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The Gentry of The King's and Queen's Counties:
Protestant Landed Society, 1690-1760

Volume II

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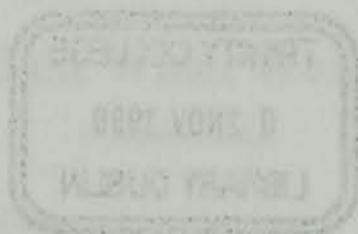
Volume Two

Daniel Matthew Beaumont

Submitted for the degree of PhD

Trinity College, The University of Dublin

1999



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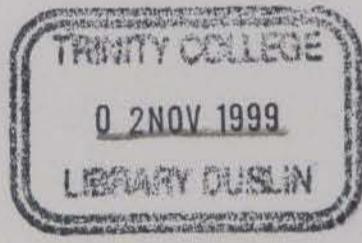
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CHAPTER 5

Landowners and Urban Development

The gates of Castle Durrow overlooked the market square at Durrow and the avenue connected the country house to the town. At Stradbally the main entrance to the house was adjacent to the main high street of the town. Edenderry Castle, the seat of the Blundells, was perched above the town of Edenderry. The walls of Birr Castle formed one edge of Parsonstown. In physical terms the relationship between big house and town could be very close and the development of the landlord town in eighteenth-century Ireland has received recent attention (e.g. Lurgan and Strokestown).¹ As well as landlord towns like Birr, Edenderry, Durrow and Stradbally (where the seats were an integral part of the urban plan) there were other urban centres like Portarlinton and Tullamore where the proprietors lived a few miles away, and towns like Mountmellick, Mountrath, Maryborough, Philipstown and Banagher, which in this period were not under the influence of any one seat in the locality.²

The location of a seat in relation to the neighbouring town cannot be directly correlated to the proprietor's level of interest and involvement.³ Within each family the degree of enthusiasm for town improvement varied from generation to generation. At Birr the level of interest shown by the Parsons remained consistently high from the 1620s to the nineteenth century and beyond, whereas at Edenderry landlord participation was far less striking (from the eighteenth century the Blundells were absent for very long periods). Between 1700 and 1760 Dudley and Pole Cosby transformed Stradbally, despite long periods of absence (Dudley fought on the continent and Pole lived in Bristol for a year; Dudley Alexander Sydney, was a diplomat; and Philips-Cosby had a distinguished naval career). Absenteeism therefore did not imply improvidence and neglect. Robert Molesworth, through his agents, took an active interest in Philipstown even though it

¹R. Gillespie, *Settlement and Survival on an Ulster Estate: The Brownlow Leasebook 1667-1711*, (P.R.O.N.I., 1988); S. Hood, *Strokestown: the urban history*, (Dublin, forthcoming, 1999).

²Dawson's Court (later Emo Court) and Charleville Forest. Mountmellick and Mountrath did not appear to have one single driving force behind their development like the above, although there were a number of houses in the vicinity (e.g. Ballyfin and later Capard and Summer Grove). The boroughs, as far as one can tell from available evidence, had absentee landlords.

³L.J. Proudfoot and B.J. Graham, *Urban Improvement in Provincial Ireland 1700-1840*, (Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, 1994).

might have been tempting to let the place languish in the bog as it had done for much of the previous century. By contrast there were families like the Hartpoles of Shrule with a virtually unbroken record of residence between c.1560 and 1800, who did not attempt to develop any part of their estate into a landlord town.

Provincial Irish towns have always received less notice than they deserve (particularly before 1760), perhaps because in terms of population and economic activity they were dwarfed by Dublin and key trading ports.⁴ The period from 1760 to the onset of the Famine has attracted more attention.⁵ Indeed a visual inspection of the present day towns in Laois and Offaly together with architectural studies of the market squares, civic buildings and fine ashlar town houses can give the misleading impression that these towns were essentially a product of the mid to late eighteenth century.

In order to assess the contribution that landowners made to the growth of towns between 1690 and 1760 one should assess how far English settlers built upon earlier foundations, the coincidence of factors that made some settlements prosper and others stagnate, and to establish whether the plantation of the two counties and the creation of towns was as formal and methodical as is so often imagined or whether the urban map that had emerged by 1760 was a result of essentially haphazard and unpredictable events.

5.1 Origins of urban settlement

The legal creation of a 'town' (by charter or patent) was a relatively straight forward task compared to the problem of getting a town to take root, to survive and to prosper. The intermittent warfare in the territories which made up the two counties during the sixteenth century was not conducive to urban settlement. The earliest map of the region c.1563 (which shows the many castellated houses surrounded by a sea of dense woodland, bog, open plains and *terra incognita*) presents a graphic image of the enormity of the problems which the first English settlers faced and helps to explain why by 1600 the native Irish had very nearly succeeded in wiping out the colonial bridgeheads of the

⁴ Gerard Boate, writing in 1652, said that apart from Dublin, Galway Cork and Londonderry the other towns are 'scarce worth mentioning, because there are few market towns in England, even of the meanest, which are not as good or better, than the rest of them all', Gerard Boate, *Ireland's Natural History* (London 1652), p. 9.

⁵ The most useful and comprehensive is, M. Byrne, 'The Development of Tullamore 1700-1921', (M.Litt., T.C.D., 1979); local studies include E. O' Brien, *An Historical and Social Diary of Durrow*, (Kilkenny, 1992) which tend to focus on developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

English (map 5 shows the earliest English settlements in the region).⁶ In the early years of the seventeenth century there was a new and more determined attempt to control the whole area and a change in military strategy. The campaign involved the widening of the sphere of combat so that adjacent territories such as Ely O'Carroll were also subdued. Some Gaelic septs were transported to Connaught and Munster and additional lands were granted to a new supply of English settlers who, it was hoped, would rejuvenate the region. Some of the settlers made a concerted effort to consolidate their hard-won gains so that they would not be gradually eaten away, as had happened in the previous century. One way of achieving this was by the development of towns.⁷

The growing volume of new charters and patents for markets and fairs dating from the early seventeenth century provides evidence of more settled conditions.⁸ Between 1603 and 1641 there were 42 grants (and 14 re-grants) in the two counties; twice the number issued over the next 125 years.⁹ But of course one must not assume that the formalisation of trading centres or the creation of new ones necessarily points to the existence of 'towns'.¹⁰ Ahavoe (*or* Aghaboe) which had long been a religious centre was the very first place in the Tudor period to be granted the right to hold a weekly market and a court leet (in 1543). Despite its head start over Philipstown and Maryborough it never developed.¹¹

⁶ H.F. Hore, 'Notes on a fascimile of an Ancient Map of Leix, Offaly, Irry, Clanmalier, Iregan and Slieve margy preserved in the British Museum', *Kilkenny Arch. Soc. Jn.* Vol. IV (1862-63), pp. 345-373; J.H. Andrews and R. Loeber, 'An Elizabethan Map of Leix and Offaly: Catography, Topography and Architecture', in W. Nolan and T.P. O'Neil, eds. *Offaly: History and Society*, (Dublin, 1998), pp. 243-286.

⁷Rolf Loeber, *The Geography and Practice of English Colonisation in Ireland from 1534 to 1609*, (Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement, 1991), pp. 22-29.

⁸ Abstract of Charters and Grants of Fairs and Markets in Ireland Inrolled on the Patent Rolls of Chancery' (transcript of 1819 by James Hardiman) Brit. Lib. Egerton Mss.76 (N.L.I., m/film n.1156, p.1357), pp. 67-69, 106-108 and 252-265.

⁹ On can find the same pattern elsewhere in Ireland. It has been remarked that 'the rate of confirmation of patents of these institutions was more intense in County Cork than anywhere else in Ireland': it had more grants of markets and fairs than The King's and Queen's Counties put together; P. O'Flanagan, 'Three Hundred Years of Urban Life', in P. O'Flanagan and C. Buttimer eds., *Cork: History and Society*, (Dublin, 1993), p.401.

¹⁰I would define a town (in the context of the Irish midlands) as a settlement which had: (i) an unusually high concentration of people, (ii) with the right to hold fairs and markets/and or a corporation, (iii) distinct from other communities (where economic activity was primarily geared to meeting the demands of families who worked the land in the locale) in having a variety of crafts and industries which were for a wider market, (iv) with more varied social gradations- head tenants and/or an element of pseudo gentry, unusual trades (e.g. apothecary), in addition to the lower orders who worked on the land and the types of crafts that could be found more commonly elsewhere (e.g. blacksmiths).

¹¹Edward Ledwich, 'Aghaboe', in W.S. Mason ed. *A Statistical Account or Parochial Survey of Ireland*, (Dublin, 1814) p. 15; Carrigan in *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, pp. 47, 51.

The so-called 1659 'census' is a useful starting point in trying to identify the changing concentrations of people in the seventeenth century. Though there are no comparable population figures for the years preceding the rebellion, an analysis of the numbers of English and Irish people recorded as living in each of the 946 townlands and 20 baronies in the two counties enables one to establish the variations in the pattern of settlement.¹²

The number of adult males in each townland varied greatly.¹³ Places with more than 50 adult males (or perhaps 125 people) could be considered as having distinct concentrations and this figure has been used as an index to ascertain where towns existed.¹⁴ There were 20 places in The King's County (18% of the county population), and 26 in The Queen's County (19% of the population) with more than 50 adult males. Few of the sites of towns that had been granted patents were in this category.¹⁵ Just 8 places in the two counties had more than 100 adult males (6 of them already towns: Philipstown, Birr, Maryborough, Mountrath, Ballinakill and Mountmellick).¹⁶ Thus if one uses the 100+ adult male threshold as a crude guide, then 6% of The King's County's and 8% of The Queen's County population lived in an 'urban' environment by c.1660. Some places such as Edenderry (55 adult males) and Abbeyleix (52) were evidently slow to develop, and future major centres (such as Portarlington and Tullamore) do not even feature in the 50+ category.

By using the 1659 'census' figures for English and Irish households one can test the hypothesis that towns tended to have higher concentrations of Protestants and that a certain number (or critical mass) of English settlers was required if a community was to become a town. Some baronies were more anglicized than others; the highest proportion of English being 19% (Tinnehinch, Ballycowen and Geashill), the lowest 10% (Clonisk). Of the 46 townlands with more than 50 adult males, 25 of them had a higher than average

¹²Though it is likely that the surveyors had the tendency to underestimate the number of adult males, particularly those from the native Irish population, it provides more clues about the development of towns and how far the region continued or diverted from the paths that it was following before 1641.

¹³To obtain an idea of the total number of people the figures in the survey I have used a multiplier of 2.5.

¹⁴In a Cork context Flanagan used a multiplier of 3 and suggests that only places with 1000 people (333 adult males) could be considered as towns (of which there were 4 in Cork); places with more than 100 people constituted no more than a village (he found 40). He found that the average settlement size was 210. If one uses the same model then there would only have been one town (Birr) in the two counties and an estimated 70 villages. The average community size was 60 people. It appears therefore that The King's and Queen's Counties lacked large urban centres and had a larger number of very small communities than County Cork in the 1650s, O'Flanagan 'Three Hundred Years of Urban Life'.

¹⁵The changing of townland names makes it difficult to provide accurate estimates, although it does appear that many of the early market centres had either died out or they had never developed into anything resembling an urban centre in the first place.

¹⁶Banagher is not listed among the townland even though it is a borough.

proportion of Protestants while 21 had a proportion below the baronial and county averages (see Appendix 1). This would suggest that communities of this size were not a particularly English-dominated phenomenon. But 6 of the 8 settlements with 100+ adult males had a larger than average number of English (the highest being Mountmellick with English constituting 54% of the people) and these centres continued to be the principal urban foci in the two counties. By contrast the other 2 settlements with 100+ adult males, Graigue and Ballimorler, (both in the barony of Slievemargy), were peculiar in having a very small number of English settlers and they did not develop into towns in the eighteenth century. Though there was a tendency for English Protestants to stick together in small clusters, towns could still develop where they were heavily outnumbered, particularly where there was an active landlord. At Edenderry in 1659 just 5 of the 55 adult males were English, yet by 1700 the town had undergone a dramatic transformation (despite still having a high proportion of Catholics). It would appear that there was far more ethnic segregation in those towns with a higher than usual proportion of English settlers; hence the existence of ghetto-like settlements outside town walls and the use of the term 'Irish town' (see chapter 5.4).

The most striking instance of proprietorial urban improvement before the Rebellion can be found at the town of Birr.¹⁷ When Laurence Parsons acquired part of the territory of Ely O'Carroll in 1620 the area was still recovering from the effects of warfare. Parsons had particular advantages over some of the other settlers. His estate was concentrated into one territorial unit, the land was fertile and had the potential to be further exploited, and the new town sat astride ancient trading thoroughfares and was on a strategically important frontier zone between the two provinces. The creation of Portarlinton, the only entirely new addition to the urban scene in the Restoration period, highlights the many obstacles that landowners faced when they attempted to create a new town in a poor location. Lord Arlington (who was granted the title of the lands forfeited by Lewis, Viscount Clanmalier) had a virtual *carte blanche* in developing his town and faced few of the legal impediments that faced other proprietors in the aftermath of the highly confusing land distribution of the 1650s and 1660s.¹⁸ Yet the town did not take root until after 1690. The non-residence of the proprietor was perhaps the most crucial reason why the early history of this town was so inauspicious. Portarlinton might have had a better start if there were gentlemen's seats in the vicinity to dispense patronage and

¹⁷The best account of the town in this period is, T.L. Cooke, *The Early History of the Town of Birr or Parsonstown*, 2nd ed., 1871).

¹⁸*C.S.P.I.* 1663-1665, p. 220; *ibid.*, 1669-1770 Addenda, p. 250.

magistrates to keep the inhabitants in awe. When Portarlington did have a demesne adjacent to it early in the next century, the town was able to rise above its impoverished beginning and diversify into a centre for education and as a resort.

The most successful urban developments prior to 1690 were based on the coincidence of a number of natural and man-made factors: e.g. local population levels, a reasonably prosperous hinterland and an improving landlord. The re-construction of some urban settlements in the aftermath of war, in which landowners played a key part, serves to highlight those towns which had the strongest foundations.

The Confederate Wars had a devastating impact on many provincial Irish towns.¹⁹ Similarly the losses experienced in the countryside (particularly to individual farmsteads whose livestock and chattels feature so prominently in the Depositions) had a knock-on effect on production, distribution and consumption in towns. On 2 February 1642 William Parsons wrote in his diary that three rebels had tried 'to fire my town, but praised be God the fire was quenched and not about 10 houses burnt'. He had however not seen the last of his enemies, and this midlands strong-hold was to become one of the key fighting grounds during the wars.²⁰ By 1650 his father's principal legacy, the most remarkable planted town in the two counties, lay in ashes.²¹ There is however a danger of ascribing all the problems that towns faced during the following half century to the 1640s. Many of the pre-1641 market centres had never been fully fledged towns and there were few substantial dwellings worth destroying, and those which subsequently declined or disappeared were likely casualties in an increasingly competitive and sophisticated market economy.²² Those towns that had been the most successful and were best located to take maximum advantage of a prosperous hinterland showed the clearest signs of resilience after 1650, even though the physical damage inflicted upon them by siege warfare (e.g. Birr) was often more severe.

¹⁹ Such as Kells (co. Meath); where in a valuation of 1663 41% of the town holdings were described as waste land. Towns on or near the coast had their own particular problems. Bandon for instance suffered moderate physical damage though it lost a great deal of maritime trade and was flooded with refugees. A and K Simms, *Irish Historic Town Atlas: Kells*, (Dublin, 1990), p. 3; P O'Flanagan, *Irish Historic Town Atlas: Bandon*, (Dublin, 1988), p.4.

²⁰ The siege diary of William Parsons, (A/9, Birr Castle), copy in the N.L.I., Ms. 13667.

²¹ By the end of the year long siege Parsons was destitute like all the other inhabitants who were 'very glad to eate the flesh of horses, doggs and catt's' and surrendered to the enemy; the deposition of Joseph Joice (no.84), 1641 Depositions, T.C.D., Mss. 814 (K.C.)

²² Many towns such as Kells had undergone a decline before 1641 (as the new proprietor in the Cromwellian period took pains to point out), and Kildare's geographical disadvantages, particularly the absence of a nearby river to power mills hindered its long term development; A and K. Simms 'Kells', pp. 3-4; J.H. Andrews, *Irish Historic Town Atlas: Kildare*, (Dublin, 1986), p. 4.

By virtue of not having an important garrison (like Athlone or Mullingar), the two counties were not a main theatre of war between 1689 and 1691 and were spared the protracted sieges and pitched battles that afflicted other parts of Ireland. The landscape was dotted with small castles, fortified houses and walled settlements which acted as bases for the daily patrols that set out to intercept rapparees. Intermittently towns and farmsteads were set ablaze, homes looted, cattle rustled and people maimed and killed. One might therefore assume that the pattern of events during the Williamite Wars and their subsequent effects merely mirrored those of 1641. But the nature of warfare had changed dramatically during the intervening years.

Early in 1689 rapparees were particularly active in the west of The King's County and mopping up operations continued well into the winter of 1691. The failure of the Protestant army to secure the bridges over the Shannon meant that the eastern midlands were weakly defended and both the opposing armies and the rapparees could not be contained in Connaught. On the subject of rapparees the Earl of Huntington was informed in 1690 that 'they come in great numbers to our frontier, but the least opposition makes them run like a flock of sheep to the mountains or the bogs where there is no following of them. They have burnt a place called Philipstown in the King's County'.²³

The quartering of troops and the *ad hoc* establishment of garrisons by the local Protestant forces were themselves almost as damaging as the fighting itself. William Edmundson, the noted Quaker from Mountmellick, wrote in 1689 that 'now calamity increased, the rapparees on one hand plundered and spoiled many of the English, and on the other hand the army marching and quartering, took what they pleased from us'.²⁴ The town of Birr remained virtually unscathed until an attack by artillery fire was made on the castle. The town was subsequently looted by the Jacobite forces but the most lasting damage was caused when General Kirk (who came to relieve the town) turned it into a garrison for several thousand men. In the Confederate Wars the smaller scale of fighting and the crudity and scarcity of cannon had meant little more than a series of pot shots at a tower house. By the 1680s changes in technology meant that fortifications could not just be a matter of a wall, ditch and bank surrounding a settlement, they could be of an amazing complexity (as the maps of 1685 by Thomas Philips show), and with a maze of zig-zag walls to minimize the damage of rapid fire. The homes of the townsfolk that

²³Mr. Lonyne to the Earl of Hunts., 15 Nov. 1690, H.M.C. *Hastings Mss.* Vol. IV. (1947), p. 221.

²⁴*A Journal of the Life of William Edmundson: Friends Library (Extracts from journals)*, Vol. 4 (London, 1833), p. 142.

they were meant to protect were often an inconvenience.²⁵ To make room for the fortifications at Birr the houses adjacent to the castle were pulled down and even the hedges, orchards and ditches were levelled to ensure that the artillerymen had a wide range of fire.²⁶

Having been defeated in the field in July 1690 part of the Catholic army disintegrated and turned to guerilla warfare: it was this which generated the most disorder in the two counties. Edmundson commented 'at the Boyne fight, the Irish army being beaten, many of them fled our road, and plundered many in our parts' and 'burned many brave houses, and some towns', especially since 'the English army did not come near us for some time'.²⁷ The eventual arrival of English troops prevented the town of Mountmellick from being fired, and the consolidation of garrisons secured most of The Queen's County from any further urban destruction. By contrast to the west of the two counties much of the damage in 1691 was caused by the English in their attempt to drive the Irish over the Shannon: they 'burned much of the country, that harboured them on this side'.²⁸

It has been suggested that at a national level 'what is remarkable about the 1690s is the speed of recovery from the war'.²⁹ In a sense towns had more to lose between 1689 and 1691 than earlier in the century simply because they had more infrastructure and capital. Of all the principal towns in the two counties the only one in danger of mortal damage as a result of war was Portarlinton, and this because its pre-1689 roots had been so shallow and sickly. Its demise however was prevented by the intervention of a French noble.

The most marked physical change after 1691 was the disappearance of town walls in the smaller urban centres, giving them less of a medieval appearance.³⁰ Thereafter there was no longer a physical distinction between families who lived within and outside the town defences (usually Catholic). Landowners and corporations had now to consider widening their schemes for improvement to prevent untidy dwellings and workshops springing up close to the centre of the town and eroding the orderly and convenient space they had endeavoured to create.

²⁵ Survey by Thomas Philips of the fortifications in Ireland, 1685, N.L.I. Ms. 2557.

²⁶ Piers Wauchope, *Patrick Sarsfield and the Williamite War*, (Dublin, 1992), p. 162.

²⁷ Edmundson, pp. 144-149, 152-159.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

²⁹ R. Gillespie, *The Transformation of the Irish Economy 1500-1700*, (Econ. Soc. Hist. Soc. Ire. 1991), p. 49.

³⁰ From above ground there appears to be little trace of town walls in the two counties. A rough guide to what they might have looked like are the defences at Fethard, Co Tipperary.

The strategic and economic importance of the two county towns gradually declined in the later seventeenth century and it is interesting that the most successful towns were not boroughs. Robert Molesworth's principal estate was situated not far from Dublin at Breckdenstown, yet he took a close interest in the politics and improvements at 'my own towns of Philipstown and Swords'.³¹ Robert and his son John were part of a group known as 'the new Junta for Architecture' which encouraged buildings to be designed in the classical idiom.³² Though there is no evidence of their grandiose schemes being implemented at Philipstown, one does see something of their zeal to improve in the desire to create a more orderly and attractive urban environment. In 1712 Robert wrote:

I told my cousin Adair that I intended Philipstown town street should be planted before the doors with a row [of trees] on each side like a Dutch town, it is a Dutch situation already by reason of the bog and river, and this planting of it with elms or Oaks...(I cause them to be paled in like those in St. James's Park here) would make Philipstown a pleasant town.³³

One visitor in the 1730s commented that it was 'a small but well built town on the skirt of the great Bog of Allen'.³⁴ Maryborough's decline was less pronounced since there were fewer geographical obstacles to its development. Although Molyneux described Maryborough in 1709 as 'a sad dirty town', another traveller noted in the early 1730s merely noted that it was 'at present a town of no great trade'.³⁵

By contrast Birr maintained its ascendant position (in terms of population and economic activity) in the urban hierarchy and was perhaps never less than three times larger than Philipstown during the period. The gravitational pull of Birr was such that no significant urban projects took place anywhere else in The King's County until the early eighteenth century. Birr continued to flourish but by 1760 was no longer the pre-eminent urban centre in the county. It now ranked alongside two other towns which had grown up rapidly in the early eighteenth century: Tullamore in the centre of the county had started

³¹Molesworth's father obtained the townlands through his wife Judith co-heiress of John Byssie, Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer, Robert Molesworth to his wife, 8 Sept. 1692, H.M.C. *Clements Manuscripts and Various Collections*, Vol. VIII (1913), p. 216.

³²E. McParland, 'Edward Lovett Pearce and the New Junta for architecture', in T.C. Barnard and J. Clark eds., *Burlington: Architecture, Art and Life*, (London, 1985), pp. 151-165.

³³ Robert Molesworth to his wife, 16 July 1712, cited above, p. 273.

³⁴ Philipstown, folio of county reports, Lodge Mss, Armagh Public Library.

³⁵ Molyneux's comments on the way to Kerry in 1709, T.C.D. Ms. 883 Vol. 2, p. 129; description of Maryborough in a folio of county reports Lodge Mss, n.d. non-paginated, Armagh Public Library.

to develop when Lord Tullamore made a concerted effort to generate industry by encouraging barracks to be built, introducing entrepreneurial migrants, and building a seat near the town. The fact that Tullamore had become the principal town in The King's County by the last quarter of the century, even though it was the last to develop, is a measure of the pace of changing consumer demands for goods and services at a regional level and a greater diversification in the urban economy. Tullamore continued to thrive in the next century and by 1841 it was larger than any other town in the region (see Table 5.2). Edenderry, in the far east, became one of the chief centres for the manufacture of woollens in the midlands from the 1710s. It is only from the end of the eighteenth century that its relative importance began to decline (see Table 5.2 and chapter 5.4). Map 8 shows the location of the principal urban centres in The King's County by 1760.

In The Queen's County there were four large towns of similar size, and a wider distribution of the urban population than in The King's County. According to the 1659 figures Ballinakill and Mountrath were already larger than the county town, and this gulf was to become wider as Mountmellick and Mountrath (replenished with Quakers) expanded as industrial (especially textile) centres.

The market for iron had recovered somewhat in the 1690s, and local merchants bought and sold iron that came from a number of different locations (and not just the immediate neighbourhood). As adjuncts to these industries the towns of Mountmellick and Mountrath would have benefited from the regular demand for farm and domestic iron goods and the commodities produced by allied trades (e.g. iron tools, leather and basket work); as shown by the number of trade tokens that were struck.³⁶ Molyneux in 1709 commented that Mountmellick was a 'pretty town where are great iron works furnished with the woods from Lord Digby's wood at Killeigh', and that Mountrath was a 'planted English town with very great ironworks'.³⁷ A map of Mountrath in 1740 offers glimpse of the layout and appearance of a town which had benefited from the manufacture and retailing of iron.³⁸ A measure of the long-term economic importance of Mountmellick in particular is the town's population size (relative to the county towns and

³⁶ At least 17 merchants in the two counties (from Birr, Balliboy, Philipstown, Tullamore, Mountmellick, Portarlington, Maryborough and Ballinkill) issued their own money in the Restoration period and the emblems and inscriptions on each coin records the name and sometimes the trade of the issuers. One from Thomas Creed of Mountmellick shows a furnace and tools while others represent chandlers, tanners and boot makers; B. De Breffny, 'Businessmen who issued Tokens in Ireland, 1653-1679', *Irish Ancestor*, Vol. 10, no.1, (1978), pp.51-60.

³⁷ T.C.D. Mss. 833 Vol 2, pp. 108 and 129.

³⁸ Earl of Mountrath's book of maps showing his estates in The King's and Queen's Counties and Rocsommon surveyed by Gareth Hogan in 1740, N.L.I. m/film, P.3427.

other urban centres in the region) just prior to the Great Famine (see Table 5.2). Map 9 shows the location of the principal urban centres in The Queen's County by 1760.

Table 5.2 Towns in The King's and Queen's counties with more than 1000 adult males and females in 1841

Town	Number of adult males and females in 1841
1. Tullamore (K.C.)	6343
2. Birr (K.C.)	6336
3. Mountmellick (Q.C.)	4755
4. Maryborough (Q.C.)	3633
5. Portarlinton (Q.C.)	3106
6. Mountrath (Q.C.)	3000
7. Banagher (K.C.)	2827
8. Edenderry (Q.C.)	1850
9. Ballinakill (Q.C.)	1540
10. Stradbally (Q.C.)	1682
11. Graigue (Q.C.)	1682
12. Philipstown (K.C.)	1489
13. Rathdowney (Q.C.)	1414
15. Frankford (K.C.)	1345
16. Durrow (Q.C.)	1318
17. Clara (K.C.)	1155
18. Shinrone (K.C.)	1054
19. Abbeyleix (Q.C.)	1021

Source: *Census of Ireland for the year 1841*

Although there were important demographic and economic changes between 1641 and 1760 the number of centres which could be said to be important towns (not just places with a patent) rose from 7 to at most 10.³⁹ But if one examines towns in a much broader context and looks at the smaller landlord villages, the relationship between town,

³⁹Maryborough, Philipstown, Ballinakill, Banagher, Birr, Tullamore, Edenderry, Mountmellick, Mountrath and Portarlinton.

demesne and estate, the effects of the expansion of communications (particularly roads and bridges), variations in the manufacture of goods (spinning, weaving, milling and mining), civic and state infrastructure (market houses and barracks), church building and patterns of consumption (rising expenditure by the gentry) then the townscape in The King's and Queen's Counties underwent a dramatic transformation. Landowners were in the vanguard of these developments.

5.2 Proprietorial urban development

The degree of direct gentry involvement in town planning varied greatly. Much depended on whether the bulk of the property in a town was owned by a single landowner or whether it was divided between several individuals, the degree to which the proprietor was resident, the leasehold structure of the property, and a great deal rested on whether the landlord had the ability and necessary resources to participate in town affairs.

In about 1695 'the town of Stradbally was no town, nor even a village, for there were but two stone houses in it and those but about six feet high, and a few mud and wattled walled cabins'. Almost continually from 1700 to the 1730s Dudley Cosby and his son Pole either built or encouraged others to build new stone houses. Among the first was William Dod (Cosby's butler), who 'built the house that is two stories high on the south east corner of the market house' in 1698. Not all of the dwellings were as respectable. There was a hierarchy ranging from Joseph Partridge's '2 very good large stone houses' in 1722/3; 'the long low stone house of Arthur Roberts through to 'other smaller houses not worth mentioning' that Pole Cosby put up in 1730, and 'those dog holes of houses (I pulled these houses down July 1766) in the lane going up to the abbey', erected between 1726 and 1730 by Mr. Mitchell.³⁸

Artificers and traders were brought into the town from elsewhere. Partridge for instance, was a tanner from Maryborough who was given a lease of lives renewable forever. The case of Israel Mitchell highlights the mutuality of interests as well as the tensions between landlord and middlemen. He was a clothier from Meath Street in Dublin (possibly a Quaker) who happened to visit Stradbally to buy wool for business; according to Cosby, he became acquainted with his father and made an agreement for some holdings and promised to set up a woollen manufactory at Stradbally in 1698, 'but all he did towards it (which was nothing)' was 'brought down all his own goods that he co'd not sell, and made the Porch his shop and when he sold all that he had brought down then he kept no more shop but shut it up and so ended the woollen manufactory that he talked and promised so much to my father'.³⁹ Mitchell did not leave the town, but turned his attention to property development instead. In 1714 he built his own dwelling near the site of the old abbey re-using some of the materials; then through the 1720s he put up practically all the houses on one of the streets leading out of the town (which were of an inferior quality). The landlord acted as town planner by erecting better quality houses and bridges in a slower and

³⁸ Cosby Autobiog., pp.88 and 171.

³⁹ Ibid. p. 89.

more piece-meal manner in key areas next to the church and the market place.⁴⁰ In 1728 Cosby built 'the front part of Mr. Nun's house next the church, and in 1735 I made one part a double house, built the stable and the coach house, and in 1737 I finished it all completely'.⁴¹

It seems that only in a minority of instances were towns laid out as a single coherent entity by one particular landowner within a short space of time. At Stradbally, direct and indirect methods of planning were employed simultaneously and this had many advantages. Though Cosby is very critical of Mitchell, the middleman was in a position to erect far more dwellings than the landlord, to encourage craftsmen to settle and give an added momentum to the town's development. Cosby was far wealthier but (like so many other landowners) lacked ready cash, and his expenditure on new houses was a drain on the estate income, especially as he was heavily in debt and needed to allocate funds for other competing uses (e.g his own seat, household and hospitality) commensurate with his status.⁴² As Mitchell benefited more and more from his investment in the plots of land (taken on long leases) his relations with his landlord became more acrimonious. In 1732 Cosby decided to build a new corn mill; in damming and altering an existing watercourse he reduced the flow to a mill down-stream that he had leased to Capt. Mitchell (Israel's son). A law suit was taken against Cosby and the wrangling over a two-year period made Pole very bitter; 'I cant abide, a selfish creeping poor hearted fellow...every halfpenny he has he esteems part of his soul'.⁴³

By about 1716 trade in the town had picked up enough for Dudley Cosby to 'set the customs of the fairs and markets of Stradbally for £12 per an which before he used to get but £5 and £6 per anm for'.⁴⁴ Physically the town had changed noticeably within three decades, and both the estate painting and the demesne map c.1740 depict neat rows of houses on both sides of the high road.⁴⁵ In a letter to his son and heir in 1760 he looks back over his achievements: 'How many 1000's have I laid out in this place...18 two storey houses have been built, two mills which cost me £700, the charter house [school], etc., a fine burial place for my family and several more lesser

⁴⁰ Ibid. pp. 171-172.

