graham and Proudfoot's analysis of the first edition Ordnance Survey six inch maps from c.1840 revealed that there were 750 towns and villages in Ireland which exhibited some feature 'of formal planning and/or infrastructural modernisation.'[132] Cullen in his analysis of Ireland's towns and villages suggests that 500 settlements were planned or formed in the period 1600-1850 and that the number could be nearer to 1,000 if informal definitions were used.[133]

Graham and Proudfoot concluded that in one-fifth of the improved settlements that formal features were inherited from earlier periods of town development.[134] They indicated that the 'new' planed towns such as Ballina, Co. Mayo or Cookstown, Co. Tyrone displayed more rigid morphological planning features than improved towns and provide examples of a typical 'estate

[127] R.A. Butlin, Irish Towns in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries in R. A. Butlin, (ed.) in *The development of the Irish Town*, (London, 1977), p.82.
[128] R. J. Hunter, 'Ulster Plantation Towns 1609-1641' in David Harkness and Mary O'Dowd, *The Town in Ireland,* Historical Studies XIII, (Belfast, 1981), p.55.
[129] R.J. Hunter, An Ulster Plantation Town - Virginia in *Journal of Cumann Seanchais Bhreifne*, no. 4. (1970), p.45.
[130] Ibid, p.45.
[131] Graham and Proudfoot, *Urban Improvement.*p.1
[132] Ibid, p.22.
[133] L.M. Cullen, The Emergence of Modern Ireland 1600-1850, (London, 1981), p.61.
[134] Graham and Proudfoot, *Urban Improvement*, p23.

town'.[135] Hood identifies the town of Clifden, Co. Galway, developed by its landlord, John D'Arcy in the 1830s as an example of a new town. She stated that the two types of town development whether it was the refurbishing of an existing town or a totally new town that both types needed the cooperation of landlord and tenant as developers.[136] Yet, they are very cognisant that the term 'landlord town' is unhelpful because of the implication that the landlord was the sole agent of morphological change in town development.[137]

Graham and Proudfoot point to the planning influences from seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe which favoured wide streets and squares which are evident in Dublin city and many Irish towns.[138] In their analysis of the morphology of urban improvement they state that the improved towns, 'were characterised by a relatively limited range of architectural features and street layouts which derived ultimately from Renaissance principles.'[139] They noted 'the regularly-planned open spaces, straight axes and vistas and geometrically framed public buildings.'[140] They commented that churches, usually Anglican ones were located in prominent positions and that market places with their attendant market houses or courthouses provided architectural focus to the towns.[141] The varying functions of towns are manifested in their layout and form – economic facilities and services in the fair green, market house and market place, state control and hegemony in the form of the courthouse and/or gaol and the churches providing places of worship. The provision of educational services was also visible in towns, in particular after 1831 when the National system of education was introduced.[142]

Jones Hughes argued that the influence of the estate system was felt all over Ireland due to the landlord's control of the cultural landscape, for example, through enclosure and his involvement in the development of villages and towns which could provide basic services prior to the introduction of welfare services by the State in the 1830s.[143] Simms, in her study of Kells in county Meath, points to the landlord influence of the Taylor family who resided in the town prior to moving to their new

[135] Ibid*,* pp.22-23
[136] Susan Hood, 'The significance of the Villages and Small Towns in Rural Ireland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries' in Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence in *Proceedings of the British Academy, No. 108*, (2002), p.207.
[137] Graham and Proudfoot, *Urban Improvement*, p.2.
[138] Ibid, p.2.
[139] Ibid, p.3.
[140] Ibid, p.7.
[141] Ibid, p.6.
[142] Beckett, *Modern Ireland*, p.313.
[143] Jones Hughes, *Landholding, Society and Settlement,* p.256.

mansion house on the outskirts of the town in 1770.[144] The development of Headfort Place with its large Georgian houses, located at its eastern end and the court-house designed by Francis Johnston were constructed with the support of the first earl of Bective.[145] Hood, in her study of Strokestown, demonstrated that it was, in essence, a landlord town. She points to the morphology of its wide linear street ending in the 'grand gothic entrance gates' leading to the seat of the Pakenham-Mahon family, Strokestown House. At the opposite end of the street, the octagonal Church of Ireland building 'completes the axis.'[146]

A landlord/estate town does not mean that the landlord was responsible for the construction of all its elements. Tenants played a very important role as developers of plots of urban ground leased from the landlord. Hood refers to the landlords as 'facilitators' and the tenants as 'contributors' to town development. Tenants who were willing to build good houses and set up shops and industries which might attract business were encouraged. Hood illustrates how this worked through the leasing policies of the Pakenham-Mahons in Strokestown. Tenants were given lengthy leases of 99 years or three lives to attract them to the town and encourage building and business. Later in the eighteenth century the leases specified the size of building plots and even the materials to be used.[147] The effects of these typical landlord policies of long leases at low rents have been noted by Graham and Proudfoot. Although the policy facilitated urban growth, they suggest that it 'was the principal cause of their eventual socio-political and economic demise'. They argue that this led to a diminution of landlord rights and conferred considerable social status on these lessees.[148]

Nolan, in his study of the Wandesforde estate, illustrated the landlord and tenant influences in the town of Castlecomer which he describes as a 'middleman town.' He utilises the example of the substantial five-bay house of the middleman, Robert Kane, located in a commanding position at the top of Bridge Street to illustrate the increasing wealth and status of this class.[149] Nolan notes that the landlord's role in the development of the town was limited. The rental of the Countess of Ormonde indicated that she was only responsible for building nine houses which only made up an eighth of the total number erected, from 1796 to 1838.[150] Connell, in his study of Navan, demonstrated the complex nature of landlord involvement in town development. There were four

[144] Anngret Simms, 'Kells' in Anngret Simms and J H Andrews (eds.) *Irish Country Towns*, (Cork, 1994), p.28.
[145] Ibid, p.29.
[146] Susan Hood, 'The Landlord Influence in the Development of an Irish Estate Town: Strokestown, County Roscommon' in *Irish Geography*, (1995), pp.120-121, hereafter cited as Hood, *Development of Strokestown*,
[147] Hood, *Development of Strokestown,* p. 125.
[148] Graham and Proudfoot, *Urban Improvement*, p.46.
[149] Nolan*, Fassadinin*, p.136.
[150] Ibid, p.137.

absentee landlords which had a negative impact because this allowed middlemen to exert their influence.[151] Connell stated that the town corporation 'opposed rather than stimulated growth.'[152]

The publication of Irish Country Towns in 1994[153] and the subsequent volume, More Irish Country Towns in 1995, also assisted in focusing an interest in the study of individual towns by historical geographers, geographers and historians.[154] The study of Maynooth, Co. Kildare from the Irish Historic Towns Atlas series published by the Royal Irish Academy provides another example of the development of a town over a long period of time and the importance of the landlord interest. Horner points to the redevelopment of the castle complex in the 1630s much of which was destroyed in 1642 but that marketing activity was indicated with the issue of patents in 1678. Maps from 1750 and 1757 illustrate the growth of the village. The nineteenth earl of Kildare had decided to develop Carton House as his principal country residence with its entrance located at the north-eastern end of the town. Rocque's map from 1757 demonstrates the haphazard nature of the town's expansion but serves to illustrate the cooperation between the earl and Peter Bere, the principal leaseholder who served as manager of Carton House and later of Leinster House, in Dublin. The earl provided favourable leasing arrangements to Bere who developed a number of sites in the town while the earl built twenty-eight slate-roofed cabins in the 1730s. Later eighteenth-century maps demonstrate the development of the main street by the earls and Bere.[155] Landlord investment was an important element in the development of the functions of a town. The control of market rights/charters and the provision of market houses by landlords was important because agriculture was the predominant industry.

As this literature review has shown, the evolution of land ownership from the 1500s onwards resulted in the ownership of vast tracts of lands or estates as they are commonly referred to being concentrated in the hands of a small landholding elite - the landlords - by the early 1700s. These landed estates were managed under a complex system referred to as landlordism, which used leases and other legal mechanisms in maintaining social, economic and political control and order. Away from the tenanted estates, landlords inspired by the ideals of 'improvement' invested time and effort in further enhancing their position through the construction of mansion houses and

[151] Peter Connell*, Changing Forces Shaping a Nineteenth Century Irish Town: A Case Study of Navan,* Occassional Papers, No. 1., Geography Department, Maynooth, (1978), pp. 20-21 hereafter cited as Connell, *Case study of Navan*.
[152] Connell, *Case Study of Navan*, p.5.
[153] J H Andrews and Anngret Simms, *Irish Country Towns*, (Cork. 1994)
[154] J H Andrews and Anngret Simms, *More Irish Country Towns*, (Cork, 1995).
[155] Arnold Horner*, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, no.7 - Maynooth*, (Dublin, 1995), pp.2-4.

demesnes and in establishing and modernising urban settlements comprising their estates. How this system of landownership and occupation operated has attracted the attention of historical geographers and historians who had sought to research and analyse the environments created and the resulting landscape changes affecting the people occupying and working these lands and living in these landscapes.

The next section of this chapter moves to outline the main bodies of source material used in this research and to illustrate the methods employed in their analysis.

2.6 Sources and Methodology

A significant body of source material has been explored in completing this research, ranging from government surveys such as the Down Survey compiled in the seventeenth century, the Griffith Valuation of the mid nineteenth century, through to estate and family manuscripts and papers and, most significantly, the memorials held in the Registry of Deeds which were extensively mined for information relating to landownership and landholding. This section will provide a detailed overview of the aforementioned sources and others that were consulted as part of this research and how they were utilised in the analysis conducted in this thesis.

2.6.1 Civil and Down Surveys

The primary source material employed for the earlier period of this study consists of three major seventeenth century government documents which are concerned with land ownership, namely the Civil Survey, the Down Survey and the Books of Survey and Distribution.

The Civil Survey was commissioned in 1654 in order to record the owners and to quantify the confiscated lands resulting from the 1641 Rebellion. The survey was carried out by inquisition, not by mapped measurement, and was completed in all but five counties of Ireland. Commissioners were appointed for each county.[156] The commissioners were to summon juries who would look at the confiscated properties, make local enquiries and assess the boundaries. The data was to be recorded by barony, parish and townland providing information on soil quality, woods, quarries, rivers, buildings and other relevant information.[157] Older types of land measurement were in common use at that time, for example, cartrans and poles which varied in size as well as the

[156] J.G.Simms, 'The Civil Survey 1654-1656' in *Irish Historical Studies, Vol.9, No. 35* (1955), p.255 hereafter cited as Simms, *The Civil Survey*.
[157] Simms, *The Civil Survey*, p.255.

standard plantation/Irish acres. An important element of the data was the recording of the land into profitable and unprofitable sections.

Other important data was recorded which included buildings of all types – castles, stone houses, cabins, churches, chapels and their current state whether intact or in ruins. The number of cabins was included illustrating settlement size. Features of economic importance such as mills and fishing weirs were also included. The descriptions provide very significant material which assists in illustrating the state of the Irish countryside in the post-Rebellion period. Abstracts of the survey were sent to William Petty and were used as a basis for the subsequent Down Survey.[158]

An extensive analysis of this survey was undertaken in order to construct maps, graphs and tables. A table was formulated of all the buildings recorded and was illustrative of the effects of the recent wars as the ruined castles, churches and houses were also listed. A map of the barony of Demifore, utilising the Down survey map as a template was drawn to further illustrate the built environment of the barony. Mills and fishing weirs were recorded and provide an indication of the economic activities of benefit to the local area. Twenty-four proprietors of confiscated lands were recorded in the survey including the place of residence of the landowner and indicated that the largest landowners were not residents of the barony but most were resident in county Meath. A table illustrating the names of the proprietors, the acreage in plantation acres and cartrans of their landholdings, divided into profitable and unprofitable lands was created. A cartran is an older form of land measurement and was estimated as containing from thirty to 120 acres. The analysis of this data used the higher figure.

The Down Survey followed on from the Civil Survey but mapping of the confiscated lands within each barony resulting from the 1641 rebellion was the most important element included in this survey. The findings of the Civil Survey were used as a guide by the surveyors. The survey took place in the period 1656-1658 and its aim was to measure the land to be forfeited by the participants in the 1641 rebellion to merchant adventurers and English soldiers of the Cromwellian regime.[159]

Copies of maps are to be found in various libraries and archives in Ireland and Britain, as well as in the National Library of France. Terriers which are written descriptions of the baronies and their parishes were produced along with the maps. The Historical GIS section of the Trinity College

[158] Ibid, p.255
[159] Down Survey of Ireland, tcd.ie Accessed on 30 Jan 2020.

website uses the related sources from the period, in particular, the Books of Survey and Distribution which chronicle the redistribution of land arising from the later seventeenth century land settlements.[160]

The maps of the barony from the survey were used as a template in the reconstruction of landholding in the barony in the seventeenth century. Firstly, the maps were used to illustrate the principal landowners prior to the Cromwellian settlement and secondly to illustrate and map the changes noted in the Books of Survey and Distribution from this settlement and later seventeenth century settlements. These maps helped to illustrate the major proprietors at the turn of the eighteenth century when the records of the Registry of Deeds commence and provided a starting point for the research topic.

2.6.2 Registry of Deeds

The memorials in the Registry of Deeds, Kings Inns, Henrietta Street, Dublin are the single most important source available as a means of recreating the landholdings of the landowners in the barony whose estate papers are no longer extant. The Registry of Deeds was established under an act of parliament passed in 1707.[161] The legislation was copied from laws passed for some areas of England, initially for the West Riding of Yorkshire.[162] As Roebuck highlights that the Irish act unlike the English legislation specifically referred to 'fraudulent gifts of conveyances of Papists, to the great prejudice of the Protestant interest'. The majority of the records are concerned with members of the Protestant population.[163] He stated that the Irish act encompassed two important issues which had been linked since Cromwell's time, namely land and religion.[164] Roebuck indicated that an important aspect of the legislation was that it served as an adjunct to the penal laws which imposed considerable difficulties on the Roman Catholic population regarding land transactions. The registration of deeds was not obligatory but the purpose appeared to be a means of regularising the massive transfer of lands resulting from the land settlements of the preceding century.[165] In spite of the voluntary nature of the registration, Roebuck details that the number of deeds

[160] Down Survey of Ireland, tcd.ie Accessed on 30 Jan 2020.
[161] Peter Roebuck, 'The Irish Registry of Deeds' in *Irish Historical Studies*, *vol xviii, 1972-1973*, (1973), p.63 hereafter cited as Roebuck*, Registry of Deeds*.
[162] Roebuck, *Registry of Deeds*, p.63.
[163] John Grenham*, Tracing Your Irish Ancestors*, (Third Edition), (Dublin, 2006), p.125 hereafter cited as Grenham*, Tracing Irish Ancestors*.
[164] Roebuck, *Registry of Deeds*, p.64.
[165] Grenham, *Tracing Irish Ancestors*, p.125.

increased over time because part of the act included a clause stating that an unregistered deed could be deemed fraudulent so that it was advisable to register.[166]

The records of the Registry of Deeds are divided into different categories –

(1) The Names index is an index of the persons who disposed of an interest in a property i.e. by way of conveyance, lease, mortgage etc. The grantor's name is listed in alphabetical order with the grantee's name included but not listed itself under the index. The index lists the reference number of the Transcript Book, page number and Memorial number. Abstract Books were created after 1833, providing the minimum details of the transaction and references applied.

(2) The Townland/Lands Index is an index of all the transactions compiled in order of the names of townlands used. The index is in existence for the years 1708 to 1946. The books are compiled on a county and city basis.

(3) The Memorial is the copy of the deed registered in the Registry. The memorial includes the date of the deed, the details of the persons named, the nature of the transaction and a description of the property. A copy of a Memorial may be accessed for a fee.

(4) The Transcript Books contain the copied transcriptions of the Memorials. They usually give the details verbatim.

(5) The Abstract Books were compiled from 1833 to 1969. They provide an abridged version of the details of a memorial – the registration number (year, book & no.), date of registration, name and date of instrument, the names of the grantors and grantees, the consideration (if any), the description of the property and general nature of the deed.[167]

2.6.2.1 Accessing and using the Registry of Deeds

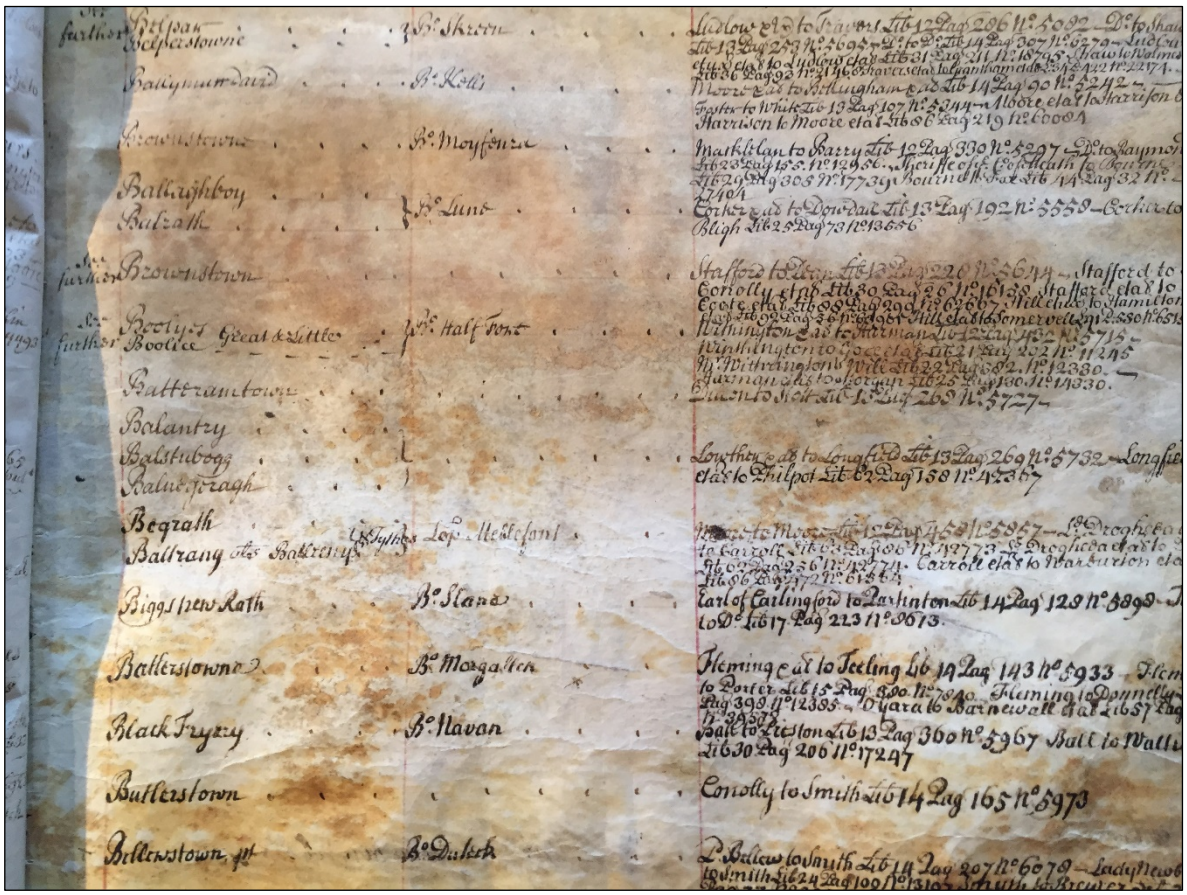
A comprehensive database of the barony of Demifore utilising the townland index from 1708 to 1850 approximately was created on Excel in order to assist in identifying the landowners where no extant estate papers are available. This involved long hours of arduous, laborious work, initially

[166] Roebuck, *Registry of Deeds*, p.69-70.
[167] https:/www.prai.ie/registry-of-deeds-services accessed 8/1/2020.

transcribing the material from the townland index books because photography of the data is not permitted.

The townland index books are categorised on a county basis and laid out in alphabetical order by townland. The barony was usually listed but was sometimes omitted. Further over on the page the lessor and lessee were named with a reference number to the book, page and memorial numbers of the memorial transcript books. Plate 1.1 provides an image of part of a page from the townland index book for Meath and illustrates the page layout.

Plate 2.1 Extract from townland index Book 71 - Meath



Source: Kind permission of Property Registration Authority of Ireland.

There are just two townland index books for county Meath covering the eighteenth century and some entries were quite faded, in particular, at the bottom of the pages which had been thumbed repeatedly, meant that these entries were lost. Also, the format of the index was repetitive in that it appears that the material was transcribed into them in stages because the series of townlands was repeated a number of times in these books. The reason for this as indicated by Nugent was

that the Name index was prepared initially and that this data was later transferred to the townland index after some time had elapsed.[168]

While the index provides the names of the property and the persons, no detail of the timing of the memorial was included. Up until the 1830s the year of the entries was not indicated in the indexes thus making the research difficult. In order to ascertain the date of the memorial it was necessary to view the transcript which was later entered into the database.

Figure 2.1 Example of filter under townland from the database

Extract from Townland Index in Registry of Deeds							
Book	Townland	Lessor	Lessee	Year	Deed ref #	Deed ref	Deed ref
71	Saraghstown	Sandes	King		65	75	44441
72	Saraghstown	Bray	Oreilly to Dawson		439	40	284207
72	Saraghstown	Bray	Brady & Others		439	285	284845
72	Saraghstown	Finney	Gilligan & Others		509	124	354385
72	Saraghstown	Daniel	Dowdall & Others		553	341	3725??
72	Saraghstown	Finney	Fagan		609	206	421138
72	Saraghstown	OReilly	Oreilly		625	114	431351
71	Seraghstown	Wade	Astor		14	181	6025
71	Seraghstown	Wade	Astor		13	376	6026
71	Seraghstown	Earl of Fingal	Reilly		75	85	52258
72	Seraghstown	Daniel	Dalley & Others		97	288	68363
72	Seraghstown	Dalley, Michael	Daniel, Bridges	1744	118	238	80614
72	Seraghstown	Beckett	French		159	141	106299
72	Seraghstown	Beckett & wife	Hunt & Others		204	448	136413
72	Seraghstown	Wade	Dalley & Others	1770	284	286	184159
72	Seraghstown	Wade	Tisdall & Others	1771	286	380	188426
72	Seraghstown	Reilly	Reilly		315	84	?
72	Seraghstown	Fingal	Mahon		336	429	225575
72	Seraghstown	Mahon	Fingal		345	267	233124
72	Seraghstown	Fingal & son	Dunsany & Others		372	416	249453
72	Seraghstown	Plunkett & wife	Wilson		505	610	331888
71	Seraghstown	Sandes	Crosbie		28	450	18295

Source: Compiled by author from Townland Indexes for county Meath, Registry of Deeds.

The data relating to the townland index was transferred to an Excel database, creating over 3,000 separate entries. The database allowed for the use of filters in order to identify firstly, the grantors/lessors who were usually the proprietors but some of these were lessees who were sub-letting the property. The second main category was comprised of the grantees/lessees/tenants or sometimes sub-tenants and thirdly, the townlands with which they were associated/occupied. An important aspect of the townland index is that many townlands or sub-denominations of townlands are recorded which were not recorded in the Civil and Down surveys but many of which are identified as separate townlands in the Ordnance Survey maps of 1837. Some of the sub-

[168] Brian Nugent, *A Guide to the 18th century land records in the Irish Registry of Deeds*, (2012), p.12 hereafter cited as Nugent, *Guide to 18th records*.

denominations do not appear in the aforementioned sources and are therefore very difficult to accurately locate. By using the filter function in Excel one was enabled to see where repetition of reference numbers occurred, usually in records of wills and marriage settlements because in these a number of townlands were included in the memorial. The ability to filter the data in Excel proved to be of immense value in identifying the relevant data. Figure 2.1 provides an example of how the filtering process was used and demonstrates the significant data which was unearthed utilising the database.

Plate 2.2 Transcript Books

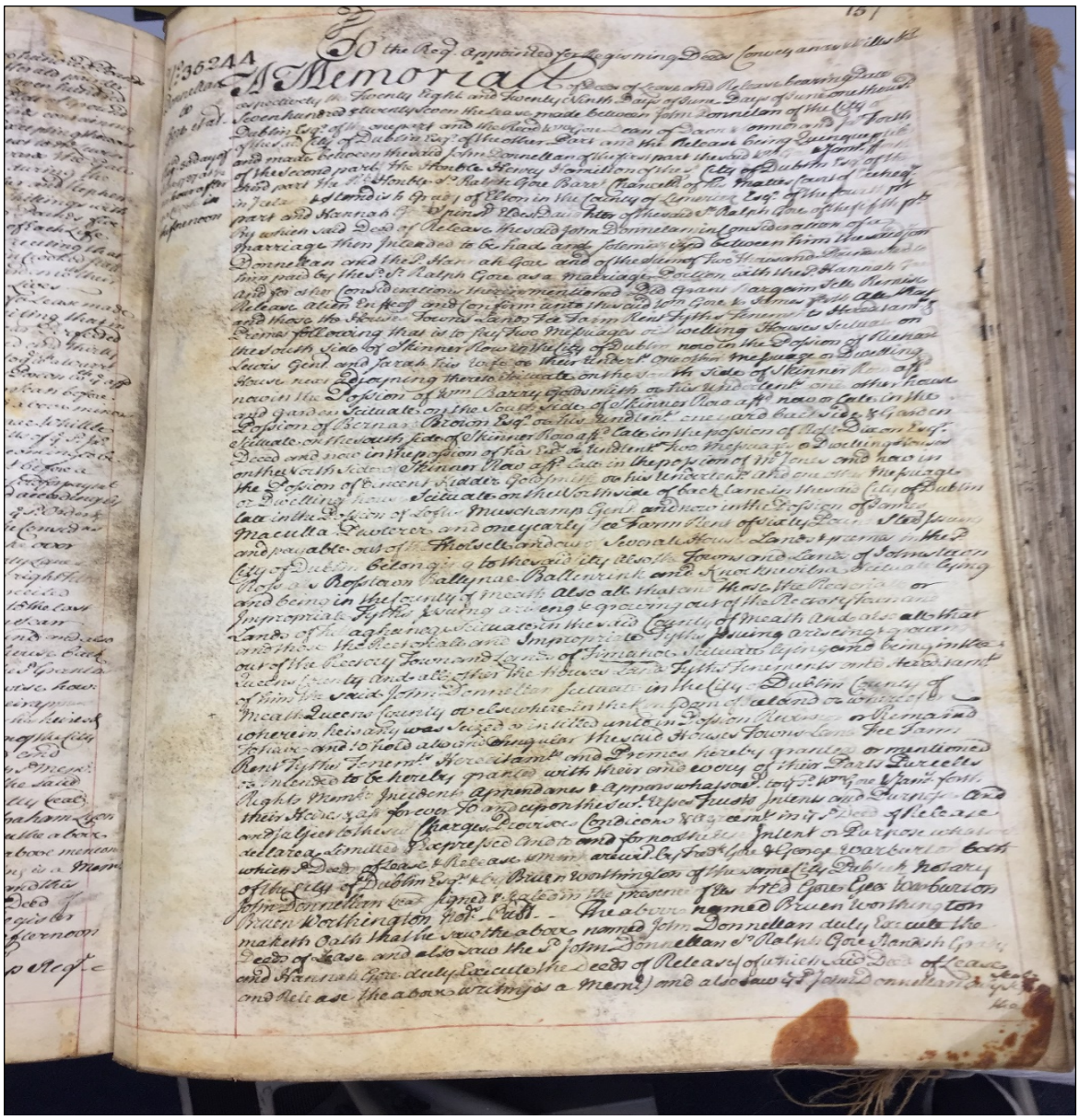
Source: Kind permission of the Property Registration Authority of Ireland.

Hard copies of the data filtered under different headings, in particular, townland, lessor and lessee were used to provide a means of identifying the relevant memorials to research and record. This method allowed for identification of the landholdings of the proprietors for whom no estate papers were available and assisted in locating their landholdings. Many hours of laborious transcription of the sourced data was required in order to garner relevant information from the memorials which are recorded in very large transcript books commonly referred to as 'Tombstones' because they are very large and heavy. Plate 2.2 serves to illustrate why they were thus nicknamed. The books are

housed on shelves but accessing the books on the higher shelves while balancing on a ladder is a challenge.

Cross-referencing with the name index was utilised when necessary. The name indexes were compiled on an alphabetical basis using the names of the grantors and provided a useful means of validating the data. These books are smaller and easier to read than the townland indexes and are divided into much smaller year groups thus indicating definite time periods. These indexes are utilised when the names of the proprietors are known.

Plate 2.3 Example of a memorial



Source: Kind permission of the Property Registration Authority of Ireland.

In order to understand the purpose of a particular deed, it became necessary to familiarise myself with some of the legal terms used in the memorials. Nugent provides explanations for many of the legal terms most commonly used in the memorials.[169] Nugent indicated that the vast majority of leases and land sales in the eighteenth century were of the type titled 'Lease and Release'. Nugent detailed that under the 1536 Statute of Enrolment all land bargains and sales had to be centrally registered in London but not all types of leases.[170] He explained that a nominal lease of the type that did not have to be registered was entered into and the following day a release was granted to the tenant of rights to the land, thus effectively bypassing the legislation.[171] He further indicated that a great number of leases and land sales for the eighteenth century in the Registry of Deeds are in this category.[172] My research demonstrated that a very large number of the memorials were of this type. Many of the leases included clauses and conditions which pertained to the lessee's obligations to the landowner.

The compilation of this database was central in achieving the aims of this research as without it the task of locating and identifying the proprietors in the barony would have been impossible, in particular, those dating from the eighteenth century. This research was complex because accessing the material in the Registry of Deeds was challenging due to the unstructured layout of the earlier indexes. The nineteenth century indexes were divided into year groups which simplified the task. The information gleaned was used to locate the persons named and identify them in other archives – the Griffith Valuation being an obvious example, in wills and other material in both the National Archives and the National Library. In this way, a composite picture of the landholding in the barony was created. The database provided a means of constructing tables, graphs and maps in order to illustrate the research topic.

2.6.3 Estate papers

Dooley refers to the importance of estate records in comprehending 'the intricacies of estate administration.' He details the type of material contained in estate collections - deeds, conveyances, leases, mortgages, legal opinions rentals, land values and tenurial arrangements to name but a few.[173] Estate papers are available for two of the estates in the barony, namely the Naper papers which are held in the National Library and the Fingall Plunkett papers held in the

[169] Nugent*, Guide to the 18th century records,* pp.38-45.
[170] Ibid, p. 42.
[171] Ibid, p. 42
[172] Ibid, p. 42
[173] Terence Dooley, *The Big Houses and Landed Estates of Ireland: A Research Guide*, (Dublin,2007), pp.68-69.

National Library and the Archives Section of Fingal county library in Swords. These papers are an invaluable source and formed a very important part in the compilation of the research topic by providing data, unique to each, that was otherwise unavailable - rentals, lease books, accounts, tenders for rental property, maps and other information on the administration of the estates and the management practices used. Access to this type of archival material enabled a more complete picture to be created of the issues affecting landholding during the period of this study.

It is fortunate that sets of maps, based on surveys for each estate formed part of the collections of papers. A number of separate maps were also found in the Fingall Plunkett papers. These are an invaluable source providing data on the townlands prior to the nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps. The Longfield Collection of maps was also consulted and contain maps of a small number of townlands in the barony.

The data from the Registry of Deeds database for these two landlords for whom estate papers are available was useful in identifying the memorials which could assist in filling in the gaps where material from the papers was not extant due to their fragmentary nature. The memorials for these landlords also helped to illustrate their management and leasing policies, as well as the policies of the other proprietors in the barony.

2.6.3.1 Naper Estate Papers

The Naper estate papers held in the National Library consist mainly of rental books which are of a fragmentary nature. The earliest complete rental dates from 1733.[174] There are large gaps in this manuscript, in particular, in the earlier period but it includes other useful material on the financial management of the estate, for example - cottiers' accounts. The later eighteenth century rentals provide a more complete picture of the data.[175] Another manuscript from this period includes rentals which cross over into the nineteenth century.[176] Unfortunately, there are only three rentals included in this collection for the later nineteenth century, for the years, 1824-1825 and 1855 and

[174] NLI, MS.3031, Rental of the estates of James Lenox Naper mainly county Meath but including also Dunloe, County Kerry and Ballyfarrel, County Offaly 1733-1814, hereafter cited as MS 3031, Naper papers.
[175] NLI, MS 3032, Rent Rolls and accounts of the Dutton-Naper-Sherborne estates principally in County Meath 1769-1788. Compiled by Edward Rotheram, hereafter cited as MS3032, Naper papers.
[176] NLI, MS 3094, Rental of the estate of James Lenox William Naper of Loughcrew, County Meath. Nov 1791-Dec1811, hereafter cited as MS3094, Naper papers.

1865 respectively.[177] These rentals provide details on the income generated from the landed properties.

Some leases were entered in these books, in particular, a list from the later eighteenth century was included in the front pages of MS3032. Various accounts of income and expenditure were also entered in this manuscript. These accounts provided important material relating to the administration and management of the estate. Duty due for horses and harvest for the period 1773 -1778 were also included in this book and illustrate that these old practices had survived for some of the tenants on the estate.[178] A pedigree book dating from 1824 to 1848 forms part of the collection and gives an insight into the importance of improvement of the cattle stock as well as providing a source of income for the estate.

A set of fifty maps compiled from a survey of the estate in 1778 form a vital cartographic component of this study.[179] A smaller agent's copy of the survey includes sections of townlands around the town of Oldcastle which were later subsumed into the large townland of Oldcastle.[180] Some tenants' names are included on a small number of the townland maps. The two maps of the town of Oldcastle from the survey provide a vivid representation of the town and its environs. A separate list of the town's tenants is available and assists in creating a picture of the town in the late eighteenth century. The composite map included the names of the proprietors of lands lying contiguous to the Naper lands. This data provided a very useful means of cross-referencing it with the material from the Registry of Deeds and other sources.

The map of the demesne is illustrated in colour and provides a beautiful picture of the layout of a formal late eighteenth century landscape which included canals, gardens and woods. An accompanying key to the map lists thirty-two divisions, provides some field names such as Bean Park indicating the agricultural use of the farmed lands. Surveys by Carroll and Allen of nine townlands which include tenants' names dating from the period 1838 to 1862 also form part of the Naper collection.

[177] NLI, MS 5773, Rentals and other accounts in respect of the estate of James Lenox William Naper in County Meath, 1824-1825, MS 3868-3869, Two rentals of the estate of J.L.W. Naper in counties Meath and Westmeath for the years 1855 and1865.
[178] NLI, MS 5693, Stock book of pedigree cattle etc. of James Lenox William Naper of Loughcrew, County Meath. 1824-1848.
[179] NLI, MS 2754, A survey of the estate of William Naper in the baronies of Half Fore and Kells, Co, Meath by Sherrard and Brownrigg, 1778.
[180] NLI, MS 1339, A survey of the estate of William Naper (of Loughcrew), in the county Meath by Sherrard and Brownrigg, 1778.

Unfortunately, there were three major fires which affected the mansion house and as a result most of the estate papers were destroyed. The Naper family have provided me with copies of the remaining documentary material which is mainly concerned with the family tree. An archaeological survey of the towerhouse/church undertaken in 1997 by Marshall and Sharpe prior to the restoration of the Loughcrew gardens was included in this material.

2.6.3.2 Fingall Plunkett Papers

The Fingall Plunkett papers are housed in two institutions, the National Library and the Fingal County Library Archives section in Swords. The papers in the National Library consist of miscellaneous papers dating from c. 1668 -1838 which have been divided into three main manuscript groupings. The files refer to lands in counties Meath, Cavan and Dublin city. Many of these papers are of a fragmentary nature and there are many gaps in the time periods. The data is not systematically catalogued which means that the researcher must check every section of the papers because the three manuscript groups cover much the same time periods. The material consists firstly of, eighteenth century rentals, some rental projections and a small number of tenders for townland rents and accounts. Secondly, there are a number of leases, conveyances, deeds which vary in nature, wills and some lists of leases which are nearing the end of their leasing period. Thirdly, a bill of sale for part of the estate from 1738 illustrates that lands had to be sold in order to reduce indebtedness.[181] Fourthly, correspondence relating to the 7th and 9th earls of Fingall and other data form part of this collection.[182]

Cartographic data includes a book of survey of the Meath lands transcribed in 1753 but which seems to date to earlier in the century. The surveyor, Garret Hogan is named as the father of Michael Hogan who transcribed the maps.[183] A file of thirty-three maps of different parts of the estate by various surveyors dating from 1708 to 1816 provides copies of some of the townlands from the

[181] NLI, MSS 8026-8028, Leases, conveyances and other deeds relating to the properties of the Plunkett family, Earls of Fingall in counties Meath, Cavan and Dublin city 1509-1697; 1698-1755; 1757-1838
NLI, MS 8025, Miscellaneous papers relating to the estates of the Plunketts, Earls of Fingall in counties Meath, Cavan and Dublin city c.1670-1830: MS 8024, Rentals and estate accounts of the Plunketts,Earls of Fingall in counties Meath, Cavan and Dublin city, c.1668-1793.

[182] NLI, MS11,294 Letters and papers (40 items) of the Plunkett family mainly relating to the 8th and 9th Earls of Fingall – 1802-1866; MS1681, copies of letters of Arthur James Plunkett, 7th Earl of Fingall to his agents relating to his financial affairs 1753-1769.

[183] NLI, MS4900, a book of survey of the estate of the Earl of Fingall on the county of Meath made by Garret Hogan and transcribed by Michael Hogan, 1753.

Down Survey as well as copies of townlands divided into dower thirds for the Lady Dowager Fingall.[184]

The papers housed in the Archives section of Fingal County Library in Swords are contained in ten boxes. They were catalogued after they were obtained by the library. Each box contains documents numbered in sequence. Some of the material was transcribed which is of great assistance because many of the records are of original legal documents which are quite large and difficult to read. The documents date from the late seventeenth century Restoration period up to the twentieth century. The material contains documents on Sandys patent on some of the lands from 1679, the restoration of the lands in 1685 by Charles II, wills, marriage settlements, details of jointures, mortgages, leases, conveyances, correspondence and dealings with the Land Commission. There is also a box containing some portraits of the family. These documents, in particular, the wills and marriage settlements assist in providing an overview of the extent of the estate lands.[185]

2.6.4 Grand Jury Presentment Books

Other important sources include the Grand Jury Presentment Books for the barony which are available in the National Archives for the period 1807 to 1900. [186] Beckett described the grand jury as the organ of county administration which consisted of the principal landlords of the county. [187] Garnham states that there were grand juries for the thirty-two counties and for seven cities and towns which had county status.[188]He pointed out that the assize grand jury 'was the foremost institution of local government in eighteenth century Ireland'.[189] The establishment of the 'presentment system' of road maintenance in 1765 vested almost the entire responsibility for the country's roads in the county authorities.[190] Qualification for service as a grand juror required that they should be freeholders within the county and excluded women and peers. Catholics were also excluded from 1708 but could serve if no suitable Protestant was available.[191]

[184] NLI, 21F.25, maps of the Fingall Plunkett estate by various surveyors, 1708-1818, (33 maps, some in colour).
[185] Fingal County Library, Archive Section, Boxes 513-,517 and 705-709.
[186] NAI, Grand Jury Presentment Books for Demifore, 1807-1900 – 1C/33/63 -65 and 1C/34/1-7.
[187] Beckett, *Modern Ireland*, p.178.
[188] Neal Garnham, 'Local Elite Creation in Early Hanoverian Ireland: The case of the County Grand Jury' in *The Historical Journal, 42, 3* (1999) p.625 hereafter cited as Garnham, *County Grand Jury*.
[189] Garnham, *County Grand Jury*, p.630.
[190] Ibid, p.626.
[191] Ibid, p.631.

The barony books for Demifore illustrate the presentments, the names and addresses of eligible jurors and the final account and signing off by the jurors who attended the jury assizes in Trim. In this way, information on local jurors who were eligible to attend and who actually attended the assizes and the state and maintenance costs of the local infrastructure can be ascertained.[192] A separate manuscript details the return of special road sessions for the Spring Assizes of 1834.[193]A manuscript of Grand Jury presentments for charitable institutions for three consecutive years in the early nineteenth century provides costs for the dispensaries in county Meath, including Oldcastle.[194] A list of Grand Jury Cesspayers in Demifore for the Spring Assizes in 1835 lists 560 persons divided into two classes. This source provided a useful means of cross-reference with data from other archival material.[195]

2.6.5 Ordnance Survey Archive

The First Edition Ordnance Survey maps dating from 1837 are particularly relevant to this study because they provide a detailed view of the rural and urban landscape of the barony in the early nineteenth century. The English administration undertook to survey Ireland by introducing acts of Parliament in 1824 and 1825 in order to set up what became known as the Ordnance Survey.[196] The most useful maps produced from the survey are the maps with a scale of six inches to one mile. These illustrate the boundaries of the townlands, the parishes and the baronies. These maps illustrate internal field boundaries within each townland. The roads, bridges and infrastructure are clearly defined. Settlement features – houses, farm offices, churches, mills and other buildings are illustrated. Features of antiquity such as raths, mottes, castles, abbeys, churches and cairns are indicated in writing. Demesne lands are very evident on the maps because they are shown with a stipple notation which highlights their locations on the maps.[197] The demesne map from the 1778 Naper survey was used to compare it with the 1837 map and illustrate the changes. Smaller demesnes are also a feature of the 1837 maps and serve to illustrate the number of significant houses located in the barony.

[192] NAI, Grand Jury Presentment Books for Demifore for the period 1807-1900 – 1C/33/63 -65 and 1C/34/1-7.
[193] NAI, CSO/OPMA/1730, Grand Jury return of special road sessions at the Spring Assizes, 1834.
[194] NAI, OP/MA 692 Grand Jury presentments for charitable institutions 1831,1832 1833.
[195] NAI, OPMA/1591, List of Grand Jury Cesspayers in Barony of Demifore, Spring Assizes,1835.
[196] J. H. Andrews, *A Paper Landscape: The Ordnance Survey in Nineteenth-Century Ireland,* (Dublin, 200i), p.33, hereafter cited as Andrews, *A Paper Landscape*.
[197] Andrews, *A Paper Landscape*, p.103.

2.6.5.1 Field Books

A large amount of ancillary data was produced as part of the survey which includes the Field Books, the Name Books and the House Books. The Field Books are extant for the barony and are housed in the National Archives. The survey of the barony was undertaken in 1828 and was categorised by parish and townland. The books describe in detail the nature of the soil in each townland. Each townland was divided into sections called lots and numbered. Unfortunately, the lots do not correspond to farm area because this was not introduced until later in the survey. Houses valued over £5 were indicated and a small number of houses of lesser value were also included.[198]

2.6.5.2 Name Books

The Name Books were composed in order to investigate the different spellings utilised in naming townlands. The Name Books listed former names and the authority used for each spelling. These references included older manuscript maps such as Beaufort's map of Ireland, the barony Cess collector or estate maps, for example, the Naper 1778 estate maps. The ancillary information provided is very important. The proprietor is named and sometimes the leaseholder/s, whether it is under lease, the rent per acre, the quality of the soil, the crops cultivated, the type of houses and sometimes the occupations of those who lived there- labourers, herds etc.[199]

2.6.5.3 House Books

The House Books compiled for Oldcastle in 1848 in the post-Famine period were utilised to assess the economy of the town as a market. They were used to assess the size of the premises, the leasing practices, the businesses carried on, the number of vacant premises and the services provided such as those catering for education, welfare and religion.[200] Most importantly, the development and expansion of the town could be traced by utilising the House Books, the OS 1837 map of Oldcastle and the 1778 map from the Naper survey.

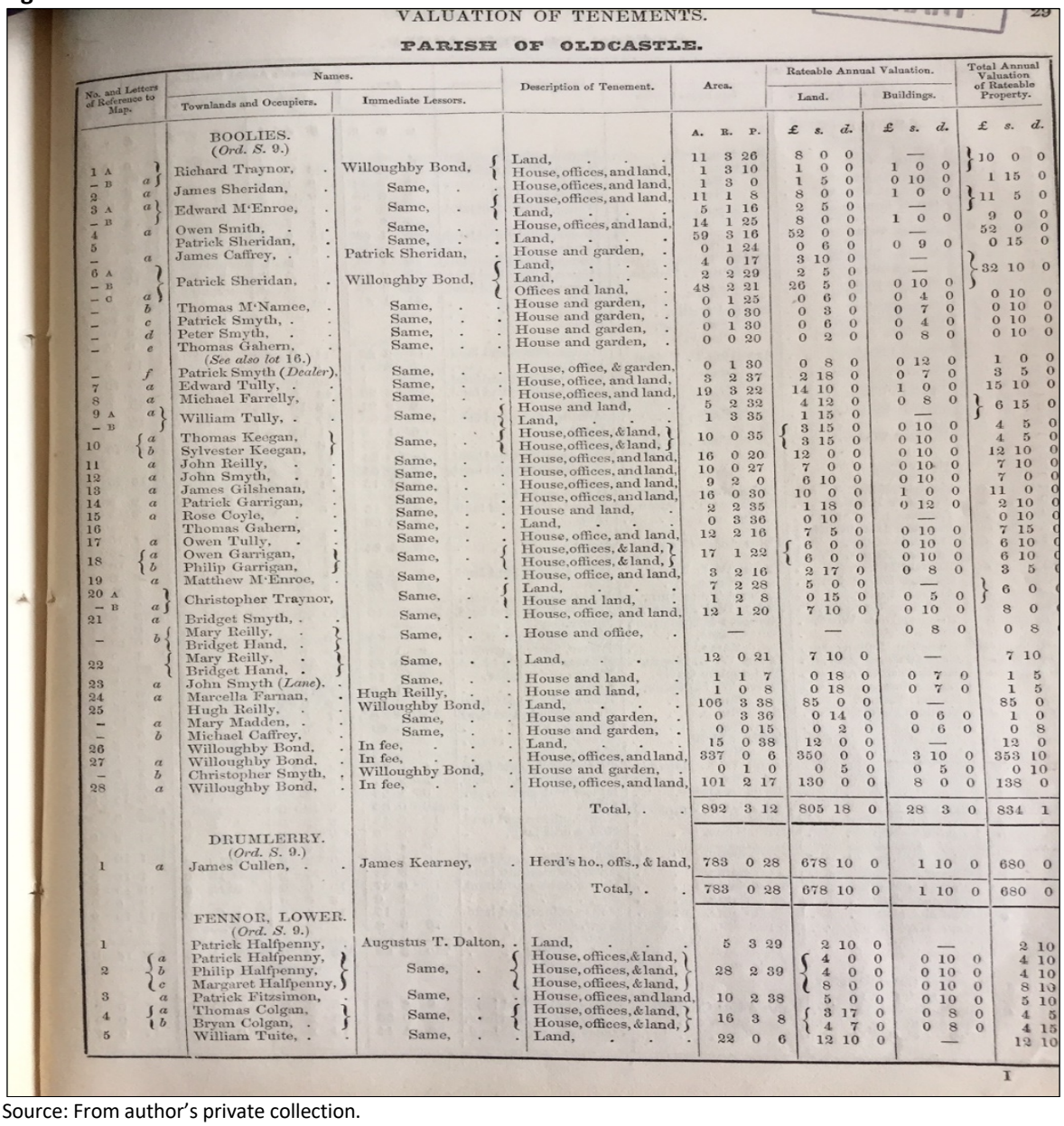
2.6.6 Griffith's Valuation

The Griffith Valuation is the most important source on land ownership because it provides a definitive overview of land ownership and landholding in the barony and in the island of Ireland for the mid-nineteenth century. The name Griffith is associated with the valuation because Richard Griffith was the commissioner of the valuation from 1829 to 1868. The valuation was initiated by

[198] NAI, Field Books for the barony of Fore, 4.1356 – 4.1361.
[199] The Ordnance Survey Name Books, DCU, transcripts held in the library of Belvedere House, St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra.
[200] NAI, House Books for Oldcastle, 5.1361.

an act of parliament of 1826 and continued until this first valuation was completed in 1865. The second part of the valuation consisted of the revision of the earlier valuation and continued up the 1990s. These records are held by the Valuation Office in Dublin.[201]

Figure 2.2 Extract from Griffith's Valuation



VALUATION OF TENEMENTS. 29

PARISH OF OLDCASTLE.

No. and Letters of Reference to Map.	Names. Townlands and Occupiers.	Names. Immediate Lessors.	Description of Tenement.	Area. A. R. P.	Rateable Annual Valuation. Land. £ s. d.	Rateable Annual Valuation. Buildings. £ s. d.	Total Annual Valuation of Rateable Property. £ s. d.
	BOOLIES. (*Ord. S.* 9.)						
1 A	Richard Traynor,	Willoughby Bond,	Land,	11 3 26	8 0 0	—	10 0 0
– B a			House, offices, and land,	1 3 10	1 0 0	1 0 0	
2 a	James Sheridan,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	1 3 0	1 5 0	0 10 0	1 15 0
3 A a	Edward M'Enroe,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	11 1 8	8 0 0	1 0 0	11 5 0
– B			Land,	5 1 16	2 5 0	—	
4 a	Owen Smith,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	14 1 25	8 0 0	1 0 0	9 0 0
5 a	Patrick Sheridan,	Same,	Land,	59 3 16	52 0 0	—	52 0 0
–	James Caffrey,	Patrick Sheridan,	House and garden,	0 1 24	0 6 0	0 9 0	0 15 0
6 A	Patrick Sheridan,	Willoughby Bond,	Land,	4 0 17	3 10 0	—	32 10 0
– B			Land,	2 2 29	2 5 0	—	
– C a			Offices and land,	48 2 21	26 5 0	0 10 0	
– b	Thomas M'Namee,	Same,	House and garden,	0 1 25	0 6 0	0 4 0	0 10 0
– c	Patrick Smyth,	Same,	House and garden,	0 0 30	0 3 0	0 7 0	0 10 0
– d	Peter Smyth,	Same,	House and garden,	0 1 30	0 6 0	0 4 0	0 10 0
– e	Thomas Gahern, (*See also lot* 16.)	Same,	House and garden,	0 0 20	0 2 0	0 8 0	0 10 0
– f	Patrick Smyth (*Dealer*),	Same,	House, office, & garden,	0 1 30	0 8 0	0 12 0	1 0 0
7 a	Edward Tully,	Same,	House, office, and land,	3 2 37	2 18 0	0 7 0	3 5 0
8 a	Michael Farrelly,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	19 3 22	14 10 0	1 0 0	15 10 0
9 A a	William Tully,	Same,	House and land,	5 2 32	4 12 0	0 8 0	6 15 0
– B			Land,	1 3 35	1 15 0	—	
10 a	Thomas Keegan,	Same,	House, offices, & land,	10 0 35	3 15 0	0 10 0	4 5 0
b	Sylvester Keegan,		House, offices, & land,		3 15 0	0 10 0	4 5 0
11 a	John Reilly,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	16 0 20	12 0 0	0 10 0	12 10 0
12 a	John Smyth,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	10 0 27	7 0 0	0 10 0	7 10 0
13 a	James Gilshenan,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	9 2 0	6 10 0	0 10 0	7 0 0
14 a	Patrick Garrigan,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	16 0 30	10 0 0	1 0 0	11 0 0
15 a	Rose Coyle,	Same,	House and land,	2 2 35	1 18 0	0 12 0	2 10 0
16	Thomas Gahern,	Same,	Land,	0 3 36	0 10 0	—	0 10 0
17 a	Owen Tully,	Same,	House, office, and land,	12 2 16	7 5 0	0 10 0	7 15 0
18 a	Owen Garrigan,	Same,	House, offices, & land,	17 1 22	6 0 0	0 10 0	6 10 0
b	Philip Garrigan,		House, offices, & land,		6 0 0	0 10 0	6 10 0
19 a	Matthew M'Enroe,	Same,	House, office, and land,	3 2 16	2 17 0	0 8 0	3 5 0
20 A	Christopher Traynor,	Same,	Land,	7 2 28	5 0 0	—	6 0 0
– B a			House and land,	1 2 8	0 15 0	0 5 0	
21 a	Bridget Smyth,	Same,	House, office, and land,	12 1 20	7 10 0	0 10 0	8 0 0
– b	Mary Reilly, Bridget Hand,	Same,	House and office,	—	—	0 8 0	0 8 0
22	Mary Reilly, Bridget Hand,	Same,	Land,	12 0 21	7 10 0	—	7 10 0
23 a	John Smyth (*Lane*).	Same,	House and land,	1 1 7	0 18 0	0 7 0	1 5 0
24 a	Marcella Farnan,	Hugh Reilly,	House and land,	1 0 8	0 18 0	0 7 0	1 5 0
25	Hugh Reilly,	Willoughby Bond,	Land,	106 3 38	85 0 0	—	85 0 0
– a	Mary Madden,	Same,	House and garden,	0 3 36	0 14 0	0 6 0	1 0 0
– b	Michael Caffrey,	Same,	House and garden,	0 0 15	0 2 0	0 6 0	0 8 0
26	Willoughby Bond,	In fee,	Land,	15 0 38	12 0 0	—	12 0 0
27 a	Willoughby Bond,	In fee,	House, offices, and land,	337 0 6	350 0 0	3 10 0	353 10 0
– b	Christopher Smyth,	Willoughby Bond,	House and garden,	0 1 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 10 0
28 a	Willoughby Bond,	In fee,	House, offices, and land,	101 2 17	130 0 0	8 0 0	138 0 0
			Total,	892 3 12	805 18 0	28 3 0	834 1 0
	DRUMLERRY. (*Ord. S.* 9.)						
1 a	James Cullen,	James Kearney,	Herd's ho., offs., & land,	783 0 28	678 10 0	1 10 0	680 0 0
			Total,	783 0 28	678 10 0	1 10 0	680 0 0
	FENNOR, LOWER. (*Ord. S.* 9.)						
1	Patrick Halfpenny,	Augustus T. Dalton,	Land,	5 3 29	2 10 0	—	2 10 0
2 a	Patrick Halfpenny,	Same,	House, offices, & land,	28 2 39	4 0 0	0 10 0	4 10 0
b	Philip Halfpenny,		House, offices, & land,		4 0 0	0 10 0	4 10 0
c	Margaret Halfpenny,		House, offices, & land,		8 0 0	0 10 0	8 10 0
3 a	Patrick Fitzsimon,	Same,	House, offices, and land,	10 2 38	5 0 0	0 10 0	5 10 0
4 a	Thomas Colgan,	Same,	House, offices, & land,	16 3 8	3 17 0	0 8 0	4 5 0
b	Bryan Colgan,		House, offices, & land,		4 7 0	0 8 0	4 15 0
5	William Tuite,	Same,	Land,	22 0 6	12 10 0	—	12 10 0

1

Source: From author's private collection.

The valuation involved the cooperation of three organisations – the Boundary Survey established official boundaries, the Ordnance Survey drew the maps and the valuation valued land and property.[202] The associated material gathered for the valuation consists of an enormous amount of

[201] Frances McGee, *The Archives of the Valuation of Ireland 1830-1865*, (2018), pp. 15-17 hereafter cited as McGee, *Valuation Archives*.

[202] McGee, *Valuation Archives*, p.16.

data in book format of the different strands recorded in the field. The National Archives holds approximately 15,000 books of the initial valuation.[203] The Field Books, the House Books, the Quarto books, the Tenure books and the associated maps of the Ordnance are particularly useful in creating a picture of the period.

The valuation was published by barony, subdivided into civil parishes with townlands arranged in alphabetical order. The barony of Demifore was published in 1854. The details are recorded in tabular format for each tenement and include references to the 6 inches to one mile maps of the Ordnance Survey, the names of the occupiers, the immediate lessors, a description of the tenement, the land area, the rateable annual valuation divided into land and buildings and the total annual valuation of rateable property. Figure 2.2 illustrates this format and shows that this large townland was occupied by twenty-eight lessees with large variations in the size of their holdings.

Transferring the published material to an Excel database allowed for the use of the filter functions to analyse the data. The largest landowners could be identified in table format and maps drawn of their landholdings. Tables illustrating the principal leaseholders and the amount of land they leased, smaller landholdings of five acres and under indicating the poorest sections of the population were also identified and transferred into table format. The most valuable townlands were used as indicators of the best agricultural land.

The census population data from 1841 and 1851 was compared in order to illustrate the effects of the Great Famine on population change and was presented in table format. The Field Books of the Townland Valuation for the barony were recorded in 1838 and divided into lots describing the quality of the soil[204] The instructions were that these lots would measure somewhere between thirty and fifty acres. Unfortunately for the purposes of my research, this was prior to the later guideline of 1839 which instructed the valuators to list the lots as actual farms.[205]

Houses were recorded in the House Books and houses with a valuation over a defined threshold, usually £5.00 were recorded in rural townlands in the Field Books. Separate books were prepared for towns including map references. The town of Oldcastle, located in the Demifore barony was surveyed in 1848 in the post-Famine period. It is illustrative of the detailed information available -

[203] Ibid, p.60.
[204] NAI, Field Books for the barony of Fore, 4.1356 – 4.1361.
[205] McGee, *Valuation Archives*, p.62.

the dimensions of the houses, the rents, the lessors and lessees, the condition of the buildings, the yards and gardens.

The Valuation Office holds the maps which relate to the numbers and letters shown in the first column of the published valuation. A map is available from the computer database which uses a continuous numbering system for the houses in the town. This map may predate the later map which numbers the houses on each street. The original of this map and the earlier town plan map are not available to view because they are in storage for restoration. The cancellation books for the barony are available for the public to research. The first book for the town of Oldcastle covers the period 1855-1900. The purpose of these books was to show when a tenancy had changed and thus the previous entry was crossed out and the new one written above it.

2.6.7 Other fragmentary research material

Other relevant material was sourced in the National Archives of Ireland, the National Library and the local studies section of Meath County Library. Of particular note was Betham's abstracts of wills and of marriage license bonds collections of which are available in both the National Library and the National Archives. These were utilised in unravelling complex family relationships in establishing family genealogies and for cross referencing with other data, particularly in the absence of estate and family papers.

For the more established families *Burkes Peerage* and *Burkes Landed Gentry of Ireland* was useful in identifying the more influential figures involved in the management of the estates during the time frame with which this thesis is concerned.[206] Larkin's map of Meath dating from 1812 provided a picture of the barony prior to the First Edition OS maps from 1837.[207] Taylor and Skinner's Traveller's Directory furnished useful maps.[208] The resources of the Ballinacree Historical Society were utilised to uncover data concerning the lands in that section of the barony.

The Local Studies section of Meath County Library is housed in Navan and holds mainly nineteenth century material – the Peppard map from its collection, concerning the sale of lands was utilised, Oldcastle during the Famine Era 1830-1850 by John Smith, rent rolls of the Naper estate dating

[206] Burke's *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, London,1959) & Burke's *Landed Gentry of Ireland*, (London, 1912).
[207] Arnold Horner, *Mapping Meath in the early 19th century*, (Dublin, 2007).
[208] The Post Chaise Companion or Traveller's Directory by Taylor and Skinner 1784.

from 1846 and the data deposited by Patrick Rotheram constitute some of the material consulted from their collection.

