Many of the gentry lived in wooden houses, built from local oak, daubed with clay and thatched. Maguire's 'castle' at Enniskillen was of this type, although it would appear that the residence at Castletown, Monea, was more substantial. To those people, engaged in the care of cattle, the custom of spending the summer months with their herds on the higher pastures, prevented both the desire for, and acquisition of, movable property, which in any case the lawless state of the country rendered foolish. Only the chiefs and nobles had beds and pillows, stuffed with soft material, in their sleeping quarters. The poor slept on a layer of rushes, bracken or moss scattered in a corner of their cabin, which they often shared with livestock. Due to the unsettled nature of the country, valuable stock was brought inside to be hidden from marauders; so what started as a precaution became a custom, which led English visitors to remark that the Irish cabin was like a pigsty rather than a human habitation. Wood and turf were the only fuels which were found in abundance in Magheraboy and the Boho area. In spite of the ills of society and privations, the population grew and infant mortality was reduced to a rate not achieved again until well on into the nineteenth century. This was in spite of a period of massive inflation causing wages to fall in comparison to rents and prices.

The leading families of the Parishes before the Plantation of Ulster

Prior to the Plantation, Fermanagh was firmly controlled by the Maguire clans. Of course the Kingdom, or Lordship of Lough Erne was not politically viable in itself, so the protection of an overlord, such as O'Donnell, O'Neill or even the Earl of Ulster was needed. The Kingdom of Lough Erne, which had only been designated a county in 1585, contained within its jurisdiction approximately seven of the older Tuatha, and each Tuath, instead of being ruled by a petty King was held by one or more vassal-chiefs, who rendered tribute to Maguire, often belonging to the same royal dynasty. By the time of the Plantation, the Maguires, in spite of a family feud, had settled into a pastoral and eclectic life which was unique for those times, having escaped much of the continuous cattle-raiding, fratricide and civil war from which less stable neighbouring lordships suffered. This was in part due to the natural defences of the country, a feeling of security and a general lack of territorial ambitions on the part of its inhabitants. It is within this rather appealing background, that an unusually large number of poets, learned families and ecclesiastics came to settle, many being especially connected to Devenish.

Devenish Parish lay mainly in the Barony of Magheraboy, except for the small portion in Rossclogher barony, Leitrim, and those Parish lands on the eastern side of Lough Erne, contained in the baronies of Lurg and Tirkennedy. In Magheraboy barony, the Parish was influenced by three chieftainries, known as the septs of Brian Maguire, Hugh O'Flanagan and Redmond Maguire. In Lurg and Tirkennedy, the lands of the Parish were Church or Termon and were held under the Prior and Rector of Devenish by herenaghs, called O'Cassidy, O'Casey and O'Tully. In Leitrim the herenaghs were the O'Meehans. The lands around the chapel of ease at Monea were controlled by the McTaggarts. Boho Parish also lay in Magheraboy, with part of the Parish in Clanawley and was controlled by the O'Failains, minor chroniclers to the Maguires, the O'Flanagans, the O'Corcorans and also the Magarragans and Dylans.

Brian Maguire, chief of Magheraboy had his seat at Castletown, where his cashel and crannog remain, although they are now less easily identifiable due to damage by successive drainage programmes in their immediate vicinity. This particular branch of the Maguires appear to have descended from Hugh Neinagh Maguire (the younger brother of Thomas Tor Maguire, Prince of Fermanagh), who died at Kinsale 1428, after returning from a pilgrimage to the shrines of the saints in Spain. This particular sept were agriculturalists and patrons of the Church and surrounded themselves with learned men, poets, lawyers, physicians and historians. As major chiefs they also supplied the senior clergy in the Clogher diocese. The Maguires had introduced new religious orders. Brian Maguire was granted land in the Plantation; having been a juror in the 1603 survey held at Devenish and submitted to English rule. It must be remembered that although the Maguires were heavily involved in the Gaelic campaign against the English, their peaceful instincts, pragmatism and statesmanship guided them to seeking the best settlement, from what must have seemed to their leaders as an inevitable outcome.

As chiefs of Tuath Ratha (Toora-Magheraboy) one of the seven Tuaths of Fermanagh, the great sept of O'Flanagan were a very powerful and warlike race, whose territory covered the mountain region from Belmore to Belleek. Their chief seat was on a crannog at the edge of Carrick Lough in the townland of Aghamore, which is in Inishmacsaint Parish. The mountain portion of Devenish Parish, from Aghakeeran to Kilcoo and Lough Melvin all lay within this territory. In ancient times it appears to have stretched even to Monea, which in the time of St. Monoa, was said to be within Tuath Ratha. Gilbert O'Flanagan, of this family erected

a beautiful church at Aghamore around AD1490, the graveyard of which was used until the early 1930's. This sept had virtual control of the Abbey of St. Mary from 1419 to 1609, having supplied almost all its Priors and many clergy to the old Parishes of Devenish and Inishmacsaint.

In 1449 Bartholomew O'Flanagan, Prior of Devenish, built the great church of St. Mary's. Nicholas O'Flanagan's, pious, benevolent and hospitable son Peter was sacristan of Devenish and a Laurence O'Flanagan was prior until 1586. Nicholas O'Flanagan was bewailed after being wrongly deposed from the parsonage of Devenish through the interference of the laity in 1520. Piety was the mark of many O'Flanagans. One of the last chiefs, Hugh III was present at the 1603 survey as a juror. The O'Flanagans held the ancient Gaelic lordship of Tuath Ratha from early Christian times up until the Plantation, when they received a grant of land in Boho. The O'Flanagans and the Maguires existed together on reasonably peaceful terms, apart from occasional aggravation due to the Maguire's expansionist policy, occasioning the O'Flanagans to withhold rent, revolt and make free with their neighbours possessions, for which they often paid dearly. The 1603 Survey stated that an O'Flanagan was then Prior of St. Mary's Abbey.

The influence of the sept of Redmond Maguire seems at first glance very peripheral to the Parish since most of their territory lay outside the actual Parish of Devenish. As freeholders at the time Redmond Maguire's family would however have been an important influence on the area, being a junior branch of the Maguire family. Of course their influence on the Parish of Boho is a totally different matter. From the annals we note that an Auliffe Maguire was the first pastor of Boho, but the most powerful and influential Maguire to hold ecclesiastical office in Boho was Redmond Maguire, who acquired the rectorship. This must have had a sobering effect on the O'Flanagans and the neighbouring Devenish Parish. Redmond Maguire's descendants would have concentrated on securing their own borders and gradually rounding off territory by acquiring new land by dispossessing local families, in this case the O'Flanagans. It was therefore their role to retain the area towards Breifne (Co. Leitrim), probably containing Ballaghmeehan, which represented an earlier conquest by their predecessors in another barony. Redmond's influence extended along the west bank of the Erne in a narrow strip right to Enniskillen. However the Maguires did not win fame as great warriors and one bard publicly lampooned their peaceful ways, but they excelled in hospitality. Even the Attorney-General of Ireland, Sir John Davies, in 1607 alluded to the exceptional number of learned people within Fermanagh, allied to the Maguires.

Foremost of these learned families were the O'Hoseys, the hereditary bards of the Maguires. They lived on the shore of Lough Erne at Ballyhose, which includes much of the present Ely demesne and the manor of Drumcose. This very talented family were recorded many times in the Annals of Ulster, and the poems of Eochaidh O'Hosey dating from 1586-1602, are a source of much information about the Maguire period. The position of bard was equal to that of the clergy and land was set aside, both by the church and the Maguires for the support of the poets. Sir John Davies mentions that over two thousand acres were set aside. It is not certain whether the O'Hoseys held minor offices in the Church whilst living on ecclesiastical property and became attached to the Maguires or that the Maguires used their influence in the Church to acquire the church land at Ballyhose to support their bards. In any event the O'Hoseys were to outclass the O'Failains and other bards and become the backbone of Gaelic society in the area, as they praised, reproved and ridiculed. Bards were not merely poets but were confidantes to the Maguires. About fifty poems by Eochaidh O'Hosey survive but only half of them have been published. After the Plantation the O'Hoseys obtained a grant of land in Boho, but were to lose it again when they joined the O'Flanagans in the rebellion of 1641.

Church land on the east of Lough Erne was controlled by the herenagh families of O'Tully, O'Cassidy and O'Casey. O'Tullys were chieftains of Muintir Tully at Lough Lir in Lurg and the O'Cassidys, of Ballycassidy, were the hereditary physicians to the Maguires. Three of the O'Tullys are recorded as Priors of Culdees and Rectors of Devenish; Maelcainnigh O'Tully, a coarb of St. Molaise, died in 1049; his namesake three centuries later was an official in the Lough Erne deanery and Niall O'Tully, a Culdee abbot and coarb of Devenish died in 1390. The O'Caseys, of Muintir Casey, managed those parts of the church land which lay on both east and west shores on the south side of Lower Lough Erne. They held the hereditary office of Vicar of Devenish and one of the family was also a Prior of the Culdees. In Gaelic Ireland, physicians were highly esteemed, busily engaged and financially well rewarded. Each chieftaincy had its own hereditary physician, who owned a special tract of land for their support. The O'Cassidys were physicians to the Maguires for several centuries and one called Thomas, the last hereditary practitioner of that name, wrote a book in 1504 called, 'The nature and cure of the different diseases incident to the human frame'.

From contemporary evidence it would appear that the O'Cassidys were dutiful subjects of the Maguires, well respected and consulted for advice when other chieftains revolted. Many of the family were eminent ecclesiastics, either in Devenish or other monasteries, or on the secular mission in the diocese of Clogher. One tombstone in the lower cemetery on Devenish island, recording the deaths of five O'Cassidy brothers shows that two were physicians and the other three were clerics. We are told that the O'Tullys managed one half of the church lands and that the O'Cassidys and O'Caseys each controlled a quarter. The power of these hereditary ecclesiastical tenants was immense and the bishops of Clogher, who were not always distinguished for their zeal or asceticism often appointed the parish clergy from these families, bolstering Maguire power. With both Roger and Peter Maguire as successive bishops of Clogher it is not hard to image the pressure on ecclesiastical appointments.

McTaggarts were the hereditary herenaghs of the chapel of ease at Monea, and the termon land now called Means Monea. By the seventeenth century they had become Corbes. The family of O'Meehan were the herenaghs of Devenish Church lands in Co. Leitrim. One of their number had been a Prior of Culdees in Devenish in the fourteenth century, and they were the hereditary custodians of Soisceal Molaise, which is now housed in the Royal Irish Academy. This shrine box had been made in the eleventh century for Abbot Cennfailid of Devenish. The leading families in Boho were the Maguires, O'Failains, Dylans, Magarragans, O'Corcorans, and O'Flanagans. All the families were connected in one way or another either to the Church or to its property, except the McCaffreys who were Maguire's standard bearers. An early manuscript from the fourteenth century lists all the Devenish herenagh families and these were still extant in the seventeenth century.

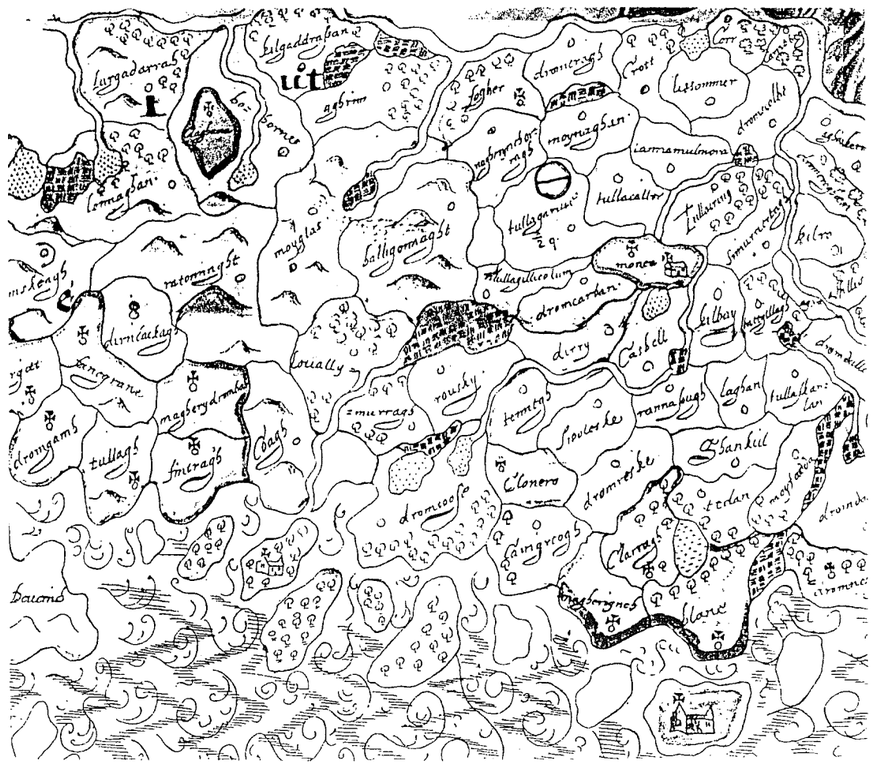
Immediately before the Plantation, we find that Hugh McHugh Maguire was Corbe of Devenish Termon lands, and Rory Ballogh O'Corcoron, Corbe of the Culdee lands. A Corbe was often a superior over several herenaghs and was usually a Prior or Abbot. At that time an O'Corcoron, presumably Rory Ballogh, was the last Prior of Culdees. He was a Juror at the Survey of 1603, and a Brian O'Corcoron was also a Juror at the Inquisition of 1609. Three Maguire's were Priors of Culdees and Rectors of Devenish. A family of O'Connollys who were connected with Devenish, some of whom had been Priors of Culdees, also supplied the herenaghs of the Church of St. Maedoc, Killybeg which is in Inishmacsaint Parish. From the 1609 Inquisition, we learn that the Culdees owned a church, dwellings and an orchard on Devenish, four tates of land at Tullydevenish and the Graan, five tates of land on the eastern shore at Buninubber, Tully, Oghill, Rockfield, Drummackilowney, Gublusk, Gortaloghan and the 'Yellow Church' (Collidea).