⁴¹ Ibid. pp. 170-172.

⁴² Dudley's financial circumstances were so bad that he had to go into the army and he alienated part of the estate. Pole inherited an estate that was encumbered by a debt and had to live in Bristol for a period to retrench. This is all described in the letter to his son, (Dudley Alexander Sydney) 1 Jan. 1760, Stradbally Hall Mss, T.3829/H/3.

⁴³ In 1762 Mitchell is still active and Cosby inserted a new life in a lease (for lives renewable forever, in consideration of a fine of £5) for 20 acres and a dwelling house in Stradbally; indenture of 12 July 1762, Stradbally Hall Mss., P.R.O.N.I. classification, T.3829/C/3.

⁴⁴ Cosby Autobiog. p.170.

⁴⁵ 'A mapp of the domain of Stradbally belonging to Pole Cosby Esq.' surveyed by Phelan, Jan. 1740, Stradbally Hall Mss. T.3829/E/2.

houses.⁴⁶ Richard Pococke visited Stradbally on his 1753 tour and commented that it was a 'small market town in a well improved country'.⁴⁷

The town of Durrow in the south of the county was developed in a similar way at about the same time. It appears that the main impetus for William Flower to start laying out the town was his outright purchase of lands from the Duke of Ormonde's trustees in 1708. Flower's leases of plots of land were for between 21 and 41 years, renewable thereafter on condition that between £12 and £20 was spent on the construction of a house. Four main streets and a square were laid out (Kennys St., Queen's St., Mill St. and Barton's Lane), and as with Stradbally the most prestigious leaseholds were for those plots adjoining the market square and the church. Three-storey houses were erected on the north side of the square at Durrow; the handsome houses c.1716 nearest to St. Fintan's Church are still standing. Nicholas Langton, a merchant, held a plot known as Langton's Court in 1708 (about 220 by 100 feet) for 31 years, and was required to build within 2 years; William Budd's lease in the same year (for a plot 300 by 150 feet) was for 41 years at a rent of £2.10s and it was stipulated that he had to build a house of limestone 46 long, 16 feet wide and 8 feet high at a cost of at least £12 in the first three years.⁴⁸

There were numerous tradesmen in Durrow ranging from the apothecary, Hugh Bathorn, to brewers, maltsters, weavers, tailors, shoe makers and stone cutters who appear in household bills as well as the leases.⁴⁹ The milling of corn and manufacture of coarse woollen cloth were among the main industries in the town towards which Flower laid out at least £170 on between 1721 and 1722.⁵⁰ Like Stradbally, the seat and town were inextricably connected. Flower's new house was directly linked to the market square by a tree lined avenue.

Stradbally and Durrow are just two of a number of lesser towns of which very little is known, a group which includes Rathdowney, Castletown, Timohoe, Donoughmore, Geashill, Kilcommin, Frankfort, Dunkerrin, Shinrone and Shannonbridge (many of which given market and fair patents between 1692 and 1760). In addition there were a number of new industrial centres which had some urban features.

Newtown-Hartpole was an adjunct to the collieries set up by the Hartpole family on the town lands of Doonane and one of a group of settlements (which

⁴⁶Stradbally Hall Mss. T.3829/H/3.

⁴⁷John Mc Veigh ed., *Richard Pococke's Irish Tours* (Dublin, 1995), p.132.

⁴⁸143 leases issued by the Flower family between 1708 and 1804 are at St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, from which the two extracts are taken, E. O'Brien, *An Historical and Social Diary of Durrow*, pp. 15-16.

⁴⁹Leases to Haslam, Costigan, Evans, Lodge, Bathorn. Flower Papers, N.L.I., D. 20, 292-20,348

⁵⁰Laying out £85. 11. 11d on both occasions, Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,466 (1721) and 11,463 (2) (1722).

included Clogh and Castlecomer) clustering around the coal seams in the south-eastern corner of The Queen's County and the north of County Kilkenny. When Sir Robert Hartpole died in 1678 he left 'a remarkable good colliery' and it was one of the few places in Ireland where mining activity actually intensified in the eighteenth century.⁵¹ On a tour through this area in 1709 Molyneux passed the 'the marks of a multitude of old pits quite exhausted' in Kilkenny and arrived:

at the Queen's county where at the place called Donan on the very borders of the county stand the other coal pitts belonging to Mr. Hartpole, this colliery seems to be much better than the Lord Castle Comer the coal tho a mile and a half off is much the same but not so brittle. The number of pitts going now are four'.⁵²

In the 1730s Robert Hartpole 'did enlarge and add greatly to the value' of the collieries by constructing a 'fire engine' reputedly at a cost of £1100-1200 (and as a result raised the income from £400 to £1000 per annum).⁵³

The colliery accounts for Clogh owned by the neighbouring Vigors family give a glimpse of the type of operations carried out at Doonane. Between 1711 and 1715 33,647 barrels were raised by gangs whose wages and output were carefully recorded on separate columns of the balance sheet. As well as disbursements on sinking new pits, building boats and maintaining the plant (such as 'leather for the pumpe chayne') there were other costs which would have benefited the locality such as 'keeping up the banks at the water course', and 'making and repairing road'.⁵⁴

It is difficult to assess the degree of social and political cohesiveness of the families who lived and worked next to these industries.⁵⁵ A series of workmen's huts

⁵¹The case of George Hartpole, miscellaneous notes for a lawyers brief c.1760, Hartpole Papers, T.C.D. Mss. 1933 (deed 301); L.M. Cullen, *The Emergence of Modern Ireland*, (Dublin, 1981), p. 41. I am grateful to Prof. Cullen (T.C.D.) for bringing these documents to my attention.

⁵² A journey to Connaught in April 1709, T.C.D. Mss. 883 Vol. 2 p.96; Daniel Beaufort commented that the coals from Doonane were preferred to those from Castlecomer 'which brings a good price in Dublin', *Memoir of a Map of Ireland* (London, 1792), p.59.

⁵³ Two thirds of Harpole's £902.11.0 rental recieved in 1712 (£600) came from the colliery at Doonane. This fascinating contraption appears to have been a pump which served to 'free or disincumber the works thereof under the ground from water'. It was a prominent landmark in the county and the tall tower of the engine was considered as noteworthy as the seats and churches and is depicted on both the Grand Jury map c.1765 and Taylor and Skinner's road map of 1783, a report on Hartpole debts, May 1712, T.C.D. Mss. 1993 (deed 193); Oliver Sloane's map of The Queen's County c.1765, N.L.I., map 16.H.19; Taylor and Skinner, *Maps of the Roads of Ireland*, (Dublin, 2nd ed. 1783), p. 136.

⁵⁴ Colliery accounts of the Vigors family of Derrymore (Q.C.) 3 July 1711 to 3 April 1715, Vigors Papers, Carlow County Library, (N.L.I. m/film, n.6447, p. 7629.

⁵⁵On the Taylor and Skinner map single black rectangles (which denote road side dwellings and inns) line both sides of a long length of the Dublin to Athy road which cuts through the Doonane pits, whereas the physical extent of towns are shown by solid blocks of print on a short piece of road (or high street) or crossroads, Taylor and Skinner, *Maps of the Roads of Ireland*, (Dublin, 2nd ed. 1783), p. 136.

hardly constitute a town but it was a distinct community nevertheless. Jonah Barrington described the election he contested at Ballinakill in 1790: 'a cry was heard that the whole colliery was coming down from Donane, about ten miles off...seven or eight hundred colliers entered it with colours flying and pipers playing, their faces blackened, and a more tremendous assemblage was scarce ever seen'.⁵⁶

In defining more accurately the role of landlords one has to take into account the large number of Protestant non-conformists, particularly Quakers, who were drawn to certain towns. The question remains as to whether it was these 'industrious' dissenters, usually drawn from the middling orders, rather than the Protestant gentry who should take the credit for contributing most to the prosperity of these midland towns, or whether the landlords role in providing the conditions that enabled them to thrive in the first place was more critical.

5.3 Landlords and dissenters

The evidence relating to the Quakers of of Edenderry in The King's County provides an interesting comparison to the studies that have been made of similar communities in Dublin, Cork and Ulster.⁵⁷ It is unclear why a relatively large number of Quakers chose originally to settle in certain towns in The King's and Queen's counties (e.g. Mountmellick, Philipstown, Ballinakill, Rosenallis and Edenderry).⁵⁸ As with the English Protestant settlers one can understand the motivations of individuals who arrived because they already had friends or family living in the county. For instance Joseph Gill mentions in his journal that he first came over to Ireland from his native Cumberland c.1697 and was drawn to Edenderry because 'my Dear friend Thomas Wilson' and members of the Bewley family lived there.⁵⁹ But what encouraged the *very* first Quakers?

There is no evidence of direct gentry patronage and the 'Records of Suffereings' from the 1650s shows that many endured considerable hardship. The local magistracy distrained household chattels and fined or gaoled many 'friends' for refusal to pay tithes (see chapter 6.4).⁶⁰ The proprietor of Mountrath, Charles Coote,

⁵⁶ Jonah Barrington, *Personal Sketches of His own Times*, (London, 1827), Vol. 1, p. 48.

⁵⁷ T.C. Barnard, 'Identities, Ethnicity and Tradition among Irish Dissenters c. 1650-1750', in Kevin Herlihy ed. *The Irish Dissenting Tradition 1650-1750*, (Dublin, 1995), pp. 34-35; J.H. Agnew, 'The Merchant Community of Belfast 1660-1707', (PhD., The Queen's University of Belfast, 1994), pp. 92-95.

⁵⁸ There might also have been a community of Quakers at Birr. A 6 inch-mile map of Birr shows a Quaker burial ground, Nat. Arch. Ire., OS-140 BIRR.

⁵⁹ He only stayed for two weeks because he 'did not like the country nor its busseness', and moved to Dublin, an indication that the town was already conspicuous for its woollen manufacturers; Journal of Joseph Gill, Ms. 134, The Friends Historical Library.

⁶⁰ 'Records of Sufferings', (Mountmellick), 1656-1686, G2 and M.M.V.G.*1, The Friends Historical Library, Dublin.

Lord President of Connaught, was a key political figure in the 1650s and a most entrenched defender of the Protestant interest.⁶¹ Yet Mountrath became one of the principal Quaker communities in the Midlands and it is very likely that the Quakers received some assistance from members of certain gentry families at this critical stage (whether it be in the form of shielding them from persecution or actively encouraging them to settle on their lands). This underlines the contradictions in the Anglican gentry's attitude towards dissent (see chapter 7.3). The political and religious animosity towards Protestant non-conformists in Restoration years and later cannot be read back into the fluid environment of the 1650s. In later years such animosity was relaxed if it was felt that non-conformist numbers and activities could be tightly controlled and channelled into activities where there was a shortage of skilled workers and of some benefit to the country as a whole. This degree of control was more likely to be achieved in a small 'landlord town' than in the capital or the major ports.

It has been noted that dissenters were more likely to settle in the already established Protestant and anglophone areas: hence the main meeting houses were in Dublin and west Leinster. An examination of Quaker registers shows that a great many of them originally came over to Ulster in the 1650s and then moved to The King's or Queen's counties. Thomas Beale, born in Suffolk, moved to County Down in 1652 where he had three children, but he moved onto The King's County where he had another child.⁶² By the 1680s the Quakers have become much more close knit and can be identified as distinct local communities as shown by the practice of endogamy. A sample of 100 marriages of Quakers in Mountmellick between 1674 and 1737 shows that 82% (or 163) of the partners were from the two counties.⁶³ At Ballinakill 14 Quaker families remained the backbone of the community between 1663 and 1768.⁶⁴ Since the Quakers who arrived in Ireland were by no means drop outs (they tended to be artificers, shop-keepers and craftsmen) they were in a better

⁶¹ Commenting upon corporations in the west of Ireland in 1661 he wrote 'I had some experience of the dangerous consequences of permitting any considerable number of Anabaptists or other fanatics, to dwell in garrisons of importance'. If this is representative of his views towards dissenters in general then one would not have expected him to have welcomed Quakers on to own estates with open arms. His second son, the second Earl, may have been more tolerant; Earl of Mountrath to Secretary Nicholas, 16 Sept. 1661, *C.S.P.I.* 1660-1662, p.423.

⁶² Similarly John Edmundson came to Ulster in 1652 and settled in The Queen's County five years later, Quaker records, monthly meeting accounts for Dublin and the province of Leinster (Dublin, Moate, Mountmellick, Newgarden, Wexford and Wicklow), alphabetical list, (Beale and Pim), N.L.I, microfilm P.5530.

⁶³ And the surnames which appear on the long lists of witnesses that usually accompany Quaker marriage deeds occur repeatedly; Mountmellick marriage lists 1674-1737, G.2, Friends Historical Library, Dublin.

⁶⁴ Ballinakill family lists c.1663-1768, M.M.V.M., Friends Historical Library, Dublin.

position than the lower orders to support large families and thus ensure their survival.⁶⁵

Whether it was through being able to exploit an underdeveloped local market in a settled and affluent part of Leinster or because of the support of the local gentry, the Quakers were extremely successful in carving out a niche for themselves in a relatively short period. A variety of crafts and industrial activities, as has been shown above, had long been established at a number of the towns in which they settled and there is the temptation to credit the Quakers for every kind of innovation that took place.⁶⁶ But Quakers were also very adept at flourishing in less promising surroundings. Philipstown did not have a prosperous hinterland and this might have been why Viscount Molesworth was so keen for them to introduce manufactures in the town. At Edenderry c.1716 Mr. Meredyth, the agent of Blundell (who owned the town), admitted that the town's recent success was almost entirely due to the enterprise of the Quakers and not to the landlord, 'Pim and Williams are the men that the improvement of Edenderry are most owing to'.⁶⁷ And revealingly in 1720 he argues, 'I will venture to say if you [Blundell] had not been so inactive your town of Edenderry [would] had been far better than it is'.⁶⁸

In the 1720s contemporaries put the number of inhabitants at Edenderry at between 1000 and 1400: 'the chief of them in respects of trade are Pim, Bewly, Fry, Williams, Eves, Rook, Baily, Hemsly, Twyford and Matthews'(all Quakers).⁶⁹ Four of them specialised in woollen manufacture, particularly 'worsteds, stuffs, camblets, drugets and serges'. Pim, Williams and Twyford employed 200 townsfolk alone, and though their initial success could be seen as being an urban phenomenon since towns were the distribution points of goods, their influence soon stretched beyond town. These three men also employed over 1000 people in the countryside and must have had a considerable impact on the local economy. Garret Misset, the rent collector for Blundell, reported in 1722 that 'all these [the craftsmen] must make a considerable consumption', and the inhabitants were 'building stone houses in the town and about

⁶⁵ E.g. Thomas Beale had eight children and between 1664 and 1686. John Pim had 10 children who all settled nearby, N.L.I., microfilm, P. 5530.

⁶⁶ Twenty years before the Quakers arrived at Mountmellick Sir Robert Loftus had already been given 'a license to keep a tan house or tan yard for tanning hides', and the Quakers successfully expanded these operations. Walter Harris, the noted historian, was said to have been the a son of a tanner at Mountmellick and his father had sufficient funds to send him to school and university. Mountmellick and Mountrath were already famed for their collieries and iron works; license given in 1631, 'Abstract of charters and grants'; Harris, 'Collectanea De Rebus Hibernicus', *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 6 (1934), p. 248.

⁶⁷ Mr. Meredyth to Blundell, 16 March 1716, 'Abstracts of Mr. Meredyth's letters 1707-1719, book I, (Edenderry)', Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I.D.607/A/11.

⁶⁸ Mr. Ducasse to Blundell, 28 Jan. 1720, 'Correspondence relating to the Edenderry estate 1719-1726, letter book (extracts) II', D.607/A/12.

⁶⁹ Mr. Ducasse to Blundell, 28 Jan 1720, D.607/A/12.

the town.⁷⁰ The manufactory flourishes, the people do not seem to be as poor as they pretend, the Quakers do thrive prodigiously'.⁷¹ At the same time in Philipstown John Pim 'last market day began to set his trade a going in this town by bringing a quantity of wool, which he distributed amongst the poor to be spun, to the great satisfaction of all the county and increase of the market'.⁷² Some of the goods would be absorbed by the county: in 1707 and 1713 tradesmen's bills from Abbey Leix show payments to Quakers for pairs of gloves.⁷³

As well as being industrious, Quakers endeavoured to promote honest business practices (as can be seen in their writings) and to be informed by a broad social conscience, but there is evidence that their presence in Edenderry was not to the benefit of all sections of the local population. Far from creating a 'trickle down effect' they may have unwittingly created an even wider gulf between the 'haves' and 'have nots' and to have contributed to a more pronounced Catholic/Protestant division of society. Heartened by glowing reports of the town, Blundell felt that since Edenderry was so populous and with such profits being made by the chief inhabitants, he in turn could increase his fortune by raising the rents. 'The more buildings there are made, and the greater number of persons reside in the town, the more your estate will become... this is a wonderful spirit we have gott into the people to build and improve'.⁷⁴ But those not employed in the woollen industry, particularly Catholics, may not have benefited. It was noted that most of the tenants in the manor 'make their rents of black cattle, sheep, wool, butter, cheese and corn'.⁷⁵ Ducasse, an agent, wrote in 1722, 'I find the people of that countrey very cunning and undermining...I do not value their complaints, for the land being so near a populous town, they may easily pay the rent out of it, as a proof of what I say Mr. Hatchman [a wealthy individual] sold his interest to 5 acres for 5 Guineas'.⁷⁶ By contrast the agent with first hand experience, the rent collector, gives a rather different picture, 'the scarcity of mony and the badness of markets occasions the rents to come in slowly', and 'as for arreas there will never be much of it got in because the parties are either dead or beggars'.⁷⁷

The poorest Catholics were seen by Blundell and his agents as the root cause of social problems, particularly the unruly behaviour in the town which was a regular

⁷⁰ Mr. Misset gives a detailed account of the state of the town to Blundell on, 5 May 1722, D.607/A/12.

⁷¹ Ducasse to Blundell, 19 July 1722, D.607/A/12.

⁷² Lord Ferrard and Hon. Thomas Coote to Viscount Molesworth, 28 Feb. 1720, H.M.C. *Clements Mss and Various Collections*, Vol. VIII., 1913, p. 397.

⁷³ May 1707, 'to Jewune the Quaker for gloves', miscellaneous accounts 1701-1708, £1, 17sh; 'for Mrs. Flower to a Quaker £4, 2 sh, De Vesci Papers, N.L.I., J/2, J/3.

⁷⁴ Ducasse to Blundell, 28 Jan. 1720, D.607/A/12.

⁷⁵ Misset to Blundell, 5 May 1722, D.607/A/12.

⁷⁶ Ducasse to Blundell, 19 July 1722, D.607/A/12.

⁷⁷ Misset to Blundell, ? April 1723, and 16 June 1724, D.607/A/12.

source of complaint. In writing to their master the agents took pains to document the successes of the Quakers but they also had to admit that 'the inhabitants are numerous but much given to drinking and debauchery', exacerbated because 'they have no magistrate to keep them in awe'.⁷⁸ It was noted in 1722 that there were '4 inns two of them tolerable, 5 ale houses, 3 or 4 wine and brandy sellers' in the town.⁷⁹ It was felt that the best way of tackling the problem was simply to remove the non-essential Catholics from the town lands by charging exorbitant rents and, where possible, to prevent them from becoming tenants anywhere on the estate. In 1721 Blundell wrote, 'I recommend to him [Misset] to clear the town of papists, except the few that are at the head of the manufactures and must be encouraged for the good of the town'.⁸⁰ In practice this was not an easy task since Protestant tenants were relatively scarce and there was a reluctance to part with good tenants, even if they happened to be Catholics. It was recognised that 'it is our misfortune in this kingdom that trade and manufactures cant be carried on without them, such a great majority of the poor being of that persuasion'.⁸¹

Economic prosperity largely based upon a narrow group of products (in this case woollen stuffs) could be transitory, especially if it was guided by the less predictable push and pull of market forces outside the county. There was always the danger that the town and indeed the whole neighbourhood would be adversely effected when fierce competition or a general lack of demand brought production to a standstill. The hey-day of the town seems to have been in the the first half of the eighteenth century. By 1800 Edenderry's fortunes were, according to observers, at a very low ebb.⁸²

The greatest benefits of the woollen boom were garnered by the leading Quakers themselves. Baily's house, which was described as 'the best at Edenderry, contains an old house, back house and two good large gardens well fenced in'.⁸³ By the 1750s they were making substantial property transactions. 'Mr. Wilson' settled his son in the house where John Pymm formerly lived, what son is lately married and got fifteen hundred pounds fortune', and a wood near Edenderry was sold to 'one

⁷⁸ Ducasse to Blundell, 19 July 1722, D.607/A/12.

⁷⁹ Misset to Blundell, 5 May 1722, D.607/A/12.

⁸⁰ Blundell to Misset, 23 May 1721, D.607/A/12.

⁸¹ Ducasse to Blundell, 28 Jan. 1720, D.607/A/12.

⁸² Edward Wakefield mentions in 1812 that the Quakers at Mountmellick are still employed in the manufacture of muslin. In the 1840s the Quakers had survived and were 'chiefly engaged in the retail trades', and 30 families were employed in the manufacture of worsteds, but 'almost the town and neighbourhood were in a deplorable condition'. Lewis mentions that there were 214 houses on one main street 'well built and rapidly improving', which suggests that the town might have picked up again in the early nineteenth century; Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland: Statistical and Political*, (London, 1812), p. 707; *Parliamentary Gazetteer*, pp. 170-1; *Topographical Dictionary*, pp.594-595.

⁸³ Ducasse to Blundell, 17 Feb 1725, D.607/A/12.

Goodbody a Quaker for 4 hundred and ten pounds'.⁸⁴ The profits that were made in this town were by no means unique, 'Henderson' from Mountmellick (who moved to Phillipstown) was described as 'an eminent Quaker and esteemed rich'.⁸⁵ Among the best town plots at Mountrath in 1740 were those held by Quakers. Two members of the Pim family alone held around 19% of the total street frontage and a meeting house was built adjacent to their holdings.⁸⁶

Having succeeded in Edenderry by the beginning of the eighteenth century some of the head Quakers went on to set up shop elsewhere. In geographical terms the general configuration of the Quaker settlements in The King's and Queen's Counties remains constant (right up to the end of the eighteenth century) but the changing economic circumstances and the migration of families within the region meant that relative importance of each community could change significantly. Furthermore the expansion of their business enterprises created a number of what could be called satellite communities. Tullamore for instance could not be described as being a strong Quaker community, yet a number of entrepreneurial emigrants arrived from neighbouring Mountmellick and Edenderry after 1715 just when the town began to develop, and dominated trade in the town until the 1780s. It appears that the town's proprietor, Lord Tullamore, encouraged the settlement of Quakers along with the establishment of an army barracks as a formula for kick-starting the economy of the town. Many of the earliest leases for buildings are to Quakers and Thomas Wilson from Edenderry, whom we have already encountered, leased a large house in Tullamore in 1750 for a pepper corn rent with the proviso that he carry on the woollen and linen manufactures in the town.⁸⁷ Because Quakers were so adept at diversifying and at recognising new opportunities (e.g. after 1750 tanning and linen in Tullamore), their movement within a county had an important impact on the changing fortunes of different towns.

The strong familial and business connections that existed between Quakers in the two counties and their Dublin brethren meant that there must have been considerable traffic between capital and county, which further complicates our religious and social map of the region. The Dublin woollen merchant Anthony Sharp purchased a house at Killinure from Thomas Sharkey of Abbeyleix in about 1680, and

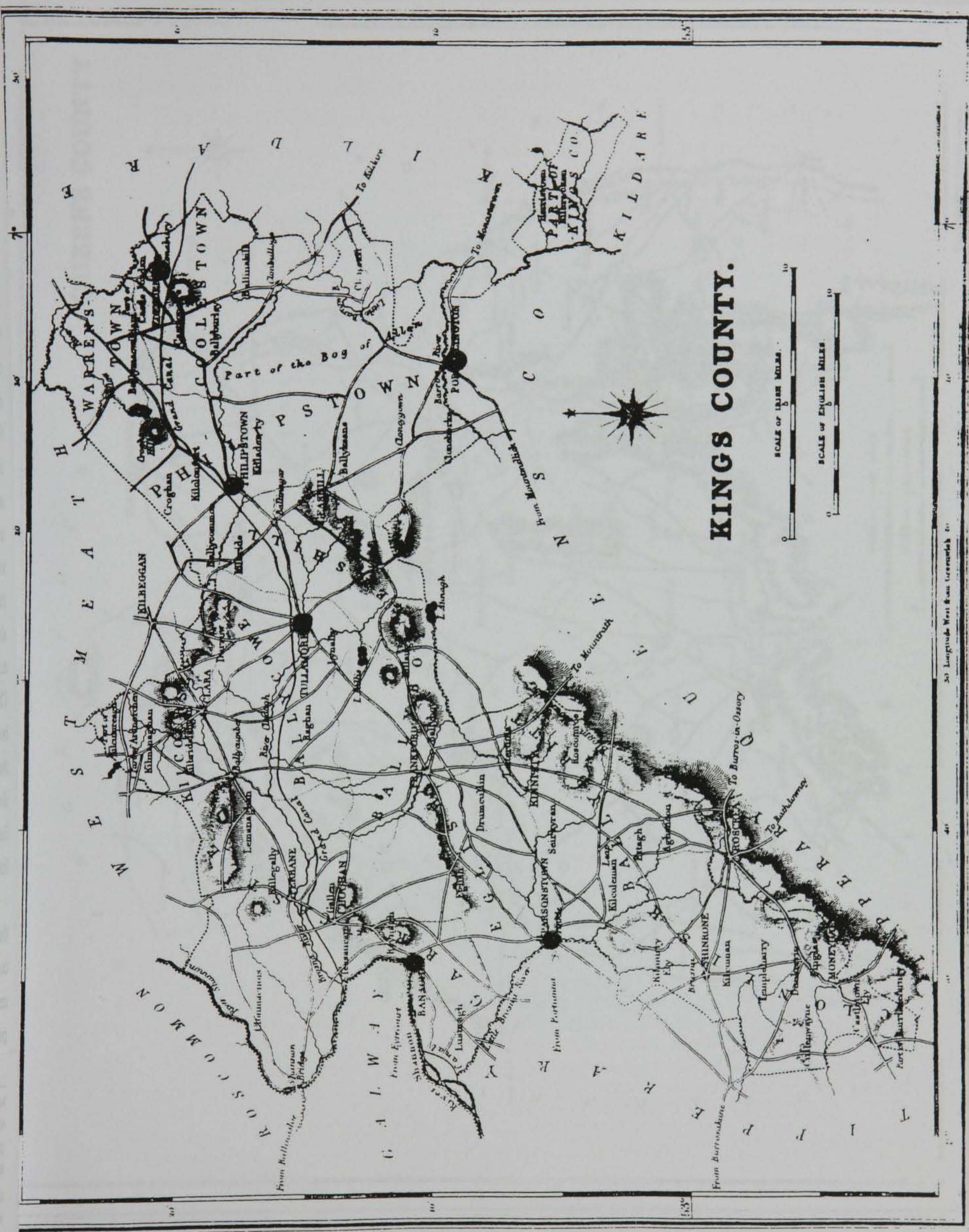
⁸⁴ Mr. Hatch to Blundell, 5 May 1755, D.607/A/23.

⁸⁵ Lord Clements and Hon. Thomas Coote to Viscount Molesworth, , H.M.C. *Clements Mss and Various Collections*, Vol. VIII (1913), p.397.

⁸⁶ The map also indicates that the plots of land on the Quaker side of the town had few houses lining the street frontage (whereas on the other side of the market square the street frontages are much narrower with an almost unbroken line of buildings) this suggests that their houses were substantial and were surrounded by gardens or it could be that their holdings were still underdeveloped, N.L.I. m/film, P.3427.

⁸⁷ For an analysis of the development of linen works, Michael Byrne, 'The Development of Tullamore 1700-1921', (M.Litt., T.C.D., 1979), pp. 41-55.

Map of Lewis' map of The King's County c. 1845 showing the main urban centres



KINGS COUNTY.

SCALE OF IRISH MILES.

SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES.

settled a number of co-religionists there in a settlement which became known as Friendstown, while still carrying on with his trade in the Liberties of Dublin.⁸⁸

Although the Quakers were known for their insistence on modest dress and deportment, there is evidence that the very wealthiest Quakers, by acquiring land, started to behave in some measure like the Anglican gentry. Quakers often owned domestic dwellings substantial enough to be named (e.g. Thomas Wilson lived at 'Mount Wilson' and Anthony Sharp's grandson built a splendid seat in about 1750 which was renamed 'Roundwood').⁸⁹ Far from being sneered at, some of the Quakers were being absorbed into county society. When Pole Cosby made a journey to see relations in 1729, he stayed the night with 'Mr. Coopers the Quakers at Sragh', probably the same family who gave the name to 'Cooper's Hill', at which a farmhouse is mentioned on a map c.1765.⁹⁰ The impression is that the Protestant elite in both counties realised that the Quakers helped to bring about local prosperity (and higher rents), so they encouraged them wherever they could, on occasions socialised with them. Though non-conformists they were seen as a bulwark against the Catholic population.

Entrepreneurs like Pym and Sharp had material aspirations to acquire large comfortable homes with plots of land near the towns where they were involved in manufacture, but they did not simply ape the existing landed settlers. Similarly, the acquisition of land by dissenting merchants in Cork and Belfast (many of them Quakers) enhanced their status; yet they tended to buy lands primarily for investment and as part of their business portfolios, rather than as an alternative to their original trade.⁹¹ This might have made them less threatening to the Irish Protestant landowners who endeavoured to preserve the status quo and consolidate their own estates. The repeated use of the label 'Quaker' by King's and Queen's county landlords (whether it be in the context of account books, rentals, maps or correspondence) is revealing since the word conjured up in the minds of contemporaries the likely appearance, profession, commercial ethics, and social

⁸⁸ One might presume that the 'Anthony Sharp' who bought the property near Mountmellick was the woollen merchant (b. 1643) who arrived in Dublin in 1669 and by c.1680 was employing c.500 people and who lived at 'Wormwood Gate'. Alternatively it could be a relative of the same name from Mountmellick. But there is no doubt that there was considerable traffic between Dublin and the counties. In 1697 for instance 'Anthony Sharp' attended a Cork meeting and had 'come about business', see 'Records of Friends Travelling in Ireland, 1656-1765', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, Vol. X (1912-1913), p.164; Olive C. Goodbody, 'Anthony Sharp, Wool Merchant, 1643-1707' and the Quaker Community in Dublin', *J. Friends Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XLVIII (1956-8), pp. 38-50.

⁸⁹ For a description and drawings of see, Maurice Craig, *Classic Irish Houses of the Middle Size* (London, 1976), pp. 10,20-21, 23, 110-112.

⁹⁰ Cosby Autobiog. p. 177; Map of The Queen's County by Oliver Sloane c.1765, N.L.I., 16.H.19 (2).

⁹¹ The Quaker Abraham Rathcormack who laid out a fine house and garden c.1756 near the city of Cork yet remained committed to his trade, The Diary of Joshua Wright, 1752-1756, Friend's Library, Ms. R.M.4/sh.p/3, cited by D. Dickson, 'An Economic History of the Cork Region', p. 130.

norms of an individual and not just his form of worship. This contrasted with other dissenters such as Presbyterians who might have conformed more easily to the attitudes and behaviour of Anglican gentlemen. What began as a just a term of abuse becomes accepted as a means of differentiating someone from Catholic and Protestant and suggests that they were always seen as a distinct group. They were part of the 'Protestant interest' but not members of the Protestant gentry order.