2.6.8 Fieldwork and observations

In addition to the desk bound research focusing on the archival and manuscript materials, several field trips focusing on specific site visits were undertaken during the course of this research, providing opportunities to consider these landscape features in their settings and broader landscape contexts. Some of the sites relevant to the study that were visited included the core of the Naper estate at Loughcrew and some of the former tenanted estate, the remaining Wade outbuildings at Clonabraney and several of the country houses and demesnes belonging to some of the principal leaseholders. Several churches and graveyards were also visited in photographing the funerary monuments and memorials of some of the landowning families. Focusing on the barony's urban landscapes provides an opportunity to explore the town of Oldcastle and the neighbouring villages of Crossakeel, Kilskyre and Clonmellon. At each of these sites, photographs were taken in capturing the landscape impact of these features and as supports to illustrate specific data and themes addressed by the research presented in this thesis.

2.6.9 Impact of Covid restrictions

The ability to continue my research in the archival institutions was virtually halted by the severe impact of the Covid pandemic. In particular, the lack of access to the Registry of Deeds which would have enabled me to bring more of the research forward into the nineteenth century came to a halt. This resulted in the utilisation of alternative sources which were available such as the Ordnance Survey and Griffith data.

2.7 Conclusion

As the latter section of this chapter has shown, this research is based on a varied and rich collection of primary source material. While some well-known and oft-cited State sources such as the Civil and Down Surveys, the Ordnance Survey materials, and the Griffith Valuations are employed, estate and family papers in manuscript form, where available, have facilitated deeper explorations of themes and concepts in some temporal and spatial settings, bringing a richness of detail and unique insights to the research presented.

One of the most significant sources of information which this research has used is the memorials contained in the Registry of Deeds. The systematic methodology developed and pioneered as a

central component of this research will illustrate the huge potential of this collection and body of unique source material, which has been largely neglected and side-lined by both historical geographers and historians to date due to its unwieldly form and nature and the complexity of its content. The literature reviewed in this chapter, along with the sources and methodologies detailed above, provide the context and material with which the aim of the research is addressed in the following chapters.

Chapter 3 Resident landowners and their principal leaseholders in the barony of Demifore c. 1700-1830s

3.1 Introduction

This chapter charts the extent of the estates held by the resident landowners in the barony of Demifore, while examining their management of the lands in the period 1700-1830. The research has focused specifically on the larger landowners, namely those holding over 500 plantation acres. Nine such owners have been identified, of which three were resident. Between them, these nine owners and their principal leaseholders controlled two-thirds of the barony lands.

The barony of Demifore at the beginning of the eighteenth century provides an illustration of the new landlord system that resulted from the major land confiscations and land settlements of the seventeenth century. The influx of a large new wave of settlers from England changed the old order of control from that of the Anglo-Norman lordships to a New English grouping. The effects of the Cromwellian and Williamite land settlements can be clearly seen in the barony of Demifore. By the early nineteenth century, the landscape had been transformed through the building of mansion houses and their associated demesnes. These had replaced the Anglo-Norman settlements grouped around castle and church. This theme will be addressed at the end of the chapter.

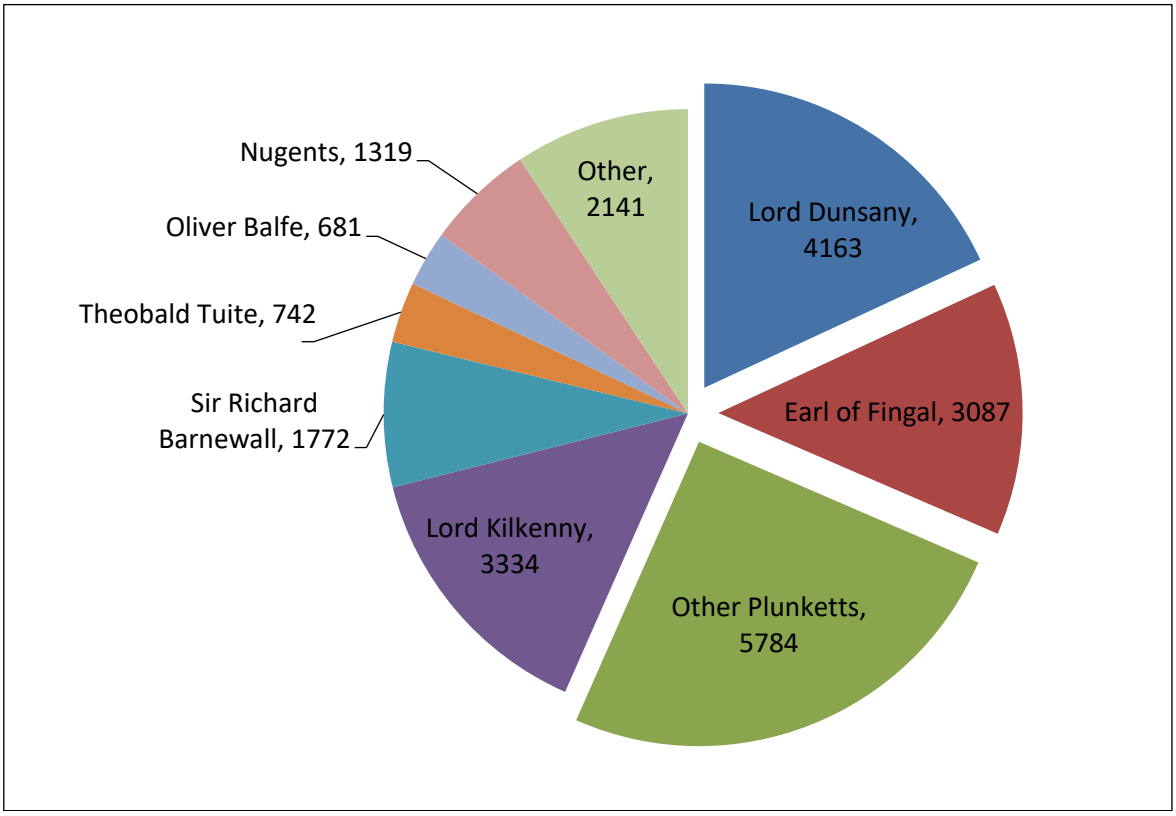
3.2 Impact of land settlements on the barony of Demifore

The Old English proprietors who lost their lands in Demifore and throughout Ireland did so because of their participation in the Rebellion of 1641 and because of the debts accrued by the Cromwellian and Williamite administrations. The barony of Demifore was used by the English administration to pay arrears of soldiers' pay as part of the Cromwellian settlement. Three major government documents from this period are concerned with landownership, namely the Civil Survey, the Down Survey, and the Books of Survey and Distribution (hereafter, BSD).

An analysis of the Civil and Down surveys for the barony demonstrates that the Anglo-Normans or Old English as they came to be called, controlled landownership in the area in the period prior to 1641. The dominant landholders comprised the extended Plunkett family who were related by marriage to other large proprietors, notably the Barnewalls and the Dillons (Lords of Kilkenny West). Figure 3.1 illustrates the breakdown of ownership, with the proportion of land controlled by the extended Plunkett family accounting for 57% in aggregate. Lords Dunsany and Fingal were the largest of the Plunkett landowners in the barony. Dunsany's lands were concentrated around the

market centre of Oldcastle while Fingal's holding were centred around Killalon in the south-east of the barony.

Figure 3.1 Pre-Cromwellian landholders in Demifore barony circa 1640 (acreages)



Source: Compiled by author from Civil and Down surveys and BSD.

3.3 Principal landholders, circa 1700

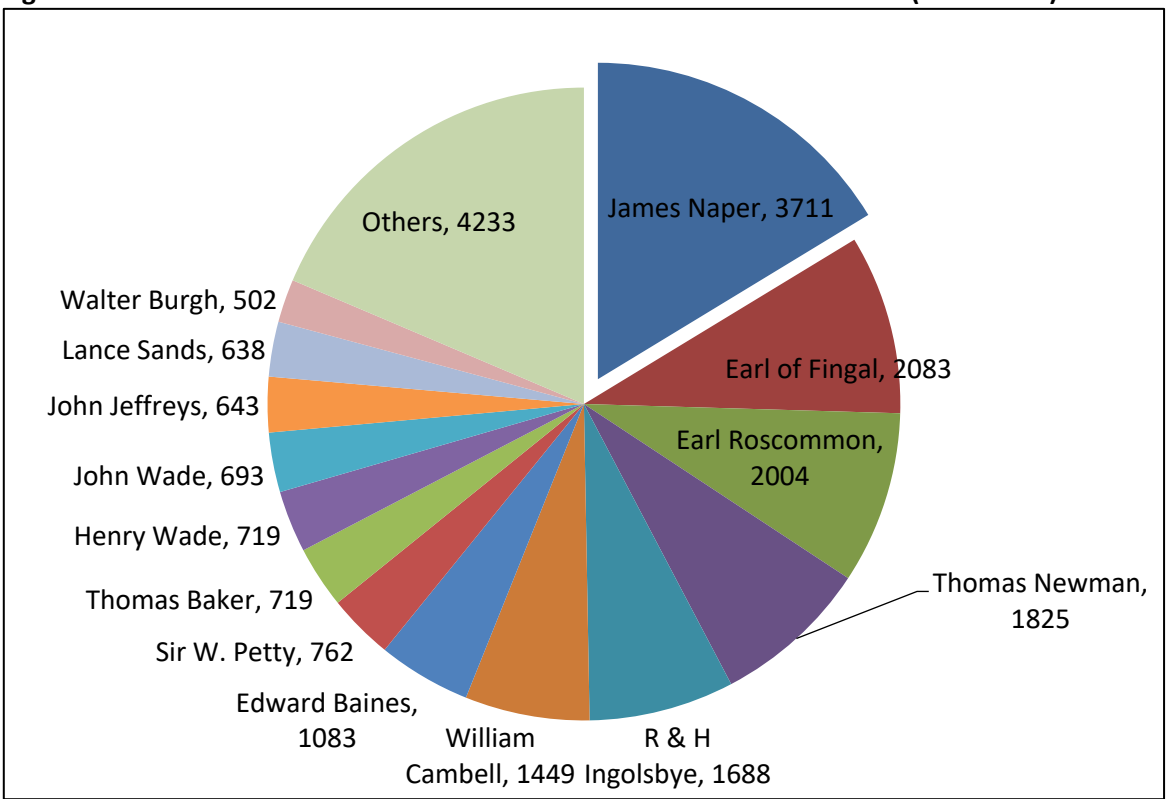
The most significant change resulting from the Cromwellian and subsequent land settlements was the transfer of large areas of the barony to new ownership. The BSD clearly illustrate this new proprietorial landscape. Lord Dunsany lost virtually all of his lands only retaining a small mill whereas his cousin, the Earl of Fingal succeeded in having most of his lands restored under the Restoration settlements. The other Plunkett lands were reduced to just 4% of the barony. The Dillon family, lords of Kilkenny West, later earls of Roscommon also managed to retain most of their lands, alongside considerable holdings in Westmeath and Roscommon bordering the Shannon river.[209]

Figure 3.2 illustrates these dramatic changes with James Naper revealed as the major recipient of the confiscated lands. While most of the other landholders shown are new, some owners did manage to retain some small landholdings and are included in the 'Others' section alongside the

[209] Liam Cox, 'The Dillons, Lords of Kilkenny West: Part Three' in *Riocht na Midhe*, vol.xiii, (2002), pp.61-68.

new owners with gains smaller than 500 acres. When this study begins, a half century later in 1700, the Wade and Naper families are the only landholders still retaining ownership of the confiscated land, illustrating the rapid transfer and fluidity of landownership during this period

Figure 3.2 Dominant Post-Cromwellian landholders in Demifore circa 1660 (>500 acres)



Source: Author's calculations from data included in BSD.

The Naper family settled on Plunkett lands in Loughcrew, strategically located in the centre of the barony while the Wade family lands were located in Clonabraney in the east of the barony. The other names shown in figure 3.2 would seem to have sold on their property. It is difficult to trace this accurately because the records in the Registry of Deeds do not start until 1708 but analysis of these records has not revealed these names as landholders at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Half a century after the Cromwellian and Williamite settlements, the Naper and Wade families emerged as the landholders who retained a significant presence in the barony as did the Fingal Plunketts. This chapter examines the three resident proprietors emerging from this study, namely the Naper, Wade and Tuite families.

Table 3.1 illustrates the resident landowners holding over 500+ plantation acres between circa 1700 to circa 1830s. There were challenges in compiling the data because only in some cases was it possible to find acreages listed in the memorials from the Registry of Deeds from the early eighteenth century. The figures from the BSD were then utilised and compared when available with

the acreages in order to see if they tallied. The Name Books were used for the 1830s acreage figures and referenced to the final Griffith Valuation figures.[210]

Table 3.1 Resident landowners of 500+ plantation acres c.1700-1830s

Landowner	Acreage 1700	Acreage 1734	Acreage 1778	Acreage 1830s
Naper	3,711	6,610	8,655	9,145
Wade	1,787	1,787	1,787	1,787
Tuite	927	927	603	0

Source: Compiled by author from NLI, Naper papers, Registry of Deeds memorials, Name Books.

An analysis of the figures demonstrates that the Naper family nearly trebled their landholdings in the barony, indicating their ability to consolidate their position as the biggest landowners in the barony. The Wade family retained their ownership of their original lands while the Tuite family's holdings decreased over time until they sold all their lands in the early nineteenth century.

Figure 3.3 illustrates the lands of all nine landowners identified as holding 500+ plantation acres circa 1750. The map provides a clear picture of both change and also continuity which had occurred in the intervening century when compared with the data in figure 3.2. Four of the owners from circa 1660 are featured, the Napers, Wades, Fingall Plunketts and Tuites. The map demonstrates that the majority of the landholdings were comprised of contiguous groups of townlands. The Naper estate forms a distinctive position in the centre of the barony as the largest block while the Wade, Fingall Plunkett and Tuite lands also form noticeable blocks to the east, south-east and north. Other landholdings such as the Witherington and Peppard estates also constitute sizeable units. The map highlights the considerable changes which had occurred in the proprietorial landscape with large sections of land changing to new ownership.

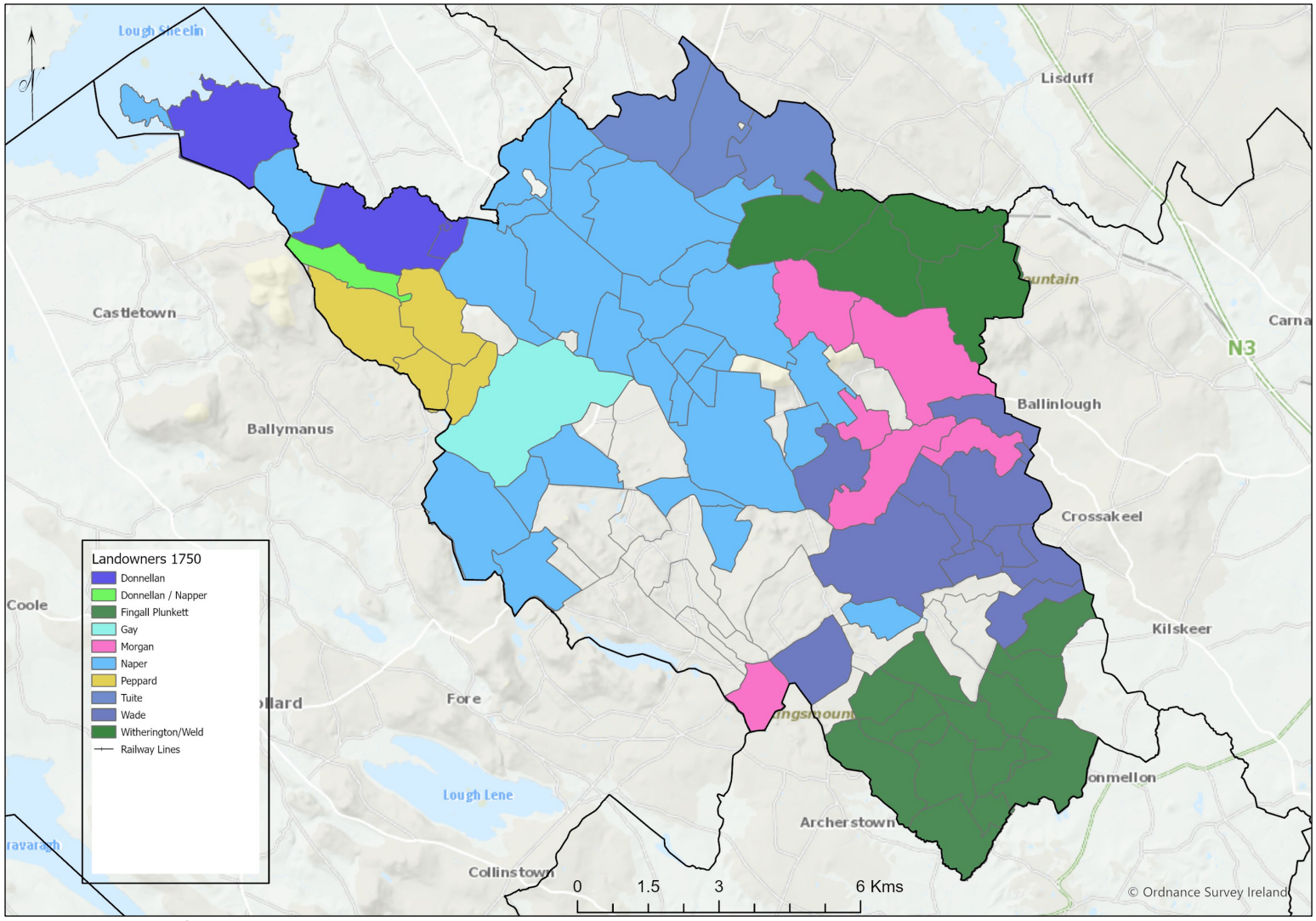
3.4 The Naper Estate

The Naper family's connections with Ireland have their origins in the sixteenth century. Sir Robert Naper was appointed chief Baron of the exchequer of Ireland from 1593 until 1601. His grandson, Captain James Naper was the fourth son of Sir Nathaniel Naper, MP, of More Critchell, Dorset.[211] Captain James Naper served in Colonel Ingoldsby's regiment during the Cromwellian wars and was granted confiscated lands as payment for his services in the barony of Demifore as part of the Cromwellian settlement.

[210] The Naper marriage settlement from 1734 and the 1778 survey supplied extra data on their lands. RD, 77/475/54395, NLI, MS 2754.

[211] Sir Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Ireland*, (London,1912), p.503, hereafter cited as Burke*, Landed gentry.*

Figure 3.3 Landownership in Demifore barony circa 1750



Source: Compiled by Úna Palcic.

Sir William Petty was one of the most notable and well-known figures from the Cromwellian period and the architect of the Down Survey. Through his work he gained an intimate knowledge of the landholdings and landscape of Ireland. Petty's sister Dorothy was married to James Naper.[212] Burke records that their first son, William was born in 1661 which would indicate that they were married in 1660 approximately. Figure 3.2 illustrates that Petty had possession of 762 plantation acres of the better lands in the northern section of the barony. He acquired lands in other parts of the country, as did James Naper. They are both recorded in the Books of Survey and Distribution with an allocation of a substantial number of townlands in county Kerry.[213]

The Naper family also intermarried with members of the Ingolsby family.[214] Captain James Naper served as an officer in Colonel Ingolsby's regiment in the Cromwellian campaign. Sir Henry (Colonel) and his brother, Richard Ingolsby, received lands in counties Clare and Meath under the subsequent settlement which included the lands in Demifore. Sir Henry served under Ireton and was later appointed Governor of Limerick and served as an MP for Limerick, Clare and Kerry in the 1650s. Some of their lands in the barony are shown to be in Naper ownership in eighteenth century documents, which would suggest that Naper either inherited or purchased these lands.[215]

The Naper family chose Loughcrew as their place of residence when they were granted lands in Demifore. Captain James Naper may have based his decision on the description in the Civil Survey which noted 'A Castle in Indifferent good Repair One stone adjoining thereto but Defaced a Bawne and old Church with a Steeple 30 Cabbins a Corne Mill.'[216] The prerequisites for an easily defensible ready-made settlement existed in Loughcrew. It was already in use as a landlord base prior to the Naper acquisition when it was in the possession of a member of the Plunkett family. Also, its central location in the barony may have influenced the choice of Loughcrew as a base for the Naper family.

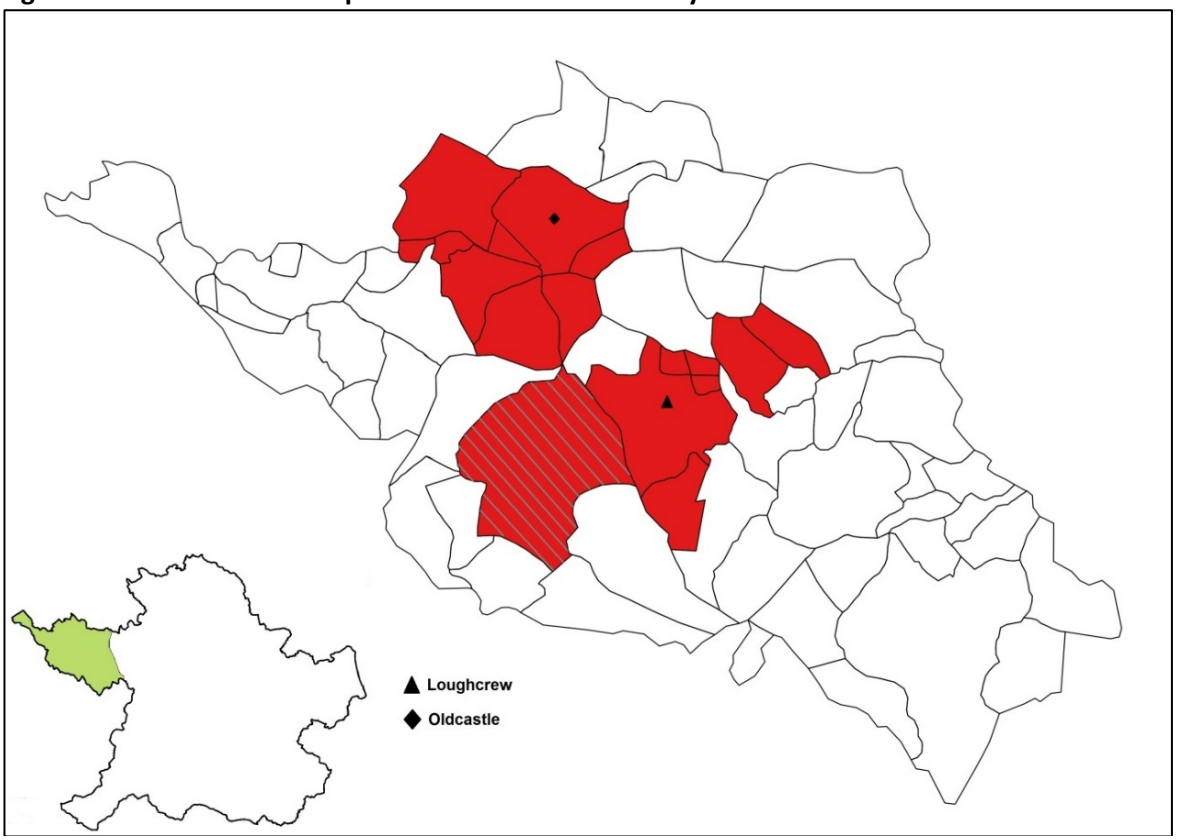
3.4.1 Changing extent of the Naper estate 1660-1734

According to the BSD, James Naper initially received approximately 15% of the barony which amounted to 3,711 acres.[217] He went on to become the major landholder in the barony owning

[212] Burke, *Landed gentry,* p.503.
[213] NLI, MS 970, 'Books of Survey and Distribution' for county Kerry, compiled circa 1703 listing proprietors of lands in 1641 and grantees of lands in 1688, with acreages' hereafter cited as MS 970, BSD.
[214] Burke, *Landed Gentry*, p.503.
[215] Una Palcic, 'The development of the Naper estate during the eighteenth century' in Arlene Crampsie and Francis Ludlow (eds), *Meath History and Society, interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*, (Dublin 2015), p.375. hereafter cited as Palcic, Naper estate.
[216] Simington, *The Civil Surve*y, p.503.
[217] NLI, MS 974, BSD.

more than 8,000 acres in 1778.[218] Figure 3.4 illustrates these lands centrally located in the barony. The family went on to consolidate and increase their landholdings in Demifore in the century following the Cromwellian settlement. By 1734 their landholdings had increased to 6,610 plantation acres.[219]

Figure 3.4 Distribution of Naper lands in Demifore barony circa 1660



Source: Una Palcic, The development of the Naper estate during the eighteenth century In Meath History and Society (2015).Notes: (1) Original Naper land grant highlighted in red; (2) Naper only acquired part of Moylagh townland (highlighted with stripes in map); (3) Insert map shows location of barony in County Meath (based on Down Survey map).

Some differences in acreage which occurred may have resulted from the methods used to survey and assess the land area. An increase of circa 500 acres is recorded when compared with the original townlands granted and this, along with the twelve new townlands listed in the 1734 document, account for the nearly doubling of the family's holdings within the barony. The marriage settlement of James Lenox Naper and Catherine Ingolsby was recorded in a memorial of this document. Marriage settlements were a form of pre-nuptial agreement whereby the marriage portion (dowry) brought by the bride was agreed and the groom's commitment to provide for his wife from the rental income from the estate if he died, led to the listing of the townlands. Often the amount of the portion was not revealed as happened in this case. The same Naper lands that were listed in

[218] NLI, MS 2754, Naper papers.
[219] RD, 77/475/54395.

the marriage settlement were first recorded in a memorial from 1708 but without the acreages being enumerated.[220] This would indicate that these lands were already in Naper ownership by 1708.

Table 3.2 Changing extent of Naper lands in Demifore 1660-1734

Survey & Distribution		**1734 Marriage Settlement**		**1734 Marriage Settlement**	
Townland	**Acres**	**Original S&D Townlands**	**Acres**	**New townlands**	**Acres**
Balleek	102	Balleek	102	Annagh & Tombbridestown	526
Ballinmotowhyn	42	Ballemotawhan	42	Bellany	339
Balrath	198	Ballrath	226	Clonesillagh	100
Castlecor	345	Castlecor	329	Cullendra	253
Corstown	136	Corstown	234	Galboystown	20
Crossdrum Lower	275	Crossdrum Lower	674	Inchoughter	106
Crossdrum Upper	224	Crossdrum Upper	204	Knockbrack	131
Derrysheridan	26	Derrysheridan	39	Knocknaveldra	186
Drumsawry	446	Drumsawry	480	Moate	298
Knock	110	Knockmacooney	122	Old Tully	125
Loughcrew	640	Loughcrew	863	Piggotstown	131
Moylagh	176	Part of Moylagh	20	Rathmea	142
Oldcastle	648	Oldcastle	521	Tybreed Mill	5
Raherking	146	Raherking	139		
Tubride	190	Tybreed	194		
Tullogh	6	Tullagh	50		
Total	**3711**	**Total**	**4239**	**Total**	**2362**
		Grand total (original and new): 6610			

Source: Compiled by author from BSD, MS 974 and memorial 77/475/54395. Note: (1) Inchoughter usually associated with Derrysheridan; (2) Overall total acreage in table rounded up to include sum of roods and perches across all townlands.

Table 3.2 charts the increasing Naper owned lands in Demifore from 1660 to circa 1734. The data became available available for the year 1734 as a result of the memorial of the marriage settlement. Unfortunately, the documents do not reveal how the new townlands in Demifore came into Naper ownership. The townland of Garcloney and part of Moylagh had been granted to Richard and Henry Ingolsby in the original settlement and it is possible that because of the close relationship between the families that this was a factor in how the lands were acquired.[221] The three townlands which had been granted to Sir William Petty, namely, Cullendragh, Moate and Knocknaveldra may have come into Naper possession on the marriage of Captain James Naper and Dorothy Petty, however this is a matter of conjecture. The townland of Knockbrack was assigned to two grantees, Andrew Ram and William Hoy and it is likely that they sold on their interest in Knockbrack as this was the

[220] RD, 1/187/114.
[221] NLI, MS 974, BSD.

only land granted to them in the barony. Other lands in the neighbouring Kells barony amounting to nearly 2,000 acres were listed in the marriage settlement as were the lands in Westmeath and Offaly amounting to just over 1,300 acres.[222]

3.4.2 Land acquisitions and property of James Naper circa 1715

The will of James Naper from 1717 illustrates that he was active in the land market in the early eighteenth century. The will details lands that he had purchased in county Westmeath and King's county from James Barry. A memorial from 1715 records that he had paid £1,750 for these lands.[223] The will also refers to lands that he had purchased from the trustees of Colonel John Browne in Connaught. His Kerry estates are also listed as well as his house in Queen street in Dublin.[224] An earlier memorial recorded that in 1708, James Naper had sold two parcels of land on Oxmantown Green which bounded on to Queen street to John Corry of Castlecoole, county Fermanagh.[225] The development of this suburb of Oxmantown was aided by the replacement of the old wooden bridge dating from 1670 with a new stone bridge in 1704.[226] Unfortunately, there is no record of when James Naper purchased his house on Queen street but it may have been prior to 1708 when records were first registered in the Registry of Deeds. This indicates that James Naper's property interests extended well beyond rural Meath into the newly developing urban areas of Dublin city. It is possible that using his Dublin residence made it easier for James Naper to engage with other landowners and thus further his property interests. The terms of the will showed that the Kerry and Connaught lands were bequeathed to James Naper's brother William.

3.4.3 Financial uses of land and property

Most banks dating from the early eighteenth century were established by merchants and land agents in the cities of Dublin and Cork who were able to invest their profits in small banks.[227] Similarly, landlords with spare finance could act as bankers and secure their loans on land and property as instanced here in Demifore. A mortgage of £3,000, owed by his neighbour John Wade of Clonabraney is enumerated in James Naper's will of 1717.[228] Other mortgages involving the Naper family have been identified. A repayment of a mortgage to James Naper of £800 by James Tuite of Fennor in 1708 involved the reconveyance by Naper to Tuite of his lands which had been

[222] RD, 77/475/54395.
[223] RD, 16/24/6785.
[224] RD, 64/38/42508.
[225] RD, 1/375/224.
[226] Joseph Brady and Anngret Simms (eds), *Dublin through Space & Time*, (Dublin, 2001), p.63.
[227] L.M. Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660*, (1972), p.72.
[228] RD, 64/38/42508.

conveyed to Naper in a deed of 1700.[229] A memorial from 1710 records that Jane Culme of Lismaine, county Cavan owed James Naper the sum of £1,367 on a mortgage taken out by her father Arthur.[230]

A memorial from 1727 indicates that the guardians of James Naper's children who were then minors, were pursuing the interest on another mortgage of £1,000 dating to 1703.[231] A number of small banks were established in Dublin and other cities, mainly by merchants in the early eighteenth century to facilitate the movement of money within Ireland and abroad.[232] This may be the reason why less mortgages were provided by the Naper family as the century progressed. A later memorial from 1758 involving the same Tuite family in Fennor refers to a loan of £4,500 at a 5% interest rate.[233] This demonstrates that the practice of providing mortgages continued into later generations of the Naper family. The earlier land purchases demonstrate that James Naper was able to use his rental income and interest from mortgages both to invest in land and to facilitate lending to others. This income provided him with the ability to expand his landholdings and to secure loans with other landowners. It would seem that part of the townland of Fennor owned by the Tuite family was acquired by James Lennox Naper at some time between 1734[234] and 1768[235] where it is included in the first rent roll available from the later period. These Fennor lands are illustrated as three separate sections in the 1778 survey of the Naper lands.[236] In the early nineteenth century, the Tuite family continued to sell sections of their lands in the barony to the Naper family and a memorial from 1814 refers to the purchase of the townland of Newcastle and part of Fennor by Naper from Philip Tuite Dalton for £26,000 of which £20,000 had already been paid.[237]

3.4.4 Acquisition of other Meath lands

The Naper family acquired other lands in county Meath in the eighteenth century. Several townlands in the neighbouring barony of Kells are first revealed to be in Naper ownership in 1725 when a lease of these lands is recorded.[238] This would indicate that the lands came into Naper ownership sometime between 1708 and 1725. They were not enumerated in the will of 1717 but are listed in the marriage settlement of James Lenox Naper and Catherine Ingolsby in 1734. The

[229] RD, 2/171/ 360.
[230] RD, 5/170/1494.
[231] RD, 55/313/37085.
[232] T. W. Moody and W.E Vaughan, L.M. Cullen, Economic Development 1691-1750 in *A New History of Ireland. IV, Eighteenth-century Ireland 1691-1800*, (Oxford,1986), pp.152-153,
[233] RD, 259/246/166476.
[234] RD, 77/475/54395.
[235] NLI, MS3032, Naper papers.
[236] NLI, MS 2754, Naper papers.
[237] RD, 668/297/464530.
[238] RD, 105/195/73482.

amount of the marriage portion is not stated in the Memorial of the marriage settlement but may have been considerable. In the same year, a memorial recording the marriage settlement of Anna Maria, James Lenox's sister and Dillon Pollard Hampson of Castlepollard listed the sum of £5,000 pounds as the portion.[239] This may indicate that Catherine Ingolsby's portion was of a similar amount. A marriage portion or dowry was the amount of money and/or goods that a future wife brought to a marriage. Marriage settlements were often placed in the hands of trustees to ensure that the landowners could protect their legal rights to the lands.[240] This may have been the reason all of the Naper lands were included in the settlement which are illustrated in Table 3.2 above.

Additional acquisitions were made in County Meath in the mid-century period. In 1741 the townlands of Growtown, Rahinstown and Tullaghanoge were transferred into Naper ownership in a quadripartite document which mentions that the Plunkett heir is a minor and that the Earl of Lichfield is acting as his guardian.[241] The Fingal Plunkett family owned four townlands in the eastern area of Demifore. These same lands are listed in an advertisement for the sale of sections of the Fingall Plunkett estate dated 1738.[242] The location of Growtown and Rahinstown was described in this document as being on the Navan road and found in the baronies of Ratoath and Lower Moyfenrath respectively. Tullaghanoge is located between Trim and Athboy in the barony of Upper Navan. Kilbride is located near Dunboyne in the barony of the same name. It might be suggested that the acquisition of these lands was made possible through the marriage portion from the 1734 settlement.

In 1759, additional acquisitions were made by James Lenox Naper when two more county Meath townlands, Kilbride and Robinstown were purchased for £14,000.[243] Both are situated in the adjoining barony of Upper Kells. Another Meath townland, Ticroghan, is recorded in a lease of part of the lands to a Mr. Copperthwaite from 1767.[244] It is located in the southern part of Meath near Clonard and Kinnegad. The available papers do not provide a known date for the purchase of Ticroghan. It was difficult to obtain exact acreages for these purchases but using the Down Survey figures the total as estimated came to 3,546 plantation acres.

---

[239] RD, 93/508/66580.
[240] Deborah Wilson, *Women, Marriage and Property in Wealthy Landed Families in Ireland, 1750-185*0, (Manchester, 2008), p.41.
[241] RD, 105/195/73482.
[242] NLI, MS 8024 – Rentals and estate accounts of the Plunketts, Earls of Fingall in counties Cavan, Meath and Dublin city c.1668-1793, henceforth cited MS8024, Fingall Plunkett papers.
[243] RD, 203/197/134777.
[244] RD, 261/572/173078.

3.4.5 Management of the estate

The management of the Naper estate in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be analysed through the available primary sources. James Naper died in 1718 when his heir, James Lenox was still a minor. This meant that the estate was managed by executors until he came of age around 1734. As he assumed full ownership and responsibility a significant number of new leases were drawn up and executed around this time which has resulted in a rich collection of memorials. This resulted in greater documentary evidence due to a considerable number of memorials dating from 1734. His mother was Anne Dutton, daughter of Sir Ralph Dutton of Sherborne, Gloucestershire.[245] Through his mother's connections, James Lenox inherited the Dutton family estate in Sherborne in 1748, and as a result he assumed the surname Dutton. On his death in 1776 his eldest son James inherited the Sherborne estate and retained the Westmeath and Offaly lands. His second son, William inherited the Demifore and Kells barony lands, while his third son, Ralph inherited the other Meath lands.[246] The Dutton connection may have led to periodic absences of James Lenox from his Irish estate which would have resulted in the management of his lands by his agent. William Naper died in 1791 when his son James Lenox William was an infant and once again the Demifore estate was in the hands of trustees until he came of age in 1812.[247]

3.4.6 Tenurial arrangements

The practice of leasing whole townlands was common in this period. In his study of eighteenth-century Tipperary, Power observed that it was used widely.[248] The available records for the Naper estate indicate that the leasing of whole townlands was the favoured option. This resulted in the easing of administration costs because the lessee would be liable for the collection of rents from the undertenants. The names of the principal tenants are recorded in the rent rolls and memorials but it is much more difficult to identify the names and the number of the undertenants because they are rarely named in the documents. Table 3.3 details the trend that the same families continued as principal tenants over long periods of time in some townlands.

The available evidence on the leasing policy adopted by the Naper family comes from the memorials in the Registry of Deeds and a number of leases which were listed in the estate papers.[249] In the early part of the study period, the normal duration of leases granted was for 21 years and /or lives

[245] Burke, *Landed gentry, p.503.*
[246] RD, 314/226/210681.
[247] Burke*, Landed gentry*, p.504
[248] Thomas P. Power, *Land, Politics and Society in eighteenth century Tipperary*, (Oxford, 1993), p.133.
[249] NLI, MS 3032, Naper papers.

and for 31 years and/or lives in the later period. In a small number of leases, a clause was inserted which allowed for the renewal of one of the lives on payment of a fine. In some of these leases the phrase 'lives renewable forever' was used which would indicate that the lease could continue indefinitely if the terms were adhered to in full.

Table 3.3 Principal Tenants: Longevity of tenure

Townland	1733	1734	1768	1774	1778
Annagh (532 acres)	Nugent	Nugent	Nugent	Nugent	Nugent
Crossdrum Lower (621 acres)	Rotheram	Rotheram	Rotheram	Rotheram	Rotheram
Cullentra (248 acres)		Read	Read	Read	Read
Picketstown(130)	Battersby	Battersby	Battersby	Battersby	Battersby

Source: Compiled by the author from various memorials in the Registry of Deeds and various Naper rent rolls.

The practice of leasing several townlands to some leaseholders has also been identified on the Naper estate. In 1725, seven of the townlands in the barony of Kells comprising 1,145 acres were leased to a Reverend Featherston of Derrylossary, County Wicklow for eight years in consideration of the surrender of a former lease.[250] The time period given implies that the lease was to run until James Lenox Naper came of age. In 1734 William Jones of Crossdrum was recorded leasing the lands of Newtown and the Woodpark, the Mountain part of Loughcrew, Corstown and part of Drumsawry.[251] A number of deeds were witnessed by William Jones in the 1730s which may imply that he was acting as agent for the Naper family and would be considered a favoured tenant.

Two examples from the early part of the century provide data on the prevailing management policy. A lease from 1708 recorded that Robert Sherman of Balrath was granted the townland of Balrath under a lease for 21 years and/or lives which included named members of his family.[252] The memorial of this lease was not registered until 1724, sixteen years later. In 1716 a lease for a similar duration of 21 years and/or three lives (his sons) was granted to the Rev. Luke Sterling of Oldcastle for 24 acres of Oldcastle lands which included two tenements with their locations described.[253] This deed was not registered until 1731, fifteen years later. The later registration of these deeds may indicate that it was important to do so at that time because they neared their expiration date and the minority of the Naper landlord was also coming to an end.

[250] RD, 49/194/31527.
[251] RD, 77/348/53932, RD 77/348/53932, RD 78/132/53931, RD 78/466/53930.
[252] RD, 43/222/27954.
[253] RD, 68/36/46892.

The change in estate policy is evident when James Lenox Naper came of age and became involved in the management of the estate around 1734. The duration of the time period for the majority of the leases changed to 31 years and/or three named lives. Connell indicated that many leases granted in county Meath in the 1730s and 1740s followed the thirty-one year and three lives practice.[254] The guardians may have been circumspect in letting for shorter time periods during his minority. A very large number of deeds were drawn up in 1734 indicating that it was decided to wait in order to execute them until James Lenox Naper took over.

Four examples are included here from the 1734 leases in order to illustrate the management policy from this period. The first two examples demonstrate that increasing rents over the time period of the leases was practised for some lessees while the later examples illustrate that this was not true for all leases. The large townland of Lower Crossdrum was leased to Thomas Rotheram for 31 years and/or three lives (his sons). The rent increased after seven years from £65 to £70.[255] Another deed which illustrates this practice recorded that John Read of Galmoystown, was granted the townland of Cullendragh for 31 years and/or three lives (his sons) at a yearly rent of £65, increasing to £70 after seven years.[256]

The two later examples show that leases were granted which did not allow for increasing rents. John Battersby of Clonabraney was recorded as leasing the townland of Pigotstown for 31years and/or three lives (Battersbys) at a yearly rent of £40 pounds.[257] A lease to Richard Davis of part of the large townland of Drumsawry for 31 years and/or three lives for a yearly rent of £94 pounds was recorded.[258] Many of these 1734 memorials illustrated that the latter examples were the more normal practice at this time. The lessees in the examples had previously held the same lands and it is a matter of conjecture as to why some rents were increased. One possibility is that there may have been larger numbers of undertenants on the townlands which showed increases.

Later in the century when the leases from 1734 fell in, a number of new deeds were executed. Some of these indicate that the opportunity was taken to increase the rents considerably. In 1766 it was recorded that when the old lease granted to his father Thomas expired a new lease would begin naming Edward Rotheram as the lessor of the lands of Lower Crossdrum. Once again, the duration

[254] Peter Connell, *The Land and People of County Meath, 1750-1850*, (Dublin, 2004), p.50 hereafter cited as Connell, *Land and People of Meath*.
[255] RD, 77/348/53929.
[256] RD, 77/356/53960.
[257] RD, 77/356/53968.
[258] RD. 77/357/53971.

was for 31 years and/or three lives (his children) but the yearly rent had increased to £300 pounds.[259] In 1768 a lease of the lands of Mount Dutton, Oldcastle containing 24 acres and including a malt, tenement and some bog in Old Tully was granted to Luke Sterling. The acreage is similar to that enumerated in the earlier memorial of 1716. The duration of the lease was 31 years and/or three lives (family) at a rent of £9 up to 1773 and £16 thereafter.[260] These leases again demonstrate that often the same lands were leased to the same families for generations.

Many memorials illustrate changes of lessees, for example, Robert McCreery of Moat was recorded in 1742 as taking over the lease of Moat on the death of Edward Fitzgerald the younger and Mary Powers, son and daughter of the lessor Edward Fitzgerald. The duration was 31 years and/or three lives at a yearly rent of £167 pounds.[261] Another memorial from 1743 Robert Law of Dublin is recorded as leasing the townland of Farrenaglough which had previously been let to John English for 31 years and three lives for £60 a year.[262]

In addition to financial payments, some remnants of a near feudal system of payment through services was captured in some of the deeds. Very few of the deeds included covenants which were conditions imposed on the lessors. An interesting example is recorded in a memorial from 1765 concerning the lands of Derrysheridan and Inchoughter bordering on Lough Sheelin. The lessor Edward Reed of Galmoystown was allowed fishing rights on the lake but in addition to the yearly rent of £27-10s-0d he had to provide fifteen brace of pike and ten brace of trout between January and October of each year.[263]

3.4.7 Under tenants

Undertenants were those who paid rent to the principal leaseholders for sections of their leased lands and therefore rarely appeared in landlord records. They were seldom revealed in the Registry of Deeds memorials. The under tenants evident in estate records were not necessarily named but their labouring work reveals their existence. The rent rolls for 1733 also included separate accounts of some tenants. An example of this is illustrated in the account for the Smith's part of Drumsawry. Here their yearly rent amounted to £54-5s-0d but the monetary value of work undertaken (£47-13s-9d) was deducted from their rent. The accounts reveal that work done by the 'several tenants'

[259] RD, 248/565/160911.
[260] RD, 257/503/169536.
[261] RD, 118/429/81404.
[262] RD, 113/94/77563.
[263] RD, 266/234/170104.

amounted to about 60% of this total at £3-12s-9d. This would suggest that the Smiths had a number of undertenants. The persons named in the account included four Smiths, namely Bryan, Sisly, Matthew and Charles indicating that they may have been members of the same family. Two undertenants are listed, William Mullon for completion of work and for delivery of corn amounting to £1-10s-0d and Patrick Grawney for similar work. An example of the Smiths' work is that of Charles Smith listed as ploughing eleven acres in the Deerpark for an offset of £3-17s-0d.[264] The townland of Drumsawry lies adjacent to the demesne lands of Loughcrew and in part explains the work undertaken and deliveries of goods. The Smith account indicates that the landlord was utilising the undertenants for work on the estate.

3.4.8 Rents and rental Income - Naper estate 1733-c.1830

One of the key aspects of landlord and tenant arrangements is the financial dimension. An opportunity to reconstruct the Naper family income is provided by the fragmentary evidence in the estate papers. Rent roll ledgers for the estate housed in the National Library also contain data on the administration practices used. These list the tenants, the rent charged per gale day but do not list the acreages of the holdings. The ledgers also include some material on the duties of tenants, some cottiers' accounts, expenditure accounts and a small number of leases. The first eighteenth century rent rolls available for the estate date from 1733 but there is then a long gap until the next available rentals dating from 1768.[265] Further gaps occur between the years 1810 and 1824. The Memorials from the Registry of Deeds reveal the duration of tenancies, the rent charged and in some cases the acreages listed in the memorials was important for this research because it was not listed in the rent rolls.

Several comparisons and observations may be made using the details on rents shown in Table 3.4 below. The increase in rent in the townlands of Balrath and Newtown is very substantial and may be explained by a change of tenants in both cases. It demonstrates that the opportunity to increase rents was taken when possible. The improving economic conditions at that time brought change to rural Ireland. Rising incomes from other sources such as the linen industry helped to compensate for crises caused by bad harvests.[266] This may have been a causative factor in explaining rising rental income. The details on the townland of Knocknaveldra show that there was no increase. The explanation may lie in the status of the 1768 tenant, Mr. Freeman who lived in nearby Castlecor

[264] NLI, MS 3031, Naper papers.
[265] NLI, MS 3031, Naper papers. .
[266] L. M. Cullen, 'Economic Development, 1691-1750' in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan, (eds), *A new History of Ireland,IV, Eighteenth-Century Ireland. 1691-1800*, (Oxford,1986), p.149.

and whose residence is described by Taylor and Skinner as 'Castle Freeman, the seat of Mr. Freeman'.[267] This may account for the reduction in rent of Tully townland, also rented by Freeman which lies adjacent to Castlecor and also to the large townland of Crossdrum Lower leased by the Rotheram family, agents on the Naper estate. Derrysheridan townland showed a minimal increase in the thirty-year period.

Table 3.4 Rents (half year) from 1733 and 1768

Townland	1733 gale	1768 gale	% Change
Balrath	£22-10-0	£52-10-0	133%
Derrysheridan	£7-0-0	£9-0-0	29%
Knocknaveldra	£17-0-0	£17-0-0	0%
Newtown	£10-0-0	£25-0-0	150%
Tully	£15-0-0	£12-16-10	-15%

Source: Compiled by author from NLI, MS 3031Naper 1733 and 1768 rent rolls.

Later in the century a comparison of rental figures for a selection of Naper owned townlands from 1778 and 1798 (see table 3.5) indicate that substantial increases in rents occurred when William Naper took over the estate in 1777. Crossdrum Lower continued in the tenancy of members of the Rotheram family but changed from Edward to his son George allowing for a relatively small increase. The family acted as agents for the Naper family and also leased other Naper lands. A note in the accounts states that Edward Rotheram was agent in 1759 and is listed as accountant in the rent rolls from 1769 to 1788.[268] George Rotheram is listed as the accountant in 1788, having taken over from his father.[269] In a similar vein, the townland of Mullagh and Raghahy remained in the tenancy of the same family but saw a larger 50% increase. The biggest increase occurred in part of the large townland of Drumsawry due to a change of tenant. A more modest increase of 50% occurred due to the change of tenant of one of the smaller mills on the estate. The data in table 3.5 suggests that change of tenancy provided the best means of increasing rental income.

Table 3.5 Sample of annual rent increases 1778-1798

Townland	1778	1798	% Increase
Crossdrum Lower	£230-0-0	£300-0-0	30%
Drumsawry (part)	£94-0-0	£316-0-0	236%
Mullagh & Raghahy	£22-0-0	£34-0-0	55%
Shronayelloge Mill	£8-0-0	£12-0-0	50%

Source: Compiled by author from rent rolls 1778 and 1798- MS 3032 & MS 3094 (NLI).

[267] UCD, Special Collection, 25/G/23, Taylor & Skinner, Traveller's Directory and Post Chaise Companion.
[268] NLI, MS 3031, Naper papers.
[269] NLI, MS 5787, Rental of the estate of William Naper in County Meath 1788-1802 henceforth cited MS 5787, Naper papers.

The rent rolls also indicate that the opportunity was taken to increase the number of tenants on some townlands as a means of enhancing rental income. Table 3.6 below record that a single tenant could be replaced by eight tenants and thus augment the rental income by a very large percentage. The townland of Loughcrew was subdivided into different sections which were listed in the rent rolls as the demesne lands, the Bean Park, the Deerpark, the cottiers' lands and Loughcrew. Some of these sections had two to three tenants. The townland of Gortnabolagh comprised nine sections on the rent roll but some of these were partnerships or named two members of one family which would greatly increase the numbers of tenants on this townland. Cartloney showed a modest increase to four tenants, one of which was a partnership. The changeover to multiple tenancies indicates the new management practices introduced after 1777 when opportunities arose due to leases falling in.

Table 3.6 Tenant and annual rent increases 1778-1798

Townland	No of Tenants	1778	1798	% Increase in rent
Loughcrew	1778 -1	£200-0-0		227%
	1798 - 8		£654-0-0	
Gortnabolagh	1778 -1	£216-0-0		116%
	1798 -9		£466-0-0	
Cartloney(Gartloney)	1778 -1	£28-0-0		78%
	1798 -4		£50-0-0	

Compiled by the author from rent rolls – 1778 and 1798: MSS 3032 & 3094.

Analysis of the annual rental income for the estate showed that it increased substantially during the eighteenth century. Prior to 1776 the rentals included all Naper lands in Meath and those in counties Galway, Offaly and Westmeath. Following the death of James Lenox Dutton/Naper in 1776 and the division of his estate, rentals for these individual estates were compiled. Two tables have been devised in order to illustrate the annual rental income. Table 3.7 charts the income of the estate using the earliest rent from 1733, the next available rent roll from 1768 and the rental from 1774. It illustrates the income prior to the division of the estate in 1776.

Table 3.7 Annual rental income, Naper estate Ireland, 1733-1774

Annual Figures	1733	1768	1774
Rental Charge	£2,822-7-10	£6,095-13-6	£6,771-10-4
Rent Received	£3,427-13-6	£6,234-10-0	£6,325-19-10
Arrears	£2,602-5-6	£658-1-3	£223-8-3

Compiled by the author from rent rolls – 1733, 1768 and 1774: MSS 3031 & 3032. NLI.

Table 3.7 illustrates that a very large rise in rental charges of £3,273 amounting to over 100% occurring between the years 1733 and 1768. The charges in Demifore increased by £1,102, a rise of 60% while the Kells barony figure rose by £610, equating to 143%. These figures illustrate that the rents were increased by a considerable amount in this thirty-year period. The rise in charges may also be explained by the increases coming from the additional lands purchased in Meath and Galway in the intervening period. The income from these new lands amounted to £1,567. The dramatic difference in the arrears figures indicate that a much-improved system of rental collection was put in place.

Table 3.8 Annual rental income 1778-1798

	1778	**1798**
Demifore		
Rental Charge	£3,027-14-10	£4,893-15-0
Rent Received	£2,725-15-10	£4,928-7-8
Arrears	£404-3-2	£85-8-0
Kells barony		
Rental Charge	£1,090-12-0	£1,452-5-6
Rent Received	£988-6-6	£1,456-5-6
Arrears	£61-15-0	£0-0-0
Total (Naper)	£4,118-6-10	£6,346-0-6
Land excluding Demifore & Kells		
Rental Charge	£2,791-14-2	£2,607-5-2
Rent Received	£2,540-9-10	£2,357-6-8
Arrears	£133-18-0	£133-18-0
Overall Total Received (all lands)	£6,254-11-4	£8,737-19-0

Source: Compiled by the author from rent rolls – 1778 and 1798, MS 3032 & MS 3094.

Table 3.8 utilises data from the years 1778 and 1798 to demonstrate the changes in rental income resulting from the division of the lands resulting from James Lenox Dutton/Naper's will. The table splits the annual rental income into three sections in order to demonstrate the changes resulting from the division of the estate. The lands in the baronies of Demifore and Kells are shown separately because William Naper inherited these areas of the estate. The other lands (land excluding Demifore & Kells in table 3.8), inherited by his brothers are also illustrated to indicate the resulting loss of income to the estate. The table indicates a dramatic rise in rental charges of £1,866, amounting to an increase of 62% in the Demifore barony. This alteration combined with an 80% increase in rents received illustrates the changed management practices introduced by William

Naper in order to enhance the financial income from his lands. Similarly, the rental charges rose on the Kells lands by 33% and a large increase in rents received of 47% further increased his income in this period. The arrears had been reduced to negligible amounts in the twenty-year period. This rise in income resulted from rising rents and a rise in the number of tenants, outlined in table 3.6.

The Naper rent rolls and accounts lodged in the National Library for the nineteenth century are of a fragmentary nature. The first ten years up to 1810 are available but then a considerable gap occurs until 1824. An analysis of the figures from this data has been undertaken and tables utilised to illustrate the changes in annual rental income. Also, some townlands have been extracted as illustrative of both continuity and change in occupancy and rents. The years 1810 and 1824 have been utilised because they provide comparative figures relating to the data used in the previous tables from the years 1778 and 1798. The estate was managed by George Rotheram from 1792 until 1812 until James Lenox William Naper came of age.

Table 3.9 Sample of annual rent increases 1810-1824

Townland	1810	1824	% increase in rent
Knocknehatton	£24-0-0	£174-0-0	625%
Ardfrail	£18-0-0	£116-0-0	544%
Glenboy	£76-0-0	£306-0-0	302%
Crossdrum Lower	£300-0-0	£600-0-0	100%
Gortenebolagh	£236-0-0	£308-0-0	30%
Springhall	£44-0-0	£44-0-0	0%

Source: Compiled by author from rent rolls - MS 5787 & MS 5773.

The rental data for all the townlands listed in the November rent rolls was analysed and the sample in table 3.9 was then selected. The townlands showing the largest increases, Knocknehatton, Ardfrail and Glenboy are all located close to Oldcastle town. Knocknehatton is a sub-denomination of Oldcastle townland and its huge increase may be explained by a rise in the number of tenancies from one to nine in 1824. Similarly, in Glenboy, fourteen tenants are listed in 1824 rather than one in 1810. Ardfrail underwent quite a different process where two tenants replaced one but this change resulted in a very large increase to the rental charge. The population figures compiled by Connell highlight a dramatic rise in population in Demifore barony between 1732 and 1821 of 170%.[270] These figures may help to explain the rising number in tenancies in the rent rolls.

[270] Connell, *The Land and People of County Meath,* pp.59-60.

The large townland of Crossdrum Lower occupied by the Rotheram family showed a less dramatic rise of 100% but was starting from a low base as its acreage amounted to nearly 600 plantation acres. The more modest increase of just 30% in the townland of Gortnebollagh is more difficult to explain but may have been due to the listing of the same number of tenancies in the later period. The townland of Springhall which showed no increase was held by William Gavon who held four other townlands in the barony.[271] These townlands of Balrath, Milltown, Old Tully and Dromone Mill were also listed without an increase. Caffrey refers to William Gavon as the 'most notorious of the sub-letting middlemen' on the Naper estate.[272] The Name Books describe the inhabitants of Springhall as poor, reflecting the neglect by the middleman lessor. Caffrey refers to the pamphlet published by JLW Naper in 1831 where he outlined his ideas on combatting poverty. Caffrey notes that Naper envisaged useful means of employing labourers as a solution. He also pointed out that Naper had paid for the passage of over fifty emigrants from the estate to Quebec in 1830. [273]

Table 3.10 Annual rental income 1810-1824

	1810	**1824**
Demifore		
Rental Charge	£7,933-14-10	£10,336-8-5.5
Rent Received	£7,824-9-10	£10,127-3-3
Arrears	£109-5-0	£209-5-2.5
Kells Barony		
Rental Charge	£1,683-16-2	£3,047-18-4
Rent Received	£1,683-16-2	£3,004-9-8
Arrears	£0-0-0	£43-8-4
Total Naper	**£9,617-11-0**	**£13,384-6-9.5**

Source: Compiled by author from rent rolls MS 5787 & MS 5773.

Table 3.10 provides the data for the Naper lands in both the Demifore and Kells baronies in order to indicate the total income available to JLW Naper during this period. There was a 30% increase in income in Demifore compared to a much more dramatic rise of 80% in Kells. Table 3.8 for the earlier period illustrated a larger increase in Demifore and lower in Kells and may have resulted from leases falling in. The figures for arrears were minimal indicating strict managerial control.

[271] James Caffrey, 'JLW Naper's crusade to rid his estate of Middlemen, 1792-1851' in Brian Casey (ed), *Lords, Lands and Labourers: the big houses and landed estates of royal Meath*, (2016), p.94, hereafter cited as Caffrey, *Naper's crusade*.
[272] Caffrey, *Naper's crusade,* p.95.
[273] Ibid*,* p.95.