Prior O'Corcoron, Rector of Devenish and Prior of the Culdees, of whose lands the O'Corcorons were then Corbes, presents an interesting character through which to gain an insight into the effects of the Reformation. He was one cleric, who appears at least outwardly, to have conformed to the Reformation Settlement as he put his name to the Resolution of the Jury of 1603, stating that, 'the King's Majesty was justly entitled to all possessions of the Church of Devenish'. By the 1609 Inquisitions he was still holding his office as the official records state, 'in the said parish is both a parson and vicar collative'. Malcolm Hamilton was not officially put in his place until 1615. Since Hamilton would have mainly interested himself with Monea and Boho it is probable that Prior O'Corcoron maintained the reformed services on the island. This would partly help to explain the continued existence of the Culdees on Devenish long after other monastic institutions had been dissolved.

By this stage the Bishop of Clogher's tithes were paid in kind and the records of Devenish allow us to place a monetary value on a number of articles of farm produce. The regular canons paid the bishop annually, a beef worth twenty groats (as did the Culdees), four marks, (one mark was equal to twenty six groats) sixty oatcakes worth ten shillings, wine and whiskey for his weeks visitation, worth four shillings and an allowance of ten shillings per day for food and lodgings. In contrast a side of beef from Boho Parish was worth only six and a half groats. To make up the difference dairy produce was substituted, since this depended less on the quality of pasture, which could only provide maintenance. At a time when cattle were counted as wealth it is easy to make comparison between Devenish and Boho. At suppression, the regular canons owned the St. Marys Abbey, a church building, an orchard, the island and eight tates of land in the townlands of Tullydevenish, Silverhill, Fintonagh, Cavanakeery, Tirconnell, Magheragannon, Faugher, Magheradunbar and Monea.

The leading families and the Church before the Plantation had established a particular pattern on life in western Fermanagh, and at Plantation, they conceded to the government's plans because they saw no purpose

in opposition, reconciling themselves to acquiring lands after redistribution, knowing that the Church lands were to remain intact. The Plantation was to shatter this illusion and the structure of society was to change immensely as was the religion of the Parish. It was ironic that the Maguires who had allied with the greater lordships such as the O'Neills and played a key part in Fermanagh's resistance to English advances for so long, without radically altering the structure of the archaic society or winning for themselves heroic status, submitted meekly after the flight of their Earl friends in 1607. This is borne out by Sir John Davies when he remarked that, 'generally the natives of this country are reputed the worst swordsmen in the north, being rather inclined to be scholars or husbandmen, than to be kern or men of action'. This helps to explain the real lack of opposition to plantation. He further points to corruption and a disregard for celibacy amongst the clergy, which no doubt meant that the church lands supported such progeny. This is borne out by the Annals of Ulster which refer to the sons and daughters of clergy who inter-married with the Maguire's. Many of the leading men of the time successfully combined native Irish learning with ecclesiastical appointment, often hiding corruption. Centuries of tradition and custom were about to be swept aside as Fermanagh became the last Gaelic lordship to surrender to England, thus completing the conquest of Ireland which had begun centuries before.



Survey map of Magheraboy barony

THE PLANTATION

CHAPTER 4

Prelude to change

The accession of James I to the English throne on the death of Elizabeth I in 1603 and the treaty of Mellifont, which brought the 'nine years war' to an end, cumulatively mark an important milestone in Ulster's history. Ireland was to enter a period, rich in event but perhaps bewildering in the number and complexity of interests involved, as the English, the Irish, the Scots, the Old English, the parliamentarians and the royalists all acted out their roles. Overshadowing all other events of the seventeenth century was the Plantation in which the lands of Ulster literally changed hands. It was a measure of Hugh O'Neill's shrewdness and achievement that he secured a negotiated settlement in 1603, after leading an impressive rebellion for nine years, which allowed the Irish chiefs, including Conor Maguire to retain their lands and return to live among their people.

Nevertheless an uneasy peace existed for four years as English forts and garrisons, dotted all around Ulster, extended Royal authority to all parts and completely eroded the old Gaelic ways. Hugh O'Neill, Hugh O'Donnell, Conor Maguire and other chieftains, who had received titles on becoming English subjects, became restless. They were unable to accept the new order of things, harboured resentment at their loss of prestige, continued to be frightened of Chichester's harassment and felt uneasy about English intentions generally. In 1607 the 'flight of the earls', saw them going into voluntary exile on the continent, accompanied by over ninety chieftains, leaving the people of Ulster leaderless and defenceless.

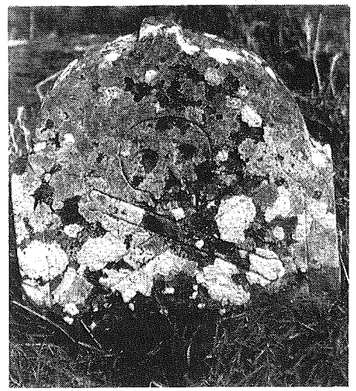
Events moved rapidly as the jubilant English government saw an opportunity to make a profitable use of their expensive, if lucky, Irish victory, which had resulted in no reparations or punishment of the perpetrators. With the chieftains gone, and declared traitors, there was no further need for caution or conciliation in vesting their territories in the Crown. After survey and inquisition the lands were offered in lots to English and Scottish planters by James I. The Plantation, ambitious and systematic as a response to solving the habitual trouble spot of Ulster, was not in itself a new concept but it was at that time the greatest transhumance the world had known. Land was a source of wealth and the basis of power. Taking land from the Catholic Irish and giving it to Protestant immigrants, it was hoped would achieve two objectives; a weakening of resistance to the English by the Gaelic Irish and secondly sufficiently powerful enclaves of Protestants could be created to ensure a relative peace.

It had long been realised that the Irish were unwilling to convert to Protestantism so protestants needed to be brought to Ireland. Many Irish were expelled and the rest re-distributed so that a network of entirely Protestant communities could be created. One main purpose of the Plantation was to strengthen the Protestant population and so for this purpose Scottish Protestants were as acceptable as English. By 1609 preparations were complete and the first planters began to move to Ulster. Estates or 'proportions' were granted in nominal lots of one thousand, fifteen hundred and two thousand acres at low rents to those who met the King's approval and appeared able to fulfil the conditions of plantation. The vast majority of those who came to populate the parishes of Devenish and to a lesser extent Boho, were lowland Scots, whose descendants still constitute the bulk of the present protestant population of the area.

It is interesting to evaluate the prospects which Magheraboy must have presented to the seventeenth century immigrants. The Fermanagh survey of 1603 and the Enniskillen inquisitions of 1609 give us a good idea of the conditions facing the planters. Although Fermanagh was described as 'desolate and lying waste', presumably as a result of the 'scorched earth' policy of the English victors, the officials and generals, like Chichester and the surveyors like Davies, knew the potential of the county, but were perhaps hesitant to publicly extol its prospects as higher rents might have ensued. Sir John Davies, with tongue in cheek, described Magheraboy as 'rising in little hills out of the Lough' and 'generally the fattest and richest soil in Ulster', but tempered his statement with the rejoinder that 'there was neither town nor civil habitation to be found'. Davies was determined to have a grant of land in Fermanagh as his reward for services in Ireland. This was granted in a specially created agreement, giving him part of the termon of Devenish and the precinct of Lisgoole, which is indeed a revealing occurrence. The economic importance of Magheraboy can be gauged from the siting of the survey of 1603 on Devenish and the inquisition of 1609 choosing Magheraboy as the first barony in Fermanagh to be considered for inquiry. As to the physical features of the area we know that

the lough was liable to extensive flooding over the low lying pastures as a result of the many dams, eel weirs and the fords such as Portora and Enniskillen. The habitations of the people were so wild and transitory that there was not even one fixed village in the whole countryside according to Davies.

Plantation or even immigration was a new phenomenon to Fermanagh, more so than other counties like Antrim, Down and Coleraine, (then a separate county) which had seen earlier waves of Scots in search of land and commerce as indeed had Leix and Offaly during the reign of Mary. Colonisation, which had ceased throughout the Elizabethan wars, now resumed a new importance in government planning. Fermanagh had practical attractions in that land was plentiful, cheap to rent and also fertile from under usage. The native Irish grew some crops but their economy was mainly pastoral, moving their cattle from summer to winter pasture, thus easing the pressure on the soil.

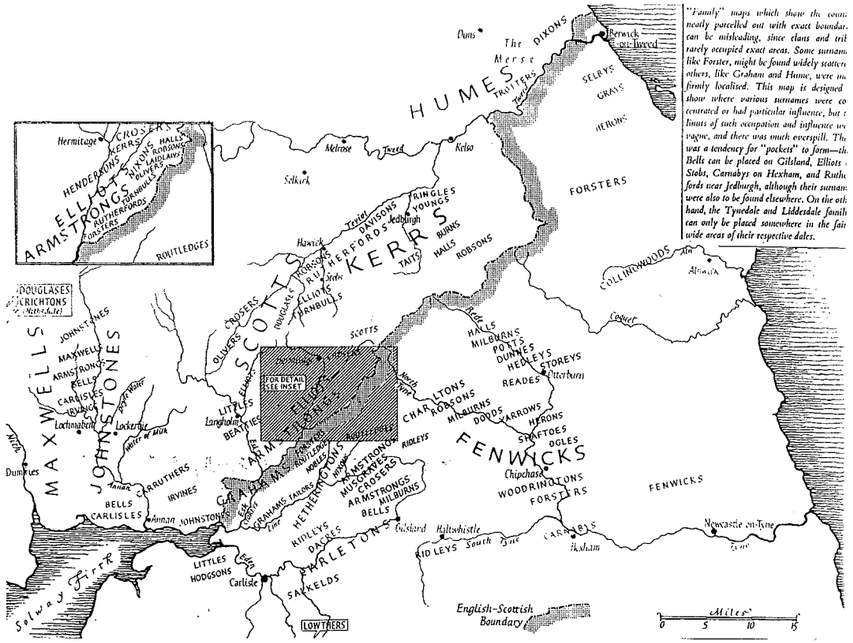


A planter gravestone

Large areas of hardwood forest, mainly oak, were particularly attractive to the Lowland Scots who had come from an almost treeless environment. Fish, particularly salmon and eels were extremely plentiful in Lough Erne and the Sillies river which ran through Magheraboy, affording the planters a commodity of considerable economic advantage. In the woods there was an abundance of game, from red deer to rabbits, which were essential to immigrants to survive while they waited for the harvest of their first crops. As a bonus, extra cattle and grain were easily procured from the native Irish, by the planters who had brought only a limited amount of livestock and chattels with them on the short sea journey from Scotland. Oak boats, called cots, which were really hollowed out large oaks, plied Lough Erne and gave the planters access to their properties which were adjacent to the lough. The areas chosen for cultivation had been worked by the Irish previously. In spite of being overgrown with shrub, they were easier cleared than virgin forest. It must have been apparent to prospective planters that a great deal of extra mountain, wood and pasture land could be adroitly acquired rent free alongside the reckonable arable land which they were granted.