The Quakers in Edenderry flourished without having an active patron, nor the most energetic of 'improving landlords', but one must not under-estimate the less obvious ways in which Blundell assisted them, nor the fact that (as in the case of his dealings with Catholics) he could make life very difficult for them. With the aid of advice and regular reports from his agents on the ability, wealth, character, and of course the religion of various townsmen, the landlord could exert considerable influence over town affairs in his choice of tenants. Blundell's property was not just let on the basis of who could offer the most rent but on who would make the most positive contribution to the property (by planting and improving) and to the town in general. The Quakers in Edenderry were given top priority, for instance in 1720 plots of land were let to 'one Pym a Quaker ...at 20 sh an acre Tho the others pay 28, and we believe it would be better to let him have them for a song than to loose him'.⁹² In return, by leasing at a favourable rent to 'a verry improving tenant worthy of encouragement', such as Baily, he was obliged by his lease to 'make stone bridges...set up handsome Gates of oak and to fence and plant them with forrest trees which will be an exceeding ornament to the town'.⁹³ Similarly at Philipstown it was said in 1720 that the 'Quakers reckon themselves to be much obliged to you [Molesworth] that they will endeavour to people your town'.⁹⁴ Perhaps similar rent agreements existed in the 1650s and 1660s, which would suggest that an element of the gentry in the two counties were among the first landowners in Ireland to recognise the benefits (or rather the mutuality of interests) of having Quakers on their estates.

Townsmen pressed Blundell to petition parliament to make Edenderry into a corporation since, 'being without dispute a more considerable town than the best half of the corporated towns of this kingdom', the inhabitants were prepared to 'bear [sic] part of the charges of gitting [sic] the charter'.⁹⁵ Similarly he was requested to set up a market house and a school house, and to encourage the building of a horse barrack. This demonstrates that despite the wealth of the head Quakers, the key decisions and

⁹² Ducasse to Blundell, 28 Jan. 1720, D.607/A/12.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Lord Ferrard and Hon. Thomas Coote to Viscount Molesworth, 28 Feb. 1720, H.M.C *Clements Manuscripts and Various Collections*, Vol. VIII (1913), p.397.

⁹⁵ Ducasse to Blundell, 27 Sept. 1718, D.607/A/12; Ducasse to Blundell, 19 July 1722, D.607/A/12.

improvements could only be made with the authority, high-level Dublin contacts, and resources of the landlord.

Though the well documented Huguenot settlement at nearby Portarlington has received more attention than any of the other French refugee communities in Ireland on account of its uniqueness, it is worth reconsidering briefly because it provides such a stark contrast to the Quakers and their relationship with the landlord at Edenderry.⁹⁶ It was the only Huguenot colony set up where the French initially constituted the dominant majority over the Irish population. Elsewhere in Ireland like the Quakers, they were minorities in usually long established anglophone communities.⁹⁷

At Edenderry the original impetus to local industry came from the dissenters who for a variety of reasons had come to settle there and once they had shown their worth they were given further encouragement by a sympathetic landlord. At Portarlington the reverse is true. The first French veterans had no choice as to where they would be planted. In fact, Portarlington was not an ideal location for a new settlement, since the land was not suited to agriculture (as the original creator of the town, Lord Arlington, found in the 1660s) and the town had suffered extensively during the Williamite war. When the manor was acquired by Henri De Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, in 1691 it was 'reduced to a few wretched cabins'.⁹⁸ Protestant refugees would not in ordinary circumstances have been drawn to such a place, particularly if they happened to be aged or wounded soldiers. At the outset their patron helped to finance the construction of between 100 and 150 dwellings, a school, church and burial place and then left the settlers largely to their own devices.⁹⁹ Far from being a centre of industrial activity as might have been envisaged by the patron, the first colonists (with the exception of a handful of French nobles who had private means) faced considerable economic hardships, as is shown by their pathetic petitions to the Lord Justices requesting seeds and agricultural implements so that they could supplement their military pensions and try to scrape a living.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ My principal debt is to R.P. Hylton, 'The Huguenot Settlement at Portarlington, 1692-1771', in C.E.J. Caldicott, H. Gough, J-P. Pittion, *The Huguenots and Ireland: An Anatomy of an Emigration*, (Dublin, 1987) pp. 297-320, which draws from his M.A. thesis of the same title (U.C.D. 1982); See also T.P. Le Fanu, 'The French Veterans at Portarlington', *J.K.A.S.*, Vol. 11 (1930-33), pp. 179-200; John Stocks Powell, *Portarlington: A Planted town*, (Portarlington, 1990).

⁹⁷ For a comparison of the economic performance of Quakers and Huguenots, David Dickson, 'Huguenots in the urban economy of eighteenth century Dublin and Cork', in 'Huguenots in Ireland', pp. 321-331.

⁹⁸ Antiquarian notes on Portarlington 'taken from a most interesting ancient manuscript in the possession of the Dean of St. Patricks lent me in 1859', Caulfield Papers, Nat. Arch Ire., M.4976.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Hylton found that there were 4 pensioners with private means of £1000; the Foubert brothers had limited success with linen manufacture before moving on to Cork and becoming involved in the book trade; Jacques Beauchant was the leading merchant in Portarlington., Hylton, 'French Settlement', pp. 309, 313.

The artificiality of this settlement coupled with a cleavage in the community after 1703 caused by a religious schism between those practising rigid Calvinist worship and those who chose to conform to the liturgy of the established church, very quickly diluted the distinctiveness and cohesiveness of the French colonists. The departure of families to Dublin and intermarriage with Irish Protestants accelerated this process, so that already by the 1730s 'a generation of inflexible French exiles was passing away', and the number of Irish in the borough franchise and in an office-holding capacity far out-stripped the French.¹⁰¹ It is ironic that despite the earlier notions about the influence of the Huguenots (that they were accomplished gardeners, 'sipping tea out of china cups', and having a civilising influence), it is probable that the greatest and most lasting contributions to Portarlinton's development occurred in the 1730s and 1740s when French influence was waning.¹⁰² The town's development between 1710 and 1760 was more a result of its Irish Protestant proprietor and patron, Ephraim Dawson and his son William Henry Dawson. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the town was famed for its schools and fine houses and became a minor resort for the gentry. One writer went so far as to say 'from the number of genteel and respectable families residing Portarlinton is unique being the neatest best built and genteelist inhabited town not only in Ireland but in the British Isles for its size'.¹⁰³

5.4 Proprietors and municipal office holders

Urban dwellers had their own institutions which were separate from and, on occasions, competed with the county magistracy (see chapter 6.3). By examining the corporation accounts of Maryborough and Portarlinton one can compare and contrast the relative successes and shortcomings of the civic authorities (which included Protestant gentlemen), and the private landed proprietors in dealing with the problems of law, order and improvement.¹⁰⁴ Accounts of the cut and thrust of borough politics in the early eighteenth century and the way in which municipal

¹⁰¹ For e.g. Judith, second child of Jean De Gennes married an Irish Protestant, George Fraser of Cuba House in 1752 who became the High Sheriff of The King's County in the same year, T.P. Le Fanu, 'French Veterans', p.187; T.U.Sadleir ed., 'High Sheriffs of The King's County 1655-1915', *J.K.A.S.*, Vol. 8 (1915-1917) p. 38, 315; the minute book for the Corporation of Portarlinton, N.L.I., Ms. 90.

¹⁰² Sir Erasmus P. Burrows, 'Portarlinton', in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. VI (1858), pp. 337-38.

¹⁰³ Caulfield papers, Nat. Arch. Ire., M.4976; a view echoed by Beaufort in 1792 'a considerable town, full of gentry, and noted for many large schools', *Memoir of a Map of Ireland*, p. 59.

¹⁰⁴ Portarlinton: Minute book and charter of the corporation of Portarlinton, 1727-1760, N.L.I., Ms. 90; Maryborough: 'Bye-laws and acts of the Assembly of Maryborough', 1731-60, Portlaoise County Offices (uncatalogued).

office and patronage were used by gentlemen jostling for power can obscure the routine and mundane activities of these bodies.

The lists of officials, ordinances and minutes of the corporations give the impression of highly organised and efficient local bodies.¹⁰⁵ Their primary role was to regulate economic affairs. At Portarlinton the twice yearly fair and the weekly market were monitored by overseers who brought with them measures to check the size and weights of bread and butter and to inspect the butcher's stalls and fine those who, 'sold unmerchantable or blown meat'.¹⁰⁶ The commons were a source of constant complaint. Both towns issued ordinances to punish those who transgressed the rules laid down for grazing.¹⁰⁷

Closely connected was the task of punishing petty crime and tackling problems created by the impotent and idle poor. The expansion of statute law in this area (e.g. the Vagrancy Acts of 1714 and 1744) meant that by 1760 their duties had become more onerous. Portarlinton made provision for a prison and there were many drives to, 'take up vagabonds and beggars in order to have them punished'.¹⁰⁸

Repairs to the fabric and the general 'improvement' (socially and physically) of the town were the other preoccupations of the officers.¹⁰⁹ Maryborough made provision in 1731 for maintaining the commons, 'to make a large double ditch ..quick planted with ornamentale trees ..a large gate with two pillars made of limestone and mortar..and clearing away several cottages or cabbins bordering on commons which caused obstruction to free and comon passage thro'.¹¹⁰ In 1728 Portarlinton sought to repair all of the foot pavements and make them all at least four feet wide, and four years later tried to prevent, 'dung being left in heaps in the streets, bridges or market places'.¹¹¹ Faulty chimneys were repaired or pulled down to meet the fire regulations.¹¹² This was a recurrent problem: in 1748 Portarlinton's corporation

¹⁰⁵ The Portarlinton charter of 1669 provided for a sovereign and deputy, assisted by a clerk and a dozen burgesses who were the basic unit of government. In addition there were two portreeves or bailiffs and overseers in a number of areas: for the North and South Commons, for the river, foot pavements; Portarlinton Corp. Book. contains an abstract of the 1669 Patent at the beginning of the volume, N.L.I., Ms. 90.

¹⁰⁶ No butcher could sell, 'hind quarters of mutton without having the kidney and the kidney suit (suet) in the same'; 'Port. Minute', 7 May 1730; 4 May 1738.

¹⁰⁷ At Portarlinton in 1728, 'any person that cuts sods or commits waste on it' was fined, and in 1731 Maryborough officials made particular pains to prevent Catholics from using the commons; 'Port. Minute', 1 June 1728; 'Acts of Maryborough' 1731.

¹⁰⁸ 'Port. Minute', 7 May 1730; 21 Oct. 1732 and 7 May 1730; 13 Nov. 1737.

¹⁰⁹ Maryborough ordered that, 'every housekeeper in the said town shall hence on every Friday or on every Tuesday in each week sweep or cause to be swept and cleaned the streets'; 'M/B Acts' 1731

¹¹⁰ 'M/B Acts' 1731.

¹¹¹ 'Port. Minute', 1 June 1728.

¹¹² 'Port. Minute', 1 June 1728 and 10 June 1748.

complained that still, 'several persons in the borough do make fire in low cabbins that have no chimneys which may endanger the burning of the town'.¹¹³

The freemen who elected the officers were an extremely volatile group. Maryborough stipulated that in addition to the five shilling qualification they had to have lived within the land and liberties of the corporation for at least a year, yet the actual number of men fluctuated greatly. Just before parliamentary elections corruption or the bending of the rules often led to the hurried admittance of groups of new freemen.¹¹⁴ In 1733 at Portarlinton, it was reported, 'information has been made to the court that several persons as to the number of 13 have been illegally admitted and sworn freemen in this corporation'.¹¹⁵ Burgesses and freemen would have had to read out aloud their oaths and declarations in favour of the established church and the corporation (as well as to comply with the Test clause of the Popery Act).¹¹⁶ In Maryborough a group of freemen were admitted in 1747 and much to the chagrin of the officials, 'were afterwards found to be Papists and others pretending to be Protestants were married to Papists'. From then on the corporation was, 'determined to the utmost of our power hereafter to hinder or prevent any Papist ...or any person suspected of being a Papist from being admitted'. A list of the recognised freemen was drawn up in 1760 and the applicants had their names posted up in advance in a public place for the scrutiny of townsfolk.¹¹⁷

Many freemen failed to satisfy the residence requirements. Two hand lists of the voters in the period 1728-1760 shows that a large proportion lived outside the corporation and many resided in other counties. Of a sample of four hundred freemen just 77 (19 %) lived in Maryborough, while 127 (32 %) resided outside the county, a handful were well out of reach in America and Gibraltar.¹¹⁸ There was an attempt to

¹¹³Both groups of officials tried unsuccessfully right up to 1750 to prevent hogs from roaming the streets, and both endeavoured to create a convenient course for horse racing and to repair bridges, roads and meeting places. A similar pattern of expenditure can be found in other provincial Irish towns. The town of Wicklow offers a comparison, B. Donnelly, 'From Grand Jury to County Council: an overview of local administration in Wicklow 1605-1898', in K. Hannigan and W. Nolan eds. *Wicklow: History and Society*, (Dublin, 1994), pp. 859-60.

¹¹⁴ Such practices were merely formalised by the Newtown Act; A.P.W. Malcomson, 'The Newtown Act of 1748: revision and reconstruction', *I.H.S.*, Vol. XVIII (1973), pp. 313-344. It has been shown that similar malpractices operated in England, F. O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties: The Unreformed Electoral System of Hanoverian England 1734-1832*, (Oxford, 1989), pp 38-68.

¹¹⁵ 'Port. Minute', 11 July 1727 and 1 Oct. 1733.

¹¹⁶The oath in 1727 read, 'I do swear from my heart, I do abhor and detest and objure as impious and hereticall that damnable doctrine ...I do believe there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine at or after the consecration'. The Test Clause of the 1704 Popery Act meant that a freeman had to bring a certificate showing that he had taken communion in an Anglican church at least once in the past year; oaths for the Justice of the Peace, the Recorder, Sovereign and for the Freemen, N.L.I., Ms. 90, pp 1-4.

¹¹⁷ 'M/B Acts' 23 July 1747.

¹¹⁸ In my sample of 400: main categories are, Maryborough, 77 (19 %), elsewhere in the county, 186 (47 %), King's Co., 25 (6 %), Dublin, 43 (11%), other Irish counties, 46 (12 %), the army, 10 (3 %),

tackle this problem in Maryborough in 1731 when it was reported that, 'the greater part of the burgesses and freemen reside out of the liberties of the said borough and do not pay or contribute to any public taxes to the great prejudice of the said borough...by reason of such great number of voters not resideing severall votes and tumults have arisen'.¹¹⁹ From this point onwards, no non-residents were to be admitted. However the hand lists shows that this aim was never achieved and only a small proportion of the freemen actively participated in the town's affairs.

Office holders felt that they and the members of the local Protestant community were surrounded and outnumbered. At best this manifested itself in the drive for corporate unity by purging outsiders, and at worst their behaviour bordered on paranoia. Portarlington's freemen read oaths, 'not to be abetting to any confederacy or conspiracy against the said town and burrough or my neighbours and not to be retained by any man but the said sovereign'.¹²⁰ At Maryborough in 1731, 'no Papists or persons professing the popish religion are able to put or graze any horse or other cattle or beast whatsoever on the said comons'.¹²¹

It has been suggested that 'to judge from corporation books and petitions the electoral system was being abused on a grand scale ...extraordinary even by eighteenth century standards'.¹²² The Queen's County evidence reinforces this view. William Flower for example became an M.P. for Portarlington in 1727 yet had only been made a freeman earlier in the year.¹²³ In a fierce dispute over the election of burgomaster in Maryborough in 1754 between Bartholomew Gilbert and John Pigott the minute books were confiscated by Anthony Trench for safe-keeping and it was only in 1758 that both parties, 'after much expense were reconciled and Mr. Dawson unanimously elected burgomaster', that the books were finally recovered 'but during the interval [of four years] no entry was made in either of them of the corporation acts'.¹²⁴

Municipal office in the two corporations was not only sought by substantial gentlemen. The position of sovereign or Burgomaster tended to go to a prominent townsman like Josias Champagne (who, unusually, was re-elected five times in Portarlington). A place on the county Grand Jury which met in the principal towns at assizes probably carried more prestige than presiding over a corporation court in the

England and the Isle of Man, 3 (1 %); hand list of the voters of Maryborough, 1760 N.L.I., Ms. 1726 and Ms. 1727; H.F. Kearney, *Select documents: XIII. I.H.S. Vol. 8 No. 33* (March 1954) pp.53-83.

¹¹⁹ M/B. Acts' 1731.

¹²⁰ Oaths at the front of the Portarlington Minute Book, N.L.I., Ms. 90.

¹²¹ M/B. Acts' 1731.

¹²² Hayton, 'English Ministers', p. 146.

¹²³ 'Port. Minute Book', 21 Oct. 1727. Flower was previously M.P. for Kilkenny 1715-1727, and held the borough of Portarlington until his elevation to the Irish House of Lords, see 'Port. Minute', 29 Nov. 1733.

¹²⁴ M/B. Acts' 1754-58.

two counties (see chapter 6.2). Gentlemen could influence affairs more indirectly through patronage. Ephraim Dawson acquired the manor of Portarlington in about 1700, and in return for political support (he was M.P. for the borough in 1713-14 before becoming M.P. for the county and was unanimously elected Sovereign in 1727), the family acted paternally. Magnates could also avoid tarnishing their reputations at borough level by employing their stewards and other agents to act on their behalf.

Some landlords were entitled to hold manorial courts or courts leet and this was another mechanism for exerting direct control over town affairs. Petty sessions were not established in Ireland and the manorial courts therefore had an unusually important role. The surviving manorial court accounts for Tullamore show that the jurymen formed an organisational framework whose responsibilities were even more wide ranging than that of the corporations. In May 1765, 23 jurymen met before the landowner Charles Bury in the house of Charles Towers in Tullamore. From this group of prominent townsmen a treasurer, clerks of the market and various overseers were appointed, and the sum of £10 was levied to pay the expenses of a constable and petty constable. As well as listing the fines for offences such as trespassing, stealing turf and using false weights and measures, presentments were indexed under a list of headings including rivers, roads, sewers and bogs. This particular court appeared to operate like a miniature version of the Grand Jury.¹²⁵

In return for townland rents and manorial rights many landlords felt obliged to provide funds for erecting purpose-built buildings to hold manorial courts and to accommodate the market. While the majority of the courthouses and tholsells in Leinster were funded in part by *ad hoc* local taxes, particularly the cess raised by the Grand Juries, most of the market houses were the result of private patronage.¹²⁶ The affairs of the proprietor and the burgesses were intermeshed and this is reflected in the municipal architecture of the period. Often the functions of the court, the corporation and the market were carried out in the same building.¹²⁷

In 1752 the tholsell at Portarlington was 'in so dangerous and ruinous condition', that it was deemed unsafe for the sovereign and freemen to hold an assembly there.¹²⁸ In the previous year the corporation planned to build a new tholsell and it was minuted that, 'W.H. Dawson (Ephraim's successor) has been so

¹²⁵ List of the jurymen and their responsibilities, 23 May 1765, at the front of the Court Leet book of the manor of Tullamore 1765-1816, Nat. Arch. Ire. M.5284.

¹²⁶ Christine Casey, 'Courthouses, Market Houses and Townhalls of Leinster', (M.A., U.C.D., 1982), pp. 16 and 25.

¹²⁷ The typical market house/tholsell had an open arcaded area on the ground floor where some of the traders, usually butchers, could display their goods under cover. Above this the corporation, and the landlord's agents could conduct business in a council chamber.

¹²⁸ 'Port. Minute', ? Oct. 1752.

good as to propose advancing so much money as shall be necessary'.¹²⁹ The tholsell that was erected still stands and is a very simple though handsomely proportioned two storey, three bay structure with a hipped roof and three narrow windows above an arcade. In about 1750 a market house was also erected at Mountrath which followed the same formula (an arcade and a large first floor room), although it was on a slightly grander scale being five bays long with venetian windows on the side elevations and topped by a small cupola.¹³⁰ There is no other physical or documentary evidence of market houses/tholsells in the two counties before 1750 although evidence from elsewhere in Leinster shows that, like Portarlinton, many towns (e.g. Kilkenny, Athlone and Dundalk) were by the mid-century replacing tholsells which had been built in the previous two or three decades,

The activities of the town officers were severely limited by inadequate funds. There was continual patching up of buildings. Poor work funded by *ad hoc* payments meant that structures and roads soon fell into disrepair. The bridge at Portarlinton was broken so many times that finally in 1732 it was planned to 'allow some neighbouring mason a yearly salary and that some reward be offerd to the person that discovers them that brake it.'¹³¹ In 1749 the quarterly tax, the cess, barely provided enough to pay the clock keeper his 30 shillings salary, the clerk his expenses, and leave enough to make a few repairs.¹³² Monies from fines tended to be distributed among the poor. In Maryborough it was ordered that any one who did not pay the cess could not use the commons. This problem was exacerbated by the idleness and incompetence of some of the overseers.¹³³ The 'hog roaming' problem for instance showed that it was difficult to reform the manners and behaviour of townsfolk. In 1749, 'the order having proved ineffectual the corporation decided to levy a 1 shilling fine for every pig or hog that is seen'.¹³⁴ Officers were well aware of their shortcomings. At a meeting in 1732 the Portarlinton officers announced, 'Gentlemen, notwithstanding several good orders that have been made in this corporation from time to time for the publick good thereof it is found that most of the

¹²⁹'Port Minute', 30 Sept. 1751.

¹³⁰The market house at Mountrath does not appear on the town map c.1740 and on stylistic grounds looks to have been from the 1750s. In 1960 the building was in a dangerous state and was eventually demolished; see *The Nationalist and Leinster Times*, 20 Aug. 1960, p. 9. Photographic record of the building in the Ire. Arch. Archive; Casey thesis, p. 9. The impressive courthouse at Philipstown (which still stands) was erected c.1760.

¹³¹'Port. Minute', 21 Oct. 1732.

¹³²'Port. Minute', 10 Aug. 1749.

¹³³At Portarlinton in 1733 there were complaints about the, 'cow boy of the South Commons', who had, 'not performed his office as he ought to do', and should be discharged and a, 'fine be imposed on them [officers] if they do not punctually perform what they are enjoined to do'; 'Port. Minute', 26 May 1733.

¹³⁴'Port. Minute', 21 Dec. 1749.

chieftest things are left undone'.¹³⁵ This contrasts with the impressions of travellers like Samuel Molyneux who passed through the town in 1709 and thought it to be, 'a pretty new town well planted', or the rose-tinted views of Erasmus Burrows who exaggerated the horticultural prowess of the French settlers in creating a flowery idyll on the banks of the River Barrow.¹³⁶

While urban officials with their limited funds quibbled about re-pointing a crumbling bridge or gilding a clock face, great strides were being made in the area of rural as well as town improvement by private landed gentlemen. William Flower, M.P. for Portarlinton and a freeman, had laid out a market place and erected sturdy stone houses at Durrow. Similarly Pole Cosby, who was a freeman of Maryborough, describes in his autobiography how he erected bridges and houses in the town of Stradbally. It was men like these in the countryside more than the civic officials who set the pace for improvement. Only towards the latter part of the eighteenth century does one see the emergence of institutions such as 'houses of industry' which required a large degree of collective organisation and which would not have been taken on single handedly by landowners. A pamphlet of 1776 shows that a plan for a 'humble habitation for the poor' in Maryborough was funded entirely by subscriptions from local gentlemen and clergymen.¹³⁷

5.5 Proprietorial patronage of the established church

The parish church was one of the most substantial buildings in provincial towns in this period and an integral part of a proprietor's urban plan. Similarly the interests of the clergy- who tended to live in towns rather than in the countryside- were tightly bound up with those of local Protestant gentry families (see chapter 1.2).

The proportion of church patronage in the two counties that was held by the crown, the bishops and the laity (including corporations) remained roughly the same in the period 1690-1760.¹³⁸

¹³⁵'Port. Minute', 21 Dec. 1732.

¹³⁶Molyneux's journey to Kerry in 1709, T.C.D., Ms. 883, Vol. 2, p. 129; Sir Erasmus P. Burrows, 'Portarlinton', in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. VI (1858), pp. 337-38.

¹³⁷ Edward Ledwich, *First Annual Report of the Corporation Instituted for the relief of the poor and punishing vagabonds and sturdy beggars in the Queen's County*, (printed pamphlet, Kilkenny 1776), N.L.I., I. 6551 Kilkenny.

¹³⁸It is extremely difficult to obtain accurate information relating to the lay patronage of clergy prior to 1800 because of the highly confusing way in which advowsons were granted after the Reformation.

Table 5.5 The Proportion of clerical appointments in The King's and Queen's counties that were made by the church, the crown and the laity in the period c.1690-1760

Patron	Ossory	Kildare	Meath	Leigh	Dublin	Killalo	Clonf	Totals
Church	12	8	10	17	1	20	2	71 (55%)
Crown	3	8	2	3	0	0	0	16 (13%)
laymen	2	17	9	13	1	0	0	42 (32%)
Totals	17	33	21	33	2	20	2	127

Source: *An Account of the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1830); *4th Report on Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland*, (House of Commons, 10 July, 1837); *Report on Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Revenues and Condition of the Established Church (Ireland)*, (Dublin, 1868); papers in the collection of the diocesan archivist for Meath and Kildare.

Table 5.5 shows that the bishops were the most important patrons (they appointed clergy in 55% of the parishes), followed by the laity (32%) and the crown (13%). This contrasts with the situation in England where the crown and the laity had a much larger share of the patronage at parish level.¹³⁹ The exact share of patronage will never be known because the right of presentation was disputed in many parishes. Bishop Dopping noted during his visitations of the diocese of Meath between 1682 and 1685 that the 'Bishop was returned' as patron of the parish of Fercall 'but challenged by the Earl of Mountrath, who has the title ascertained to him'.¹⁴⁰ The Earl was successful and the Cootes remained the patrons of seven parishes (that made up one benefice) until disestablishment. In other cases the right of patronage in a parish was shared between more than one party. At Ballyroan (Leighlin) the right of presentation alternated between the bishop (who had one turn) and the crown (two turns). At Killeshin (Leighlin) the crown held the rectorial patronage (presumably he presented the Rector of Carlow) while the vicarial patronage was reserved for the bishop (he was appointed the Vicar of Killeshin).¹⁴¹

¹³⁹Akenson's figures for the whole of Ireland are not dissimilar to those presented in Table 5.5. He found that the crown held under 15% of the livings, Akenson, *Church of Ireland*: p 62.

¹⁴⁰A transcription of the 1682-85 visitation and the later annotations can be found in *Riocht Na Midhe: Records of the Meath Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 4, no. 5, (1971), pp. 28-29; Vol. 5, no. 2, (1972), pp. 3-13; Vol. 5, no. 3, (1973), pp. 3-11; Vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 98-10.

¹⁴¹Certain incumbents could also be considered as patrons because they could appoint assistant curates and perpetual curates to assist them with their parish work (generally no provision was made for curates in the rectorial and vicarial tithes). Incumbents and lay patrons in well-endowed benefices generally paid for curates out of their own incomes.

One can identify 22 families who had the right of patronage in the two counties (who are listed in Appendix 7.3).¹⁴² Between them they were responsible for clerical appointments in 41 parishes (or 23 benefices).¹⁴³ Given that there were roughly 60 clergymen serving in the two counties at any one time during the middle of our period (see Table 1.2) the laity had quite a substantial share (i.e. just over a third) of the total patronage. Who did the laity appoint to benefices? The choice of clergyman reveals much about the complex mesh of familial and political ties that bonded landed gentlemen together.

The best example of nepotism can be found at Geashill where the Digby family appointed the rector (who was automatically granted the prebendal stall of Geashill in Kildare Cathedral) in each successive generation: six of the nine rectors who were appointed to the parish of Geashill between 1630 and 1824 were members of the Digby family. At Dysert-enos (where the Pigott family received the rectorial tithes and the advowson), three of the five vicars who were appointed between 1692 and 1772 were Pigotts.¹⁴⁴ In 1730 John Vesey appointed his kinsman Muschamp Vesey as Vicar of Abbeyleix where he served for 32 years.¹⁴⁵ In most other parishes patrons did not limit their selection to close family members with the same surname; they also chose cousins, nephews, friends and allies. This helps to explain why there are so few familiar local names in the list of clergymen who served in the two counties c.1731 (see Appendix 7.2).

The petitions that were sent to Lord Lieutenants in the eighteenth century show that all clerical appointments- from the most important bishoprics down to the smallest curacies- were part of a powerful patronage network that stretched far beyond county or diocesan boundaries. In 1767 Lord Digby wrote to Lord Townshend to recommend a relative for the position of chaplain at Dublin Castle.¹⁴⁶ Patronage was a two way process and advowsons could be used to pay back favours to the crown or to local gentlemen. In 1712 James Higgins was presented as Vicar of

¹⁴²Virtually all of the advowsons were granted in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Pigotts for instance were granted the rectorial tithes and advowson of Dysert-enos in 1607. There then followed a period of confusion when the Pigotts fought the crown over it. After 1690 it remained in Pigott hands. One cannot be sure whether all the families listed in Appendix 7.3 were patrons between 1690 and 1760 because advowsons could also be bought, sold and exchanged, Leslie Succession Lists: Leighlin (Dysert-enos), R.C.B. Lib.

¹⁴³One cannot be absolutely sure of the number of benefices that existed between 1690 and 1760 because permanent and temporary unions of parishes were created at different times.

¹⁴⁴Geashill: 1630, Essex Digby; 1670/71, Simon Digby; 1743/44, Benjamin Digby; 1769, William Digby; 1812, John Digby; 1824, John Digby-Wingfield. Dysert-enos: 1712, John Pigott; 1749, William Pigott; 1772, Edward Pigott; See Leslie Succession Lists: Meath (Geashill), R.C.B. Lib.; A Kingsmill Palmer, *Notes on the Parish of Geashill and Killeigh*, (Geashill, 1964).

¹⁴⁵He held this position while also Rector of Burnchurch (1729-62) and Archdeacon of Leighlin (1735-62), Leslie Succession Lists: Leighlin (Abbeyleix), R.C.B. Lib

¹⁴⁶Lord Digby to Lord Chesterfield, 5 Sept. 1767, 'Letters of Ecclesiastics to Lord Townshend 1767-72', R.C.B. Lib. A/3/ (20), letter 470.

Stradbally by William Lewis on behalf of Dudley Cosby. Lewis was a head tenant on the Cosby estate and Higgins was the son of a farmer in Athy (just across the border in Co. Kildare), and it seems likely that Lewis was granted the right to present a friend in return for some financial favour.¹⁴⁷

What can be said about the condition of the fabric of Anglican churches- and more particularly the role that the gentry played in building and maintaining them- in the two counties between 1690 and 1760? On the basis of the fragmentary episcopal returns and the ecclesiastical registers of the 1830s it would seem that that 42 (or 35%) of the 120 parishes in the two counties did not have an official place of Anglican worship at any time during the eighteenth century (see Table 5.5a).¹⁴⁸

Table 5.5a The number of parishes in The King's and Queen's counties with an Anglican church in the period 1690-1760

	Ossory	Kildare	Dublin	Leighlin	Meath	Clonfert	Killaloe
Parishes with church	11	18	2	19	17	2	9
Parishes without church	4 (27%)	10 (36%)	0 (0%)	13 (41%)	3 (15%)	2 (50%)	10 (53%)
Total	15	28	2	32	20	4	19

Source: *An Account of the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Ireland, (Dublin, 1830)*; *4th Report on Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland, (House of Commons, 10 July, 1837)*; *Report on Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Revenues and Condition of the Established Church (Ireland), (Dublin, 1868)*; papers in the collection of the diocesan archivist for Meath and Kildare.