The rent rolls from November 1824 illustrate that the Naper estate in Demifore had been augmented by the purchase of some additional lands. Newcastle and part of Fennor had been bought from Philip Tuite Dalton in the early nineteenth century.[274] The townland of Knocklough had been purchased sometime during the same period from the Piers Marlay family. These townlands of Newcastle and Knocklough and parts of both Upper and Lower Fennor are listed in Naper hands in the Griffith Valuation and corroborate the rent roll data. The combined acreage of Naper lands listed in Demifore barony listed in the Griffith Valuation amounts to just over 15,000 statute acres which equates to 9,091 plantation acres approximately.[275] This indicates a modest increase when compared with the 1778 survey.[276]

3.4.9 Principal leaseholders

The Rotheram family were major leaseholders of the Naper family. Members of the family also acted as agents for the Napers at different times. Research undertaken by Patrick Rotheram was utilised along with the Naper estate papers and NAI sources as a means of tracing their landholdings in Demifore.[277] The Rotheram records reveal that the family's connection with the Naper family in Ireland go back to 1698. A deed from that year records the marriage of Edward Rotheram of Tubride and Jane Whitton, a daughter of William Whitton who worked in Loughcrew as a servant in the Naper household. William Whitton attested the will of Dorothy Naper in 1690.[278] This indicates that the family were settled in Tubride townland prior to 1700. Patrick Rotheram references the will of Edward Rotheram of Tubride dating from 1723.[279]

The family went on to hold a number of townlands in Demifore and Upper Kells baronies from the Napers. The townland of Tubride was leased to Roger and Lower Crossdrum to Thomas by James Lenox in 1734[280] while the large townland of Crossdrum Lower was listed on the 1733 rent roll in the hands of Thomas Rotheram. Later in the century the rent rolls from 1774, 1778 and 1798 reveal that the lands of Tubride, Glenboy,and Annagh are listed in Rotheram hands. The very substantial

[274] RD, 668/297/464530.
[275] Griffith's Valuation.
[276] NLI, MS 2754, Naper papers.
[277] Navan library, Patrick Rotheram, *The Rotherams* (Supplied to library by author), hereafter cited as Rotheram, *The Rotherams*
[278] Rotheram, *The Rotherams*.
[279] Rotheram, *The Rotherams*
[280] RD, 78/281/55528 & 77/248/53929.

townland of Rathnamoddagh in county Westmeath and part of Drewstown in Upper Kells barony are also listed.[281]

The townland indexes in the Registry of Deeds for the period indicates that the Rotheram family were leasing a number of townlands in the barony, mostly from Naper. The large townlands of Annagh Great and Little and Tombridestown were leased from the Nugent family and were recorded in a deed from 1785 between Sarah Nugent and George Rotheram.[282] Prior to 1785 these lands were recorded in the Naper rent rolls in Nugent hands. The Name Books indicate that George Rotheram held a lease renewable forever of Annagh from the J.L.W. Naper at a yearly rent of £200 pounds.[283]

The lease of the townland of Crossdrum Lower which consisted of 593 plantation acres plus twenty-two of poorer land, according to the survey undertaken for the renewal of the lease in 1758.[284] The same number of acres were shown in the previous lease from 1734 which also mentioned 593 plantation acres.[285] The acreage is enumerated at 621 acres in the 1778 survey of the Naper estate, an increase of nearly 30 acres.[286] Crossdrum House was erected in 1817 by Edward Rotheram and included offices and gardens.[287]

The Rotheram family leased lands from other landowners in the barony. Two townlands, Ballinamona and Galleastown, the property of the Wade family were recorded as being let to Edward Rotheram of Crossdrum who used the land for stock farming.[288] The townlands of Knocklough and Patrickstown, documented in Morgan/Tighe ownership, Ballinacree and Ballinrink, listed in Forde ownership, are recorded in the proprietorship of the same Edward Rotheram of Crossdrum (Name Books). His marriage settlement, dating from 1822 revealed a marriage portion of £4,000 pounds and included the townlands of Ballinrink, Ballynea and Knocknavillragh containing over 600 acres to provide an annuity of £500 pounds to his wife Barbara.[289]

---

[281] NLI, MS 3031 & MS3032, Naper papers.
[282] RD, 371/63/247549.
[283] The Ordnance Survey Name Books, DCU, Transcripts held in the library of Belvedere House, St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra hereafter cited as Name Books.
[284] RD, 190/526/128060.
[285] RD, 78/281/55528.
[286] NLI, MS2754, Naper papers.
[287] Name Books.
[288] Ibid.
[289] RD, 771/129/522664.

The will of George Rotheram illustrated that he had purchased the large townland of Stonefield in 1838 under sales conducted by the Court of Chancery.[290] Some of the tenants' names with their rents and acreages were included in this document. The Name Books indicate that it was still in the ownership of the Piers family when they were compiled. The Meath data dates from 1837 which may explain this listing.[291] Throughout the time period, the Rotheram family increased their landholdings in the barony of Demifore through the use of perpetual leases which conveyed ownerships rights and of actual land purchases. By the 1850s the acreage in the family's hands amounted to 6,409 statute acres equivalent to 3,884 plantation acres.[292]

3.4.10 The Naper estate in the late eighteenth century

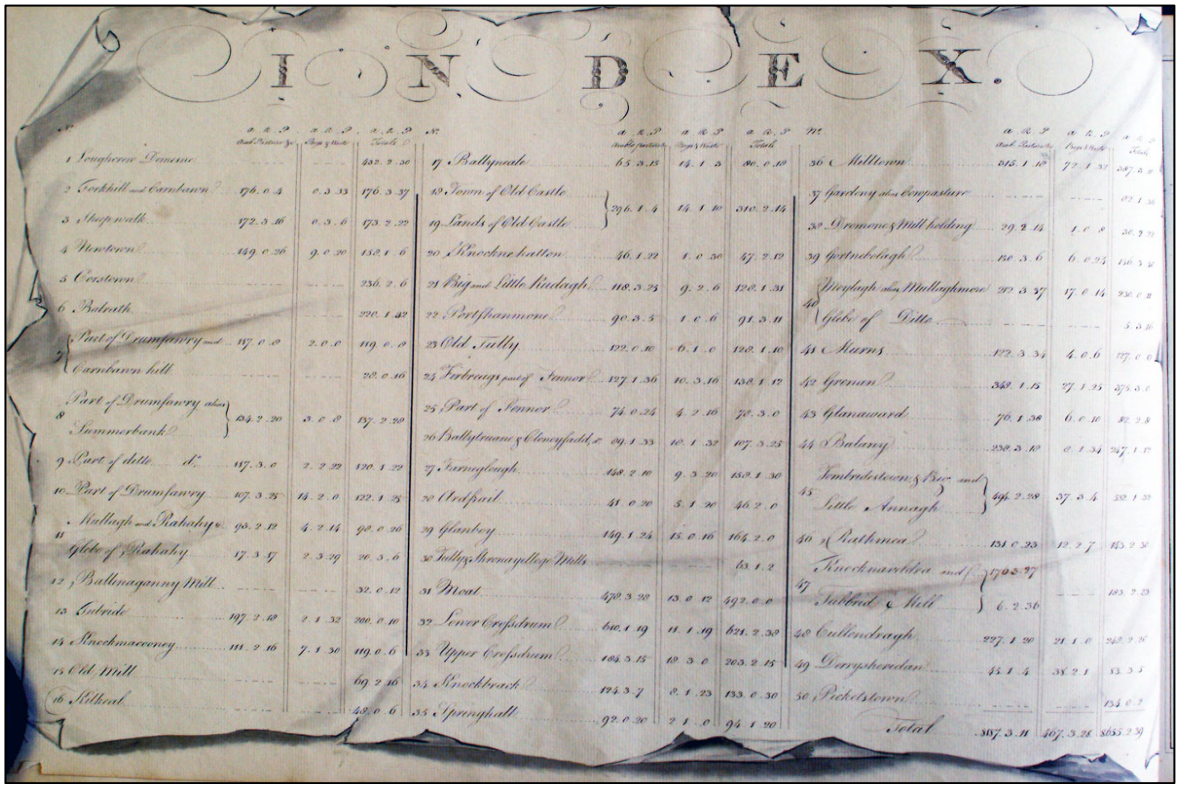
This section utilises data from a survey of the estate commissioned by William Naper in 1778 in order to provide him with accurate and up to date information on the size and land quality of each townland when he inherited the Demifore and Upper Kells barony lands in 1777.[293] It provides a snapshot of the landscape, infrastructure and housing in the area. It illustrates that the Naper lands in Demifore amounted to 8,656 plantation acres, an increase of 2,000 acres when compared with the 1734 figure, highlighted in Table 3.2.

Fifty detailed maps of townlands and in some cases, sub-divisions and sub-denominations of townlands were drawn up by the firm of Sherrard and Brownrigg. The importance of this survey is that it provides a unique picture of the landscape, the land quality and in some cases shows the locations of individual named tenancies on the estate at the end of the eighteenth century. Some of the townland maps illustrate the varying farm sizes and the improvements in drainage and roads.

The Kells barony lands which comprised eleven townlands were included in the survey and amounted to 2,897 acres. The total amount of land inherited by William Naper amounted to 11,553 acres altogether. Figure 3.5 illustrates an image of the index to these Naper lands in the Demifore barony from the survey. The data from the survey is important because it included the acreages which were not included in the rent rolls.

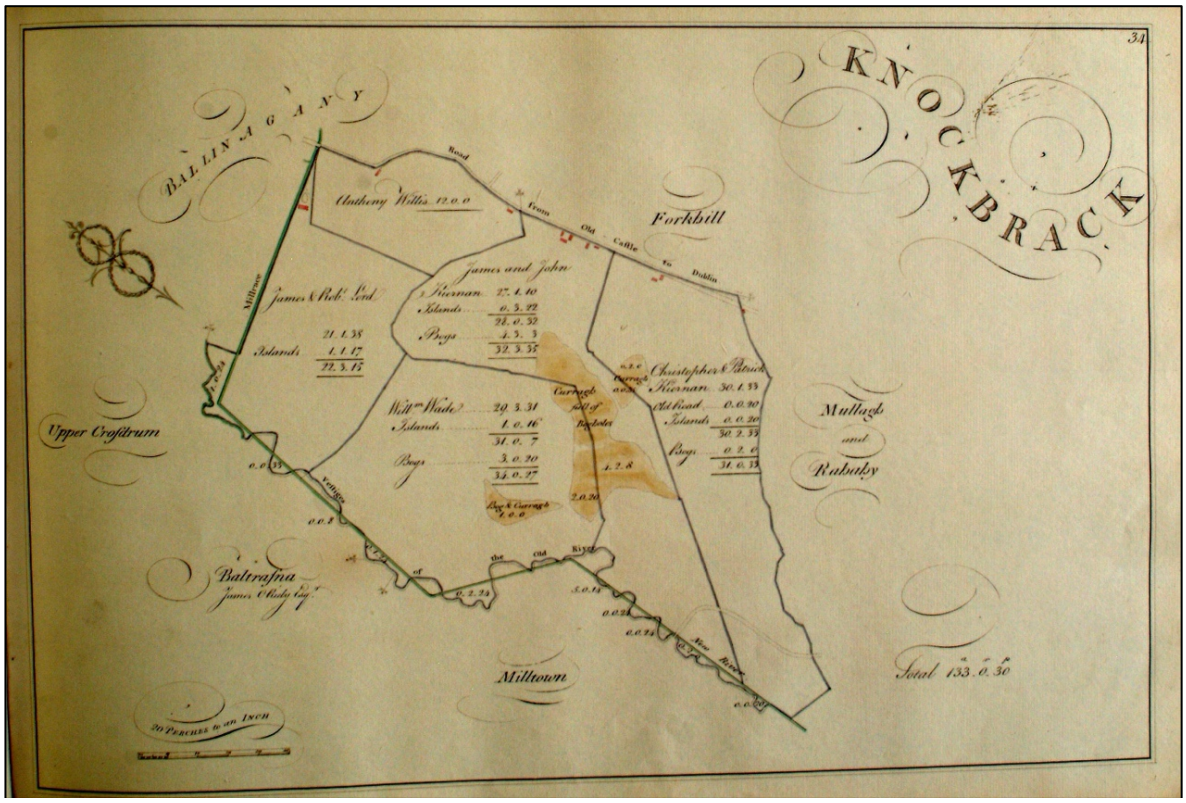
[290] NLI, MS 5773 Rental accounts and other accounts in respect of the estate of James Lenox William Naper in Co. Meath 1824-1825 henceforth cited MS 5773, Naper papers.
[291] Frances McGee, *The archives of the valuation of Ireland 1830-1865*, (Dublin, 2018), p.208.
[292] Richard Griffith, Valuation of the Several Tenements comprised in the Union of Oldcastle situated in the County of Meath (Dublin, 1854) hereafter cited as Griffith's Valuation.
[293] NLI, MS 2754, Naper papers.

Figure 3.5 Index to Demifore lands from 1778 survey



Source: MS 2754, Naper papers.

Figure 3.6 Townland of Knockbrack from 1778 survey



Source: NLI, MS 2754, Naper papers.

Some individual townland maps provide useful data on land use, infrastructure, drainage and in some cases, the tenants' names are inserted in order to specify their particular holdings. Figure 3.6 showing the map survey of the townland of Knockbrack provides a good example. The townland was divided into five sections, with eight people named altogether. Three holdings are shown with two persons of the same surname, indicating that they may be members of the same family.[294] The rent rolls for the same year of November 1778 illustrate the same names but provide the rent charge figures. The highest figure was for the holding of Christopher and Patrick Kiernan who paid £14-16s-0d a year for their 31 acres. By way of contrast, William Wade paid a yearly charge of £8-10s-0d for 34 acres and was in arrears for the November gale. A similar rent charge of £8 was paid by John and James Kiernan for 32 acres which included nearly 5 acres of bog.

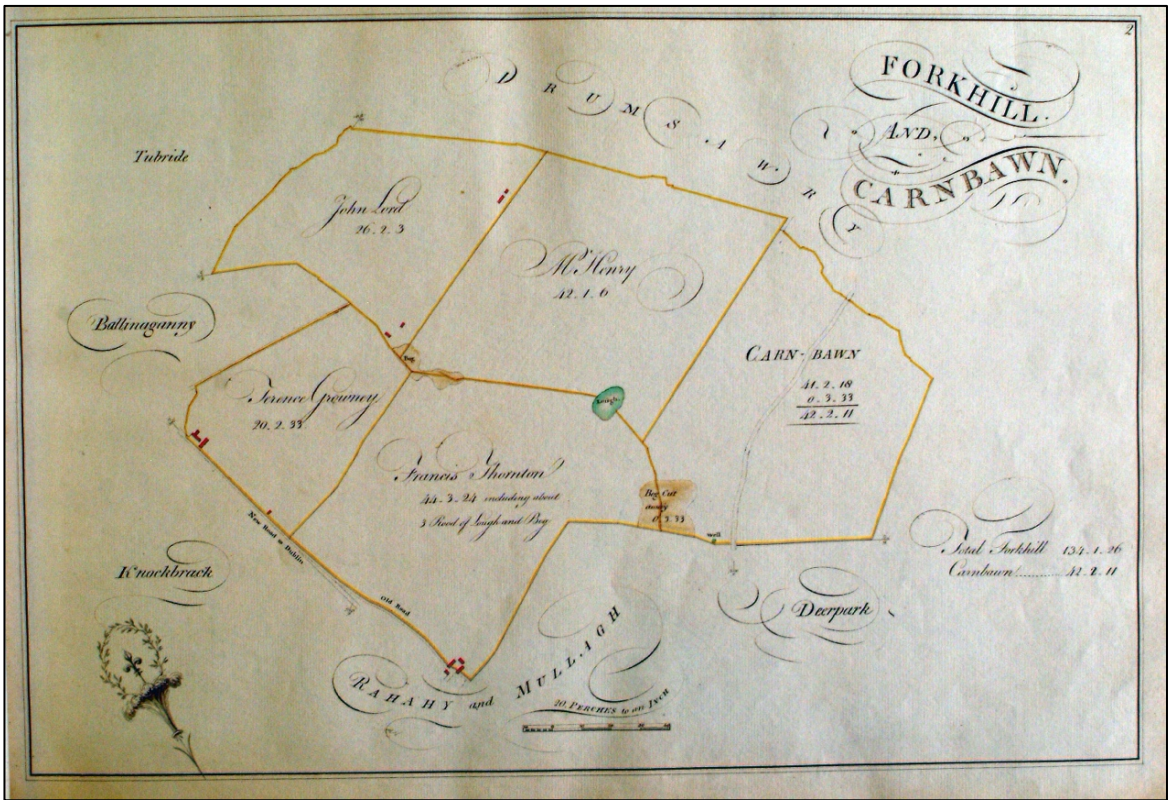
The smaller holdings of James and Robert Lord at 22 acres and Anthony Willis's at 12 acres respectively are shown at much lower rent charges of £5-2s-8d and £2-11s-4d.[295] The lower rent charges come in at 2s to 2s-6d per acre whereas the highest charge is nearly 300% above these at 9s-6d an acre. It is difficult to explain this large difference. The rent per acre charged was very low. The townland lies near to the demesne lands and the tenants may have been favoured as a result. Arthur Young provides a figure of 15 shillings average rent per acre for Fore which indicates that the Knockbrack figures are quite low.[296] The low rents may be indicative of the townland's proximity to the Loughcrew lands.

Figure 3.6 illustrates that some of the land is described as 'curragh full of bog holes.' Curragh is a form of reclaimed wet boggy ground in this context and is depicted on Figure 3.5 by brown shading. The term 'islands' also forms part of the description of the land and refers to the land shown as part of the 'vestiges of the old river.' These islands have been created as a result of the straightening of the river as highlighted on the map. The acreage of the land along the meanders of the river was calculated and is listed as 'islands' in the figures enumerated for each holding. Good drainage was important and can be seen in the clear depiction of the straightening of the river. The mill race for the mills at neighbouring Ballynaganny forms part of the townland boundary and the improvement along the river may have helped to increase the water flow capacity into the mill race.

[294] NLI, MS 2754, Naper papers.
[295] NLI, MS 3032, Naper papers.
[296] Arthur Young, *A tour in Ireland 1776-1779*, (1970), Section III, p.10, hereafter cited as Young, *A tour in Ireland,*

Another feature of the survey maps is that the surrounding townlands are named which helps to locate each townland in relation to those with which it forms borders. The names of the owners if they do not form part of the Naper lands are shown on to the maps. This is particularly useful as it ties particular occupiers to lands in 1778, for example, Figure 3.6 shows Mr. James O'Reilly, Esquire, listed as owner of Baltrasna townland. The road from Oldcastle to Dublin also forms part of the boundary and the map illustrates that it had been recently upgraded and straightened. This section of the old road is included as additional acreage to the landholding of Christopher and Patrick Kiernan. The houses highlighted in pink are all located along this main road. They number nine in total but this figure is conjectural because some of these may have been semi-detached dwellings.

Figure 3.7 Townlands of Forkhill and Carnbawn from 1778 survey



Source: NLI, MS 2754, Naper papers.

Just across the main road to Dublin from Knockbrack lies the townland of Forkhill. Figure 3.7 illustrates the 1778 survey map which shows it divided into four sections and also includes Carnbawn (a separate small townland on the slopes of the Loughcrew Hills) as untenanted. An analysis of the acreages of the named tenants on the map and the rent charges from the rent rolls illustrates that John and James Lord were also tenants here with 26 acres but were paying a higher rent per acre of 4 shillings. The three other tenants were paying more than the Lords at 6s-6d per acre for two of them and the other at 9s-6d an acre. Similarly, an assessment of the figures for the

townland of Rudagh which lies just west of Oldcastle illustrated that the rents varied for three named tenants at 3s-6d, 5s and 6s an acre.

It is a matter of conjecture as to why the rents varied so much but it may be that the tenancies changed or that when a different family member took over that the rent was increased. Young indicated that rents had fallen by 25% since 1770 which may have been a factor influencing the rent charges.[297] This survey assisted in illustrating not only the full extent of the estate but also provided an insight into land quality, substantial drainage improvements, housing and the townlands with their sub-denominations. Some townland maps detailed a number of these sub-sections with tenant names and acreages held.

3.5 The Wade estate

The Wade family were granted lands in Meath under the seventeenth century land settlements. The BSD record two Wades, Henry and John, each receiving 750 acres approximately in Demifore. The townland of Diamor, which includes Clonabraney, amounting to 693 plantation acres is listed under John Wade in the Books of Survey and Distribution. The family established their base in Clonabraney where a small settlement already existed according to the Civil Survey. The other lands in the barony listed as granted to Henry Wade are located near the townland of Diamor. Burke records that Henry Wade was granted 1,490 acres in county Meath by patent in 1684. He was appointed High Sheriff of Meath in 1669, prior to the patent of lands mentioned.[298] Under the Williamite settlement forfeiture sales from 1700, John Wade is named as the purchaser of 2,326 acres in county Meath which included the townlands of Diamor and Gibbonstown in Demifore barony.[299] Other lands purchased in Meath are named in a memorial from 1714 and include the townlands of Kilcooley, barony of Navan, Clonestown, barony of Skreen and Great Finlastown (Finlaghtown), barony of Deece.[300] The townland of Silloge, barony of Morgallion is included in the will of John Wade and formed part of the lands for auction in the Trustees Survey[301] [302]

[297] Young, *A tour in Ireland*, p.55.
[298] Burke, *Landed gentry*, p.730
[299] Arnold Horner and Rolf Loeber, Landscape in transition: descriptions of forfeited properties in counties Meath, Louth and Cavan in 1700, in *Analecta Hibernica,* no. 42,(Dublin, 2014), p.68, hereafter cited as Horner and Loeber, Landscape in transition,
[300] RD, 12/297/5136
[301] RD, 90/513/65974.
[302] Horner and Loeber, Landscape in transition, p.92.

Table 3.11 below illustrates the Wade lands according to the Books of Survey and Distribution[303] and compares that data with the lands enumerated in the will of John Wade drawn up in 1730.[304] The same lands which formed those listed in the BSD are included in the 1730 will and also the lands in the neighbouring Kells barony. Peringstown would seem to be another name for Piercetown which later in the century became Belview. Clonabraney was not listed as a separate townland in the books of Survey and Distribution but was included in Diamor.[305] It was listed as a distinct parish in the Civil Survey with two townlands – Clonabraney and Philipstown.[306] I have been unable to find Drumanalister shown as a separate townland but it is listed with Diamor and Dogstown in some memorials. It would appear that the townland of Silloge in the barony of Morgallion was retained from the Trustee purchases. It lies some few miles north of Navan.

Table 3.11 Wade Lands in Demifore, Kells and Morgallion baronies

Survey & Distribution	John Wade (will, 1730)
Diamor	Diamor
Gibbonstown	Gibbonstown
Galleastown	Galleastown
Hamlinstown	Hamlinstown
Herbertstown	Herbertstown
Martinstown	Martinstown
Piercetown	Clonabraney
Philipstown	Seraghstown (part)
Seraghstown (part)	Ardglasson (Kells)
	Crevagh (Kells)
	Crossakiel (Kells)
	Dogstown (Kells)
	Peringstown
	Smithstown (Kells)
	Drumanalister??
	Silloge (Morgallion)

Source: Compiled by author from BSD & will of John Wade, RD, 90/513/65794.

The Wade family presumably initially resided in the Plunkett castle at Clonabraney described as 'ruinate' in the Civil Survey, replacing it with Clonabraney House in the early decades of the eighteenth century.[307] Members of the Wade family were appointed to the position of High Sheriff

[303] NLI, MS 974, BSD.
[303] RD, 90/513/65974.
[304] RD, 90/513/65794
[305] NLI, MS 974, BSD.
[306] Simington, *The Civil Survey*.
[307] Simington, The Civil Survey,

of Meath. The first was Henry in 1669,[308] Clotworthy in 1737, John in 1748 and Robert in 1772.[309] These appointments indicate that the Wade family was politically active in the eighteenth century.

The townlands recorded in the BSD are enumerated in the 1730 will of John Wade.[310] Some townlands in the neighbouring barony of Upper Kells are also included. Crossakeel, the village and market centre for this eastern area of the barony is one of those. It is located about two miles east of the Wade estate mansion house in Clonabraney. The townland index of the Registry of Deeds demonstrates that the Wades continued to hold these same lands up to the early twentieth century. Two of the heirs of the said John assumed the name Wade on inheriting the lands: his nephew, Clotworthy Shields in 1735 and Clotworthy's cousin John Daniel who succeeded him in 1739. The desire to keep the family name associated with certain lands is significant and these name changes provide good examples of this practice.

A memorial from 1739 records the marriage of the aforementioned John Daniel of Dublin and Esther Shields (his cousin, daughter of Robert Shields)[311] of Wryanstown where it recites the will of John Wade from whom John Daniel had inherited the Wade estate. The marriage portion amounted to £2,000 and the jointure settlement recited the terms laid out in John Wade's will of 1730.[312] Similarly, John Daniel's sister, Elizabeth is recorded in a memorial of the marriage settlement when she married Michael Dalley of Dublin in 1744. John Wade's will was also cited in the settlement.[313] The Dalley family connection continued later in the century, illustrated by a memorial from 1770 recording Robert Wade in a deed of lease and release to Michael Dalley of Dublin of Wade lands.[314] In 1771, Robert Wade of Clonabraney's intended marriage to Frances Leigh of Drogheda is recorded in a memorial which lists the same Wade lands as part of her jointure settlement. The amount of her dowry is not given but may have been substantial considering the lands listed.[315]

3.5.1 Development of Crossakeel village

The first indication of the Wade family's desire to promote Crossakeel as a centre for the community living on their lands is illustrated in their allocation of a site for a church in the village

[308] Burke, *Landed gentry* p.730.
[309] Ibid p.730.
[310] RD, 90/513/65974
[311] Burke, *Landed gentry,* p.730.
[312] RD, 97/288/68363
[313] RD, 118/238/80614
[314] RD, 284/286/184159
[315] RD, 286/380/188426

to the diocese of Meath. In 1720 a two-acre section of Wade lands was signed over to the bishop of Meath forever. The memorial recorded, firstly, a lease and release of John Wade to John Battersby. The purpose of the transaction was stated as promoting the building of a church and enclosing churchyard and for providing a place for a parsonage house for the parish of Kilskyre. The location was given as bounding the northern side of John Wade's Park wall and to the south of the house then in the possession of John Bennett. The bishop paid a fine of £0-10-0 for the transaction.[316] The importance of providing a place of worship for the community and a parsonage for the minister is highlighted here. The church was built in the village of Crossakeel and is now in ruins. Crossakeel village forms part of the parish of Kilskyre.

John Wade was granted a patent by King George II to hold fairs in Crossakeel in 1753.[317] This indicates another step taken by the Wade family in the development of the village. Fairs brought large numbers to their locations and provided an impetus to the local economy. Harris in his article, points out that Crossakeel was one of the most elevated centres to hold a fair in Meath and quotes the poet Feardorcha O Faircheallaigh's description (in translation) 'On a lively day I was celebrating at the fair on the beautiful heights of Crossakiel on the side of a high hill.'[318] It may be presumed that the patent was for three annual fairs, held in May, August and December which are mentioned in Lewis.[319]

Figure 3.8 of the 1837 historic map illustrates that the village continued to develop in the following decades. A fair green is shown, located on the northern edge of the village, as well as a school-house, a police barracks and a post-office all pointing to a centre catering for the needs of its people. The school depicted was an Erasmus Smith foundation. It was founded in 1811 and continued until 1849.[320] The land for this free school was gifted by William Blayney Wade who also contributed to the building of the school.[321] Lewis also mentions the Erasmus Smith school and that Crossakeel was a post town.[322]

[316] RD, 38/339/24490.
[317] Tom Harris, 'Fairs and markets in the environment of County Meath' in *Riocht na Midhe*, IX, vol.4 (1998), p.152.
[318] Ibid, p.156
[319] Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, (1837), pp.436-437 hereafter cited as Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*.
[320] Erasmus Smith Archive, List of schools, Accessed on 05/04/21
[321] *A history of the parish of Kilskyre and Ballinlough*, (2004), p.110.
[322] Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, pp.436-437

The post office, police barracks and church all form part of a group located together at one end of the village. The Griffith Valuation also lists a dispensary, valued at £2 10s 0d with Mortimer Davage listed as the doctor.[323] The cost of running this dispensary was listed in the Grand Jury records for 1830-1833 amounting to approximately £36 yearly with an equal sum paid by subscription.[324] The valuation records list the free school building valued at £3 while the police barracks which included a sessions room was valued at £7 10s 0d. The fair green comprising over seven acres was valued at £10.[325] In the absence of estate papers for the Wade family, the records of the Ordnance Survey and Griffith Valuation assisted in providing a picture of how Crossakeel had developed by the 1830s.

Figure 3.8 First Edition OS map of Crossakeel, 1837

Source: Local Studies Section, Meath County Library

3.5.2 Tenurial arrangements

The leasing practices of the Wade family detailed in this section have been gleaned entirely from the memorials in the Registry of Deeds (there are no extant estate papers available for the Wade estate). The leasing policy was in many ways similar to that of the other landowners in the barony,

[323] Griffith's Valuation.
[324] NAI, OP/MA 692 Grand Jury Presentments for charitable institutions.
[325] Griffith's Valuation.

for example, the emergence of the Battersby family as principal leaseholders is notable and the fact that most leases were for 21 or 31 years and/or three lives. The earliest memorial concerning John Wade is recorded in a lease and release deed from 1708 of the Naper lands for one year to John Wade of Clonabraney and John Keating of Adamstown.[326]The Napers were neighbours and their lands lay adjacent to the Wade lands.

In 1718 John Wade granted a lease for lives renewable of one of the townlands named in a mortgage release of 1714. The townland of Kilcooly (248 acres) in the barony of Navan was leased for a 'consideration' to Francis Hopkins of Gibbstown at £100 rent per year and £25 to insert a life.[327] This memorial refers to lands owned by the Wades in other parts of Meath and is used here to illustrate differing leasing practices. In 1725 John Wade of Clonabraney leased to William Battersby also of Clonabraney a total of 136 acres at a rent of £92-13s-0d a year for lives renewable amounting to just over thirteen shillings per acre. A charge of £7-10s-0d was to be charged for renewing a life which was a much lower figure than the previous lease mentioned above. This may have been because the Battersby family were trusted tenants residing on the estate. Particular named fields and sections were recorded and their acreages enumerated in the memorial. Duties were also included in this deed which amounted to a charge on each house at Christmas of two hens or six pence in lieu.[328] The duties illustrate the continuance of medieval practices on parts of the estate. This subdivision of larger townlands is a noticeable feature of the leasing policy on the Wade estate and can be seen in later documents. These leased sub-divisions of the larger Wade townlands may be an indication of the ability to micro-manage the lands by a resident landlord and illustrate the ways in which estates of varying sizes were managed and administered in one barony.

The townland of Herbertstown appears to have been leased by the Wades to the Smyth family over a considerable time period. The townland index database (created by the author) indicates that nine memorials were registered by the family from about 1740 to the end of the eighteenth century, five of which were Smyth to Smyth and concerned members of the family. An example from 1745 illustrates that Alice Smyth of Mount Panther, county Down, heir of Brent Smyth (Dublin) set to Thomas Smyth of Drumcree, county Westmeath, the townland of Herbertstown amounting to 248 acres.[329] The continuity of the leasing practice of this townland by the Wade family may indicate that it was an aspect of management procedure to retain particular families as tenants in

[326] RD, 1/187/114.
[327] RD, 23/433/13950.
[328] RD, 46/221/28400.
[329] RD,118/535/81704.

order to ease administration costs. The addresses given in the memorial indicate that the Smyths were not residents of Demifore. The Smyth family of Drumcree were a branch of the Smyth family of Barbavilla, Collinstown, prominent landowners in county Westmeath.[330]

A memorial from 1751 illustrates the relationship of the Wade family with their Dublin relatives, the Daniels. John Wade of Clonabraney had changed his name from Daniel to Wade on inheriting the estate. A lease from John Wade of Clonabraney to Michael Daniel of Dublin of part of the lands of Diamor adjoining the road leading to Loughcrew and the Thomastown part of Diamor then in his possession. Also included was 102 acres of Clonabraney then in the possession of William Battersby for the lives of Michael Daniel, Wade Shields of Furze, county Meath and Thomas Jones of Coolester, county Meath for 21 years at a yearly rent of £60-4s 0d.[331] This memorial was not registered until 1765 along with another lease between the same two parties.

The second lease concerned named sections of Clonabraney called Cloghlea and Clonequin, lately in the possession of Owen and Christopher Smith which adjoined the road from Kells to Clonabraney. Also, Richard Ball's holding and Mr. Wheeler's holding of Coolmore and the mill race and Molloy's holding were listed. A figure of 46 acres was given but it was not evident to which area of land it was referring. The lives were named as Michael Daniel, Margaret Woodward of Rathdrum, county Wicklow and William Daniel, son of William Daniel of Dublin (merchant) and demonstrates the continued use of family members.[332] The rent was enumerated at £25-2s-0d per annum.

These particular named sections have not appeared (so far) in other memorials but Diamor is sometimes listed in the townland index with a mill. Mr. Wheeler, mentioned in the above document may be the person named as Edward Wheeler of Clontinyfilip, county Meath who in 1762 for a 'consideration' transferred to John Battersby his interest in Clontinyfilip which had been demised to him in a lease by John Wade.[333] The marriage settlement of John Battersby and Elizabeth Shiel from 1762 sheds some light on the location of Clontinyfilip. It lists its boundaries as Philipstown, Dogstown and Geighanstown illustrating that it was in the barony and then in the possession of William Wheeler.[334]

[330] NLI, Collection List No, 120, Papers of the family of Smythe of Barbavilla, Compiled by A. P.W. Malcomson, pp. 9-10.
[331] RD, 235/333/154146.
[332] RD, 235/332/154145.
[333] RD, 219/523/144561.
[334] RD, 220/458/145605.

A tripartite lease and release from 1770 recorded that Robert Wade of Clonabraney leased the townlands of his estate in Demifore and Kells baronies and the townland of Danestown in county Dublin to Michael Dalley, freehold for his life. Richard Wilson of Dublin was also named in the memorial.[335] John Wade's sister was married to Michael Dalley of Dublin in 1744 and the relationship between the families can be noted.

In 1771 John Wade of Clonabraney leased for three lives renewable a section of Clonabraney amounting to 136 acres to Robert Battersby of Bobsville for a yearly rent of £92-13s-0d (the same rent as that charged in 1725). Included in the same memorial was a lease limited to three lives only of parts of Diamor amounting to 257 acres for £120 and another farm in Clonabraney of 28 acres and a part of Hamlinstown amounting to 31 acres for a yearly sum of £39-11s-0d.[336] The lands recorded in this memorial amounted to a considerable 453 acres indicating the importance of the Battersby family as principal leaseholders of the Wades.

Two memorials from 1777 further demonstrate the Battersby interest in Wade lands. The first concerns a section of the lands of Diamor called Churchpark containing 31 acres let for three lives renewable by Robert Wade of Clonabraney to Robert Battersby of Bobsville at a peppercorn rent.[337] The second, enumerates a section of Clonabraney called the Minister's Park containing 21 acres on the same terms as those listed in the previous memorial and concerning the same individuals.[338] The memorials were registered together and witnessed by the Reverend Michael Daniel of Kilskeer (Kilskyre) and David Winslow of Herbertstown. These lands are located in the parish of Kilskyre and it would appear that these lands were considered to be normally in the possession of the incumbent of the parish.

3.5.3 Financial uses of land

A mortgage of £3,000 at an interest of 7% was granted to John Wade in 1714 by James Naper. Five townlands were released by Wade as security for the mortgage amounting to a total acreage of 1,502 acres and included Diamor at 700 acres.[339] The interest rate of 7% was higher than other mortgages provided by Naper mentioned earlier in the chapter. This interest rate may indicate that Wade may not have a good credit rating at the time.

[335] RD, 284/286/184159.
[336] RD, 286/375/188389.
[337] RD, 322/202/215473.
[338] RD, 322/202/215474.
[339] RD, 12/297/5136.

The assignment of leases was utilised by lessees as a means of raising capital sums of money. In 1724, an assignment of a 1707 lease by John Wade to Thomas Tuite of Drumsawry of 136 acres known as Ballynamona in the townland of Galleastown was made by his legatee, Charles Tuite to Edward Leet of Loughcrew and Clement Leet of Ballynamona for a consideration of £120.[340] The rent was set at 6 shillings an acre for the first six years and 7 shillings an acre for the remainder of the 31-year lease. This lease illustrates that rising rents were part of the tenurial arrangements on some leases in the early eighteenth century and formed management policy on the estate. In 1742 Ballynamona was in the hands of Blaney Winslow of Callowhalleny, county Fermanagh. Winslow set these lands now enumerated as amounting to 145 acres to William Jones of Newtown, most likely agent of the Naper estate lands. The rent was set at £58 and included the life of Clotworthy Shields (who was the Wade owner at the time).[341] The same Clotworthy Shields had married Dorothy Winslow but died from a fall from a horse in 1745.[342] (Presumably the Winslow is a relative of Dorothy)

A group of five memorials registered together in 1751 concern the interest of Thomas Reilly of Park, county Meath in some of the Wade lands. The transactions indicate that Thomas Reilly had become a principal leaseholder of some of the Wade lands by the mid-eighteenth century. Five years earlier in 1746 (but registered in 1750) it was recorded that Blayney Winslow had assigned his interest in the demised lands of Diamor to Thomas Reilly for a 'consideration'. Three lives, including Winslow and Reilly and Reilly's son Luke were named in the memorial.[343]

Three of the five memorials were leases by John Wade of Clonabraney to Thomas Reilly of Park. The first concerned the lands of Diamor described as being in Reilly's possession, amounting to 136 acres 3 roods 34 perches for a term of 21 years and three lives at a yearly rent of £79-16-0.[344] The second referred to the lands of Galleastown containing 126 acres 3 roods 26 perches for a similar term of 21 years and three lives at a yearly rent of £60.[345] The third memorial recorded part of the lands of Hamlinstown adjoining Dyamor, and other now obsolete placenames such as Kilbarry, the Furze land and Tonlegee containing 103 acres which had been surveyed by Thomas Dixon. Again,

[340] RD, 54/117/35095.
[341] RD, 118/428/81379.
[342] Burke, *Landed gentry*, p.730
[343] RD, 143/96/95765.
[344] RD, 149/232/98585.
[345] RD, 149/234/99587.

the term was for 21 years and three lives at a yearly rent of £40.[346] The 21-year term for leases was also evident on the Naper lands in the earlier part of the eighteenth century.

The other two memorials indicate that Thomas Reilly was leasing his interest in some of the lands to members of the Carney family. The first one referred to the lands of Galleastown adjoining Williamstown and Thomastown (as above) and also included a further 126 acres in the possession of Conor Gibney. Thomas Reilly leased to Edmund, Neal and Patrick Carney described as farmers the lands for a term of 27 years at a yearly rent of £76-10s-0d pounds sterling.[347] The rental charge is higher than that listed in the original lease and the term of 27 years is unusual and may be the term remaining on the original lease. The second document recorded that Reilly leased to John, Edmund and Neal Carney the lands of Hamlinstown (as above) and also included that part of Hamlinstown then held by William Battersby containing 103 acres for 16 years at a rent of £394-0s-6d sterling.[348]

3.5.4 Principal leaseholders

The Battersby family were principal leaseholders of the Wade family. The lineage of the family may be traced in Burke's Peerage to William Battersby of Smithstown who had three sons, William, Robert of Bobsville and John of Lakefield who was born in 1722.[349] The year of John's birth provides an indication of the longevity of the family's residency in the area. Memorials from the Registry of deeds indicate their interest in the Wade lands prior to 1750. A memorial from 1725 recorded a lease for three lives renewable of specified lands in Clonabraney containing a total of 136 acres at a rent of £92-13s-0d.[350] Some of the Wade landholdings in Smithstown and Crossakeel (part) in the neighbouring barony of Upper Kells were leased to the Battersbys in 1726 and are noted in a memorial from 1737 concerning the reassignment of a lease for lives renewable.[351] The lineage of the Battersby family in Burke which referred to William Battersby of Smithstown would seem to corroborate this data.[352] A number of memorials of the Wade lands listed in the townland index indicate their prolonged association with this area of the barony where the Battersbys were leasing the lands and built their residences.

[346] RD, 149/236/99588.
[347] RD, 149/232/99584.
[348] RD, 149/233/99586
[349] Burke, *Landed gentry,* p.33.
[350] RD, 46/221/28400.
[351] RD, 136/101/90688.
[352] Burke, *Landed Gentry,* p.33.

A memorial from 1759 recording the will of William Battersby, now of Clonabraney, provides data on his landholdings. He specifies in his will the leases of certain sections of lands held for lives renewable with rents to be paid by the legatees, namely, his interest in lands in the townlands of Clonabraney, Smithstown, Dogstown (Wade), Thomastown and Philipstown (Morgan).[353] This will illustrates the importance of these leases as a source of wealth which could be passed on within the family.

The marriage of Robert Battersby, his son, to Marianne Wade daughter of Haynes Wade of Lislin, county Cavan in 1763 may have strengthened the ties between the families. The memorial recording the marriage settlement lists lands with acreages of some Wade lands held for lives renewable.[354] Bobsville, a substantial three bay house is thought to have been built by Robert after his marriage. It is located on Wade family lands not too far from Clonabraney House, the seat of the Wade family.[355] Haynes Wade, Marianne's father, is recorded as the lessee of some of the Wade lands in the barony.

John Battersby of Clonabraney's marriage to Elizabeth Shiel of Dublin is recorded in a memorial from 1762. The settlement recited a number of Battersby leases, in particular, those taken out with the Morgan and Naper families whose lands were contiguous to the Wade lands. The acreages, rents and the starting date of the leases were enumerated.[356] The data in the will indicates the underlying importance of their landed interests. An assignment from 1766 recited a number of leases concerning various Naper lands released to Robert Battersby of Clonabraney and John Battersby of Philipstown by John Hawkins of Loughcrew for a consideration of £1,050 pounds. The recited leases dated from 1743, 1755 and 1763.[357]

A memorial from 1771 lists 136 acres at a rent of £92-13s-0d for three lives renewable leased by Robert Wade of Clonabraney to Robert Battersby of Bobsville which is similar to the memorial from 1725 nearly fifty years earlier. Other lands in Clonabraney and Hamlinstown were also included in this document.[358] This would seem to indicate that the Battersby were favoured tenants of the Wades because the rent had remained at the same figure.

---

[353] RD, 229/19/148831.
[354] RD, 244/323/157814
[355] Kevin V. Mulligan, *Buildings of Meath: a selection of protected structures*, (Kells, 2001)), p.38 hereafter cited as Mulligan, *Buildings of Meath.*
[356] RD, 220/458/145605.
[357] RD, 244/447/158760.
[358] RD, 286/375/188389.

The Battersby family also leased lands from other neighbouring landlowners, notably, the Napers and the Morgans. A 1734 memorial records the lease of the townland of Pigotstown to William Battersby by James Naper, containing 130 plantation acres. This lease is also mentioned in William Battersby's will.[359] A memorial from 1756 records a lease of part of the lands of Drumone to John Battersby by James Lenox Dutton Naper.[360]

The first memorial dating to the nineteenth century, recorded in May 1800 revealed that Robert Wade of Clonabraney leased to William Battersby of Bobsville particular named sections of the townland of Diamor – the Parks, Deansfield, Christy's field, and the Furze Park for a lease of lives for a yearly rent of £91.[361] Once again, the rent value is similar to that given in the 1771 memorial. A further memorial recorded on the same day involving the same parties listed a section of land commonly known as the "Twelve Acres" which actually contained fifteen acres at a yearly rent of just one shilling.[362] In 1807 four consecutively numbered memorials, three of which concerned the same lands were registered. It would seem that William Battersby leased to Henry Woodward of Drumbarragh for a year, the "Twelve Acres" which he was leasing from Robert Wade.[363] This triggered an assignment of the same "Twelve Acres" between Henry Woodward and Robert Wade which recited William Battersby's lease where Woodward assigned it to Wade for a sum of £50 pounds.[364] The lands mentioned in the first memorial above are recorded again here in but now at an increased rent of £136-17s-6d as the lands had been surveyed and totalled 78 acres.[365] The fourth memorial recorded other lands amounting to 27 acres in Diamor leased by Robert and William Wade to Robert Battersby at a yearly rent of £40.[366]

In 1814 John Battersby of Lakefield leased a part of Herbertstown from Robert Wade with an address in Georges street, Dublin, lately in the possession of Daniel Winslow containing 185 acres and 14 perches for named lives.[367] In 1818 an assignment by Robert Battersby to James Lenox William Naper of different lands, namely, 67 acres of Bellaney which had been leased to Battersby in 1796 by John Wade, 20 acres of Geighanstown from a lease of 1805, part of Martinstown called

[359] RD, 77/356/53698.
[360] RD, 219/557/144687.
[361] RD, 528/20/346494.
[362] RD, 528/21/345496.
[363] RD, 595/317/406531.
[364] RD, 595/318/406530.
[365] RD, 595/318/406532.
[366] RD, 595/319/406533.
[367] RD, 668/472/466027.

Legnarows containing 105 acres, one rood and eight perches at a rent of £128-3s-11d and that Daniel Winslow of Dresteman, county Fermanagh had a lease and release of 82 acres of Geighanstown from April, 1818. All the above lands were assigned and released to Naper for a sum of £1608-5s 0d.[368]

A number of memorials were registered in the 1830s concerning the Battersby holdings. A memorial from 1831 reveals that Lieutenant Colonel William Battersby surrendered a lease of fourteen acres of Clonabraney where he was a tenant for life and was then provided with a lease of eighteen acres and two roods of Diamor, then in his occupation, for lives renewable forever. The lands had to remain vested in the trustees Carden and Butler.[369] A memorial from 1833 provides data on the interworking relationships of the Battersby family. This memorial from 1833, recorded that an annuity rent charge of £50 pounds would be payable to Thomas John Battersby, fourth son of William Battersby of Bobsville out of the lands of Diamor which had been assigned by Robert and William Blayney Wade to William Battersby in 1808 for a lease of lives renewable forever. [370] A later memorial dating from 1836 illustrates the continuing fiscal dealings within the Battersby family whereby the Reverend Robert Battersby of Killeagh assigned to George Battersby of Leeson street, Dublin an 1831 rent charge of £20 granted to him by William Battersby on 78 acres of Diamor for a sum of £200 subject to a proviso of redemption of the £200 at 6% per annum.[371]

Two years later, the same Battersby family members are recorded in a memorial whereby George Battersby, described as a barrister-at-law granted to the Reverend Robert Battersby the aforementioned 78 acres plus 136 acres in Clonabraney and another 27 acres for a sum of £600 subject to a proviso of redemption. It was mentioned that these lands were enumerated in the will of Robert's father.[372] Another memorial from 1838 concerns another member of the family, Richard Long Battersby, Captain in the 15th Regiment of Foot who assigned his interest in the lands mentioned above bequeathed to him by his father William to the Reverend Robert Battersby for a sum of £140.[373] These memorials reveal details of the financial transactions within the Battersby family and their use of their landed interests as security to obtain loans

[368] RD, 733/363/500099.
[369] RD, 873/23/580023.
[370] RD, 1833, 19/160.
[371] RD, 1836, 12/113.
[372] RD, 1838. 13/49.
[373] RD, 1838, 19/224.

By the 1850s, the leased lands in Battersby hands amounted to - Robert of Lakefield with just over 886 statute acres, Thomas of Newcastle with just over 592 statute acres, Reverend Robert Battersby of Killeagh Glebe with just over 605 statute acres, John Battersby with 169 statute acres while George Battersby was leasing just over 258 statute acres.[374] The combined total of Battersby lands amounts to 2,510 statute acres, equivalent to 1,521 plantation acres.

3.6 The Tuite estate

The association of the Tuite family with the barony goes back to the Norman period. Richard Tuite was granted an area extending from Granard, county Longford to Oldcastle by Hugh de Lacy.[375] Theobald Tuite is recorded in the BSD as the owner of Baltrasna, granted to Walter Burgh in the Cromwellian settlement. More pertinent to this research is that Philip Tuite is recorded in the BSD as the recipient of the townland of Newcastle formerly in the possession of Lord Dunsany.

3.6.1 Financial uses of land

For the period covered by this research, the Tuite family are documented as the proprietors of both Newcastle and Fennor. A redemption of a mortgage recorded in a memorial from 1708 between James Naper of Loughcrew and James Tuite of Fennor revealed that Tuite was the owner of these townlands.[376] The acreages detailed correspond to those listed in the BSD. The mortgage was provided to Walter Tuite in 1700, presumably James's father. A later mortgage was recorded in 1758 between members of the Tuite and Naper families whereby James Lenox Dutton/Naper provided £4,500 to Philip Tuite, Cornet Horse in Dejean's regiment subject to redemption using the Newcastle and Fennor lands as security.[377] The mortgage was subsequently redeemed in 1767 by Philip Tuite, then a captain in General Dejean's regiment.[378] In 1726 a lease and release of three Naper townlands in the barony of Kells and some county Cavan townlands by James Tuite to Francis Roe and Francis Aldrich for a consideration was recorded.[379] This transaction illustrates that Tuite had other landed interests which he also used for financial purposes.

[374] Griffith's Valuation.
[375] P. O'Connell, 'The Parish and District of Kilbride' in *Riocht na Midhe*, ii (1962), pp 40-59.
[376] RD, 2/171/360.
[377] RD, 191/497/129019.
[378] RD, 259/246/166476.
[379] RD, 50/488/33940.

3.6.2 Management of the estate

A Deed Poll from 1746 recorded the surrender of a 1732 lease recited in this document between Philip Tuite and Dennis Reilly of Fennor of sections of Fennor which James Tuite usually kept in his own hands.[380] An increase from £14 to £17 after three years of the 21-year lease was indicated. The following year, 1747, a lease was recorded of the same lands outlined in the deed poll between the same parties. The time period had increased to 31 years and the same practice of increasing the rent after some years was utilised, in this case, the first six years at £18 and a large rise to £33 for the remainder of the lease.[381]

These leases indicate that the practice of increasing rents over time was sometimes utilised in the management of the lands. A later indenture from 1749 documented a lease between Philip Tuite of Newcastle and Philip Gilsenan of Knocklough of a surveyed section of Newcastle containing 62 acres for a yearly rent of £342 for 31 years.[382] The Gilsenan family were leaseholders of the Morgan family of Knocklough in the 1720s.[383] The longer leasing period employed as the century progressed was also noted in the management of other estates in the barony.

Some of the memorials revealed the relationships within the Tuite family. In 1757, Philip Tuite the Elder, for a consideration released the lands of Newcastle and Fennor to Philip Tuite the Younger, his only son and heir, except his demesne containing 100 acres. A covenant requiring a quarterly payment of an annuity to him of £40 was included. The names of his five daughters were listed as the third parties to the agreement.[384] Philip Tuite the Younger is recorded as having married twice. In 1759 he married Henrietta Humphrey, a widow and secondly married Martha Ryan in 1768. [385] No details of either marriage portion were included in the settlements. In both memorials James Reilly of Baltrasna who himself was married to Catherine Tuite of Newcastle is listed as a trustee.[386]

Philip Tuite Dalton was the son of Edward Dalton and Frances Tuite, the youngest sister of Philip the Younger. He was born in 1781 and was married to Elizabeth Achmuty.[387] In 1818, a memorial detailed that the sale of Newcastle and a small portion of Fennor by Philip Tuite Dalton to James Lenox William Naper had already taken place. It was indicated that the total price was £26,000 and

[380] RD, 135/18/90251.
[381] RD, 132/523/90250.
[382] RD, 198/366/132749.
[383] RD, 40/508/27097.
[384] RD, 184/586/124638.
[385] RD, 198/366/132749 and 259/429/172396.
[386] Burke, *Landed gentry,* p.540.
[387] See daltonhistory.org/Chronicles/ Tuite-Dalton.1.htm

that £20,000 had already been paid. The document was concerned with the remaining £6,000 and how its payment might be affected by Tuite's marriage settlement and/or the death of his wife.[388] This act dealt the final blow to the Tuite's family ownership of Fennor and Newcastle. The Griffith Valuation shows Newcastle in Naper ownership but Fennor, now divided into two townlands – Fennor Lower owned by both James W.L. Naper and Augustus T. Dalton and Fennor Upper jointly owned by John Adler Cron and J.W.L. Naper who held just over a third of the acreage.[389]

Figure 3.9 reveals that by the 1830s significant change had occurred in the proprietorial landscape of Demifore while also continuity was a feature of the largest landowners, the Napers and the Wades. The Donnellan lands were the first to be sold in the latter half of the 18th century to the Forde family based both in Dublin and Johnstown, county Meath as also was part of the Morgan estate to Garnett of Williamstown, near Kells, indicating an interest in the lands by other Meath landowners. The Piers lands which had remained in a form of familial ownership throughout the period had been transferred by the 1830s into the hands of other local landed interests. The remaining Morgan lands which became Tighe through marriage had also been dispersed and sold by the 1830s to local landholders as had part of the Tuite estate to the Naper family indicating that local landholders were desirous of increasing their landholdings in the barony.

Other lands were purchased by landholders from further afield, for example, the Peppard estate had been sold in the early 19th century to the Hone family of Dublin and the Fingall Plunkett townland of Killalon had been transferred to Lord Annesley of county Down. The pattern of local and absentee landholding demonstrates that this form of proprietorial landscape had continued from the earlier period, albeit at a lower level. The most significant difference in landholding was that the estate blocks were now in some cases broken up and dispersed.

The focus of this chapter now shifts to detailing and examining the big houses in the barony and their associated demesnes. The effect of these planned areas on the landscape was significant

[388] RD, 668/297/464530.
[389] Griffith's Valuation.

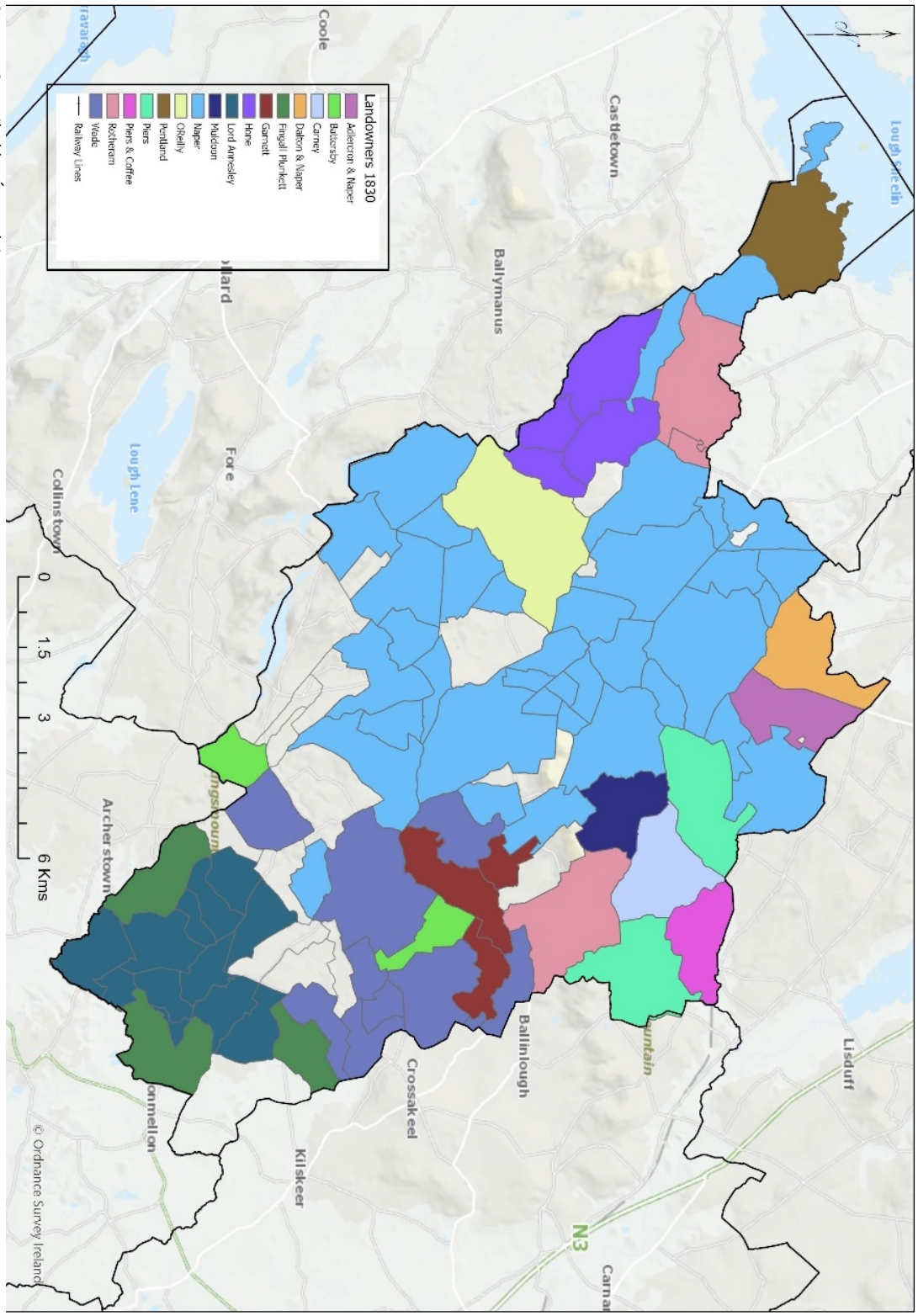


Figure 3.9 Landownership in Demifore barony circa 1830

Source: Compiled by Úna Palcic.

creating a 'parkland' effect as well as introducing small sections of woodland and forestry plantations. The planting of trees along the adjoining roadways also helped to alter the appearance of the landscape.

3.7 Demesnes and Big Houses

The barony of Demifore hosts a range of demesne landscapes and mansion houses associated with the landowning classes and the principal leaseholders of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The demesnes of Loughcrew and Clonabraney are still very evident on the landscape today whereas the Tuite demesne lands have disappeared. The big houses – the architectural centrepieces of these demesne landscapes have also experienced a range of fates, some have been reduced in size (by fire), as in Loughcrew or have been dismantled over the past century.

3.7.1 Loughcrew Demesne

A survey of the Naper estate undertaken in 1778 when William Naper inherited the Fore and Kells barony lands[390] includes a map of Loughcrew demesne which at that time extended to 423 acres (see Figure 3.10). Recording the influence of previous generations, a number of historic monuments feature prominently on the map. Carnbawn – which forms part of a large cemetery of passage graves located on the nearby Loughcrew Hills is depicted on the map while two large raths from the Iron Age and a motte and bailey from the Norman period are also shown. The former tower house of the previous owners, the Plunketts, is depicted as a church. The ruins of this building are still extant.