Violence in society had little to do with the decision of the Scots to emigrate to Ireland. Their reasons were economic although they were well prepared for a frontier life. Their pastors prepared them mentally and spiritually for the adventure. Life in the Scottish lowlands deteriorated in the early seventeenth century as the population began to exceed the resources, and land tenure became unstable. This was coupled with high inflation and a rapidly increasing differential between the landlords and the tenants as commerce in agricultural products benefited the land owning classes and introduced money rents rather than payment in kind. Evictions followed and left a pool of unemployed and impoverished people to become potential emigrants. With James's accession to the throne, Ireland at once became a suitable area for settlement of Scots. Not only did Ireland pose a strategic threat, but her incessant wars had soaked up English money and manpower. Elizabeth's military subjugation was a temporary expedient and James decided to introduce a scheme which would both neutralize the threat to national security and also bring the country into line with Britain in both faith and culture. In his own words, "The settling of religion, the introduction of civility, order and government among a barbarous and unsubdued people is worthy of a Christian Prince." He also saw some economic advantages.

James recognised that his own land-hungry countrymen, accustomed to hard living conditions and to defending their lands and cattle from reiving were more likely to make a success of the Ulster Plantation than people from the settled and orderly parishes of the English shires. He realised that by both temperament and determination the Scots were more likely to make a success of plantation than the English and that they could relate more to the Irish. James was equally pragmatic in his inclusion of English settlers in the Plantation. By and large even the wealthiest Scots settlers were economically inferior to their English equivalents and unable to supply the blacksmiths, the craftsmen, the masons and the carpenters needed to build houses and villages. English money, expertise and planters were needed to fill this deficit. More importantly Ireland was an English possession, captured by English arms and ruled by English officials which rationally meant that English planters should be included.



The origins of the planters

Many drawbacks however faced the newcomers of which the most fundamental was their cultural differences. The Catholic Irish natives and the Scots who were mainly Presbyterians by religion had very different outlooks. Perception was often more important than reality to the immigrants. Contemporary writers described the Irish as 'of a hotter and moister nature than other nations; reckoned of quick wit (though besotted to many follies), prodigal and careless of their lives... given to fleshly lusts... kind and courteous to strangers... constant in love... in enmity implacable... most vehement and passionate'. They did have some peccadilloes in that, 'they were given to idleness above measure... they count it no shame to commit robberies... they also suppose that violence and murders are no ways displeasing to God, for if it were a sin he would not present them with that opportunity'. Woodkerne and wolves were plentiful in Ulster and the practical Scots relied on guns and hounds to clear the wolves and only less crude methods to deal with the Kerne.

Woodkerne, the sons of the now landless Irish gentry, lived in bands in the woods and existed by preying on the newcomers. Penalties imposed by the settlers were to be severe, many of whom had escaped similar fates in their homeland. The pioneers who were to cross from Scotland were often a motley lot, described as, 'the scum of both nations, who for debt, are breaking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter, come hither hoping to be without fear of man's justice in a land where there was nothing, or but little, as yet of the fear of God'. The Reverend Andrew Stewart commented, 'going to Ireland was looked on as a miserable mark of a deplorable person'. On the other hand Ireland was seen as the poor's option to Virginia. The Irish had a reputation for fighting and unreliability, which coupled with poor weather, put off prospective settlers. In addition the City of London was slow to respond to the challenge of raising the necessary capital in Ulster. However this was an age of colonial expansion and probably the poverty of the Lowland Scots caused them to choose the risky venture in Ireland as their only feasible and affordable escape route.

In many ways the native Irish had equal reason to be apprehensive of the immigrants. The Fermanagh natives were a peculiar people, who were rigidly divided into septs, unlike the rest of Ulster. Many accounts have been rendered of the peaceful nature of these people, particularly their devotion to agriculture, knowledge and their Brehon Laws rather than to fighting, which they left to mercenaries from Connaught or Briefne. Land had been held according to the system of gavelkind which occasionally necessitated redistribution but not to the extent imposed by the Plantation, so often the acquiescence of the natives was tempered with a feeling of revenge. Sir Arthur Chichester said, "They will strain themselves to gratify the Scots for they are content to become tenants to any man rather than to be removed from the place of their birth and education, hoping to cut their landlords throats."

In time however the rents charged by the immigrants were to be less harsh than the Maguire demands and employment was to be created by greater cultivation, with plough holders earning six shillings and eight pence per quarter, plough leaders five shillings per quarter, cowboys one and a half pence per cow per half year and labourers earning two pence per day with meat. This was the outcome of a stern work ethic brought by the Scots and in time it was to encroach on the traditions and culture of the Irish. However the natives were realistic. They had lost in the war and saw little could be gained by sulking in the victors presence. In order to retain their lands they were prepared to pay higher rents, which in turn suited many undertakers. Duplicity and greed emanated from some of the undertakers and this unfavourably affected the Irish tenants. Undertenants came with a pioneering attitude and in time the Scots were to take far in excess to what they were allocated. Although their numbers were not as great as expected they have left their hallmark with generations of names such as Elliotts, Dundases, Johnstons, Cathcarts, Trotters, Spences, Gordons, Hamiltons, Crawfords, Scots, Grahams, Kerrs, Weirs and Halls. These ordinary men created the landscape and made their presence felt, unlike their undertakers who faded away with passing years.

The Scots background

As part of the official settlement of Ulster by the English Crown, the Scots soon dominated in numbers, toughness of their culture and in the determination with which they acquired land, so that the Plantation took on Scottish characteristics, and no where more so than in Magheraboy. The country which they had left was impoverished, violent and intolerant but for all that, Scots society enjoyed an unequal degree of religious democracy, a great desire for education and a pentecostal vision of Christianity. Whilst the social structure was divided in secular matters, the Reformed Kirk or Church represented the equality of master and servant in religious liberty and hope.

Many of the greater undertakers belonged to the powerful land-owning nobility, who were both quarrelsome, arrogant and barely under Royal control. The lairds, the next tier of undertakers, were equally as predatory as the nobles and were the class most likely to have been involved in feuds and cattle reiving in their home country. Below these were the tenants who fitted into the organisation of the farms which came under the control of the baron court, over which the laird presided. Another feature of Scots life was a growth of commerce, which nursed their religious independence, caused them to be migratory and gradually achieved for them power through the acquisition of wealth.

Above all the Scots sought education and an enlightened social conscience. This was marred by the barbarity, oppression and feuding of certain elements within society. Religious dissent was tolerated by the Scots to a greater degree than secular protest and in comparison with the European context the natives in Ulster were not harshly treated by the immigrants. In many ways the Catholic issue was left alone as many of

the settlers believed that God in his own good time would deal with them. James had been able to effectively stamp out the violence which was prevalent in the Borders area by ruthless methods but he had allowed the option of deportation to Ireland to remain. Unfortunately this opened a loophole for cattle reivers and horse thieves which was difficult to stop. The Ulster planters needed stock and horses and the authorities took a lenient view as they considered their country well rid of the Borderers, who would foment disorder at home. There was a small price to pay for this clearance. It must be remembered that the Borderers only formed a small part of the immigrants although many antagonist elements tend to highlight these people to discredit the many other fortuitous pioneers.

The Scottish Reformation had profoundly affected the population and in spite of the activities of the Borderers, it can be assumed that the vast majority of the people were bound by the Kirk's influence. Not only did the Reformation sweep away the evil practices of the corrupt and disorganised Roman Catholic Church in Scotland and remove the outward forms of worship but also it invoked a return to the spiritual holiness of the early Christian Church. The idea of a people covenanted to God may have led them to see Ulster as the 'promised land'. To many of those who gave the political and religious lead to Scottish Calvinism, mostly comprised of clergy, lawyers, schoolmasters and educated gentry, there was a burning desire to evangelise and reform afield. Independence and democracy in religion, centred on the Kirk session, bred religious dissent and opposition to the autocratic episcopal system.

James I gave his blessing to the episcopacy as an important pillar of civic government and social structure. An inevitable clash on matters of religion marked Scots politics, which was to be carried to Ulster, where the Church of Ireland was seen by James as the flagship of religion and as the source of royal support. By the very nature of the settlements, the Scots were to be concentrated in areas and consequently their religious activities were virtually unhindered. However parish churches were to be set up on an episcopal system in Ulster, with the King's blessing. Many of the Scots ministers, nominally episcopal, fitted well into the system and brought a considerable amount of Calvinism into the Church of Ireland. As yet the Presbyterian Church had no formal structure and so episcopacy was to dominate in areas where the settlers had insufficient numbers or means to support their own Kirk.

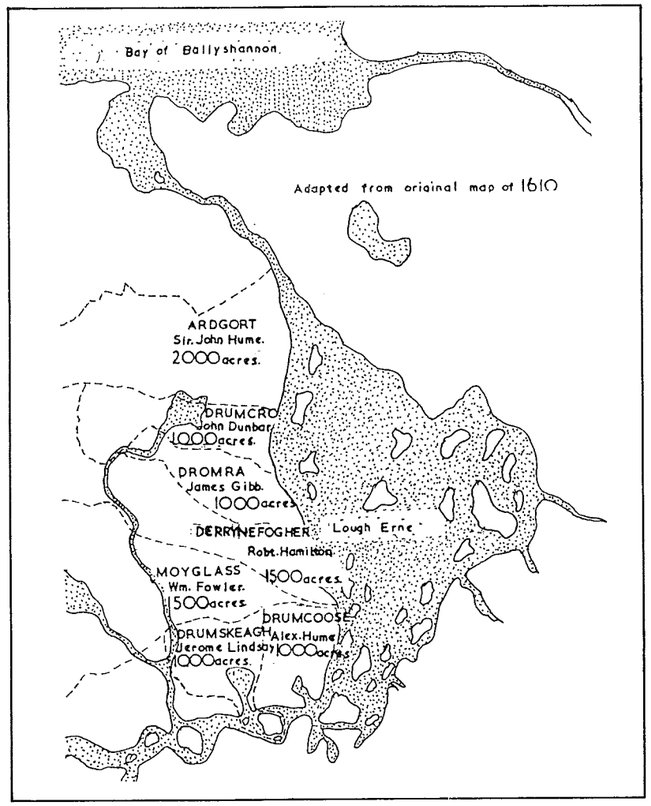
In religion, the Scots who came to Ulster, were mainly Presbyterian whereas the English were mainly Anglican. Magheraboy, like the rest of Fermanagh was to become an apparent exception. Here, the settlers who had arrived before the consolidation of Presbyterianism as a separate identity, apparently joined the Episcopal Church. They were to remain inside the Established Church because they were too remote from the influence of Calvinism elsewhere to be drawn into the dissenting communities which were to spring up in the mid-century in Antrim and Down. The Church of Ireland varied considerably with the Anglican Church as the tone of the Irish Church was at this time strongly puritanical, indeed Calvinistic. There was no attempt to enforce the Act of Uniformity strictly and Scots ministers were allowed to hold benefices with scant regard for the book of Common-Prayer. So at the beginning the settlers from Scotland had no trouble with the established Church in Ireland despite the ecclesiastical differences between the two countries.

Many of the Established Churches in rural Ulster held no divine service during the early part of James I's reign so it is reasonable to assume that the continued existence of both Monea, Devenish and Boho as places of worship owes something to the integrity of the settlers. Many of the Scots ministers who were admitted to benefices in Ulster, when surrounded by their own countrymen appear to have conducted worship in the same way as that to which they had been accustomed in their native land with a judicious use of the Liturgy as an expedient against official sanctions. Some settlers were by no means the best specimens of their countrymen, having been profane, riotous and lawless. These colonists, although generally poor, hardy and intelligent, were taught by their fervent pastors to be thrifty, industrious and pious.

The Colonists

Under the plantation scheme, the land of the defaulting Irish chiefs which was vested in the Crown after their departure, was offered to one hundred and twenty English and Scots planters at a nominal rent provided they fulfilled certain conditions. These new tenants were divided into three classes. The most important group, known as undertakers and comprised of English squires and Lowland Scottish lairds, received their grants on the most reasonable terms of approximately £5.35 per thousand acres. Sixty servitors, the second variety of tenants, being soldiers and officials who had served during the wars in Ireland, were given land as payment for their services at a rent of £8.35 per thousand acres. Three hundred native undertakers, Irish

chiefs who had remained loyal or had taken no part in the recent rebellions formed the third category and paid the highest rents of £11.00 per thousand acres.