If one assumes that most if not all of the so-called Board of First Fruits churches that were built between c.1780 and 1830 replaced or incorporated earlier structures then

¹⁴⁷Indeed a number of clergymen had attended the 'Mr. Dalton's school classical school' in Athy in the early eighteenth century, Leslie Succession Lists, R.C.B. Lib.

¹⁴⁸ If one presumes that each parish had a church c. 1500 then somewhere between a third and a half of all of the parochial churches in most dioceses would have fallen into decay, or else would have been re-used for Roman Catholic worship after the Reformation. According to Akenson the average benefice in Ireland during the late eighteenth century was made up of two parishes; there were 2436 parishes, 1120 benefices and 1001 churches. Unions of parishes could be made by Bishops and by parliament. The parish structure is extraordinarily complex and it is unclear when most of the parishes in the two counties were united. A reading of the ecclesiastical reports of the 1830s would suggest that many benefices were enlarged early in the nineteenth century, but the fragmentary diocesan records show that many more were united over the course of the two preceding centuries. In 1740 for instance the parishes of Rathdowney and Glashare in the diocese of Ossory were (according to one chronicler) united, Akenson, *The Church of Ireland*, pp. 56-57; *Ecclesiastical Register*, p. 117.

there were 78 official places for Anglican worship in the two counties during the eighteenth century.¹⁴⁹

Little is known about the appearance of these churches in the first half of the eighteenth century since so much of the fabric has been obscured or obliterated by successive re-building work. In physical terms the Church of Ireland underwent a dramatic transformation in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Table 5.5b shows that more than two thirds of all the parish churches in the two counties that existed in c.1837 had been built (or substantially re-built) since the Act of Union. By contrast only 6 churches (or 8% of the total) were listed in the ecclesiastical registers as being built between c.1650 and 1760.¹⁵⁰

Table 5.5b The number of parish churches in The King's and Queen's counties that were built in different periods

Period	1831-37	1801-1830	1780-1800	1760-1779	1700-1759	1650-1699	no data
Number churches	2	42	7	6	4	2	15

Source: *An Account of the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Ireland, (Dublin, 1830); 4th Report on Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland, (House of Commons, 10 July, 1837); Report on Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Revenues and Condition of the Established Church (Ireland), (Dublin, 1868); papers in the collection of the diocesan archivist for Meath and Kildare.*

In many towns the 'First Fruits' type church stands next to a crumbling medieval building, and one could from the physical evidence alone draw the conclusion that the former was a direct replacement of the latter. In reality many of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century churches were the third or fourth structure to be built on the site. Information about these earlier churches can only be retrieved from antiquarian accounts, ecclesiastical registers, surviving vestry books and visitation records (this information is summarised in Appendix 7.1). At Tullamore the medieval parish church (in Kilbride parish) had fallen into disrepair by 1568 and was completely re-built c.1716. The church was re-built again with the assistance of the Board of First Fruits c.1806. The present church in Durrow (Ossory) was erected in 1791, but another church was built on the same site in 1731 to replace a medieval structure. This seems to have been a common pattern throughout the two

¹⁴⁹Indeed the existence of a parish church c. 1830 is a good indication that there was a church on the same site in the previous century. The Board of First Fruits only granted substantial sums to parishes which already had churches (and which required substantial or complete rebuilding).

¹⁵⁰There are other churches that were built long before the 1830s and these are usually described as 'ancient' or of an 'unknown date' (see Appendix 7.1).

counties.¹⁵¹ Thus there is a whole stratum of church architecture that is largely missing from the record; namely the places of worship that were built outside the major urban centres in Ireland in the period c.1650-1760.

Bishop Dopping's descriptions of the fabric and furnishing of each parish church in the diocese of Meath between 1682 and 1685 reveals that there was a very high level of physical decay in the church before the Williamite War.¹⁵² Only 43 out of 197 parish churches in the diocese were considered to be 'in repair' during the 1680s. Ardnurcher church for instance was in very poor condition and the chancel roof (made from shingle tiles) had fallen down. Inside the church there was no glass in the windows, no font, no bibles or plate and the floor was made of clay. In this case it was noted that the parishioners were in the process of mending the church. In many other parishes the churches had gone beyond repair. Killoughey church was described as 'ruined and lies by the side of the bog, no chancel'. Many of these places of worship had fallen into decay during or shortly after the 1641 Rebellion. At Clonmacnoise the 'church was put in good repair by the Popish Dean thereof in 1647 but it has since gone to decay ever since'. The warfare between 1689 and 1691 could be said to have merely speeded up this process of physical decay rather than to have been the principal cause of it. The church at Durrow (Meath) was described as 'out of repair' in 1682-85 and then 'lately in repair but much out of order by the troubles' in 1693.

Given that the overall picture of the church would seem to be one of serious decay and disorder it is surprising to discover that a number of new chapels and churches were built from the donations received from the Protestant gentry in the period c.1641-1690. The Digbys built (or rebuilt) a chapel at Geashill c.1654; Clonbulloge church was built c.1676 (possibly by the Purefoy family) and a chapel was built at Ballyburley c.1686 by the Wakely family.¹⁵³ The Wakelys and the Digbys were not known for their contribution to infrastructural development (i.e. there was no evidence of urban planning or improvement in the baronies of Geashill and Ballycowen) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But both families had a strong association with their parishes (e.g. as patrons) and this might help to explain

¹⁵¹Sometimes monuments from earlier structures were incorporated into new buildings; e.g. the monument to 'Lady Blundell' (who died in 1701) was discovered in the ruins of the old church and then placed in the new church after 1814.

¹⁵²A transcription of the 1682-85 visitation and the later annotations can be found in *Riocht Na Midhe: Records of the Meath Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 4, no. 5, (1971), pp. 28-29; Vol. 5, no. 2, (1972), pp. 3-13; Vol. 5, no. 3, (1973), pp. 3-11; Vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 98-103.

¹⁵³The Ballyburley church had a memorial stone over the doorcase with the founder's arms and a latin inscription: the Wakely memorial is now in the National Museum of Ireland. I am grateful to Roy Byrne for directing me to this information.

why their 'own' churches were kept in unusually good repair.¹⁵⁴ This striking contrast between the well maintained churches (usually in the hands of the laity) and the derelict churches (more often in the hands of the Bishop or the crown) can also be observed in the following century.

A cursory glance at the visitation book for Ossory in 1731/32 would suggest that little was done to improve the fabric of churches in the previous three decades.¹⁵⁵ It was noted for instance that only the walls of the churches at Rath saran and Bordwell were still standing and that the weather boards and roof shingles needed to be repaired at Rathdowney. However, a closer inspection reveals that a slow but sure church rebuilding programme had begun by the third decade of the eighteenth century. Whereas in the diocese of Meath in the 1680s and 1690s it was common to find churches with serious structural problems (e.g. no roof on the nave and chancel), in Ossory in the early 1730s the bishop singled out churches that needed comparatively superficial repairs. At Aghavoe for instance it was ordered that 'the ivy and all other plants growing out of the walls round the church to be destroyed' and 'the walls to be pointed to keep the weather from penetrating further into the mortar, between the joints of the stones'. But the most important elements of the church were sound: the roof was covered, the windows were glazed and the floor was 'plain and even'. Other churches nearby required glazing work, plastering and roof repairs, but many of these problems were attended to shortly after the bishop made his visitation. When the bishop returned to Rathdowney in May 1732 he found that 'since the last visitation with good effect are sash windows on each side of the roof and one sash window at the east end of the chancel'. It was also noted that there was a new pulpit and a 'new arched compass roof' under construction. The vestry books for Edenderry and Ballyboy parishes (from 1702 and 1710 respectively) show a similar pattern.¹⁵⁶ At Edenderry in 1702 the font was 'set in lime, plastered over, and whitewashed', in 1711 the church porch was rebuilt, in 1715 the floor of the church was flagged and in 1738 'the northside roof' was strip'd and slated with all convenient speed' (see Map 10). Parish churches in the two counties experienced a number of slow but significant changes in the first three decades of the eighteenth century. In 1690 it might have been common for a clergyman to conduct a service in the shell of a medieval church with a leaking shingle roof, bare walls and an earthen floor, but by the 1730s it was

¹⁵⁴William Digby, 5th Baron Geashill, was said to have been 'revered as a paragon of christian virtue'. He rebuilt the church at Geashill and founded a charity school, I am grateful to Dr. Hayton for allowing me to examine the Digby entry in the *History of Parliament*.

¹⁵⁵Visitation book for the diocese of Ossory 1731-32, N.L.I., Ms. 2670 (modern transcript: Canon Leslie collection); another copy in R.C.B. Library, D.11-1.7.

¹⁵⁶Vestry book of Ballyboy (Killaghey parish) 1710-, R.C.B. Lib. P.226; vestry book for Edenderry (Monasteroris parish), R.C.B. Lib., P.484.5.1-52.

much more likely that the same church had sturdier walls, a slate roof, plastered and whitewashed walls and a stone floor.

With these basic modifications in place the clergy and parishioners could turn their attention to beautifying the church in other ways. At Ballyboy in 1710 'in compliance with the Bishop of Meath' new utensils and a communion table were required.¹⁵⁷ In 1720 Thomas Smallwood was paid £2 by the vestry of Edenderry church 'for making a new comunion [sic] table and twisted ballisters to the rails strongly and neatly furnish'd and fitted'.¹⁵⁸ Increasingly more respect was shown to the sacred spaces within the church and in the churchyard. In 1712 at Ballyboy it was noted that the 'open passage through the church yard' was 'indecent' and that the yard should be fenced off; and in 1724 the Edenderry vestry spent 0.16.3 'clearing rubbish out of the church and keeping the yard clean'. Just as there was a drive to reform the manners of the parishioners and to clean up the streets in the towns so too was there a desire to improve the layout and appearance of the churches.

Although the visitation evidence indicates that most of the churches in the two counties were in better condition in the period c.1730-1760 than at any time since the Reformation there were some great disparities in the state of repair. In order to understand the main reason for this uneven pattern of maintenance one has to turn to the way in which the vestry taxes were raised and the crucial role that the local landed gentry played in providing additional funds.

The money that was needed for essential repairs to the church was usually raised once a year when the parish vestry was convened at Easter. This was a most unsatisfactory system because it meant that the damage caused during the winter months (e.g. windows and slates broken by high winds) was often left unrepaired until the following spring. The amount of money that was raised depended on local custom and on the ability and inclination of the parishioners to pay what was demanded. Before the Reformation the 'rate' or local tax that was imposed by the vestry was based on a proportion of the capital value of goods and on ancient demesnes (i.e. the so-called 'Fifteenths' and 'Tenths').¹⁵⁹ In the eighteenth century it was more common for vestries in country parishes to levy a fixed sum (e.g. a farthing or a penny) on each acre in the parish. Parishes that included towns within their bounds were more likely to levy sums on individuals houses or hearths: thus we find in the minutes of the vestry at Edenderry in 1702 that the 'sum was apportioned by

¹⁵⁷Vestry book for Ballyboy, R.C.B. Lib. P.226.

¹⁵⁸He was obviously a local carpenter (as opposed to a cabinet maker) since in 1724 he was also paid for mending the roof.

¹⁵⁹W.E. Tate, *The Parish Chest: A study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England*, (Cambridge, third edition, 1969), p. 26.

the number of smokes'.¹⁶⁰ Clergymen found it difficult to raise enough money for urgent repairs. In 1777 Rev. Edward Ledwich argued that '1d on each acre would be enough' to make all the necessary repairs to his church in Aghaboe 'but a general aversion to church taxes would not suffer the inhabitants to listen to such a proposal'. Ledwich also complained that he had to make do with an old cracked bell at Aghavoe when 'for £7 or half a farthing an acre it might be exchanged for a new one: but the aversion, before noted, operates equally strong in this as in every other case'.¹⁶¹ In many instances it was the members of the vestry, and not just the general populace, who were reluctant to raise the necessary sums. This behaviour may in part be explained by selfish motives: as prominent inhabitants the vestrymen had lands and assets that would be taxed. But there may also have other more deep seated political and religious reasons for this apparent parsimony. Since vestries in this period functioned like courts leet or parochial grand juries (dealing with wider civil issues such as the state of the bridges and highways as well as ecclesiastical business) they contained prominent men who were not committed to the maintenance of the established church. In Seirkieran in 1777 it was reported that 'the parish is inhabited chiefly by Presbyterians, who have a kirk in it, and who have constantly a majority at the vestry, and never grant more than £17 to it...so that there remains very little for the repairs of the church'.¹⁶² In those parishes where there was a benevolent local landowner with a very close association with the Anglican tradition (i.e as a communicant and patron) the picture is very different.

The Blundells owned the town of Edenderry and were members of the Monasteroris parish vestry and this helps to explain why the church was in such good repair. The correspondence between the Blundells and their tenants shows that they were defenders of the established church and of the penal laws (see chapter 5.3). Since most of the parishioners in Edenderry were also tenants the Blundells could put moral pressure on the denizens of the town to pay their dues to the church. In addition the family could demonstrate their piety and local status by providing extra money for church building, pews, plate, bells and monuments.¹⁶³

Prior to the late 1760s (when Board of First Fruits loans and payments started to become more substantial) parishes came to rely on the benevolence of local landed families to finance the repair and construction of churches. In 1731 the Bishop of Ossory noted that the church at Eirke 'is said to intended to be new built. Tis said that

¹⁶⁰Vestry book for Edenderry, R.C.B. Lib. 484.5.1-52.

¹⁶¹Ledwich to the Bishop of Ossory, c. 1775, R.C.B. Lib. D.12.1.7.

¹⁶²Joseph Robinson, Vicar of Seirkieran, to the Bishop of Ossory, 11 Oct. 1777, R.C.B. Lib. D.11-1.7-8.

¹⁶³A plaque was erected to the memory of 'Lady Blundell' who died in 1701: this was almost certainly paid for by Sir Edward Blundell who in the following year attended the parish vestry, vestry book for Edenderry, R.C.B. Lib. P. 484.5.1.52.

a sess towards rebuilding it is made and that it may amount to £31'. This gives the impression that the parishioners (as a group) were prepared to raise an unusually large sum from among themselves. But in the following year the bishop is informed that 'Mr. Brian is said to have given £50 towards rebuilding' (i.e. larger than the sum that the whole parish had originally intended to raise).¹⁶⁴

In 1713/14 the old church at Durrow (Ossory) was substantially reconstructed with the money raised by subscription. Among the donors was William Flower (who gave £10) and three of his lady friends (Lady Portland, Lady Giffard and Mrs. Lucy Temple).¹⁶⁵ By 1731 the parishioners obviously felt that they could no longer patch up old St. Fintan's church and a completely new building was erected.¹⁶⁶

According to Pole Cosby the parish church at Stradbally was in 1716 'more wilde and naked and Ruinous than a barn'. But shortly afterwards his father set about repairing the building: in 1718 he built new pews and 'in 1723 mostly at his own expense compassed ceiled the church and did greatly beautyfie' it.¹⁶⁷ After c. 1745 this church was gradually left to decay because the Cosbys decided to use Ougheval church instead (which was a short distance away from the town). This highly unusual building with neo-Palladian features may well have been designed by John Aheron (who designed a facade for Stradbally Hall, see chapter 4.4).¹⁶⁸ It is unclear why Cosby decided to reconstruct an old church outside the town rather than to continue maintaining the existing parish church that stood closest to the gates of his seat.¹⁶⁹ Ougheval was used as the Cosby family mausoleum and it stands on a high spot of ground overlooking the Stradbally demesne (and could probably be seen from the windows of Stradbally Hall).¹⁷⁰

Landowners also provided the sites for many new churches in the two counties and improved the physical space around them. In about 1716 the Moore family are said to have set aside lands (commonly known as the 'Shambles') to build a new

¹⁶⁴Visitation of the diocese of Ossory, 1731/32, R.C.B. Lib., D.11.1.7.

¹⁶⁵Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,456.

¹⁶⁶Rev. J. W. Furlong, *Durrow in Ossory* (a church guide c. 1960). The ecclesiastical registers of the 1830s (aforementioned) confirm the date of 1731. The 1731 building was replaced by another church in 1791 (which still stands).

¹⁶⁷Cosby Autobiog., p. 170.

¹⁶⁸C. Casey, 'Builders and Books: A Bibliographical approach to Irish Eighteenth-century architecture', (PhD, T.C.D., 1992), pp. 110-111.

¹⁶⁹Cosby appears to have reconstructed an existing Medieval ruin. It is a strange amalgam of styles: a heavy gothic hulk with classical windows. Lewis mentions a ruinous church just outside Stradbally which was very tall with six feet thick walls: one end of the building was taken up with the Cosby mausoleum, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, (Dublin, 1837), Vol. 2, p. 578.

¹⁷⁰In 1774 Lord Sydney (Dudley Alexander Sydney Cosby) and the Earl of Roden sought permission to build a new parish church in the centre of Stradbally rather than make do with the 'small chapel built by the memorialists many years ago [Ougheval]'. For an analysis of this petition and of Daniel Beauford's comments see Leslie Succession lists: Leighlin Volume 2 (Stradbally parish); R.C.B. Lib.

church in the town of Tullamore.¹⁷¹ William Flower paid labourers for putting up a 'wall divideing churchyard from the new way into the town' in 1731.¹⁷² This planning, on the part of proprietors, helps to explain why so many Church of Ireland churches and glebe houses were erected in prominent positions in towns.

Most clergymen lived in private rented houses in towns prior to 1760. Even in the 1830s, (after a massive campaign of glebe house building) there were many benefices that did not have a suitable church-owned dwelling for the incumbent: in 1731 there were about 60 clergymen, yet by 1832 there were only 49 glebe houses in the parishes within the bounds of the two counties.¹⁷³ However, there is evidence that substantial purpose-built glebe houses were being built in the two counties from c.1730. In many parishes landowners assisted the clergy by providing decent plots of land: a new glebe house could provide a handsome addition to a town square or green. In 1731 Rev. William Shervington decided to build a new vicarage in Durrow, and in the following year the Bishop of Ossory noted that 'sash windows for the parsonage house were ready to be put up...it is supposed that this summer the House will be fitted up so that at Michaelmas Mr. Shervington may go into it'.¹⁷⁴ In about 1745 Henry Alley wrote to the Bishop of Ossory that he 'was desirous and willing to improve said [glebe] lands, and build thereon of such Dimensions as your lordship will think proper' in the parish of Skeirke.¹⁷⁵ The detailed description of the house and glebe lands at Rosconnell in 1759 and 1760 show the kinds of improvements that were made by clergymen in the diocese of Ossory at the end of the period: 'a glebe house, out offices, garden, and orchard, all in good repair, there have been many improvements made by the present incumbent [Rev. Chamberlen Chandler] viz: he has built a large kitchen, a good celler, a brew house, a chaise house and granary...improvements are still making'.¹⁷⁶

The contribution that the gentry of The King's and Queen's counties made to the building, furnishing and maintenance of churches in the period c.1714-1760 was considerable. But what does this tell us about the religious beliefs and practices of Protestant landowners? The 5th Baron Digby was, according to his contemporary

¹⁷¹Taken from parochial notes in the possession of Roy Byrne (Diocesan archivist for Meath and Kildare).

¹⁷²Flower Papers, N.L.I., 11,469(8).

¹⁷³In 1837 (when the church compiled the first detailed report on glebe houses) it was noted that the curate of Kilnagarenagh (Meath) resided in a thatched cottage. Figures taken from, *Ecclesiastical Register*, (Dublin, 1830); *Fourth Report on Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland*, (House of Commons, 10 July 1837).

¹⁷⁴Visitation of the diocese of Ossory 1731-32, (Durrow), R.C.B. Lib. D.11-1.7.

¹⁷⁵Henry Alley to the Bishop of Ossory, c. 1745, R.C.B. Lib. D.12-1.7 (9). The glebe lands at Skeirke consisted of 188 acres and yielded £30 in c. 1745.

¹⁷⁶Chandler Walker to the Bishop of Ossory, 10 May 1759, R.C.B. Lib. D.12-1.7 (7); another from Walker to the bishop explaining the additional improvements he was carrying out, 19 April 1760, D.12-1.7 (9).

biographers, a deeply religious man and in 1686 he urged an acquaintance to keep 'always a sense of religion in your thoughts'. His patronage of schools, libraries and churches in Dorset, Warwickshire and in The King's County was probably a genuine expression of his Anglican conscience.¹⁷⁷ But how typical was Digby? Since there is so little evidence relating to the religious beliefs and practices of gentry families in the two counties one cannot be sure that patronage of the established church was motivated by religion alone (see chapters 3.8 and 7.3).

The building of pews in this period tells us more about 'self image' than personal piety. The household accounts and vestry minutes show that the position and appearance of pews was a great cause of concern for gentry families. In the first three decades of the eighteenth century the rudimentary seating that existed during the seventeenth century was replaced with more elaborate pews and galleries. One household bill from Abbey Leix refers to workmen 'pulling down 3 puse in the church when 2 was repaired', and in 1750 John Vesey (who was made Baron Knapton in that year) erected a gallery for additional pews.¹⁷⁸ In 1716/17 William Flower spent £1.10.0 on 'making your seat in the church'.¹⁷⁹ In the following year Dudley Cosby 'built a Gallery at the west end of the church in which he had 5 pews the middle for himself, and two on the east for his maidservants and the 2 on the north side for his menservants'.¹⁸⁰ In 1724 the Blundells spent £5.18.11 on 'building a pew in the church'.¹⁸¹

The vestry minutes for Edenderry show the careful negotiations that went on between the clergy, the patrons, the vestry and the parishioners as to the position and size of each pew. In 1720 an order was made 'for regulating the seates in the said church and ascertaining to their parishioners their several and particular seats'. The description of the position of the pews in the vestry book enables one to draw up an almost complete seating plan for Edenderry c.1720 (see Map 10).¹⁸² This provides us with a fascinating visual depiction of the social pecking order that existed in an early eighteenth century Irish parish.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷I am grateful to Dr. Hayton for supplying me with a typescript of the Digby entry in the *History of Parliament*.

¹⁷⁸The gallery has the inscription, 'This gallery was erected by the Rev. Archdeacon Musham [Muschamp] Vesey, at the expense of the Hon[ourable] John Lord Knapton and Mary Lady Vesey 1750'; description of the old church at Abbey Leix in Leslie Succession Lists (unpublished): Leighlin, Volume 1, R.C.B. Lib.; De Vesci Papers, N.L.I., Ms. J/3 (household bills, c. 1710).

¹⁷⁹ Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,469 (3).

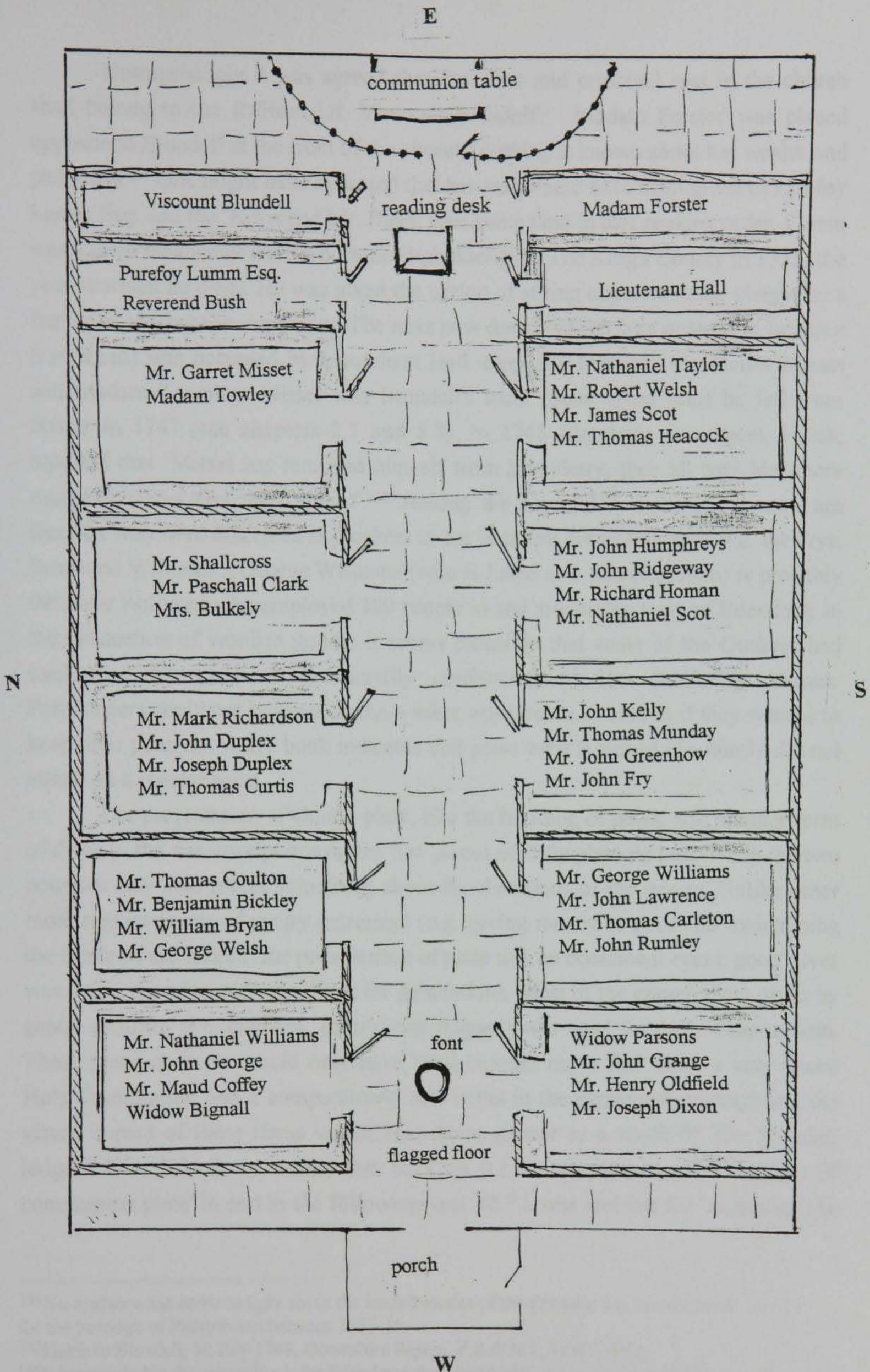
¹⁸⁰ Cosby Autobiog., p. 170.

¹⁸¹ Blundell cash book, 1707-1731, Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I., D.671/A2/1.

¹⁸² Vestry book for Edenderry church, R.C.B. Lib. P. 484.5..52.

¹⁸³ It is comparable to the plan that Richard Gough produced for the parish church at Myddle in Shropshire in 1701, R. Gough, *The History of Myddle*, (London, 1981), pp. 80-83.

Map 10 The seating plan at Edenderry church c. 1720



Unsurprisingly it was agreed that the 'first and principal seat in the church shall belong to the Rt.Hon. Ld. Viscount Blundell'. 'Madam Forster' was placed opposite to Blundell at the front of the church (nothing is known about her wealth and pedigree).¹⁸⁴ One might have expected that her seat would have been given to Purefoy Lumm Esq. and the 'Reverend Mr. Bush, who come next in this pecking order. Lumm was a large landowner and he became High Sheriff of The King's County in 1723 (the year in which he died). He was given the option of sitting opposite to the clergyman's family or sharing the same pew. The next pew down (which was ordered to be three feet broad) was occupied by Lieutenant Hall. Opposite him was Mr. Garret Misset and Madam Townley. Misset was Blundell's local estate agent until he fell from favour in 1747 (see chapters 2.5 and 5.3). In 1748 Blundell's new agent, Hatch, reported that 'Misset has removed himself from Edenderry, they all hate him there except the Frys and the Tuniclif'.¹⁸⁵ Among the assembled ranks of 'misters' are families who were described as Quakers in the Blundell correspondence (i.e. the Frys, Scots and Williams'). George Williams (who is listed as a churchwarden) is probably the same Williams who employed 300 people in and around the town of Edenderry in the production of woollen goods. It seems plausible that some of the Quakers had conformed (or at least occasionally conformed) to the established church. Parishioners could not however make a token appearance in church if they wanted to keep their pew: the vestry book indicates that pews were forfeited if a family did not attend on a regular basis.

The presentation of church plate, like the building of pews, was another form of display. But the inscriptions on the few pieces of early plate that survive in the two counties may also reveal something about the devotions of the gentry. Unlike other more regular forms of gentry patronage (e.g. giving money to poor and maintaining the fabric of the church) the presentation of plate was an occasional event: good silver was very expensive and would last for generations. Most of the church plate given by gentry families (i.e. chalices, patens and flagons) was used for Holy Communion. These precious items would only have been brought out a few times a year (since Holy Communion was a comparatively rare event in the eighteenth-century) and the visual impact of these items would have been greater as a result.¹⁸⁶ The Blundell ledgers from Edenderry record that in 1756 0.3.0 was paid for 'the carriage of communion plate' in and in the following year £2.7.6 was laid out for 'engraving the

¹⁸⁴No evidence has come to light about the landed estates of the Forsters, but John Forster was M.P. for the borough of Philipstown between 1713-15.

¹⁸⁵Hatch to Blundell, 30 July 1748, Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I., D.607/A/23.

¹⁸⁶It is recorded in the vestry book for Edenderry that 'briad [sic] and wine for 4 comunions' was ordered for 1702, R.C.B. Lib. P. 484.5.1.52.

plate sent to Somerton [?]church'.¹⁸⁷ In 1730 Elizabeth Baldwin (the widow of John Baldwin of Corolanty House who was the High Sheriff of The King's County in 1697) presented Shinrone parish church with a chalice and two patens. To commemorate this gift she had the words 'Ex dono Elizabetha Baldwin uudt Ecclesia Shinroen' engraved along the edge of the chalice.¹⁸⁸ Elizabeth would have been an elderly widow in 1730 and it was perhaps the prospect of death that spurred her on to make one last impressive gesture to the church.¹⁸⁹

Inscriptions on bells provide another (under utilised) source for the study of gentry patronage and piety. Since bells were commonly re-used and recast they often constitute the only surviving vestige of pre-1760 churches. At Durrow the present church dates from c. 1791 but the bell probably dates from c. 1731 when the church was first rebuilt during the incumbency of William Shervington. Stradbally church also has an early bell (with the date 1725 and a grape and vine decoration on the shoulder) in a late eighteenth century building. Gentry families were often responsible for commissioning bells. At St. Pauls church in Portarlinton (the French church) a bell from the reign of George II is dedicated to the Earl of Galway and at Aghade (Leighlin) church a bell has the inscription 'Mary Gore 1738' on it.¹⁹⁰ Bells differ from other forms of patronage (such as plate, pews and memorial plaques) in that they were designed to be heard not seen. Whereas it might have been clear to successive generations of parishioners that a chalice or monument were given by a local family (because of an inscription) it would not be so obvious that a peal of bells were provided by a benelovent patron. One can speculate that the type of gentlemen (or gentlewoman) who gave a bell might be motivated more by personal piety than self-image.

So far we have focussed on how the gentry looked after the interests of their own group through worship and patronage. But Protestants did not operate in a vacuum: they lived and worked with families who came from a different christian tradition. Did any landowners from the two counties display an evangelizing zeal or a genuine desire to spread Protestantism? Since the Reformation both the church and the civil establishment in Ireland agreed that the only successful way of converting the natives was through education. There were however great differences of opinion as to how this should come about. Some thinkers for instance argued that the 'Irish'

¹⁸⁷Downshire Papers, D.671/A2/9 (ledger, 1755-1798).

¹⁸⁸The silver still survives and is in use; Noel McMahan, *In the Shadow of the Fairy Hill; Shinrone and Ballingarry- a history*, (Birr, 1998), p. 196.

¹⁸⁹Elizabeth married in 1674, and her husband died in 1699, 'High Sheriffs of The King's County', p. 33.