The demesne was laid out in the formal style associated with the period - walled gardens, canals, areas of tree planting and a deerpark. The pleasure gardens which were located close to the north west of the house were divided into four main sections by paths and included a canal as a water feature. The garden area had doubled in size as indicated by the acreage shown for the old garden. This formal layout was popular in the earlier period of the eighteenth century and was also found in a plan for the gardens of the Headfort estate in nearby Kells.[391] The remains of these seventeenth and eighteenth-century gardens have been restored and include the foundations of the 1693 longhouse. The date stone which would have been placed above the doorcase of the original house

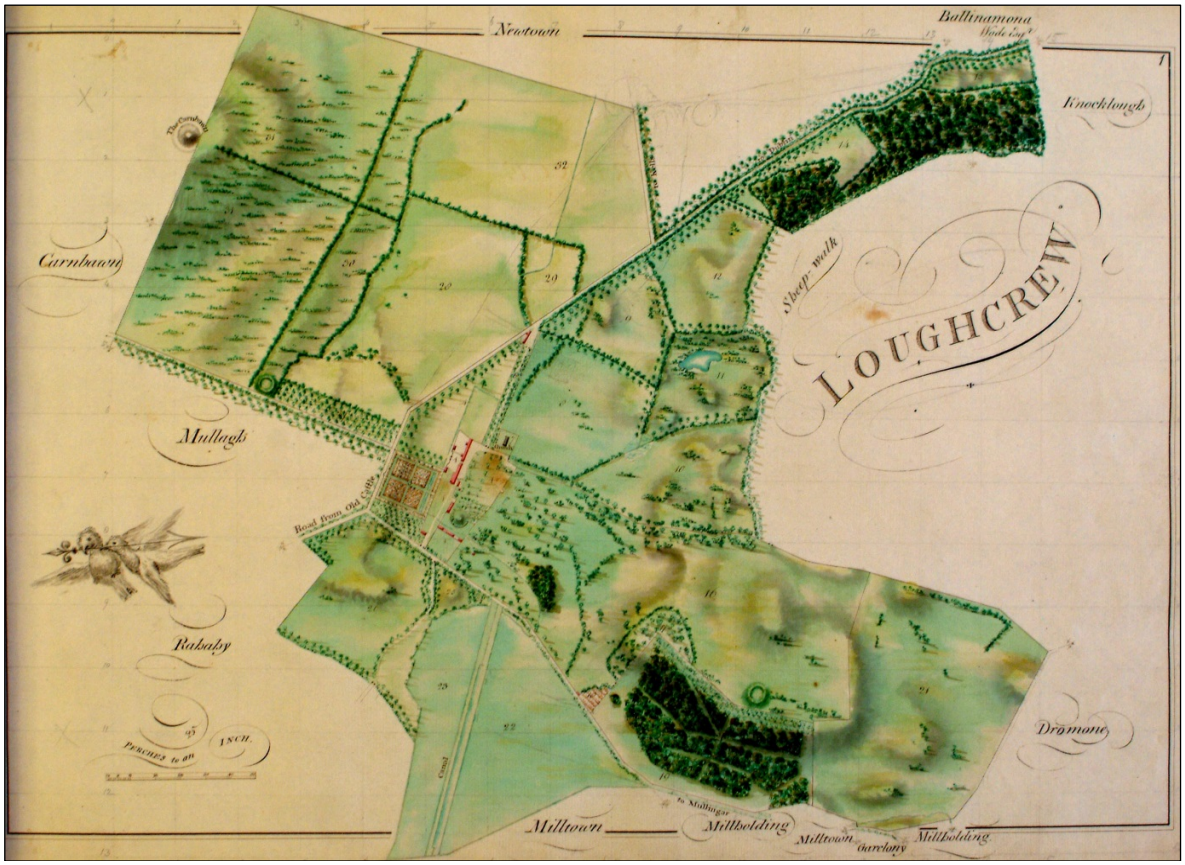
[390] NLI, MS 2754, Naper papers.

[391] Kevin V. Mulligan, Aspects of continuity and change in the eighteenth-century country house demesne in Arlene Crampsie and Francis Ludlow, (eds), in *Meath in Meath History and Society*, (2015), p.342 hereafter cited as Mulligan, Aspects of continuity and change.

provides the seventeenth century date. It was later inserted above one of the gateways into the later nineteenth century walled garden.

Beautifully illustrated in colour the survey contains a detailed index of 32 numbered sections providing an overview of the productivity of these lands. Some areas were devoted to purely agricultural use such as the Bean Park, Calf Park, Hop Garden, St. Stephen's Park and the Meadows, with the index indicating if the fields were meadow or pasture lands illustrating the importance of hay making. The growing of hops indicates that brewing was probably taking place. Beans were a crop grown for animal feed and could be used to supplement grass and hay resources. Pasture of varying quality was indicated with one area on the slopes of Carnbawn hill described as furzy pasture. There is a forge on site which shows the importance of such a facility in the eighteenth century. This data is corroborated in the rent rolls where one tenant is listed for the demesne lands in the early period but later in the eighteenth century the divisions were let separately.

Figure 3.10 Loughcrew demesne map



Source: NLI, MS 2754.

A bog area of 24 acres is also depicted through which a canal had been cut indicating that the bog meadows located beside the canal were created by its construction providing evidence of landscape

improvement. Both the old deerpark and the development of a new deerpark on the slopes of Carnbawn hill are indicated on the map. Large areas of pasture were included in the old deerpark lands, amounting to nearly 100 acres while a higher acreage was recorded for the new deerpark. Deer were an important resource, providing venison for the landlord's table.

Trees were an important asset on the demesne lands providing timber as well as improving the aesthetic beauty of the landscape. There are two large areas of forest, the Wood of Kilrush on the eastern side of the lands and the Wood of Drumone to the west which included pathways showing it may also have been used for recreational purposes. A new belt of trees listed as the grove, located beside the new deerpark indicate their possible use as a pleasure ground. The main entrance along the avenue to the longhouse was delineated with rows of trees on either side. Tree planting was in evidence along the main roads and on some of the boundaries. The forested areas and other evidence of tree planting demonstrate the importance of a ready supply of timber. The importance of trees as an asset to the estate is illustrated in the accounts from 1774 which record the employment of a woodreeve. [392]

The Ordnance Survey decision in 1836 to illustrate demesne lands by utilising stippling to distinguish them from the surrounding lands provides the historical geographer with a large body of research material[393] County Meath has over three hundred demesnes which are still recognizable on the ground today.[394] As a result of this decision, the OS six-inch map of Loughcrew from 1837 provides the next available depiction of the demesne lands, illustrated in Figure 3.11.

This map illustrates that the demesne area had been considerably enlarged with the addition of the area to the south designated as Sheepwalk in the 1778 survey and which then comprised 172 plantation acres.[395] A small section of the townland of Raghaghy was also incorporated into the demesne lands as a means of facilitating the new road. A small decrease in the eastern section of the new deerpark area depicted in Figure 3.10 is also illustrated on the other side of the road from Newtown House. It would seem that the new deer park area was abandoned in favour of the old deer park site and is illustrated on the OS map lying near to its original position on the earlier 1778 map. The enlargement of the demesne lands in the intervening fifty years was considerable and

[392] NLI, MS 3032, Naper papers.
[393] J.H. Andrews, A Paper Landscape: The Ordnance Survey in Nineteenth-Century Ireland, (Dublin, 2001, 2nd edition), p.102.
[394] Mulligan, Aspects of continuity and change p.342.
[395] NLI, MS 2754, Naper papers.

emphasises the removal of the landlord and his residence further away from the general public. This augmentation may have coincided with the construction of the new mansion house in the early 1820s. The large increase in the ornamentation of the lands with defined areas of tree planting and of specimen trees are very evident features on the map.

Figure 3.11 First edition OS map of Loughcrew demesne, 1837

Source: Local Studies Section, Meath County Library

The woods of Kilrush and Drumone retained the same footprint on the 1837 map when compared with the 1778 map. The realignment of the public road along the western perimeter of Drumone Wood resulted in the incorporation of the old road into the demesne lands. The original road shown on the earlier map ran directly alongside the old gardens. New tree planting is shown along this new road as a northern extension of Drumone Wood. There are other extensive areas of tree planting in the section shown as Sheepwalk extending down to Lough Creeve and on the southern perimeter of the demesne bordering on the road to Drumone.

By 1837 Newtown House, the land steward's residence, with its accompanying ensemble of farm buildings located to the north-east of the mansion house was encompassed within the demesne lands. Described as a three-storey five bay house and including a lower wing[396] This was the location of the Naper home farm and illustrates how the buildings within a demesne area were developed for agricultural purposes.[397] A notable belt of tree planting is shown surrounding Newtown House and on the roadway which connected it to the mansion house.

Plate 3.1 Loughcrew House

Source: NLI, Morgan Aerial Photographic Collection (1957), accessed on 12/04/21.

[396] Christine Casey and Alastair Rowan, *The Buildings of Ireland: North Leinster*, (1993), p.384 hereafter cited as Casey and Rowan, *Buildings*.
[397] Mulligan, Aspects of continuity and change, p.345.

The ‘new’ Loughcrew House was built to the design of the English architect, C.R. Cockerel in 1823 for J. L. Naper some distance from the original longhouse.[398] Described by Casey and Rowan as a large austere building with ‘a two-storey Greek Ionic portico and an Italianate pedimented centre on its side elevation.’ Both features are evident in the accompanying photograph (Plate 3.1). Three fires damaged the house, the first in 1888 and the later fires in 1959 and 1964.[399] The remains are but a shadow of the former mansion with the Ionic portico re-erected as a stark reminder of the original edifice. The gate lodge with its design mimicking that of the main house with a portico was erected opposite the impressive gateway of the main entrance in 1825, illustrated in Plate 3.2.[400] There are eight gate lodges, varying in size and architectural style, built in the period 1830-1860 listed in Dean’s gazetteer during the period when James Lenox William Naper was in residence pointing to his influence on the demesne landscape.[401]

Plate 3.2 Loughcrew gate lodge

Source: Ciaran O’Reilly (2019).

The Crossdrum, Newcastle and Lakefield houses and demesnes are included here because the Rotheram and Battersby families were intimately connected to the Naper estate as principal leaseholders. Both families were leasing lands on the estate from the early eighteenth century.

[398] Casey and Rowan, *Buildings*, p.384,
[399] Brian Casey, (ed), Malachy Hand, ‘The Loughcrew Fires’ in *Lords, Lands and Labourers: the big houses and landed estates of royal Meath.* (Dublin,2016) pp.201-203.
[400] J.A.K. Dean*, The gate lodges of Leinster: a gazetteer*, (Dublin,2016), p289.
[401] Ibid, pp. 289-291.

3.7.2 Crossdrum House and demesne

Crossdrum House was erected in the early nineteenth century by the Rotheram family.[402] A date of 1817 is ascribed in the Name Books from the 1830s which describe the house as 'neat and commodious.'[403] Members of the family acted as agents on the Naper lands and were themselves principal leaseholders on the estate. The accompanying photograph of Crossdrum House (Plate 3.3) shows the house in a ruinous condition when it was no longer used as a residence from the mid twentieth century. The plain exterior belied an elaborate interior with plaster ceilings by George Stapleton.[404] George Stapleton was a member of the very eminent stuccodore family whose finest work nay be seen in the Chapel Royal of Dublin Castle.[405] The house was valued at £60 in the valuation records.[406]

Plate 3.3 Crossdrum House

Source: Oldcastle Centenary Book.

Figure 3.12 shows a large farmyard and associated buildings adjoining Crossdrum House. Tree planting is in evidence along the avenue leading to the house and along the field boundaries. There are gardens shown near the house. In the 1830s Edward Rotheram employed upwards of forty

[402] *The Oldcastle Centenary Book: A history of Oldcastle – Commemorating St. Brigid's Church 1904-2004*, (2004), p.198 hereafter cited as *Oldcastle Centenary Book*.
[403] Name Books.
[404] *Oldcastle Centenary Book*, p.199.
[405] RIA, Dictionary of Irish Biography (contributor Ruth Devine) at http/www.dib.ie.
[406] Griffith's Valuation.

labourers on his lands, indicating intensive agriculture was the norm.[407] This number of farm employees would suggest that tillage was an important component of agriculture on this farm and throughout the barony. Two very large mills were operating in the barony – one at Millbrook and one very near these lands in Castlecor. There were nine mills depicted on the 1837 Ordnance Survey map altogether, including the two large mills already mentioned, further demonstrating the significance of tillage in Demifore.

Figure 3.12 First Edition OS map of Crossdrum House, 1837

Source: Geohive.ie. Accessed on 6/10/2020.

3.7.3 Newcastle House and demesne

Newcastle House takes its name from its location in the townland of Newcastle. Figure 3.13 illustrates that the house and demesne lands were quite extensive. The Name Books describe the house as 'pleasantly situated and the ground neatly planted.' [408] Formal gardens were laid out and included a stream which ran through the grounds as a decorative water feature. Productive use of the same stream is evident in its utilisation as a water source for a corn mill shown to the southeast of the demesne buildings. Tree planting was extensive in the areas around the mansion house and forty-five acres of the townland was covered in plantation and ornamental ground.[409]

[407] Name Books.
[408] Name Books.
[409] Name Books.
[409] Name Books.

Figure 3.13 First Edition OS map of Newcastle House and demesne, 1837

Source: Geohive,ie. Accessed on 14/10/2020.

Plate 3.4 Newcastle House

Source: Miss Marjorie Wood, formerly of Newcastle House.

The house was the residence of Thomas Battersby Esquire, J.P. who was leasing the townland on his own life from J.L.W. Naper.[410] Thomas was the grandson of John of Lakefield. His father had married a daughter of George Rotheram of Crossdrum and here we see the connections between the principal leaseholders in the barony.[411] It is a matter of conjecture regarding the date of construction of the house but it was well established when the Ordnance Survey was undertaken in the 1830s. Plate 3.4 shows a photograph from the early twentieth century which illustrates that it was a large, imposing, five bay, three storeys over basement house. The building was listed in the valuation records at £33 with the accompanying 205 statute acres valued at £200.[412]

3.7.4 Lakefield House and demesne

Lakefield house is described as having the appearance of a mid-nineteenth century house but that inside it possessed many features from the mid-eighteenth century.[413] The data from the Naper rent rolls would appear to corroborate its earlier origins.[414] Members of the Battersby family first appear on the 1768 rent roll for Picketstown (Pigotstown) but may have been there earlier because of the gap in the records between 1733 and 1768. The family continued to rent the lands from the Naper family up to the 1824 records included in this thesis.[415] The valuation records show that the family continued their occupation of the section of Pigotsown known as Lakefield and listed the house at a valuation of £18.[416]

The townland of Pigotstown is shown in the Books of Survey and Distribution as having been divided between William Petty and William Usher.[417] The section which was assigned to Petty may have come into Naper ownership through the marriage of Dorothy Petty and James Naper.[418] The acreage from the 1778 survey and the Griffith valuation for Pigotstown /Lakefield are similar when converted which demonstrates that Lakefield would appear to be the Naper section of Pigotstown.[419]

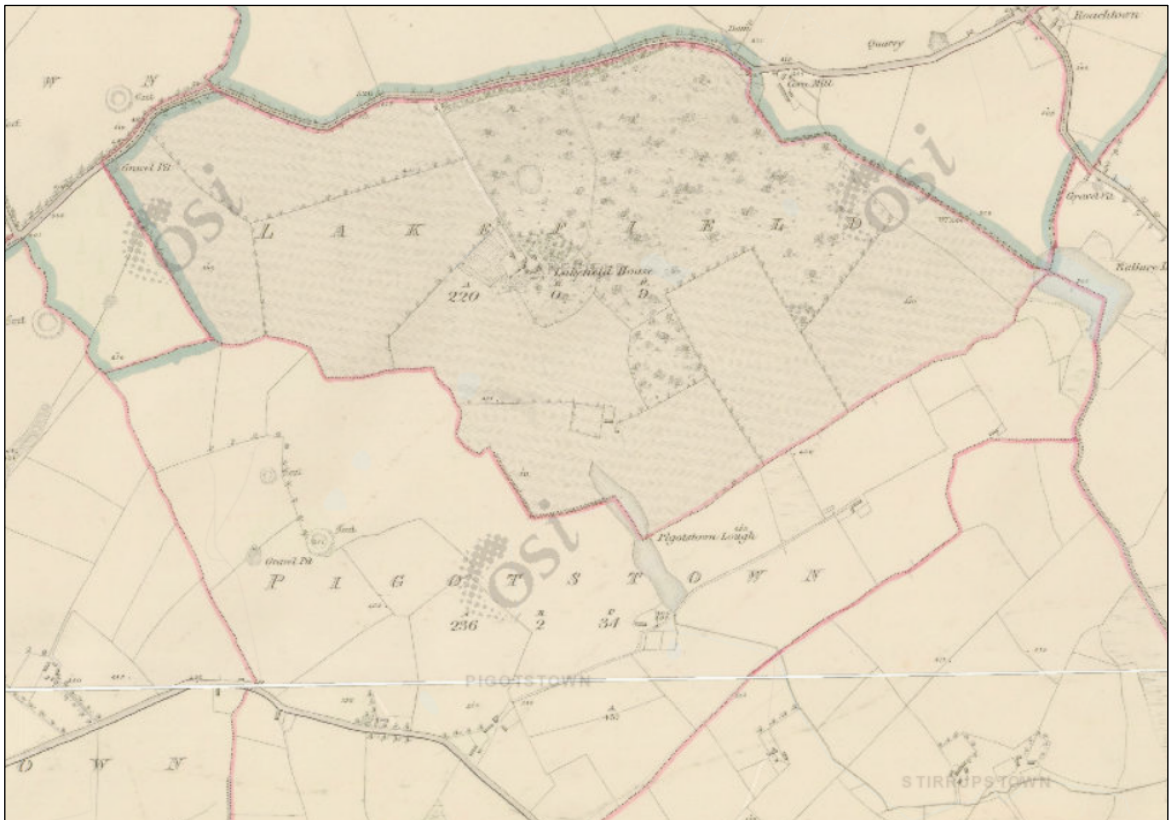
Figure 3.14 illustrates the location of the townlands of Lakefield and Pigotstown. The demesne lands occupy almost of the townland of Lakefield. The house is approached by a long avenue with

[410] Name Books.
[411] Burke*, Landed gentry,* p.34.
[412] Griffith's Valuation.
[413] Casey and Rowan, *Buildings*, p.223.
[414] NLI, MS3032 – Naper papers.
[415] NLI, MS3032, MS3094, MS5787 – Naper papers.
[416] Griffith's, Valuation.
[417] NLI, MS 974, BSD.
[418] Palcic, Naper estate, p.376.
[419] NLI, MS 2754, Naper papers & Griffith's Valuation

a tree-studded landscape visible to the left which continues in an arc around the house and farm buildings. Formal gardens are located on the remaining side of the complex of buildings. The landscape was later depicted as being composed of groups of trees interspersed with great oaks.[420]

Both Lakefield House and Newcastle House were occupied by branches of the Battersby family. John, born in 1722 was the third son of William of Smithstown and in the later eighteenth century was residing at Lakefield. He was a brother of Robert of Bobsville House. Later, John's son who was also called John, born in 1767 from his second marriage was also resident in Lakefield.[421] John's brother Thomas, was the father of Thomas who is listed as 'of Newcastle House'.[422] The occupation of substantial houses and demesnes by various members of the Battersby family is a significant indicator of the important economic and social status which the family had augmented during succeeding generations in Demifore barony.

Figure 3.14 First Edition OS map of Lakefield House and demesne, 1837



Source: Geohive.ie. Accessed on 14/10/2020.

[420] Casey and Rowan, *Buildings,* p.223.
[421] Burke, *Landed gentry*, p.33.
[422] Burke, Ibid, p.34.

3.7.5 Clonabraney House and demesne

Clonabraney House (plate 3.5), the seat of the Wade family provides another example of a mansion house set amid a planned landscape. The mansion house was located some distance away from the extensive farmyard with a tunnel under the road, still extant today providing access to both the house and the yard. The house is described as looking south and the pond, visible on Fig. 3.15, described as being adorned with water lilies, would have provided a pleasant addition to the demesne lands.[423] The mansion house was dismantled in the early 1920s.[424] A new house has been built on the site in recent years and has been developed as a venue for weddings and other occasions.

Plate 3.5 Clonabraney House

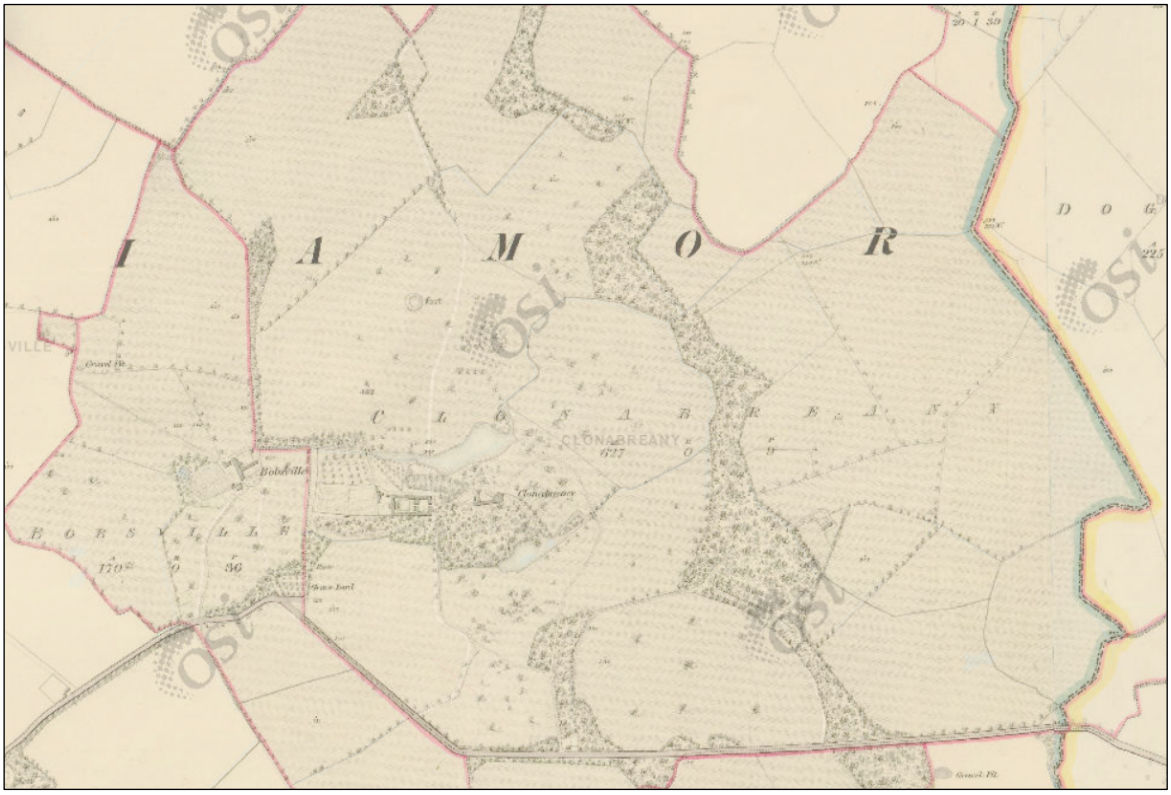
Source: A history of the parish of Kilskyre and Ballinlough (2004).

The OS 1837 map of Clonabraney House and demesne (see figure 3.15) reveals that there was a long, curving avenue leading up to the mansion house while a much shorter roadway connected the farm buildings with the house. Extensive tree planting is evident in the areas around both the house and the farmyard which provides a similar landscape format to that of the Loughcrew demesne. Other areas of planting are notable in the continuous line of forested areas in the eastern section of the demesne lands. The nearby roads are lined with trees further illustrating their utilisation as a means of enhancing the aesthetic beauty of the landscape. The central demesne

[423] A history of the parish of Kilskyre and Ballinlough, (2004), p.212.
[424] Ibid, p.210.

area is surrounded by fields of varying size. In the absence of estate papers, the assumption is that the agricultural practices were similar to those at Loughcrew.

Figure 3.15 First Edition OS map of Clonabraney House and demesne, 1837



Source: OS Geohive. Accessed on 5/10/2020.

Plate 3.6 Clonabraney farm buildings

Source: Ciaran O'Reilly (2021).

The farm buildings and yard shown on the map were extensive and their imprint is still retained today (see plate 3.6) in their modern usage as accommodation for guests of the new Clonabraney House, now a popular event venue. The pedimented classical archway flanked by circular oeils de boeuf leading into the stable yard is a significant feature.[425]

The nearby village of Ardglasson dating from the early eighteenth century was developed by the Wade family. It is located to the south-east of their demesne lands and furnishes a fine example of a planned group of labourers' cottages. These were constructed as two terraces set back from the road, facing each other. They were slated and had brick chimneys.[426] Plate 3.7 illustrates that some have been altered in more recent years. The village indicates a landlord who was heedful of improving the living conditions of his tenants.

Plate 3.7 Ardglasson cottages

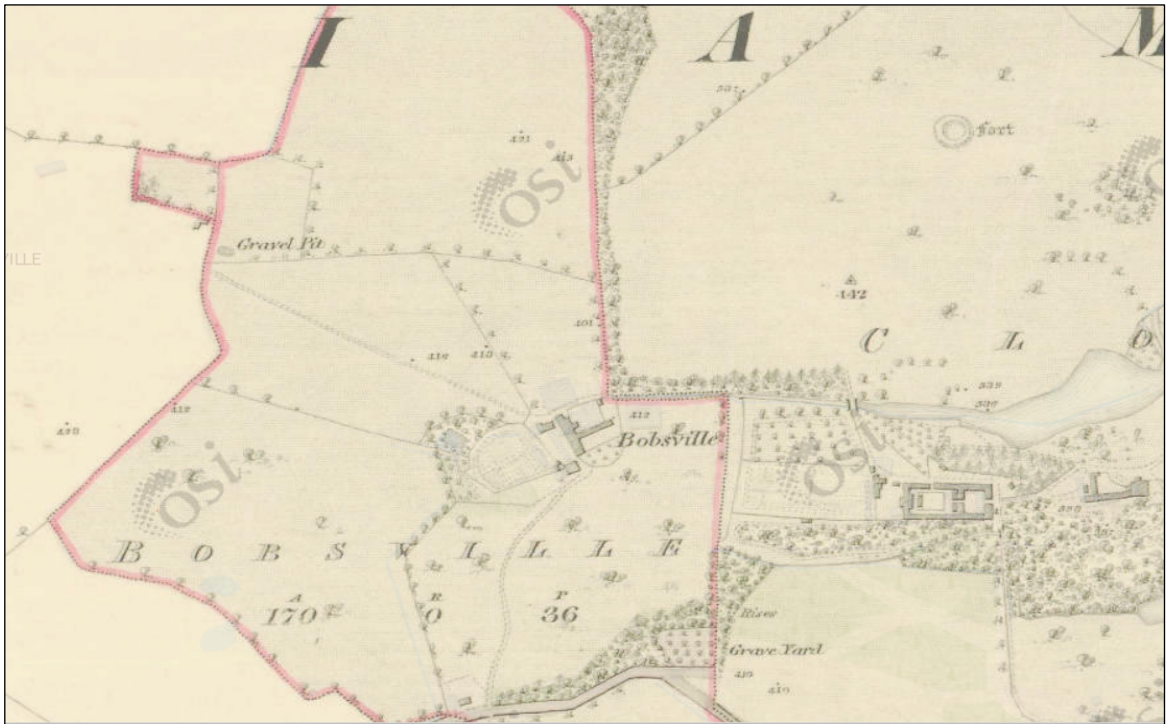
Source: Ciaran O'Reilly (2019).

3.7.6 Bobsville House and demesne

Figure 3.16 provides a clear overview of Bobsville House and demesne and illustrates its close proximity to Clonabraney House. The gate lodge is visible at the entrance. The gardens are laid out in a formal fashion. An artificial pond can be discerned surrounded by trees at the southwestern end of the garden area. Tree planting is notable along some of the field boundaries and beside Clonabraney graveyard.

[425] Casey and Rowan, *Buildings,* p.222.
[426] Casey and Rowan, *Buildings*, p.222.

Figure 3.16 First Edition OS map of Bobsville House and demesne, 1837



Source: Geohive.ie. Accessed on 8/10/2020.

Plate 3.8 Bobsville House showing part of garden wall

Source: Ciaran O'Reilly (2021).

The Battersby family were leasing sections of Clonabraney from the Wades and it would seem that the new townland of Bobsville (see figure 3.16) was created when the house was built in the 1760s.[427] Robert Battersby is presumed to have built the house when he got married in 1763 and hence the name Bobsville. It is described as a three bay house over basement with its original iron

[427] Mulligan*, Buildings of Meath*, p.37.

studded door intact (Plate 3.8).[428] John O'Donovan mentioned that he hated such vulgar names as Bobsville and demonstrated that the townland name first appeared on Larkin's map of Meath.[429]

Plate 3.9 Bobsville gate lodge

Source: Ciaran O'Reilly (2021).

The gate lodge to Bobsville is the only remaining lodge still extant for this type of house in Demifore and is illustrated in Plate 3.9. It points to the imitation by the lesser gentry of the design features of the demesne lands. The houses, gardens and accompanying farm buildings also provide evidence of this miniature reproduction of this planned landscape.

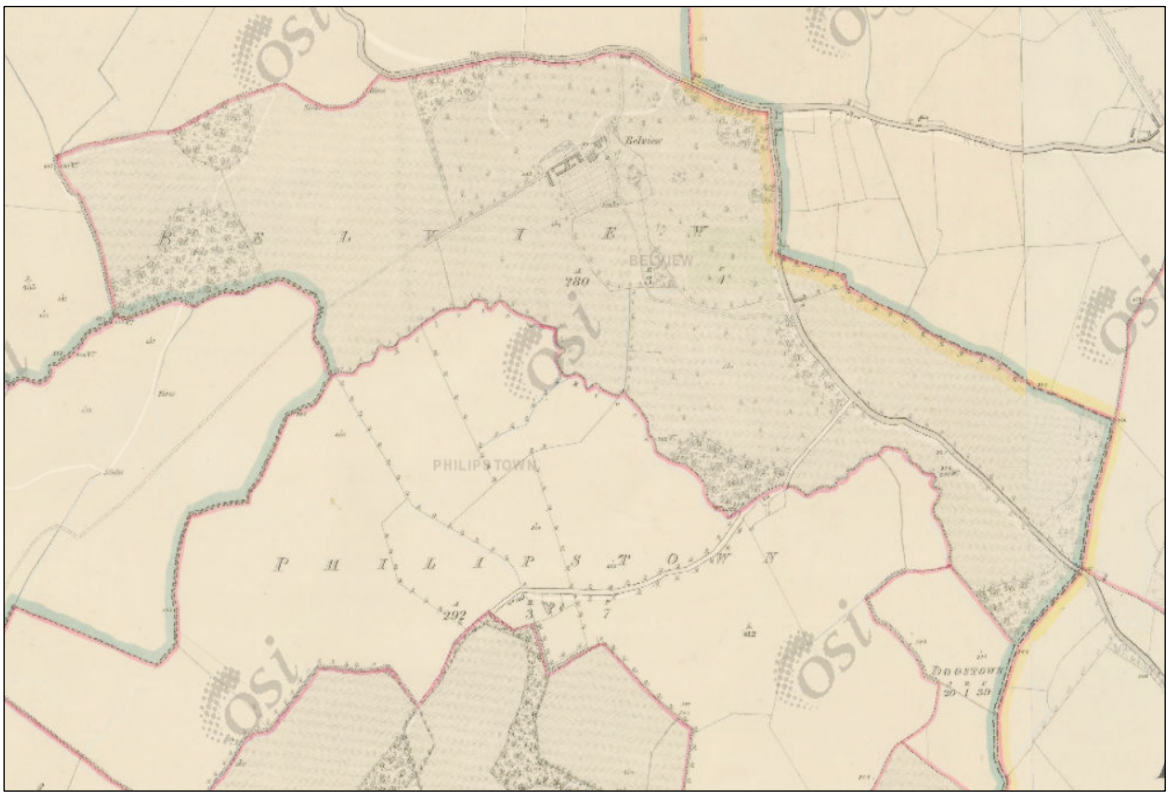
3.7.7 Belview House and demesne

Belview House and demesne was also associated with the Wade lands. It is located in what was formerly known as the townland of Piercetown[430] and was later listed as Peringstown.[431] The name Belview/Bellevue is a later name associated with the house. The house is described as a two storey, three bay over basement building. It is linked to the farmyard buildings by curving walls. [432] The house may have been built by Michael Daniel whose brother John inherited Clonabraney and assumed the name Wade. His mother was Katherine Wade, who was the daughter of Henry

[428] Ibid, p.38.
[429] Name Books.
[430] NLI, MS 974, BSD.
[431] RD, 90/513/65974.
[432] Casey and Rowan, *Buildings,* p.222.

Wade.[433] Michael's son, John, was the first to use the name Bellevue.[434] The Name Books mentioned that the townland was in Wade ownership but that Captain J. Daniel held it in perpetuity.[435]

Figure 3.17 First edition OS map of Belview House and demesne, 1837



Source: Geohive.ie. Accessed on 14/10/2020.

Figure 3.17 illustrates the close association of the Belview demesne with the Wade estate. A section of the Clonabraney demesne is visible to the south demonstrating the proximity of the lands. The townland of Philipstown bisects the Belview and Clonabraney demesne lands. It was owned by the Morgan family and in 1740 it was leased to William Battersby of Clonabraney.[436] The townland index database indicates that the Battersby family continued to lease Philipstown and also the neighbouring townland of Thomastown in the eighteenth century.

Plate 3.10 illustrates the architectural features of Belview, notably the tripartite Doric doorcase, the corner quoin stones and the limestone window architraves which enhance its classical character.[437]

[433] Mulligan, *Buildings of Meath*, p.36.
[434] Ibid, p.36.
[435] Name Books
[436] RD, 97/527/69457.
[437] Mulligan, *Buildings of Meath*, p.36.

The house has sometimes been attributed to Nathaniel Clements and is described as a 'pleasant example of Georgian classicism'.[438]

Plate 3.10 Belview House

Source: Eddie O'Reilly, June, (2020).

3.7.8 Baltrasna House and demesne

Baltrasna house and demesne is illustrated on Larkin's map of Meath from 1812. The demesne lands are shown with belts of trees on the perimeter and other groups adorning the demesne lands.[439] The later OS map (see figure 3.18) presents a similar picture of the demesne landscape but gardens are also depicted and what may possibly be an orchard. The house and farm buildings are separated from each other but form a substantial group.

The O'Reilly family lived in Baltrasna throughout the period studied in this research, as detailed later in section 4.6. Plate 3.11 illustrates that the house was possibly a long house and similar to the Naper house shown on the 1778 survey demesne map and may date in part from the seventeenth century. Plate 3.11 also shows part of the gable end of the house revealing the window architraves and the dressed quoin stones on the corner of the building. The house was listed at £30 in the valuation records.[440]

[438] Casey and Rowan*, Buildings*, p.222
[439] Arnold Horner, Mapping Meath in the nineteenth century, (Dublin, 2007), Atlas, number seven.
[440] Griffith's Valuation

Figure 3.18 First Edition OS map of Baltrasnsa House and demesne, 1837

Source: Geohive.ie. Accessed on 25/09/2020.

Plate 3.11 Baltrasna House

Source: Ciaran O'Reilly (2021).

3.8 Conclusions

This chapter has detailed the origins and engagement of the three largest landholders and their principal leaseholders in the management of their estates in the barony of Demifore during the period 1700 to circa 1830s. While the connection of two of the largest proprietors, the Napers and

the Wades originated in the dramatic upheavals in landownership resulting from the seventeenth century land settlements, the longevity of the connection of the Tuites from the Anglo-Norman period with their family lands, illustrates the complexities and variety of origins from which the landed estates of the 18th and 19th centuries emerged.

From their base at Loughcrew, the Napers became the biggest landowners in Demifore barony and increased their landholdings nearly threefold, over the period of this study. Part of their enlarged landed estate included the Tuite estate which they acquired in the early part of the 19th century, augmenting and enhancing the family's powerful position locally. While the ownership of, and succession to landed estates is frequently understood as occurring in seamless continuity from one generation to the next, the sale of the Tuite lands illustrates that landed estates were not immune to such changes as a result of marriage, lack of heirs or sales to clear debts. In addition to their lands in Demifore, the Naper and Wade families owned lands which extended beyond the barony's borders, into other parts of county Meath and to other parts of Ireland as well in the case of the Napers.

While land was primarily viewed and seen as a commodity in generating rental income, as this chapter has shown, the resident landowners in Demifore, both the Napers and the Wades were also adept at using their estates as security for loans, mortgages and marriage settlements. This aspect of the use of lands for other financial purposes besides the generation of wealth is an area of academic interest that has hitherto received relatively little attention, however as this research highlights such practices were widespread.

Using fragmentary estate papers in the case of the Naper family and the memorials of deeds for the other estates, an examination and analysis of the more traditional management of these estates has also been undertaken and presented in this chapter. The changing patterns in the length of the terms of leases, rents payable and the preference for principal leaseholders such as the Rotheram and Battersby families are notable across the estates examined in this chapter. The findings also show that the policy of leasing whole townlands was initially popular. This changed towards the end of the 18th century as lands were divided amongst a greater number of tenancies and by extension an increasing rental income.

Turning towards the impact of the landowners on the landscape of Demifore, this chapter has highlighted how these families attempted to 'improve' the lands during the study period. On the

Naper estate improvements in drainage, infrastructure and afforestation were detailed. A particularly rich cartographic source in the form of a late 18th century survey of the Naper estate provided a unique snapshot of their landholdings, data on land quality, roads, housing and some tenants' holding, facilitating the reconstruction of the estate landscape at this time.

While the landowners and principal leaseholders in Demifore could instigate and bring about some improvements through the policies implemented in managing their estates, their efforts were most effective in shaping and ornamenting the demesne landscapes which surrounded their ancestral homes. In the latter part of this chapter, a detailed review of these manicured landscapes and their architectural showpieces commonly referred to as the 'big houses' reveals a rich and significant landscape and architectural heritage. The most significant of these demesnes was centred on the Naper family home at Loughcrew while the Wade demesne and big house at Clonabraney was also noteworthy.

The 1778 survey of Loughcrew demesne depicts the formal style of demesne landscape in vogue at the time including ornamental gardens, wooded areas, deerpark, farm buildings and the productive areas of the home farm. By the 1830s the Napers had replaced their earlier longhouse with a large mansion house. Depending on their economic abilities, personal motivations and status enhancing aspirations other landowners and principal leaseholders had emerged in the barony who attempted to emulate these houses and landscapes albeit on a reduced scale. These landholders, including the Rotherams at Crossdrum, the Battersbys at Bobsville and the O'Reillys at Baltrasna, were by the 1830s, as vividly depicted on the first edition Ordnance Survey maps, well embedded in the landscape of Demifore, occupying country homes and landscapes that reflected the privileged and pivotal positions they enjoyed and occupied in society at this time.

Chapter 4 Absentee landowners and their principal leaseholders in the barony of Demifore circa 1700-1830s

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to chart the extent of the landholdings held by the absentee proprietors in the period 1700-1830s (see figure 3.3 in previous chapter). Six absentee landowners were identified as holding over 500+ plantation acres, ranging from the Fingall Plunkett estate at 2,632 acres to the O'Reilly estate at just over 700 acres (table 4.1). Estate papers were available for just one of these landowners, the Fingall Plunketts. Tracing the other landowners was made possible by using the Townland Index Database which was compiled by the author from the Registry of Deeds indexes. The themes examined are estate management, the financial uses of land, the role of the principal leaseholders and the impact of the owners and leaseholders of these lands on the rural landscape.

Table 4.1 Absentee Landowners of 500+ plantation acres circa 1700-1830

Landowner	Extent in plantation acres	Number of townlands
Fingall Plunkett	2,632	4
Morgan	2,258	7
Witherington	1,826	2
Donnellan	1,093	4
Peppard	1,020	5
O'Reilly	700	1
Total	9,529	23

Source: Compiled by Una Palcic from memorials and Fingall Plunkett papers.

The principal leaseholders associated with these estates were identified and their leaseholdings evaluated. Estate papers, lodged in the National Library of Ireland, are available for just one of these proprietors, the Fingall Plunkett family. There were serious challenges in compiling details on the other landowners. The BSD was used as a starting point to obtain data on landownership but analysis of these records revealed that the names of proprietors which were associated with particular townlands did not correspond with the research material obtained from the Registry of Deeds for the early eighteenth century.

4.2 Fingall Plunkett estate

The Fingall Plunkett family retained most of their landholdings in the barony of Demifore under the Restoration Settlement of the 1660s, unlike their cousins the Dunsany Plunketts who lost nearly all of their lands. In 1663 a decree of Innocence was issued to Luke, 3rd Earl of Fingall and a further

decree was granted in 1673 of lands in counties Meath and Cavan. The main residence of the family was in Killeen Castle near Dunshaughlin in east Meath near to the border with county Dublin. The castle was constructed in 1181 by the De Cusack family of Norman origin.[441] Sir Christopher Plunkett married Joan de Cusack in 1403. She was the inheritor of the manor of Killeen and thus Killeen came into Plunkett hands.[442]

One of the most significant townlands belonging to the Fingall Plunketts was Killalon. The BSD records both the Earl of Fingal and the Earl of Anglesey as holding the townland.[443] Prior to the 1641 Rebellion, it was in Fingall Plunkett ownership, however it was granted to the Earl of Anglesey under the Act of Settlement. The Earl of Fingal successfully petitioned for its return under the Decrees of Innocence. Angelsey continued to pursue his claim to this townland through the courts but was unsuccessful.[444] Besides Killalon, the other townlands owned by the Earl of Fingal recorded in the BSD included Gheganstown, Seraghstown and Galboystown.[445] The estate papers reveal that the Fingall Plunkett family also owned lands lying adjacent to the Demifore townlands in the neighbouring barony of Upper Kells, notably the large townlands of Milltown/Kilskyre, Robinstown and Boltown.[446]

It is possible to recreate the Fingall Plunkett estate from the Down Survey, the BSD and from maps in the estate papers dating from 1734[447] and a 1753 copy of a survey[448] undertaken by Gareth Hogan and copied by his son Michael (see table 4.2).[449] Garret Hogan is named on some of the earlier maps from 1734 as the surveyor and is also named in some leases. These maps provide an overview of the land quality detailing the acreage and the location of the different land use types available to the tenants. Figure 4.1 from the Down Survey illustrates the large townland of Killalon and the three other Fingall Plunkett owned townlands namely Geighanstown, Galboystown and Seraghstown.

---

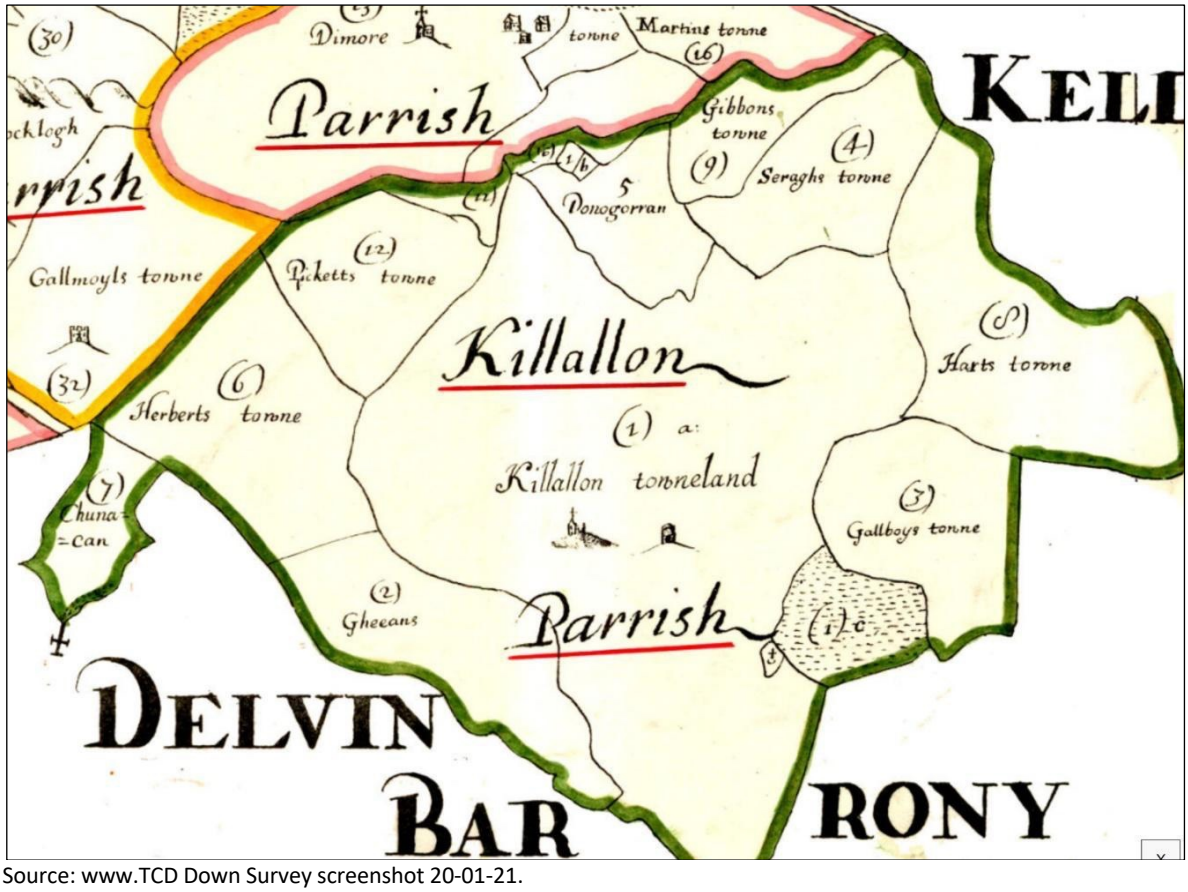
[441] Mary-Rose Carty, *History of Killeen Castle*, p.5 hereafter cited as Carty, *Killeen Castle.*
[442] Carty, *Killeen Castle*, p. 8.
[443] J.G.Simms, 'Meath landowners in the Jacobite War' in *Riocht na Midhe*, Volume 2, Number 4 (1962), pp 56-57.
[4442] NLI, MS 8025, Miscellaneous papers relating to the estates of the Plunketts, Earls of Fingall in counties Meath, Cavan and Dublin city c. 1670-1830 hereafter cited as MS 8025, Fingall Plunkett papers.
[445]NLI, MS 8024 – Rentals and estate accounts of the Plunketts, Earls of Fingall in counties Cavan, Meath and Dublin city c. 1668-1793 hereafter cited as MS 8024, Fingall Plunkrtt papers.
[446] Ibid,
[447] NLI, 21F.25, Maps of the Fingall Plunkett estate by various surveyors – 1708 – 1816 hereafter cited as 21F.25, Fingall Plunkett papers.
[448] NLI, MS 4900, A book of survey of the estate of the Earl of Fingall in the county of Meath made by Garret Hogan and transcribed by Michael Hogan, 1753 hereafter cited as MS 4900, Fingall Plunkett papers.
[449] These men were members of the Hogan family who were leaseholders of Geighanstown.

Table 4.2 Fingall Plunkett Lands in Demifore & Kells baronies circa 1700-1750

	Survey & Distribution	Hogan Survey (1753)
Townlands	**Acreage**	**Acreage**
Geighanstown	322	321
Galboystown	423	400
Seraghstown	196	260
Killalon	1,600	1,650
Total	**2,541**	**2,631**
Milltown & Kilskyre	793	917
Robinstown/Robertstown	447	376
Boltown	252	252
Total	**1,492**	**1,545**
Grand total	**4,033**	**4,176**

Source: Compiled by Una Palcic from Fingall Plunkett papers, NLI.

Figure 4.1 Down Survey map of Killalon parish

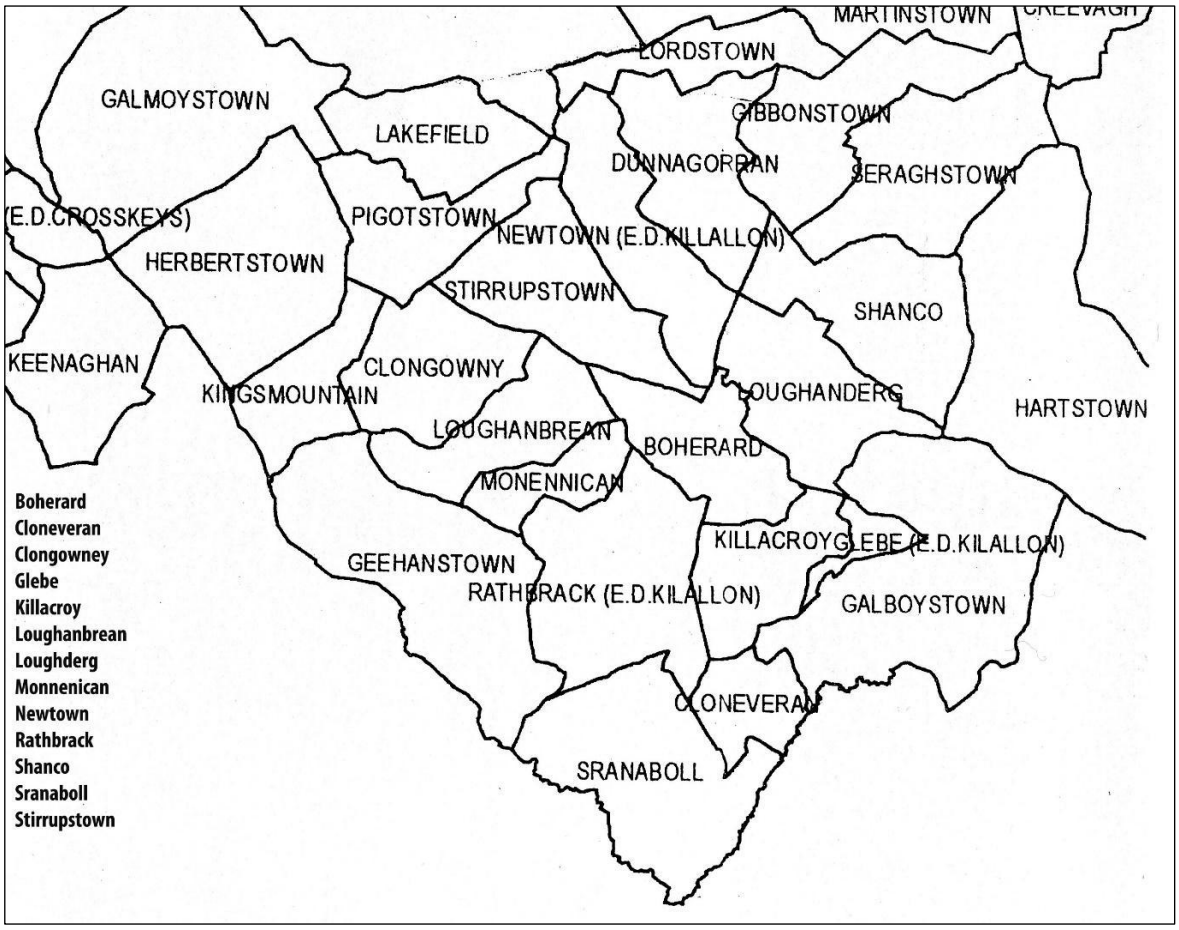


Source: www.TCD Down Survey screenshot 20-01-21.

As Table 4.2 shows, the extent of the four townlands recorded in the BSD amounted to 2,541 plantation acres which is quite similar to the figure for the 1753 Hogan survey at 2,631 acres. The neighbouring townlands of Kilskyre/Milltown, Boltown and Robertstown/Robinstown in the barony of Kells owned by the Fingall Plunketts were recorded in the Down Survey at 793, 447 and 252

plantation acres respectively amounting to 1,492 acres and 1,545 in the Hogan survey. When combined with the Demifore lands, the Fingall Plunkett presence in the area exceeded 4,000 plantation acres and demonstrates the significance of this family's estate in the area. Figure 4.2 based on the 1837 OS map shows the thirteen sub-denominations of Killallon townland that became separate townlands. These sub-denominations, later townlands, frequently appeared in the townland index database.[450]

Figure 4.2 Killalon sub-denominations and surrounding townlands



Source: Map prepared by Ciaran O'Reilly.

4.3 Management of the Fingall Plunkett estate

For much of the eighteenth century, the Fingall Plunketts lived abroad, both in France and England due to the restrictions of the Penal Laws. The estate was managed by agents and sometimes trustees appointed during the minorities of the fifth and seventh earls. This section will analyse the leasing policies as illustrated in the tenurial arrangements, the rental income derived from the lands and the notable reliance on the principal leaseholders.

[450] Demifore townland index database 1708-1830.

4.3.1 Tenurial arrangements on the Fingall Plunkett lands

An analysis of the surviving leases within the estate papers reveal that the leasing practices were very consistent over the course of the century. Thirty-one years was the usual term length of a lease but lives as an alternative were not included. This may have been because the Fingall Plunketts remained as Roman Catholics and did not want to contravene the Penal laws. A lease from 1699 between Peter, Earl of Fingall and Sylvester Reilly of Milltown/Kilskyre including Sylvester's life and that of his two brothers[451] shows that prior to the enactment of these laws, lives were included in leases.

Frequently, conditions and covenants were included in leases relating to the planting of hedges and trees and the maintenance of houses and other buildings. This demonstrated the landlords' desire to influence the appearance of the landscape on their lands. The planting of hedges and trees were central to this aspiration. The economic value placed on land use was shown in the emphasis on reduction in tillage towards the end of the leasing period. Justin was earl from 1717-1734 and Arthur James, who came of age in 1752 and died in 1793, were both conscious of the importance of improvement of their lands.

Indentures dating from the period when Justin, the fifth Earl of Fingall, was in charge of the estate illustrate this focus.[452] An example is to be found in a lease to Garret Hogan dated 1727 for the lands of Clongowny, Knocknaveagh and part of Stirrupstown.[453] The covenants clearly set out the improvements which had to be achieved within the first seven years of the agreement. A ditch planted with quicks was to be placed on the boundaries of the lands. The acre surrounding the house had to be planted with fruit trees and oak, ash and elm trees at a convenient distance.[454] Another indenture from 1733 to Walter and Sylvester Reilly included covenants on the maintenance and good repair of houses. It also stipulated houses to be erected and the maintenance of trees and plantations.[455] The assignment in 1720 of part of Killalon by Sarah Pepyate to John Rieusset, both of Dublin, included the information that the lands had been held by Robert Ward and that the practice of letting to undertenants was in use at this time.[456]

---

[451] NLI, MS 8026-8028, Leases, conveyances and other deeds relating to the Plunkett family, the Earls of Fingall in counties Meath, Cavan and Dublin city: 1509-1697: 1698-1755; 1757-1838 hereafter cited as MS 8026-8028. Fingall Plunkett papers.
[452] Carty, *Killeen Castle*, (1991), p.21.
[453] NLI, MS8026-8028, Fingall Plunkett papers.
[454] Ibid.
[455] Ibid.
[456] RD, 29/143/16500.

A later indenture from 1757 from Arthur James, seventh Earl of Fingall to Hugh and Sylvester Reilly included a covenant which stated that no tillage was to take place in the last seven years of the lease and that the lands were to be manured and planted with grass.[457] A lease from 1761 concerning the lands of Seraghstown included the same covenants on planting of white thorn quick in the early years of the lease and the cessation of tillage in the later years.[458] Comparably, in 1754, a lease to Michael Hogan of Geighanstown included similar covenants.[459] The inclusion of improvements was an important part of the management of the Fingall Plunkett lands. The construction of ditches and their planting with quicksets of whitethorn on the boundaries of townlands or of particular sections of leased land contributed to landscape change.

4.3.2 Rental Income from the Demifore lands

Table 4.3 charts the rental income for the Demifore townlands over a seventy-year period. The cumulative percentage increase in rental income for the Fingall Plunkett Demifore lands amounts to 258%. The figures in the table highlight that the changes vary for each townland, with Seraghstown amounting to an increase of 153% whereas the equivalent for Geighanstown amounted to 409%. Galboystown is illustrated showing a steady rise over the period while Killalon at 300% appears to be high but analysis later in the chapter shows that this was not the case over the period. The Chapman family's lease of Galboystown appears in a list of leases from 1752. The 1729 lease of Galboystown is recorded at a rent of £100 pounds.[460] The lease was renewed in 1761 with a rent of £100 for the first five years, rising to £125 for the remainder of the 31-year term.[461] The 1738 figures for Galboystown, Geighanstown and Seraghstown in table 4.3 reflect just two-thirds of the rent as the Dowager's dower thirds were payable until her death in 1741.

During the minority of the seventh earl (1738-1752), Arthur James, parts of the estate were sold to pay off debts. This occurred under the guardianship of the Earl of Arran and Henry Howard of Greystoke in Cumberland when the estate seems to have been poorly managed during the earl's period of minority.[462] Lands in counties Meath and Dublin, amounting to over 3,100 plantation acres and lands in county Cavan amounting to just over 5,700 acres were put on the market in 1738. The Demifore lands were not included in the sale. A bill was printed advertising the sale of the lands

[457] MS 8026-8028, Fingall Plunkett papers.
[458] Ibid.
[459] Ibid.
[460] MS 8025, Fingall Plunkett papers.
[461] RD,218/6/141026.
[462] Carty, *Killeen Castle*, p.22.

itemised by townland name, the tenants' names, the acreage, the annual rent due and the leasing period.[463] The seventh Earl came of age in 1752 which appeared to trigger a flurry of paperwork – rent rolls in three tranches from 1739-1748, 1749-1751 and 1751-1753 are enumerated and point to the supply of data to the earl. The dramatic rise in income on the four Demifore townlands corroborates Peter Connell's findings which showed a near trebling of rental income from £1344 in the 1740s to £3953 in 1782.[464] The seventh Earl, Arthur James improved the management of the estate and this was a contributory factor in the increase of income.[465]

Table 4.3 Rental income for selected years in eighteenth century

	1709	**1738**	**1761**	**1779**	**Change from 1709-1779**
Galboystown	£49-7-0	£66-13-4	£100-0-0	£125.0.0	£75-13-0 (+153%)
Geighanstown	£13-6-11	£34-3-4	£68-0-0	£68.0.0	£54-13-1 (+409%)
Seraghstown	£27-14-7	£41-18-5	£75-10-0	£75-10-0	£47-15-5 (+172%)
Killalon	£200-0-0	£275-0-0	£275-0-0	£800-0-0	£600-0-0 (+300%)
Total	**£298-8-6**	**£417-15-1**	**£518-0-0**	**£1,068-10-0**	**£770-1-6 (+258%)**

Source: Compiled by the author from NLI, MS 8024 rent rolls, Fingall estate papers.

Arthur James, the seventh earl was brought up abroad and in 1755 married an heiress, Henrietta Woolascot of Woolhampton in Berkshire. He lived there with his wife and family and did not come back to live in Ireland until the 1780s, first living in a Dublin residence, Killeen House on Great Denmark street, and later moving to Killeen Castle.[466]

4.3.3 Financial uses of land

The research conducted in this thesis has not only illuminated the purpose of land providing rental income to landowners but it has also unearthed a range of other financial uses of land. The provision of jointures and dower thirds in marriage settlements exemplify the utilisation of land as a means of providing finance for widows. The vast range of legal and estate papers generated as a result of the drawing together and execution of these provisions provide invaluable detail as illustrated in the example below. The financial provisions detailed in wills for younger sons and in

[463] MS 8024, Fingall estate papers.
[464] Peter Connell, *The Land and People of County Meath, 1750-1850, Dublin*, (Dublin, 2004), p.46 hereafter cited as Connell, *Land and People of Meath*.
[465] Ibid, p45.
[466] Carty, *Killeen Castle*, p.23.

dowries for daughters had to be paid out of estate income. Often it was the mortgaging of the lands which supplied these funds.

Peter, the fourth Earl of Fingall died in 1717. He had married Frances Hales, daughter of Sir Edward Hales, baronet of Kent in 1698. Her marriage portion amounted to £4,000 pounds sterling with provision for a jointure of £600 pounds drawn from the lands of the manors of Killalon, Kilskeer, Rathregan and the lordship of Killeen.[467] This jointure was to be drawn from the whole estate.