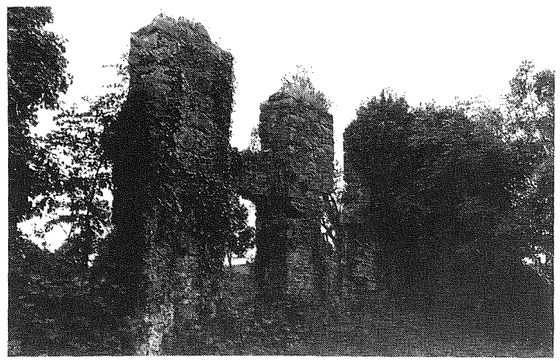
The Plantation proportions

Only the servitors and the Irish undertakers were permitted to settle native tenants on their estates, which in most cases were situated in the less favourable areas. English and Scots undertakers and servitors were bound by two further restrictions. They had to settle Protestant families on their 'proportions' and fortify their houses or castles to keep the potentially rebellious Irish under control. Originally the estates were to be repaid over a period of two years but this was extended to four. Magheraboy, which was confiscated from the O'Flanagans and the Maguires was allocated to seven Scots undertakers and the servitor Sir John Davies, as well as many of the lesser Gaelic families. All undertaker's lands, subject to common soccage to Dublin Castle, were created into manors, with certain rights and privileges, including the power to establish courts baron, enclosing a certain acreage as a demesne, and at a later stage the setting up of fairs and markets.

The largest undertaker was Sir John Hume from North Berwick, who obtained a two thousand acre estate at Ardgorte (later known as Carrynroe), Churchill. Although this was outside the Parishes of Devenish and Boho, he was soon to make his entry as he bought out neighbouring estates in Magheraboy. Hume had been a follower of the King, held in great favour and was described as a man of good quality, although his efforts as a planter drew caustic comment in several later reports. In spite of his attempts initially to flaunt the conditions of plantation, he acquired his brother Alexander's estate in 1613 and that of William Fowler in 1615, to become the largest landowner in Fermanagh with the most British tenants on his estates. He built Tully Castle, in which he was resident by 1618.

Nevertheless his undertenants made complaint that he was often away and left his estate management to frequently changing agents who let land on a yearly basis. This encouraged higher rents, brought more native Irish into the estate and tended to drive away the British who had come looking for security of tenure. Some of the commissioners, probably unaware of Hume's association with the King, hinted that Sir John tried to hoodwink them in relation to the number of British tenants on his estate and to hide the extent of the native lessees. To his credit, Pynnar in a report in 1618 stated that Sir John's tenants had nearly all taken the Oath of Supremacy and that he could raise thirty fully armed men. Out of his grant one hundred and twenty acres at Minrin were made glebe land. Sir John Hume was M.P. for Fermanagh from 1634 to his death in 1639.

Robert Hamilton of Stanehous, Lanarkshire, acquired the 'middle proportion of Derrynefogher', consisting of one thousand five hundred acres, in which the present Parish Church stands. He had been a courtier and probably received his grant because of his influence with the King. Hamilton made an immediate, if somewhat leisurely, start to observe the conditions of plantation. He had eighteen tenants and workmen, sixty head of cattle and ten horses. The lack of workmen accounted for his building programme falling behind schedule. Approximately sixty townlands made up the estate, which was further subdivided by freehold grants to Gabriel Cunningham, (Scandally) James Somerville (Tullykelter) and the Weir family (Monaghan).



Tullykelter Castle ruins

In 1615 five hundred acres were sold to Archibald Hamilton and one thousand acres to Malcolm Hamilton, who was to be the first reformed minister at Monea, later becoming Archbishop of Cashel. Under this new management, things took shape rapidly and the fine Plantation castle at Monea bears witness to the sincerity of the occupants. Malcolm Hamilton retained the three freeholders and created eleven leaseholders listed as; Daniel Elliott, Gilbert Lainge, Matthew Chambers, David Cathcart, John Watson, John Young, William Crawford, John Hall, George Dunbar, John Greer and Thomas Cranston. Malcolm Hamilton resided regularly in the castle and provided liberally for his many relatives who came to the area. The original designation 'Manor of Derrynefogher', which later changed to Castletown Manor, had four hundred and fifty acres in demesne and held the status of court baron in common soccage to Dublin Castle.

An estate of one thousand five hundred acres was granted to William Fowler at Moyglass. This lay between Dromskeagh and Derrynefogher estates and was shut off from Lough Erne. On the Baronial maps it is represented as mountainous and abounding in woods, lakes and bogs. He was probably a merchant burgess of Edinburgh, who had been one of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers and had become a gentleman-in-waiting to the King, dealing especially with the Queen's affairs. Fowler took immediate possession but returned to Scotland without even attempting to fulfil his obligations. Obviously his estate was a speculative venture, which he eventually sold to Sir John Hume in 1615, after the minimum grant time. The proportion consisted of seventeen townlands and had fifteen families of British settled. No house was built although a bawn was constructed which led many of the tenants to fear expulsion. Their fears were confirmed when no proper arrangements were made for granting undertenants their estates on this proportion.

Alexander Hume, brother of Sir John, obtained the section of the barony called Drumcose. By the time the grant was officially sanctioned, Alexander was already in possession, although his ownership only lasted two years. The estate was sold to Sir John Hume who let it to George Hume. Only three leaseholders were found on this estate but it was well planted with British families. A bawn was built but nearly ten years elapsed before a house was erected. There were numerous Irish on the estate and in an effort to divert the attention of the authorities, George Hume got a certificate signed by Malcolm Hamilton, Archbishop of Cashel, and other neighbours, to declare that the one thousand acres were planted with a large number of true, honest Scotsmen, not rented to Irish natives and that the proper number of leaseholders and freeholders had been created. The official report of 1624 confirmed this position and stated that George Hume was resident. No doubt official connivance was plainly seen in these dealings. Drumcose contained many of the townlands, which later formed the Ely estate.

Portora Castle

Jerome Lindsay's 'small proportion of Dromskeagh' included the part of Devenish Parish which lay towards the outskirts of Enniskillen. Lindsay came from Leith and was probably the son of David Lindsay, keeper of the Edinburgh tollbooth. He did not take possession personally but conducted his business through an attorney. In less than one year the estate was sold to Captain, later Sir William Cole, a servitor, who in turn sold the part adjacent to Drumcose to Sir John Hume about 1615. Of the Dromskeagh townlands, Drumboory, Drumberney, Banagher, Ballynakill and Ballyhose lay in Devenish parish. This proportion included that part of Enniskillen which lay in Magheraboy barony. Dromskeagh manor was to centre around Portora Castle which Sir William Cole built. This estate had a fine windmill at the castle. The house was first occupied by a Puritan preacher called Mr Stack.

Another servant of the King, James Gibb of Carriber, obtained a small proportion at Drumra. It would appear that Gibb, a gentleman-in-waiting, was of considerable importance as a courtier and member of the Scottish Council. The Council requested that he should complete his Irish business as quickly as possible, presumably to resume more important tasks. Apparently nothing was done on this estate and by 1616 it was sold to James Hamilton, who in turn sold it to John Archdale in 1619. Only three townlands of the Parish, Drumadown, Mullykivet and Longrob lay in this estate. James Gibb gave up his grant in exchange for a pension from the King, in order to look after his aging father, a former Scottish servant in the Royal Household, living on the Isle of Wight.

an ill time to preach amongst swords and an attitude of opposition to episcopacy. With the Scottish Presbyterian settlers came their own following of ministers. Some of these were admitted into livings by certain northern bishops. The church was swamped by those who hated episcopacy and Roman Catholicism with equal and indiscriminating fervour. In effect the non-conformist settlers drove a firm wedge between the Church and Roman Catholics. The native Irish failed to secure the benefits of what had been originally planned for them, as indeed did the Church fail to hold the lands allocated for its endowment. All these difficulties were seized upon by the Scots, whose pioneering and evangelistic fervour perceived these problems as moments of opportunity.

A period of great weakness and poverty in the Church was witnessed. The Puritan background of the Irish Primates, such as James Usher and William Bedell, combined with the hundred and four Articles of 1615, which were reflected in the Church's conduct, help to illuminate why the Church at Monea was acceptable to the Scots settlers. Overall the Episcopal Church in Ulster was to take on a strong Calvinist shading as a pervading tribute to the settlers. This interaction of the Puritanism and Calvinism of the Non-Conformists within the Church greatly affected attitudes towards Roman Catholics, who were probably less unfairly treated in areas where dissenting or Presbyterian churches were established alongside the Parish Church. Many of the northern bishops looked to Geneva rather than Canterbury for their inspiration during the early years of James's reign.

Similarities existed between the immigrants and the natives in agriculture. Whereas the small Irish population only needed pasturage, the Scots with their larger numbers needed cultivation. When the Scots planters arrived they began to clear suitable areas and substantially increased the areas under the plough. Irish wealth had been calculated in cattle and husbandry which had involved summer migrations called booleying and required temporary dwellings. The Scots also counted cattle as wealth and in their homeland they had spent part of their time herding and driving their animals to markets. Cattle were not only the symbol of wealth but also war. This had been the cause of the predatory nature of the Borderers, since wealth was on the hoof and readily marketable. Lawlessness increased and the immediacy of justice became marked. Ulster was much safer for the Scot's droving traditions which led to rationalised marketing in Ireland and the establishment of fairs and markets. This was perhaps the single biggest impact of the Scots on agriculture since this introduced commerce, which had not been a feature in the largely subsistence farming practised by the Irish. The growth of a network of villages in Ulster is a legacy of the Scots settlers, which eventually led to greater control by the English and subsequently the episcopal church. In time the area under cultivation by the Scots was to decrease as they adopted pastoralism, as a response to the increasing uncertainty of their new colonial life. The entire plantation would have fallen to pieces without the hard-working Scots to provide food supplies.

It was reported by Captain Nicholas Pynnar in 1618 that the English stayed inside the fortifications while the Scots did the ploughing. In the end it was the Scots who were to outnumber the English because they were willing to defend the settlements against the native woodkerne. Since many of the undertakers and their tenants were those sons who would not inherit family estates, they were perhaps more dutiful in their actions with the woodkerne, who were the dispossessed sons of the previous owners, and had an equal grudge to bear. The fearsome reputation which the Scots brought with them helped to prevent the Irish from attacking the settlements. On their arrival the settlers found a sparsely populated countryside into which to expand without causing unnecessary interference with the native peoples. This allowed the Scots to expand their influence rapidly, often allowing the native Irish to remain on good land close to the settlements.

Content initially with their lot, the natives probably realised too late the extent of Scots hunger for land. The Scots had strategic reasons for keeping the Irish in their midst. They cleared the woods and kept the Irish on the plains within controlling distance of the fortified castle, depriving the rebellious in their numbers of a safe haven in the distant woods, where they could meet and plan insurrections with the woodkerne. It also provided maximum rent. The outstanding feature of the Scots settlers was their rapid occupation of land far in excess of that which was originally granted and envisaged as non-profitable land. Some of the shady dealings entered into by undertakers cost them the forfeiture of parts of their estates. James Somerville, Tullykelter, contrary to the patent agreement, made assignments to Phelemy McCabe and Edmond Ballogh McCaffrey, who were described as, 'mere Irish', which cost him his tenancy.

Monea became a village thanks to the Scots. Prior to plantation the area was a backwoods. Centred on the Castle, the village stretched to the Castletown area known as the 'diamond', ensuring the safety of the

villagers in times of unrest. For those times the village was built a considerable distance from the church. A similar relationship existed between Tully Castle and Churchill village. A yearly fair was held on Whit Monday and a market was held every Monday in Castletown village. By 1630 the market was being held within the courtyard of the castle on a Saturday and the fair venue was changed to the 22nd September to suit the populace. This had much to do with the Scot's commercial approach to agriculture and their religious stance which maintained the sanctity of the Sabbath. Most of the houses in the village were stone built and thatched or shingled and included a carpenter's shop, a forge, at least one tavern and probably a school. Carrickreagh and Leighan stone was the chosen building material. Lying on the newly opened road from Enniskillen to Ballyshannon, the village, like Churchill, achieved considerable significance. Village life, communication routes and organised rural commerce as introduced by the Scots brought a shock to the chaotic and indolent life of the Irish.

James's plantation was punctuated with hesitancy and official interference, with government agents arriving often to report on the progress of the colonization of the escheated lands. Without doubt some undertakers tried to avoid their responsibilities but many felt irritated by the constant admonishing inquiries and began to doubt the value of their venture. Many departed shortly after their obligations had been met. In addition they soon realised that the servitors and native undertakers could derive greater income from their estates because they were not bound to exclude native tenants, which in essence meant that the landlord did not have to involve the expense of settling English or Scots tenants.