¹⁹⁰She might have been the same Mary Gore who rented a pew at St. Paul's Church in Dublin in 1701, F. Dukes, *Campanology in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1994), p. 41. References to the other bells come from the 'collection of research notes relating to bells in Ireland' compiled by Fred Dukes between c. 1930-1997, Ms. 614, binders 1/1/1-4, R.C.B. Lib.

should be taught the rudiments of religion using the English language while others maintained that the Irish would only be converted in sufficient numbers if they were taught in their mother tongue.

The visitation book for the diocese of Ossory shows that there was a preponderance of small parochial schools c. 1731 (see Appendix 7.4). These small 'English' schools (which were run by the clergy and schoolmasters licensed by the bishop) served the needs of the local Protestant children rather than the population at large. At Eirke for instance there were 23 Protestant families in the parish and 20 children at the 'English' school. One can assume that no provision was made for the 90 'Popish' families.¹⁹¹ These small schools were often little more than 'feeders' for the larger classical schools: the sons of Protestant gentlemen often attended the parish schools for a short period before going on to more prestigious schools (e.g. Athy or Kilkenny). Even the so-called 'Charity Schools' that were aimed at educating poor Catholics and Protestants alike (such schools were established in Birr, Geashill, Killeigh, Portarlinton and Stradbally between c.1695 and 1733) were attended by poorer Protestants rather than Catholic children.¹⁹²

In the early 1730s there was a strong desire to steer the campaign of proselytization firmly back on course: i.e. to establish schools that were primarily for Catholic children. Like the 'Charity Schools' that came before them the 'Charter Schools' (that were established from 1733) required a strong input from private subscribers. Landowners were urged to give lands, abate rents, and help with the costs of building and running schools. Pole Cosby was among the first batch of landowners to establish schools. In 1738 he provided a plot of land for a school at Stradbally and an additional 29 acres (for 31 years initially and then for three lives) for the maintenance of a schoolmaster, 20 boys and 20 girls. The school seemed to flourish and in 1743 Cosby wrote a glowing report about his achievements to John Hansard (the Secretary of the Incorporated Society).¹⁹³ When Bishop Poccocke passed through Stradbally a decade later he noticed that there was a 'very handsom [sic] school for forty boys or three score boys and girls and it is large enough to hold a hundred, it was founded chiefly on the bounty and under the direction of Mr. Cosby'.¹⁹⁴ It is

¹⁹¹Visitation of the diocese of Ossory 1731-32, (Eirke), R.C.B. Lib. D.11-1.7.

¹⁹²D. Hayton, 'Did Protestantism Fail in early eighteenth century Ireland? Charity Schools and the enterprise of religious and social reformation c. 1690-1730', in A. Ford et al eds. *As by Law Established: The Church of Ireland since the Reformation*, (Dublin, 1995), p. 183.

¹⁹³Article in the *Daily Advertiser*, 11 Aug. 1743. This is cited by Kenneth Milne, *The Irish Charter Schools, 1730-1830*, (Dublin, 1997), pp. 43 and 111.

¹⁹⁴Poccocke passed through the town in 1752, John Mc Veigh ed., *Richard Poccocke's Irish Tours*, (Dublin, 1990), p. 132.

possible that John Aheron (who provided designs for a facade of Stradbally Hall in the 1740s) designed the 'handsom' building that Pococke commented on.¹⁹⁵

The apparent success of Cosby's school must be set against the high failure rate of schools elsewhere. The only other Charter School that was founded in the two counties between 1733 and 1760 was at Dunkerrin (alias Frankfort): in 1746 Francis Rolleston made a grant to the 'Incorporated Society' but it was only in 1753 that a school was formally established.¹⁹⁶ Many of the schools that had been planned came to nothing. Lord Digby for instance offered land and cash to start a school at Geashill in the late 1730s but nothing was formally established.

Given the early success of the 'Charter School movement', why was it that only 50 Protestant gentlemen/corporations endowed schools in Ireland between 1733 and 1760? Charter Schools, like towns, were relatively easy to set up but very difficult to maintain. The 'Incorporated Society' was plagued with financial difficulties throughout the eighteenth century and the success of each individual school was heavily dependent on the benevolence of local subscribers. In order to understand why so few gentlemen followed Cosby's example (i.e giving a sufficient amount of land and money) one has to look at the benefits that landowners accrued from Charter Schools.

The Charter Schools were initially seen as 'nurseries of religion' and one must not discount the religious motives of some patrons. But there was also a more practical reason for such schools. When Cosby described his school in the *Daily Advertiser* in 1743 he focussed on the industry of the boys and girls rather than their religious conversion:

The girls alternatively every week take the business of the family on them; three are cookmaids, three are dairy maids, three laundry maids, three chamber maids, and the rest are constantly carding and spinning'.¹⁹⁷

Such schools would have provided a good training ground for domestic servants and craftsmen. It is likely that schoolmasters and patrons lost sight of the original reason for these institutions and treated them instead as miniature workhouses.¹⁹⁸

The poor success rate of such well thought out schemes could indicate that the landed gentry at grass roots level were not fully committed to the cause of

¹⁹⁵ There is a design for a charter school in John Aheron's *A General Treatise on Architecture* (1754). This engraving is reproduced in Milne, p. 37.

¹⁹⁶ Rolleston deeds, 1 May 1746, N.L.I., D. 23,905; see also Milne, Appendix C, p. 347.

¹⁹⁷ See article in the *Daily Advertiser*, 11 Aug. 1743, cited in Milne, pp. 43 and 111.

¹⁹⁸ This point was also made by Denva O'Mahony, 'Charter Schools, c. 1730-1775', paper given at Trinity College, 11 Oct. 1996.

proselytization. Given the costs of trying to educate a small fraction of the poor Catholic children and the advantages of preserving the status quo (i.e. the penal laws) it was not perhaps in the interests of the Protestant landownership to open up their 'Protestant world' to the masses.

As a group the Protestant gentry seemed to lack an evangelising zeal but this did not mean that they lacked compassion. Many Protestant landowners felt moved to give charity to Catholics (since they were after all God's earthly creatures). Sir Francis Blundell left money c.1700 for 'widows, apprentices and poor children' in Edenderry, and in 1739/40 Thomas Frank of Frankfort left £100 in his will for the poor of the parish.¹⁹⁹ At funerals the poor were distributed with bread, gloves, stockings or money. Environmental catastrophes such as the Great Frost of 1740-41 highlighted the vulnerability of the poor. Such events were often viewed in providential terms (i.e. mortals had to suffer since it was a punishment from the heavens), but some gentry families attempted to ease the suffering of the poor by providing employment schemes (e.g. building work on estates). A landowner might turn a blind eye to the outlawed religious practices of the Catholic population, but he was less able to pull a veil over their extreme poverty.

5.6 Gentry patronage and the towns

Apart from their direct role in building, planning, industry, office holding and church patronage, landowners often made a crucial contribution to the development of Irish towns and to the quality of urban life in informal ways. It is well known that the residence of proprietors could be an important factor in the development of towns but one has to establish why the location of seats was to be of a greater importance in some places than others.

Roads cut through 29 of the settlements in The King's and Queen's counties shown in Taylor and Skinner's maps. Of these 18 have at least one seat next to the town and in all c.190 named seats and substantial dwellings are adjacent to the roads. Only a small number of the owners of these houses had freeholds in any part of the towns. Some were substantial tenants or professionals and many more were other members of the gentry whose houses, for a variety of reasons, happened to be located next to towns. I would argue that though the level of proprietorial involvement could be crucial in the early stages of town development, the ongoing factor of importance was gentry consumption, and became more so as the eighteenth century progressed. Portarlinton would not have survived at all without considerable landlord investment

¹⁹⁹Rolleston deed, c. 1739/40, N.L.I., D.23,905; Register of Edenderry parish, Nat. Arch. Ire., M.5111, for the years 1712-1715.

before 1750, but afterwards the reputation it had achieved as a minor resort meant that the level of trade and expenditure generated by the genteel inhabitants and affluent visitors almost certainly outweighed the level of support (material or otherwise) that it received from its proprietor.

It is only where household accounts, tradesmen's bills and correspondence between agents and landowners survive that one can begin to assess how important the physical presence of gentry families was. The building accounts for Castle Durrow show that a large proportion of the disbursements were for non-local materials and craftsmen. No doubt the gangs of craftsmen and labourers from the town of Durrow and nearby would have benefited from part of the £1500-2000 that was spent between 1715 and 1718 but much of the more skilled and expensive work was carried out by Dubliners (e.g. the leadwork). The stone, timber and other materials that came from the locality was already owned by Flower and those who benefited from additional demand were the dealers at timber yards in Dublin and those who transported the cargoes. The same pattern emerges in the household spending for the period c.1715-1745. In addition to the high-status items such as plate, furniture and pictures and books, most of the window glass, pewter, ceramics, drinking glasses, clothes, wigs and shoes, medicines, food and wine came from Dublin. Other goods tended to come from Kilkenny which was already the largest inland city and a very well developed retailing and service centre.²⁰⁰ Flower used the services of the physicians and his sons attended the school there. On two separate shopping trips in 1719 and 1720 cauliflower, onion and other garden seeds, coffee, fruits (lemons and mulberries), linen, tobacco, soap, bottles and cork were among the items brought back from Kilkenny.²⁰¹

This gives the impression that Durrow met few of the basic, let alone the unusual demands of a sophisticated household. However, William Flower was among the grander landowners, and these accounts are probably not representative of the spending patterns of the lesser gentry and expenditure in small towns may be underestimated because the place of purchase is generally not stated on bills.²⁰²

Pin and glove makers worked in Durrow town and large households required a surprising number of pairs of gloves each year to present as gifts to friends and relations and to distribute at funerals (see Chapter 3.10). Repairing coaches, replacing saddlery, crockery, locks, clocks and metal ware and grinding knives were just a few

²⁰⁰ The population of Kilkenny rose from an estimated 2000 in 1660 to 4000 by 1700 and the 'city matured as a service centre in response to the growing affluence of its hinterland, notaries and barristers formed the genteel upper crust of civic society by 1800', David Dickson, 'Inland City: Reflections on Eighteenth Century Kilkenny', in W. Nolan and K. Whelan eds., *Kilkenny: History and Society*, (Dublin, 1990), p. 340.

²⁰¹ Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,463 (1).

²⁰² *Ibid.*, Ms. 11,467.

of the routine daily services that the townsfolk provided. Mr. Bathorn an apothecary rented a property in 1743 and Mr. Lodge was one of a number of land surveyors who lived in or near the town and were employed regularly by Flower on the estate and the highways.²⁰³ A yearly account was kept at the 'Red Lion' inn, which was commodious enough for Flower and the county gentry to hold meetings.

Durrow was one of the smaller towns in the region; in others there was a wider range of goods and services. As early as 1633 Birr had 'some pretty beginnings of clothing' and in the early eighteenth century was 'famous for steel bit bridles'.²⁰⁴ Among the freemen of Maryborough c.1750 there was a school master, a surveyor, two apothecaries, two stay makers, a hatter, a wig maker and a striking number of shoemakers.²⁰⁵ At Tullamore leases from the 1740s show that there was also an apothecary, doctor, tailor, wig maker as well as a jeweller in the town.²⁰⁶ The requirements of the gentry encouraged a greater diversity of crafts but once established, the professionals, head tenants and many of the clergy who resided in the towns, could generate a considerable demand of their own. Two esquires and a doctor are among the tenants at Mountrath in 1740.²⁰⁷ The examples from the Quaker community show the level of disposable income and the kinds of houses that a few townsmen could aspire to. Many of the tenants who had gained from favourable leases in the early eighteenth century invested wisely and become minor landowners in their own right. As pseudo-gentry, they absorbed metropolitan standards, erected fine houses and bought expensive objects, as shown by the inventory of the items in the home of Rev. Daniel Jackson from Tullamore in the 1760s.²⁰⁸ As a result the landed gentry had to distance themselves further from the *nouveaux riches*, seeking novel and more expensive modes of dress, housing and furnishing.

Horse-racing was one of the most popular recreations of the gentry and these events were generally held in or on the edge of towns rather than in the open countryside. Landowners played a key role in laying out the courses and establishing prizes for the races. In 1704 John Fitzpatrick spent £1 'levelling the race ground at

²⁰³ Mr. Joseph Lodge was rented a property in the town in 1729 as was Bathorn in 1743, N.L.I. D.20,292-20,348. For e.g. Surveyors bills in 1717, 1744, 1748 and 1750 were £1.16.0, £3.18.0, £11.1.0 and £3.18.8 respectively, N.L.I. Ms. 11,469 (18).

²⁰⁴ John Bramall to the Lord Deputy, 17 March 1633/34, H.M.C. *Hastings Mss.*, Vol. IV. (1947), p. 57-59; and c. 1737, Lodge Mss., Armagh Public Lib. unpag.

²⁰⁵ The list of freemen also gives information on the professions of the freemen: Mountrath (baker, wool combers, merchants and tanners); Mountmellick (shoe maker and carriers); Abbeyleix (parish clerk), Stradbally (spurrier); Durrow (butcher and wool comber); Tullamore (merchant); Ballyroan (shoe maker and tailor). Unfortunately only a minority of the freemen's professions are listed; N.L.I. Ms. 1727.

²⁰⁶ M. Byrne, 'The Development of Tullamore', p. 59.

²⁰⁷ Richard Despard Esq., Daniel Goghan Esq., and Dr. Redmondson are listed among the Earl of Mountrath's town plot tenants in the book of maps, N.L.I. m/film P. 3427.

²⁰⁸ M. Byrne, p.71.

Ballycolla'.²⁰⁹ Detailed rules were drawn up in 1715 for a race to be to be run each second Thursday in August at Durrow, and William Flower was the principal subscriber to the prize fund.²¹⁰ The rules for four perpetual plates to be run twice a year at nearby Dunmore Park from 1731 are very similar except that the prize money was fixed at £10 and £20.²¹¹ The document is signed by the gentlemen and officials of the City and Liberties of Kilkenny, and is similar to an English list of subscribers which 'reads like a roll-call of the county gentry'.²¹²

To a degree races were a money-making enterprise for those who invested in them; even a Quaker could be found among the names of those who pressed for races at Youghal in 1684.²¹³ But there were other benefits and spin-offs. As well as the sport the gentry obtained a modicum of control over this traditional pastime and gave legitimacy and permanance to earlier and more informal races which had been potential sources of disorder.²¹⁴ At Maryborough the corporation made a survey in 1736 of the driest parts of the Great Heath and commons to lay out new race courses, and the erection of tents, huts and booths was prohibited in a bid to reform the manners of race goers, as well as to stop the ground from being churned up. Towns provided a range of goods and support services for competitors and spectators (e.g. ale, food, hay repairs to saddles and bridles, and lodgings). Account books occasionally record the amounts that were laid out by the gentry while attending the races. In 1713 £2.14.0 was 'expended at currah last spring' by John Fitzpatrick, and Flower incurred sundry costs in 1728 'going to see the horse run at the curragh with cash to the jockey'.²¹⁵ Half of Mr. King's miscellaneous expenses for one week in August was laid out on the races in 1763.²¹⁶ It is unclear whether government

²⁰⁹ Rental and misc. notes of Capt. John Fitzpatrick 1700/1719, N.L.I. Ms. 3000.

²¹⁰ Competitors would pay an entrance fee of one guinea (subscribers of the race paid a crown), and the moiety of this pool of money was paid to the winning horse with the rest being split between the subscribers. A horse that was entered had to carry 10 stone and be bona fide (not belonging to someone else and 'every rider to ride fair'), and riders galloped twice around the course in each of the three heats. In August 1715, Flower subscribed £5. Other subscribers included Jeffrey Paul and [?] Brodrick who gave £1.3.0. The judges were appointed by the subscribers. The document states that 'an interest of 8 percent was to be paid to William Flower'; N.L.I., D. 20,238.

²¹¹ Dunmore Park, the first race was held each Whitsontide, the second the following Wednesday. The next pair of races were on the first Monday after the King's Plate at The Curragh; which suggests that rather like markets and fairs as the number of races increased all over Ireland a greater degree of organisation was required to ensure that they would not clash with each other. The entrance fee was 30 shillings, each heat was four miles long and the winning horse had to pay two crowns to the owner of the ground. The principal subscriber was William Gore Esq. of Barrymount, Kilkenny, N.L.I., Ms. 22,427.

²¹² Reference to the subscribers of the Warwick races in 1754, P. Borsay, *An English Urban Renaissance*, p.201.

²¹³ T.C. Barnard, 'Landlords and Urban Life', p. 3.

²¹⁴ Interestingly the Irish word 'curragh' (or heath) remained in common currency.

²¹⁵ Flower Papers, N.L.I. Ms. 11,463 (1).

²¹⁶ Jottings of Mr. King of Ballylin inside a calendar (*The Novel Memorandum Book for Ladies and Gentlemen*), for the week begining the 29 Aug. 1763 £5.17.0 out of £10.11.11., N.L.I., Ms. 3519.

legislation and the commercialisation of horse racing reduced the number of courses to the same extent as in England. In the first editions of the *Finn's Leinster Journal* there are advertisements only for the county races at Carlow and Kilkenny which was where the Weldon family of Rahinderry tended to go in the 1760s and 1770s.²¹⁷ But the Weldons also had a race course of 25-30 acres of their own which is shown on a late eighteenth century map, and it is likely that the increasing popularity of the high spots of the racing calendar (e.g at The Curragh) did not necessarily stop the gentry from patronizing the smaller races in their own towns.²¹⁸

By the middle of the century there was an even greater variety of pastimes that could be carried on in towns. While gentlemen like Vesey in the 1730s enjoyed placing their bets at cock fights (an activity which dropped in popularity after 1760),²¹⁹ others conducted more sober pursuits at Masonic Halls or at meetings of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick. A freemason's lodge was established at Birr in 1747 and a knot of the Friendly Brothers met at 'The Wheatsheaf' in Kilkenny in the 1760s.²²⁰ In 1760 John Wesley had designed to preach at the tholsell at Portarlinton but found it 'pre-engaged for a ball'.²²¹ In 1768 Mrs. Delany's 'concert of vocal and instrumental music' in Durrow and the billiard table at Kilkenny were among the many novel places that gentlemen could visit.²²²

The institutional function of towns could also have knock-on effects at different times of the year. The Assizes held in the spring and summer were among the most important social gatherings for the county gentry, as is shown by their expenditure on such occasions. Towns held army reviews and were mustering points for the county militia. Many gentlemen sent their sons to schools in the two counties (see chapter 3.4), and this created an additional magnetic pull for tradesmen and professionals to settle in the towns.²²³

The growth of towns as military, industrial, trade, education and recreation centres depended to a large degree on adequate communications. Before 1700 it has been observed that 'trunk roads had been for the most part consequences rather than

²¹⁷ 'Diary of Anne Cooke', *J.K.A.S.*, Vol. 8 (1915-1917), pp. 127, 206.

²¹⁸ Map of Kilmawney, surveyed in 1794, N.L.I. map. 16.M.9.

²¹⁹ Estate accounts for Abbey Leix, 1738, N.L.I., m/film P. 6798, p.68.

²²⁰ There might have also been a masonic lodge at Tullamore since Charles Moore was Grand Master of the Masonic Order from 1741/42-1760; Cooke, *History of Birr*, p. 89; and the Friendly Brothers meetings are advertised in *Finn's Leinster Journal*, e.g. 11 March 1767 (issue 14).

²²¹ *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley*, (London, 1872), Vol. 2, p. 140.

²²² *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 20 April 1768 (issue 33) and 13 July 1768 (issue 57).

²²³ In addition to the schools mentioned in the TC.D. list there were numerous others including the charter schools at Stradbally and at Dunkerin where c.1750 Rolleston set aside 20 acres of ground (value of £4.10.0) for 31 years, N.L.I. Ms. 13,794; at Portarlinton in the 1660s lands were set aside to support the classical school (£40 per year) and the French school (£12 per year), Nat. Arch. Ire. M.4976.

determinants of the pattern of rural-urban development'.²²⁴ On the key roads (e.g. Dublin to Limerick) many of the ancient ecclesiastical settlements are along the line and are linked to bishoprics. Planters like the Parsons at Birr might have utilised existing Gaelic trading routes and by the 1630s the town was already well geared to catch passing trade; it was noted in 1634 that 'this [is the] only town I found yet in all my journey fit to accomodate a traveller, having tradesmen in it of all kinds'.²²⁵ Of the 29 settlements marked on the Taylor and Skinner road maps 13 were based on one main street rather than being at the intersection of three or four main roads as one might expect from earlier settlements. But it does seem that new and updated lengths of road from 1600 to 1660 were primarily concerned with linking the strategic nodes (which became the county towns) with routes to the capital and to other more recent settlements in the region.

In the early eighteenth century there are clearer instances of towns which began to develop as a result of the services they could offer to travellers and the army. A description of Dunkerrin (situated on the Dublin to Limerick turnpike) c.1760 stated that 'tho the town be at present but small yet it is well laid out for being made a large one,' having a parish church, grist mill, lime stone quarry and 'Mr. Rolleston [the proprietor] intends to build several houses..and for the encouragement of manufactures in his said town'. According to the proprietor one of its best selling points was a large slated inn with a stable large enough to hold 40 horses and 60 acres of meadow, 'being a most convenient stage for travellers the second night from Dublin and first night from Limerick'.²²⁶

With the gradual improvement of the roads and the likely increase in traffic speed, travellers would have required services in different places. For instance Nenagh might have been the furthest that travellers from Limerick might reach before men and horses needed a night's rest, whereas by the 1730s the speedier carriages and mail coaches might have been able to push as far as Dunkerrin. In 1724 Robert Molesworth commented 'I see by experience that tis high time for me to leave off riding long journeys...I am in a place where no herb or drug that I might occasion for (either for clyster or oat drink) can be had nearer than Tullamore'.²²⁷ The amounts spent by the Vigors family while travelling were usually modest; in 1719/20 on a journey to Dublin they stopped off at Maryborough and bought horse shoes, coach nails and gave charity to a poor man. But if the coach incurred some damage then the

²²⁴ J.H. Andrews, 'Land and People c.1685', p. 470.

²²⁵ John Bramhall to the Lord Deputy, 17 Mar. 1633/34, H.M.C. *Hastings Mss.* Vol. IV (1947), pp. 57-59.

²²⁶ Among a bundle of misc. deeds is 'A description of the rent roll of Rolleston to be mortgaged for Councillor Darby', and a survey of the town and lands of Dunkerrin, 1723, N.L.I. Ms. 13,794.

²²⁷ H.M.C. *Clements Mss.*, p. 369.

costs were much higher, and if one multiplies the number of disbursements made over the course of a given year then the amount that just one family injected into the local economy could be substantial.²²⁸ As well as being aware of exploiting passing trade landowners were also involved in planning and maintaining the highways (chapter 6.2).

At the Restoration the postal service had been very limited and the mail coaches passed through Carlow, Kildare and Mullingar on the main routes out of Dublin and a foot post operated between Rosrea and Birr. By 1729 Tullamore, Philipstown, Birr, Maryborough, Mountmellick and Portarlinton all appear to have been served by coach or foot posts.²²⁹ On post days (mail usually delivered twice a week) people would arrive into town from the country and perhaps spend a day shopping and transacting business. From at least the 1760s post masters appeared to have acted as agents for newspapers and would be visited by prospective advertisers and subscribers.²³⁰

Towns which had originally been located for strategic reasons and had subsequently declined in the period 1650-1700 were resuscitated by the spate of barrack building in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In a rather telegraphic record of a tour through the two counties in the 1730s, it was the barracks which the writer considers as being of prime importance.²³¹ Troops of horse were located at the former garrisons of Maryborough and Philipstown, and Banagher accommodated two companies of foot.²³² The new locations for additional barracks was largely determined by the influence of particular landlords who realised the political as well as the commercial gains to be made. Blundell was not successful in pressing the case for Edenderry whereas Lord Tullamore who was Muster Master General managed to persuade the government to build a barracks for two companies of foot (100 men) on a plot of land that he owned in Tullamore in 1716 for a nominal rent of one shilling a year.²³³ Philip Rawson was paid a more attractive yearly rent of £60 by the Trustees of the Barracks in 1737 for the horse barracks at Donoughmore.²³⁴ Though plain and utilitarian, lacking the architectural merit of the

²²⁸ In the same year they laid out £2.6.4. at Carlow for mending the coach several times, Vigors Papers, Carlow County Lib. N.L.I. m/film P.7629.

²²⁹ M. Reynolds, *A History of the Irish Postal Service*, (Dublin, 1983), pp. 11,12.

²³⁰ *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 14 Feb. 1767, and 21 Feb. 1767.

²³¹ Lodge Mss., Armagh Public Lib.

²³² A letter from Cornet Edward Smith to Lord George Sackville on 29 May 1754 said that 'Maryborough barracks is very agreeable and I hear that Col. Sugborough's health encouraged him to venture home, and gives me a very good chance of making the old barrack smell very comfortable', H.M.C. *Stopford-Sackville Mss.*, Vol. 1 (1904), pp. 209-210.

²³³ M. Byrne, 'The Development of Tullamore', p. 40.

²³⁴ Indenture between Philip Rawson Esq. and the Trustees of the Barrack Board, Nat. Arch Ire. M.5754 (3).

new barracks in Dublin or many of the provincial market houses, the town barracks were often the only public buildings of consequence.²³⁵ As well as generating demand within towns the presence of the barracks may have meant that key stretches of road linking them to the capital had to be well maintained and this would have encouraged further trade.

Writing at the close of the century Daniel Beaufort said Tullamore was 'a very pretty town, in which as well as Birr, there are many gentlemens houses, and some manufactures, which the advantages of the Grand Canal will probably improve'.²³⁶ John Hatch, the agent of the Downshire family at Edenderry, was a share holder in the Grand Canal and was instrumental in obtaining capital for the construction of a branch line linking the main canal with the town and the canal basin even though the Edenderry estate was very much a small outlier of the great Hill patrimony concentrated on County Down.²³⁷ Though geographically distant, by being constantly informed by head tenants, land stewards and other agents and with the added benefit of an efficient road and mail network, landowners were seldom very far removed when the welfare of their urban inheritance was at stake.

²³⁵ A ground plan of 'the Barrack for two troops of horse at Philipstown, built by Right Hon. Richard Lord Viscount Molesworth' were drawn up by Michael Wills in 1731 and show a complex consisting of offices, stables, and courtyards. The west front looked on to the main street in the town and spanned some 120 feet. Copy of the Philipstown barrack ground plan in the Ire. Architec. Archive, (Leix boxes, 57/28). The architect Michael Wills worked on public projects in Dublin and had a country house practice. A similar plan of the barrack at Donoughmore can be found in Nat. Arch. Ire., M.5754 (3). Reference to the building of the cavalry barracks at Philipstown, J. Kearney, *Daingean: Pages from the Past*, (Daingean, 1988), p. 4.

²³⁶ Beaufort, *Memoir of a Map of Ireland*, p. 59.

²³⁷ W.A. Maguire, *Letters of a Great Irish Landlord: A selection of the correspondence of the 3rd Marquis of Downshire 1809-1845*, (P.R.O.N.I. 1974), p.13; Proudfoot and Graham, *Urban Improvement in Provincial Ireland*, p. 39.

CHAPTER 6

County Society

All friends and acquaintances that heard of my being come flocked in to see me, we left Dublin the 13th & the 14th we got to Stradbally to my great joy, for it was very great to meet with my Good Mother, tears of joy were Mutual, at Blackford at the bounds of the County we were met by several gentlemen, friends and tenants and Garlands and long dancers and my Father invited them all home to dine with him, and gave drink and money to the common people and dancers.¹

This description of the reception that Cosby received when he arrived back to Stradbally from the continent in 1724 gives a real sense of the importance of 'the county'. One is reminded of the way in which the Judges of Assize were also met by the Grand Jury as they crossed the county border. Despite his long absence and his experiences of life in England and on the continent Cosby still felt a strong emotional and sentimental pull towards his family home in The Queen's County. One needs to explore further the degree to which gentry families of the period saw see themselves as being part of a county.

The county was an important unit of government and a constant reference point for the local gentry in terms of institutions, customs, hospitality and sociability. But the county was a relatively recent creation in Ireland. Just 140 years elapsed between the first plantation of The King's and Queen's counties and the end of the Williamite re-conquest of Ireland, and it was not until the 1620s that the county really began to take the place of the territorial entities associated with the ancient Irish chieftains.² This chapter will examine the formal (principally local office holding) and informal ways in which the gentry could be said to have formed, and to have seen themselves as part of, a 'county society'.

¹Cosby Autobiog., p. 168.

² The only county institutions of note in the seventeenth century were the two royal forts and the two county gaols, note (from the eighteenth century) concerning the 'division of The King's and Queen's counties on 4 Nov. 1606 and the creation of the the two prisons; Robinson Mss, Gilbert Library, Dublin, ff.23. In the *C.S.P.I.* for this period references are still made to the *territories* of the dispossessed Irish chieftains (O'Mores and O'Dempsey etc.) as well as to the *county*.

It has been argued that in the early eighteenth century the machinery of government at Dublin Castle was diminutive in size, ramshackle in terms of organisation, and manned by staff lacking the qualities required for a professional civil service.³ It is perplexing how such a system with poor lines of communication and lacking an adequate form of surveillance over its officers managed to perform any of the principal tasks of government such as collecting public revenue and maintaining law and order. In an Irish context the ruling elite's problems were compounded by being part of a Protestant minority. They also had to execute English and Irish statute law against a back-drop of religious and racial tensions, the threat of rebellion and the consequences of re-conquest.

The same questions need to be tackled at a local level, especially since the day-to-day business of ruling Ireland remained overwhelmingly in the hands of the county gentry. Local office holding can be divided into three functional categories, i) the magistracy who were appointed to uphold the law, ii) those involved with the defence of the county and iii) those who collected taxes. Appendix 6 lists the nobles, knights, esquires and gentlemen of The King's and Queen's counties and their participation in county office-holding between 1641 and 1760.

6.1 The Shrievalty

The confusing lines of command that existed at the highest levels (Dublin Castle and the Irish parliament) can also be observed at a local level. The out-letter books of the Lords Justices show that all the important government proclamations and warrants (e.g. to convene, dissolve or prorogue parliament, to apprehend and arrest suspects or to collect revenue) were issued in the first instance to the High Sheriffs of each county. One might therefore deduce that the sheriffs were at the pinnacle of the county office-holding structure. Matthew Dutton wrote in 1718 that 'The King's Majesty (by his dignity royal) is the principal conservator of peace within his dominions and sheriffs were conservators of peace within his county'.⁴ The High Sheriff had the responsibility of choosing juries and convening the Quarter Sessions and the Assizes, the custody of prisoners and collecting certain casual revenues of the crown, and during Parliamentary elections he had the important task of acting as chief returning officer for the county. However, there

³ D.W. Hayton 'Ireland and the English Ministers 1707-1716', (D.Phil., Oxford, 1975). This archaic and personalised form of government also existed in England up until 1690, G. Aylmer, 'From Office Holding to Civil Service: the genesis of modern bureaucracy', *T.R.H.S.*, (fifth Series), Vol. 30, (1980), p. 96.

⁴M. Dutton, *The Office and Authority of the Justice of the Peace*, (Dublin, 1718), p. 75.

was another office-holder who could claim to be the titular head of the county and 'principal conservator of peace', the Governor.