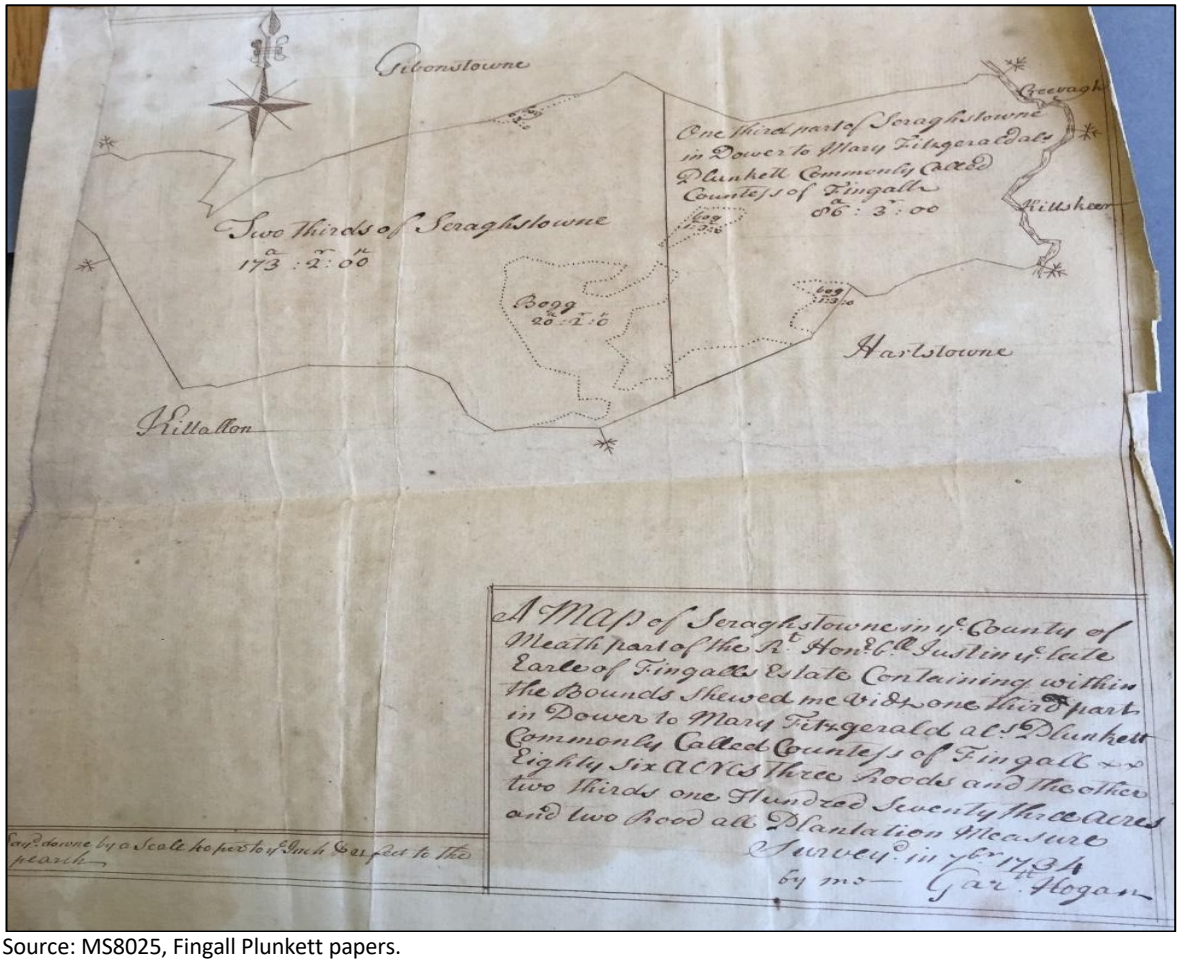
Peter's only son and heir, Justin, was a minor when he inherited and took the title, as fifth earl in 1717. By this stage the estate was being managed by trustees and was heavily in debt.[468] Justin married Mary Fitzgerald, daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald of Castle Ishen, county Cork in 1731. When he died in 1734 the pursuit by his wife, the Dowager Countess, of her entitlement to dower thirds as part of her marriage settlement resulted in the creation of a significant body of insightful manuscript material.

The concept of 'dower thirds' meant that the recipient was entitled to the rental income from a third of the estate. Deborah Wilson describes dower thirds as a widow's legal right, according to common law, of a third of her husband's landed property on his death.[469] The Fingall Plunkett estate papers illustrate how this was put into effect. A rent roll and accounts from 1735 detailed the Dowager Countess's interest in the lands and provides substantial data on her entitlement. Significantly, there are some maps showing the divisions of the townlands into one-third and two-thirds with the acreages recorded appearing to have been drawn up at her request and dated 1734. Maps produced by Garret Hogan for the Dowager Countess illustrate these dower thirds due to her and the fee of £53 6s 9d paid to him for drawing up the maps is listed in her accounts for the year for 1735.[470] The rent roll details her annual rental income at nearly £800 which illustrates why she spent such a significant sum on maps.[471] It also shows that her entitlement extended to all of the estate lands. The same accounts also reveal that she did not delay in marrying for a second time. She married Lord Kenmare the following year, in October of 1735 but he died at the end of June

[467] Carty, *Killeen Castle*, p.20.
[468] Ibid, p.22.
[469] Deborah Wilson, *Women, Marriage and Property in Ireland, 1750-1850*, (Manchester, 2009), p.42 hereafter cited as Wilson, *Women, Marriage and Property.*
[470] MS 8024, Fingall estate papers
[471] Ibid.

1736. She later married Lord Bellew of Bellewstown, county Louth and continued pursuing her dower third entitlements.[472]

Figure 4.3 Seraghstown, 1734



Source: MS8025, Fingall Plunkett papers.

Figure 4.3 showing the 1734 survey of Seraghstown illustrates the division of the townland into two-third divisions and one-third for the Dowager Countess, with the section inscribed 'One third part of Seraghstown in Dower to Mary Fitzgerald alias Plunkett commonly called Countess of Fingall.' Her dower third covered 86 acres 3 roods and 0 perches and areas of bog were clearly indicated as well as the names of adjacent townlands.[473]

Justin did not have any male heirs and, as a result, his cousin Robert became the sixth Earl when Justin died in 1734. However, Robert died four years later in 1738 when his son Arthur James, born in 1731, was just a minor. The years 1734 and 1738 which concur with the Earls' deaths are noticeable dates in the estate papers. The deaths of owners frequently result in a rash of

[472] Ibid.
[473] MS 8025, Fingall Plunkett papers.

surveys/rentals being produced and the Fingall Plunkett papers for 1734 and 1738 are therefore extensive. A summary of the accumulated rental income for the estate from 1738 to 1749 provided a total due for those years amounting to £13,530 with just £7,466 received, leaving arrears of £4753. Two follow-up summaries were detailed for the three years 1749-51 and the following two years to 1753 with the total rent due amounting to £11,134 and rent received at £8,101 and arrears amounting to £3,033.

Later marriage settlements of the family illustrate how jointures and provision for future children affected the finances of the family. An 1848 deed involving the Plunkett and Dease families recited earlier marriage settlements beginning with that of the seventh earl in 1755 and continuing with that of Lady Theresa Plunkett and James Dease in 1784 which refers to her dowry of £8,000 indicating the significant costs involved in providing for dowries. A year later, the marriage settlement of Lord Killeen with Frances Donnelan is also cited.[474] The will of Robert Plunkett, the father of the seventh earl is also cited and refers to provision for Luke, the younger son and his sister Anne.[475] Here we see the impact of financial provisions detailed in wills.

Another way land was used for financial purposes was through the practice of mortgaging. A deed from 1720 recorded that Sarah Pepyate, a widow, of Dublin, granted to John Rieusset of Dublin the Stirrupstown section of Killalon and included a further 99 acres for the significant sum of £700 pounds subject to a proviso of redemption on payment of £728.[476] Pepyate was assigning her interest in the lands as a means of raising finance.

In 1782 a memorial of a deed of mortgage was recorded for the sum of £9,772-10s-0d granting the townland of Killalon along with other lands to William Annesley, with the consent of Viscount Glenawley, subject to a proviso of redemption.[477] This suggests that the Fingall Plunketts were mortgaging their lands for upwards of £10,000 pounds. Ten years later, a deed of conveyance from Charles Frizell of Dublin to the Rev. John Murray of Killalon indicated that Frizell had been granted two leases in 1788 by Glenawley of sections of Killalon townland.[478] A number of sub-denominations with the tenants' names and acreages are listed. Two surveyors are also named in

[474] Archives department, Fingal county council, FCCA/FEP/095/3/15. Fingall Plunkett papers.
[475] Archives department, Fingal county council, FCCA/FEP/097/3/17. Fingall Plunkett papers
[476] RD, 29/143/16500.
[477] RD, 400/494/264215.
[478] RD, 447/117/288409.

the memorial and the acreages enumerated varied from just over 3.5 acres to 66 acres, revealing the practice of leasing to undertenants.

It would appear that the Fingall Plunketts defaulted on their payments on this mortgage as the records indicate that the ownership and control of Killalon fell into the hands of Lord Annesley and his son Viscount Glenawley whose principal estate was at Wellington Castle, county Antrim. Using the Demifore database and the memorials referenced in this section, the research demonstrates that by 1810 Annesley had gained possession from the Fingall Plunketts all of the sub-denominations which made up the large townland of Killalon. This ownership is indicated through to the 1830s in the database and is also shown in the Griffith Valuation records.[479] The same records illustrate that the Fingall Plunketts retained their other three townlands in the barony – Galboystown, Geighanstown and Seraghstown. There is possibly an anomaly regarding the townland of Galboystown because it is shown in the possession of the Chapman family in the Griffith Valuation.[480] They were the leaseholders of this townland throughout the eighteenth century but the Name Books and the database record the Fingall Plunketts as owners.

4.3.4 Principal leaseholders/tenants

Landlords often favoured the practice of leasing to principal leaseholders and the Earl of Fingal was no exception. This policy reduced administration costs considerably and the income, though appearing to be lower, may not have been when the cost of collecting rents from a large number of undertenants is taken into consideration. The townlands owned by the family in Demifore continued in the tenancy of the same families throughout much of the eighteenth century. The Chapman family, who were landlords based in Killua, in neighbouring Westmeath, retained the leasehold of Galboystown. The Reilly family of neighbouring Ballinlough Castle, county Westmeath held the tenancy of Killallon (and also Boltown in neighbouring Kells Upper barony). The Hogan family took over the tenancy of Geighanstown from the Kernans in the 1730s and another Reilly family residing in Ryefield, county Cavan were leaseholders of Seraghstown during this period. An analysis of the existing rentals and leases for the four townlands illustrates that rising rents were the norm for the whole of the eighteenth century as opportunities were taken to increase rents when leases fell in and sometimes included a rise during the time period of the lease.

[479] Richard Griffith, valuation of the several tenements, situate in the counties of Meath and Cavan (Dublin, 1854) hereafter cited as Griffith's Valuation.
[480] Griffith's valuation.

Table 4.4 charts the Reilly family involvement as tenants on the 1650 acre townland of Killalon. The figures from 1692 – 1721 are based on a document setting out a 31-year lease to a Mr. James Reilly.[481] The annual rent increased gradually over the time period of the lease in order to allow for initial costs and later improvements made by the tenant. The rental of £275 continued to be paid from 1722 by the Reilly family until a dispute over the arrears was settled in 1752. Substantial arrears of £3,040 were paid in settlement but the rent did not increase and continued at the old rate of £275 until it rose by 290% to £800 pounds under a new 31-year lease in 1777.[482] Connell observed that this increase was well below potential rents recorded in the estate records for the year 1770 and reasoned that this was because of their position as long standing tenants.[483] Estate papers lodged in the Local Studies section in Swords Library reveal that the dispute concerning the rent may be why the townland of Killalon was not listed along with the other Demifore townlands in the lands enumerated in some of the legal documents.[484] National Library papers record various account transactions for the Reilly family and note the dispute concerning the rent.[485]

Table 4.4 Reilly rent - Killalon

Year	No. of years	Rent £
1692	1	60
1693	2	80
1695	4	100
1699	7	140
1705	6	180
1711	6	200
1717	5	220
1722	31	275
1753	24	275
1777	31	800

Source: Compiled by the author from Fingall Plunkett papers, MS 8024. Note: Profitable acres: 966; Unprofitable: 684 acres.

The rent rolls throw more light on the O'Reilly family who leased Killalon. Hugh O'Reilly is listed in the rolls from 1734 to 1752 approximately. He is followed by James for a short period around 1760 who in turn is followed by another Hugh in 1768 and then by another James in 1778. This lineage confirms that this constitutes the O'Reilly (later Nugent) family who resided in Ballinlough Castle, just across the border in county Westmeath. The rent rolls also reveal that the townland of Boltown in the neighbouring barony of Kells was also leased to the same family as the same names concur

[481] MS 8024, Fingall Plunkett papers.
[482] Ibid.
[483] Connell, *The Land and people of Meath*, pp.45-46.
[484] FCCA/FEO/127,6/1, Fingal Local Studies and Archives.
[485] MS 8024, Fingall Plunkett papers.

in all of the relevant years. Members of the O'Reilly family were buried in Kilskyre graveyard and a large ornate tomb there, embellished with the family coat of arms, testifies to their status (see plate 4.1). The inscription dates back to 1698 and would seem to indicate that the family were living in nearby Ballinlough castle. The marriage settlement from 1781 of Hugh, son of James of Ballinlough and Catherine Matthew of Thurles illustrates the importance of the family's leaseholdings, since Killalon (61-year lease) and Boltown (24 years remaining) are listed as part of the settlement.[486]

Plate 4.1 O'Reilly/Nugent tomb in Kilskyre graveyard

Source: Ciaran O'Reilly – June 2019.

The Reilly family were also tenants of the large neighbouring townland of Milltown and Kilskeer (Kilskyre) in Kells Upper barony. Both are listed along with Killalon in the name of Hugh Reilly in the 1753 rent roll. The May 1781 rent roll records the townlands of Killalon and Boltown under the names of James O'Reilly, Esquire but Milltown and Kilskeer is listed under the Widow Allen O'Reilly.[487] Another Reilly family are recorded in the estate rent rolls leasing Seraghstown. This family had their residence at Ryefield (Aghentigill) situated between Oldcastle and Virginia. This townland was included in the advertisement of the lands for sale by the Fingall Plunketts in 1738.[488] Ryefield House is shown on the 1837 OS map surrounded by a demesne.

[486] RD, 339/348/229034.
[487] MS 8024, Fingall Plunkett papers.
[488] Ibid.

Table 4.5 illustrates how the rent of Seraghstown increased by 173% between 1709 and 1779. A 1733 memorial recorded a lease between the Earl of Fingall and Bryan Reilly of Aghentigill (Ryefield), county Cavan of the townland which had been surveyed by Garret Hogan at 235 acres. The annual rent charge of £61-7s-6d pounds (slightly different from the rent rolls) showed that it had increased by a substantial 126%.[489] The 1738 figure reflects the two-third figure remaining when the Countess Dowager third was removed. An excluded section of Seraghstown claimed by John Wade containing 47 acres was mentioned and may explain why the townland is recorded as 'part of' in the rent rolls. The BSD record that a William Usher was awarded 47 acres of the townland under the settlements and he may have sold this share to the Wade family.[490] John Wade of Clonabraney included these lands in a deed of assignment to William Astor in 1714 indicating his ownership of these 47 acres.[491] The term "claimed by" was used in the 1733 lease of Seraghstown and may indicate that the Fingall Plunketts saw that part of the townland as rightfully theirs under the Decree of Innocence.[492]

Table 4.5 Seraghstown – Reilly Rent

Year	Rent paid	% change compared to 1709
1709	£27-14-7	-
1738	£62-17-7	126%
1761	£75-10-0	173%
1779	£75-10-0	173%

Compiled by author from MS8024 (NLI). Notes: (1) profitable acres = 235, unprofitable = 24; (2) 1738 figure reflects 2/3 rent.

A document charting rental income from 1739 to 1748, included Seraghstown and shows that the rent is similar to the 1733 lease but indicates that the lessee had died because an executor, Thomas Byrne, is listed. The lease was also recorded in the observations column.[493] Bryan Reilly is recorded as having signed a new lease in 1761 and as a result his rent increased from £62- 17s-7d (the full amount) to £75-10s-0d.[494] A memorial of a conveyance of Seraghstown from 1791 recorded Robert Bray O'Reilly, residing in London, as lessor reciting a deed from 1787 which included the lands of Seraghstown and that Bryan O'Reilly was then in possession of the manor house at Ryefield.[495] A deed from 1790 recorded that Robert Bray O'Reilly demised to Patrick Brady, a farmer, of

[489] RD, 75/85/52258.
[490] NLI, MS 974, 'Books of Survey and Distribution' for counties Louth and Meath compiled c. 1703, listing proprietors of land in 1641, and grantees and land granted in1688, with acreages hereafter cited as MS 974, BSD
[491] RD, 13/376/6026.
[492] RD, 75/85/52258.
[493] MS 8024, Fingall Plunkett papers.
[494] Ibid.
[495] RD.439/40/284207.

Seraghstown and Thomas Brady of Dublin, an apothecary, a part of Seraghstown containing 70 acres on a 31-year lease at a yearly rent of £78-12s-0d. This indicates the subdivision and subletting of the lands by the O'Reilly family.[496]

The Chapman family are recorded as lessees of Galboystown which neighboured their lands in county Westmeath. William and Sir Benjamin are members of the same family who were granted 718 acres, formerly the lands of the Earl of Westmeath under the Cromwellian settlement in neighbouring Killua in County Westmeath. They had originally come to county Kerry from Leicestershire under the patronage of Sir Walter Raleigh.[497] The family built a considerable estate centred on their castle at Killua and developed the nearby village of Clonmellon which forms part of Killalon parish today. The Chapmans were resident landlords and were therefore more involved in enhancing the local area while the Earl of Fingal was an absentee landlord.

Table 4.6 Galboystown: Chapman Rent

Year	Rent paid	% change compared to 1709
1709	£49-7-0	-
1738	£66-13-4	35%
1761	£100-0-0	101%
1779	£125-0-0	152%

Source: Compiled by the author from the rent rolls in MS 8024 (NLI) Note – 1738 figure reflects a 2/3 rent.

Table 4.6 details the rent paid by the Chapman family for Galboystown over the period 1709-1779.[498] The 1738 rent rolls list the acreage at 399 acres 3 roods 32 perches with 48 acres recorded as unprofitable. A 31-year lease starting in 1729 is listed in the 1734 rent rolls at a yearly rent of £100. In 1761 an indenture recorded the same acreage in a lease between Arthur James Plunkett of Woolascot, Berkshire and Sir Benjamin Chapman of Killua. The rent was set at £100 pounds for the first five years and rose to £125 pounds for the remainder of the 31-year period of the lease (see Table 4.6).[499] A year later, in 1762, a deed poll of Discovery to prevent the further growth of Popery was executed in the Court of Chancery against Benjamin Chapman, Christopher Daly and others who may have been his Catholic undertenants by William Vickers of Dublin for the lease of Galboystown.[500] It is to be assumed that this was an unsuccessful bid to obtain the lands because the townland remained in Chapman hands.

[496] RD. 439/285/284845.
[497] Eugene Sheridan (ed), The Parish of Clonmellon/Killalon including the medieval parishes of Killua, Clonarney and Clonmellon, p.31.
[498] MS 8024, Fingall Plunkett papers,
[499] RD, 218/6/141026.
[500] RD, 217/334/144121.

Table 4.7 traces the changing rental income generated for the Fingall Plunketts from Geighanstown townland. A massive 1,002% increase occurred over the period 1709 – 1785, a rise that is difficult to explain given the high proportion of unprofitable land listed for this townland. James Kernan was listed as the tenant in the 1734 rent roll but a note in the accounts for 1737 show that he was defaulting on his rent and says that there was "no prospect of getting this arrears".[501] A change of tenant is recorded in the 1738 rent roll whereby Garret Hogan replaced James Kernan.[502] In 1754, Michael Hogan signed a new lease increasing rent from £51 5s 0d to £68.[503] The 1738 figure in table 4.7 reflects the two-third amount because of the Countess Dowager's dower thirds. When Michael Hogan died, his widow, Mary, is recorded in the rent rolls. She continued as tenant until her death, signalling that widows were treated with respect and illustrating the continuance of leaseholding rights.

Table 4.7 Geighanstown - Hogan Rent

Year	Rent paid	% change compared to 1709
1709	£13-6-11	-
1738	£34-3-4	156%
1761	£68-0-0	413%
1779	£68-0-0	413%
1785	£146-12-2	1002%

Source: Compiled from the rent rolls NLI, MS8024 & Registry of Deeds, 439/366/285062. Note: 1738 figure reflects a two/thirds rent.

A number of memorials in the Registry of Deeds from 1770 record transactions of the Hogan family relating to the will of Michael Hogan. Michael Hogan's son, Philip, died around the same time as Michael and the memorials illustrate how Philip's inheritance was divided up among his brothers Garret, John and Charles. The brothers demised Philip's share to their mother Mary.[504] An agreement from 1770 between her son, Garret, and Robert Henry of Clommaskill, county Westmeath recorded that Mary found the rent of a portion of Garret's lands set to her by him too dear and she assigned her interest to him for the remaining fifteen years.[505] Two further deeds between Mary and her sons John and Charles recorded that she had been discharged by them of any rents due by surrendering her interest.[506] She is recorded in a rent roll from 1781 still paying the same rent of £68 pounds sterling.[507]

[501] MS8024, Fingall Plunkett papers.
[502] Ibid.
[503] Ibid.
[504] RD, 274/551/182450; 274/551/183449; 274/552/182451; 274/552/182452
[505] RD, 287/632/188503.
[506] RD, 287/633/188504; 287/634/188505.
[507] NLI, MS 8024, Fingall Plunkett papers.

A deed of assignment dated 1791 to which the will of Mary Hogan was annexed highlights that she had died. The assignment was between Denis Hogan (her son) and John White and Thomas Tuite of the lands of Geighanstown. The assignment recorded the lease of Geighanstown for 31 years by Mary from Arthur James, earl of Fingall in 1785 and revealed a further large increase in rent of 116% to £146. Through the 1791 deed of assignment Denis Hogan assigned the remaining period of the lease to White and Tuite for £1,150 pounds.[508]

As administrator of Mary Hogan's will, Denis Hogan drew up a new lease for some of the Geighanstown lands which were let to William Perrick, described as a farmer for the remaining 25 years of Mary Hogan's lease for a 'consideration' which was not stated. It was recorded that the lands were then in Perrick's tenure and contained 94 acres at 14 shillings per acre or just over £65 pounds.[509] This deed was a form of sublet but included covenants. Perrick was allowed to take marl from Hogan's section of the lands in order to improve his holding. Grass for a horse and car was to be provided by Perrick so that the tenants on the other parts of Geighanstown, namely Armstrong, Devine and Carroll could draw their turf. This illustrates that covenants were also a feature of sub-letting.

The research on the townlands owned by the Fingall Plunkett family in the barony of Demifore illustrates that even though they were absentee landlords they endeavoured to ensure through the use of covenants that the lands and premises would be maintained in good order and repair. The same was the case for the three townlands in the neighbouring barony of Kells Upper. Rising income is a notable feature and may be seen in a cumulative figure for the increases in the Demifore townlands of £298 in 1709 to £1,068 in 1779. The estate papers in the National Library only include rent rolls up to 1781.[510]

4.3.5 Early 19th century landownership: an overview

The nineteenth century data relies mainly on the data compiled by the Ordnance Survey in the 1830s. In addition, the largest townland of Killalon and its sub-denominations – Boherard, Cloneveran, Killacroy, Loughanbrean, Loughanderg, Monennican, Newtown, Rathbrack, Shanco,

[508] RD, 439/366/285062.
[509] RD, 442/100/286223.
[510] MS 8024, Fingall Plunkett papers.

Stranaboll and Stirrupstown are listed in the ownership of Lord Annesley in the Name Books.[511] An indenture from 1829 reciting Annesley's marriage settlement also included these Demifore lands.[512]

The Name Books serve to provide a more detailed picture of the three townlands remaining in Fingall Plunkett ownership in the early nineteenth century. The inhabitants of Galboystown are described as 'comfortable' and living in stone houses and paying rent of 23 to 40 shillings per acre. Sir Benjamin Chapman is named as holding a lease of lives, illustrating the continuity of his family's leaseholding of this townland. The townland of Seraghstown is held by one leaseholder, a Mrs. Fleming of Dublin with tenants at will occupying the lands, paying from twenty to thirty shillings per acre. Geighanstown, on the other hand, is held solely by tenants at will, paying rent of twenty shillings per acre. In this townland, the number of tenants was enumerated - eighteen farmers and one cottier farming almost 536 statute acres.[513] Mr. Owen Newman of Kilskyre is named as the agent for the three townlands illustrating that a local held the position.

Plate 4.2 Ruin of old church in Kilskyre graveyard

Source: Eddie O'Reilly, June 2020.

[511] The Ordnance Survey Name Books, DCU, transcripts held in the library of Belvedere House, St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra hereafter cited as Name books.
[512] RD, 846/416/566916.
[513] Name Books.

A village settlement at Kilskyre became the natural focus for the Fingall lands in the area but it never really flourished due to its proximity to the neighbouring villages of Crossakeel and Clonmellon. The absentee nature of the Fingall Plunkett ownership may have contributed to its stunted growth whereas the Wade (Crossakeel) and Chapman (Clonmellon) influence benefitted those towns' expansion. A sketch plan of a proposed pound to be built in Kilskyre illustrates that the settlement was important to the Fingall estate in the area.[514] In the village, the remains of the Early Christian foundation of Saint Schiria which gives the village its name, is located in the old graveyard. Saint Schiria died at the end of the sixth century.[515] The site was plundered by the Danes and also in 1170 by Diarmuid MacMurchada. It later became the location of the parish church and is recorded as such in the late fourteenth century.[516] The remaining sections of the church ruins are illustrated in plate 4.2.

The village of Crossakeel which was the focus of the neighbouring Wade estate may also have contributed to the stunting of Kilskyre's growth. The Wade family were resident landlords whereas the Fingall Plunketts were absentees. This dichotomy may also account for the eclipse of both Kilskyre and Killalon by Crossakeel. Additionally, the development of Clonmellon village as the focus of the neighbouring Chapman estate based in Killua may have contributed to the noticeable lack of growth of Kilskyre village.

4.4 The Morgan estate

The Morgan family of Sligo and Dublin are recorded as having an interest in seven townlands in Demifore in the eighteenth century. The BSD shows that the townlands - Ballinvalley, Patrickstown, Philipstown, Williamstown, Thomastown, Keenaghan and Knocklough - were in the possession of the Earl of Roscommon (Dillon family) who had retained these lands after the seventeenth century confiscations.[517] The Morgan family may have purchased these lands at some time in the intervening period between 1703 and 1724 when evidence of their ownership is first identified in the Registry of Deeds memorials. The combined acreage of the lands amounted to 2,224 plantation acres (see table 4.8).

[514] MS8024, Fingall Plunkett papers.
[515] Rev. A. Cogan, *History of the Diocese of Meath*, vol.2, (Dublin, 1867), pp.147-149.
[516] Ibid, p.148
[517] MS 974, BSD.

The family also owned lands in counties Sligo and Mayo, listed in a memorial from 1760 of a release of the lands by Hugh Morgan.[518] An indenture from 1748 provides an address for Marcus Anthony Morgan as Cottlestown, county Sligo yet Dublin is used as the address of the Morgan family in many of the memorials relating to Demifore. Cottlestown (now Castletown) is located in the barony of Tireragh, county Sligo, where Captain Robert Morgan was granted a castle and lands in 1653.[519] He served in Coote's regiment during the Cromwellian campaign and was appointed a Commissioner in charge of distributing lands to disbanded soldiers.[520] He is also listed in the regrants of lands from the patent rolls of Charles II.[521] His son, Hugh succeeded him and took part in the Jacobite/Williamite war of 1689-1690 and also served as an MP and Deputy Governor of Sligo.[522]

Table 4.8 Morgan lands circa 1730s

Townlands	BSD Acreage	1730s Acreage
Ballinvalley	279	336
Knocklough	468	518
Keenaghan	121	171
Patrickstown	634	600
Philipstown	260	212
Thomastown	262	336
Williamstown	71	71
Total	**2,095**	**2,224**

Source: Compiled by author from BSD and RD memorials

4.4.1 Management of the estate

The early management of the Morgan estate may be recreated from a series of memorials recorded in 1724. Table 4.9 illustrates that Marcus Anthony Morgan issued new leases on six of the seven Morgan townlands in Demifore. The exception of Williamstown may possibly be explained by the residency of one of the leaseholding families, the Gilsenans, in that townland. The Gilsenan leases in Table 4.9 were for 31 years while the other leases illustrated were for three lives. The Gilsenan family lived on the Morgan lands as did members of the Young family whose address is given as Ballinvalley for their two leases. The two other leaseholders were non-resident, Notley in Dublin and Crooke in Cherrivalley, south of Trim in county Meath.

[518] RD, 205/344/136425.
[519] John C. McTernan, *The Light of Bygone Days*, (Sligo, 2009), p284 hereafter cited as McTernan, *Light of Bygone days*.
[520] Ibid, p285.
[521] W.C. Wood Martin, *History of Sligo, County and Town from the close of the Revolution of 1668 to the present*, Vol. ii, (Dublin, 1889) pp.276-277.
[522] McTernan*, Light of Bygone Days*, p285.

A memorial from 1738 recorded Thomas Young of Philipstown demising a particular section of Philipstown called Tullywee containing 52 acres to Thomas Kelly of Belleek and Patrick Roche of Thomastown on a two-third/one-third basis whereby Kelly enjoyed the larger portion and Roche the smaller. It was indicated in the deed that these lands had originally been granted to Young by Morgan in 1732 for 31 years, implying that the lease had been renewed. A description of the boundaries was also given in the deed.[523] The remaining part of Philipstown containing 106 acres was granted in 1740 to William Battersby of Clonabraney by Marcus Anthony Morgan of Dublin for three lives. The yearly rent was given as £63.[524]

Table 4.9 Morgan leases in 1724

Year	Lessee	Townland	Acreage	Rent
1724	John Gilsenan (Jun)	Thomastown	336	£140-0-0
1724	John & William Gilsenan	Knocklough	518	£150-0-0
1724	John Notley (Dublin)	Keenaghan	171	£52-0-0
1724	John Young	Ballinvalley	320	£80-0-0
1724	Thomas Young	Philipstown	160	£60-0-0
1724	John Crooke (Cherrivalley)	Patrickstown	600	£195-0-0

Source: Compiled by author from RD 40/508/27097,40/504/27099, 42/475/27095, 43/20/27100/41/504/27096, 43/154/27730.

4.4.2 Financial uses of land

The later assignment of leases by some of the lessees is a noticeable feature of some of the recorded memorials. The assignment of leases meant that the lessee received a payment for the transaction and in this way was using the leased land to provide income. An example from 1729 involved the assignment by John Crooke of Rathmolian of his lease of Patrickstown (see Table 4.8) to Edward Warren of Dublin for a consideration of £250 sterling. Some lands and mills in Rathmolian (Rathmolyon) county Meath were also included in this assignment. John Crooke's address is given as Rathmolian in this deed, not Cherrivalley as previously listed.[525] [526]

Similarly, in 1737 Thomas Young (see Table 4.9) now of Philipstown assigned his lease of lives from Marcus Anthony Morgan of the lands of Philipstown containing 160 plantation acres to Joshua Evans of Trim, county Meath for a consideration not recorded in the memorial.[527] Twenty years later in 1757, an assignment of a lease dating from 1748 of the townland of Patrickstown between

[523] RD, 93/319/65604.
[524] RD, 97/527/69457.
[525] RD, 62/189/42478.
[526] The modern townland of Rathmolyn lies adjacent to the modern townland of Cherrivalley.
[527] RD, 86/525/61785.

Marcus Anthony Morgan and James Reilly of Baltrasna was registered. James Reilly assigned the lease for lives to Arthur Fitzgerald of Tullow, county Carlow for a consideration of £1,000.[528]

There were other means of raising financial income on the ownership of land other than the traditional rental income. Estate papers are not available for the Morgan lands and as a result the data from rent rolls is inaccessible. The complicated financial data which appears in the memorials detailed below indicate how land could be used in other ways. In 1743, a three-part indenture was registered relating to the estate of Hugh Morgan who had died. One of his daughters Mary Singleton was now a widow and sister of Marcus Anthony, son and heir of Hugh. The deed stated that she was an executrix of her deceased sisters, Elizabeth and Penelope. It was recited that the guardians and trustees, Marlay and French, of Robert King, a minor, had advanced to Marcus Anthony the sum of £2,377 8s 7d and that he had paid his sister, Mary Singleton £2,080 from this money. The townlands of Knocklough, Patrickstown, Ballinvalley and Dervor had been released by Marcus Anthony as they formed part of Robert King's trust. The money had been paid by Marlay and French to obtain an assignment of a charge on these lands made to Mark Whyte.[529]

In 1748, three other Morgan townlands were listed in a three-part indenture of Marcus Anthony, now with an address in Cottlestown, county Sligo and Hugh Morgan, his brother. The other parties to the indenture were Ambrose Keon and John Gore of Dublin. £2,000 was paid to the Morgans - £1,300 for Marcus Anthony's use and £700 for Hugh's use. This would involve a charge on the lands of Williamstown, Thomastown and Dervor.[530] Two memorials registered in May 1752 refer to the release of Morgan lands subject to the proviso of a redemption of the release. One refers to the £2,000 already mentioned. This would appear to be a complex financial arrangement that the Morgans had arranged concerning the inheritance of their lands.[531]

The assignment of lands was frequently used as a means of procuring finance, which is illustrated in this data concerning the Morgan's lands. In December 1756 Hugh Morgan, Major of Foot, granted a deed of release of the Meath, Sligo and Mayo lands to Henry Mitchell of Dublin for a consideration not mentioned, subject to a proviso.[532] In 1759, Hugh Morgan, now a Lieutenant Colonel in the 83rd Regiment of Foot, would appear to have reassigned the earlier transactions of 1752 to Mark Whyte

[528] RD, 201/281/132775.
[529] RD, 113/355/78552.
[530] RD, 135/80/90478.
[531] RD, 150/476/103221 & 150/477/103223.
[532] RD, 184/322/123083.

of Dublin for his natural life subject to the several common recoveries mentioned in the deed.[533] In 1760 another deed of Hugh Morgan's involves the Tisdall family. Hugh was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Philip Tisdall and Mary Singleton.[534] The will of Mary's father Rowland appeared to mention their daughter Elizabeth who for a consideration granted to Hugh Morgan the share of two sums of money amounting to £3,500 pounds for the release of the Meath, Sligo and Mayo lands. All of this was subject to a proviso and limitation agreement. It was mentioned that if Philip Tisdall died before Hugh, the money would be secured to Hugh.[535] This last deed demonstrates how the family worked together to secure their lands through the proviso agreement.

4.4.3 Marriage settlement arrangements

Jointure was a form of payment to widows which became common practice in the eighteenth century. It replaced dower rights which entitled widows to a life interest in one-third of their husband's landed property.[536] Jointure usually entailed a specific sum itemised in the marriage settlement. A particular use of it is illustrated in the following transactions. In 1783, Elizabeth Morgan agreed to release the lands of Thomastown, Williamstown, and Philipstown in Demifore from the jointure of her marriage settlement with Hugh Morgan in order to legally transfer them to her daughter Catherine Morgan.[537] Immediately after this a deed of sale between Catherine Morgan, only child and heir of Hugh Morgan and William Garnett of Kells was executed with Catherine selling the three townlands listed above (alongside some other lands) for £14,500 sterling.[538] A further memorial records that Catherine had released to William Garnett the lands according to the schedule.[539] A later deed from that same year refers to the same lands being exonerated from Elizabeth's jointure and an agreement to sell the fee simple to her daughter Catherine.[540] Three other memorials from 1783 show that Catherine was indemnifying Garnett from any previous judgements concerning the lands. This was necessary to the purchase agreement.[541]

---

[533] RD, 201/281/132775.
[534] Sir Bernard Burke*, A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Ireland* (London,1912) p.693; hereafter cite as Burke, *Landed Gentry.*
[535] RD, 205/344/136425.
[536] Wilson, *Women, Marriage and Property*, p.42.
[537] RD, 352/294/230220.
[538] RD, 352/294/238219.
[539] RD, 353/283/238882.
[540] RD, 352/38/238793.
[541] RD, 353/282/238881,353/283/238882 and 354/329/238794.

A complex memorial from the same year concerns Morgan Crofton (great-grandson and heir of Henry Crofton) and Catherine Morgan. Hugh, Catherine's father, was grandson and heir of Robert Morgan of Cottlestown, county Sligo. The deed involved the release of the Meath, Sligo and Mayo lands to Catherine in order to discharge the trust created by the will of her father, Hugh, now deceased. [542] A deed of assignment also from 1783 between the trustees and Commissioners of First Fruits and Catherine Morgan referred to the previous deeds of 1759 and 1763 and the lands which were sold. Catherine paid £6,300 to the trustees and assigned some of the lands to the Reverend Richard Moore, Bishop of Emly.[543] All of these deeds would seem to have ensured that all the Morgan lands were securely in Catherine's name prior to her intended marriage.

An indented deed of release dated March 18th, 1785 refers to the intended marriage between Catherine Morgan of Dublin and Robert Stearne Tighe of Mitchellstown, county Westmeath. The trustees appointed were Robert, Lord Baron of Leitrim, William Meade Ogle of Drogheda and Thomas Tisdall. Under the terms of the settlement, Robert Stearne Tighe released to Catherine three townlands in the barony of Delvin and other named lands in Westmeath in order to provide a jointure of £100 and £1,000 for younger children of the marriage. In turn, Catherine released her lands in Sligo, Mayo and the four remaining townlands of Ballinvalley, Knocklough, Herbertstown and Patrickstown in the barony of Demifore.[544] It would seem that after their marriage, the land agreements in Demifore were transacted in R.S. Tighe's name.

Elizabeth's intended husband Robert Stearne Tighe had succeeded to his grandfather's lands in county Westmeath. His grandmother was Mary Clements, sister of Nathaniel Clements, the noted financier and father of the first Lord Leitrim. Members of the Tighe family were intermarried with neighbouring landowners, the Wades and the Chapmans.[545]

4.4.4 Early 19th century landownership: an overview

A number of deeds dating from the early years of the nineteenth century show that the Tighe family were living in England. An 1812 deed refers to a loan of £6,000 at 6% from John Clements of Middlesex with security including a charge on the marriage settlement of 1785 as well as the townlands of Ballinvalley and Patrickstown.[546] Two 1816 deeds involved the Tighes, Clements and

[542] RD, 358/98/239003.
[543] RD, 358/99/239034.
[544] RD, 367/54/245848.
[545] Burke, *Landed Gentry*, p.693.
[546] RD, 643/313/443578.

also John Muldoon of Oldcastle. The sum of over £7,000 was paid to the Tighes by Muldoon, firstly for an assignment of the townland of Knocklough and secondly for assignment of part of Patrickstown and Herbertstown in order to pay off the debt. [547]

Further deeds dating from the 1820s and the 1830s indicate the continuing borrowing requirements of the Tighe family. Two 1821 deeds show that R.S. Tighe and his eldest son, Robert Morgan, confirmed to Henry Arabin of Clare Street, Dublin, the lands of Ballinvalley and Patrickstown for a consideration.[548] The later deeds refer to an annuity of £1,000 which was to be payable in two parts and was in arrears. In 1829, Thomas Quarrington of Cheltenham, England was discharging Tighe's debts for a conveyance of his Demifore and Westmeath lands.[549] Three later deeds from 1832 demonstrate that Tighe was still in debt, resulting in the conveyance of the same lands mentioned earlier to both Henry Arabin and Thomas Quarrington.[550] A later deed from 1834 between Tighe and Quarrington recites all the earlier deeds and includes a charge of 5 percent interest on the annuity until it is paid off.[551]

These loans and mortgages would seem to indicate that the Tighe family were possibly living beyond their means while in England. The evidence from the Name Books and the Griffith Valuation would seem to indicate that by the 1830s the Morgan/Tighe family had sold their Demifore lands to local landlords and principal leaseholders. The Name Books assist in providing data on these townlands. The townland of Patrickstown was in the hands of Edward Rotheram, a principal leaseholder on the Naper estate. The land was rented at ten shillings per acre to tenants at will. It was described as being in poor circumstances and included three carpenters and one tailor living in stone houses.[552] The townland of Knocklough was held by Edward Rotheram (listed in GV to JWL Naper). The land was rented at between twenty and thirty shillings per acre. The houses were described as stone-built with the majority of the inhabitants living by farming but also included a tailor, a shoemaker and a carpenter. Rotheram employed an agent for these lands, a Mr. Millawn, (possibly Muldoon) of Oldcastle. The proprietor of Ballinvalley was listed as Mr. Muldoon of Oldcastle. The land was let on a ninety-nine-year lease to Mr. Kearney of Kilskyre at seventeen shillings and six pence per acre. It was described as devoted to grazing, with a small corn mill sited

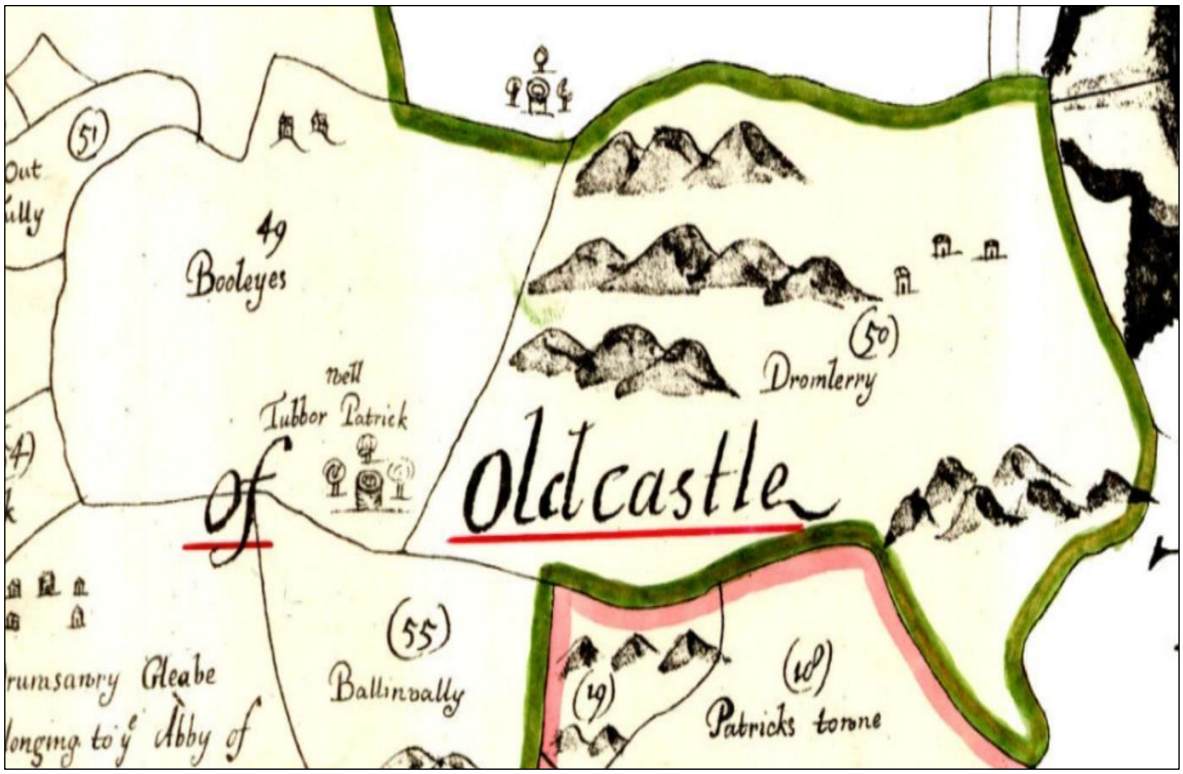
[547] RD, 704/40/482375 & 704/41/482376.
[548] RD, 809/409/545744 & 809/410/545745.
[549] RD, 850/68/568568.
[550] RD, 880/102/583602, 854/72/570572, 886/145/586560.
[551] RD, Book 21, 64.
[552] Name Books.

there.[553] The proprietor of the townland of Keenaghan was listed as Thomas Battersby of Newcastle in both the Name Books and the Griffith Valuation.[554] The land was occupied by tenants at will paying a rent of two pounds per acre. A large amount of the townland was under pasture.

4.5 Witherington/Bennett/Weld/Smyth/Piers estate

This estate was comprised of two large townlands - Drumlerry, enumerated at just under 1,188 acres in the BSD, and Boolies with 638 acres. Figure 4.4 from the Down survey indicates the location of Drumlerry on the lower slopes of the Sliabh na Calliagh hills. Prior to 1641 these lands were owned by Lord Dunsany but by 1660 had been granted to Thomas Newman. Drumlerry was made up of two main sections according to the memorials, namely Cloghernagh/Stonefield and Rahard, while Boolies was sometimes listed as Great and Little Boolies. The OS historic 1837 map illustrated in Figure 4.5 shows that the original Drumlerry was later divided into three townlands, namely Stonefield, Rahard and Drumlerry.

Figure 4.4 Down Survey map of Drumlerry



Source: www. TCD Down survey, screenshot of Boolies and Drumlerry– 2021-01-23.

There are no extant estate papers available for these lands and as a result this estate provides a good example of the importance of using the records in the Registry of Deeds to trace landownership. Using

[553] Name Books.
[554] Griffith's Valuation.

the townland indexes to provide the references for the relevant memorials was the method applied here. In this way, the records established that the names of the owners changed six times during the eighteenth century. A familial relationship was subsequently uncovered between the last five of these named owners, starting with the Witherington name.

Figure 4.5 OS 1837 historic map – Drumlerry, Stonefield and Rahard

Source: OS Geohive – 2021-01-27.

4.5.1 Gandern & Rawlins

It may be suggested that Thomas Newman who was listed as owner of these lands in the BSD may have sold the lands quite soon after taking ownership of them as his name is not evident in the early records in the Registry of Deeds.[555] In 1708, the first year of registration of documents, two Englishmen named Stephen Gandern and Thomas Rawlins, whose addresses were listed respectively in Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, are recorded as owners. In that year they leased the lands of Rahard to Patrick Murphy of Drumlerry. The lease was to begin on the 1st of May 1716 and to run for 21 years. A letter of attorney from the two men dated 5th July 1706 was presented by William Pendred of Brughallstown, county Carlow to a Dublin based notary named Samuel Cotton. It was noted that Patrick Murphy signed with his mark indicating that he was likely illiterate.[556] From this it can be inferred that Gandern and Rawlins owned the townland in 1706 and probably prior to that date and that Patrick Murphy was possibly renewing his lease. They may possibly have had some landed interests in county Carlow evidenced by their use of a man based in Carlow to present the lease in Dublin.

[555] MS 974, BSD.
[556] RD, 1/288/179.

4.5.2 Withrington[557]

Gandern and Rawlins appear to have sold their interest in the lands to the Withrington family of Dublin. The Withrington family were residents of Dublin but appeared to have English connections as detailed in a release of the lands in a memorial from 1713 where all the other parties to the deed had English addresses.[558] A deed from 1712 concerning his widow Margaret, reveals that John Withrington (deceased) had been an ironmonger and was recited as having provided a mortgage for a house on Great Stephen Street, indicating his property interests.[559] A similar document from 1717 and also involving his widow Margaret concerned several houses on Francis Street, Dublin.[560] The capital generated from the Withrington's Dublin properties may have been used to purchase their investment in the Meath lands.

In 1711, Gandern and Rawlins assigned all their rights in Drumlerry containing 687 acres to John Witherington. The townland was divided into two sections: Cloughern (Cloghernagh) in the possession of Patrick Murphy and John Fearons, and Rahard in the possession of John Farrelly.[561] Two townlands in the neighbouring barony of Kells, Clonesillagh (292 acres) and Ballinlough Big (180 acres) were also enumerated in the memorial. For these lands Witherington paid £1,900 pounds, of which £600 was paid to Elizabeth Rawlins as a charge on the estate of John Rawlins, by then deceased.[562]

In 1713, these lands covering 2,298 acres in the baronies of Demifore and Kells were assigned to Margaret Witherington of Dublin, a widow, indicating that her husband John had died. Two separate sums of money amounting to £1,900 pounds were paid by Margaret Witherington through the High Court of Chancery. This would imply that the original purchase money had not been paid and that the High Court of Chancery became involved as a result.[563]

A memorial from 1714 recorded that Margaret Witherington with the consent of her son John Witherington assigned the townlands of Drumlerry in the occupation of Patrick Murphy and Boolies

[557] Withrington is spelt Witherington in some memorials.
[558] RD, 11/46/3953.
[559] RD, 12/371/5449.
[560] RD, 18/303/9119.
[561] Note: The modern townlands of Rahard and Stonefield are adjacent to the modern townland of Drumlerry.
[562] RD, 8/151/2459.
[563] RD, 11/46/3953.

in the occupation of John Charles, gent., to Frances Harman by a deed of mortgage for £725 pounds subject to a proviso of redemption for the residue of the term of a 500-year lease.[564]

In 1719, the lands of Drumlerry and Boolies are named in a tripartite agreement between firstly, Frances Harman of Dublin city, widow, secondly, Hugh Morgan of Dublin city and thirdly, the Right Honourable Ralph Gore and Thomas Gledstone of Dublin. Gore was a trustee in John Withrington's marriage settlement and Thomas Gledstone was named as executor of his will which explains their involvement in this agreement. Through this agreement Harman was assigning the mortgage she had been granted in 1714 to Hugh Morgan for £950 for the remainder of the 500-year lease at a peppercorn rent.

The marriage settlement of John Witherington of Dublin (son of Margaret) and Anne Gore of Mountcharles, county Donegal drawn up before their marriage in 1709 was finally registered in 1718. The townlands of Drumlerry and Boolies were included as part of her jointure.[565] In the same year, the will of John Witherington, by then deceased, was registered whereby his personal estate was inherited by his sister Elizabeth who had married James Bennett.[566] In this way, Elizabeth Bennett assumed ownership of the Demifore lands. James Bennett was described in a 1722 memorial as a linen-draper from Christchurch, London but it also mentioned that he was now living in Dublin.[567] He appeared to have had some money to invest because in the same memorial it was recorded that he had built a mansion house on his Demifore lands. The marriage settlement of his daughter Ellen to Richard Weld in 1730 included a marriage portion of £2,000 pounds indicating his relative wealth.[568]

4.5.3 Bennett

Transactions relating to these lands were conducted in the name of James Bennett and his wife Elizabeth and later their son John. A memorial from 1722 provides information on James Bennett's origins where he is described as being 'of the parish of Christchurch, London and now of Dublin' which may indicate that Dublin was seen as an attractive business location for London merchants in the early 18th century.[569]

[564] RD, 12/432/5715.
[565] RD, 21/202/11245.
[566] RD, 22/382/12330.
[567] RD, 34/157/21009.
[568] RD,70/250/48244.
[569] RD, 34/157/21009.

Table 4.10 details the leases made by the Bennetts as identified from the Registry of Deeds memorials, indicating continuity in leasing the lands to members of the Murphy family as principal leaseholders. The reduction in rent in 1741 is a noticeable feature and may have resulted from a survey of the lands and a downward recalculation of its extent. The earliest lease dated 1722 mentions that a mansion house had been built in Drumlerry, indicating Murphy's investment in the lands.[570] Interestingly, the 1734 lease included a covenant that Murphy should set aside the choicest room in the stone house for John Bennett's use while also providing hay for two horses indicating that Bennett may occasionally have visited Drumlerry.[571] The Murphy's subletting of some of the land they held is illustrated in a lease from 1741 to Myles Reilly and Eneas Daly and their partners holding the townland of Cloghernagh (Stonefield) with particular boundaries specified.[572]

Table 4.10 Bennett leases to the Murphy family – 1722 to 1741

Year	Lessee	Townland	Acreage	Rent
1722	Patrick Murphy	Drumlerry	500	£84-0-0
1734	Peter Murphy	Drumlerry	500	£84-0-0
1740	Peter Murphy	Drumlerry	500	£84-0-0
1741	Robert Murphy	Cloghernagh	484 (Survey)	£70-0-0

Source: Compiled by the author from RD, 34/157/21009, 76/480/55497, 109/526/77041, 112/121/77323.

Two instruments of discovery which may have been triggered by the deaths of Peter Murphy and John Bennett were registered in July and September 1743 against members of the Murphy family. The discovery clause was included in the 1709 anti-popery legislation and allowed a Protestant to sue a Catholic in court concerning his legal right to his landholding.[573] If successful the claimant could gain possession of the lands. The first was taken by Joseph Thompson for Edward Bligh, Lord Darnley against Robert Murphy and others (not named) on the lands of Cloghernagh (Stonefield).[574] The second was taken by William Crossthwaite again on behalf of Edward Bligh, Lord Darnley against Eleanor Murphy and others (not named) on the lands of Drumlerry.[575] The instruments were obviously not upheld as the lands were not transferred to Lord Darnley.

[570] RD, 34/157/21009.
[571] RD, 76/480/55497.
[572] RD, 112/121/77323.
[573] University of Minnesota, Law Library, Collections, Irish Penal Law- Statutes in chronological order. Accessed on 20/07/20 '15.01.
[574] RD. 108/527/77255.
[575] RD, 112/121/77323.

In 1720 George Warburton of the Court of Chancery, the Right Honourable Ralph Gore, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Gustavus Hume, Thomas Gledstone, merchant of Dublin, Anne Witherington, widow of John, James Bennett, linen draper of London and Elizabeth Bennett, alias Witherington, only sister and heir of John Witherington assigned the Demifore lands to William Sheppard of Betaghstown, county Meath for a 'consideration' subject to the jointure of Anne Witherington (widow of John and sister-in-law of Elizabeth Bennett) for her life. The lands were recited in a deed of lease and release to William Sheppard of Betaghstown, county Meath during the life of Anne Witherington.[576] The money involved in the consideration was considerable at £3,405 paid to George Warburton by William Sheppard.[577]

In 1722, the 1720 deed is recited with the same parties named but this agreement was made between William Sheppard and James Bennett whereby it would seem that the lands were reverting to Bennet on payment of a fine to Sheppard. Anne Witherington's rights to jointure and dower thirds were included in the deed.[578] The lands of Drumlerry and Great and Little Boolies as well as two townlands covering 500 acres in county Laois were released in the 1727 marriage settlement of James Bennett's son John to Elizabeth Henton, eldest daughter of James Henton, vicar of Lancaster.[579] Once again, Anne Witherington's rights were included and formed an important component of these memorials. The release of lands to pay for a jointure constituted a major element of their use for financial purposes. John's sister Ellen married Richard Weld, a doctor of physic, in 1730 providing a marriage portion of £2,000. A number of houses in King Street, Bow Street and James's Street were cited for her jointure.[580] This marriage introduced the Weld interest into the Bennett lands. Richard Weld had died by 1756 because Ellen's jointure is recited in a deed from that year concerning her real estate in James's Street.[581]

4.5.4 Weld

Another member of the Weld family intermarried with the Bennetts. The marriage of Margaret Bennett and Charles Weld of Dublin occurred sometime between 1735 and 1745. It is probable that Margaret was also a sister of John Bennett. A 1735 memorial describes a lease between Margaret Bennett, spinster, of Dublin and Joseph Murphy of Rahard of the townland of Rahard containing

[576] RD, 55/193/36529.
[577] RD, 88/373/62952.
[578] RD, 55/193/36529.
[579] RD, 55/194/36532.
[580] RD, 70/250/48244.
[581] RD, 179/267/120340.

300 acres for 31 years.[582] By 1745 the lands of Rahard were being leased by Charles and Margaret Weld (formerly Bennett) to Joseph Murphy of Rahard indicating the continuing relationship between the owners – now Weld/Bennett and the Murphy family as principal leaseholders.[583]

This lease was cited in a 1752 instrument of discovery filed by John Games of Dublin, a yeoman acting on behalf of Thomas Reilly of Park, county Meath filed against Joseph Murphy of Rahard, gent and James Reilly of Baltrasna, esquire concerning the remainder of their 31 year lease of Rahard.[584] Another instrument was filed by Games in 1752 against Robert Murphy of Cloghernagh and James Reilly of Baltrasna concerning the 1745 lease by Charles and Margaret Weld of Cloghernagh which had 24 years to run. These instruments were similar to those taken out earlier on behalf of Lord Darnley in 1743. On this occasion, Thomas Reilly of Park would be the beneficiary and gain control of the leases if successful.[585] This was the second instrument taken concerning the lands of Cloghernagh which would imply that the 1743 instrument was unsuccessful. These four instruments relating to the lands of Rahard, Drumlerry and Cloghernagh (Stonefield) leased by the Murphy family suggests that they were singled out because they were principal leaseholders of a large portion of these lands and were Catholics. Thomas Reilly of Park leased part of the Morgan estate and the instruments of discovery illustrate his growing interest and knowledge of lands in Demifore. These instruments were not successful but James Reilly of Baltrasna subsequently converted in 1757.[586] The Reilly family were principal leaseholders of the very large townland of Baltrasna and this instrument may have led to his decision to conform to the Church of Ireland in order to secure his landholdings. One third of the recorded converts from the eighteenth century occurred in the period 1752 to 1771 which may further explain Reilly's decision to convert.[587]

The Murphy family's interest in these lands continued into the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1763 Patrick Murphy of Rahard demised to Bernard Murphy of Rahard that section of Rahard commonly called John Brady's holding. At the time it was in the possession of Lawrence, William and Terence McEntee for thirteen and a half years at £31 pounds per annum.[588] Another lease from 1764 concerned the same parties and other sections of Rahard known as Crossgarden and Stonespark then in the possession of Patrick Kelly and Conor Smyth and also including the use

[582] RD, 87/16/60339.
[583] RD, 120/344/82804.
[584] RD, 157/102/104087.
[585] RD. 154/372/104086.
[586] Eileen O'Byrne (ed), *The Convert Rolls, The calendar of the convert rolls, 1703-1838*, (Dublin, 2005) p.222.
[587] T.P. Power and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the eighteenth century*, p,105.
[588] RD, 238/276/154456.

of half of the dwelling house and half of the garden as well as giving Patrick Murphy permission to build a house in "the bawn in a convenient spot".[589] The time period of the lease was for thirteen years implying that this was the remaining term of the original lease from 1745. The rent was 10 shillings an acre. These transactions illustrate the means utilised by the Murphys to retain the lands of Rahard within the wider family. Besides securing their own family's interests, the Murphys were also assigning some of the lands they were leasing to other people living in the locality.

In 1761 Edward Murphy of Rahard demised to Hugh Reilly of Ballihist,[590] dealer, the part of Rahard known as Old Walls and Stragarrow. He was to be allowed turf from the bog of Knockcloonin and the use of the Stubble fields if he desired. The term was once again for thirteen years.[591] The townland of Ballyhist is located nearby in the barony of Kells. This transaction indicates that subletting of the Murphy leaseholdings also occurred outside the family circle.