Since this was James's special personal venture, he chose in the end to take a lenient view of the defaulting undertakers. The colony did not go entirely to plan since there were too few settlers to exploit the resources in full, and the native Irish were generally permitted to stay on both as tenants and labourers. This created a two fold problem. Firstly the native Irish, being Catholic in religion, became the objective of continental Roman Catholicism and its mission, the counter-reformation, which kept a constant supply of educated clergy and religious orders entering Ireland to keep alive the Catholic faith. Secondly, the supposedly Protestant areas were riddled with Irish natives ready to be exploited by those who felt embittered, degraded and awaiting their chance to strike back.

In spite of many obstacles, the Scots settlers consolidated their position and ensured their place in the development of Magheraboy in the coming centuries. Success by the small ill-equipped Scots settlements is the best indicator of the very low Irish population at the time, caused by war, famine, plague and emigration prior to plantation. Whilst many of the official reports are derogatory of the planters progress, little was done by government to mitigate the short comings of plantation policy, thus placing great strains on the immigrants. In fact no policy was consistantly applied over any long period. Ireland's affairs received only intermittent attention; perfunctory except in times of real danger. This allowed Scottish expansion, but with government support the Plantation could have been much more successful. Equally, in religion, the Government of James I in principle aimed at eradicating popery, but in practice the policy pursued was one of letting sleeping dogs lie.

A whole new society was created, one which was completely alien to the native traditions of the area, and also entirely different in character from every other part of Ireland. The changes which these numerous and socially diversified Protestant newcomers wrought in Ulster were dramatic and far-reaching. It was not just the Protestantism of the planters that made Magheraboy distinctive, but their whole way of life. The country was now relatively peaceful, the oppressive privileges of the chieftains were abolished and the Brehon law was set aside. Tanistry, gavelkind, and other old Irish usages disappeared. With the countryside now firmly divided in counties, judges were appointed to districts where their circuits never ran before, and all ranks of the inhabitants were obliged to obey the enactments of the colonial legislature. Names on the Jury at Enniskillen in 1639 included William Ayer, Carrickreagh, James Johnston, Drumadown and John Patterson of Cullen.

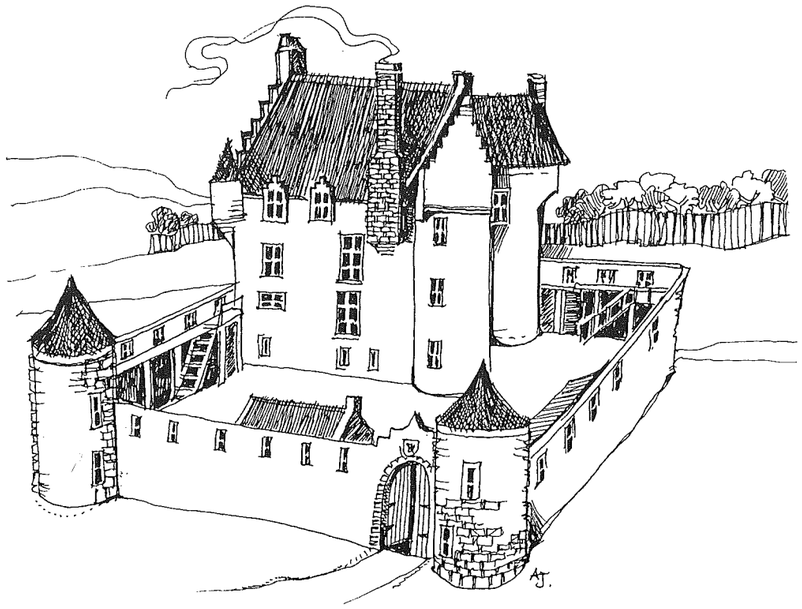
The settlers, for all their dissent, remained loyal and Protestant. This has to be set against the background of some Border Scots who may have leaned towards Roman Catholicism in their home country, whenever they chose to become involved in religion. For the most part many Lowland Scots had little time for Christianity at all. Their attempts at depriving the native Irish of land at once strengthened the Protestant cause and forced some Catholics to join the Established Church. Some passed over to the ranks of Protestantism through marriage. Most however remained disloyal, embittered and joined to a religion which hardened, sharpened and preserved national animosities. However as long as peace existed between Scotland

and England the strengths and loyalties of the Scots settlers could be counted on to maintain an uneasy peace in Ulster. Increasingly the meddling of James I and Charles I in the estates of the settlers, and in their religion, drove them further into dissent and into open hostility with the native Catholic Irish.

In any event the plantation was one of the greatest social disturbances to Magheraboy, the hallmarks of which can still be traced to the present time. Once the haunt of famine and the hotbed of rebellion, the countryside was now firmly attached to Britain in the seventeenth century. On a purely social level, perhaps one of the greatest advantages to the ordinary rural people, the Ulster Custom, was born out of the Plantation. This protected the rights of the tenantry, recompensed property improvements, introduced longer leases and provided the owners and tenants with uniform laws on property. In later centuries when land strife engulfed the rest of Ireland, those tenants in Magheraboy must have been thankful to the plantation settlers for the benefits of the Ulster Custom. The settlers had changed a mainly pastoral and tribal society into a structure recognisably modern.

Monea Castle

Perhaps not since the Norman invasion, had the Irish witnessed the erection of the type of fortresses which marked the Scot's settlements. The Scots undertakers, finding themselves among a hostile native population, built defensive dwellings which reflect the origins of the builders. In the lowland borders the castle was still in use and Monea stands as a testimony to the determination of the planters to maintain their possessions, in spite of the building programme taking until 1622 to complete. Monea is one of the largest and best preserved plantation castles. Standing on a rocky bluff and surrounded on all sides, except the north by the swampy ground it overlooks, the castle is approached by a narrow elevated ridge. A crannog or artificial island in the lake to the south shows its strategic significance in earlier times.



Artist's impression of Monea castle at the Plantation

By 1618 the castle had been built but Pynnar's survey prompted construction of the bawn. This is a measure of how safe the Scots settlers felt at first, in so much that their motives centred around the acquisition of land, showing that the natives were extremely thinly dispersed and generally of a peaceful nature. The bawn wall was the first line of defence and was approximately 3m high and 90m in circumference, enclosing a courtyard adjoining the castle. Inside the wall a raised walk allowed the defenders to use the musket loops in the parapet wall. On two corners of the courtyard there were roofed flankers or circular towers which aided defence. The Castle formed the third flanker and was also able to command the fourth corner; which had only a solid square block of masonry to support the bawn and its walkway. Monea was not often under threat and the flankers appear to have been used either as storerooms or dovecotes. One strange feature of the north east flanker is an apparent flat outer face which would not indicate its defensive role. Many castles had flankers of unusual shapes but it is likely that some undetected foundations exist to complete a circular flanker and that the square face is really the foundation of a dividing wall in the tower.

Once the obstacle of the bawn had been overcome, attackers could turn their attention to the castle. It was three storeys high with tall attics and walls tapering up from a slight batter. The castle was 15m high, 15m long and 6m wide. Built of carboniferous limestone, with sandstone dressings, its apparent strength and Scottish ancestry can be gauged from the existing ruins and contemporary reports. There is a striking similarity with late medieval Scottish castles and their baronial silhouettes. Monea's appearance was enhanced by the use of crow-step gables and small turrets oversailing the upper angles of the walls on corbelled courses of carved stone. These can be seen on the south east gable, which is largely intact. At the entrance to the castle there are two circular towers which rise to diagonally placed, square upper stages. Corbelling forms the transition part, which follows the pattern of Scottish castles, such as Claypotts, near Dundee.

Fragments of classical moulding can be seen on the castle entrance, which is on the south facing side of the north tower. Protection was afforded to the door by musket loops in the south tower opposite and from more loops in an arch which spans the gap between the towers at second-storey level. Access to the upper floors was via the spiral staircase or turnpike, in the north tower which also had musket loops covering the north wall of the bawn. The vaulted ground floor, lit only by splayed musket loops, had three chambers reached by a passage along the north wall of the castle. Once inside the first chamber, access could be gained to all three levels in the south tower. The first level, vaulted and with one slit window might have served as a lock-up. Defenders could use the upper levels to protect the south wall, the south bawn wall and the front entrance of the castle.

The middle chamber seems to have been a store and was next to the kitchen with its wide fireplace on the east wall and a drain for waste which was channelled outside on the south eastern corner. A spiral staircase in the north passage led to the great Hall above, where there were large windows with seats in the embrasures, and two fireplaces, on both the east and north walls. Above the hall on the second floor were the bedchambers and latrines connected to a chute which appears low on the outside of the east wall. Rooms in the attic, facing north, had half-dormer windows. In all probability the roof, originally thatched, was shingled with local oak, and pitch, and only slated towards the end of the seventeenth century. The standard of workmanship was high and the design allowed the building to serve both a defensive role and permit comfortable living.

The early seventeenth century Church

The old chapelry or oratory at Monea was certainly fitted up for divine service early in the Plantation. Since Malcolm Hamilton, Archbishop of Cashel obtained the Rectory of Devenish in 1622, 'in commendam', and had generally lived in the Castle, it can be assumed that the Hamilton family and retainers had worshipped there since their acquisition of part of Derrynefogher, later called Castletown, sometime around 1615. It is known that Monea was never ruined so it is most probable that the first patentee of Castletown, Robert Hamilton requisitioned the Church for Reformed worship, as part of his obligations as an undertaker. The Church on Devenish was also used for Reformed worship, but its inconvenience quickly became apparent.

An inquisition in 1630 held at Monea Castle found, 'the chapelry of Monneagh is situated about the middle of the Parish of Devenish and is more suitable and convenient to become the Parish Church of Devenish than the Church of Devenish, which church is situated on the Island of Devenish in a remote part of the same parish'. After this the Church on the Island was left to deteriorate and Monea became the site of the

Parish Church. Boho was ruinous in 1622 according to the Clogher visitation records and consequently the old church was never the site for reformed worship, although divine worship was certainly performed there, since Malcolm Hamilton, had been appointed rector by 1615 to oversee Boho and in 1622 the rector was stated to be Tristram Brimbridge. How different this was to other parts of Ulster where divine worship was seldom practised during the reign of James I.

The Medieval doorway to Boho church

A fragmented picture of the spiritual state of the Church can be gained from studying the list of rectors who occupied Monea and Boho. Malcolm Hamilton, Lord of Castletown Manor and later Archbishop of Cashel, although showing some of the undesirable characteristics of his predecessor in that See, probably came with many sympathies for the Presbyterian settlers. Coming from a Scots background and being undoubtedly Calvinist in his outlook he must have been one of those ministers from Scotland who were permitted to enter the Established Church through the leniency of the northern bishops. It is certain that he regularly conducted worship in the churches at Monea and Boho before his elevation to the See of Cashel, which would indicate a concern for the spiritual welfare of the settlers. Hamilton, coming as he did from a puritan background was therefore likely also to have brought with him a preaching ministry to which he supplemented some of the liturgy, for reasons of expediency. Hamilton was strongly critical of the public toleration of the Roman Catholic religion and the reticence of catholics to join the army. He signed Usher 1626 Bishop's declaration which protested against the Roman Catholics. The tone of his last Will and Testament bears witness to his Puritan background and evangelical convictions.

In Boho, Tristram Brimbridge, the rector and vicar, 'a man not qualified, non resident, with a ruinous Church and no glebe house', was instituted by Malcolm Hamilton. Brimbridge was likely to have been a Scots preacher, itinerant and non conformist. He held Boho for nearly ten years and had no other cure, prompting the belief that he fitted the Puritan mould of the 'poor preacher dedicated to his flock'. The spirit of the old Kirk was quickly embodied within the newly established Episcopal churches at Monea and Boho from the outset of the Plantation.

Considerable resistance to Episcopal rule is evidenced by the short incumbency of John Boyle in Monea. He was presented by the Crown, then in the form of Charles I. It is apparent that his appointment was unacceptable as six months later Archibald Erskine was instituted. Erskine, a warlike man, who had been ordained by Malcolm Hamilton, later achieved great acclaim for his valiant defence of Augher Castle in 1641. He also held the rectorship of Inishmacsaint at the same time as Devenish, presumably on account of his father-in-law, James Spottiswood, Bishop of Clogher. Similarly, Robert Creighton who was made rector of Boho in 1631 and given glebe land by the Crown, had quickly sided with the Presbyterian element in order to retain his cure.

A strong anti-popery element entered into the political and religious dissent of the settlers. Charles I and Archbishop Laud had tried to introduce the new English Prayer Book which increased the antagonism of the settlers, who increasingly reasserted their Calvinism. This rise of Puritanism, and the desire for a Scottish style reformation was a measured response both to the intensity of the counter-reformation of the Roman Catholic Church and to the growing hostility shown by Episcopalian ministers towards the Scottish element in the settlements. Protestantism, especially of the Calvinist variety had made considerable gains in the early part of the Plantation, at the expense of both the Episcopalians and the Roman Catholics. Now both these elements had regrouped and this brought a strong reaction from the Presbyterians who saw Charles reinforcing the Anglican community, and at the same time scarcely bothering the Catholic Church.