This martial office goes back at least to the early seventeenth century, although the convention of having a Governor in each Irish county seems to have begun in the 1660s.⁵ Between 1690 and 1760 there was no need for a Governor to command an army or put down a serious disturbance in the two counties. This contrasts with the period c.1550-1615 when there were supposedly 18 serious rebellions.⁶ However, the rebellion of 1641, and the destruction that was caused to towns and estates during the Williamite War, reminded the Protestant elite that they could not rely on the manpower and resources of the magistracy. There was a very real need for a military presence in the county: apart from the internal threats there was also the danger of invasion by a foreign power. This double threat led to the creation of the county militia (see chapter 6.5). The Governor was the titular head of the militia and he was assisted by deputies and muster masters. In 1699 for instance, the Governor of The Queen's County was the Earl of Mountrath and his two deputies were Colonel Fitzpatrick and Denny Muschamp.⁷ When the government decided to muster the militia it was, in theory, the responsibility of Governors to carry out its commands in each county. In reality the Commissioners of Array and the Sheriff seem to have been largely responsible for the mustering and training of the militia. The infrequency of militia mobilisation and the removal of the Jacobite threat meant that the office of Governor became little more than a sinecure by 1760. But one should not ignore the importance that contemporaries attached to such honorific positions.

The High Sheriff was supposed to be ordinarily resident in the county. The lists of sheriffs appointed to serve in The King's and Queen's counties show that the great majority of the men who held this position did own seats in the counties. Of the 63 families who served in The King's County shrievalty between c.1660 and 1760 just 8 had a seat or subsidiary seat in another county.⁸

⁵Sir Henry Power was the Governor of Leix in 1615 and Viscount Valentia held the same position in 1649. In the early seventeenth century, when the English settlers in The King's and Queen's counties were in the final throes of subduing the Old Irish chieftains, the Governor of Leix had a very important strategic role. The Governor worked closely with the Constables of the Forts of Maryborough and Philipstown as well as the High Sheriffs in order to carry out the will of the Lord Lieutenant, *C.S.P.I.*, 1615-25, p. 11; *ibid.*, 1647-60, p. 278.

⁶R. Dunlop, 'The Plantation of Leix and Offaly', p. 90.

⁷List of governors, P.R.O.N.I., ENV/HP/24- Q.C.

⁸Those individuals who resided outside the county generally had relations within The King's County. For example Lestrangle had branches in King's, Roscommon and Westmeath; and Holmes had branches in Tipperary and King's). Only the Eyre (Galway), Poyntz (Kilkenny), Plunket, (Louth) Wemyss (Kildare) and

While there were a few landowners who served in more than one county most gentlemen served only in their own county. Of the 121 families who served as sheriffs in the two counties only about 6 served in The King's and Queen's counties.⁹ Even in the period 1685-89 when the shrievalty was 'packed' with landowners who supported the controversial programme of James II, the government still appointed local men. It would not have been wise for the executive to 'plant' outsiders in order to fulfill their short-term political aims. The sheriffs were the eyes and ears of the executive. To carry out their tasks effectively they needed considerable local knowledge and some familiarity with members of the magistracy and Grand Jury.¹⁰

In the period 1660-1760 one can identify at least 60 families in The King's County and 65 families in The Queen's county who served as sheriffs. Since no peer can be found on the surviving lists and only a handful were knights and baronets, it can be argued that the shrievalty was an office that was bestowed on un-titled landed gentlemen.¹¹

The Office of Sheriff (or shire-reeve) dates back to the Norman conquest of England. One might have expected that such an ancient and prestigious title would have been coveted by the oldest county families. But a break down of the lists of sheriffs into New and Old Protestants shows that they did not all come from pre-1641 families.¹² In the period 1736-1742 for example there were a whole run of New Protestant sheriffs in The Queen's County: William Wall, Arthur Gore, Walter Stephens, William Despard, Anthony Sharp, Richard Warburton and Richard Despard.¹³ The antiquity of a family in the county was obviously not upper-most in the minds of those who appointed sheriffs.

Wainman families can be identified as 'outsiders', and even they owned estates in the two counties, list of High Sheriffs in Ireland, P.R.O.N.I, D.302; O'Hanlon et al, *History of The Queen's County*, Appendix IV, p. 787; 'High Sheriffs of The King's County', pp. 30-39.

⁹Baggot, Gilbert, Warburton, Moore, Sands and Gore.

¹⁰Brit. Lib Add. Mss. 15893 ff. 137-138.6.; reprinted in H. Upton ed. 'A list of High Sheriffs 1685-86', *J.K.A.S.*, Vol. 11 (1930-33), pp. 36-42.

¹¹Knights and baronets: Dancer, Parsons and Byrne.

¹²Obviously the categorisation of landowning families is not an exact science. Some names do not appear on the standard indexes such as the Books of Survey and Distribution or the 1659 census. This can either mean that the family arrived into the county much later or that they were Old Protestants who were not recorded (see chapter 1.3 and appendix 6).

¹³Though the estimates of the number of Old Protestants are probably a bit on the conservative side one can still discern a clear trend in the period 1660-1760. Between 1660 and 1689 14 (or 50%) of the sheriffs in The King's County and 19 (or 63%) in The Queen's County can be identified as pre-1641 landowners in the county in which they served. Some landowners were appointed as sheriffs as soon as they arrived. In the first two decades after the Cromwellian and Restoration grants the old guard like Laurence Parsons (1662), George Sankey (1665), John Wakely (1667) and Edward Herbert (1668) served along side newcomers like Peter Purefoy (1673), Jonathan Darby (1674) and Thomas Frank (1676). Between 1690 and 1713 the number of Old Protestant families remained about the same, 9 (or 60%) in King's and 16 (or 67%) in Queen's. During the reign of George I the drop in Old Protestant representation in the shrievalty is much more noticeable. Between 1714 and 1726 there were 3 (or 20%) in King's and 5 (or 38%) in Queen's.

Another way of looking at the representation of New and Old Protestant landowners is to isolate the most ubiquitous families (i.e. to ascertain which families served repeatedly as sheriffs). Table 6.1 shows the frequency with which the families served in The King's County, Table 6.1a shows the frequency in The Queen's County and Table 6.1b combines the results of Tables 6.1 and 6.1a.

Table 6.1 The frequency with which families served as High Sheriff in The King's County between 1660 and 1760

Number of times a family held the office of High Sheriff	Number of Families
6	1
5	1
4	1
3	5
2	22
1	30

Source: 'High Sheriffs of The King's County', *J.K.A.S.*

Table 6.1a The Frequency with which families served as High Sheriff in The Queen's County between 1660 and 1760

Number of times a family held the office of High Sheriff	Number of families
10	1
6	2
5	0
4	3
3	3
2	11
1	41

Source: 'High Sheriffs of The King's County', *J.K.A.S.*

During the reign of George II the proportion of pre-1641 families levels out, 7 (or 21%) in King's and 13 (or 39%) in Queen's. Even accounting for some margin of error one can see quite clearly from these figures that after 1690 newcomers were more likely than the older families to be appointed sheriff.

Table 6.1b The Frequency with which families served as High Sheriff in The King's and Queen's Counties between 1660 and 1760

Number of times a family held the office of High Sheriff	Number of families
10	1
6	1
5	1
4	4
3	8
2	33
1	71

Source: 'High Sheriffs of The King's County', *J.K.A.S.*

The office of High Sheriff was held for one year at a time and it was unusual to ask a particular individual or family to serve repeatedly. Table 6.1c shows that 60% of the landowning families that were picked to be sheriff served just once and a further 28% served twice in the period 1660-1760. Those who served 3 or more times were very much in the minority in both counties. The duties of the sheriff could be quite irksome and it is likely that Dublin Castle and the county gentry felt that the burden should be shared out between the most prominent gentry families in the county. However, there were 15 families (or 12% of the total) who served more than three times. Henry Gilbert for example served as sheriff in The Queen's County in 1664, 1665 and 1666. There were also a handful of landowners who were asked to serve more than once during their life; Dudley Cosby became sheriff in 1702, was commissioned as a J.P. in 1715 and was appointed as a sheriff again in 1718.¹⁴ Interestingly 10 of the 16 families who served more than 3 times were Old Protestant.¹⁵ This is in part due to the number of cadet branches that the older families had created in the two counties. It would seem that though there were more New Protestant than Old Protestant sheriffs in this period, a few families with sixteenth or early seventeenth-century origins were seen as being especially good fodder for the shrievalty.

We have so far deduced that a typical High Sheriff c.1760 was likely to be a) a landed gentleman b) resident in the county, c) a relative newcomer (60-80% chance that

¹⁴Sometimes different family members were chosen to serve as sheriff within a short space of time, e.g., in 1666 William L'Estrange was High Sheriff of The King's County and in 1684/85 Thomas L'Estrange was chosen.

¹⁵The Gilberts served as sheriff in The Queen's County 10 times between 1660 and 1760 and the Piggots held the office 6 times (the Fitzgeralds were sheriff 4 times and the Parsons, Wakelys, Baggots, Cosbys, Barringtons and Walshes 3 times).

his family had first arrived into the county after 1650) and d) he was very likely to serve just once during his life. But what *kind* of landed gentleman was he?

The magistracy of The Queen's County was drawn from a pool of about 90 families and the sheriffs came from about 65 families. One might argue from this that both sheriffs and magistrates were drawn from the same families. Indeed the J.P.s and sheriffs were required to work very closely with each other in order to maintain law and order.¹⁶ However, a close scrutiny of the lists of sheriffs and J.P.s reveals that the two groups do not overlap as closely as one might have imagined.¹⁷ It would appear that a Commission of the Peace was not a necessary qualification for the office of sheriff. It was quite common for a landowner to get commissioned in one year and become a sheriff shortly afterwards (e.g. Hunt Walsh became a J.P. in 1716 and High Sheriff in 1720). But one could also become a sheriff without any experience in the magistracy.

The Sheriff was more than a peace-keeper, he had a crucial political and social role in the county and this set him apart from other members of the magistracy. Each year brought with it new problems for the government and the executive appointed 32 sheriffs who could be entrusted to enforce the law, collect revenue and organise elections in the manner that was deemed appropriate for the time. 'The law', both statute law and common law, was not cast in stone and in certain years the sheriffs would be instructed to place particular emphasis on certain aspects of the law (e.g. surveillance of priests in 1715 and 1745), or to implement the law in a more forceful manner (e.g. to have a clamp-down on highway robbers or corn hoarders). The sheriffs might have also been selected for reasons that were more overtly political. As returning officer the sheriff decided whether individual freeman were entitled to vote. He could either use or suppress evidence about a voter's income (if it were under 40 shillings) and religion (i.e. Catholic) depending on whether he felt the vote would go against his preferred candidate.

During the reign of James II a number of landowners were appointed as sheriffs who would not ordinarily have been selected. In The King's County Heward Oxburgh and Francis and Terence Coghlan served as sheriffs between 1687 and 1689 and in the same period Edmund Morris and Simon Hegan (Higgin) were sheriffs in The Queen's County.

¹⁶Letters from Dublin Castle, which were often addressed to 'High Sheriff and Justices of the Peace', underline the commonality of the two office-holding groups.

¹⁷On the basis of the available fragmentary evidence about 40 families had some tradition of serving as both sheriffs and magistrates between 1660 and 1760, 25 families served as sheriffs but not as J.P.s and 50 families served as magistrates but not as sheriffs. In all sheriffs and magistrates were drawn from a pool of c.115 families. A few of the sheriffs who not appear on the list of J.P.s in The Queen's County may have held commissions elsewhere, for the list compiled prior to 1922 may be defective.

All five were Old Irish or Old English Catholics who had forfeited lands after the Irish Rebellion.¹⁸

After 1690 there are no clear examples of such obvious political appointments being made. The Test clause of the 1704 Popery Act effectively debarred Catholics and other non-conformists from becoming sheriffs. At the Hanoverian Succession in 1714 William Sprigge, an outsider was appointed as sheriff in The King's County, and Thomas Vigors obtained the shrievalty of Queen's. As yet nothing is known about their party preferences. When an election seemed imminent (e.g. 1725) a government may have ensured that some of its most useful supporters did *not* become sheriffs so that they could stand as M.P.s instead (one could not be a member of parliament and a sheriff for the same county). This brings one on to the bilateral nature of these appointments.

Many landowners did not want to become sheriff. The position of the High Sheriff, though prestigious, was not seen as a glittering prize. The office was generally only held for one year at a time and one senses that it was an honour that most noted gentlemen (within the very small group described here) would obtain at some point in their career. In describing the appointment of Captain Nathaniel Mitchell in 1734, Cosby remarked that he was, 'made High Sheriffe (w[ha]t a weavers son had no pretensions to) this year to serve this turn'.¹⁹ The job was onerous and the expenses incurred during his office (e.g. entertainments, fees for deputies and clerks etc.) could be very high. Not all of these costs were re-paid by the Exchequer and a gentlemen could very easily end up out of pocket at the end of the year. This might help to explain why some of the most important families in The Queen's County (such as the Flowers, Cootes, Veseys and Priors) did not become sheriffs during this period.

One important link that is missing in most accounts of the local office structure in Ireland is the role of the deputy sheriff. The High Sheriff chose his own deputies (usually two) and this explains why the names of the deputies are rarely recorded in the state papers (i.e. they are not patent offices). Evidence from elections and the few surviving Assize Court records suggest that much of the day-to-day work was carried out by these junior officers and they were paid for their services by the sheriff himself.²⁰

¹⁸*Brit. Lib Add. Mss.* 15893 ff. 137-138.6.; reprinted in H. Upton ed. 'A list of High Sheriffs 1685-86', *J.K.A.S.*, Vol. 11 (1930-33), pp. 36-42.

¹⁹Cosby Autobiog., p. 312.

²⁰At The Queen's County by-election in 1779 for instance the poll book shows that a number of deputy sheriffs served on different days; Poll book 1779, N.L.I., M/film. P.3064.

6.2 The Grand Jury

One of the sheriff's most important tasks was to choose gentlemen to serve on the Grand Jury.²¹ The Grand Jury had a key administrative as well as a judicial role in the county.²²

Grand Jurymen decided on which civil and criminal cases were to go before the Quarter Sessions and the Assizes, and adjudged the more important cases themselves (e.g. murder, assault or cases involving men of some social standing). While the courts were in session they also decided on the amount of money that was to be levied on the local population (the assessment or the county cess) and on the projects that it was to be spent on (i.e. which roads and bridges were to be built or repaired).

Who were the Grand Jurymen? It is unclear whether the term 'Grand' refers to the social and economic backgrounds of the jurymen or whether it merely reflects the relatively large number of men that sat on the jury. There was supposed to be 23 Grand Jurymen although the actual number fluctuated from year to year.²³ There was no explicit property qualification and peers seem to have been the only group that were formally excluded from serving. Catholics could serve on Grand Juries if no suitable Protestant could be found. Dissenters were also appointed since the sacramental test did not apply to grand jurymen. Though magistrates did serve as jurymen there is no evidence to suggest that there was a systematic preference for Justices of the Peace. Theoretically the sheriff could fill the Grand juries with his own cronies.

In practice it would seem that the sheriff's freedom of choice of jurors was rather more limited. Grand Juries had to oversee the collection of the cess and it might have been advantageous to have landowners from each barony. Some of the more substantial landowners had a long tradition of serving on the Grand Jury and it would not have been prudent for sheriffs to overlook them in favour of his own men. A sheriff might obtain

²¹The Grand Jury records for The Queen's County in this period were accidentally destroyed by fire in the court house at Maryborough in 1782. The records for The King's County suffered the same fate in the Four Courts in 1922.

²²There were actually two Grand Juries in each county: one for the Quarter Sessions and one for the Assizes. Some gentlemen are known to have served on both juries and it is likely that some landowners had to serve an apprenticeship at the Quarter Sessions Grand Jury before graduating onto the Assize Grand Jury. Less evidence is available for a study of the Quarter Sessions Grand Jury but it would seem that the fiscal importance of this body steadily decreased during this period.

²³In Antrim for example there were between 18-21 jurymen in the years 1712-41 and 20-23 in the period 1736-68. Studies of other Irish counties have indicated that it was not uncommon for many jurymen to be related by blood to the sheriff and in 1714 some sheriffs packed Grand Juries with those landowners who supported the Whig administration; Neal Garnham, 'Who Ran Early Hanoverian Ireland?: The Grand Jury System c. 1690-1800', paper given at The Queen's University of Belfast, 5 Dec. 1997. I am grateful to Dr. Garnham for directing me to sources on this subject.

some short term political and economic advantages by putting in his friends and family but in so doing he might forfeit the friendship of many of the most important landowners in the county in the longer term. It has been argued (on the basis of evidence from Donegal, Antrim and Westmeath) that the pool from which jurymen were chosen actually got smaller as the eighteenth century progressed.²⁴ Was this an indication of 'elite formation': the creation of a smaller and more politically homogenous body?

The earliest list of Grand Jurymen in The Queen's County is from 1783.²⁵ All of the families on this list had some tradition of service in the county before 1760. Of the 23 jurymen, at least 9 and possibly 11 came from pre-1641 families, 6 were from Cromwellian and Restoration stock, and 5 first arrived into the county after 1690.²⁶ What is interesting here is the relatively strong presence of Old Protestants and of post-1690 arrivals. Despite the incidence of genealogical failure over two centuries, planter families like the Cosbys, Cootes, Piggots, Stubbers and Walshs were still at the heart of the county administration.²⁷

There were two baronets among the Grand Jurymen of The Queen's County in 1783 and at least 16 of the others would have been styled as esquire (on the basis of pre-1760 evidence they were substantial landowners with country seats).²⁸ There is a sense that all Grand Jurymen were listed as esquires as a matter of course.²⁹ No doubt some landowners previously styled as 'gent' found themselves being listed as esquire when they were chosen for the Grand Jury. Since the qualifications for a Grand Jurymen were not enshrined in law, it seems likely that the way in which landowners were selected varied from county to county.

The presentment books that have survived give the impression that the Grand Jury was more of an event than a permanent institution. Jurymen carried out their main legal and fiscal duties on the few days of the year when the courts were held. However, it is

²⁴Garnham, see above paper given at Q.U.B.

²⁵A transcript (taken before post-1782 records were destroyed): in O'Hanlon et al, *History of the Queen's County*, Appendix IV.

²⁶The Biddulphs and Sherlocks may well have been pre-1641 Old English Catholic families, the origins of the Purcells is obscure.

²⁷Families with very recent origins were also able to make their way into the Grand Jury. Matthew Cassan was the High Sheriff in 1783: the Cassans were a French Huguenot family who accompanied King William to Ireland in 1690. Among the jurymen he selected were James Stephens (related to the Stephens who acquired the lands in Borris in Ossory c.1690; Sir John Parnell (Judge Parnell bought his estate in c. 1720); Jonathan Chetwood (Knightley Chetwood arrived c. 1710) and Sir Robert Staples (who appears to have acquired the estate at Dunmore c. 1750).

²⁸The Sherlock, Palmer, Stephens, Purcell and Philips families probably had much more modest holdings than the other jurymen.

²⁹By way of comparison all of the men who sat on the Grand Juries in Co. Donegal between 1753 and 1760 held the rank of a knight or esquire; Neal Garnham, *The Courts, Crime and the Criminal Law*, p.124.

likely that the jurymen also met on a more informal basis in taverns and private houses throughout the year. Since records of such *ad hoc* meetings do not survive, one will never be able to assess the full contribution that Grand Jurymen made to the administration of the county.

Though the Grand Jury of Assize was the lynch-pin of the legal process in the county it should not be considered as the only 'voice of the county'. Countless other juries (that included men of a high social status) were also assembled to hear legal cases.³⁰ Grand Jurymen were selected at each session whereas magistrates usually held their commissions for life. There were also a number of other officers who were involved with the maintenance of law and order in the county (e.g. Constables and Commissioners of Array) and the state employed its own agents to collect the most important taxes (e.g. the Excise).

It could be argued that the most important contribution that the Grand Jury made to the administration and economic development of the county in this period was in the area of road maintenance and bridge construction. The development of turnpike roads after c.1730 and the impressive public building projects of the latter half of the eighteenth century has received attention.³¹ By contrast the piece-meal construction of roads and bridges before 1760 has been largely ignored. One reason for this is that infrastructural developments like bridges and roads needed to be constantly repaired or rebuilt. This has meant that most of the pre-1760 evidence has been destroyed.³²

Cartographic evidence shows that Ireland already had (by the standards of early modern Europe) a very dense road network in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The Down Survey of the 1650s shows just 8 bridges in The King's County and 5 in The Queen's County (the maps show 207 bridges and 127 fords in Ireland as a whole).³³ By 1714 Moll was able to record 17 bridges in The King's County and 20 in Queen's (584 bridges are shown in total). The road maps of Taylor and Skinner show that there were at

³⁰ In 1735 for instance 'a Q[ueen]s County jury of 12 men' was chosen by the High Sheriff to hear the case of Pole Cosby and Col. Murray. All of the jurors were substantial landowners and five of them lived outside the county (two from Co. Kildare, one from The King's County, one from Co. Carlow and one from Dublin). Cosby argued that the jury had been packed with 'devotees of Dawson', Cosby Autobiog., pp. 311-314.

³¹ After c.1750 the Irish Parliament provided substantial sums to build bridges (e.g. the Shannon, Cork and Kilkelly bridges) and many of these impressive structures still survive.

³² Only about 20 medieval bridges survive (in whole or part) in Ireland and the bridges that were built between c. 1600-1750 are notoriously difficult to date, P. O'Keefe and T. Simington, *Irish Stone Bridges: History and Heritage*, (Dublin, 1991), p. 21.

³³ Moll's road map of Ireland in 1714 shows 6826 miles of 'principal roads' in the whole of Ireland (of which 182 miles were in The King's County and 213 in The Queen's County). The maps produced by Taylor and Skinner in 1778 show a total of 8000 miles of road (based on a survey c. 1770), *ibid*, p. 47.

least 3000 bridges in Ireland by about 1770. It could be argued that period 1690-1750 was the most formative in the history of bridge construction in Ireland.

What part did the Grand Jury play in this infrastructural development? The origins of the 'presentment' system can be found in the Bridge Act of 1634. What is interesting about this act is that Justices of the Peace and Grand Juries had an equally important role to play in the 'repayring and amending of Bridges, Causeyes and Toghers in the High-wayes'.³⁴ In Ireland the repair of the local road network remained under the control of the Parish Select Vestry until 1765, and from the 1730s the turnpike roads were supervised by boards of trustees. This shows that a number of bodies, and not just the Grand Jury, were involved with roads and bridges.

However it is clear that after 1634 the Grand Juries played the most important role in the design, construction and repair of roads and bridges in the county. In the seventeenth century each county seems to have had its own particular way of raising tax; although it was customary for jurors to levy a certain sum on each barony. In 1705 an act was passed to regulate the way in which the tax was collected. The rate of tax was to be based on the valuations of lands in different 'districts' and a sliding rule (which became known as 'the key of the county') was used to determine how much the inhabitants paid in each part of the county. The problem with such a system was that the valuations soon became out of date. It was argued that by the late eighteenth century some districts 'which are now the richest and most fertile that Ireland can boast of were, at that time [the early eighteenth century], uncultivated wastes, or inaccessible morasses'.³⁵

Pole Cosby's autobiography gives us an insight into the way in which the Grand Jury presentment system operated in the first half of the century. He recalled that at the Lent Assizes in 1733:

the Grand Jury gave me £15 to widen the 2 bridges of Stradbally which were but 9 1/2 wide in the clear & little or no battlem[ent]ts so that they

³⁴ It was enacted that, 'the said justices of assize in their circuits, and the said justices of the peace in the quarter sessions respectively, with the assent of the grand-jury, shall have power and authority to tax and set every inhabitant in any such county, barony, citty borrough, towne or parish'. The English Act did not mention Grand juries at all and empowered only the Justices of the Peace 'to tax and set every inhabitant to such reasonable aid and sum of money as they think reasonabel for repairing, re-edifying and amendment of such bridges'; 14 July 1634, 10th Charles I, and reprinted in *Irish Stone Bridges*, Appendix 4, pp. 32, 296.

³⁵The main tax burden fell on the occupants of the land rather than the owners. Lord Carbery (who attempted to reform the Grand Jury system in the 1830s) suggested that the assessment had long been a source of fierce criticism because the 'proprietors contribute nothing' even though they ultimately derived great benefits from the Grand Jury presentments; Lord Carbery, *Obsevationes of the Grand Jury System of Ireland*, (London, 1833), p. 1.

were exceedingly dangerous ...I Brought it much straiter than it otherwise wo'd be to the town with the £15 the county gave me and £3.10 of my own I almost finished the S.E side by summer, & so Lent Assizes 1735 the Grand Jury gave me £25 more to finish the other side & to widen the Little Bridge over the mill course & with a little more of my own I compleatly finished the Bridge.³⁶

What is apparent from this and other references in Cosby's account is the piecemeal way in such 'public' projects were financed. The whole process of presentment was slow and laborious. In the first instance the need for urgent repairs to the roads or bridges had to be brought to the attention of a magistrate or influential landowner. The minutes of the corporation of Portarlinton show that although the inhabitants of the town regularly complained about the dangerous state of certain roads and bridges, nothing was done to remedy these problems until a stretch of highway became impassable (e.g. when a bridge crumbled).³⁷ In 1705 Thomas Fitzgerald reported to the Grand Jury of Assize that the 'Old house of pooremans bridge will tumble down next winter if some care be not taken this sumer[sic]'.³⁸ An application for funds to build or repair a bridge or road needed the support of landowners and/or the urban office-holders.

At Assizes the Grand jurymen considered the proposals more carefully and applicants had to provide maps, plans, specifications and a break-down of the estimated cost of the project. The schemes that were approved by the jurymen were then 'fiated' by the Judges of Assize. The proposals that were rejected by the jury (or 'traversed') were also heard by the judges. An unsuccessful applicant might re-apply at the next Assises with a modified plan. It is likely that many projects were rejected simply because the juries did not have enough resources at their disposal rather than because a proposal was poorly conceived. In 1757 the stretch of road between Philipstown and Portarlinton was said to have been in 'extreme bad order':

where upon a sum of £48 was applied for by presentment at the last assizes for repairing that bad part of the road, and would, I believe, have been obtained, but the gentlemen of the grand jury, taking into consideration the distressed situation of the county at this time, and some

³⁶Cosby Autobiog, p. 311.

³⁷'Port. Minute', 27 June 1737.

³⁸28 July 1705, De Vesci Papers, N.L.I., Ms. J/2.

gentlemen undertaking to repair the roads through their estates at their own expense, it was resolved not to grant any presentments at these assizes.³⁹

According to Arthur Young the projects that had been 'fiated' were funded initially by the applicant(s) themselves rather than the county.⁴⁰ The Cosby evidence would seem to support this claim. At a subsequent Assizes the approved projects were re-considered again, as a 'query' and if a portion of the work had been carried out successfully then the scheme was finally 'allowed' and a payment was made by the treasurer for the rest of the work. Those 'fiated' proposals that were deemed un-satisfactory were marked 'undischarged query' (i.e. no public money was granted even though they had been provisionally approved) until such times as the work was certified as completed. The way in which Grand Juries of the eighteenth century funded projects was not so dissimilar to their modern counterparts (e.g. local councils with their 'pound for pound' schemes). If applicants, such as landowners and townsmen, wanted an improvement to be funded out of the public purse then they had to show some commitment to the project by providing some of the money themselves. In 1707 Montague Blundell paid £1.10.0 at 'presentment for the erection of bridge'.⁴¹ 1734 Pole Cosby widened two of the bridges in the town of Stradbally and 'the county gave me £35 towards it'. He complained that 'the town bridge cost me £27 out of my own pocket and Coz. Franks Bridge cost me £38 more than the County gave me'.⁴²

The slow pace at which presentments were considered and the often paltry sums that Grand juries had at their disposal meant that landowners were often forced to take the initiative themselves. The accounts from Abbey Leix show that a new bridge was constructed by the Vesey family near the demesne in 1712.⁴³ A fine five arch stone bridge was built by Hunt Walsh at Ballykillcavan in 1713.⁴⁴ When in 1757 the Grand Jury of Assize in The King's County turned down an application to repairs to the road at Edenderry the local inhabitants petitioned the Blundell family to pay for the work.⁴⁵ This shows that the infrastructural developments which took place in the countryside in the first

³⁹John Hatch to Miss Blundell, 12 May 1757, Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I., D.607/A/161.

⁴⁰Simington, *Irish Stone Bridges*, p. 32.

⁴¹Account book, 1707-1744, Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I., D.671/A1/1B.

⁴²Cosby Autobiog., p. 311.

⁴³Account book, De Vesce Papers, N.L.I., M/film, P.6797.

⁴⁴Garrans Bridge near the Ballykillcavan demesne still survives and is in excellent condition (there is an original plaque with an inscription which mentions Hunt Walsh's munificence).

⁴⁵John Hatch to Miss Blundell, 12 May 1757, Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I., D.607/A/161.

half of the eighteenth century should not be ascribed to Grand juries alone. Bridge and road building were collaborative enterprises involving landowners, Grand Jurymen and magistrates (who were also landowners themselves), town officials and other interested parties. This symbiotic relationship can be observed most clearly at Stradbally. Between 1730 and 1734 all the bridges in the town had been repaired or re-built. The Grand Jury may have seemed parsimonious to Cosby but they had helped to get the projects off the ground by offering to bear some of the costs. Apart from the long-term practical benefits of new bridges (e.g. the encouragement of trade in the town) a landowner could also make a more rapid return on his investment. The stone that was used at Stradbally was likely to have come from Cosby's own quarry and the stone masons and labourers were probably tenants on his estate.

Thus when all these elements (jurymen, landowners and townsmen etc.) were able to cooperate the results could be most satisfactory. However, all too often there were fierce disputes between the various interests. When new projects were proposed landowners argued over the exact location of highways and the siting of bridges. Grand Jurymen were landowners themselves and they would have been all too aware of the difference that a new road could make to the prosperity of an estate. No doubt some jurymen gave precedence to projects that bordered on their own lands and suited their own economic interests. One might have thought that in a pre-industrial society, where there was an under-developed system of inland communications, *all* new roads would have been greeted with enthusiasm. In fact landowners and tenants were often opposed to new roads if they believed that traffic (i.e. potential consumers) would be re-directed away from many of the towns and villages that relied on passing trade. In 1757 a new 8-mile stretch of road was proposed between Clonbullock and Edenderry. There was a great deal of opposition to this scheme because 'the market of Edenderry is now resorted to by the inhabitants of a large tract of country on the distant side of Clonbullock from Edenderry who (were this road made) would quit Edenderry and go to Portarlinton'. Blundell's agents attempted to stop this project in its tracks by exerting some pressure on the Grand Jury. It was reported that if the project appeared to pass through the preliminary stages then:

care will be taken to watch at the future assizes that the friends of this new road shall not easily get any money from the county to help them to make [it] and I fancy they will not chose to be at the expense of it

themselves, and will find it hard to get as much money by subscription as will make it as tis eight miles in length, and mostly through bog.⁴⁶

New roads also meant that additional lands had to be acquired by the county. This generated further litigation. In 1748 for instance Thomas Bewley (a Quaker) at Edenderry enquired about the compensation that he was to receive if his land was damaged as a result of road straightening between Edenderry and Philipstown.⁴⁷ Given the problems that were created when relatively minor changes were made to the highways it is little wonder that turnpike roads required an act of parliament before they could be built.

Grand jurymen and magistrates were not always the best placed to carry out the infrastructural changes that were needed to transform the Irish economy. The development of turnpike roads came about as a result of the inadequacies of the presentment system. The key institutional innovation in Ireland after 1729 was the setting up of private trusts- each with its own investors, treasurers, clerks, surveyors, gate-keepers and contractors- for building and maintaining particular lengths of road. The funds that the Grand Juries had at their disposal barely met the cost of the emergency repairs and without a substantial injection of state funds they could not embark on new road building. The surviving accounts of the turnpike trusts show that the sums that were raised from private investors far exceeded anything that could be obtained by the Grand juries for any particular project.