4.6 Smith/Piers family

By 1750 Margaret Weld (formerly Bennett) had married John Smith and a memorial from that year concerned the townlands of Rahard, Cloghernagh and a moiety of the lands of Drumlerry and Great and Little Boolies and other lands in Meath and Laois. The lands were to be charged to a debt of £600 with a payment of £1,200, to include £600 for her jointure. The other party to this transaction was Joseph Green of Dublin. A payment of a fine of Cognizance Droit was to be paid by John and Margaret to ensure that the lands were her full entitlement and not just for the life of her jointure.[592] Cognizance Droit was a legal fine that ensured the property rights of the party recovering the lands were retained.[593]

The Piers family of Tristernagh in county Westmeath came into control of these lands on the marriage of Sir Pigott Piers and Elizabeth Smyth, a daughter of John and Margaret (spelt both as Smith and Smyth) of Dublin in 1771[594] The Weld interest in the lands continued as evidenced in the will of Ellen Weld, Elizabeth's aunt, where Elizabeth was named as the inheritor of the Demifore lands. The will specified the townlands of Drumlerry, Boolies and Cullenasillagh (Kells barony) and

[589] RD, 238/276/154457.
[590] Ballihist townland is located nearby in Kells barony bordering the townland of Ballinlough Little.
[591] RD, 249/42/158735.
[592] RD, 268/499/171725.
[593] Legallingo, accessed on 15/01/21 at 12.30.
[594] RD, 286/188/185887.

the lands in Dublin and Laois. The legacies to Elizabeth's children were mentioned with the power to pay them sooner by using a charge on the lands.[595]

4.6.1 Tenurial arrangements

This continuing thread of the relationship between the Weld, Smyth and Piers families is evident in a 1783 memorial when Anne Weld of Dublin, widow (possibly Ellen), Sir Pigott William Piers of Tristernagh, county Westmeath and Elizabeth Lady Piers farm let the lands of Drumlerry containing 493 acres, three roods and six perches to Patrick Carney of Hamlinstown. It was a lease for the lives of Patrick Carney, his eldest son John and Edmund, his second son.[596] The yearly rent amounted to £464, indicating the dramatic increase (450%) in rents as the century progressed. The Carney family would seem to have replaced the Murphy family as principal leaseholders in the latter half of the century and may indicate a change in management policy resulting in enhanced income from the lands.

In 1791, a memorial recorded that these same lands were let to the Carney family at the same rent. Here the same lessors are involved but the lessee is now John Carney, presumably the eldest son from the previous lease. The lives were changed somewhat and now John and Edward Carney are named as before but the third life named is Bryan Brady, son of Walter of Stonefield.[597]

In 1795, Edward and John Carney, both of Hamlinstown, registered a deed referring to their late father Patrick's will. They had made an equal portion of the large stock of cattle, money and other property. Edward Carney granted the lands of Drumlerry to John and also the lands of Milltown South subject to the yearly rents and leases. The above transactions indicate the increasing leaseholding interest of the Carney family in Demifore lands. They already had an interest in some of the Wade lands detailed in section 3.5.3. of Chapter 3.

4.6.2 Financial uses of land

These successive generations of Dublin families who owned this substantial section of the Demifore lands in the eighteenth century may have considered investment in land a good business opportunity. The continuity and retention of ownership of these lands is evident throughout the entire eighteenth century.

[595] RD, 464/544/340176.
[596] RD, 359/28/240724.
[597] RD, 445/327/286866.

The leasing policy adopted was similar to that of other landowners in the barony in that principal leaseholders were favoured and large townlands or sections of townlands were leased in blocks. The time period of the leases was usually 31 years and sometimes lives were included.

Dame Elizabeth and Sir Pigot William Piers who had married in 1771 had several children. Their sons John, Frederick, William and Octavius lived into adulthood but Edward and Henry died young.[598] A daughter Ellen is mentioned in an 1813 memorial and also lived into adulthood.[599] Sir Pigott Piers died in 1798 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir John Piers.[600] Dame Elizabeth Piers subsequently married Thomas Marley of Bartlestown, county Dublin.[601]

After their father's death, the Piers children utilised the terms of their mother's marriage settlement of 1771 and their grand-aunt Ellen Weld's will as a means of obtaining finance through charges on the lands. An 1801 deed detailed that Dame Elizabeth made over to her second son William Piers, sections of the lands of Little and Great Boolies totalling 176 plantation acres and also a sum of £1,500 pounds to Sir John Bennett Piers, her eldest son which would happen on her death.[602] A further deed from 1801 involved seven parties and concerned the lands of Boolies and Dame Elizabeth's £600 annuity from her 1771 marriage settlement. It was indicated that Dame Elizabeth would receive £100 and the remainder of the money due from the rents while a £200 annuity was to be paid to William Bond of Edgeworthstown, county Longford.[603] An 1804 memorial detailed that her third son, Edward was entitled to a section of Great Boolies and if he had no heirs it would go to his brother, Sir John.[604]

An 1813 assignment details that Octavius, a younger son, assigned his interest in his mother's lands on her death to Edmond Nugent of College Green, Dublin, for £6,000.[605] A further deed from 1813 refers to the previous deed and concerned Octavius's interests. It mentioned the order of

[598] Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage* (1949), pp.1589-1590 hereafter cited as Burke, *Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*
[599] RD, 661/90/453868.
[600]Burke, *Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*. pp.1589-1590.
[601] RD, 563/431/378861.
[602] RD, 535/516/352596.
[603] RD, 536/145/352597.
[604] RD, 563/431/378861.
[605] RD, 661/90/453868.

preference if there were two or more sons in the family and indicated that there were three sons still living – Sir John, Frederick and Octavius indicating that William and Edward had died.[606]

Six deeds from the years 1815 and 1816 concerned Dame Elizabeth's son Frederick. Once again, the lands in Boolies and sums of money payable on his mother's death were being assigned to other parties for various amounts. The 1815 transactions involved the principal sum of £5,000 due to him on her decease. The first deed concerned the principal sum and that £2,000 was to be assigned to James La Farrelle and £1,000 to Richard Reynell. [607] The second was a release to John Gamble Dawson for £2,000.[608] The third deed involved Frederick, his older brother Sir John of the Isle of Man, and his mother Dame Elizabeth. Sir John was in debt to William Leece Drinkwater of the Isle of Man. Frederick assigned £2,350 to pay off the debt.[609] The lands which would have been inherited by Frederick's deceased brothers were recited in the three 1816 deeds.[610]

Two 1821 deeds illustrate that Dame Elizabeth was assisting her son, Sir John to discharge a £400 debt by using a charge on the lands.[611] By 1834 it would appear that Sir John was settling his debts. A memorial from that year recites an 1829 court case concerning his brother Frederick and also records the death of their mother Dame Elizabeth in 1824. Sir John paid £7,190 to William Murphy of Mount Merrion, Dublin concerning the charges on the lands.[612] An 1836 memorial illustrates his relationship with his sister Ellen, living in Bath, England. Ellen's inheritance of the lands in Stradbally, Dublin and the moiety of Drumlerry held by John Kearney were to be put in trust to Edmond Nugent and William John Church for the use of Ellen during her life and after her death to Sir John's four named children.[613] A later memorial from 1836 detailed Sir John's debts to Sir Edmond Nugent of Airfield and Prosper Oliver, banker of St. Omer, France at £1,100 to Nugent and £235 to Oliver for lands assigned.[614] By 1842, Sir John was living in St. Omer, France where a memorial recorded the marriage settlement of his daughter Florence Anna Maria to Count Louis Le Coat de Kerveguen, third son of Count Gabriel de Kerveugen, a rear admiral based in the naval port of Toulon. Part of

[606] RD, 670/187/460296.
[607] RD, 684/317/470670, 684/511/470904.
[608] RD, 684/511/470904.
[609] RD, 697/409/478500.
[610] RD,700/325/480202, 700/391/480529. 704/521/482856.
[611] RD, 767/546/520682, 768/148/520883.
[612] RD, Book 1/297.(1834)
[613] RD, Book 20/225.(1836)
[614]RD, Book 20/226. (1836)

Florence's inheritance from her aunt Ellen, deceased, was included as a portion of the settlement.[615]

4.6.3 Principal leaseholders

Various members of the Murphy family retained their leaseholds of large areas of these lands for most of the century. The earliest leases were for a time period of 21 years and later in the century changed to 31 years and did not include lives. The insertion of a covenant allowing the Bennett family the use of a room in the stone-built mansion house (Murphy residence) indicated that some visits to this house occurred and illustrated the willingness of the owners to view and assess their assets.[616] This approach also demonstrates that as absentee landlords they were interested in forming relationships with the principal leaseholders and possibly the more important sub-tenants face to face.

The Murphy family were possibly seen as vulnerable leaseholders as demonstrated by the four instruments of discovery taken against them in the mid-century period. The family used legacies and subletting to other family members as a method of retaining control of their leaseholds. Later in the century, it appears that they failed to retain their leaseholds of these lands.

The Carney/Kearney family of Hamlinstown, obtained leases of the townland of Drumlerry which was formerly in Murphy hands. They had the means to pay a much higher rental charge and this may have been the reason why they obtained their leaseholding interest. The leases of the Carneys included three lives which illustrated that a different leasing policy was being employed by the Piers interest. The Name Books illustrate that the family had established ownership of Drumlerry townland.[617] The Carney family were also leasing lands in the Wade estate where they had their residence in Hamlinstown townland.

4.6.4 Early 19th century landownership: an overview

Records from the 1830s indicate that the Piers lands in Demifore were being sold. By the 1840s the four Demifore townlands were no longer in Piers ownership. The deeds from the beginning of the nineteenth century illustrated that Sir John Piers was in financial difficulties and in debt resulting in the divestment of some of his lands. An 1841 memorial recited that by a decree of the Court of

[615] RD, Book 14, 278 1842).
[616] RD, 76/480/55497.
[617] Name Books,

Chancery, the fee simple of the townland of Great Boolies was transferred in 1839 to Willoughby Bond of Faragh, county Longford for £13,200. This 1841 transaction recorded that Bond was borrowing £3,137 at six per cent from Thomas and Henry Battersby in order to complete the purchase.[618] He is recorded in Griffith's Valuation as the proprietor.[619]

The townland of Stonefield was purchased in 1838 by George Rotheram under sales of the Court of Chancery. He was recorded as the owner in the Griffith Valuation[620] and it remained in his ownership, being listed in his will from 1879.[621] The Rotheram family were principal leaseholders on the Naper estate and his purchase provides an example of how mounting debts of the landlords provided opportunities for leaseholders to become landowners. The Name Books recorded the townland under John Piers's name which may indicate that John O'Donovan was working on place names in the Oldcastle area in 1836, prior to the sale.[622] Drumlerry townland is listed in the Name Books as a supposed purchase by Mr. J. Kearney from Sir John Piers.[623] The Kearney family were leaseholders of this townland in the later eighteenth century (see section 4.6.3). The purchase reflects a move by the principal leaseholders into landownership when opportunities arose. James Kearney is listed as proprietor in Griffith's Valuation.[624] Rahard townland is recorded in the Name Books in the ownership of Lady Piers and Richard Coffee indicating that some Piers interest may have been retained in one of the townlands in the 1830s. An agent, Hugh Beggin was employed by Coffee.[625] Griffith's Valuation names Robert Brennan as the proprietor of the townland and lists James Beggin holding 120 acres, indicating a relationship to Hugh Beggin mentioned earlier.[626] By the 1840s, this group of townlands no longer formed a composite group under single ownership as it had done from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Each of the townlands was now owned by different owners. The ramifications of financial difficulties which resulted in the sale of these lands are clearly illustrated here.

4.7 Donnellan/Forde Estate

The Donnellan family with properties and lands in Dublin city and Johnstown, county Meath were identified as the owners of four townlands in Demifore - Ballynea/Ballina, Ballinrink,

[618] RD, Book 16/168 (1841).
[619] Griffith's Valuation.
[620] Ibid.
[621] NAI,MS 5787,will of George Rotheram.
[622] Michael Herity (ed.), *Ordnance Survey Letters Meath*, (Dublin, 2001), pp.32-34.
[623] Name Books.
[624] Griffith's Valuation.
[625] Name Books.
[626] Griffith's Valuation.

Ballyknockanvillragh/Knocknavillraghra and Ross/Rosetown between 1726 and 1763. The BSD show that these same townlands located in the parish of Killeagh with a combined acreage of 1,184 plantation acres were in the possession of Edward Baines during the seventeenth century. The townland of Ross/Rosetown is located in the north-western corner of Demifore and is separated from the other three townlands (which all lie contiguous to each other) by the townland of Cullendragh.

4.7.1 Management of the estate

The Donnellan family's policy of leasing whole townlands and sometimes groups of townlands demonstrates that it may have been an easier option for them as they were absentee landlords. This may have helped to ease administration costs and secure better relationships with their principal tenants. They also favoured the strategy of opting for principal leaseholders as illustrated in the leaseholds of members of the Reilly family. The address used by the Donnellan family from the 1730s onwards in their legal transactions was given as Johnstown, county Meath indicating that they had a residence there. It is located in the barony of Moyfenrath and lies close to the town of Enfield and the N4 motorway.

4.7.2: Tenurial arrangements

The Donnellan family favoured the practice of leasing their lands to principal leaseholders. Table 4.11 illustrates that members of the Reilly family were leasing the lands. The addresses listed in the memorials indicated that they were resident on the lands. In 1726, Owen Reilly's address was given as Ross and his brother Bryan was listed as living in Ballinrink.[627] In 1753, three memorials demonstrated that members of the Reilly family continued living in Ross and Ballinrink.[628] The practice of letting whole townlands and/or groups of townlands to principal leaseholders was an important tool of estate management for absentee landowners like the Donnellans.

In 1735 the townlands were leased to James Reilly, most likely Owen's kinsman.[629] It was recited that the lands had been held from the Right Honourable Nehemiah Donnellan, (Chief Baron of the Exchequer – 1703)[630] and James Donnellan, deceased, indicating that the Reilly family had held previous leases from both Nehemiah and James Donnellan. In 1753 the leases of the townlands were renewed and continued to be held by the Reilly family, however significantly, the rent nearly

[627] RD, 50/464/33825.
[628] RD, 161/393/109133 & 109134 & 109135.
[629] RD, 83/30/57409.
[630] Burke, *Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, p,189.

doubled to eleven shillings an acre.[631] These increases may be a reflection on the improving agricultural economy and its consequent effect on land values. Rising rents were a feature of the period 1740-1780 where aggregate rental fees doubled nationally in this period.[632] In 1755 James Reilly surrendered his former lease of Ross/Rosetown and took out a new lease from James Donnellan at a reduced rent of over 20 per cent in just two years.[633] Another renewal of the lease of Ross at the same rent dating from 1760 also noted that the several fisheries on Lough Sheelin which borders the townland were included in the lease. [634]

Table 4.11 Donnellan leases: 1726 to 1760

Year	Lessor	Lessee	Townlands	Rent/acre	Lease
1726	Donnellan, John	Reilly, Owen	Ross/Rosetown	6 s	31 years
1726	Donnellan, John	Reilly, Owen	Ballinrink	6 s	31 years
1726	Donnellan, John	Reilly, Owen	Ballina	6 s	31 years
1726	Donnellan, John	Reilly, Owen	Knocknavillragh	6 s	31 years
1735	Donnelan. John	Reilly, James	Ross/Rosetown	6 s	31 years
1735	Donnelan. John	Reilly, James	Ballinrink	6 s	31 years
1735	Donnelan. John	Reilly, James	Ballina	6 s	31 years
1735	Donnelan. John	Reilly, James	Knocknavillragh	6 s	31 years
1753	Donnellan, James	Reilly, James	Ross/Rosetown	11 s	31 years
1753	Donnelan, James	Reilly, James & Luke	Ballinrink	11 s	31 years
1753	Donnellan, James	Reilly, Luke	Knocknavillragh	11 s	31 years
1755	Donnellan, James	Reilly, James	Ross/Rosetown	8s-6d	31 years

Source: Compiled by the author from RD, 50/464/33825; 83/30/57409; 161/393/109133; 161/393/109134; 109/393/109135; 172/231/116012; 207/446/137940.

4.7.3 Financial uses of land

The 1727 marriage settlement of John Donnellan of Dublin and Hannah Gore revealed that Donnellan owned the four townlands in Demifore barony, the townland of Johnstown in the barony of Moyfenragh, county Meath and also a number of houses on Skinner's Row and Back Lane in Dublin. Hannah was a daughter of the Right Honourable Ralph Gore, chancellor of the exchequer.[635] The marriage portion of £2,000 sterling was a very substantial amount of money.[636] Wilson points out that the amount of a portion reflected the varying wealth of the bride and bridegroom's families.[637]

[631] RD, 161/393/109133, 161/393/109134, 161/393/109135.
[632] L.M. Cullen,'Economic Development, 1750-1800 in T.W Moody and W.E.Vaughan (eds), A new history of Ireland, vol. iv, (1986), pp.177-178.
[633] RD, 172/231/116012.
[634] RD, 207/446/137940.
[635] Burke, *Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, p.847.
[636] RD, 54/157/35244.
[637] Wilson, *Women, Marriage and Property*, p.48.

In 1729, through a deed of lease and release, John Donnellan confirmed to Nathaniel Clements of Dublin all the lands and premises enumerated in his marriage settlement. He received £1,000 from Clements for this transaction.[638] A year later, Nathaniel Clements assigned the lease over to St.Leger Gilbert of county Laois with the consent of John Donnellan for £500.[639] The Donnellan connection with Nathaniel Clements who held an important position in the Treasury office in Dublin,[640] appeared to be of a financial nature and concerned with borrowing money and servicing subsequent debts. There was also a family connection as Nathaniel Clements was married to the niece of Sir Ralph Gore who succeeded Connolly as Speaker of the Irish House of Commons.[641] These deeds illustrate the Donnellan family's connections with the political and economic elite of eighteenth century Dublin. Nathaniel Clements moved into 8 Henrietta Street in the early 1730s, the most fashionable location in Dublin at that time.[642] The transactions reveal how land was used as security in order to generate additional income.

The connection between Donnellan and Clements continued on into the 1740s. A memorial from 1740 recorded that John Donnellan of Johnstown, county Meath made over to Nathaniel Clements of Dublin city the sum of £118 which was part of the rent payable on the Demifore lands and other lands in county Meath then in the possession of James Reilly and his undertenants.[643] In the same year a memorial indicated that John Donnellan was in debt to Nathaniel Clements and a Mr. Malone as his premises and lands in Dublin and Meath and tithes impropriate owned by him had been assigned to them in pursuance of his debts.[644]

In 1748, there is a further twist to the Donnellan/Clements relationship recorded in an assignment which cites a lease with 39 and half years to run and expiring in 1778 on rent charges in Dublin city issuing from the Tholsel (City Hall). It appears that Patrick Donnellan, son of James, was to receive the sum of £500 pounds, part of a settlement from his father payable out of his assets which

[638] RD, 61.111.40794.
[639] RD, 62.498.43843.
[640] A.P.W, Malcomson, *Nathaniel Clements Government and the Governing Elite in Ireland, 1725-75*, (Dublin, 2005), p.26
[641] Ibid, p,29.
[642] Melanie Hayes, *The Best Address in Town: Henrietta Street, Dublin and Its First Residents, 1720-1780*, p.109.
[643] RD, 101/46/69766.
[644] RD, 101.237.70884.

included the townlands in Demifore.[645] As part of this transaction Patrick Donnellan transferred the sum of £250 pounds to Nathaniel Clements.

4.7.4 Sale of the lands to the Forde family

Memorials from 1761 and 1762 record the agreement to sell and the actual sale of the four townlands in the barony and the lands and premises in Johnstown by the Donnellan family. In 1761 the lands were set to Frances Forde of Dublin at a yearly rent of £100 until the sale could be completed.[646] An indented deed of bargain and sale dated 20th June 1762 between James Donnellan of Johnstown and Frances Forde of the city of Dublin listed the lands of Johnstown in the barony of Moyfenrath containing 265 plantation acres and the townlands of Ross, Ballinrink Ballynea and Ballyknockvillragh containing 1,093 plantation acres for the sum of £16,876 sterling.[647]

The Forde family also utilised the lands as a means of providing additional income. By 1771 the Demifore lands were in the hands of Robert Forde who had inherited them from his father Francis.[648] Two memorials from 1786 reveal that Robert Forde was in need of finance. The first recited a mortgage between Robert Forde and William Annesley Bailie of county Down. References to judgements in the Court of Common Pleas in 1782 were cited. The Demifore lands were assigned to Bailie subject to a proviso of redemption on payment of £7,439 pounds.[649] An assignment of the lands was recorded in the second memorial showing that Robert Forde received £2,000 pounds from Nathan Williams of Dublin also subject to a proviso of redemption.[650] A 1791 deed shows that Robert Forde continued to borrow money using the lands as security. Three members of the La Touche family (prominent bankers)[651] are named in the transaction with Forde granting his freehold lands in counties Meath, Cavan and Leitrim to them for a 'consideration.'[652]

4.7.5 Early 19th century landownership: an overview

In 1802 a deed of assignment confirmed that the Forde family were still in ownership of the four townlands and also the townland of Johnstown and its house. This deed assigned these lands to John Forde, attorney-at-law of Dominick Street, Dublin forever subject to a proviso of redemption

[645] RD, 134.155.90403.
[646] RD, 212/479/140077.
[647] RD, 220/17/143279.
[648] RD, 285/551/190304.
[649] RD, 379/219/251952.
[650] RD, 383/364/254012.
[651] Archiseek, Accessed on 25/07/20.
[652] RD, 452/329/292014.

on payment of £2,000. The assignment was made by Nathaniel Williams, an innkeeper late of Dublin but then of Bagshot, Surrey, England.[653] By 1822, Ballynea, Ballinrink and Knocknavillragh had been sold to a local resident, Edward Rotheram of Crossdrum. They are cited in his 1822 marriage settlement with Barbara Crofton as a means of providing her with a jointure of £500 from the rent charges arising from these lands.[654] Griffith's valuation confirms that Ballinrink (now including Ballynea) and Knocknavillragh (now Ballinacree) were in Rotheram ownership and that he had established a woollen factory in Ballinacree.[655] The Name Books also verify Rotheram's ownership of these townlands.[656]

The townland of Ross and its associated bog are shown in the ownership of George H. Pentland in the Griffith Valuation.[657] The Name Books also name him as proprietor and mention that his agent is Mr. Thomas of Athy to which part of the townland is let and also to three other persons who sublet.[658] The Demifore townland database indicates that Pentland gained ownership of Ross sometime between 1828 and 1832 and that he was letting part to James Somerville in 1836[659] and to Lloyd Thomas in 1843,[660] both of whom are named in the Griffith Valuation.[661]

It would appear that by 1830 the Forde family had divested themselves of their Demifore lands. Edward Rotheram who acquired Ballinrink and Ballinacree lived nearby in Crossdrum House and his investment in these lands may be seen as an opportunity to expand his landholdings in the area. George Pentland was an absentee owner who was resident in Dublin.[662] By the 1830s, these Forde lands were in the possession of two owners.

4.8 The Peppard/Barlow Estate

The Peppard family of Dublin are recorded as owning five townlands in the parish of Killeagh in Demifore barony in the early eighteenth century. The BSD list six townlands in the parish of Killeagh in the possession of William Cambell. Five of these townlands are recorded in the 1709 marriage settlement of Jacob Peppard of Dublin and Jane Bickerton of Milestown, county Louth. The

[653] RD, 545/36/358575.
[654] RD, 771/129/522664.
[655] Griffith's Valuation.
[656] Name Books.
[657] Griffith's Valuation.
[658] Name Books.
[659] RD, 1836, 2/131/41.
[660] RD, 1843, 6/75/157.
[661] Griffith's Valuation.
[662] Name Books.

townlands listed are Tubrid, Rasillagh, Ballymacad, Ballynagranshy and part of Rathmay. Ballyknockvillragh, the sixth townland listed as being owned by Cambell is not included because it was by then in the possession of the Donnellan family. The memorial records a total acreage for these lands of 1,020 plantation acres, with part of Rathmay at 51 acres.[663] The other part of Rathmay was shown to be in the possession of Humphrey Rogers at 168 acres and later came in to Naper ownership.[664] This group of townlands all lie contiguous to each other in the western part of Demifore.

The trustees of Jane's jointure named in the 1709 marriage settlement were men of some consequence - Robert Rochfort,[665] chief baron of the exchequer, Thomas Bellingham of Castle Bellingham, county Louth and John Forster who held the position of recorder in Dublin. This would seem to indicate that both the Peppard and Bickerton families moved in the upper social circles of the time. The Peppard family had Louth connections in the town of Drogheda. Two wills from Robert in 1654 and Thomas in 1714 have been published and reveal their holdings in the town of Drogheda and other areas.[666]

Jacob Peppard's will is recorded in a memorial from 1724.[667] His residence is given as Hoyes Alley in Dublin. His family are listed as his wife Jane, his son Robert, daughters Diana (unmarried) and Elizabeth Barlow, grandson James Barlow, son-in-law William Barlow. The reversion of the townlands in the barony of Demifore are listed as then being in lease to John Leigh. The will shows that Peppard owned other lands in counties Meath, Kildare and Dublin as well as premises in the city of Dublin and Swords and Wicklow towns. He was an MP for Swords in 1707.[668] Leases of lands in counties Kildare and Laois are also included. This memorial indicates that Jacob Peppard had numerous landed interests. The townlands in Demifore from his marriage settlement would only revert to other uses if his wife Jane died, indicating the importance of her jointure.

The family connection with the Rochfords continued into the latter part of the eighteenth century when in 1770 Robert, Earl of Belvedere and grandson of Robert Rochford, formerly chief baron of

[663] RD, 129/487/87930.
[664] RD, 77/475/54395.
[665] Rochfort also spelt Rochford.
[666] Gerard Rice, "Four wills of Old English merchants 1654-1717" in *Journal of Louth Historical Society*, vol.2. no.2, (1982), pp.96-105.
[667] RD, 69/173/10351.
[668] Brendan Twomey, *Dublin in 1707, a year in the life of the city*, (Dublin 2009).

the Court of Exchequer then deceased had reverted the ownership of the townlands in Demifore to Maurice Peppard Warren, great-grandson of Jacob Peppard into his actual possession.[669]

4.8.1 Financial uses of land

In 1779, Maurice Peppard Warren of Kerdiffstown, county Kildare is recorded in a memorial citing a decree from the High Court of Chancery of 1754 indicating that he owed the sum of £400 with interest to William Rosengrave of Dublin city. The townlands in Demifore and other lands were used as security for a loan. The money was paid back to Rosengrave.[670] In 1779, another debt is recorded as being paid off by Maurice Peppard Warren to Theobald Wolfe using the same lands as security. The sums involved were much higher amounting to two separate sums of £2,100 and £208 pounds. Another sum of £147 was paid to Mr. Maturin.[671] These transactions involved a decree of the High Court of Chancery dating from 1754. The debts were paid off by Maurice Peppard Warren.

4.8.2 Early 19th century landownership: an overview

The Demifore townland index database indicates that James Barlow, grandson of Jacob Peppard also had an interest in the lands as a lessee where he is listed as James Barlow and others.[672] The memorial number indicates a time near to 1780 approximately. The database also revealed that two memorials were recorded in the period 1811-1820 concerning the townland of Ballymacad.[673] The townlands of Ballymacad, Rasillagh, Tubrid and Rathmay are listed in the database in the period 1821-1825 under the names Cramer and Chambers.[674] The later sale of the estate in 1830 names Maurice Cramer as a party to the transaction indicating his interest in the lands.[675]

Table 4.12 Rental income and acreage per tenants' list, 1823

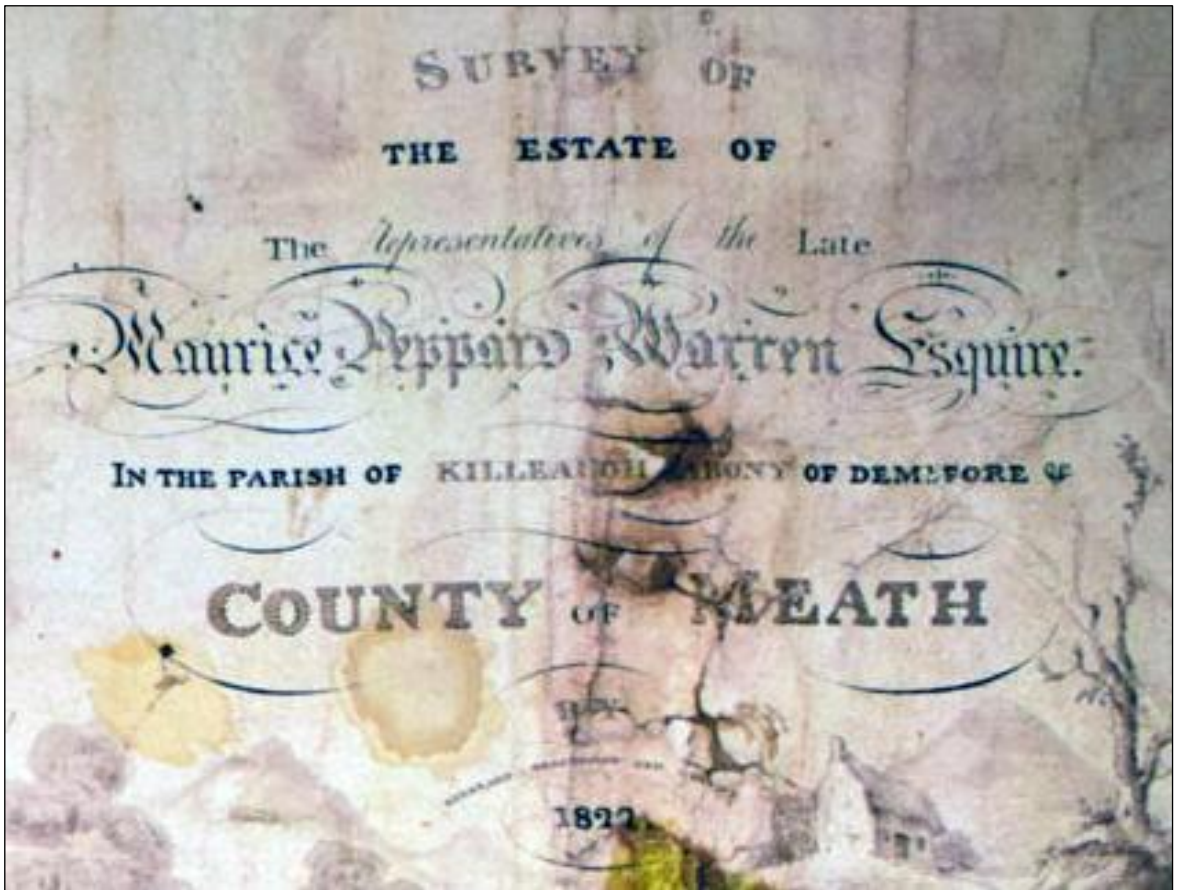
Townland	Tenants	Acres	Roods	Perches	£	s	d
Ballymacad	15	307	0	32	385	6	3
Ballynagrangy	6	77	0	30	75	16	0
Rathmay	2	41	3	14	46	6	8
Rasillagh	4	164	0	7	180	0	0
Tubbrid	13	368	1	18	347	2	6
Total	**40**	**958**	**2**	**21**	**1034**	**11**	**5**

Source: Compiled by author from manuscript provided by Ballinacree Historical Society.[676]

[669] RD, 284/340/184759.
[670] RD,335/128/184759.
[671] RD, 331/356/222130.
[672] Demifore townland index database, RD, 284/258/183931.
[673] Ibid, RD, 632/458/434348, 698/567/479287.
[674] Ibid, RD, 777/518/526653.
[675] RD, 857/297/572292.
[676] Note: An additional 3 tenancies recorded on the map bring the acreage to over 1,000.

A list of forty tenant leases confirms that James Barlow and others continued as principal leaseholders of the lands.[677] The data from the list provides the acreage, the rent for each tenancy and that all held leases of one life from 1823. Table 4.12 illustrates the townland acreages and rental income. A survey of the estate was undertaken in 1822 by the representatives of Maurice Peppard Warren, deceased.[678] Figure 4.6 illustrates the cartouche title from the map which is water-damaged in parts.

Figure 4.6 Cartouche title on Peppard estate map, 1822



Source: Local Studies Section, Meath County Library.

A slightly higher number of forty-three tenants is illustrated on the map legend. Combining the figures from the tenant list and the map brings the total acreage to over 1,000 acres. An advertisement for the sale of the lands from the Dublin Evening Mail in October 1827, illustrated in figure 4.8, corroborates this acreage figure at 1,000.[679]

[677] Ballinacree Historical Society, records of tenant list presented to N.Hone.
[678] Meath County Library, Local Studies section.
[679] Ballinacree Historical Society.

Figure 4.7 Section of survey of Peppard estate map

Source: Local Studies Section, Meath County Library

Figure 4.7 shows a section of this survey map and reveals the locations of the various tenancies and acreages. Archaeological features are included, noticeably, a large fort in Ballymacad. Physical features in the form of hills and higher ground are also depicted on the map and also the location of a mill. The names of the landowners of adjacent named townlands provide further data on the surrounding lands.

The estate was sold to Nathaniel Hone, Harcourt Street, Dublin, named as a director of the Bank of Ireland in the memorial of the transaction.[680] Unfortunately, the amount of money paid for the estate was not recorded. The townlands of Ballymacad, Ballynagranshy, Rasillagh and Tubrid are shown in the Name Books in Hone ownership with Rathmay in Naper hands.[681] Figure 4.8 illustrates the advertisement for the sale of the lands placed in the Dublin Evening Mail in October 1827.

Figure 4.8 Advertisement for sale of Peppard estate

COUNTY MEATH.—TO BE SOLD, the Lands of BALLYMACAD, &c. containing 1,000 Acres, Plantation measure, producing a yearly Rent of 1,100*l.* late Currency. The Lands were let at a time of the greatest depression, for one life only. The Tenants were selected with care, and pay their rents punctually. The Lands lie in a ring fence, and are most desirably situated, being within two and a half miles of Oldcastle, three miles of Fore, four of Castlepollard, and ten of Granard, all Post and Market Towns.—For further information and Rentals, application to be made to JAMES CHAMBERS, Esq., 3, Gardiner's-row; ARTHUR G. LEWIS, Esq., 55, Granby-row; and ARTHUR BARLOW, Esq. 4, Great George's-street, North,

Source: Dublin Evening Mail, Friday 5 October 1827 (accessed from *The British Newspaper Archive* (britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk), 26 April 2021.

4.9 O'Reilly estate

The O'Reilly family associated with the extensive townland of Baltrasna were a branch of the O'Reilly of East Breifne.[682] A member of this branch of the Reilly family commissioned the Chevalier O'Gorman to produce a pedigree of the family. It was written for Count Alexander O'Reilly born in

[680] RD, 857/292/572292.
[681] Name Books.
[682] Burke, *Landed Gentry*, pp.539-540.

Baltrasna in 1722, who had served as a soldier of distinction in the Spanish army.[683] Branches of the Reilly family were also associated as principal leaseholders with the townlands of Killalon and Seraghstown (section 4.1) and also the Donnellan/Forde property (section 4.4).

The BSD recorded Baltrasna in the ownership of Theobald Tuite and comprised 524 acres but was ceded to Walter Burgh with the Duke of York retaining 22 acres.[684] It was later recorded in the Registry of Deeds at 700 acres.[685] By 1717 the lands were in the ownership of Bishop Nicholas Forster of Raphoe.[686] No records have been identified dating when the townland came into Forster family ownership, however extant records reveal that the Reilly family were associated with the townland throughout the eighteenth century. By 1830 the townland was in O'Reilly ownership.[687]

4.9.1 Tenurial arrangements

In December 1717, Nicholas Forster, Bishop of Raphoe leased the lands of Baltrasna to Thomas Reilly of Baltrasna to be held "in the same manner as Thomas Reilly had then enjoyed" implying that Reilly had held a previous lease of the lands. This new lease was for a period of 31 years at a yearly rent of £145 pounds.[688] In 1742 a lease was recorded between Bishop Forster and Thomas Reilly and his son James of Baltrasna.[689] This lease was for 31 years and included lives. The lands were to be held in the same manner as then being held by the said James and Thomas at the same yearly rent of £145. The previous lease referred to above was due to expire in 1748 but was renewed earlier.

The will of Bishop Nicholas Forster, dated September, 1742 recorded that he intended to bequeath the townland of Baltrasna, then in the tenancy and occupation of James and Thomas Reilly, to his nephew John Gay of Redmondstown, county Westmeath. This was subject to annuities to be paid out of these lands to his nieces Anne Berkeley and Elizabeth Forster[690]. In 1743, payment of an annuity of £44 to Anne Forster of Dublin by John Gay is recorded coming out of a 99-year lease of Baltrasna indicating that he had already inherited.[691] In this way, the lands of Baltrasna became part of the estate of the Gay family of Redmondstown, county Westmeath.

---

[683] Samuel Fannin, Alexander 'Bloody' O'Reilly: 'A monster of fortune', in *History Ireland* vol.9,no.3, 2001.
[684] MS 974, BSD.
[685] RD, 222/142/147453.
[686] RD, 21/533/12396.
[687] Name Books.
[688] RD, 21/533/12396.
[689] RD, 111/315/76768.
[690] RD, 115/556/81797.
[691] RD, 113/179/77887.

4.9.2 Financial uses of land by the Gay family

In 1748, John Gay utilised Baltrasna as security for a mortgage he had taken out with John Cooke of Dublin, an alderman. The two annuities chargeable on the will of the Bishop of Raphoe were noted and the lands in the possession of James Reilly and his undertenants were to be released on payment of the sums involved.[692] By 1750, John Gay was assumably again in need of money because he signed over as collateral security his interest in his Westmeath lands and also of Baltrasna to John Smith of Violetstown, county Westmeath for £2,157 at a five percent interest rate.[693]

In 1754 John Gay, by then of Gaybrook, county Westmeath made over to his only son and heir, Nicholas, an annuity of £300 pounds made up partly of £153 from his Westmeath lands and £45 pounds from Baltrasna. This was to be payable during their joint lives.[694] A further lease registered on the same day in 1754 recorded that John Gay was still holding a mortgage from John Cooke but now Sir Capel Molyneux had become a party to it as well as John's son Nicholas. A sum of £6,000 was raised and the Gay lands in Westmeath, Dublin and Meath were released to John Cooke and Sir Capel Molyneux. Significantly, the rents from five of his townlands including Baltrasna were signed over to his son Nicholas. A second sum of £2,000 was borrowed from Sir Capel Molyneux in order to secure part of the fortune of his younger children.[695]

In 1756, a deed of mortgage was agreed between John Gay and James Cox of Dublin whereby he assigned his Westmeath, Meath and Kildare lands for a consideration.[696] In 1763 the same James Cox is party to a deed whereby Nicholas Gay, son and heir of John, with Cox's consent did fee farm grant to David La Touche of Dublin the lands of Baltrasna alias Hawksfield at a yearly rent of one peppercorn in continuation of the 1742 lease made by Nicholas, late Bishop of Raphoe to James and Thomas Reilly and Thomas son of James and their survivors. The yearly rent of £145 pounds was payable to John Gay.[697] In 1792 a deed was recorded between Mrs. Gay of Gaybrook but now of London and Richard Bolton of Dublin which recited the 1763 memorial. Bolton paid Nicholas Gay a consideration of £2,289 for a bargain sale for one whole year of the lands of Baltrasna subject to the fee farm grant to David La Touche.[698]

[692] RD,131/340/89375.
[693] RD, 142/469/96304.
[694] RD, 168/264/112854.
[695] RD,168/433/113611.
[696] RD, 179/523/122216.
[697] RD, 223/12/146728.
[698] RD, 459/460/294942.

4.9.3 Financial uses of land by the Reilly family

Members of the Reilly family are listed in the Convert Rolls. James and his wife Catherine of Baltrasna are recorded as having converted to Protestantism in 1757 and his brother Thomas of Roebuck is recorded in 1761.[699] Their new status may have led to their participation in the following transactions. In August 1763, three memorials were registered concerning the Reilly family interest in the lands of Baltrasna. The first memorial details how Baltrasna was assigned to Francis Evans of Dublin by James Reilly of Baltrasna and Thomas Reilly of Roebuck, county Cavan.[700] A few days later, a deed of lease and release recorded that James Reilly had paid £2,900 to David La Touche and had been granted the lands of Baltrasna subject to a deed of release from the March 10th, earlier in the year.[701] Another memorial between James Reilly and David La Touche referred to the agreement between James and Thomas Reilly and John Gay of Gaybrook. The main concern was to ensure that if John Gay should outlive the three lives cited, the lands and rents would revert to the Reillys subject to the earlier deed of release. A fee farm grant of the lands was recited in this indenture.[702]

By the mid-1770s it would appear that the O'Reilly brothers had incurred some debts.[703] A deed of settlement from May 1775 recording the marriage of Dowell O'Reilly, a Dublin merchant and Margaret O'Connor also mentions the Baltrasna lands. Dowell and his brother Matthew, also a merchant, had obtained a judgement in the Court of Exchequer against their cousins James and Thomas O'Reilly of Baltrasna as identified in the O'Reilly pedigree for debts of £4,000.[704] The deed was assigned to William Fitzsimons and John O'Connor (Margaret's brother).

The debts continued into the next decade as is shown in a deed of lease and release from 1786. James O'Reilly had died and Thomas's creditors were pursuing him through the executor of James's will, who was Anthony O'Reilly (son of James). Anthony proposed to the creditors that Thomas could pay the principal sum of £4995 from two mortgages owed to him by Robert Sibthorpe, with repayments of £900 a year.[705] As a result, Thomas was to be seized of his lands of Baltrasna and other townlands in counties Cavan and Westmeath for the term of his natural life. Robert Sibthorpe was the father-in-law of Thomas Reilly.[706]

---

[699] Eileen O'Byrne (ed), The Convert Rolls, The calendar of the convert rolls, 1703-1838, (Dublin, 2005) pp.220-222.
[700] RD, 222/141/147452.
[701] RD, 222/142/147453.
[702] RD, 222/143/147454.
[703] RD, 310/91/205640.
[704] Burke, *Landed Gentry*, p.539.
[705] RD, 379/217/251949.
[706] Burke, *Landed Gentry*, p,540.

In 1780 Thomas O'Reilly of Dunany in county Louth (home-place of Sibthorpe family) assigned to Jeremiah Vickers of Dublin an annuity of £57 from the rents of Baltrasna and his Cavan lands for a payment of £284. The Louth address may indicate that he was residing there at that time. Possibly, this arose because he was once again short of cash.[707] Eight years later Vickers assigned this same interest over to John Page the Younger of Dundalk on the same conditions for the consideration of £382.[708]

4.9.4 Early 19th century landownership: an overview

In 1803, the marriage settlement of 1799 between James O'Reilly the Younger and Henrietta Nugent of Bobsgrove is recited in an Act of Parliament to amend problems in their 1799 settlement. The 21-page document referred to the debts and incumbrances affecting the estate including the lands of Baltrasna and other lands in counties Cavan and Westmeath. New trustees were to be appointed and provision was made for the children of the marriage and of annuities to be paid through the sale of some of the estate and of its timber resources.[709] Their two older sons, James and Thomas died young and as a result, Anthony, the third son succeeded his father, James.[710]

Anthony O'Reilly was named as the owner in the Name Books which mentioned that Baltrasna townland was in the Court of Chancery and that there were 54 tenants, twelve of whom were cottiers.[711] The acreage was enumerated in the Griffith Valuation at 1,537 statute acres with nearly 600 acres shown in the owner's hands.[712]

The O'Reilly family were resident in Baltrasna throughout the period of this study. Their longevity of tenure of this townland was converted into ownership when fee farm grant status was obtained.[713] Their residence at Baltrasna as detailed in Chapter 3 was surrounded by demesne lands.

[707] RD,336/611/226694.
[708] RD, 406/86/265882.
[709] NLI, MS 2042, Copy of an Act to amend errors and defects in a deed of settlement bearing the date of 11/09/1799 made on the intermarriage of James O'Reilly of Baltrasna and Henrietta Nugent, his wife.
[710] Burke, *Landed Gentry*, p,540.
[711] Name Books.
[712] Griffith's Valuation.
[713] RD, 222/143/147454.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has identified and charted the changing ownership, management and usage of landed estates exceeding 500 plantation acres owned by absentee landowners in Demifore barony in the period 1700-1830s (see figures 3.3 and 3.9 in chapter three). As estate papers were only available for one of the six proprietors, the Fingall Plunkett family, tracing the remaining five owners was only made possible through the use of the Demifore townland index database which I compiled from the Registry of Deeds data. Without this database, and in the absence of estate papers, the identification of the owners of these estates and the assessment of their management and the varied financial uses of these lands would have been impossible. The research findings presented in this chapter therefore illustrate the significant contribution of the database methodology which I developed and pioneered the use of in this thesis. This research process has contributed to advancing scholarly endeavours in recreating landownership patterns, estate management and the financial uses of land during the time period of this research.

This chapter furnishes excellent examples of the utilisation of the townland index database in tracing landownership. The Witherington/Bennett/Weld/Smith/Piers lands provide an illustration of how the database was instrumental in not only revealing the landownership pattern but also the significance of familial relationships to the family's retention of the lands. The familial relationship of the owners was a significant factor in tracing the ownership pattern of these lands but this was only revealed through using the database (see section 4.3.1). Another example of landownership unearthed through utilising the database was that of the Peppard/Barlow lands which similarly illustrated the impact of the methodology employed. Both of these estates had their origins in Dublin-based families exemplifying the finding that land was seen as an investment opportunity by merchants with surplus capital.

The Fingall Plunkett papers revealed estate management practices including the use of covenants to maintain good land usage and the planting of boundary ditches, whereas the majority of the other owners' leases did not contain covenants. The norm for lease periods was 31 years for all the proprietors. During the eighteenth century, the leasing of whole townlands to principal leaseholders was a common feature of tenancies and provided a means of lessening costs for the landowners. These principal leaseholders were significant players in their own right and some became landowners in the nineteenth century. Examples of this upward trajectory included the Rotherams, and Kearneys, who have been highlighted in this chapter. The O'Reilly family of

Baltrasna fall into a slightly different category, being leaseholders and residents of a very large townland for the whole period.

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries increasing rental income is apparent and was built into some leases or occurred when new leases were drawn up or when townlands were divided into sections. This was exemplified in the Fingall Plunkett estate where rental income rose by 258 per cent in the seventy-year period from 1709 to 1779. Income also rose in the Witherington estate as illustrated in the data for Drumlerry townland where a dramatic rise of 450 per cent was recorded between 1722 and 1783. On the Donnellan lands a rise of 83 per cent was noted between 1726 and 1753. These examples demonstrate that rental increases were usually incurred when opportunities arose, often when leases fell in.

In addition to tracing the direct economic benefits of owning land namely in the generation of income through rentals, this chapter has also sought to highlight how land was used for a myriad of other financial uses. The financial use of the lands for mortgaging was an aspect which was common to the land dealings of all of the landowners. The frequent assignments of the lands resulted in problems with debt redemption. The effects of the provision of dower thirds and jointures for widows and also of marriage portions and legacies for younger sons was a noticeable contributory factor in increasing debts for landowners.

While ownership retention is a remarkable feature of the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century brought about changes in ownership with indications that rising debts were a contributory factor. The Donnellan lands were the only lands sold (to Forde) in the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century records revealed that the lands of four of these absentee proprietors were sold – Forde, Peppard/Barlow, Witherington/Bennett/Weld/Smith/Piers and Morgan/Tighe. Examples in this chapter of the significant impact of incurring debts include the debts of the Fingall Plunketts incurred by the non-payment of the mortgage on Killalon townland leading to its ownership by Lord Annesley, the debts of the Forde family led to the sale of their lands thus providing an opportunity for Rotheram to purchase those bordering his own lands, and the sale of the Peppard/Barlow lands to the Hone family based in Dublin. Absentee proprietors continued to be a feature of landownership in the barony of Demifore in the nineteenth century. The large townlands of Boolies purchased by Willoughby Bond of Longford, of Ross to George Pentland of Dublin and of Killallon to Lord Annesley of county Down provide some examples as well as the aforementioned Hone

family's purchase of the Peppard/Barlow lands. These sales served to perpetuate the continuing role of absentee landowners in the barony.

While there are many similarities in the experiences of absentee and resident landlords in the period under study in relation to estate management, landscape improvement and utilisation of land as leverage in financial transactions, there are also some points of contrast. The management policies of the absentee landlords detailed in this chapter were quite similar to those of the resident landlords outlined in chapter three. The leasing periods for all the proprietors was usually 31 years. The practice of leasing whole townlands and in a small number of cases, a number of townlands, to one individual was very evident in the management policy of all the estate owners, both resident and absentee. Both the resident Naper landlord (see section 3.4.9) and the absentee landlord, John Donnellan (see table 4.11 in section 4.7.2), provide examples of this policy. Also, In the case of both resident and absentee landlords, some of their principal leaseholders gained in wealth, power and status and became landowners in their own right. The case of the Rotheram family, outlined in section 3.4.9, provides a good example of this.

The utilisation of covenants in leases was not normal practice for the majority of the proprietors but the resident Naper and Wade families included covenants in a small number of leases while the absentee Fingall Plunkett family were notable for the inclusion of covenants. Rising rental income during the research time period was a feature of all proprietors, both resident and absentee. This resulted from *inter alia* (1) the incorporation of progressive rental increases in some leases; (2) the opportunity to increase rents when leases fell in; (3) when a change of leaseholder occurred; and (4) the division of townlands into multiple tenancies. The experiences of both the resident Naper and absentee Fingall Plunkett landlords bear this out.

This utilisation of land as leverage for financial transactions was a notable feature of both absentee and resident proprietors. All of the owners and some leaseholders raised mortgages and assigned lands as a means of securing finance. In the early eighteenth century, proprietors, most notably the resident Napers, acted as bankers and loaned money at interest to other landowners when banking in Ireland was at a fledgling stage. Later in the century, a mortgage provided by Lord Annesley to the Fingall Plunketts illustrated the continuance of this type of loan arrangement. The provision of dowries, jointures and annuities was a drain on both absentee and resident landowners' cash reserves and were intimately linked to the lands available as security as seen in marriage settlements and wills. The assignment of lands based on their future inheritance by

members of the absentee Piers family demonstrates yet another of the myriad uses of land as security for obtaining finance.

Finally, an interesting point of comparison between the activities of resident and absentee landlords relates to the role they played in the development of their demesne lands and surrounding areas. Chapter three highlighted the significant landscape improvements made to the demesne lands of resident landlords such as the Naper and Wade families. In contrast, this chapter has shown that the absentee owners did not involve themselves in much improvement, with the exception of the Fingall Plunketts. The available data indicates that this may have been due to the distance of the Demifore lands from the absentees' places of residence, notably Dublin. While resident and absentee landlords clearly differed in terms of investment in their landholdings, It is worth noting that the resident principal leaseholders of both absentee and resident landowners enhanced the landscape on the smaller demesne lands surrounding their large houses.

Chapter 5 Growth and development of Oldcastle town c.1700 - c.1830s

5.1 Introduction

The town of Oldcastle, the only urban settlement in Demifore barony, owes its origins to its development as a market centre serving its rich agricultural hinterland. It is located in the northern section of the barony. The economic value of its land was evident in the Neolithic period when the first farmers introduced agriculture to the area in the fourth millennium B.C. A large cemetery of passage graves from this era crowns the highest hills in the barony, Sliabh na Calliagh or the Loughcrew Hills and stand testament to the farmers who prized this land over five thousand years ago. Plentiful remains of the later Bronze and Iron Age settlers are dotted across the landscape in the form of stone circles, ring barrows and raths. The later Norman settlers also left their physical mark on the landscape in the form of motte and baileys and castle sites. The Anglo-Normans became the dominant force in the barony and held control until the Cromwellian period. In the land settlements which followed, the Naper family, as detailed in Chapter 3, gained possession of a large section of the barony and went on to play a major role in the development of Oldcastle.

This chapter aims to chart the growth and development of the town of Oldcastle under the agency of the Naper family by analysing the available sources. Starting in the post-Cromwellian period by first of all, using the data from the Civil and Down surveys to provide an initial view of the town. The eighteenth century will be mainly traced through the rent rolls and survey maps from the Naper estate papers, supplemented by memorials from the Registry of Deeds. The early nineteenth century developments will be documented using the Naper estate papers and the records of the Ordnance Survey and Griffith Valuation.

5.2 Origins and development of Oldcastle town from 1700-1778

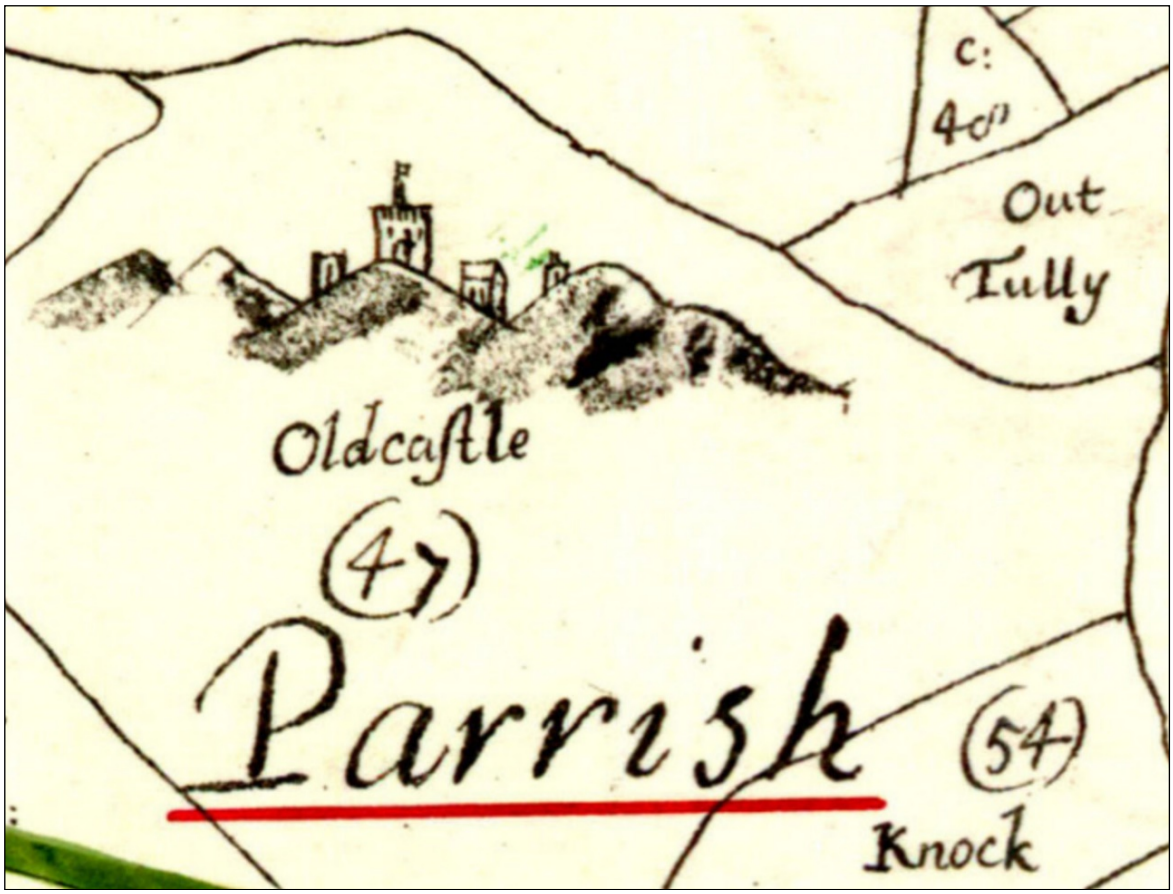
The settlement pattern of the barony in the seventeenth century is illustrated through the Civil and Down survey maps which provide the first depiction of the barony landscape. A number of nucleated settlements are shown, located in the different parishes, all of which indicate the Anglo-Norman influence of a site near a castle and/or church.[714] At first glance, Oldcastle would not stand out as the settlement which would develop into a town because fewer buildings are shown compared to some of the other nucleated settlements such as Loughcrew or Baltrasna. Its main

[714] B. Graham, 'Medieval Settlement in County Meath' in *Riocht na Midhe*, v, (1974),pp.40-59.

advantage however was that from 1609 it had a license to hold markets and this was to become a significant factor in its future growth.[715]

The origin of the name of Oldcastle is said to have derived from a castle which was possibly located in a prominent position on the hill on which the town is built. The Down Survey barony map shows the settlement located on hilly ground with a castle surrounded by three substantial houses as shown in Figure 5.1 while the terrier lists a castle.

Figure 5.1 Extract from Down Survey barony map showing Oldcastle townland



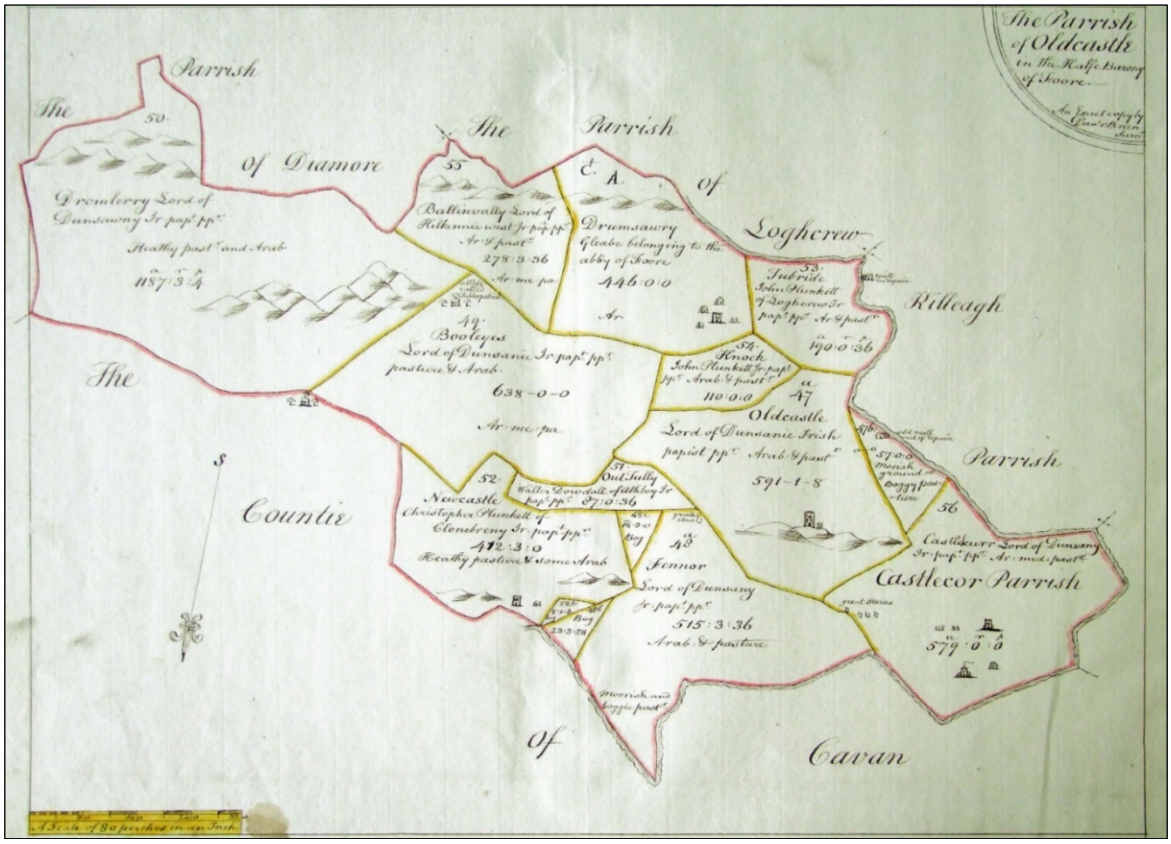
Source: TCD, Down Survey, Accessed on 8/2/21.