Increasingly the incumbents of Monea and Boho moved towards non-conformity. Adam Simpson M.A. who held the rectorship from 1633 and throughout the Rebellion of 1641 seems to have survived even during the Cromwellian period, although without a church building for a period, when the Church of Ireland was virtually decimated. The same is true for Boho, with James Johnston, instituted in 1640, openly asserting his non-conformity, for which he was eventually ejected from the Parish in 1661 after the Restoration, and subsequently from his next parish of Aghalurcher. George Hamilton, who became Rector of both Boho and Devenish in 1661, after conforming to the Established Church, had first made his appearance at Monea as a 'Commonwealth Minister' in 1657.

All these indicators show the extent of non-conformity in the early seventeenth century churches at Boho and Monea and also point to the folly of believing that the early settlers had no time for religion. Violence and lawlessness however were part of this society which erupted from time to time. The Reverend Adam Simpson, about whom we know little, is mentioned in a report about his friend, Reverend Robert Brown, Sutton Bangor, Wiltshire. Apparently Robert Brown came to collect money owed by Adam Simpson and was intercepted by the rebels in 1641, losing his books, money and possessions. This melancholy but amusing incident helps to highlight the state of the countryside and the apparent disrespect for episcopal clergy.

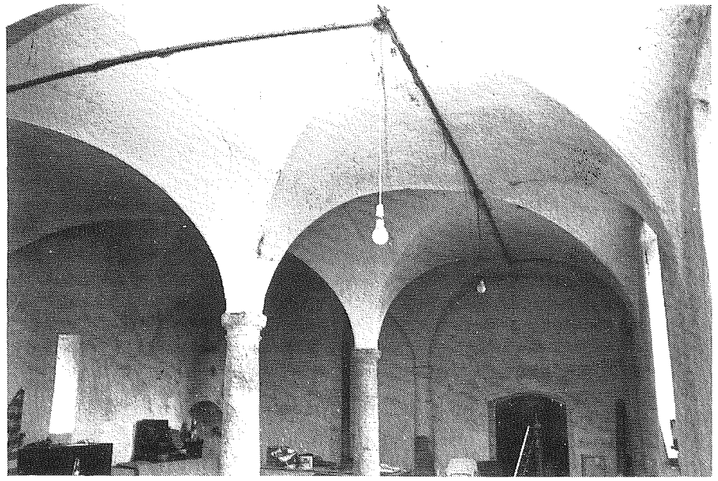
By these oblique developments, the strength of the Church and the authority of the bishops was slowly undermined. Clergy were paying lip-service to the Establishment, living upon its resources and at the same time they were substituting for the Prayer Book, their own type of worship and taking their orders not from their fathers-in-God but from local committees. A very serious and dangerous situation was evolving which would prove difficult for the government to deal with. There was no outward disobedience, no political disloyalty, nothing political about their activities and little breach of the law involved in the activities of the Puritans , who wished to transform the church from within according to their own ideas of what a Church should be. This was in contrast to the Roman Catholics who openly desired to overthrow the Church of Ireland, restore papal jurisdiction, and re-establish the old Gaelic political structure.

Often attempts were made by Puritans elsewhere to destroy the episcopacy by civil disobedience, ridicule and abuse, but in general the settlers at Monea and Boho would have worked within the church to establish a Presbyterian type church government and a form of worship which gave complete liberty to the minister. Official reports at the time estimated that the Presbyterian element in the Monea settlement was

close to two-thirds of the total. It is certain that preaching was carried out regularly and this contrasted with those strong Anglican areas where the Churches fell further into decay. Sermons were popular with the Presbyterian element and at the time country parsons were recommended to preach for an hour. Lack of education and training often made for bad preaching in parishes but in areas where Presbyterianism was strong this was unlikely as ministers were expected to have received a university education. Indeed it is noticeable that all clergy in the early seventeenth century at Monea, Boho and even Inishmacsaint followed this pattern, which was established by the old Kirks in Scotland.

The restored old church of Monea only survived down to 1641, when it was burnt down during the rebellion, its thatched roof of heather lending it readily to the flames. A local tradition relates that the sentry on watch at the castle, observed the act of sacrilege and shot the man who put the torch to the roof. In consequence this give rise to the hill ascending from the east end of the church to the castle being known as the 'long shot'. The burning of the church probably took place on 24th December, 1641, when Captain Rory Maguire and a party of insurgents attacked Monea en route from Lisgoole to Tully Castle. Eight protestants were killed on this occasion, although exaggerated accounts claim greater casualties.

Castle Hume and courtyard



Castle Hume interior

FROM REBELLION TO REVOLUTION

CHAPTER 5

The 1641 Rebellion

Among the native Irish, the mildly persecuted Catholic Church fanned the resentment of a conquered people. They viewed the English as heretics, their power as illegitimate, rebellion against them as lawful, their enemies as the friends of Ireland and of the faith. During Charles I's reign, Lord Strafford, in charge of Irish affairs played planters and papists off against one another to secure a firmer basis of Royal power and greater sources of revenue. The relative religious tolerance which prevailed during this period on the State's behalf, was the direct result of state policy, not of an diminution in the mutual animosity of Catholic and Protestant. Plantation heightened feelings since religion was now identified on one side with the ambition to recover a territory and on the other the desire to hold it. The religions were different, the territory the same; Ulster.

A Catholic contemporary source, Bishop Rothe, in 1617, describes the situation and the state of mind of the dispossessed Irish, "They have no wealth but flocks and herds, they have no trade but agriculture or pasture, they are unlearned men, without human help or protection. Yet though unarmed they are so active in mind and body, that it is dangerous to drive them from their ancestral seats, to forbid them fire and water; thus driving the desperate to revenge, and even the moderate to think of taking arms. They have been deprived of weapons, but are in a temper to fight with nails and heels, and to tear their oppressors with their teeth... Since they see themselves excluded from all hopes of restitution or compensation, and are so constituted that they would rather starve upon husks at home, than fare sumptuously elsewhere, they will fight for their altars and hearths, and rather seek a bloody death near the sepulchres of their fathers than be buried as exiles in unknown earth." The Catholics did not trust Charles, with good reason, and increasingly felt that no English king could regrant their land or improve their status of being merely tolerated.

On the other hand the planters had equal feelings of unease. James I had ruled prudently and efficiently in spite of his economic problems. He had viewed the Ulster plantation as his special concern and had been lenient to the undertakers. However Charles I, his perpetually broke successor looked on the new settlement as a field for greater royal revenue. Since many of the planters had violated the conditions of their grants, they technically could have been forfeited to the crown. The landlords were not unnaturally nervous, and under Charles and Lord Stafford many estates were escheated. The Castletown Manor suffered this fate in 1629, as did those estates of Sir John Hume. They were put up for auction and the unhappy owners were forced to bid highly inflated prices in order to recover their property. The frustration of the landlords can be seen in the 'Graces', 1628, whereby Charles was offered financial support in exchange for greater security of tenure. In any event Charles broke his promises and his deputy in Ireland, Lord Strafford further increased the rents on the proportions by £3.18.4 per thousand acres. Many landlords sympathised with Presbyterianism and the Puritan movement of Scotland and England. This made Charles suspicious of them and in turn made them less loyal to him.

All these factors had an unsettling effect on the Parish in the early seventeenth century and hardly any progress was made in ecclesiastical affairs. Growing suspicions of the restless native population, forced the settlers to defend their houses and consolidate their possessions. In spite of this the churches of the area were maintained but this could not conceal the impending clouds of disaster which were looming closer. Charles I had reached a crisis point in his reign and the origins of a civil war were fomenting in England. In 1641, the 'Old English' and Gaelic Irish joined forces in rebellion, taking advantage of the differences between King Charles and Parliament. Northern Catholics also became increasingly concerned by the spread of Scots Presbyterianism, which had united with the parliamentary cause. If either of these intolerantly Protestant allies had taken a hand in Ireland then the Catholic Church would have been crushed and the area of plantation extended. Open war between Charles and the Presbyterians had resulted in many Scot's victories, prompting the Irish to think in terms of an armed rising. Throughout Ireland, the rebellion raged, bringing atrocity and devastation, finally resulting in victory for the rebels, now called the 'Confederates' or 'Catholic Army'.

Monea and Boho parishes felt the repercussions and it appeared that scarcely before they had time to settle in, the Protestant settlers would be wiped out. Monea, which had been created the Parish church in 1630, was razed to the ground in 1641. No mention is made of Boho in spite of it being situated in the midst

of the conspirators. Moreover the settlement of planters at Monea would surely have been eliminated had Enniskillen fallen to the insurgents. Once Charles split with Parliament in 1642, the initial reversal of the rebellion, by Government troops, fell apart and the Catholic Confederate army gained virtually absolute control of Ulster with notable exceptions such as Enniskillen and Monea.

Rory Maguire and his family led the rebellion in Fermanagh, scoring a series of rapid successes. On failing to capture Enniskillen, Maguire went to Lisgoole, which he sacked, murdering the inhabitants and burning the building. Some prisoners were taken and forced into unwilling service for the rebels. From here, he marched to Monea Castle, destroying the church on the way, probably because it symbolised English episcopacy, and here he also murdered eight Protestants who had apparently sought refuge in the building. From all accounts it would appear that Maguire failed to take the entire castle, since the building, unlike Tully and Lisgoole, was the only one not razed by the rebels. Many of the insurgents would have been Gaelic families from both Boho and Monea, who had obtained land at the Plantation or who were allowed to remain on their farms as tenants to the Scots planters.

The most prominent families involved in the rising were the O'Flanagans, the O'Hoseys and Maguires. These were the old heroic families, the gentry, who had not faired badly although they lost their original property. The peasants, probably existing on their old farms although giving succour on occasions to these soldiers, were stated to be peaceable. At the Plantation, the Hamiltons drove the Irish out of Monea and although some had returned, their numbers would have been insignificant even by 1641. Nothing it seems was going to placate the hereditary chroniclers, rimers and gallowglasses, who still cherished their old predatory and warlike ways.

This highlights some interesting points. Monea and to a lesser extent Boho, early targets in the campaign, may have escaped serious attack on account of their Scottishness, as the Confederates initially were confused in their attitude towards the Scots. In the early days the rebels only wished to attack English settlements, typically Lisgoole and Tully, hoping that the Scots might espouse their cause. This arose out of a statement made by Lord Maguire on avoiding conflict with the Scots. In the final planning stages, Lord Maguire, in a surprising and neglected revelation had decided not to 'meddle with the Scots'. However, the initial hesitancy on the part of the insurgents, as displayed at Monea, soon gave way to wholesale slaughter of the Scots, but not in time to prevent the settlers at Monea regrouping under Captain Adam Cathcart, and attacking the eight hundred strong party of rebels, on their return from the horrible massacre of Tully Castle.

It is also clear from contemporary sources that a spirited defence of the castle was made and Maguire may have decided to continue towards his next objective, Tully Castle, symbol of greatest English influence, in order to maintain the speed and effectiveness of the rebellion. Since Maguire tentatively offered free passage to Monea or Enniskillen for some of the inhabitants of Tully Castle, it can be inferred that, Maguire did not consider Monea as one of his conquests, and equally that the Castle was not taken in 1641, as is sometimes mistakenly supposed. Although no match numerically, the Monea men, accompanied by Enniskilleners, succeeded in preventing Rory Maguire from attacking Sir John Dunbar's castle in Derrygonnelly and effectively quelled the rebellion on the western side of Lough Erne. After 1641 there followed many years of unrest and desultory fighting until the Cromwellian Settlement brought a temporary peace. It is also clear that the inhabitants of Monea went to the safety of Enniskillen when danger threatened but surprisingly at no time was the castle destroyed or taken.

Many of the important families of the Parish were active in the war of 1641 and paid the supreme price for the defence of the Plantation settlement. John Weir of Hall Craig was killed on active service. Important names of leaders include Major John Dunbar, Rosscoltan, Cornet Patrick Hume, Aughrim, James Somerville, Tullykelter, Gabriel Cathcart, Tullyscanlan, Captain John Hamilton, Tullycreevy and Lieutenant John Wilkin of Carrickreagh. Relative peace was established in Magheraboy and a barracks for the defence of the Magheraboy settlement was built at Garrison, from which that village was to take its name. All these men, descendants of the original undertakers, strove to maintain their family gains against the rebellious Irish, many of whom had faired extremely well in the Plantation settlement.