In 1731 an act of Parliament was passed for 'repairing the Road from the town of Naas in the County of Kildare to the Town of Maryborough in the Queen's County'. This was one of the earliest turnpike acts in Ireland and it involved a stretch of road measuring 31.25 Irish miles. An indenture of 1746 was signed by fifteen of the trustees for this road (the minimum number required at a meeting). They agreed to pay Mrs. Anne Carr, a spinster from the City of Dublin, 5% interest on the £50 that she had invested in the project.⁴⁸ Much of the capital for these early turnpikes seemed to come from investors in Dublin.⁴⁹ By c.1750 the Maryborough-Naas and Mountrath-Frankfort road was administered by 69 trustees. Most of these were substantial landowners (e.g. George Holmes, Andrew Armstrong and John Parnell). In 1767 W.H Dawson, the son of

⁴⁶Hatch to Lord Blundell, 12 April 1757, Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I., D.607/A/23.

⁴⁷Thomas Bewley to Henry Hatch, 10 Feb. 1748, Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I., D.607/A/73.

⁴⁸Turnpike receipt, 1 May 1746 (no. 51), Nat. Arch. Ire, M.774.

⁴⁹A study of pre-1750 turnpike petitions to the English Parliament has also shown that there was a considerable urban element among the boards of trustees; E. Rawson, *Transport and Economy: The Turnpike Roads of Eighteenth-Century England*, (London, 1977), p. 174.

Ephriam Dawson, was appointed as chairman of the trustees and inspector of works. There were also clergymen (e.g. Rev. Philip Barnet and Rev. Oliver Flood) and a number of townsmen. The Quakers were especially well represented (i.e. Moses Pim, James Pimm, John Pimm, Charles Pimm, Andrew Sharp, Thomas Boothe and Joseph Edmondson).⁵⁰ It is likely that only a few trustees actually attended meetings. Since these roads passed through a number of towns and estates (in more than one county) it was desirable to have a large proportion of the landowners and important townsmen 'on the books', even if they did not all take an active part in the running of the turnpike.

In a relatively short space of time a number of important changes had been made to the road network in the two counties. After the Naas to Maryborough turnpike act in 1731 came the Marborough-Toomivara road in 1735, and then the Mountrath-Cloneshin road in 1751. In 1765 the road linking Birr to Monasterevin was greatly improved. Oliver Sloane's map c. 1765 shows a number of 'new design'd' roads (e.g. between Mountmellick and Cavan's Heath; and Maryborough and Ballyroan). Many of these new roads were built parallel to the existing highways and they tended to be much straighter (e.g. a traveller approaching The Queen's County from Monasterevan or Roscrea had a choice of 'the old road' or the 'new turnpike road').⁵¹ New construction methods were also developed so that roads could be built straight across large tracts of bog. In 1752 Lord Tullamore wrote to Lord Blundell about 'a scheme of a road from a place called Ballymagar...to Clane in the county of Kildare...which would shorten the distance between the two places by 18 miles out of 33, and drain several thousand acres of the Bog of Allen'.⁵² Such ambitious schemes involved large amounts of capital. At a meeting of the trustees for the Maryborough road in 1753 the repair bill was said to have been £387.186.⁵³ Despite the shortcomings of the turnpike system, such as the inactivity of some of the trustees and the primitive policy of superficial repairs in many places, the new roads did make a big difference to the quality of the road network (as was noted by English travellers to Ireland).

By 1760 one might speculate that the turnpike trustees and investors had over stretched themselves. There is evidence to suggest that some trustees broke the conditions of the enabling acts by making private agreements with landowners to keep

⁵⁰List of trustees in Rev. E. O'Clearly, 'Turnpike Roads of Kildare and Queen's Counties in the Eighteenth Century', *J.K.A.S.* Vol. 7 (1912-1914), pp. 118-124.

⁵¹N.L.I., Ms. 16.h.9 (12).

⁵²Lord Tullamore to Lord Blundell, 24 Jan. 1752, Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I., D.607/A/103.

⁵³'Turnpike Roads of Kildare and Queen's', pp. 118-124.

sections of a new road in repair.⁵⁴ Similarly an act of parliament did not give trustees complete authority over the running of the roads. Magistrates, who were often also trustees, were still relied upon to deal with arguments over compensation and over the level of tolls that were charged on the roads.

6.3 Justices of the Peace

What can be said about the size and distribution of the magistracy during this period? An 'account of the number of Justices in Ireland in September 1760' can be used as a starting point.⁵⁵ According to this list there were 2,024 Justices of the Peace across the whole of Ireland (or an average of 63 J.P.s per county) at the end of the period under review. Table 6.3 shows the number of J.P.s in each county in relation to acreage and population.

⁵⁴Point made by Broderick, 'Turnpike Roads 1729-1765', in paper given at T.C.D., 18 Nov. 1996.

⁵⁵Robinson Mss., Gilbert Library, Dublin, ff. 181. (bundle 34).

Table 6.3 The Number of J.P.s in each Irish county in relation to acreage and population

County	Number of J.P.s in 1760	% of local J.P.s out of total number in Ireland	% acreage of the surface area of Ireland	% of the total population of Ireland in 1760
Dublin	92	4.6	1.1	6.1*
Kildare	48	2.4	2.1	2.1
Meath	77	3.8	3.0	3.5
Wicklow	46	2.3	2.3	1.9
King's	48	2.4	2.3	2.1
Queen's	67	3.3	2.2	2.7
Carlow	36	1.8	1.0	1.3
Kilkenny	93	4.6	2.6	2.8
Westmeath	69	3.4	2.3	2.2
Wexford	53	2.6	2.9	3.1
Louth	44	2.2	1.0	2.1
Longford	26	1.3	1.2	1.3
Clare	74	3.7	3.9	2.5
Cork	191	9.5	9.0	11.3
Kerry	74	3.7	5.8	2.9
Limerick	115	5.7	3.4	4.4
Waterford	40	2.0	2.3	2.5
Tipperary	99	4.9	5.4	4.6
Galway	75	3.7	7.0	3.6
Leitrim	33	1.6	1.9	1.0
Mayo	43	2.1	6.6	3.4
Roscommon	42	2.1	2.9	2.2
Sligo	27	1.3	2.2	1.4
Armagh	59	2.9	1.5	2.7
Antrim	59	2.9	3.5	4.7
Donegal	67	3.3	5.7	2.8
Cavan	45	2.2	2.5	2.1
Down	85	4.2	3.1	6.0
Fermanagh	41	2.0	2.0	1.3
Monaghan	39	1.9	1.5	2.4
Londonderry	42	2.1	2.3	3.1
Tyrone	47	2.3	3.5	4.0

Source: 1760 Return of J.P.s; Arthur Young, Part II, p. 2; Official County House Totals, see Dickson et al, 'Hearth Tax, Household Size and Irish Population Change', pp. 177-178. The figures for 'households' derive from the number of taxable households. The proportion of houses that were taxed varied from county to county and the multiplier to be used must also take into consideration the different household sizes in different parts of Ireland. The 4 magistrates who were recorded for Galway town are not included in this table. The return mentions that '24 J.P.s were commissioned since March 1769', and that Privy Councillors, Judges and Commissioners of the Revenue are not included on the list.

*The taxable houses in Dublin tended to have more inhabitants than in similar houses elsewhere in Ireland. As a result this is probably a very conservative estimate.

Table 6.3 shows that there was a correlation between the number of J.P.s and the size and population of the county.⁵⁶ This is not surprising since the whole purpose of the magistracy was to uphold the law to the same degree in each of the 32 counties. This contrasts with the regular army which was not evenly spread throughout the whole of Ireland. Barracks were located in towns of strategic importance (e.g. Athlone and Kinsale) and in places where landowners had encouraged them (e.g. Tullamore) rather than in each county. As well as defending Ireland from foreign invasion the Irish army assisted the magistracy in policing the island. The army could be said to have been a 'problem orientated' police force which could be moved from town to town and county to county depending on the level of crime. By contrast the magistracy were expected to reside in the county in which they held a commission and to maintain law and order within the bounds of the county.

A knowledge of the physical extent of each Irish county does help us to understand the problems the magistracy faced in policing different parts of Ireland. In Mayo for instance 43 J.P.s would have had great difficulty enforcing the law in every corner of the county (from Ballycastle to Ballinrobe and from Belmullet to Ballyhaunis) because of the long distances and rough terrain involved. But county population size (rather than county acreage) is probably a better index as to the numerical strength of the magistracy since J.P.s were concerned, first and foremost, with governing people rather than coping with the vagaries of the landscape. Table 6.3a shows the number of households per J.P. in a each county in 1760.

⁵⁶In most Irish counties the percentage share of J.P.s in Ireland was directly related to total land mass and population. In Co. Longford for instance just 26 J.P.s are recorded on the 1760 return. This seems like a small number until one considers the county's diminutive size. Longford had 1.3% of the total number of J.P.s in Ireland, consisted of 1.2% of the surface area of the island and had 1.3% of the total population of Ireland c. 1760. Co. Cork appears to have had an exceedingly large number of J.P.s until one considers the large size of its population. Between 1661 and 1719 there were 131 new commissions in Cork and in the period 1720-1769 no fewer than 362 J.P.s appointed (176 % increase). Even though the magistracy in Cork did expand rapidly the county was (in terms of population) still a little under-represented in 1760.

Table 6.3a The Number of J.P.s in each county in relation to the number of taxable households in 1760

County	Number of J.P.s	Number of Households	Households per J.P.
1. Leitrim	33	4029	122
2. Kilkenny	93	11573	124
3. Westmeath	69	9015	131
4. Fermanagh	41	5429	132
5. Clare	74	10021	135
6. Carlow	36	5366	149
7. Kerry	74	11653	157
8. Limerick	115	18074	157
9. Queen's	67	11144	166
10. Donegal	67	11349	169
11. Wicklow	46	7843	171
12. Kildare	48	8428	176
13. King's	48	8535	178
14. Meath	77	14278	185
15. Cavan	45	8446	188
16. Tipperary	99	18674	189
17. Armagh	59	11179	189
18. Louth	44	8499	193
19. Galway	75	14633	195
20. Longford	26	5284	203
21. Roscommon	42	8841	211
22. Sligo	27	5766	214
23. Cork	191	46103	241
24. Wexford	53	12805	242
25. Monaghan	39	9711	249
26. Waterford	40	10179	254
27. Dublin	92	24760	269
28. Down	85	24532	289
29. Londonderry	42	12834	306
30. Mayo	43	13801	321
31. Antrim	59	19265	327
32. Tyrone	47	16545	352

Source: 1760 Return of J.P.s

As a rule of thumb one might suggest that for each J.P. holding a commission in 1760 there were somewhere between 122 and 352 households. Seen in these terms the task of governing a county in this period does not seem daunting. But if one uses a

multiplier of 5 (to obtain a rough estimate of the total number of taxable and non-taxable souls in each county) and takes into account the religious and ethnic tensions that existed (i.e. the religious persuasion of the 'law enforcer' differed from that most inhabitants) then the task of controlling a county looks altogether more difficult. In 1760 the 114 J.P.s commissioned in The King's and Queen's counties would have to maintain order in a population that probably exceeded 98,000 (and not all of these J.P.s would have been active).

The 1760 return provides us with an indication of the magistracy at the end of the period under review. But how had the size of the magistracy changed over recent decades?⁵⁷ Matthew Dutton stated that under the Tudors there were great many problems with the office of the Justice of the Peace, 'but how prodigiously have they encreas'd since, and yearly continue to do so'.⁵⁸ Early statutes provided for just 8 J.P.s per county but by the early eighteenth century, 'the number of Justices is greatly encreased in every county'.⁵⁹ In the Queen's County there were (according to one incomplete list) just 54 new commissions in the period 1662-1714 and between 1715 and 1765 this number increased to 98 new J.P.s (an 81% increase).⁶⁰ There were typically 1 or 2 new commissions each year although in certain years (e.g. the beginning of a new reign) this figure could rise significantly. At the accession of King George I in 1714 a cluster of 14 new J.P.s were commissioned.⁶¹ The commission of Henry Flower in 1747 is signed by 57 J.P.s in The Queen's County.⁶² It is likely then that there were about 35- 40 J.P.s in The Queen's County in the early 1700s rising to between 60-65 in the 1750s. In The King's County one can assume that there were rather fewer J.P.'s (by some 20 to 30%).

It is more difficult to ascertain the number of magistrates who took an active as opposed to a passive role in local law enforcement. It has been suggested that of the 2,024 J.P.s listed on the return of 1760 as few as one in five were active.⁶³ It could be that the 'sleeping' J.P.s played a more informal and less obvious role in enforcing the law.

⁵⁷The destruction of the Rolls of Magistrates and Peace Books means that one is reliant upon pre-1922 antiquarian transcripts and the occasional 'Commission of the Peace' warrant. This makes it difficult to make assumptions about the relative expansion of the magistracy in different counties.

⁵⁸ Dutton, *Justice of the Peace*, p.1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁶⁰ The relatively low number of J.P.s suggests that this list is not complete; a list of magistrates in, O'Hanlon, *History of the Queen's County*, Vol. 2, Appendix IV, pp 777-788. .

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 787.

⁶² Commission of the Peace for Lord Castle Durrow, 6 June 1747, N.L.I. Ms. 20,230.

⁶³ In Co. Antrim just 14 out of the 59 J.P.s mentioned on the 1760 return appear in the Assize records of 1766. Similarly at the Cork Assizes in 1769 just 30 magistrates out of a total of 191 seem to have played an active role in the county, Hayton, 'English Ministers', p. 198; Neal Garnham. *The Courts, Crime and the Criminal Law*, p. 34.

The mere presence of J.P. in a parish might have strengthened the authority of the churchwardens and constables. A magistrate could also offer legal advice, implement informal sanctions and assist in searching for criminals. Not all of the activities of J.P.s would have been recorded in the Assize books. There may have been a small clique of J.P.s who were keen to be involved at every stage of the criminal process (i.e. the collection of evidence, the surveillance and capture of criminals, the conveyance of the prisoners to the High Sheriff and attendance at the Quarter Sessions or Assizes). But there might have been others who took more of a back-seat role and were not involved in the court process (and thus are not recorded). More needs to be known about the internal organisation of the J.P.s. Was there a kind of pecking order based on social status or age? The youngest J.P.s were likely to have acted deferentially to the older and wiser magistrates and to have obtained years of experience before being involved with the most serious cases (e.g. murder and serious assault). But one could equally argue that a young J.P. was more likely to have been active than his more senior (and possibly more gout-ridden) colleagues. It seems to have been quite common for both senior and junior members of a family to have been J.P.s at the same time. The list of the J.P.s in The Queen's County in 1747 included George, Southwell, John and Emmanuel Piggot; Richard and Piggott Sandes; Richard, William and John Despard; and Richard Warburton the elder and younger and John Warburton.⁶⁴ There is no sense that an inheriting son had to wait until his father died before he could get a commission. William Flower became a J.P. just a year after he reached his majority in 1707. It made practical sense for the son to work in unison with his father and to take on some of the more onerous tasks while he was still young and fit.

It does seem likely nonetheless that only a fraction of the total number of J.P.s would have been active at any one time. Commissions were usually held for life (although a J.P. could be struck off at the beginning of a new reign or for misbehaviour) and it is likely that some of those on the 1760 return were dead or else quite elderly. Other gentlemen spent long periods in Dublin and further afield. Since the active magistracy were fewer in number one might have expected that they would have been spread out across the county so that they were never too far away from where they were needed. In fact the magistrates were not evenly distributed and there were large pockets in virtually every Irish county where there was no resident magistrate. This was a common source of complaint among contemporaries. In 1758 an agent for the Edenderry

⁶⁴Flower deed, N.L.I., D. 20,230.

estate bemoaned the fact that 'there is not any Justice of the Peace in or near this town'.⁶⁵ In 1770 it was argued that in the town of Ballinakill, 'the residence of an active magistrate is much wanted, he must be in commission of the Peace of Queen's County and County Kilkenny where from its neighbouring situation offenders might be sheltered from justice'.⁶⁶

Though a very small number in terms of the total county population, the magistracy was composed of a high proportion of the county gentry. The indexes described in Chapter 1.2 suggest there were about 150 'gentlemen' in the Queen's County, and 67 or so J.P.s; 160 gentlemen in The King's County and 48 J.P.s.⁶⁷ The Queen's County appears to have a larger than average number of minor or petty gentry, so that the relatively low income qualification that was needed to become a magistrate (usually £100) meant that there were far more potential candidates than the number of places available.

Of the 2,024 J.P.s on the 1760 return 220 of them (or 11%) were clergymen. In The Queen's County a much smaller proportion of the J.P.s were drawn from the clergy. Of the 152 men who were known to have been commissioned between 1662 and 1765 only 4 had a clerical title (e.g. 'Rev.' or 'Bishop'). The commission of Henry Flower in 1747 contains 57 names and not one of them (as far as one can tell) was a clergyman.⁶⁸ The clergy were often drafted into the magistracy in parts of Ireland where there was a shortage of substantial Protestant landowners.⁶⁹

In 1760 just 6 of the 2,024 recorded J.P.s were 'attorneys'. It is more difficult to identify lawyers amongst the sample of J.P.s in The Queen's County because the role of 'gentleman-landowner' and 'Dublin lawyer' were not mutually exclusive. It was not essential to have men with a formal legal training in the magistracy. Landowners were well versed in the law (see chapter 2.1) and the proliferation of legal literature kept them informed of new thinking and celebrated court cases. Among the books that William

⁶⁵Hatch to Blundell, 20 May 1758, Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I., D.607/A/23.

⁶⁶Mr. Frederick Trench's memo of Ballynakill in Stanhope Papers (Irish estate), P.R.O.N.I., T.186/1. (transcript).

⁶⁷This compares to figures relating to early eighteenth-century Ulster. One list shows there were 81 landowners in Antrim and 110 in Down with incomes over £100. In 1760 these two counties had 59 and 85 J.P.s respectively; P.R.O.N.I., Ms. 24.K.19/1.

⁶⁸O'Hanlon et al, *History of the Queen's County*, Appendix IV; N.L.I., D.20,230.

⁶⁹It seems likely that The King's and Queen's counties had more than enough candidates for the limited number of J.P.s. in the period 1690-1760 and this might explain the small number of clergymen who held commissions during this period. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Wakefield argued that the 'want of resident country gentlemen' in parts of The King's County 'is such that clergymen must officiate as justices'; Edward Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland: Statistical and Political*, (London, 1812), p. 337.

Flower owned in 1707 was Dalton's *Justice of the Peace*.⁷⁰ Members of the Piggot family from Disert kept an extensively annotated book containing 'Extracts of Common Law' (c. 1745).⁷¹ The four volume work by Richard Burn on *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer* in 1766 is still eminently readable and is arranged alphabetically so that J.P.s could bone up on all the areas of the law (e.g. treasure trove, tithes, shipwrecks) that they were un-familiar with. Jonah Barrington remarked that 'I fancy there was then little variety in the libraries of most country gentlemen', but he went on to say that they nearly always had 'somebody's Justice of the Peace' on their book shelf.⁷²

The great majority of J.P.s were landed gentlemen. But the county gentry was made up of many sub-strata. At any one time there was probably in excess of 100 landowners in The Queen's County whose income exceeded £100 per annum, yet only half of them might have held a commission. What *type* of gentleman became a J.P.? According to Matthew Dutton, the author of *The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace for Ireland* (1718), candidates were 'men of the best reputation, the most prevalent men in the county, as they were formerly called, together with some lawyers, they must be substantial persons, dwelling also in the county, they must be of good governance, and must not be steward to any lord'.⁷³ Half a century later in 1766 Richard Burn said that by ancient statutes the Justices of the Peace in England 'shall be made within the counties of the most *sufficient* knights, esquires, and gentlemen of the law'.⁷⁴ Dutton does not make it clear what he meant by 'men of the best reputation'. How important was religion, lineage, antiquity and honour?

The authority and influence of the Justices of the Peace was not just confined to the secular sphere. An English pamphlet of the 1780s stated that 'a magistrate was not only a representative of an earthly king, but of the KING OF KINGS for he is a *minister OF GOD for good*'.⁷⁵ This line of thought can be traced right back to the Puritan writings of the early seventeenth century. There was a 'Godly elite' within the civil magistracy as well as within the church. A gentleman's role in church (e.g. as a lay preacher) and state (as a magistrate) could overlap and there are examples of English J.P.s in the seventeenth century who enforced the law with an almost missionary zeal. The concept of a 'Godly

⁷⁰A list of Flower's books at his Abercunrig, his seat in Wales, 20 Aug. 1707, Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,453.

⁷¹Extracts of Civil Law, belonging to the Piggot family, c.1745, N.L.I. Ms. 19,484.

⁷²Jonah Barrington, *Personal Sketches*, Vol. , p. 4.

⁷³M. Dutton, *The Office and Authority of the Justice of the Peace for Ireland*, (Dublin, 1718).

⁷⁴Richard Burn, *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer*, (London, 1766), p. 375.

⁷⁵*Thoughts of Executive Justice by a Sincere Well Wisher to the Public*, (London, 2nd. ed. 1785), p. 32.

elite' was still of relevance to Ireland in the eighteenth century because those who conformed to the established church were in a minority.

The office of the Justice of the Peace was a great source of prestige and one would have expected that only the oldest and most established families in the squirearchy would have received commissions. In some families the office of J.P. would be held by successive generations. Members of the Gilbert family for instance were given commissions in 1663, 1714, 1733 and 1760. But after 1690 J.P.s were drawn increasingly from New Protestant rather than Old Protestant families.⁷⁶ If one takes the batch of 14 new J.P.s in 1714 for example one finds Richard Warburton, Richard Prior, William Poole, William Vaughan, Thomas Carr who arrived into the county between 1652 and 1665, and John Bland and Ephraim Dawson who first acquired lands after 1700. Such examples help to show that the handful of families with sixteenth-century pedigrees, such as the Cosbys or the Piggots could not dominate the magistracy. A Justice of the Peace was as likely to come from Restoration or Williamite settler stock. Personal qualities, contacts in Dublin, political loyalties, and not just the size of the estate and the antiquity of the family were important in securing office.

The 1706 Quit Rent list shows that there were 26 peers, 36 knights and 53 esquires in The King's and Queen's counties. One might deduce from this that the 115 J.P.s who were returned for the two counties in 1760 were made up from the c. 115 lords, knights and esquires of the county (reinforced with a handful of substantial gentlemen and clergymen). But there were very few peers and knights in the magistracy of the two counties. From the sample of 142 J.P.s commissioned in The Queen's County between 1662 and 1760 only 8 (or 6%) were peers and 3 were baronets.⁷⁷ The office of the

⁷⁶Between 1662 and 1689 at least 23 J.P.s were commissioned in The Queen's County. Of these 16 (or 70%) can be identified as Old Protestants who resided in the county before 1641 (four of the J.P.s acquired lands in the county after 1652 and 3 others were also likely to have been newcomers). In the period 1690 to the end of Queen Anne's reign one can identify just 7 Old Protestants out of 15 J.P.s (or 47%). During the reign of George I 18 individuals out of 39 (46%) were Old Protestant and between 1727 and 1760 24 out of 65 new commissions (or 37%) came from the Old Protestant families. If one scrutinises the signatures of the J.P.s who signed the Commission of Henry Flower in 1747 one finds that 24 out of the 57 (or 42%) families can be recognised as Old Protestants. One can discern a clear trend from these figures and it is likely that just over half of the J.P.s at any one time were from New Protestant backgrounds. See chapter 1.2 for the indexes I have constructed. All the J.P.s have been cross-referenced with the 1622 Inquisition, B.S.D., 1659 Census, Index of the Common Pleas etc. so as to ascertain when a family first arrived into the county. In some cases a magistrate was an Old Protestant, but who had first acquired lands in The King's and Queen's counties sometime after 1650; N.L.I., D. 20,230.

⁷⁷Earl of Mountrath (1664 and 1714), Baron of Upper Ossory (1686), Earl of Cavan (1704 and 1727), Viscount Castle Comer (1737), Lord Charles Moore (1752) and Viscount Jocelyn (1757); Sir Walter Burrowes (1723), Sir John Vesey (1735) and Sir Kildare Dixon Burrowes (1759).

Justice of the Peace does not seem to have been sought after by members of the peerage and it is unlikely that the handful of nobles who were commissioned became active J.P.s.

The term 'esquire' was often used to describe a J.P. and the office holders tended to be the more substantial landowners in the county. However, one can not always be certain whether landowners were commissioned because they *were* esquires or whether they *became* known as esquires once they were appointed as a J.P. It was unusual for landowners and office holders to style *themselves* as 'esquire'. In the commission of the Peace warrant from 1747 only Pigot Sandes, George Pigott and Edmund Butler wrote 'Esq.' after their name (all three families were Old Protestant).⁷⁸ But if a clerk had simply written down a list of the J.P.s in the county then it is likely that most of the 57 men would have been termed as esquires. It was also customary for J.P.s to be styled as esquire in corporation records, turnpike minutes and Grand Jury maps. But the term esquire was not just bound up with office-holding. Esquires were usually armigerous and they nearly always owned a seat. The right to bear arms was great source of pride and the issue of new coats of arms was carefully regulated by the heralds.⁷⁹

The esquires formed the hardcore of the magistracy.⁸⁰ But 'gentlemen' were not by any means precluded from the magistracy. Josias Champagne for instance (who was commissioned in 1712) does not seem like an obvious choice for the office of Justice of the Peace. He was a Huguenot who had settled in the town of Portarlinton in 1708. According to one antiquary Champagne owned a house and garden in the town as well as 115 acres nearby.⁸¹ He was a leading light in the corporation at Portarlinton and was Sovereign between 1729 and 1731.⁸² His marriage to Lady Jane Forbes in 1705 may well have given Champagne a certain standing in county society but one should not discount his personal qualities. Champagne was a man of action (he retired as Major in 1715) and he had served in various regiments on the continent. He was of 'gentle birth' and was likely to have been well educated (he was the son of 'Seigneur Champagne'). These

⁷⁸N.L.I., D. 20,230.

⁷⁹The seat or townland that was owned by an esquire was often incorporated into his courtesy title. Periam Poole for example, who bore arms and had an ancient English pedigree, would have been styled as 'Periam Poole of Ballyfin Esq'. In the Trinity matriculation books Richard Sandes Esq. was recorded as 'Armiger de Kikavin'. There is no simple definition of an esquire in this period but the majority of esquires in the two counties fulfilled the following pre-conditions: i) they had sufficient landed wealth and income ii) they had the right to bear arms, iii) they owned a seat and iv) they were of a high enough status to hold a place in the magistracy.

⁸⁰Most of the J.P.s on the 1747 warrant were described as esquires in other contexts (e.g. correspondence, corporation accounts, maps) and most of them owned seats (most of which appear on the Grand Jury map c. 1765, see chapter 4.1).

⁸¹T.P. Le Fanu, 'French Veterans at Portarlinton', p. 182.

⁸²Minute Book of the Corporation of Portarlinton, N.L.I., Ms. 90, p. 32.

qualities may have been noticed at a very high level (i.e. Dublin Castle) and he may well have gained his commission through the recommendation of a sympathetic Privy Councillor (e.g. Henri Massue de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway). Interestingly Josias Champagne's only son, Arthur, also obtained preferment (he eventually became the Dean of Clonmacnoise).⁸³

On the one hand the magistracy was not by any means a 'closed shop', its membership not being restricted to a particular group of titled families or to the very richest or oldest Protestant landowners. Individuals like Champagne, from relatively modest backgrounds, could break into the magistracy. This contrasts with the situation in France where local offices were purchased from the crown. But on the other hand membership was not 'open' in so far as appointments were determined by the personal preferences of the monarch's representatives in Ireland and his coterie of advisors. The magistracy was not a meritocracy. Commissions were not given on the basis of local standing, education, honesty and integrity. Politics and connections at the court help to explain why men became J.P.s.⁸⁴

There seems to have been a reluctance on the part of Dublin Castle to issue too many commissions. Perhaps they were aware that by creating new J.P.s in a hurried fashion they would dilute the honour that was attached to the office. An expansion of the number of titles/positions (e.g. the selling of baronetcies in James I's reign) can in some instances lead to an 'inflation of honour'. The slow but steady growth in the number of commissions must in part be attributed to the need for Protestant manpower in implementing the burgeoning statute book and perhaps to a growth in the size of the gentry.

The government did remove magistrates if it found evidence of mis-conduct or of Jacobite sympathies. Knightley Chetwood was removed from the Commission of the Peace in 1714 and a warrant appears to have been issued for his apprehension. Chetwood left Ireland soon after Ormonde and was in exile until c.1717.⁸⁵ But there is no evidence (in the two counties at least) to suggest that the government purged the magistracy at that time. The J.P.s were the back-bone of the law in the counties and unlike most of the

⁸³Le Fanu, p. 182.

⁸⁴ The batch of 14 new J.P.s who were created in 1714 were probably chosen on the basis of their support for the Hanoverian succession and the Whig party. After 1715 the government does not seem to have tried to 'pack' the magistracy. The number of new J.P.s each year was usually between 1 and 4 and these appointments were usually made to replace J.P.s who had died.

⁸⁵Chetwood refers to this in a letter to Swift, 'The Chetwoods of Woodbrook', p. 216.

office holders in Dublin they were unpaid.⁸⁶ It was not in the interests of the state to alienate the one group that were able to enforce the law of the land in the cheapest and most effective manner.

There was no such thing as a clear chain of command in the county office holding structure of the eighteenth century. A number of local office holders who worked closely with the High Sheriff were appointed by other parties. The county magistrates were appointed by the executive and their relationship with the sheriff could be ambiguous. In the execution of his duties the High Sheriff had more authority than an individual Justice of the Peace but he was not necessarily lower down in the social or administrative pecking order. It was not strictly a master-servant relationship. A sheriff did not have to learn his craft as a 'J.P apprentice' before getting the top job in the shire. Urban dwellers had their own institutions of administration and law enforcement which were separate from and on occasions a rival to the county magistracy. Towns like Maryborough and Portarlington (under the terms of their charter) appointed their own magistrates and they punished petty offences themselves.⁸⁷ At election time the officers of the corporation often disputed the authority and integrity of the sheriff.

The Coroner⁸⁸ was an officer of high social status and early English statutes stipulated that a coroner could not be below the degree of knight.⁸⁹ Appointments to this ancient office were made by the Grand Juries⁹⁰ In each barony there were two High Constables and they were appointed at the Quarter Sessions by the High Sheriff and members of the Grand Jury. Most manors and parishes had Petty Constables, and they were appointed by landowners (in consultation with the principal freeholders at the Court Leet). Each parish had two Churchwardens and they were 'chosen by the minister and parishioners to look after the fabric of the church, church utensils and yard and the care

⁸⁶Dutton claims that J.P.s were supposed to be paid 4 shillings a day. It is more likely that Justices only received basic expenses (e.g. for drawing up and delivering documents). The Clerk of the Peace was paid (c. 2 shillings a day): although he might only have received a regular allowance during the Quarter Sessions and Assizes; Dutton, p. 230.

⁸⁷ Portarlington had a pair of stocks. Town corporations and individual landowners also employed their own night watchmen, see chapter 5.4.

⁸⁸The Coroner (an office that went back to the medieval period) was an expert witness and was employed to examine evidence relating to cases where specialist knowledge was required (e.g. rape, treasure trove, wrecks etc). According to one authority there were between 1-6 coroners in each county in Ireland in 1721; R. Burn, *the Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer*, (London, 1766 10th ed., 6 vols), Vol. 1, p. 375.

⁸⁹From 1744 the names of Coroners are recorded in the *Dublin Directory*. In 1744 there were three Coroners in The Queen's County: Ephraim Stewart Esq, Ballirone [Ballyroan]; Joseph Calcot, Mountrath; Luke Dempsey, Mountmellick. In The King's County just one coroner is mentioned: Thomas Armstrong; Rolls-Castle, Philipstown. It would appear that the distribution of corners (like J.P.s) was not even.