The Down Survey terriers for Oldcastle parish list five castles, located in Castlecor, Drumsawry, Knock (Knockmacooney), Drumlerry and Oldcastle while the parish map (figure 5.2) illustrates just three of these castles, Drumsawry, Oldcastle and Castlecor.[716] Lord Dunsany is listed as the proprietor of three of these castle sites, namely Oldcastle, Drumlerry and Castlecor indicating his

[715] Harris, 'Fairs and markets in the Environment of County Meath' in *Riocht na Midhe*, ix, (1998), pp.149-169 hereafter cited as Harris, Fairs and markets.
[716] NLI, MS 715, Parish maps with terriers showing forfeited lands in County Meath, commonly known as the 'Down Survey', executed under the direction of Sir William Petty, 1657 and copied by Daniel O'Brien, 1786.

dominant position in the area prior to the land settlements. An indication of the economic activity of the area in the seventeenth century can also be gleaned from an examination of these surveys. A mill in repair in Tubride and a mill out of repair in Oldcastle are listed in the terriers, while the Civil Survey records two mills in Tubride, a corn mill and a tuck mill (for processing wool).[717] Together these records illustrate that Oldcastle parish was a well-settled area with a significant degree of economic activity by the mid seventeenth century.

Figure 5.2 Down Survey Oldcastle parish map



Source: TCD, Down Survey, Accessed on 5/2/21.

The present-day Church of Ireland is said to have been built on the site of an earlier church located near the 'ruinous castle and church' mentioned in the Civil Survey terriers. The grouping of castle and church would indicate that Oldcastle constituted a sizeable settlement. The only visible remains are part of a wall and some steps that reputedly formed part of the castle. Bishop Dopping's visitation book (1682-1685) mentions that the church and chancel were down and that services took place in a private house. Dopping stated that some of the sixteen families of the parish were

[717] R.C. Simington, (ed), *The Civil Survey, A.D. 1654-56, v: County of Meath* (Dublin, 1940) hereafter cited as Simington, *Civil Survey*.

Quakers.[718] The 1778 map of Oldcastle illustrates a church and surrounding graveyard indicating that it may have been the building erected on the site of the church mentioned by Dopping.[719]

A Roman Catholic chapel was depicted on the Naper survey map of 1778 map located on the edge of the town. There is no extant evidence for the construction of this edifice. Bishop Plunkett referred to the poor condition of the mass house in Oldcastle in his 1780 report on the diocese.[720] He noted the poor condition of the altar which was not sufficiently raised above the congregation and of the linen and vestments and hoped that the congregation would raise money for repairs.[721] The Penal laws had relaxed towards the end of the eighteenth century and were abolished by 1792.[722] This may account for the existence of a church prior to 1778.

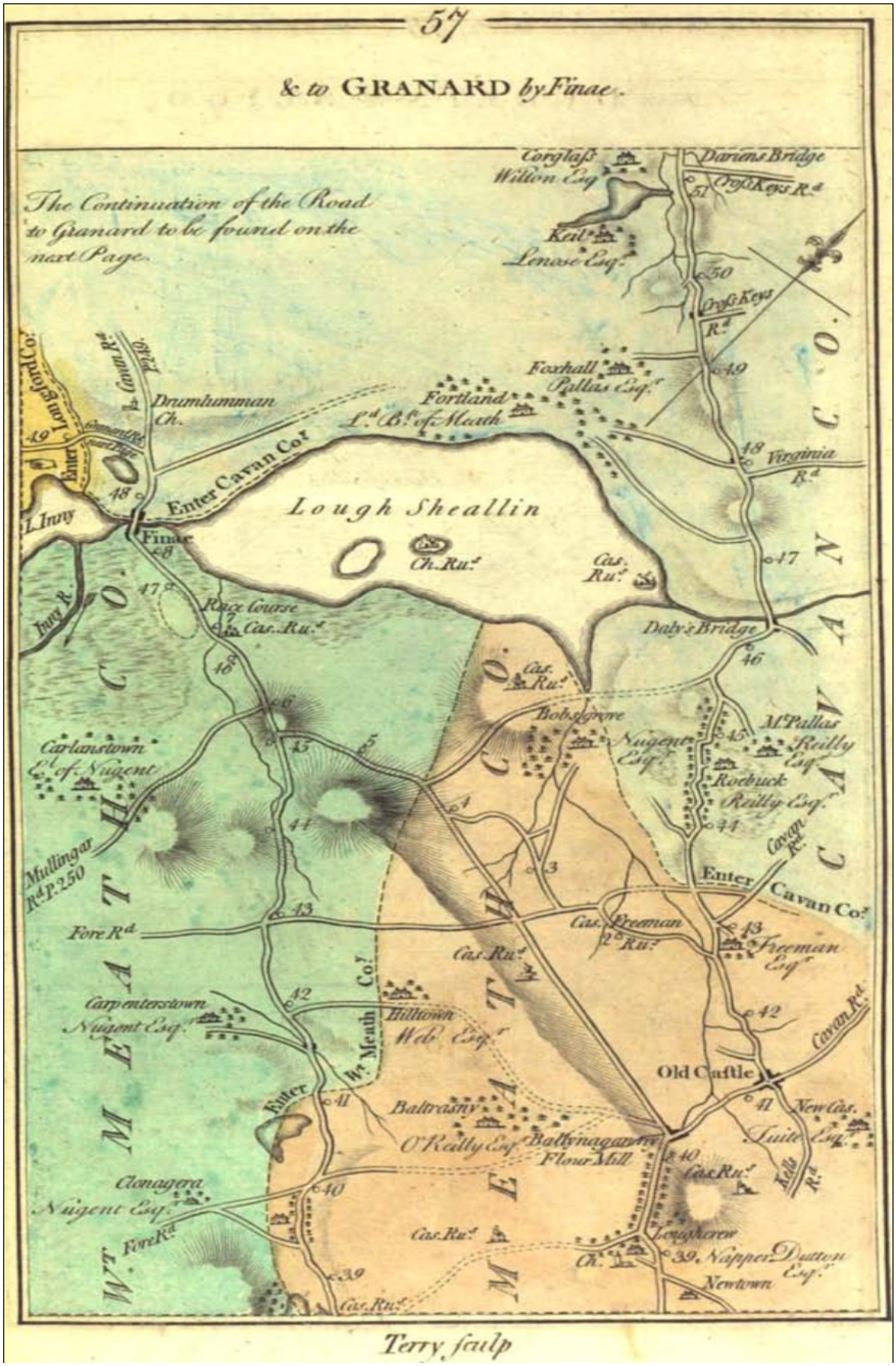
A significant contributory factor in the development of Oldcastle was its position as a nodal point where a number of routes converged. The Down Survey barony map depicts only one road, noted as the highway from Finea to Kells. This road bypassed Oldcastle which was located about one mile to the south of it. The Taylor and Skinner maps (1777) depict Oldcastle located on the Dublin to Sligo route with diversions available to Granard via Finea. Figure 5.3 illustrating the Granard route shows Oldcastle's location at a crossroads, showing routes to Sligo, Kells, Cavan and Mullingar.

Oldcastle had been developed as a market centre by the Dunsany family who were the landlords prior to the Cromwellian confiscations. They had been granted a patent by James 1 in 1609 to hold a weekly market and two annual fairs.[723] There is evidence that the town was already a significant market centre by the fifteenth century as a complaint had been made to parliament that new markets in Longford and Cavan were harming the existing markets in Oldcastle, Fore and Kells.[724] By the early eighteenth century, Oldcastle remained a significant market centre as indicated by the fact that the customs of the fairs and markets were valued at £21.[725]

---

[718] C. C. Ellison, Bishop Dopping's Visitation Book 1682-1685 in *Riocht na Midhe*, vol. v, no. 1, (1971).
[719] NLI, MS 2754, A survey of the estate of William Naper in the baronies of Half Fore and Kells, Co. Meath by Sherrard and Brownrigg 1778 hereafter cited as MS 2754, Naper estate papers.
[720] Rec, A. Cogan, *The Diocese of Meath Ancient and Modern*, (Dublin,1870), vol.3 p.28 hereafter cited as Cogan, *The Diocese of Meath*.
[721] Cogan, *The Diocese of Meath*, p.28
[722] Ibid, p.124.
[723] Harris, 'Fairs and markets, pp.149-169.
[724] J. Brady, 'Anglo-Norman Meath,' in *Riocht na Midhe*, ii, (1961), pp.38-45.
[725] NLI, MS 3031, Rentals of the estate of James Lenox Naper mainly in Co. Meath but including also Dunloe, Co. Kerry and Ballyfarrel, Co. Offaly, 1733-1814 hereafter cited as MS 3031, Naper estate papers.

Figure 5.3 Taylor and Skinner map showing Oldcastle



Source: Ask about Ireland, Maps of the roads of Ireland by Taylor & Skinner, 1777. Accessed on 5/2/21.

In 1733, three mills were recorded in the Naper rent rolls – Ballynaganny (Millbrook), Dromone and Tubrid. The latter two mills were small, paying yearly rents of £5 and £4 whereas Ballynaganny's rent was £34.[726] Ballynaganny mill is located just a mile from the town and the 1768 rent roll records of a fourth mill, Shronayelloge paying an annual rent of £8 which was also sited just over a mile from the town.[727] The rents chargeable on Ballynaganny and Dromone mills had not increased in the intervening 35 year period between the rent rolls whereas that of Tubrid had nearly doubled from £4 0s 0d to £7 10s 0d. The evidence for the presence of these mills in the Oldcastle area indicates that tillage and sheep rearing were important components of agricultural activity in its hinterland and were contributory factors in its emergence as a market centre.

5.3 Town and lands of Oldcastle pre-1778

The purpose of this section is to recreate a socio-economic overview of Oldcastle town from the available sources. The Naper estate rent rolls of the early 18th century relating to Oldcastle did not make any distinction between those tenants renting in the town and those renting lands in the townland of Oldcastle. Memorials from the Registry of Deeds provided a means of ascertaining some of this Oldcastle data. Using them it was possible to identify, in the absence of trade directories, the occupations of some of the inhabitants, pinpoint some of the principal leaseholders, note the tenurial arrangements which included the practice of subletting and also the importance of access to turbary.

The town and lands of Oldcastle were sometimes further divided and distinguished by the use of the names of sub-denominations in some memorials but this was not always the case. An example of a sub-denomination, Mount Dutton is shown in figure 5.4. The names of the surrounding sub-denominations are also revealed on this map including Sky Farm, Firbreags, Ballywadden, White Hills, Knockatagell, Knocknehatton, and the Knocks. Outully, now Old Tully is the only section named that survived as a townland into the present time.[728]

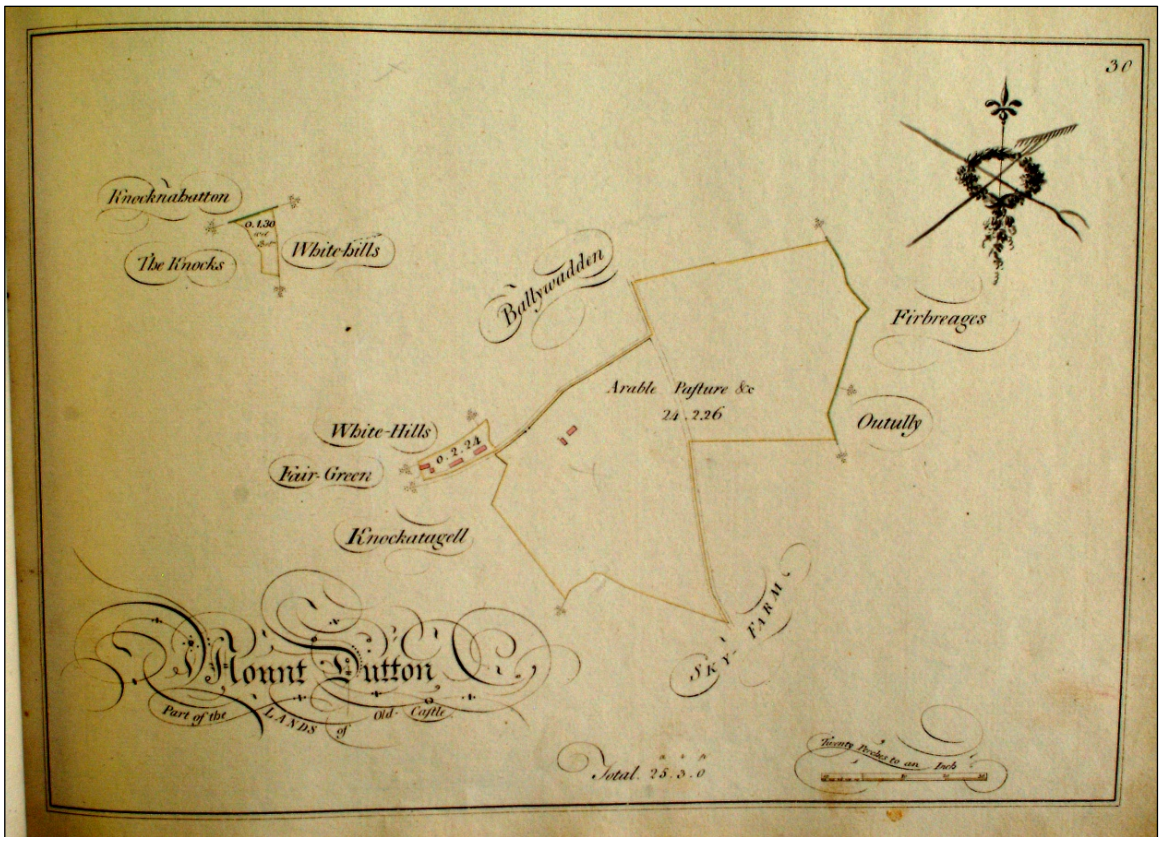
5.3.1 Occupations and industry

The data from the Registry of Deeds reflects the importance of the linen industry in Oldcastle in the early eighteenth century. The memorials concerning the English family described two of its

[726] MS3031, Naper estate papers.
[727] NLI, MS 3032, Rent rolls and accounts of the Dutton- Naper-Sherborne estate principally in Co. Meath, 1768-1788. Compiled by Edward Rotheram; hereafter cited as MS 3032, Naper estate papers.
[728] NLI, MS 1399, A survey of the estate of William Naper in the baronies of Half Fore and Kells Co. Meath by Sherrard and Brownrigg 1778; hereafter cited as MS 1399.

members as linen drapers. Two memorials dated 1734 described John English of Ballyneal (a sub-denomination of Oldcastle townland) as a linen draper. The first mentioned that the lands of Knockmacooney (bordering Ballyneal) was in his possession and contained a bleachyard.[729] A 1743 memorial between James Lenox Dutton/Naper and Robert Law of Dublin of the lands of Knockmacooney noted a bleach yard at the back of the house and mentioned that it had previously been in the possession of John English, linen draper.[730] In 1734 Archibald English[731] of Ballyneal was described as a linen draper holding part of Ballyneal which included a bleachyard.[732] The English family is listed with that of the King family in the 1768 and 1778 rent rolls. Merrick King is listed separately in the earlier 1733 rent roll.[733]

Figure 5.4 Sub-denomination of Mount Dutton



Source: MS1399, Naper estate papers.

A lease of lands (18 acres), houses and tenements in Oldcastle to James Sinclair in 1743 recited a previous lease to George Starr, deceased, who was described as a weaver.[734] He may have been a

[729] RD, 80/205/55526.
[730] RD, 111/457/77564.
[731] Ardhibald English was John's son, named as a life in the assignment of a lease of a third part of Big Rudagh (Oldcastle townland) in 1739. RD, 96/211/67288.
[732] RD, 115/504/81403.
[733] MS3031 & MS3032, Naper estate papers.
[734] RD, 115/504/81400.

linen weaver. While Peter Reilly a witness, to a lease in 1748 was described as a yarn merchant.[735] The cultivation of flax is recorded in the Naper cottiers' accounts in 1767 which revealed that Philip Reilly was renting 37 perches of flax land at a rate of £2 13s 4d an acre.[736] Other cottiers were also listed as leasing small amounts of flax land pointing to the importance of its cultivation to the local economy.[737] Connell suggests that J.L.W Naper actively promoted the linen industry and when in 1796 the Linen Board offered grants for the purchase of spinning wheels, 45% of the county Meath allocation was concentrated in the Oldcastle area.[738] Hand noted that a small flax mill had been built in 1786 down river from the large mill at Ballynaganny (Millbrook) and was later used for corn.[739] Collectively these sources point to a vibrant linen industry in the Oldcastle area in the eighteenth century.

Table 5.1 Sample of occupations identified in Oldcastle pre-1778

Year	Occupation	Name	Year	Occupation	Name
1714	weaver	George Starr	1743	linen draper	Archibald English
1715	baker	John Folliott	1745	brewer	Philip Ginty
1726	farmer	Thomas Wharton	1748	yarn merchant	Peter Reilly
1734	linen draper	John English	1762	wheelwright	Henry Walton
1743	linen draper	John English	1767	peruke maker	Thomas Wade

Source: Compiled by author from Registry of Deeds memorials.

Other occupations revealed in the memorials assist in indicating the wider economy associated with the town (see table 5.1). A 1715 lease of part of a tenement in the town described John Folliott as a baker while an assignment in 1745 by Abraham King of three acres known as Gobban, in Oldcastle, described the assignee, Philip Ginty as a brewer.[740]

A later deed from 1768 concerning lands in Oldcastle leased to Luke Sterling mention that a mault (brew house) had been 'created' and that Philip Ginty, formerly lived nearby.[741] He may be the same Philip Ginty as the brewer mentioned earlier. Henry Walton, a lessee of some Oldcastle lands in 1762, was described as a wheelwright.[742] While a 1767 sublet of Cloneybawn (part of Oldcastle) between Paul Wade and Thomas Wade described the former as a farmer and the latter as a peruke

[735] RD, 131/539/90211.
[736] MS3031, Naper estate papers.
[737] Ibid, Cottiers' accounts.
[738] Connell, Peter, The Land and People of County Meath, 1750-1850, (Dublin,2004), p.44.
[739] Hand, Malachy, 'History of Millbrook Mills 1774-1963' in Riocht na Midhe, vol xxvi,(2015), p.125.
[740] RD, 115/503/81398.
[741] RD, 257/503/169536.
[742] RD, 238/76/152415.

maker.[743] The presence of a peruke maker (wig maker) would imply that the local economy was sufficient to support the manufacture and sale of a luxury item.

5.3.2 Principal leaseholders

Examples from some memorials demonstrate that the practice of leasing to principal leaseholders was evident in the Naper tenurial arrangements for Oldcastle. The English family of linen drapers leased a number of townlands and sections of townlands lying close to the town. Undertenants were mentioned in the lease of Knockmacooney and this would indicate that there were undertenants in their other leased lands in Ballyneal, Farranaglogh, Big Rudagh and Little Tully.[744] The combined acreage of these lands amounted to 509 acres of which 172 were in the townland of Oldcastle itself.

Two 1714 memorials concerning Robert Lowndes indicate that he was also a principal leaseholder. The rent in one of his leases was almost doubled because of improvements he had made but the terms of the lease were altered to a more favourable one that was renewable forever.[745] This lease provided evidence that building was carried out by the tenant and not the landlord. This property was located in the town itself and indicates that the landlord James Naper was prepared to facilitate the development of the built fabric of the town when the opportunity arose. Only one reference to house building was found in the memorials researched. A new house built by a Mr. Wilson near the green towards Malapipe on the edge of the town as detailed in a 1716 memorial.[746] This lease also shows that it was the tenants who ultimately contributed to the construction of the town's housing stock. The second lease to Robert Lowndes concerned a renewal of all his premises in the town with the exception of some named holdings both beside the town and within it.[747]

Thomas Wharton described as a farmer in a 1726 lease of six tenements in the town of Oldcastle at 10 shillings per tenement and 51 acres of Oldcastle lands at a total of £17 13s 4d per year may also be categorised as a principal leaseholder.[748] The term of the lease included three named lives. This would seem to indicate that the principal leaseholders may have acted as developers in the construction of the housing stock.

[743] RD, 266/507/173915.
[744] RD, 80/205/55526.
[745] RD, 43/222/27954.
[746] RD, 68/36/46892.
[747] RD, 38/415/24831.
[748] RD, 52/315/34692.

The practice of subletting and assignment of tenurial arrangements was illustrated in some of the memorials for Oldcastle. An assignment by James Tuite of Cavan to James Kellett of Cornaslieve (just across the border in county Cavan) of a 1713 lease of three lives/21 years of 30 acres in Oldcastle townland, the horse pasture and four tenements in the town with their gardens for a 'consideration' of £84 pounds was revealed in this memorial.[749] A notable feature of this transaction showed that James Tuite was possibly resident in Cavan town but had property interests in Oldcastle.

Two memorials from 1742 and 1743 recorded that John Lowndes and Martha Lowndes (wife of Francis) demised Stubble Hill to Phil Ginaughty for a consideration of £14 pounds provided that John Lowndes's life continued[750] and also included a house and stable, half the backside of two houses and part of Ballyneal bog for a consideration of £6 pounds.[751] An assignment of the residue of the lives in Little Park called Gobban by Abraham King to Philip Ginty in 1745 provides another example of the practice.[752]

5.3.3 Turbary usage

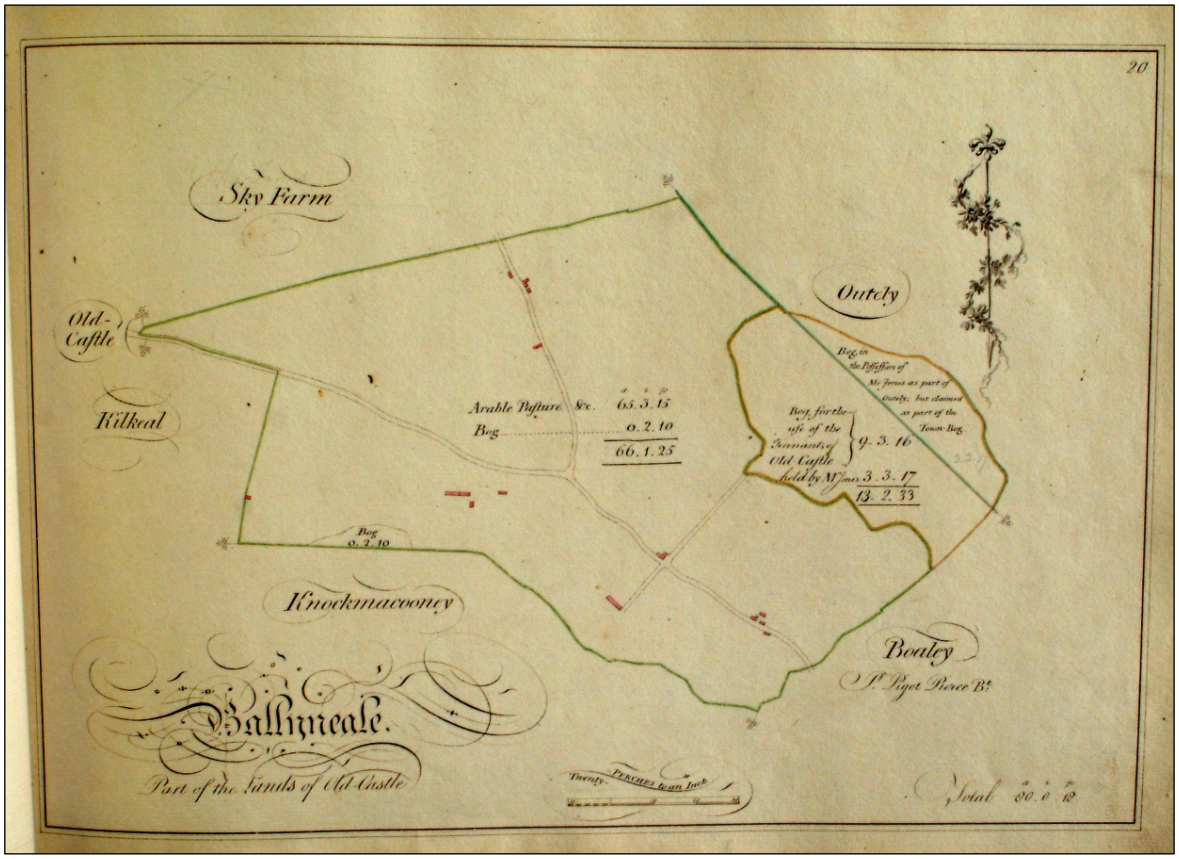
A number of the memorials relating to the town and lands of Oldcastle made reference to areas of bog as part of the lands or the use of turbary in a specified bog. This illustrates the importance of turf as a fuel for the urban lessees. A 1742 assignment of a lease to members of the Lowndes family included part of Ballyneal bog.[753] While a 1759 assignment of a lease included nine acres of bog along with the townland of Farranaglough and also four acres of bog in Knockmacooney.[754] A lease to Henry Walton in 1762 included the use of turf in Clonefad bog[755] where according to a 1766 lease Walter Jones also had the right to turbary.[756] The use of part of the bog in Old Tully was recorded in a 1768 lease to Luke Sterling.[757]

Figure 5.5 illustrates the bog areas in Ballyneal and Outully (Old Tully) and the narrative stated that these were for the use of the Oldcastle tenants but in the possession of M. Jones. This map also included a narrative stating that Ballyneal was 'Part of the lands of Oldcastle' but this section was

[749] RD, 99/16/67696.
[750] RD, 112/309/78177.
[751] RD, 112/310/78178.
[752] RD, 115/504/81400.
[753] RD, 112/310/78178.
[754] RD, 198/411/132961.
[755] RD, 238/76/152415.
[756] RD, 266/508/173916.
[757] RD, 257/502/169536.

not shown in the map which included the lands of Oldcastle. The location of these three bogs close to the town illustrates the importance of having an accessible fuel source.

Figure 5.5 Map of Ballyneal showing bog areas



Source: MS 1399, Naper estate papers.

5.3.4 Naper rental income from Oldcastle, 1733, 1768 and 1778

The first available rent roll from the Naper estate papers dates from 1733 and includes just sixteen tenants.[758] A gap of 35 years occurs in the papers until 1768 before the next rent roll is included in the papers.[759] For the majority of those listed, the word 'part' is recorded after the name in the 1733 rent roll, implying that particular sections are noted. The town and the lands were all recorded under Oldcastle which makes it difficult to infer whether the tenant lived in the town or on the lands or was an absentee. The memorials assist in ascertaining some information regarding the tenants.

Table 5.2 highlights the substantial difference between the urban and rural rental income in Demifore for three specific years and illustrates that the rents in the rest of the Demifore lands had

[758] MS3031, Naper estate papers
[759] MS3032, Naper estate papers.

increased by a substantial 65 per cent in the intervening period in contrast to the urban income from Oldcastle town and lands which remained static. The table also demonstrates that the urban rental income as a percentage of the Demifore lands had decreased significantly from 9.10 per cent to 5.60 per cent. This would seem to indicate that there was a different management policy regarding rural rents. Such a change of management policy occurred in 1734 when James Lenox Naper/Dutton came of age and inherited his father's land resulting in a number of leases on the estate being drawn up or renewed.[760] The estate records show that rent increases were incorporated into a number of rural leases as the eighteenth century progressed usually after an initial period of approximately ten years. The urban rents showed little movement illustrating that the landlord was possibly allowing for the costs of development of the urban area by those leaseholders themselves.

Table 5.2 Urban rental income as a percentage of rural rental income on the Naper estate

Year	Urban income	Rural income	Urban as % of rural income
1733	£166	£1,828	9.1%
1768	£166	£2,957	5.6%
1778	£170	£3,027	5.6%

Source: MS 3031 & MS 3032, Naper estate papers.

There were few additions or changes to the tenancies in the period 1733-1778. The majority of the tenants continued to pay the same rental charges and presumably held the same holdings. The principal leaseholders noted in section 5.3.2, English, Lowndes and Wharton were very evident in the rent rolls as those paying the highest rents, some of whom are highlighted in table 5.3. The King and English rent remained at £12 14s 2d in 1768 and 1778 which was solely listed under King in 1733.

Accounts of rents paid available from the Naper papers for early 1734 revealed that John and Archibald English paid separate sums into the King account indicating that both parties long had an interest in this holding.[761] Similarly, Matthew Lanktree is listed in the 1733 rent roll but with the additional names of Prest and Hawkins in 1768 and 1778 but at the same rental charge. The 1734 account revealed that some of the rent was paid in cash and also with two and a half barrels of

[760] Una Palcic, 'The development of the Naper estate during the eighteenth century' in Arlene Crampsie and Francis Ludlow (eds.) in *Meath History and Society,* (Dublin, 2015), p.387; hereafter cited as Palcic, Naper estate.

meal, by Thomas Prest whose family was recorded in the later 1768 rent roll along with Lanktree and Hawkins. This again demonstrates the interest of both parties in a particular holding.

Table 5.3 Oldcastle principal tenants and rents, 1733, 1768 and 1778

Name	Rent in 1733 £-s-d	Name	Rent in 1768 £-s-d	Rent in 1778 £-s-d
Merrick King - part	£12-14-2	King & English	£12-4-2	£12-14-2
Charles Wade Esq	£10-0-0	Edward Wade	£10-0-0	£10-0-0
Mrs Wade - part	£6-7-6	Paul & Thomas Wade	£6-7-6	£6-7-6
Mr Loundes - part	£9-16-9	John Lowndes - Richard	£9-16-9	£9-16-9
		John Lowndes	£3-12-6	£3-12-6
James Tuite - part	£6-7-2	Edward Tuite	£6-7-2	£6-7-2
James Sinclair & Partners	£5-10-0	Sinclair & Martin	£5-10-0	£5-10-0
Thos. Wharton - part	£5-10-0	Robert Wharton	£8-19-6	£8-19-6
Mrs.Wades- part Whartons	£3-6-8			
Matthew Lanktree - part	£4-18-4	Lanktree/Prest/Hawkins	£4-18-4	£4-18-4
Mr Sterling - part	£4-10-0	Luke Sterling	£8-0-0	£8-0-0
Mrs Boultons - part	£4-9-0	Widow Bolton	£1-10-0	£0-0-0
Total	**£73-9-6**	**Total**	**£78-5-11**	**£76-15-11**

Source: Compiled by author from MS3031 & MS3032, Naper estate papers. Note: rent figures above are for the half year to November in each year.

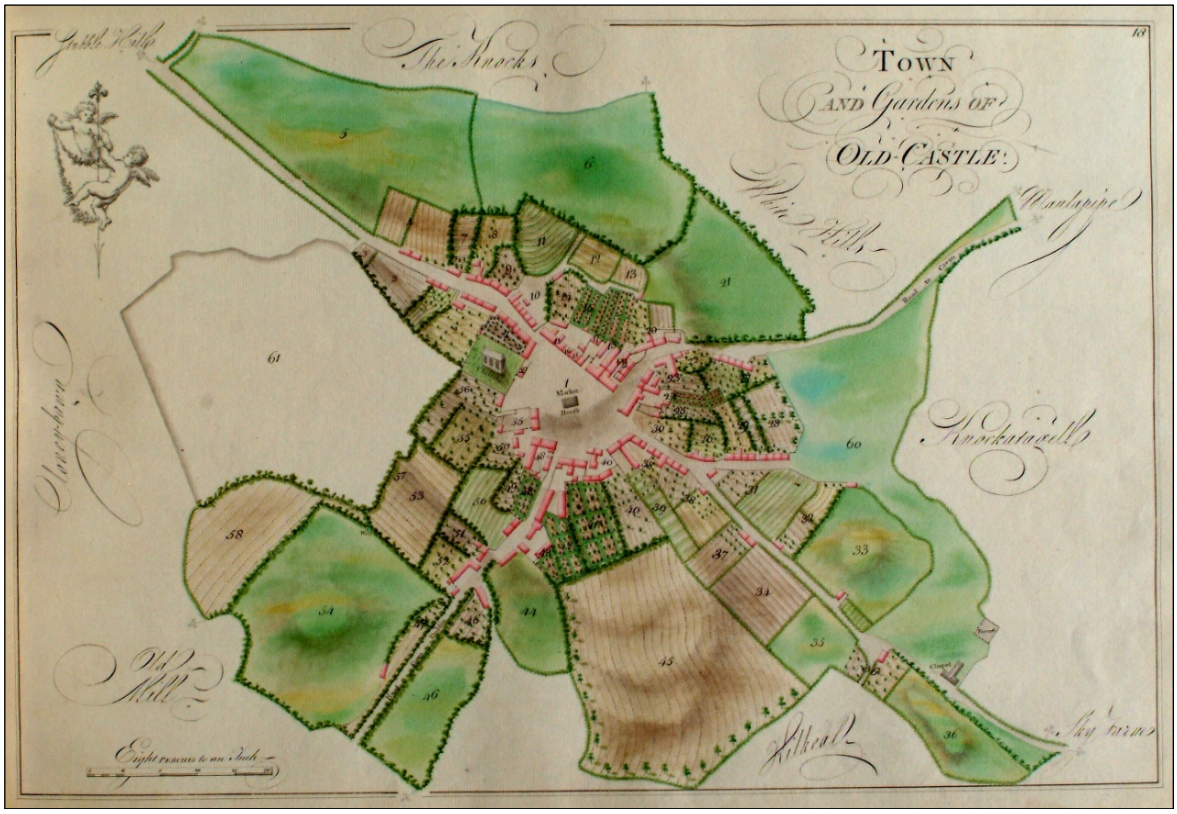
The two Wade entries for the three years illustrate their retention of the same holdings within the family. The Lowndes family increased their holdings and added a section at £3 12s 6d which ensured their continued influence in the area. The Wharton rents for 1768 and 1778 indicate that the section that was listed separately to Mrs. Wade in the earlier rent roll was included in this figure. The only change which occurred in the 45-year period concerned the Boulton holding where the rent had decreased in 1768 and had disappeared totally by 1778. Overall, table 5.3 demonstrates the dominance of the principal tenants in the town and lands of Oldcastle. The rental figures for the half year at £73 9s 6d in 1733 and £76 15s 11d in 1778 show that it makes up a considerable proportion of the Oldcastle rental income of £83 for the half year in 1733. Table 5.3 illustrates that the rents had remained almost static rising by only £3 6s 5d in the period.

5.4 Oldcastle in 1778 – a snapshot

In 1778 a survey of the Naper estate was undertaken by the firm of Sherrard and Brownrigg for William Naper after he had inherited the Demifore and Kells sections of the estate in 1777. Two map books were produced by the surveyors – a large format book for the landlord's use and a smaller map book for the agent's use. This smaller, more portable book included some extra maps of smaller land divisions which in some cases contained the tenants' names. Two maps of Oldcastle

were included, one of the town and gardens and one of the town and lands of Oldcastle. Indexes to both maps included numbered sections with the tenants' names listed.

Figure 5.6 Oldcastle town and gardens



Source: MS2574, Naper estate papers.

The map of Oldcastle town and gardens shown in figure 5.6 beautifully illustrates the different elements of the town. The houses and cabins are depicted in pink while the gardens and fields are pictured in various shades of green and light brown, altogether 61 numbered sections are listed. The glebe land is depicted in a grey shading and forms a notable feature of the map accounting for nearly seven acres which included the church yard.[762] Horner stated that Oldcastle was represented as a typical market town of that time with a central market house, a prominently sited church and a fair green on the outskirts but that few were as beautifully depicted as this map.[763]

This map also affords us a unique view of the morphology of Oldcastle in the late eighteenth century and allows for identification of the major elements of economic and ecclesiastical infrastructure within the town. The market house is located centrally on the square signifying its importance to

[762] MS 2754, Naper estate papers.
[763] Arnold Horner, *Mapping Meath in the early 19th century*. (2007), p.8 hereafter cited as Horner, *Mapping Meath*.

the local economy, while the other significant economic space within the town, the fair green is sited on the edge of the town and forms part of the commons which also included the pound. This space was connected to two of the four main roads leading into the town. Two churches are depicted, the Church of Ireland is sited in a prominent position on the square while the Roman Catholic chapel is positioned on the edge of the town, possibly on some of the Commons land.

The many gardens are a notable feature of the map and are clearly defined as belonging to the premises, including the cabins. The gardens were shown as areas of cultivated ground and presumably were used as vegetable plots by the tenants. Pasture lands, meadows and some arable sections are evident surrounding or behind the main urban areas.

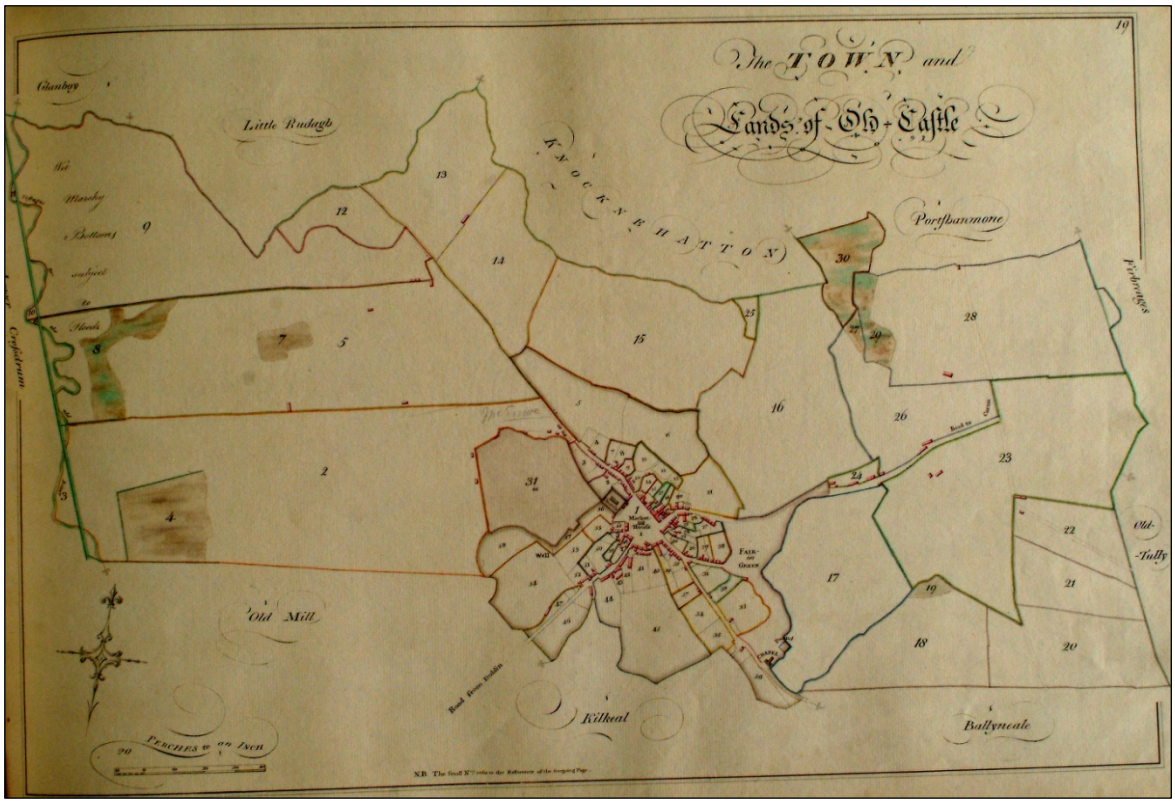
The accompanying index to the numbered sections was quite detailed, listing the name of the tenant, what was contained in the section, for example, houses, cabins, yards, gardens, croft, field or meadow. Sometimes the condition of the houses or cabins was included. Analysis of the index provided an aggregate figure of 105 dwellings, 87 of which were cabins. Cabins made up eighty per cent of the housing stock, some of which were described as being in bad repair pointing to a lack of investment and/or development of good quality housing stock in the town.

The map illustrated all the premises in the same way which is somewhat illusory and gives an impression of prosperity. The index detailed the picture more realistically in its account of the houses and cabins. Most of the eighteen premises described as houses fronted on to the square while the cabins were located on the roads leading into the town or behind houses. The index also referred to back houses in five cases indicating that these houses were built in the yards behind these houses and are clearly shown on the map.

An examination of the index to the map demonstrates that five families - Wade, King and English, Loundes, Wharton and St Clair - held a number of tenancies resulting in their dominance as principal leaseholders. They could be classified as urban middlemen. Edward Wade led the group holding eleven individual sections. He had control of upwards of nineteen premises and their gardens. The King and English families held seven sections which contained seventeen cabins and gardens, Francis Loundes (Lowndes) held six sections with fifteen premises, Robert Wharton held four sections with thirteen premises and William St Clair held four sections with eight cabins. The combined total for the five families amounted to 73 premises, equating to 70 per cent of the total for the town.

Figure 5.7 of the town and lands of Oldcastle provides a clear overview of the town and the surrounding fields. The accompanying index lists 30 sections amounting to 304 acres. The lands are divided into ten named sub-denominations, only two of which have survived into modern usage, Mount Dutton and Sky Farm. Three additional sub-denominations, Old Mill, Kilkeal and Ballyneal shown to the south were designated as 'part of the lands of Oldcastle' on their individual maps. Three sub-denominations to the north, Rudagh Little, Knocknehatton and Portshanmone were not thus designated but later became part of Oldcastle townland.

Figure 5.7 Town and lands of Oldcastle



Source: MS2574, Naper estate papers.

The principal tenants included some of those listed in table 5.3, such as the Wade, Lowndes, Sinclair (StClair) and Martin families alongside other tenants such as Sterling, Tuite and Jones who also held substantial acreages. The listing of Lanktree, Prests and Hawkins holding sections of Sky Farm assisted in identifying their lands and corroborating the data from the rent rolls detailed in Table 5.3. Most of the holdings were described as arable and pasture with some small areas of bog and wet land also noted.

The Wade family's holdings were the largest with a combined total of nearly 83 acres in sections 2 to 8 (figure 5.6). Four buildings are located very near the town in section 2 and lie adjacent to their

town holdings. Edward Tuite is listed with 30 acres in section 9, the second biggest acreage which included island pasture created by the vestiges of the river after it was straightened. The representatives of Counsellor Sterling held nearly 25 acres in Mount Dutton and Malapipe which bordered on to the main road leading from the town to Cavan.

There are four building blocks shown in Malapipe three of which appear to be sub-divided into two sections. Linear development along this road includes these houses and a further three houses in the neighbouring section held by John Loundes. These buildings created a small suburb on the north-eastern edge of the town and increased the housing stock. The Sinclair and Martin families are listed separately in the town and lands index in contrast to their shared holdings in the town. William Sinclair held seventeen acres in White Hills while the representatives of Joseph Martin held nearly twenty acres in Ballywadden. Most of the surnames listed were of New English origin and were most likely of Protestant denomination indicating a preference on the landlord's part for this position.[764]

5.5 Oldcastle 1778-1830s

The latter quarter of the eighteenth century and first decades of the nineteenth century heralded a time of change and development in Oldcastle. The number of tenancies listed in the rent rolls increased by 80 per cent between 1798 and 1824. The Ordnance Survey Field & House Books assist in providing detailed information on the housing stock in the town in the 1830s. By this stage the ecclesiastical landscape of the town was also dramatically altered with the construction of a new Roman Catholic church, the Methodist denomination had established a congregation and built a Meeting House and the Church of Ireland had also erected a new church.

The educational needs of the town and surrounding areas were provided by Laurence Gilson's bequest which established an interdenominational free school in the 1820s, while the market house had been enhanced and increased in size pointing to an improving local economy. The increasing level of state involvement can be seen in the provision of state services – a police barracks had been built on the edge of the town beside the entrance to the glebe lands and a dispensary was noted on the 1837 OS map and on related documentary data.

[764] Palcic, Naper estate p.383.

Figure 5.8 Extract from William Larkin's map of Meath showing Oldcastle in 1812

Source: British Library, BLL 0101948623, A map of the county of Meath in the province of Leinster by William Larkin.

Figure 5.8, an extract from the Larkin map of Meath in 1812, though not as detailed as figure 5.5 nonetheless provides an overview of the changes that had occurred in the intervening period. A new road had been constructed leading north from the square and to the west of Cloghan Street. This road referred to as the 'new line' had replaced what had been the main routeway to Ballyjamesduff, Cavan and Virginia along Cloghan Street. A reference in the Grand Jury records mentions that Mr. Naper had requested maps of this new road from Oldcastle to Ballyjamesduff.[765] This new road can be clearly seen on the map providing a more direct route out of the town to Cavan. Development on the street is not indicated on the map where it appears that the new road had been inserted after the town had been surveyed.

[765] NAI, 1C-33-63, Grand Jury Presentment Books 1807-1834, Barony of Fore, Co. Meath.

Another major change that had taken place was on the road leading south from the square which had been altered and widened at its junction with the square. It would appear that some houses had been demolished and replaced with a more regular streetscape on the eastern side of the junction. This street was the routeway which led to Loughcrew House, the seat of the Naper family and may possibly be a reason for its upgrading and realignment. Castle Street leading west is shown to have more housing than any of the other streets. A continuous stretch of housing is illustrated on both sided of the street indicating an increase in housing in the intervening thirty years.

Figure 5.9 OS map of Oldcastle, 1837

Source: Copy from Valuation office.

The 1837 OS map shown in figure 5.9 illustrates that considerable change had taken place in the 25-year period since the Larkin map had been surveyed. The market house appears to have been rebuilt and realigned and was now located parallel to the hotel located on the square above the junction with Lenox Street. The footprint of the market house was enlarged indicating that more sales space was necessary. This new layout may possibly have been realised due to the development of Cavan Street and to the alteration of Lenox Street at its junction with the Market Square.

The development of Chapel Street is noticeable with new housing sited in three locations along the street. Some of the houses depicted on a laneway leading to the fair green, shown on the earlier maps appear have been demolished and the lane itself is not delineated on this or later maps. Weavers' Row is illustrated opposite the Gilson Schools and further down the street, two groups of housing had been erected below the new Roman Catholic Church. These housing developments would appear to have been constructed by the Naper family as evidenced in the Griffith Valuation where J.W.L. Naper is listed as the immediate lessor of these premises and also may account for some of the very large increase in the number of tenants listed for Oldcastle in the 1824 rent roll. There is no extant documentary material in the Naper estate papers due to a gap in the records from 1810 to 1846 with the only exception being the 1824 rent roll.

The new alignment of Lenox Street visible on the Larkin map is replicated on the 1837 map. Some changes had taken place, notably, the expansion of the housing stock on the eastern side of the street. A laneway is illustrated at the end of the street with a number of houses depicted. This was Monaghan's Lane, the cabin suburb mentioned earlier in the chapter. The development of the new street of Cavan Street illustrates another measure of the growth and expansion of the town in the previous two decades. The map depicts houses lining both sides of the street and also the provision of gardens further down the street is a noticeable feature. The tanyard is illustrated on this street, located away from other housing on the edge of the town.

There were some changes noticeable on Castle Street. The provision of a dispensary led to the demolition of three houses shown on the 1778 map. Two houses are depicted below the dispensary and are followed by the entrance to the new rectory built in the glebe lands. The barracks of the Constabulary Force was located beside this entrance as was the cabin suburb of Barrack Lane, illustrated as a laneway just off the street. An expansion of housing on Cloghan Street is illustrated on the 1837 map with further housing development on the east side of the street. Some small additions were also added on the west side near the Fair Green.

The origins of the street names are varied – Castle Street derived its name from the location of the probable site of the original castle of Oldcastle at its junction with the Market Square while similarly, Chapel Street came about because of the location of the Roman Catholic Chapel. Cloghan Street was named from a small stream over which it crossed. The Market Square was derived from its association with the market space and the market house. Lenox Street was named from its

association as a family name of the Naper family. Cavan Street was named because it was the route to Cavan from Oldcastle.

5.5.1 Rental Income from Oldcastle 1778-1824

The Naper estate papers provide rent roll figures through from 1798 to 1810 and then a gap occurs until 1824-1825 which is included separately. Three years have been selected as a means of illustrating the striking change in the number of tenancies, the increasing rental income and also the continuity of some tenant families' presence in Oldcastle. Note that the town and the lands of Oldcastle are listed as one unit in the rent rolls. Table 5.4 details the increase in the number of tenancies and the corresponding rise in rental income. The largest increases took place in the twenty-year period between 1778 and 1798 and the following twelve-year period to 1810 indicating significant expansion at this time.

Table 5.4 Change in number of tenancies and of rental income – 1778 to 1824

	1778	**1798**	**1810**	**1824**	**% change**
No.of tenancies	18	37	71	96	433%
No.of tenants	18	34	58	76	322%
Rental Income	£85-0-4	£220-3-5	£466-4-6	£822-7-11	868%
(Full year)	£170-0-8	£440-6-10	£932-9-0	£1,644-15-10	867%

Compiled by author from MS3032, MS3094 & MS 5773, Naper estate papers. Note, percentages in final column show the percentage increase in rental income between 1778 and 1824.

The percentage differences shown in table 5.4 highlight the changes which had occurred in the intervening 46-year period. A noticeable feature is the difference between the number of tenancies and the number of tenants indicating the continuing significance of principal leaseholders. The immense change in the rental income at nearly 870 percent may illustrate that the holdings of both the town and the lands of Oldcastle commanded premium rental charges. A significant amount of this increase occurred between 1798 and 1824 indicating rapid growth of the local economy which was to be expected as the national economy boomed during this period. A major cause of this growth was due to the rise in prices resulting from the Napoleonic wars from 1793 to 1815.[766]

A comparison of some sample data from the 1778 and 1798 rent rolls in table 5.5 indicates both continuity and change in the intervening twenty year period. The number of tenancies had doubled and the rental income had nearly tripled as illustrated in table 5.4. Some continuity is detailed in this table, notably, some of the principal leaseholders noted in section 5.3.4 - the Wade, Lowndes

[766] L. M. Cullen, *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660*, p.100.

and Martin families - who continued to pay the same rental charges. Some of the increases may have occurred as a result of a different family member taking over the tenancy as indicated by the sample in the table. Only the new tenants who were paying the highest rental charges are included in the table. The figures illustrate that substantial charges were levied when opportunities arose to increase rental income.

Table 5.5 Comparison of tenancies and rental charges – 1778 to 1798

Tenants	Rental Charge 1778	Rental Charge 1798
Same rental charge		
John Wade	£10-0-0	£10-0-0
Luke Sterling	£8-0-0	£8-0-0
John Lowndes	£3-12-0	£3-12-0
Henry Walton	£1-15-11	£1-15-11
Increase in charges		
Thomas Hartley	£1-15-0	£11-7-6
Richard Langtree	£1-4-5	£6-12-9
John Ginty	£1-0-0	£-13-4
New tenants		
John Reilly		£31-12-7
William Henry		£20-0-0
Pat Fagan		£12-6-4
J Strangeways		£12-0-0
John Finlay		£9-16-8

Source: Compiled by author from Naper papers, NLI, MS3032 & MS3094.

Table 5.6 provides a sample of the principal tenancies and rental charges and the changes which occurred in the twelve-year period between 1810 and 1824. A number of new tenants are also included from the 1824 data which allows for comparison of the material. The table demonstrates that while some tenants had increased the number of tenancies which they held, for others the number had declined.

Richard Lowndes had expanded the number of his holdings from three to six with a corresponding doubling of his rental charges. John Muldoon had increased his holdings from one to four with a fivefold climb in rental charges. By way of contrast, James Ginty's holdings had decreased from three to one with a corresponding seven-fold reduction in rental charges. William Henry is listed with one holding in both rent rolls but a tripling of rent is recorded. This may have resulted from an

increase in the acreage held. William Henry was the leaseholder of the large mill complex at Ballynaganny (Millbrook) just a mile from the town. [767]

Table 5.6 Comparison of tenancies and rental charges - 1810 to 1824

	1810		1824	
Tenants	no. of tenancies	Rental charges	no. of tenancies	Rental charges
Pat Fagan	4	£29-15-6	1	£19-19-0
Hugh Brady	2	£12-5-5	3	£41-11-6
Richard Lowndes	3	£27-17-8	6	£55-9-0
James Ginty	3	£23 -18-2	1	£3-3-0
William Prest & sons	2	£14-5-10	3	£11-14-11
John Muldoon	1	£8-0-0	4	£42-8-11
John Weldon	1	£6-0-0	3	£20-6-0
William Henry	1	£20-11-5	1	£62-3-9
Thomas Coyle	1	£17-5-11	1	£17-5-11
Rev. Bryan Reilly (new)	3	£37-15-2		
New tenants				
Booker (family)			5	£78-1-3
Thomas Rotheram			2	£33-19-8
W. Manning			1	£29-16-9
Mrs. & Widow Leonard			3	£22-14-3
William Flood			1	£44-0-0
Peter Halpin			1	£22-15-0
Weavers Houses			1	£22-0-0

Source: Compiled by author from MS3094 & MS5773, Naper estate papers.

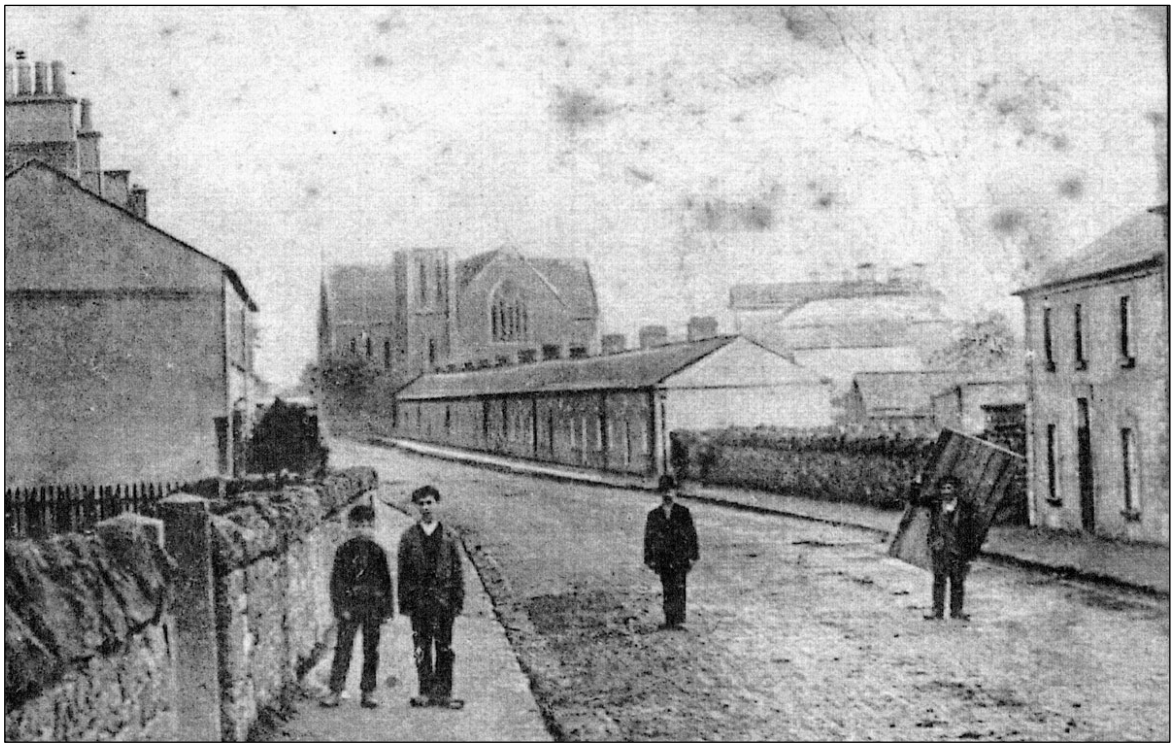
The new tenancies listed include Rev. Bryan Reilly, the parish priest in 1810 who held three holdings. Table 5.6 also details the new tenants in 1824 and shows the Booker family with five holdings paying over £78; Thomas Rotheram with two holdings was probably the younger brother of Edward of Crossdrum, lived in Triermore, county Meath;[768] The Leonard family with three sections; William Flood is noted paying a substantial £44 and is also listed in the later Griffith valuation renting 52 acres.[769] The weavers' houses which are listed separately in the 1824 rent roll were located on Chapel Street opposite the school. They were not listed in the earlier rent roll in table 5.5 which provides a date for their construction sometime between 1810 and 1824. Figure 5.9 of the OS 1837 map provides a clear illustration of their position on Chapel Street.

[767] Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (London, 1837), Vol.2, p.448 hereafter cited as Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*.
[768] Patrick Rotheram, The Rotherams of Crossdrum, (Bath, 1994).
[769] Richard Griffith Valuation of the several tenements situated in the counties of Meath and Cavan (Dublin, 1854) hereafter cited as Grffith's Valuation.

Plate 5.1 House on Weavers' Row

Source: Ciaran O'Reilly (1990).

Plate 5.2 Chapel Street showing Weavers' Row



Source: Postcard from 1920s – Milton series.

The eleven weaver houses attest to the vibrancy of the linen industry in the Oldcastle area at that time. There is no available documentary evidence concerning the construction of the houses but personal communication attributes their development to the Naper landlord and that some of the weavers came from Scotland. Plate 5.1 illustrates one of these houses before it was demolished in

the 1990s. The original windows are visible in the upper storey. Plate 5.2 is a copy of a postcard from the 1920s and provides an image of Chapel Street. Weavers' Row can be seen further down on the right-hand side while the recently constructed Roman Catholic Church is visible beyond them. The row forms a low homogenous, linear group of buildings.

The Demifore Townland Index database serves as a means of illustrating the number of transactions concerning Oldcastle in the absence of access to the Registry of Deeds. Table 5.7 demonstrates that nearly 100 memorials were recorded in the first one hundred years up to 1810 with just over 30 in the following thirty years. The names of the leaseholders with the most transactions are notably the same as those mentioned earlier as the principal leaseholders – Lowndes, Wade. King, English and Sterling. The emergence of new leaseholders – Booker, Muldoon, Manning, Halpin and others were also noted in the 1824 rent rolls. Seventeen of the 31 entries in the 1811-1839 period were listed in the nine-year period from 1811-1820, indicating an increase in interest in the area at this time.

Table 5.7 Sample of Oldcastle memorials 1708 - 1839

Lessees	1708 - 1810 (Total Memorials = 95)		1811 - 1839 (Total Memorials = 31)	
	No. of memorials		No. of memorials	
	Lessor	Lessee	Lessor	Lessee
Lowndes	7	7		2
Wade	6	10		0
King	6	7		0
English	1	3		
Sterling	3	3		0
Ginty	0	3	1	0
Booker			2	2
Muldoon				2
Finlay		2	1	2
Ross			1	1
Manning			1	

Source: Compiled by author from Demifore Townland Index Database.

The memorials listed in the table are tabulated under both lessor and lessee to demonstrate the number of transactions involving some of the tenants. The inclusion of the Lowndes, Wade, King and Sterling families demonstrate their continuing interest in the Oldcastle landholdings as shown in table 5.3 earlier in the chapter. Table 5.7 indicates that their influence may have been waning or disappearing in the later period. Some of the new tenants listed in tables 5.5 and 5.6 are revealed here – Booker, Muldoon and Finlay indicating that the memorials relating to their transactions probably recorded leases.