A study of the early family names around Monea shows an unusually large number of Elliotts, Armstrongs and Johnstons concentrated in the area. These Protestants all came from the Liddesdale region of the Borders and were extremely tough and predatory, bringing with them not only their feuding nature but also the unique ability to unite against a common enemy in times of danger. Their former lifestyle resulted in

the growth of large closely-knit family groups with intense clan loyalties and fierce feuds against others. They were known as riding or raiding families. The Lord Deputy said, "The next country shall find them ill neighbours, for they are a fractious and naughty people." Their reputation in Scotland was fearsome and was unlikely to have diminished much by 1641. Additionally, state reports point to the entire area of Monea and part of Boho being highly cultivated by this hardy, expanding settlement; presumably indicating prosperity, which also extended to the natives they employed. Such a settlement had much to defend.

Considering their former circumstances, these people had made remarkable changes and had become very much the backbone of the countryside, contributing far in excess of the undertaker's efforts towards its development. Their survival in equally large numbers centuries later testifies to a unique and successful settlement. 1641 shook the planters from their complacency, sharpened their religious animosity and turned the Magheraboy men into the leading opponents against the Catholic Irish on later occasions. Magheraboy planters had not assimilated with the native population, as had happened in other areas by 1641. This was partly due to the scarcity of natives in the area and partly because of the alien culture of the Scots planters which the Irish would not accept. In any event the effect of the Magheraboy planters was to cause Rory Maguire to advise the native Irish, west of Enniskillen to stay west of the Arney.

Because the Scots tended to come to Ulster seeking land, it was much easier to establish them, but their dislike of an English landlord meant that they tended to concentrate on estates with Scots landlords or freeholders. The Scots had always been able to draw on a large number of willing immigrants from Scotland, whereas the English undertakers had to rely on their ability to attract tenants directly to Ireland. In the context of Magheraboy this meant that the peripheral areas like Churchill, which had been occupied by English tenants initially, were increasingly occupied by squatting Irish tenants, whereas in Monea the Scots concentrated their power base. Furthermore some Scots had reason to remember former days when they could not return to Scotland for fear of justice. This sharpened their determination to be successful. While the names of most of the Plantation landlords of the county have disappeared, those of their tough and tenacious tenants have stayed and multiplied to become a unique presence in Fermanagh, particularly around Monea, stronger than that created by any similar group in any other of the planted counties. The ability of these resilient people, not only to come to the county but to stay in it throughout the troubles of the seventeenth century is in itself remarkable, especially during 1641.

An inconsistency in the amount of Presbyterianism in proportion to the number of Scots settled in the area is accounted by the Borderers putting up little theological resistance to accepting the church of other settler interests, such as their landlords or neighbouring English tenants. The Elliotts, Armstrongs and Johnstons may have shown few religious convictions in their native lands but a change in their outlook is evident at Monea, where they adopted the episcopal church but brought to it their Presbyterian and puritan instincts. These feelings were fuelled by the events of 1641 which seems to have re-awakened their religion to the extent that they valued divine worship and desired a sacred edifice.

In spite of great adversity faced from the victorious Roman Catholics, the church at Monea was rebuilt soon after 1641, but not by the Episcopalians. The Presbyterian settlers, who formed at least half of the population were responsible for its reconstruction and possibly the maintenance of divine service. This was the beginning of a period of gravest disaster for the Church of Ireland, and many episcopal clergy were murdered or driven from their cures by the rebels. That Protestantism survived in the area at all, much less extended to the rebuilding of a church, shows both the integrity of the planter's religious activities and also the extent to which their Presbyterianism had infiltrated the Church of Ireland. It was this element of Presbyterianism, which although officially suppressed later, that influenced the development of Monea and Boho in succeeding centuries, often moderating episcopal intolerance and maintaining a puritan ethic amid the general neglect of religion elsewhere.

The Inter-regnum

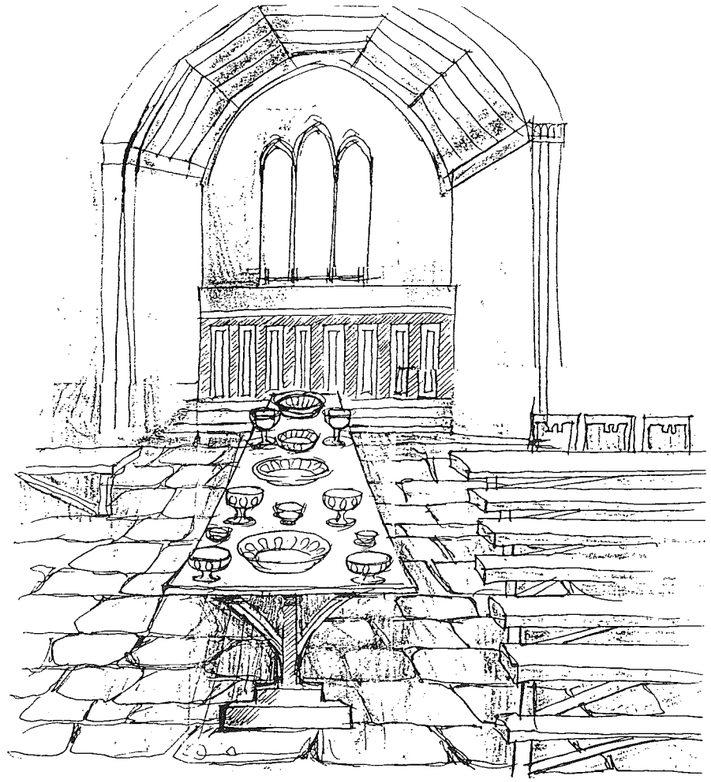
For the rest of Charles's reign Ireland remained in a state of confusion. After the closure of the English civil war and subsequent trial and execution of Charles, events in Ireland took a decisive turn. Years of opportunity had been wasted by the Confederates in haggling and bargaining with Charles while their really formidable enemy, the English Parliament, had built up its strength. Now Parliament turned its attention to Ireland both to settle many long-running sores and also to avenge the events of 1641. The coming of Cromwell was a momentus event both for civil and religious affairs. Irish resistance was brutally suppressed

and Cromwell's memory was indelibly impressed on the natives. By the standards of seventeenth century warfare, however the ferocity of Cromwell's campaign was not extraordinary, but the severity of the settlement had profound effects.

Monea church after the 1641 rebellion

Although Cromwell did not come to Fermanagh his influence was felt nevertheless as his commander-in-chief, General Ludlow, subdued the rebels in Fermanagh and laid the plans for another plantation. Now the property of the rebellious Irish was redistributed and no where was this more marked than in Boho. The Cromwellian settlement was not so much a plantation, as a transference of the sources of wealth and power from Catholics to Protestants. No attempt was made to create Protestant communities but a Protestant upper class was established which was to assume growing importance in both political and religious affairs. From the Commonwealth archives we know that there were three Cromwellian Commissioners of Revenue in the Parishes. They were William Hamilton, the Graan, Adam Cathcart, Tullyscanlan and Henry Langford, Drumboory. Reparations were enthusiastically collected since the 'adventurers' or lenders had to be repaid in cash as confiscated land became embarrassingly scarce. A look in the Auditor-General's collection of Crown rentals shows that the tithes set in the fiscal year 1656-1657 were collected in Boho parish by Nicholas Edmonds and by Captain Adam Cathcart in Devenish.

Nothing but ruin attended the Church of Ireland as a result of the Cromwellian Settlement. The bishops and clergy were banished as Cromwell and the Commonwealth suppressed both 'Papists and Prelatists'. In the rising of 1641 the Church of Ireland had been persecuted by the Roman Catholics and now its fragments were to suffer a second rebuff from the Cromwellians, who treated the Church of Ireland with equal severity as the Roman Catholics. Monea and Boho churches survived either on account of their Presbyterianism or the gallant defiance of their clergy, because they were two out of only one hundred parishes to have episcopally ordained ministers in the country. In the Commonwealth ecclesiastical regime, meeting houses were established to provide a puritan ministry. These were often the old parish churches and many of the clergy were acceptable to the Protectorate. By all accounts Monea and Boho were deemed suitable and records show that George Hamilton, 'Commonwealth minister' was already in charge by 1657. For nineteen years the Church of Ireland was not master in its own house at Monea or Boho.



The interior of Monea in the Puritan era

Something has to be said about the positive religious work done during the interregnum. Many Commonwealth appointments encouraged the ministers to be preachers and also to conduct worship in Irish. In spite of some exceptions, the Commonwealth clergy appointed, were in general an improvement over their predecessors who had drifted into lax ways, many of whom had begun to frequent ale houses. Discipline was tightened at Trinity College, where many candidates came from, and regulations were introduced to deal with any clergy, who were 'disorderly, by being swearer, gambler, haunter of taverns and alehouses, Sabbath breaker, obscene in conversation, or scoffer at the profession of godliness, or in any other way profane'. Many aspects of Church life changed but the most noticeable were the lack of the liturgy, the non-wearing of a surplice by the clergy and alterations to the baptismal service, which left a marked change on the Church of Ireland in comparison with the mother Church in England.

The church which replaced the one burnt in 1641 reflected the puritan attitudes at the time of its building. It was a plain, oblong, ugly building, measuring 15m long by 5m wide, with a door at the west end. There was no tower and probably only four windows, three on the south side and one on the east gable. During the Commonwealth period a bell was hung on a Yew tree outside the church to summon the people to worship. In all probability the church was thatched, but may have been covered with oak shingles, the common roofing material at the time, since it was only slated in 1740. Inside the plainest of decor would have been used, with the pulpit assuming a prominent position. Local gentry families had pews assigned and perhaps the tenants were seated on long benches or forms. The floor was flagged with local stone and the main structure consisted of masonry quarried at Leighan and Carrickreagh. From all accounts there was a high ceiling which was plastered in the roughest manner and white washed. As befitted many puritan churches, a long trestle table, covered with a white linen cloth, served as the communion table, positioned down the centre of the church in front of the pulpit, which was strangely placed on the south wall.

Boho after the Rebellion

Boho had attracted very few undertakers and by the 1653 Census, only four English Protestant families as opposed to one hundred and twenty three Irish Catholic families occupied the area. Many of the families had been moved from areas in Devenish Parish during the Plantation, reinforcing the Gaelic tradition in Boho. After the rebellion of 1641 and its aftermath was quashed by Cromwell's Commander-in-Chief Ludlow, many of the estates of the insurgents were forfeited by 1668 and they had been redistributed to six planters: Robert Carne (90 acres), Sir John Cole (125 acres), Jason Hassard (278 acres), Richard Franklin (22 acres), Robert Clarke and William Blennarhasset (jointly 180 acres).

In the Down Survey, (1659) carried out by Sir William Petty, Samsonagh (112 acres) was returned as Church land and Treel (89 acres) was labelled glebe land. The chief landed proprietors in the Parish of Boho at that time were given as: Phelim Cassidy, Drumhirk, (38 acres), Shane McAnab Maguire, Drumacoorin, (69 acres), Oghy O'Hosey, Carrickbegmore, (22 acres), Rory Oge McRory, Mac James Maguire and others, Gortgall and Carrigan (91 acres), Tiege Roe O'Bryne, Muckenagh, (71 acres), Oghy O'Hosey, Carn, (100 acres), Connor McShane McEnnis Maguire, Mace (unknown), (22 acres), Fleartagh McHugh, Coolarkan, (74 acres), Hugh O'Flanagan, Legnagaymore, (54 acres), Cormac Cullagh Maguire, Tullyholvin, (19 acres), Rory McRory M'James Maguire, Aghanaglack, (20 acres), and Cormac M'Colla Maguire, Knocknahanshin, (164 acres). All these lands were transferred by letters patent during the years 1666-1668, which indicates that all these landowners were held to be in rebellion.

An interesting manuscript, held in Monea church, dating from around 1660 gives an inquisition or an inquiry to determine what Parish owned Bailihuary or Poltafish townland. It is clear from the account that Boho had a catholic priest, Bryan MacAlester, who had succeeded a Laughlin MacGarraghan, priest of Boho and Edmund MacGarraghan vicar of Boho, and was active for forty years, even at the height of the Plantation. Even during the persecution the Roman Catholic Church during the later part of the seventeenth century, a priest was officiating openly in Boho, although without a church.

Boho's uninviting geographical position, its poor quality land and its inaccessibility helped to preserve the Catholic Irish against the worst excesses of the Planters, leaving it one of the few places in Ireland where neither conquest nor plantation unduly disturbed the long traditions of its inhabitants. Although the newcomers to Boho in the 1660's managed to hold on to what they gained, they did not greatly displace the native families. Later in the century the fast expanding Protestant community was to push the native Irish further into the hills and waste land of Boho. But in the aftermath of the Rebellion it was famine and disease which brought the biggest changes in Boho causing many deaths and paving the way for Protestant expansion.