5.5.2 Economic and trading spaces, 1778 to 1830s

As already noted, Oldcastle by 1778 was endowed with several key trading spaces namely the Market Square and Fair Green. The later data from the Field Books for Oldcastle list a corn market and a separate butter, fowl and egg market illustrating that a variety of trading spaces existed which catered for the different agricultural items produced in the locality. The market house was listed as a corn market house indicating its primary function.[770] Plate 5.3 of the market square from the early twentieth century illustrates the size and central location of the market house. The OS 1837 map illustrates the locations of these market areas. A crane for lifting heavy goods was part of the furniture of the corn market house and is listed in the Field Books. It is also recorded in the Naper rent rolls in 1798 rented to Ambrose Jones at an annual charge of £10.[771]

Plate 5.3 Market Square, Oldcastle

Source: Postcard from 1920s.

The Statistical Survey of Meath published in 1802 points to a busy weekly market day on Mondays in Oldcastle, noting that it was 'the biggest market in county Meath for yarn of the finer kind'.[772] The linen manufactured in the Demifore and the Kells baronies was sold in the Oldcastle market.[773] Meal and vegetables were sold in this weekly market.[774]

[770] NAI, Oldcastle parish field bools, O.L 4.1361

[771] NLI, MS 3094, Rental of the estate of James Lenox William Naper in Co. Meath, Nov. 1791 to Nov. 1811 hereafter cited as MS 3094, Naper estate papers.

[772] Robert Thompson, *Statistical survey of Meath*, (Dublin 1802), pp.384-385 hereafter cited as Thompson, *Statistical Survey.*

[773] Thompson, *Statistical Survey*, pp. 390-391.

[774] Ibid, p.386

Figure 5.9 shows that the market house had been extended and realigned when compared with the 1778 survey map. The addition of two wings which are evident in plate 5.3, increased its trading capacity. There may have been aesthetic reasons for this realignment of the market house which may have coincided with the planned broadening of Lenox Street at its junction with the market square. This allowed the traveller approaching Oldcastle using the Lenox Street route an open view of the square and a more pleasing uncluttered urban space. The Griffith Valuation data provides a valuation for the Market House of £25 and for the separate butter and egg market at £12 indicating the condition and size of these trading spaces.

The diverse markets trading in Oldcastle illustrate that specialisation in particular products was taking place and indicates that there was sufficient productivity to supply these markets. In addition to the market space, seven annual fairs were listed in the 1802 Statistical survey of Meath and that two of these were now obsolete.[775] It was not made clear which fairs were obsolete. The large fair green depicted on both the 1778 survey map and the OS historic map attest to the size and importance of these annual fairs.

5.5.3 Ecclesiastical spaces

Two places of religious worship were depicted on the 1778 map – the Church of Ireland located on the market square in a dominant position and the Roman Catholic chapel which was located on the edge of the town. The Non-conformist religious denominations also had congregations in Oldcastle. The Quaker community were present from the post-Cromwellian period but as they met in each others homes they did not erect a building, while the Methodists had established themselves by the early nineteenth century as shown in Figure 5.9.

The Church of Ireland held a dominant position in the parish due to its position as the established church in Ireland. The parish had been in the possession of the Benedictine Friary of Fore in the Middle Ages but the medieval church was destroyed in 1641.[776] A church is illustrated with an accompanying graveyard in 1778 on Figure 5.4 with access to the seven acres of glebe lands from a corner of the graveyard indicated. The church depicted on Figure 5.7 was built in 1816 and opened for divine service in 1817.[777] By 1837 the established church had consolidated their position in

[775] Ibid, P. 384.
[776] Canon J.B. Leslie, *Clergy of Meath and Kildare: Biographical Succession Lists*, revised, edited and updated by W.J.R. Wallace, (Dublin 2009), p. 91 hereafter cited as Leslie, *Clergy of Meath and Kildare*.
[777] Leslie, *Clergy of Meath and Kildare*, p. 91.

Oldcastle with the construction of a rectory with an ornamental garden and accompanying gate lodge on the glebe lands.

The Religious Society of Friends or Quakers became established in the Oldcastle area immediately after the Cromwellian settlement in 1659.[778] Anthony Jackson was the first Quaker to move to Oldcastle from Killeshandra in 1659 and a group was established by 1660.[779] A 1672 reference indicated that two of the Oldcastle Quakers had goods seized for non-payment of tithes.[780] A visiting preacher, John Gratton, visited Oldcastle in 1696 and lodged with a local Quaker named Merrick King.[781] A Merigue King is listed in the 1733 Naper rent roll and may be a member of the same family.[782] Merrick King, Thomas Jackson, Thomas Langtree and John Freeman were recorded between 1706 and 1711 in Quaker records for non-payment of tithes.[783]

Other names recorded in the Quaker records for Oldcastle include members of the Starr, Langtree, King and Martin families who also appear in the Naper and Registry of Deeds data included earlier in the chapter. These families were involved in the linen trade but some emigrated to Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century.[784] The Quakers acquired a burial ground by lease in Castlecor in 1699 just over a mile from the town.[785] It is marked, incorrectly, as a Jewish burial ground on the Larkin map of Meath published in 1817 but surveyed in the period 1809-1812.[786] According to Cassidy, Quaker numbers declined in the latter half of the eighteenth century indicated by meetings taking place in Cootehill only and not on alternate months in Oldcastle.[787]

Over the course of this period Cogan identified eight parish priests serving the Roman Catholics of Oldcastle starting in 1690 with Francis Luttrell, Rev. Owen Scally in 1704, Rev. Charles Reilly 1724, Rev. Hugh Brady 1740, Rev. Joseph O'Ferrall 1778, Rev. Bryan Reilly 1792, Rev. George McDermott 1807 and Rev. George Leonard 1832.[788] The Penal laws were introduced in the early years of the

[778] Patrick Cassidy, 'Non-conformist religious denominations in County Cavan in the 17th and 18th centuries' in *Cavan History and Society, (*eds) Jonathan Cherry and Brendan Scott (Dublin,2014), p.200 hereafter cited as Cassidy, Non-conformist religious denominations,
[779] Cassidy, Non-conformist religious denominations, p.204.
[780] Ibid, p.204.
[781] Ibid, p.204.
[782] MS3031, Naper estate papers.
[783] Cassidy, Non-conformist religious denominations, p.205.
[784] Ibid, p.205.
[785] Ibid, p.205.
[786] Arnold Horner, *Mapping Meath in the early 19th century*, (Dublin 2007), vii.
[787] Cassidy, Non-conformist religious denominations, p.205.
[788] Rev. A. Cogan, *The Diocese of Meath Ancient and Modern*, vol.ii, (Dublin, 1867), pp. 337-339 hereafter cited as Cogan, *Diocese of Meath.*

eighteenth century and Cogan mentioned that open air masses took place in areas outside the town during the pastorship of the Rev. Scally.[789]

Plate 5.4 Roman Catholic church building, Oldcastle 1815

Source: copy of postcard.

The eighteenth-century building depicted on the 1778 map was replaced by a new church in 1815 (see plate 5.4). It was located near the site of the old church and cost £2,000 with a contribution of £1,000 by Mr. Naper.[790] A later figure of £2,500 is given for the total cost.[791] Bishop Plunkett noted in his visitation to Oldcastle of 1819 that he dined with Mr. Naper and mentioned his generous contribution to the erection of the chapel.[792] The large figure contributed by Mr. Naper indicates that good relations existed between the churches and that he, as the town's landlord was desirous of improving the urban landscape and of Chapel Street where in the following decade he provided the site for the Gilson Schools and developed housing. Plate 5.4 provides an illustration of this church which was later used as a hall when a new church was erected in 1904.

The Methodist church had established a congregation in Oldcastle by the early nineteenth century. A Meeting House was erected on Chapel Street in 1814 and was marked on the OS 1837 historical

[789] Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, p.337.
[790] Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, pp..447-449.
[791] John Smith, *The Oldcastle Centenary Book,* (2004), p.125.
[792] Rev. A. Cogan, *The Diocese of Meath Ancient and Modern*, vol. iii. (1870), p.426 hereafter cited as Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, vol iii.

map.[793] Bishop Plunkett indicated that their presence was notable in the parish.[794] The Oldcastle Methodists formed part of the Cavan Circuit which illustrates those ties were similar to that of the Quakers who were allied with their Cavan brethren.

5.5.4 Education

Bishop Plunkett's notes on his visitation to Oldcastle in 1788 that there were five schools in the parish but gave no further information about them. He stated that there were no children confirmed that year.[795] The schools at that time were private and fees were charged for instruction. There were three private schools still operating in the town after the new free Gilson had opened in 1822.[796]

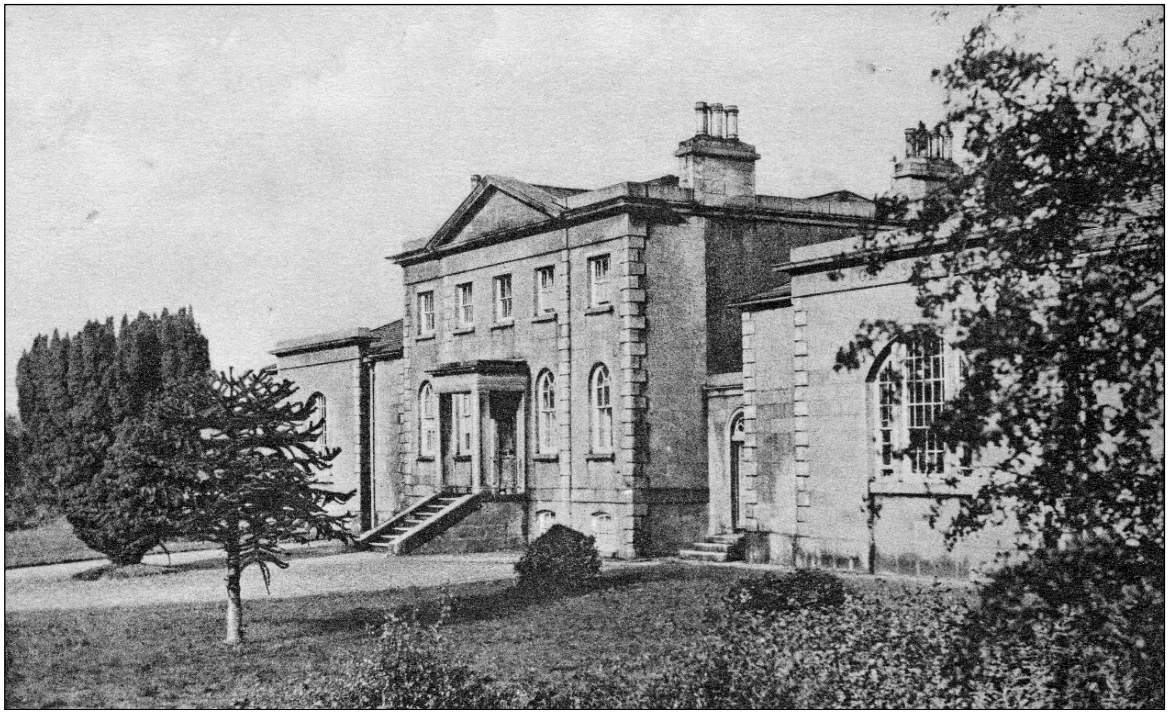
The town of Oldcastle was unique in terms of the educational facilities afforded to its inhabitants in that from the early 1820s it possessed a free school which gave a generous boost to education in the area. This school was open to all religious denominations. By the early years of the nineteenth century the state had become more involved in promoting and subsidising primary education.[797] The majority Roman Catholic population were reluctant to support many of these schools as they considered that the agencies controlling them such as the Tudor and Charter schools were proselytising agents. Even those developed under the auspices of the Kildare Place Society to provide interdenominational education were later considered to be under the direction of the Established Church.[798]

The Gilson school came about from the generous endowment of a native of Oldcastle, Laurence Gilson who had made his fortune in England. The school was administered under the governance of the English Court of Chancery in 1822 because Laurence Gilson had been living in England and had made his will there.[799] A board was appointed which included the Protestant rector, the Catholic parish priest and James Lenox William Naper.[800] The land for the school was gifted by Mr Naper.[801] The handsome school building which incorporated accommodation for the schoolmaster

[793] Methodist Historical Society of Ireland, Accessed on 18/3/21.
[794] Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, p.312.
[795] Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, vol.iii, p.205.
[796] Michael Quane, Gilson Endowed School, Oldcastle, *Riocht na Midhe*, (1969), Vol iv, No.3, p.41; hereafter cited as Quane, Gilson Endowed School.
[797] Gearoid O Tuataigh, *Ireland before the Famine 1798-1848*, (1972 & 1990), p.98.
[798] Ibid, p.101.
[799] Christopher F. McCormack, *The Gilson Endowed School Oldcastle, Co. Meath: The story of a* school's *search for identity*, (2002), p.11; hereafter cited as McCormack*, Gilson Endowed School*.
[800] Ibid, pp.11-12.
[801] Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, pp.447-449.

and schoolmistress were designed by the architect Charles Cockerell (who also designed Loughcrew House). Plate 5.5 provides an image of the school buildings and also illustrates the central accommodation block. Prior to the construction of the school, classes were held for boys in the Market House and for girls in rooms in the town.[802]

Plate 5.5 Gilson endowed school, Oldcastle circa 1930



Source: Copy of postcard.

In 1826, the number of students amounted to a total of 312 made up of 125 boys and 187 girls but had increased to an enrolment of 909 by 1828 and by 1835, the numbers were very large amounting to a combined total of 1,024. Lewis provides an attendance figure of 800 for the school.[803] O'Donovan provides a figure of 300 boys and 400 girls of whom 90 were Protestants.[804] The numbers from the different sources differ but still indicate that large numbers of students were availing of a free education. There was a decline in enrolment in the Famine years.[805]

The curriculum included needlework for the girls.[806] A separate section for needlework of the finer kind for 30 of the girls was set up some of whom could earn some money from this work.[807] This

[802] Quane, Gilson Endowed School, p.39
[803] Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, pp.447-449.
[804] The Ordnance Survey Name Books, DCU, transcripts held in the library of Belvedere House, St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra; hereafter cited as Name Books.
[805] McCormack, *Gilson Endowed School*, p.15.
[806] Ibid, p.13.
[807] Name Books.

may have been a reason for the higher number of female students because proficiency in needlework would be an asset when seeking a job. The school provided religious instruction to both its Protestant and Catholic pupils. This instruction was provided the Protestant rector and the Roman Catholic priest for which they were remunerated annually.[808] Both denominations were examined by their respective clergy as detailed in an 1826 report on the examinations.[809]

5.5.5 State Services

The extension of state involvement in the provision of education and health gathered momentum during the 1830s. Health services were provided in the nineteenth century through the provision of a dispensary and doctors to minister to the needs of the people. Figures are available for the costs involved in the Oldcastle dispensary in a Grand Jury presentments document covering the four-year period 1830 to 1833.[810] The large sum of nearly £70 pounds was expended in 1830, followed by figures in the mid £40 pound range in the years 1831 and 1832. The figures rose again to over £55 pounds in 1833. It was noted in the document that an equal sum had been subscribed towards the costs of the dispensaries in the county.[811] This would indicate that the costs of providing an adequate health service were considerable.

A dispensary building located on Castle Street was valued at £5 in the Griffith Valuation.[812] Plate 5.6 provides an image of the dispensary building. The house of James Atkins, the local medical doctor was next door and valued at £18-12s-0d.[813] Oldcastle was the centre of its Poor Law Union area and a workhouse had been built there in 1842. The workhouse, located on Lenox Street was erected on a seven and a half acre site on edge of the town.[814]

The Constabulary barracks, Plate 5.7, were located further down Castle Street beside the entrance to the rectory and glebe lands. It is listed with a valuation of £10-10s-0d in the Griffith Valuation which included offices and a yard.[815] The entrance gate to the left of the house is flanked by tall pillars and led to the stable block, as seen in Plate 5.7. The market house also served as a court house and is listed in this way in the Griffith Valuation.[816]

---

[808] Ibid.
[809] McCormack, *Gilson Endowed School*, p.17.
[810] NAI, OP/MA 692, Grand Jury presentments for charitable institutions, 1830-1833.
[811] Ibid.
[812] Griffith's Valuation. p.37.
[813] Ibid, p.37.
[814] John Smith, 'The Oldcastle Workhouse and the Poor Law 1838-1920' in *Riocht na Midhe*, xx.(2009),p.217.
[815] Ibid, p.37.
[816] Ibid, p.34.

Plate 5.6 Dispensary building, Oldcastle

Source: Ciaran O'Reilly – taken in 1990.

Plate 5.7 Former RIC barracks site, Oldcastle

Source: Ciaran O'Reilly – taken in 1990.

5.5.6 Oldcastle town in the 1830s and 1840s

In the absence of estate papers for the period, an opportunity to detail and map Oldcastle's streetscape, built environment and economic spaces in the 1830s and 1840s – the end of the time period with which this thesis is concerned - is afforded through an analysis of the Griffith Valuation.

Although published in 1854 for county Meath, the Griffith Valuation is based on the earlier Field Book data which was gathered in the 1830s and the House Book collated in the post-Famine period.

The town formed part of the Naper estate and the data from the Griffith Valuation illustrates clearly that J.W.L. Naper was the largest lessor. The number of houses listed in the valuations amounted to 185 which showed an increase of 80 or 46% from the data included in the index to the 1778 Naper survey map. The most noticeable difference is in the percentage of cabins which had decreased considerably in the intervening fifty years from 83% to 35%. Lewis provides a much higher number of houses in the town at 241.[817] Population figures from nineteenth century data for 1813 and 1821 illustrate that Oldcastle figures for 1813 are inadequate because a figure of 297+ is shown and by 1821 it had risen to 1,177 [818] while Lewis provides a figure of 1,531.[819]

Table 5.8 Valuation of houses in Oldcastle in Griffith Valuation

	No. of houses	**Percentage of total**
Houses valued at £10 0s 0d or over	24	13%
Houses valued in the range £5 0s 0d to £9 19s 11d	29	15%
Houses valued in the range £1 0s 0d to £4 19s 11d	68	37%
Houses valued in the range £1 0s 0d or under	64	35%
Total no. of houses	**185**	**100%**

Compiled by author from Griffith's Valuation.

Table 5.8 illustrates the house valuations for Oldcastle town divided into four categories. Using the information on houses valued at £1 0s 0d or under and assuming that they were cabins, the percentage amounted to 35 per cent. Those houses in the category valued at £1 0s 0d to £4 19s 11d came to 37 per cent. A combined figure for these lower categories amounted to over 70 per cent of the town's housing. A further 29 houses were valued in the range of £5 0s 0d to £9 19s 11d which amounted to fifteen per cent while just 24 houses were valued at over £10 0s 0d and most of which were located in the town centre on the Market Square. These building valuations included what were categorised as offices which were sheds or stables.

Of the seventeen premises listed on the Market Square only two fell below the £5 0s 0d mark illustrating it as the premier location in the town. Lenox Street had seven of its eighteen listed premises falling into the highest valuation category while Castle Street had just four of its buildings

[817] Lewis, Topographical Dictionary, p.448.
[818] Horner, *Mapping Meath*, p.13.
[819] Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary,* p.447.

falling into this top category and five into the second category. Cloghan Street, on the other hand, had just two of its 34 houses valued at £3 6s 0d with the majority fell below £1 0s 0d. Chapel Street had the greatest number of houses listed while the majority of its 64 houses ranked in the £1 0s 0d to £4 19s 11d category. Cavan Street, a new addition to the town's street network had been constructed sometime around the turn of the nineteenth century. Thirteen houses are listed with the majority in the £5 0s 0d to £9 19s 11d ranking with just two above it. The evidence points to a marked concentration of lower-class housing in some peripheral areas on the edge of the town while higher class housing was located in the central core of the town.

Analysis of the valuation records revealed that J.W.L. Naper was the leading lessor with just over 100 of the houses. Table 5.9 shows that there were a number of premises in the lower valuation category in the hands of six middlemen. The locations of these houses demonstrated that a form of cabin suburb had been created on two lanes, Monaghan's Lane and Barrack Lane located off the main thoroughfares. Cloghan Street also fell into this category but as this street led to the Fair Green, it may be a possible reason for the form of development which occurred there. These peripheral areas were located away from the main centre of economic and social activity and this distance from the central core may have contributed to their low valuation. The combined total of premises in the control of these middlemen amounted to 56 indicating that a very large percentage of the lower end of the housing market was in their hands.

Table 5.9 Middlemen in Oldcastle per Griffith Valuation

Lessors	No. of houses	Location
Michael McEnroe	14	Castle Street & Barrack Lane
Henry Hare	13	Cloghan Street
William Lowndes	9	Cloghan & Lennox streets & Monaghan's Lane
Peter Monaghan	8	Monaghan's Lane
Rev, George Leonard	7	Cloghan Street
John Donnelly	5	Cloghan Street

Compiled by author from Griffith's Valuation.

Michael McEnroe and Henry Hare lead the table with fourteen and thirteen houses respectively. Michael McEnroe concentrated his interests on the Castle Street area with seven houses on the street itself and seven on Barrack Lane which was just off it. Henry Hare's houses were all located on Cloghan Street. The nine houses let by William Lowndes were spread throughout the town but four were located on Cloghan Street and three on Monaghan's Lane off Lenox Street where his remaining two houses were located. Peter Monaghan presumably gave his name to Monaghan's

Lane where all eight of his houses were to be found. Rev. George Leonard who was parish priest of Oldcastle is noticeable with five of his seven premises located on Cloghan Street and two on Cavan Street. The vast majority of these premises were valued at under £1 0s 0d and some were assessed at no value indicating that these middlemen were exploiting the lower end of the market.

5.5.7 Business premises in Oldcastle from House Books

The House Books provide information on the business premises in the town and analysis revealed that these premises were concentrated on the Market Square, Lenox Street and a small number on Chapel Street. Three of the premises on the Market Square were listed as vacant which were formerly a bakery, a public house and a shop. The Ordnance Survey compiled this material in the post-Famine period which may account for these vacancies. It was observed that the hotel on the Market Square was too big for its business. Three premises were trading at this time – a grocery, a clothes shop and what was described as a dilapidated shop.

The Lenox Street premises were made up of three public houses, two of which included shops. There was a clothes shop and also the Butter and Egg Market which was located in a premier position at the junction of Lenox Street and the Market Square. On Castle Street there was just one trader with a bakery and meal business which was located at the street's junction with the market Square illustrating the importance of location.

Chapel Street businesses included a shoemaker, a bacon shop, a leather cutter and three forges. Two of these forges were located towards the lower end of the street beside the pound and the R.C. chapel and therefore away from the town centre. The word nailer was written beside the data on the third forge which was located further up the street near the Methodist chapel, implying that the blacksmith there produced nails. There was another forge located on Cavan Street which was the only business listed on this street and was situated near a tanyard, mentioned in the Name Books and also on Cavan Street. Both of these businesses were located on the edge of the town, away from the town centre. The number of forges attest to the significant importance of horses to the community and also the manufacture of iron products such as nails, gates, agricultural implements and repair of same.

There were eighteen houses in total listed as vacant with their valuations ranging from the two lowest on Cloghan Street at 5 shillings to the two highest on Castle Street at £11 and £9-18s-0d. Castle Street was also listed with two other vacant houses in the lower valuation range. There was

a noticeable group of four vacancies at numbers 33, 34, 35 and 37 Chapel Street valued at £1 which formed part of a group of ten houses located below the Roman Catholic church. Three others were located on the Market Square, one on Lenox Street and two more in the lower valuation range on Castle Street. The variety of locations and valuations indicates that the consequences of the Famine affected all levels of society. The number of vacancies suggests that the decline in population in the post-Famine period of 35% in the barony, noted in Table 1.2 on page 10 was also a causative factor.

The majority of house valuations included a garden as part of the site. Garden plots were important to the townspeople as they provided a means of growing vegetables or the opportunity to keep fowl or pigs and supply themselves with food. A number of houses with lower valuations did not include a garden plot but the majority did have a small garden. Some garden plots were listed separately on Lenox Street and Cavan Street indicating the continuation of their importance from the 18th century. The House Books indicated that some of these gardens were in the possession of particular house numbers. Thirteen gardens were located on Cavan Street, the newest street in the town indicating that the provision of garden plots was necessary in the early 19th century.

5.6 Conclusions

This chapter has traced the development of Oldcastle town in the aftermath of the Cromwellian settlement. It was recorded as a market centre in the fifteenth century and continued to develop with the granting of a licence to hold markets and fairs to Lord Dunsany by King James 1 in 1609. This licence afforded it the status of being the only licensed market in Demifore barony. The importance of the woollen industry was illustrated by the listing of a tuck mill in Tubride in the seventeenth century Civil Survey and the establishment of a woollen factory in Ballinacree in the nineteenth century. The arrival of the Quakers in the late seventeenth century introduced the linen industry which continued to thrive into the late eighteenth century as attested by its promotion by the Naper family (section 5.3.1). The continued presence of the linen industry is evidenced by the largest yarn market in county Meath taking place in Oldcastle in the early nineteenth century.

Ownership of the town had transferred from the Dunsany Plunketts as landlords to the Naper family in the seventeenth century. The 1778 Naper survey provided an opportunity to visualise the eighteenth century developments and illustrated a market house, located centrally on the square and a fair green on the edge of the town pointing to the continued importance of Oldcastle as a market centre. The survey listed the number and type of houses and the lessors of these premises. Major changes to the streetscape and layout of the town occurred at the turn of the nineteenth

century, firstly, with the construction of a new street, Cavan Street, providing easier access to the Ballyjamesduff road and also the realignment of the Lenox Street junction with the Market Square and its access to a new market house erected in the early nineteenth century.

The rental income enjoyed by the Naper family from their urban estate increased by over 800% in the period from 1778-1824 with a corresponding increase in the number of tenancies which led to a more diverse socio-economic grouping residing in the town and its environs. The influential role of the Naper landlords as agents of urban improvement was noted in the development of housing and in the gifting of sites for the free school and a new Roman Catholic church and illustrated that they were without the sectarianism oftentimes associated with the landlord class.

The 1810-1820 period saw the erection of three new church buildings indicating an increasing population and vibrant local economy. By the 1830s state services had been introduced with the construction of a dispensary and police barracks. The generous endowment of a free school by Laurence Gilson provided access to education for children of all denominations. The role of the town had evolved in this period from being primarily a market centre to having a growing service function. By the 1830s and 1840s, the core of the town appeared prosperous containing good quality housing and a diverse range of businesses. The edge of the town however was dominated by cabin suburbs that had emerged from 1811 onwards under the watch of the middlemen/under lessors who perpetuated the development of these slum areas, most notably in the area of Cloghan Street (see table 5.9).

In conclusion, the role of the town of Oldcastle had evolved, it was no longer primarily a market centre catering for its rich rural hinterland but had expanded to provide services to fulfil the religious, educational and health needs of the people of the town and its environs. The key agents of change and development included not only the landlord but also the prosperous merchants and middlemen who all helped to modernise the urban landscape.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This thesis has examined the evolution of landowning, landholding and landscape patterns in the barony of Demifore, county Meath during the period *circa* 1700 to *circa* 1830s. During this period, the landed estate was to become the framework within which local society and economies operated. In refining the scope of the study, and by extension facilitating a deeper examination of the research themes identified, particular attention was focused on identifying those estates in excess of 500 plantation acres of which nine were identified, the owners of these properties and how they were managed.

As estate papers were only available for two of these estates an innovative solution was designed based on the townland index in the Registry of Deeds. The methodology used involved the creation of a database which allowed for the use of filters in order to pinpoint the landholdings and thus the owners of these seven estates. In this way, the memorials accessed provided the research data which allowed for the recreation and in-depth study of these estates. This methodology based on the use of memorials provides historical geographers with a key and new research source.

By the early nineteenth century, the landowning class in the barony of Demifore had been transformed from one dominated by the Anglo-Norman lordships in the seventeenth century to a much more diverse group. The varied origins of the landowning class demonstrates both continuity and change in the proprietorial landscape of Demifore during the period. Likewise, the landscape had become much more structured with the creation of the 'big houses' and their associated demesne lands becoming a prominent feature of the countryside. The landscape had been embellished with tree planting along the roadways and significant wooded areas in the demesne lands.

As a result of the above developments, the settlement pattern of the barony was altered significantly. The villages clustered around castle and church disappeared and were replaced by a more dispersed pattern with the only exception being the development of Oldcastle as the sole urban centre in the barony. The purpose of this chapter is to detail the main research findings presented in this thesis and suggest areas for future research relating to the main themes which the thesis addresses.

6.2 Research findings

6.2.1 The landed estates

By the 1830s, the barony of Demifore was comprised of a network of estates of varying origins, reflecting at a local level, the longevity of the process of conquest and colonisation in Ireland more broadly. The research findings presented in this thesis were made possible by the use of the records held in the Registry of Deeds. The compilation and utilisation of a database based on the townland index of the barony formed a unique and pioneering method of recreating not only hidden estates and landholdings but also their financial management in the absence of estate papers which were available for only two landowners. Only two of the larger landowners identified, Naper and Wade, were of Cromwellian origin and had obtained their landed estates as a result of the Cromwellian and Williamite settlements. The Naper family, based in Loughcrew, went on to become the biggest proprietors in the barony over the time period, with an estate of over 8,000 acres. They acquired lands in the neighbouring barony of Kells and other parts of Meath and Ireland. The Wade family, based in Clonabraney, also held lands bordering their Demifore estate in Kells barony but the research indicated that the size of their estate in Demifore, unlike the Naper estate, was not augmented during the time period under study.

On the other hand, continuity of ownership is evident in the retention of lands by the absentee Fingall Plunkett family of Anglo-Norman origin who also held lands in the neighbouring Kells barony. The owners of the other estates were domiciled outside of the barony with most based in Dublin. It may be suggested that the quality of the land, as well as proximity to Dublin, made Demifore an attractive area to acquire lands. These proprietors purchased their Demifore lands as an investment opportunity and though the size of their landholdings was smaller and varied from 1,000 to 2,000+ plantation acres approximately, their estates formed a significant section of the barony landholdings. The barony of Demifore has thus proven an insightful case study area, illustrating so vividly, not only the varied historical origins of these landed estates from the Anglo-Norman period through to the nineteenth century, but also the wide-ranging extent and scale of these landholdings. This research supports the work of W. J. Smyth and William Nolan in their analyses of the changing patterns of landownership, examined in the Literature Review in Chapter 2.

6.2.2 The landlord class

In considering the landlord or landowning class that emerged in Demifore during the period, the findings illustrate that they did not form a homogenous grouping and were comprised of families

who were resident in the barony and a significant group who were absentee landlords. Three proprietors were identified as resident, the Naper, Wade and Tuite families. The Napers had obtained the largest quantity of lands under the Cromwellian settlement but had gone on to treble their landholdings in the barony during the time period of this study. However, the Wades retained their original but significant landholding while further research may reveal that the Wades had invested in lands elsewhere in Ireland. The smallest resident owners were the Tuite family, of Anglo-Norman origin, domiciled on their small estate based in the townlands of Newcastle and Fennor. The records reveal that this family had sold their lands by the mid-nineteenth century.

The absentee Fingall Plunkett family were also of Anglo-Norman origin but their home base was located at Killeen Castle in the eastern section of county Meath. They were absentee landlords but came from an ennobled family, retaining the title, earls of Fingal. For long periods of the eighteenth century the family lived abroad due to the restrictions of the Penal Laws because they had remained Roman Catholic. The other absentee proprietors were of varied origins: the Morgan family were originally granted lands in county Sligo under the Cromwellian settlement but also held lands in county Mayo and maintained a Dublin address; the Peppards were originally merchants based in Drogheda and also owned lands in Dublin and Wicklow; the Withrington family, of Dublin, were also of the merchant class and of New English origin. The Donnellan family held considerable property interests in Dublin city and were well connected with the political and social elite of the time, attested to in part by those with whom they had financial dealings, as were the Forster/Gay family whose lands later came into O'Reilly ownership.

6.2.3 Management of the estates

The eighteenth century presented a stable picture of landownership in the barony but by the end of the century the management policies had altered and changed in response to a growing economy and in particular, a growing population. While the extant papers were an important source, the memorials revealed through the compilation of the townland index database were paramount in examining the management practices on all nine estates. A common feature of the research findings was the length in the terms of leases which increased from 21 years in the early eighteenth century to 31 years as the century progressed and it was found that many leases included lives. The Fingall Plunkett leases did not include lives due to the restrictions of the Penal Laws. This increase in the time periods of leases may have reflected a desire for stability and security for both landlord and tenant.

Another notable component of estate management was the preference for leasing whole townlands which was prevalent amongst all the landowners but changed slowly to leasing townlands in divisions towards the end of the eighteenth century. This practice helped to ease running costs for the proprietors and was favoured by both resident and absentee proprietors alike. The work of both Power and Nolan in their analyses of landholding also found that this practice was widespread. This policy also served to highlight the emergence of the principal leaseholders who formed an integral part of the management process on each of the estates examined in the barony. It was noted that some of these principal leaseholders went on to become landowners in their own right in the nineteenth century, for example, the Rotheram and Battersby families.

Financial aspects of estate management have also been examined as part of this research and the findings illustrated that rental income increased over the time period of the study and that opportunities were taken by the landlords when leases fell in or when a change in tenancy occurred to raise rents while a number of leases also included progressive increases over the term of the lease. The work of Power, reviewed in Chapter 2, corroborated this research whereby in his analysis of land tenure, he commented that graded increases in rental charges were included in some leases and used as a means of implementing the improvement clauses. The sub-division of townlands became a more noticeable feature towards the end of the eighteenth century and helped to increase rental income. The improvement in the economy caused by the demand for agricultural produce during the Napoleonic wars generated a demand for land and increased the numbers looking for tenancies providing opportunities for the landowners.

While land was principally seen as a means of producing rental income this research highlights a feature common to all the landowners, that access to land allowed them to generate income in a variety of ways. The research findings have demonstrated that lands were often used as security for loans and mortgages by the landowners. For example, John Gay took out a mortgage in 1748 and later increased this mortgage in 1754 to raise £6,000 by adding a second party to the original agreement. The principal leaseholders also utilised landholding by assigning their leasehold interest as a means of obtaining finance. The provision of dower thirds and jointures in marriage settlements formed another notable element of the use of the lands to generate income. The research showed how the provision of dower thirds for the Dowager Countess on the Fingall Plunkett lands had a significant impact on the rental income of the estate. The financial use of the lands as security for loans and mortgages was a practice common to all the landowners as were the

frequent assignments of the lands to generate wealth. Access to land provided a ready means of supplementing one's income in order to obtain ready cash.

The findings also show that for some landowners, debt redemption led to the eventual loss and/or sale of some of the lands. The loss of the large townland of Killalon by the Fingall Plunketts to Lord Annesley illustrates how debt redemption could impact a landlord. This aspect of using the lands to create financial income as well as rental income and how it underpinned the internal working of estates is an area that has hitherto been unexplored by historians and historical geographers and this research has added significantly to filling a lacuna in the literature.

6.2.4 Improvements in the rural landscape

The involvement of the landowners and their tenants in the improvement of the land and landscape formed a significant component of the research presented in this thesis. The productivity of the land was illustrated and highlighted by the detailing of the number of mills in use the barony throughout the period of this study. While a number of the mills were small in size, two large mill complexes pointed to the importance of tillage forming a significant element of the local economy. As landlords, the Napers carried out improvements in drainage, infrastructure and afforestation on their estate lands. The policy of several landlords, notably the Wades and Fingall Plunketts, to include covenants in their leases, obliging their lessees to plant trees and hedges and to desist from tillage in the last years of the leasing period, provided an important means of improving the landscape.

The landscape of Demifore was changed in a much more dramatic fashion by the construction of the 'big houses' and their associated demesnes during the period *circa* 1700 to *circa* 1830. The research findings illustrated that a variety and diversity of these transformative elements was evident in the barony. The houses ranged from the mansion houses and large demesnes of the Napers and Wades to others at a reduced scale such as Bobsville and Belview. Each of the demesnes incorporated the same elements, such as gate lodges, winding avenues and most significantly, large scale tree planting, not only on the demesne lands but on the nearby roadways. The Naper mansion house, built in the 1820s replaced the earlier seventeenth century longhouse set amidst the formal style of demesne landscape illustrated on the 1778 survey map. The examination of these demesne landscapes and the findings which emerged illustrated that a controlled and structured landscape had been created not only by the bigger landlords but also by their principal leaseholders, for

example, the Battersbys and the Rotherams, while the country houses constructed by these principal leaseholders illustrated their transition from leaseholders to owners.

6.2.5 Urban improvement

The findings of the research indicated that landlord involvement formed a crucial component in the development of urban spaces in the barony area. A network of country towns/villages existed in the locality but the primary focus of the study centred on the development of Oldcastle, owned by the Naper family, which grew and developed into the only urban centre in the barony. Nearby urban spaces were developed just outside the barony's boundary by the Wade family in the village of Crossakeel and by the Chapman family in Clonmellon. The Wade family also constructed the new village of Ardglasson to provide housing for their tenants. The research highlighted the importance of resident landlords in the development of villages and noted the lack of growth in Kilskyre village, owned by absentee landlords, the Fingall Plunketts. B.J. Graham and L. Proudfoot drew attention to the importance of landlord involvement in the expansion of urban spaces and this research corroborates their analysis.

The urban space of Oldcastle provided the study with a unique opportunity to trace its development from the eighteenth century into the nineteenth century through the availability of two maps from the Naper 1778 survey. It had been noted as a market centre in the previous centuries but the active involvement of the Naper landlords transformed the space by the 1830s. Prior to 1778, the findings illustrated that the town was dominated by a number of principal tenants and that it was under their aegis that some development had occurred but the late eighteenth century expansion led to a large increase in tenancies and a corresponding rise in urban income.

The Naper landlord involvement contributed to an altering of the streetscape – the market house was restructured and realigned; the construction of a totally new street provided easier access to the routes leading to Cavan and also the widening of Lenox Street. This growth and expansion was also facilitated by other key players and the research highlighted the significant involvement of church and state in providing new churches and services for the inhabitants.

The provision of a free school through an endowment added to the attractiveness of Oldcastle as an urban settlement. The findings demonstrated that the primary function of Oldcastle was as a market centre providing the people of its hinterland with weekly markets and a number of annual fairs. Over time, the town's functions had also evolved to include the provision of services – health,

educational, policing and the expansion of ecclesiastical spaces. The research also exposed the role of middlemen in the development of cabin suburbs, highlighting their exploitation of the lower socio-economic stratum of society and their impact on the townscape.

6.3 Areas for future research

A number of other areas worthy of academic attention around which some future research could be anchored have emerged. While some of these are specific to the barony of Demifore, others have a broader nature and scope as outlined below:

- An expansion of the timeframe of the research into the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would provide the opportunity to explore the demise of some estates such as that belonging to the Wades and the effects of the Land Acts on some of the landowners in the barony and analyse the factors which contributed to the diminution of the Naper estate.
- An opportunity to consider further the involvement of Dublin-based merchant families in landownership in the barony and other parts of county Meath in order to establish whether they invested in lands in other parts of Ireland.
- Further investigation and analysis of the provision of jointures and dower thirds for widows in marriage settlements, thus providing an opportunity to analyse the use of lands for these financial purposes as well as examining the status of women in landed society.
- The financial geographies that underpinned the internal workings of the estate system – rents, mortgages, loans, assignments, marriage portions, provisions in wills are all specific areas that merit future research.
- Trace further the role of the principal leaseholders and their transformation into landowners in the nineteenth century.
- The utilisation of the database methodology in this thesis, compiled and based on the data in the townland index in the Registry of Deeds provides a new research tool in Irish historical geography which could be used to research landowning families for whom no estate papers or few are extant.

6.4 Conclusion

This study of landownership, landholding and landscape in this small barony during a relatively short time period illustrated that a diverse range of landowners and landholders were active as agents of change, continuity and development of both the landscape and the economy of the barony. The transition from the medieval Anglo-Norman lordships to a more varied range of owners

and also to a change in the size and scale of the landholdings is evidenced by the research findings. The approach taken in this thesis, which utilised the townland index to identify landownership and landholding, illustrates its importance as a methodology which could be adopted by other historical geographers and historians in their research. The effects of the construction of the 'big houses' and their associated demesnes are still very evident in the contemporary landscape of Demifore and demonstrate that the decisions of 200 years ago still have an impact on the countryside in the modern era. Likewise, the modern town of Oldcastle still retains the historical footprint in terms of buildings and morphology from the time period examined in this research.

Bibliography

Parliamentary Acts, Papers and returns

The Census of Ireland for 1841 and 1851, Part I, HMSO (London, 1852).

The Griffith Valuation, 1854

Return of owners of land of one acre and upwards, in the several counties, counties of cities and counties of towns in Ireland HMSO (Dublin, 1876)

Primary Sources

Books of Survey and Distribution, NLI.

Civil Survey, NLI.

Down Survey, NLI.

Down Survey barony map, UCD and Down Survey parish and barony maps on TCD Down Survey website.

Fingall Plunkett estate papers, NLI.

Fingall Plunkett estate papers, Archives Section, Fingal County Library.

Grand Jury Presentment Books 1807-1900, Barony of Fore, Co. Meath, NAI.

Grand Jury presentments for charitable institutions, 1830-1833, NAI.

Grand Jury return of special road sessions at the Spring Assizes, 1834, NAI.

Grand Jury, List of Cesspayers in Barony of Demifore, Spring Assizes,1835, NAI.

Naper estate papers, NLI.

Ordnance Survey 1st Edition, Meath, (1837).

Ordnance Survey Name Books, Meath, 19th century, transcripts in Belvedere House library, St. Patrick's College, DCU.

Ordnance Survey House Books, Meath, 19th century, NAI.

Ordnance Survey, Field Books, Meath, NAI.

Peppard map, Local Studies Section, Meath County Library.

Registry of Deeds, Henrietta Street, Dublin.

Secondary Sources

Aalen, F.H.A., Whelan, K. and Stout, M. (eds.), 1997. *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*, (Cork, 1997).

Andrews, J.H. 'Plantation Ireland: A review of settlement history' in Barry, T. (ed.), *A History of Settlement in Ireland,* (London, 2000), pp. 140-157.

Andrews, J.H. *A Paper Landscape: The Ordnance Survey in Nineteenth Century Ireland*, (Dublin, 2001).

Andrews, J.H. and Loeber, R. 'An Elizabethan map of Leix and Offaly: cartography, topography and architecture', in (eds), Nolan, W. and O'Neill, T.P. in *Offaly history and Society* (Dublin, 1998), pp. 243-285.

Bardon, J. *The Plantation of Ulster,* (Dublin, 2011).

Barnard, T. *A new anatomy of Ireland: The Irish Protestants 1649-1770*, (Dublin, 2003).

Barry, T. (ed), *A History of Settlement in Ireland*, (London, 2000).

Bateman, J. *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland*, (London,1883), reprinted with an introduction by David Spring, (Leicester, 1971).

Beckett, J.C. *The making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923*, (London, 1966).

Bence-Jones, M. *A Guide to Irish Country Houses*, (London, 1988).

Brady, J. 'Anglo-Norman Meath' in *Ríocht na Mídhe*, ii (1961), pp. 38-45.

Brady, J. and Simms, A. (eds), *Dublin through Space & Time* (Dublin, 2001).

Breen, G.C. 'Landlordism in King's County in the mid-nineteenth century' in Nolan, W. and O'Neill, T.P. (eds), *Offaly History and Society* (Dublin, 1988), pp.627-680.

Burke, Sir B. *A genealogical and heraldic history of the Landed Gentry of Ireland*, (London, 1912).

Burke, Sir B. *A genealogical and heraldic history of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage*, (London, 1949).

Busteed, M. *Castle Caldwell, County Fermanagh: Life on a west Ulster estate 1750-1800*, (Dublin, 2006).

Butlin, R.A. 'Irish Towns in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' in Butlin, R. A. (ed.), *The development of the Irish Town*, (London, 1977).

Caffrey, J. 'J.L.W. Naper's crusade to rid his estate of Middlemen, 1792-1851' in Casey, B. (ed), *Lords, Lands and Labourers: the big houses and landed estates of royal Meath*, (Dublin, 2016).

Carty, M.R. *History of Killeen Castle*, (Dunsany, 1991).

Casey, B. (ed), *Lords, Lands and Labourers: The big houses and landed estates of royal Meath*, (Dublin, 2016).

Casey, C. and Rowan, A. *The Buildings of Ireland: North Leinster*, (London, 1993).

Cassidy, P. Non-conformist religious denominations in County Cavan in the 17th and 18th centuries in *Cavan History and Society*, (eds) Jonathan Cherry and Brendan Scott (Dublin, 2014), pp. 199-215.

Clarke, A, *The Old English in Ireland*, (Dublin, 2000).

Cogan, Rev. A. *A History of the Diocese of Meath Ancient and Modern, Volume I*, (Dublin, 1874).

Cogan, Rev. A. *History of the Diocese of Meath Ancient and Modern, Volume II*, (Dublin, 1867).

Cogan, Rev. A. *History of the Diocese of Meath Ancient and Modern, Volume III*, (Dublin, 1870).

Connell, K.H. *The population of Ireland 1750-1845*, (Oxford, 1950).

Connell, P. *The Land and people of County Meath, 1750-1850*, (Dublin, 2004).

Connell, P. *Changing Forces Shaping a Nineteenth Century Irish Town: A Case Study of Navan,* Occasional Papers, No. 1., Geography Department, Maynooth, (1978).

Conway, M. *Meath: towards a history*, (Dublin, 2010).

Costello, V. *Irish Demesne Landscapes, 1660-1740*, (Dublin, 2015).

Cox, L. The Dillons, Lords of Kilkenny West: Part One, *Ríocht na Mídhe* XI, (2000), pp. 71-87.

Cox, L. The Dillons, Lords of Kilkenny West: Part Two, in *Ríocht na Mídhe* XII, (2001), pp. 74-89.

Crampsie, A. and Ludlow, F. (eds), *Meath History and society: Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*, (Dublin, 2015).

Crawford, M.E. *Counting the People: A survey of the Irish censuses 1813-1911*, (Dublin, 2003).

Cox, L. The Dillons, Lords of Kilkenny West: Part Three, *Ríocht na Mídhe* XIII, (2002), pp. 61-8.

Cullen, L.M. 'Economic Development, 1750-1800' in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan, (eds), *A new history of Ireland,* vol. iv, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 159-193.

Cullen, L.M. *The Emergence of Modern Ireland 1600-1850*, (London, 1981).

Donnelly, J. *The Land and the People of Nineteenth Century Cork: the rural economy and the land question*, (London, 1975).

Dooley, T. *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland*, (Dublin, 2001).

Dooley, T. *The Big Houses and landed Estates of Ireland: A Research Guide*, (Dublin, 2007).

Duffy, P.J. 'Perspectives on the Making of the Cavan Landscape' in Gillespie, R. (ed), *Cavan Essays on the history of an Irish county* (Dublin, 1995) pp.14-38.

Ellison, C.C. 'Bishop Dopping's Visitation Book 1682-1685' in *Riocht na Midhe*, vol. v, no. 1, (1971) pp.28-39.

Fagan, P., *The Diocese of Meath in the Eighteenth Century*, (Dublin,2001).

Fannin, S. Alexander, 'Bloody' O'Reilly: 'A monster of fortune', in *History Ireland* vol.9,no.3, (2001), pp.26-30.

Foster, R.F. *Modern Ireland 1600-1972,* (London,1989).

Gahan, D. 'The Estate System of County Wexford, 1641-1876', In Whelan, K. and W. Nolan (eds.) *Wexford History and Society*, (Dublin,1987).

Galway, F. 'Meath Tower Houses', in *Ríocht na Mídhe,* vii, (1986), pp.28-59.

Garnham, N. 'Local Elite Creation in Early Hanoverian Ireland: The case of the County Grand Jury' in *The Historical Journal, 42, 3* (1999), pp. 623-642.

Graham, B. 'Medieval Settlement in County Meath' in *Riocht na Midhe*, v, (1974), pp.40-59.

Graham, B.J. and Proudfoot, L. *Urban Improvement in Provincial Ireland 1700-1840*, (Athlone, 1994).

Graham, B.J. and Proudfoot, L. Landlords, Planning and Urban Growth in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland in *Journal of Urban History, 18:3*, (1992), pp.308-329.

Grenham, J. *Tracing Your Irish Ancestors* (Third Edition), (Dublin, 2006).

Hand, M. 'History of Millbrook Mills 1774-1963', in *Riocht na Midhe*, Volume xxvi, (Meath 2015), pp.121-144.

Harris, T. 'Fairs and markets in the Environment of County Meath' in *Riocht na Midhe*, ix, (1998), pp.149-169.

Harvey, K. 'Landlords and Land usage in eighteenth century Galway' in Moran G. and Gillespie R. (eds), *Galway History and Society,* (Dublin, 1996), pp. 297-317.

Hayes, M. *The Best Address in Town: Henrietta Street, Dublin and its First Residents, 17201780*, (Dublin, 2020).

Herity, M. (ed.), *Ordnance Survey Letters Meath*, (Dublin, 2001).

Herity, M. *Irish Passage Graves*, (Dublin, 1974).

Hood, S. 'The significance of the Villages and Small Towns in Rural Ireland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in Provincial Towns in Early Modern England and Ireland: Change, Convergence and Divergence' in *Proceedings of the British Academy, No. 108*, (2002).

Hood, S. 'The Landlord Influence in the Development of an Irish Estate Town: Strokestown, County Roscommon' in *Irish Geography*, (1995), pp.117-130.

Horner, A. *Mapping Meath in the early 19th century*, (Dublin, 2007).

Horner, A. *Mapping Laois from the 16th to the 21st century*, (Dublin, 2018).

Horner, A. *Irish Historic Towns Atlas, Maynooth*, (Dublin, 1995).

Horner, A. and Loeber, R. Landscape in transition: descriptions of forfeited properties in counties Meath, Louth and Cavan in 1700, in *Analecta Hibernica,* no. 42, (Dublin, 2014).

Hughes, T, J. *Landholding, Society and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Ireland: A historical geographer's perspective*, (Dublin, 2010).

Hughes, T. J. 'Landholding and settlement in the counties of Meath and Cavan in the nineteenth century' in O'Flanagan, P., Ferguson, P. and Whelan, K. (eds), *Rural Ireland 1600-1900: Modernisation and Change*, (Cork, 1987).

Hunter, R.J. 'An Ulster Plantation Town – Virginia' in Journal of *Cumann Seanchais Bhreifne*, no. 4. (1970), pp. 43-51.

Kearney, H. F. *Stafford in Ireland 1633-1641*, (Manchester, 1959).

Leslie, Canon J.B. *Clergy of Meath and Kildare: Biographical Succession Lists***,** revised, edited and updated by W.J.R. Wallace, (2009).

Lewis, S. *A topographical dictionary of Ireland*, (1837).

Lyne, G. J. *The Landsdowne estate in Kerry under W.S. Trench 1847-72*, (Dublin, 2001).

Maguire, W.A., *The Downshire Estates in Ireland 1801-1845 The management of Irish landed estates in the early nineteenth century*, (Oxford, 1972).

Malcomson, A.P.W. *Nathaniel Clements: Government and the Governing Elite in Ireland, 1725-1775*, (Dublin, 2005).

Malcomson, A.P.W., 'Absenteeism in Eighteenth Century Ireland' in *Irish Economic and Social History*, vol.1 (1974), pp. 15-35.

Margey, A. 'Representing plantation landscapes: the mapping of Ulster, c.1560-1640' in Lyttleton, J. and Rynne, C. *Plantation Ireland settlement and material culture, c.1550-c.1700,* (Dublin, 2009), pp. 140-164.

Masterson, R. 'The Early Anglo-Norman Colonisation of Fore, Co. Westmeath' in *Ríocht na Mídhe*, XIII, (2002), pp. 44-60.

Mooney, J. *The changing fortunes of the Headfort estates, 1970-1928*, (Dublin, 2012).

Moran, G. *Sir Robert Gore-Booth and his landed estate in County Sligo, 1814-1876: Land, famine Emigration and Politics* (Dublin, 2006).

Mulligan, K. V. *Buildings of Meath, a selection of protected structures*, (Kells, 2001).

Mulligan, K. V. 'Aspects of continuity and change in the eighteenth-century country house demesne in Meath' in *Meath History and Society,* (Dublin, 2015), pp. 329-370.

McCormack, C. F. *The Gilson Endowed School Oldcastle, Co. Meath: The story of a school's search for identity*, (2002).

McGee, F. *The Archives of the Valuation of Ireland 1830-1865*, (2018).

McGrath, B. 'Meath Members of Parliament 1634–1641' in *Ríocht na Mídhe,* XII, (2001), pp. 90-107.

McTernan, J. C. *The Light of Bygone Days*, (Sligo, 2009).

Nolan, W. J. *Fassadinin: Land Settlement and Society in South-east Ireland 1600-1850*, (Dublin, 1979).

Nolan, W. J. 'County Carlow 1641-1660: Geography, Landownership and Society' in McGrath, T. (ed), *Carlow History and Society*, (Dublin, 2008).

Nugent, B. *A Guide to the 18th century land records in the Irish Registry of Deeds*, (Meath, 2012).

O'Byrne, E. (ed), *The Convert Rolls, The calendar of the convert rolls, 1703-1838*, (Dublin, 2005).

O'Connell, P. 'The Parish and District of Kilbride' in *Ríocht na Mídhe,* II, (1962), 5-16.

O'Connell, P. 'The Parish and District of Kilbride: Part IV – Oldcastle' in *Ríocht na Mídhe,* III, (1965), pp.171-180.

O'Flanagan, P., Ferguson, P. and Wheeler, K. (eds), *Rural Ireland Modernisation and Change 1600 – 1900*, (Cork, 1987).

O'Grada, C. *Ireland before and after the Famine: Explorations in economic history 1800-1925*, (Manchester, 1993)

O'Reilly, M. 'The Plunket family of Loughcrew' in *Ríocht na Mídhe,* I, (1958), pp. 49-53.

O'Tuataigh, G. *Ireland before the Famine 1798-1848* (1972 & 1990).

Palcic, U. 'The development of the Naper estate during the eighteenth century' in Crampsie, A. and Ludlow, F. (eds.), *Meath History and Society* (Dublin, 2015), pp. 371-395.

Pomfret, J. E. *The struggle for land in Ireland 1800-1923*, (Princeton, 1969).

Power, T. P. *Land, Politics and Society in eighteenth-century Tipperary,* (Oxford, 1993).

Prendergast, J. P. *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, (London, 1865)

Proudfoot, L. 'Landownership and Improvement ca.17001845' in Proudfoot, L. (ed.), *Down History and Society*, (Dublin, 1997), pp. 203-235.

Quane, M. 'Gilson Endowed School, Oldcastle' in *Riocht na Midhe*, vol iv, No.3, (1969), pp. 34-54.

Reeves-Smyth, T. 'The Natural History of demesnes' in Foster, J. W. and Chesney, H.C.G. (eds), *Nature in Ireland* (1997), pp. 549-572.

Reilly, C. *The Irish Land Agent, 1830-1860: the case of King's County*, (Dublin, 2014).

Rice, G. 'Four wills of Old English merchants1654-1717' in *Journal of Louth Historical Society*, vol. xx, no.2, (1982), pp. 96-105.

Roebuck, P. 'The Irish Registry of Deeds' in *Irish Historical Studies*, *vol xviii, 1972-1973*, (1973)

Rogan, Marion, *Charles Tisdall of county Meath 1740-51*, (Dublin, 2014).

Rotheram, P. *The Rotherams of Crossdrum,* (Bath, 1994).

Royle, S. A., 'Small Towns in Ireland, 1841-1951' in Clarke, H.B., Prunty, J. and Hennessy, M. (eds), *Surveying Ireland's Past: Multidisciplinary Essays in Honour of Anngret Simms,* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 535-563.

Sheridan, E. *The Parish of Clonmellon / Killalon*, (2001).

Simms, A. 'The Origin of Irish Country Towns' in Simms, A. and Andrews, J.H. (eds), *Irish Country Towns*, (Cork, 1994), pp.1-20.

Simms, J. G. 'Meath Landowners in the Jacobite War' in *Ríocht na Mídhe,* II, (1962), pp.55-8.

Simms, J.G. 'The Establishment of Protestant Ascendancy, 1691-1714' in Moody, T.W. and Vaughan, W. E. (eds*), A new History of Ireland, IV, Eighteenth Century Ireland 1691-1800*, (Oxford, 2009), pp.1-30.

Simms, J.G. 'The Civil Survey 1654-1656' in *Irish Historical Studies, Vol.9, No. 35* (1955), pp.253-263.

Smith, J. *The Oldcastle Centenary Book*, (2004).

Smith, C. *Thomas Bermingham: nineteenth century land agent and 'improver'*, (Dublin, 2018).

Smyth, W. J. 'Exploring the Social and Cultural Topographies of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century County Dublin', In Aalen, F.H.A. and Whelan, K. (eds.), '*Dublin - City and County: from Prehistory to Present (Studies in honour of J.H. Andrews),* (Dublin,1992).

Smyth, W. J. 'Ireland A Colony Settlement: Implications of the revolution in military-administrative, urban and ecclesiastical structures, c. 1550 to c. 1730' in Barry, T. (ed.) *A History of Settlement in Ireland*, (London, 2000), pp. 158-186.

Smyth, W. J. *Map-making Landscapes and memory: A Geography of Colonial and Early Modern Ireland c. 1530-1750*, (Cork, 2006).

Smyth, W. J. 'Territorial, Social and Settlement Hierarchies' in Nolan, W. and Whelan, K. (eds*), Kilkenny History and Society*, (Dublin, 1990).

Solow, B. *The Land Question and the Irish Economy 1870-1903*, (Harvard, 1971).

Stefanini, B. and McGlynn, G. (eds), *Irish Quaternary Association Field Guide No. 29, North Meath*.

Sweetman, P.D. (ed), *Archaeological Inventory of County Meath*, (Dublin, 1987).

Thompson, R. *Statistical survey of Meath*, (Dublin, 1802).

Twomey, B. *Dublin in 1707, a year in the life of the city*, (Dublin, 2009).

Trench, C. *Grace's Card*, (Cork, 1997).

Whelan, K. 'Towns and Villages' in Allen, F.H.A., Whelan, K. and Stout, M. (eds), *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*, (Cork, 1997), pp.180-196.

Whelan, O. *Landholding in the new English settlement of Hackettstown, Co. Carlow, 1635-1875* (Dublin, 2019).

White, N. (ed), *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions 1540-41* (Dublin, 1943).

Wilson, D. *Women, Marriage and Property in Wealthy Landed Families in Ireland,1750-1850,* (Manchester, 2009).

Wilson, T. M. 'The Great Landowners of Meath, 1879' in *Riocht na Midhe,* vii, (1980/1981), pp. 99-110.

Wood Martin, W.C. *History of Sligo, County and Town from the close of the Revolution of 1668 to the present Vol. ii*, (Dublin, 1889).

Young, A. *A tour in Ireland 1776-1779*, (1970 edition)