In spite of the overwhelming Catholic majority, the Protestants at Boho maintained divine worship and supported a minister, although this was supplemented by tithes paid by the Catholics, when they could be collected. During the seventeenth century this seems to have been an irregular occurrence. The 'church' was a thatched house, probably near the present site of Farnaconnell. In times of increased persecution, the Roman Catholics assembled at field altars, of which a few sites have been identified. Generally during the reign of Charles, Roman Catholicism was tolerated equally to that of dissenting Presbyterianism, and documents show that Catholic worship was also conducted in a thatched house opposite the Church of Ireland building.

The Restoration of the Monarchy and the Church of Ireland

In 1660, eleven years after the execution of his father, Charles II brought back the monarchy. After the Restoration, the Church of Ireland, by the Act of Settlement 1662, was again put in power and had a short interlude of twenty seven years of peace and prosperity before the Civil War of 1689 again brought desolation upon the land. With the return of episcopacy came the use again of the Prayer Book and the Liturgy. The Commonwealth minister at Monea, George Hamilton, conformed to the Established Church and was given Boho to supplement his income. He lived at Tullymargy Castle, Markethill, and was rector of both Boho and Monea for thirty one years. It seems likely that glebe land and church property had not been fully recovered at this stage, leaving a meagre living for the incumbent, who would have received a stipend of around forty shillings.

The choice of Hamilton as rector had interesting implications and goes a long way to explaining the survival of Presbyterianism at Monea throughout the rest of the century, when penal laws elsewhere began to hurt the Non-conformists as much as the Roman Catholics. The Presbyterians had secured the episcopal church at Monea and this appointment may have been both an appeasement and a compromise, in view of their large numbers. No longer were the Presbyterians a somewhat uneasy group within the establishment but a group with which compromise was becoming impossible. In the conditions of the times this was bound to have more than ecclesiastical repercussions. We also know that Monea, was the constant place of worship of Gustavus Hamilton, the celebrated defender of Enniskillen, in the Jacobite troubles of The Williamite Wars 1688-90. He spent most of his life in Monea Castle, which he inherited from his grandfather the Archbishop, and was buried in Monea in 1695.

A restored church after 1660 faced many problems. The plight of the clergy was lamentable since the antagonistic Roman Catholic Church possessed a highly organised machinery which worked in almost complete freedom from official interference. Penal laws existed in theory but in practice they were a dead letter in Charles II's reign. In spite of the formal restoration of the Church, it is clear that ground had been lost and that much property had been seized during the Interregnum which did not come back. Usable churches such as Monea, were a rarity and glebe houses were non-existent. Clergy were scarce, poorly paid and expected to perform the ministrations of the Church in adverse conditions. Opportunities for public worship were few and attendance at Holy Communion was necessarily occasional as many had to come to the parish church from a distance. It is a reflection of the enthusiasm of the clergy and the people in Monea and Boho that the Church of Ireland flourished in this period.

Increasingly the churchmen began to forget their Presbyterian allies and to assert the role of the episcopal church as head of both the religious and civil administrations. Whereas in other parts of Ireland, the Church of Ireland clergy took their revenge on the Presbyterians, this was not the case in Monea or Boho. However the Anglicans began to accept completely Royal authority and this is witnessed by the refurbishing of the Royal Arms inside the sacred buildings. Among Irish Protestants, the restoration of the monarchy and the Church of Ireland was regarded as the best guarantee for the preservation of the great change in the balance of power and property that had taken place as a result of the Cromwellian conquest, confiscation and plantation. The Presbyterians of Monea and Boho reluctantly acquiesced to prelatic and episcopal power.

Since Cromwell's time a new generation of planter had grown up and many more came to settle. This was a toughened race, which had survived 1641 and was uneasy about the intentions of the native Irish. Their Protestant faith was tinged with the Puritanism of former times under Cromwell and they attached a new significance to their religion and land ownership. Prepared to meet any challenge, they increasingly came to see the land as their own. They were not prepared to abandon their property or possessions, handed down from previous generations. Their fears for the future were well founded, for in 1685, when the Catholic James II came to the throne, they were called upon to fight for their lives.

As the Parish assumed a new importance in the affairs of the community we find a consolidation of the Church and gentry in civic matters. Appointments of Justices of the Peace included William Hamilton in 1662, Ferdinando Davis, 1677, James Somerville and Gustavus Hamilton, 1678, and William Hamilton, 1684. Tithes were collected by the parishes, part of which, the county cess, went to the Crown. From the Auditor-General's collection of Crown rentals we know that the tithes were collected regularly and in their entirety.

In Charles II's reign the loyalty of the gentry and freeholders was firm, as is shown by the presentation of 'Loyal Addresses to King Charles II', signed by the J.P.'s, gentlemen and freeholders at the General Assizes both in April 1682 and September 1683. The names from Devenish and Boho appended to the declarations included... Gustavus Hamilton, Ferdinando Davis, William Browning, Gabriel Cathcart, Hugh Montgomery, Robert Johnston, Alexander Weir, James Somerville, John Humes, Robert Clarke, William Hamilton, Robert Elliott, Alan Cathcart and Robert King.

During Charles's reign, a time of frustration for Catholics had emerged and an uneasy dominance for Protestants had marked both religious, civic and political life. The restoration Parliament was overwhelmingly Church of Ireland but although Church discipline had been renewed and a hierarchy re-established the restored church was to be one which did not offend either Presbyterian or Catholic susceptibilities unduly. In this atmosphere the Church of Ireland grew in strength but soon the wars of the seventeenth century were to be renewed in 1688, setting back progress of ecclesiastical affairs, but placing Monea firmly in the history books.

Perhaps the most important cleric to hold office in Boho and Monea held the parishes from 1692 to 1696. Doctor Thomas Smyth, later bishop of Limerick, was from a distinguished family, the lineage of which can be traced directly to the present British monarchy. This interesting genealogy is to be found in the Appendix. From this incumbent we have also inherited a unique and complete list of tithe-payers in the two parishes at the end of the seventeenth century. Doctor Smyth was noted for his piety and unbounded charity to the poor. He was a learned man and held the post of vice-chancellor in Trinity College from 1714. Although beloved by his flock he did not shirk from voicing his dissent or from chastising wrong-doers. He was the cause of military riots in Limerick due to his stand against a Bill in Parliament ratifying the distorted terms of the Treaty of Limerick. A measure of his greatness and influence can be gleaned from the fact that when he was rector of St. Martin's in the Fields, London, before coming to Boho and Devenish, he was recommended by the Archbishop of Canterbury to Queen Mary.

Economic patterns and rural life after the Restoration

Within a decade of the Restoration Parliament, civic life, political authority and land ownership finally passed into the hands of the settlers. In the countryside the changes brought about by the new owners accelerated the pattern previously established. A reversal of the labour shortages, emigration and a reduction in the effects of famine and disease during peace time brought economic expansion, in spite of restrictions imposed by England. The export of Irish cattle was banned and Irish wool was reserved for English use. However a flourishing butter and meat trade grew up along with the ready black market for Irish wool in England. In consequence the population grew, establishing the Protestants at the apex of both the social and economic hierarchies.

The settlers favoured tillage and enclosure although by the 1680's open land was still extensive. Potatoes assumed popularity rapidly and a variety of vegetables began to emerge and replace the old established crop of turnips. Adoption of the potato was aided by the uneasy conditions of the time, for it was a less vulnerable crop, being underground. It also gave a better return per acre than cereal crops. New clovers were introduced into grasslands as were methods of manuring. But the greatest change in the countryside landscape was the clearance of forests which covered many parts of Monea and Boho, causing a rise in land valuation in the 1670's. With severe restrictions placed on the export of cattle, prices fell from forty shillings to twelve shillings a beast. Resilience emerged and subsistence farming became successful, as a response to the loss of the cattle trade and other economic sanctions imposed by England. The entire landscape had changed beyond recognition in a century.

During the seventeenth century, the farming pattern had been subjected to considerable disruptions but it is possible to detect a greater degree of commercialism, which must have been due to the influence of the newcomers. This was to pave the way to changes later. The old land holding system, called Rundale was to decrease as enclosure gained in popularity. Cultivation with the spade gave way to proper ploughing as opposed to 'ploughing by the tail'. This had been a general practice of the Irish due to the use of a light wooden plough. With the continuing opposition of the government, the increasing number of consolidated holdings appearing under the planters and the loss of cattle through warfare and rebellion, the creaghting lifestyle of the natives was limited and the Irish were forced to settle down on the marginal land by the end of the seventeenth century.

Although some fairly large farming units from 20-400 acres had been established, in the majority of cases the land was fragmented by subletting. Those who had no land rented 'con-acre' which was a new development and encouraged the idea of private property. In the midst of these areas grew up market villages of which Monea was a good example. Here animals raised for meat could be sold alongside other dairy products like milk. Domestic poultry became more important and an egg trade was to arise from this. Pigs were kept increasingly for house consumption, to supplement the potato, which had replaced oats in the staple diet. Milk from goats and sheep often took the place of that from cows, which was used for the marketable commodity of butter.

The slow decline of old habits and the equally slow growth of new ones was a mark of the instability of the seventeenth century. In parts of the countryside, life had appeared to change little, except perhaps the landlord. Yet the new trends were to develop unstoppably in Monea and Boho. The native Irish were forced eventually to adopt the ways of the planters but always more slowly and with less success. So the divisions of religion and culture extended into the economic realm, sharpening animosities which erupted in James's reign, but finally subsiding under the total control exercised by the Planters in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The Revolution 1688-92

The fragile political situation under Charles II changed rapidly with the accession of James II, in 1685, to whom the Catholics looked for support. Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, and brother of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland shortly afterwards, which encouraged the Catholic hopes and aroused Protestant fears. James II aimed at a complete Catholic restoration and in so doing he alienated the English parliament and the majority of his British subjects, finally fleeing to France and the protection of his cousin Louis XIV. In 1688 James was succeeded by his Protestant daughter, Mary and her husband William, Prince of Orange, who had been the principal opponent to Louis XIV's expansionist policy across Europe. In Ireland Tyrconnell had successfully maintained the authority of James II, in his absence and had consolidated his position to such an extent that James decided to make a final effort to recover his throne from Ireland. Only Enniskillen and Londonderry were to remain out of Jacobite hands.

If James had acted hastily in restoring the Catholic religion in England, Tyrconnell had aroused even greater opposition with his rapid and widespread changes in Ireland. All civil offices were now opened to Catholics and in particular the army officers in Ireland were replaced with Catholics. In addition a new Catholic militia force was built up with the intention of undoing the Plantation and returning land to Catholics. The Jacobite cause was to spread throughout Ireland, and threatened the Plantation, but the planters of Magheraboy and Enniskillen were made of sterner stuff, and resolved to refuse entry to James's army on 16th December 1688. Many of the defenders and leaders were from Magheraboy and two of the five leaders were connected to the Devenish parish:- William Browning and Alan Cathcart. James now had three concurrent problems on his hands; subduing Londonderry and Enniskillen, obtaining supplies for military and administrative purposes and controlling the actions of the Catholic Irish. Enniskillen was a major obstacle on the route to Ulster. This does not take away from the bravery shown by the Enniskilleners. They were well prepared, met all challenges bravely and were heroic.

When the Enniskillen men made their heroic and desperate resolve to oppose James, they were not unanimously supported by the townspeople and many of the leading men among them thought the attempt to be hopeless. Determined in their course of action the five leaders gained their point and sent William McCarmick out to Monea castle to consult with Gustavus Hamilton. Here they were welcomed since Hamilton was one of the Protestant officers who had been dismissed by Tyrconnell from the Irish army. Immediate support was forthcoming and Hamilton quickly gathered together all the men of influence about Monea and Boho who in turn recruited their tenants and workers to help in the defence of Enniskillen. It is an indication of the unique nature of the Magheraboy plantation that the Parish was to supply the backbone of the defence of Enniskillen. Having made their move they risked their lives and possessions for the support of their religion. It is little wonder that many look back to these brave people of this period for inspiration.

The actions of the Enniskilleners caused the Irish Parliament of James II to attaint many from Magheraboy in 1689. Some of the gentry, including John Dunbar, Sir John Hume and Lady Catharina Hamilton were forced to flee for safety from Ireland. Those attainted or accused of treason were:- Christopher Carleton, Boho, Robert Cathcart, Greaghmore, Alexander Cathcart, Inisway, Hugh Cathcart, Tullyscanlan,

THE PARISH OF DEVENISH AND BOHO

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