⁹⁰Richard Burn said that by ancient statutes Coroners could not be given to those 'under the degree of knight', p. 375; Neal Garnham, *The Courts, Crime and the Criminal law*, p. 97.

of the poor'.⁹¹ They could only receive the key to the door of the church and take the office once they had sworn an oath. The ecclesiastical duties of the wardens were monitored by the clergy and the Bishops during their visitations (see chapter 5.5).⁹² Churchwardens also had an important civil role in the administration and policing of the county (especially in relation to vagrancy and the surveillance of Catholic priests).

Little is known about the social backgrounds of these lower officers. In certain parts of the county there would have been a lack of Protestant manpower and Catholic landowners would have been seen as the only suitable candidates to become constables.⁹³ In other more anglicised areas one finds that prominent Protestant landowners took on these lower offices. The record of 'Sufferings' for the Mountmellick Quakers lists Henry Brereton and George Walker as churchwardens in 1684 and Daniel Moore and Arthur Piggott as 'tithemongers' in 1674. The families are from English Protestant backgrounds and Arthur Piggott may well have been the son of George Piggott who was High Sheriff of The Queen's County in 1672.⁹⁴

The county government of eighteenth century Ireland was not run on military lines. Nor does it resemble any modern form of local bureaucracy. There is no sense that any of the officers, from the churchwarden to the High Sheriff, were clearly defined blocks making up a pyramid shaped local organisation. Three very different sets of office holders organised the courts, implemented the law and determined the level of local taxation: i) The High Sheriff and his deputies, ii) the Grand Jury and iii) the Justices of the Peace. Their duties overlapped and at times conflicted with one another. This picture becomes even more confused when one considers the different jurisdictions of 'town', 'county' and Revenue Collector. These three key agencies of local law enforcement were in turn assisted by a number of more junior officers who were appointed by a number of different bodies (Dublin Castle, the High Sheriff, Grand Juries, J.P.s, landowners, freemen and congregations). How did all these disparate elements work together, how were they monitored by the centre, and how did they manage to carry out their respective duties?

⁹¹ *Plain Directions to Country Churchwardens*, printed pamphlet c. 1760 and *Articles of Presentments of Churchwardens, Inquisitors and Parish Clerks at Visitation*, printed pamphlet 1699, De Vesci Papers, N.L.I., Ms. G/6.

⁹² E.g. Visitation Book of the Diocese of Ossory for 1731, Canon Leslie Collection (modern transcript), N.L.I., Ms. 2670.

⁹³ In the diocese of Derry in 1722 Bishop Nicholson reported that 'there are not three Papists rich enough to bear the office of high constables'; Nicholson to Wake, 4 Mar. 1722, Gilbert Mss., 27,314, cited by Sean Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power*, p. 149.

⁹⁴ Record of Sufferings 1656-1686, Mountmellick Monthly Meeting Records, Friends Hist. Lib. Dublin, Old ref. G.19 new ref. G.2.

6.4 The magistracy in action

Government in early eighteenth-century Ireland was still based on events rather than institutions. Ireland was slow to build up an organised civil service that would keep going regardless of whether the vice-regal Court, the Parliament or the Judiciary were in residence. One can observe the same tendency at a local level. Most of the activities of the Sheriff, the magistracy and the Grand Jury seemed to be geared towards the most important county events: the Assizes, the Quarter Sessions and parliamentary elections.

Two judges were responsible for each of the 5 circuits in Ireland and they went on circuit twice a year (during the Spring and Summer months).⁹⁵ The King's and Queen's counties were part of the Leinster Circuit (along with Kilkenny, Kildare, Carlow, Wexford and Wicklow). A great deal of ritual was associated with Assizes and the Dublin newspapers usually followed the progress of the judges with great interest.

The judges and their retainers were dressed and mounted in a way that would emphasise the dignity and authority of the judiciary. To onlookers they were the embodiment of the crown, the established church and the state. In turn the gentry used the Assizes as an excuse to highlight their own wealth, influence and power. Many of the Grand Jurymen, magistrates and gentlemen who met the judges (as they arrived at the bounds of the county) had grander houses, finer clothes and more disposable income than some members of the judiciary. The Assizes reveal the reciprocity of interests, between local elites and the state, rather than the dominance of one group over another.

During political crises these mutual bonds of loyalty and deference were often strained to breaking point. The county gentry could express their political views at the Assizes. In 1720 the Grand Jury of The King's County was so incensed by the outcome of the *Sherlock v Annesley* case that they refused to provide hospitality to the Justices of Assize when they visited Philipstown: Baron St. Leger dined almost alone at the customary banquet.⁹⁶

The Judge normally resided in the town where the Assizes met and this provided an excuse for much feasting and entertainment. Edward Willes, Lord Chief Baron, described the hospitality that he received on the Leinster Circuit c.1760:

⁹⁵A Prime-Serjeant or Chief Baron could be used as a substitute for one of the judges.

⁹⁶Alan Brodrick to Thomas Brodrick, 20 Mar. 1720, Midleton Mss., Surrey Record Office, Guildford Muniment Room 1248/4 fo. 238. I am grateful to Dr. Garnham for directing me to this source.

My wife has been the whole circuit with me, we have balls and assemblies at most towns and our accomodation pretty much the same as in England, excepting that the judges dine with the sheriff and the Grand Jury and [are] not entertian'd at home. But our Grand Jury are always composed of the gentle [men] of the first figure of the county, as indeed all the gentlemen attend- every freeholder in the county being call'd over and liable to be fined if he does not appear.⁹⁷

Willes was judicious enough not to offend those individuals who provided hospitality. By contrast Robert Molesworth was more candid about the accommodation that was provided in the town that he owned. He wrote to his wife in 1707 that 'I remember for many years together that the judges lodged in cabins in Philipstown'.⁹⁸ Perhaps the lodgings that were available to the judges steadily improved between 1690 and 1760. The court houses certainly became grander by the mid-eighteenth century as one architectural study of Leinster has shown.⁹⁹

Once ensconced in convivial surroundings the judges could get on with the business of conducting the trials.¹⁰⁰ The climax of the Assizes was the point when the judges passed sentence on those convicted of capital offences. Public executions did occur in most counties in most years but the judiciary was very selective about whom it sent to the gallows. Cases of murder tended to get recorded in the Dublin newspapers. In June 1743 for instance John Moony of Cappard in The Queen's County was to stand trial at the the Assizes for the murder of Anthony Gaffney, having surrendered himself to the magistracy.¹⁰¹

Judges were also keen to make examples of notorious robbers and outlaws. In 1735 Charles O'Dempsey, who was the son of a rapparee and known as 'Charles the

⁹⁷Written at Carlow, James Kelly ed. *The Letters of Chief Baron Edward Willes to the Earl of Warwick 1757-1762: An Account of Ireland in the Mid-Eighteenth Century*, (Aberystwyth, 1990), p. 25.

⁹⁸H.M.C. *Clements and Various Collections Mss.* Vol. VIII. 1913, p.273. 11 June, 1707.

⁹⁹One can not be sure just what the pre-1760 courthouses looked like because so many were demolished to make way for the classical edifices of the late eighteenth century. The massive courthouse at Philipstown (now Daingean) was probably erected c.1760 and at Maryborough the splendid building designed by Richard Morrison replaced an earlier structure that was destroyed by fire (along with all the Grand Jury records) in 1782. The court house at Philipstown (Daingean) is now a fire-station, Christine Casey, 'Courthouses, Market Houses and Townhalls of Leinster', (M.A., U.C.D., 1982); J. Kearney, *Daingean: Pages from the Past*, (Daingean, 1988), p. 45.

¹⁰⁰The selection of juries and the procedures that were followed in the courts during this period have been meticulously described elsewhere; Neal Garnham, *The Courts, Crime and the Criminal Law*, pp. 104-115.

¹⁰¹25 June 1743, *Dublin Gazette*, (newspaper cutting found among the De Vesci Papers, N.L.I., M/film, P. 6798).

Horse Stealer', was executed (along with his brother) at Maryborough.¹⁰² This is a good example of a set-piece execution that would have received support from a broad section of Protestant and probably Catholic society. O'Dempsey was supposed to have been 'an ingenious and expert horse stealer'. Horse theft was capital offence, the practice was the bane of a wide section of the population, from the wealthier townsmen and farmers to the landed gentry. In 1707 Knightly Chetwood placed an advertisement in the *Dublin Gazette* offering a reward for the discovery and conviction of the thieves who had stolen a number of horses.¹⁰³ O'Dempsey stole repeatedly in the 1730s and in so doing would have made a mockery of the agents of law enforcement. In this instance the judges may have found that the denizens of Maryborough as well as the sheriff, jury and magistrates were all baying for blood. Cases such as these could be used to galvanise the many lateral and hierarchical bonds between the judiciary, the agents of local law enforcement, the landed and urban elites, the middling sort and the wider population. However, such trials should be seen as *cause celebres* rather than routine cases.

Most of the criminal cases that came before the juries involved men and women of the lower and middling orders. But cases which included men of a high social status received disproportionate notice. In 1731 Mr. William Vicars was accused of killing Mr. John Philips of The Queen's County. The Vicars were an Old Protestant landed family and a Dublin newspaper records that he 'was tried by a jury of gentlemen and was acquitted'.¹⁰⁴ In April 1726 Knightley Chetwood reported that he was indicted by The Grand Jury 'for being a little free with one of my lower class of friends who received a slight wound from me and [they] bound me to the Peace upon it some time since'.¹⁰⁵ In the following letter he reported gleefully:

I had forgot to tell you that the Grand Jury and King's Bench did throw out the Bill against me yesterday for letting a little Blood as I writ you in my last; Phlebotomy is good for some constitutions in Spring time.¹⁰⁶

One might speculate that justice was far more summary for the lower orders than it was for members of the Protestant elite.

¹⁰²Daniel O'Byrne, *The History of the Queen's County*, (Dublin, 1856), p. 60.

¹⁰³*Dublin Gazette*, Nov. 4-8 1707; 'The Chetwoods of Woodbrook', p. 213.

¹⁰⁴*Pue's Occurrences*, 1731, No. 27.

¹⁰⁵Chetwood to John Usher, 30 April 1726, 'Chetwood Letters', pp. 381-382.

¹⁰⁶Chetwood to Usher, 5 May, 1726, 'Chetwood Letters', p. 411.

Much of the time and energy of the various officers was spent in settling civil disputes *between* landowners. The Quarter Sessions was probably the most appropriate place to hear civil cases that involved landowners. In November 1734 Pole Cosby's tenant was ejected from Timahoe by Colonel Murray and the High Sheriff, Capt. Nathaniel Mitchell, appointed a 'Q[ueen]s. County jury of 12 men' to find, 'whether Col. Samuel Freeman had a right to make leases in the Lordship'. In Cosby's opinion only one of the twelve men was impartial and he 'filed a Bill in the High Court without fear'.¹⁰⁷

It was common for Protestant landowners to turn to the higher courts and to the Irish and English parliaments if they felt that they could not get a fair hearing in their own county (see chapter 2.1). Grand Juries were viewed by many landowners as temporary factional alignment rather than permanent institutions. Grand Jurymen could come and go at the whim of the sheriff who was appointed whereas magistrates held life commissions. Dutton pointed out that 'in some cases, as in forcible entry his [the J.P.'s] single testimony is of a greater authority than an indictment of a jury'.¹⁰⁸ This meant that wealthy individuals and familial factions could, with the help of local magistrates, attempt to override the legal process at a county level by turning to other agents in Dublin and London instead.

The four Quarter Sessions and the two Assizes were the highlights of the social and political calendar of each county (Ireland, unlike England, did not at this stage have Petty Sessions). In addition there were parliamentary elections and they provided opportunities for the Sheriff and his deputies to flex their muscles in tackling, or in some cases adding to, the malpractices and corruption in borough and county constituencies (see chapter 7.3).

This rather haphazard and confusing system of local justice did not in itself hold together the many disparate groups that made up the local officeship. If there was any solidarity among the members of the magistracy, Grand Juries and county Protestant landowners then it was to be found at a social (as opposed to the strictly administrative or legal) level. The Assizes, Quarter Sessions and elections were important social gatherings for the county gentry and this is shown by their expenditure on such occasions. Colonel John Fitzpatrick of Castletown noted in his 1713 account book that £49.14.4 was spent on the 'election for Knights of the Shire including 0.14.5 expended on a treat for the

¹⁰⁷Cosby Autobiog., pp. 311-314.

¹⁰⁸Dutton, p. 67.

Gentlemen at sessions'.¹⁰⁹ Gentlemen from all over the county flocked into the towns of Assize and social events were staged for their benefit. Fairs might have been specially timetabled to coincide with the day the circuit judges entered the town and shopkeepers would have stocked up on the latest fashions in order to cash in on this passing trade (see chapter 5.6).

The Assizes and the Quarter Sessions dealt with all the cases that had accrued over the course of one or two seasons. Some of the defendants might have spent anything up to nine months languishing in the county gaol. How did the officers of the law actually go about preventing crime and capturing suspects?

One has to first make a distinction between the types of crime that were connected with crime waves, and those evident only in periods of intense crime enforcement. No rebellion or war occurred between 1690 and 1760 but there were years where conditions could be described as 'abnormal'. The rapparees who emerged after 1690 shared some of the characteristics of the Tories of the 1660s and 1670s. They were predominantly local Catholics from dispossessed families who had nothing to gain from the Protestant re-conquest, they were well armed and mobile, and travelled in groups. But they were different. Those rapparees who terrorised parts of The King's and Queen's counties were former soldiers in the Jacobite army. Most of these soldiers foraged on foot (unless they could steal horses), and many would have eventually made their way back to their families or re-grouped with the army at Limerick (see chapter 5.1). But a hard core of these rapparees stayed on and robbed the communities in parts of Leinster for a year or two after the final Jacobite defeat in 1691.¹¹⁰ The Queen's County magistracy had a quasi-military function in dealing with the problems of lawlessness directly related to the instability and suffering of warfare shortly after 1691. Initially they had to liaise with the victorious army in mopping up operations like one in 1691 where 'upon intelligence that a party of rapparees were troublesome about Castle Cuff', 70 of them were alleged to have been killed.¹¹¹ There was also an attempt by the magistracy to preserve order among Protestants. In June 1690 there was an order from Col. Walter Butler commanding 'those of Protestant religion within the said counties (Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny and Queen's) within ten days to deliver into the hands of the respective High Sheriffs what arms of

¹⁰⁹ Rental Book of Capt. John Fitzpatrick 1700-1719, N.L.I., Ms. 3000.

¹¹⁰For evidence of the damage that rapparees caused to the two counties see, W. Edmundson, *A Journal of the Life of William Edmundson*, pp. 144-149 and 152-159; Edmund Doyne to Thomas Flower, Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,473 (1).

¹¹¹ *An Account of the Defeat of the Rebels by their Majesty's Forces in the Queen's County, 4 May 1691*. (printed, E. Jones, 1691). N.L.I., Thorpe Coll. P.12.-No. 704.

what kind soever'.¹¹² It does seem that the problem of rappareeism was quickly sorted out in the two counties. The magistracy found it difficult to wage war on a guerilla force (which could hide in the woods and bogs), but they were at least able to chase the hard core of rapparees across the Shannon. In December 1691 Edmund Doyne spoke of going to Galway and Mayo in order to try and trace the cattle that had been stolen by rapparees.¹¹³

After 1691 the magistracy did not have to deal with the problem of Toryism or rappareeism on the same scale again, but there were a number armed gangs of robbers who terrorised parts of the two counties from time to time. One surviving calendar of affidavits, examinations and presentments relating to the more serious criminal cases shows that there was a particular problem with Toryism in the years 1712-1715. In January 1714 The Queen's County Grand Jury noted at the sessions of the peace in Maryborough that there were '12 robbers as out upon their keeping'. Throughout the period such gangs (usually described as Tories) regularly infested the two counties and neighbouring parts of Ireland. In 1742 for instance 11 criminals under 'Tory acts' were charged with the 'abduction of Mary Keegan and procuring her to be married to John Kenna'.¹¹⁴

The first line of defence against such folk were the nightwatchmen and informers. The newest country houses built after c.1715 like Castle Durrow tended to have larger areas of glass and the interiors had more portable luxury items such as plate, pictures and books. In war-time such houses would not have stood for long against a gang of well-armed soldiers or brigands. But there were a number of measures developed to thwart thieves during more settled times. A night porter would have been employed in the larger houses, windows had heavy shutters, interior doors had locks, and there were dogs and horses to alert the owner of the presence of intruders. Protestant landowners were also permitted to own firearms and they used pistols and fowling pieces (which appear in the accounts for both Abbey Leix and Castle Durrow) to fend off the more determined thieves.¹¹⁵ Compared to the rest of the population, in their more vulnerable farmsteads, town houses or cabins, the landed gentry seem (in retrospect) to have had very secure

¹¹² H.M.C. *O'Conor Mss.* Report 2, (1874), p. 227.

¹¹³ Doyne to Flower, 19 Dec. 1691, Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,473 (1).

¹¹⁴ In 1715 another group of 8 robbers were discussed at the assizes and the sessions courts and in the following year yet another group of 6 robbers 'out upon their keeping as concealors and abettors of Tories', Calendar of presentments (with brief summaries of the cases that were in the state papers), Nat. Arch. Ire. shelf ref. 1A. 52. 159, pp. 172-174, 234-235.

¹¹⁵ E.g. Mr. Warren of Dublin told Flower that he 'was able to give you some account of the performance of your gun', 29 Mar. 1726, Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,481 (9).

homes. Yet the letters of gentry families, as well as the very large number of lock-smith's bills, suggest that they did not sleep as soundly in their beds as one might expect.

There were a handful of exceptionally feared robbers who were undeterred by the kind of landowner who slept with a gun under his bed or by the prospect of the death penalty. 'Mr. King' who owned estates in the two counties, reported in November 1728, 'there is soe much noise in this county at one Paul Lyddy a notorious robber that our mighty men keep watch every night has put me in fear of my little share of this world'.¹¹⁶ Landowners viewed their deer parks as relatively soft targets for poachers and robbers. At Abbey Leix in 1734 16sh 6d was paid for '33 nights watching the park at 6d a night'.¹¹⁷ At Castle Durrow high stone walls were built in the 1730s and there are a number of references to 'mending deer parke lockes'.¹¹⁸ Strictly speaking the supply and ownership of firearms was strictly limited. Guns were expensive and according to one government return just 4 Catholic gentlemen were licensed to bear arms in 1704.¹¹⁹ But the newspaper accounts from the 1730s show that most of the highwaymen and robbers were armed with guns (as opposed to swords or cudgels).¹²⁰ This was a very worrying development for the magistracy because it meant that robbers had a distinct advantage over the unarmed local officers who attempted to bring them to justice.

On occasions the magistracy felt that they had to face might with might. This meant forming a *posse comitatus*. This term (which literally means 'the power of the country') has great resonance and sums up well how the magistracy actually saw themselves. A *posse* was only really useful if the local office-holders could rely on the vigilance and assistance of the general population. Most of the gangs that can be identified in the Dublin press during this period were not politically motivated and were the bane of all sections of society. Yet the terms 'Tory' and 'Rapparee', were still used and they did have political and religious connotations. In July 1716 the Earl of Galway, a Lord Justice, issued a proclamation about 'suppressing Tories, Robbers and Raparees' in The Queen's County. The Grand Jury had (at the Quarter Sessions in Maryborough) declared six local men as 'Tories, Robbers and Rapparees out in arms and upon their keeping'. All six

¹¹⁶ To King from W. Piers, 27 Nov. 1728; King Papers, Ballylin 1681-1819, (mainly Roscommon estates), N.L.I., P.C. 308-312. Box 1.

¹¹⁷ Estate accounts, 1734-39, De Vesci Papers, N.L.I., M/film, P. 6798.

¹¹⁸ Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,469 (8).

¹¹⁹ For an over view of the number of arms officially held in each Irish county, Sean Duffy ed. *Atlas of Irish History*, (Dublin, 1997), p. 77.

¹²⁰ By the end of the period it was almost commonplace for thieves to have guns. In 1767 for instance Luke Flood, the Sheriff of The Queen's County, arrested a soldier who had deserted from his barracks and two guns and two watches were found about his person; 28 Mar. 1767 No. 19, *Finn's Leinster Journal*.

suspects had Irish names and interestingly five of them were described as 'yeoman'.¹²¹ In April 1740 it was reported that Co. Kilkenny (and the neighbouring counties) were 'for some time notoriously harassed by several persons, tories, robbers and rapparees' and that an association had been formed of the sheriff, J.P.s, gentlemen and freeholders in order to bring them to justice.¹²² This was probably the Kelly Mount Gang who were at large in the late 1730s and early 1740s. The magistracy could spend many months (or even years) in pursuit of these gangs: justice was certainly not swift but newspaper evidence shows that even the most hardened criminals were captured eventually.

It has already been shown that the success of a small and unpaid group of officers in tackling crime depended on the tacit support of the population. What happened when a large section of the urban or rural population withdrew their assistance? In a sense agrarian unrest and urban mobs were more serious than bands of robbers because they indicated a more deep-seated fracture in society. When a large number of people took to the streets the poorly manned magistracy could not cope.

During the years of Jacobite intrigue the Irish Protestant landowners were fearful of the dangers within Ireland as well as from continental Europe. Even after 1745 observers made connections between the Young Pretender's movements on the continent and the behaviour of the Irish Catholics at grass-roots level. In 1753 Humphrey Bland had little first hand experience of life in Ireland yet he was convinced that 'Papists in Ireland are very Bussy'.¹²³ In reality Leinster were spared from serious Jacobite conspiracy.¹²⁴ In retrospect the magistracy had more to fear from the general population when political tension (e.g. an invasion scare) coincided with harvest failure, extreme climatic conditions and epidemics.¹²⁵ In January 1740 (at the time of the 'Great Frost') it was reported that 'some of the people called Quakers, did on the first of november last make a bonfire in Timahoe in the county of Kildare therein burn effigies of the

¹²¹Printed proclamation, 12 July 1716, T.C.D., E.P.B, OLS-60- Papyrus case- no. 22.

¹²²22-26 April 1740, *Pue's Occurrences*.

¹²³Bland to Desbrisay, 20 Nov. 1753, Bland Papers, Private Coll., Ireland.

¹²⁴One index of Catholic disaffection (as well as poverty) is the number of Irishmen who joined foreign armies. The King's and Queen's counties were outside the main catchment area for Irish recruits to continental armies between 1690 and 1740, Harman Murtagh, 'Irish Soldiers abroad, 1600-1800', in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery, *A Military History of Ireland*, (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 294-314; Sean Duffy, *Atlas of Irish History*, (map showing the catchment area for Irish recruits for continental armies between 1690 and 1740), pp. 90-91.

¹²⁵There were some serious harvest failures in the mid-1720s and the population of The Queen's County in particular seemed to experience a decrease in population size (see chapter 1.1). It is not known if there was any agrarian unrest but a number of M.P.s from the two counties did raise the matter in the Commons (see chapter 7.5)

pretender'.¹²⁶ Agrarian difficulties seemed to intensify political feelings; particularly during wartime.

In 1748 (a time when parts of Ireland experienced subsistence crises and the national-hearth tax fell by 10%) a serious case of arson in The Queen's County was brought to the attention of the Lords Justice. They issued a proclamation to apprehend and convict the:

the person or persons who burned a House and out-house, together with a Haggard of corn and hay, standing on the Glebe of the parish of Corclone in the Queen's County belonging to Gibson Raymond Clerk.

The wording of this account makes it clear that this fire was not caused by accident, nor was it the work of a lunatic. The property was 'here set on fire and consumed to Ashes by some of the Popish Inhabitants of the said parish, as the Examinant verily believes'. The reward on offer was £50 (which was more than the £48.10.0 of property that was destroyed). This indicates the seriousness with which such incidents were viewed by the agents of the law. In cases where the inhabitants of a whole parish or townland seemed to be in connivance with those who carried out such property crimes the magistracy found it extremely difficult to enforce the law. There was also the danger that such behaviour would spread. The proclamation guaranteed that 'if the person Discovering the same shall be one of the persons concerned in the said fact, he shall over and above the reward be granted a pardon'.¹²⁷ By giving incentives to informers within communities the magistracy might have divided, and therefore dissipated, local opposition.

The magistracy also found it difficult to deal with a specifically urban phenomenon, the *mobile vulgus*. When in 1746 relations broke down between landlord and local agent at Edenderry (see Chapter 5.4) the town was divided into two camps. Mr. Misset the local rent collector, it was claimed, threatened to murder the agent of the Blundell estate (Mr. Hatch) and 'he order'd a Bonfire and made the mob drink'.¹²⁸ In November 1751 John Morton, the High Sheriff of The Queen's County, went to execute a writ against Nathaniel Jackson in the town of Mountmellick:

¹²⁶26-29 Jan. 1740, *Pue's Occurrences*.

¹²⁷31 Oct. 1748, Proclamation of the Lords Justice, T.C.D. E.P.B. OLS- 61-Papyrus Case-no.44.

¹²⁸Hatch to Bundell, 18 Nov. 1746, Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I., D.607/A/23- 150.

Immediately after the said John Morton had entered into said house, a mob consisting of some hundreds of persons assembled about the said house and threatened to tear the said sheriff to pieces. That the said sheriff finding himself in such Danger and apprehending the said mob would break into said house and murder him went into the street under the protection of Nathan Jackson the younger who promised to save said John Morton from the fury of the mob, that said sheriff had no sooner come into the street on the aforesaid assurances, than the said mob attacked him with sticks, stones and staves knocked him down, battered and abused him in a cruel manner and would have destroyed... had not one Graham a sadler preserved him.¹²⁹

This account may have been a little exaggerated. What can not be disputed is that the 'principal conservator of peace' in the county was prevented from carrying out his duties and was undone by mob rule.

In the 1760s there is evidence of unrest on a regional (as opposed to parochial) scale. These incidents cannot be classified as just spontaneous outbursts or the result of agrarian hardship (in fact the harvest failures of the 1760s did not really constitute *crises de mortalit e*).¹³⁰ There was an overly political dimension to Whiteboyism and the types of property that were targeted, especially country house gates and turnpike booths, would repay further study.¹³¹ In August 1768 it was reported that 'The gates leading up to Lord Ashbrooks's house [i.e. Castle Durrow] were lately taken away and burned in the street of the said town of Durrow and several timber trees were feloniously cut'.¹³² In September of the same year similar crimes were committed at the seat of William Burton in Co. Carlow: 'Persons maliciously and wantonly threw down one of the stone balls from off the pedestal at the upper gate of the deer park and committed many outrages at the same

¹²⁹The sheriff was eventually concealed in a cupboard in a friendly house: but his ordeal did not end there. Someone 'fired a pistol at him, the shot whereof passed by the said Morton's head at a distance of a very few inches'. A reward of £50 was offered for *each* of the first five offenders to be brought to justice; 18 Nov. 1751, T.C.D., E.P.B. OLS- Papyrus Case 61-no. 48.

¹³⁰Dickson et al, 'Hearth Tax, Household Size and Irish Population Change', p. 169.

¹³¹For most of the 1760s there were incidents of burnings and abductions in parts of Leinster and Munster (especially Carlow, Tipperary and The Queen's County). As late 1774 the calendar of presentments for Tipperary still make reference to properties being burned by 'Whiteboys', 'levellers' and the 'slieves children'. The amount of Whiteboyism outside Tipperary has been underplayed, Maurice Bric, 'The Whiteboy Movement, 1760-1780', in William Nolan ed., *Tipperary: History and Society*, (Dublin, 1995), pp. 148-185.

¹³²A reward of 5 guineas was offered to those who discovered the perpetrators; *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 24 August 1768 No. 69.

time'.¹³³ The gates leading up to country houses were a great source of prestige and important symbols of authority. Burning barns and levelling ditches was serious enough, but the attacks on the homes of the landed elite would have been seen as acts of sedition. William Flower had lavished great care on his gates in the 1730s and 1740s.¹³⁴ Flower had also improved the town itself and he would have seen the gates as an expression of his paternalism and munificence. Yet three decades later (when his grandson had inherited) these ornaments were broken down by an angry mob. Nothing like this seems to have occurred in the whole period between 1690 and 1760. It is not apparent whether such outrages were caused by local people or by outsiders.

The level of crime enforcement in society sometimes bears little relation to the *real* level of danger. In eighteenth-century Ireland certain individuals were singled out by the government and the magistracy as being enemies of the crown and the established church. The Penal Laws were at first defensive in nature, being designed to protect Protestant property and to prevent another rebellion. Priests were seen as the chief agents of sedition and many of the 'Popery Acts' were specifically targeted at the Catholic clergy. The Protestant landed elite was pleased to have such draconian measures on the statute book and they were almost universally popular. The House of Commons could only be counted on to demonstrate a united front in response to the 'Popish threat'. But how keenly did the magistracy implement these measures?

Interestingly the first clear evidence of religious persecution by the magistracy in the two counties after 1650 relates to Quakers rather than Catholic priests. The accounts of the 'sufferings' of Quakers often name the local officers who harassed them. One intriguing case is that of William Morris 'lately a Justice of the Peace', who in 1658, 'for speaking a few words in love ...was put it to the stocks and afterwards committed to the gaole in Maryborough'.¹³⁵ In 1672 'Thomas Pigot of Disert, the High Sheriff, gott at the last sumer assizes an order to distraine friends goods for non-payment of fees'.¹³⁶ In 1680 John Gilbert was described as being especially zealous with one woman, 'he threw down the shop window upon her head which being heavy hurt her'.¹³⁷ County officers assisted by churchwardens, constables and so called 'tithe mongers' seized what ever they could

¹³³In this instance 10 guineas was offered as a reward; *ibid.*, 3 Sept. 1768, no. 72.

¹³⁴In 1742 for instance he had '2 stone posts fixed at the gate' nearest Durrow town; Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11, 469 (8).

¹³⁵Mountmellick monthly meeting records, Records of the Sufferings 1656-1686 and 1726-1735, Friends Historical Library, Dublin, Ref. G.2.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*

¹³⁷Friends Lib., M.M. V. G.*1.

including stooks of hay, peas, turf, livestock, pewter and rugs.¹³⁸ After 1690 the magistracy softened their attitude towards Quakers and the accounts from Edenderry (see chapter 5.3) show that industrious Quakers were actively encouraged to settle in towns.¹³⁹

In a sense the 'Popery Acts' that were enacted during the reign of Queen Anne merely formalised many of the powers that J.P.s were given half a century earlier. In 1660 Capt. John Webster wrote to the Earl of Mountrath and described how a soldier had arrested a priest: 'I received him and secured him to be kept until he could be dealt with according to a law by a justice of the peace. The paper enclosed I found about him and I thought it my duty to end it to your lordship'.¹⁴⁰ In 1666 the Lord Lieutenant sent a warrant to William Flower authorising him to search for Patrick Plunkett (Catholic Bishop of Ardagh) and his chambers for papers.¹⁴¹ In 1704 an Act required the secular clergy to go before a magistrate and register their names and take out a licence. Twenty priests registered in The King's County and fifteen in The Queen's County.¹⁴²

There is evidence that in certain years local officers were very zealous in carrying out the duties. Ephraim Dawson and St. Leger Gilbert wrote to the Lords Justice in 1707:

Wee immediately sent dispatches to all the officers within the Queen's County to form themselves in the best & most expeditious manner that was possible for them... to search all the houses for papists and suspected persons, and to seize their arms, horses and all the popish priests and other disaffected persons, according to your Excellencies Proclamation, which service is already performed throughout this county, and six of the priests and some other suspected persons are now in custody, and wee expect all the rest will be brought in within a day or two, there are also some horses and arms received, which are now in the hands of the militia, there being

¹³⁸ As above, M.M. V. G.*1 and M.M. V. G. *3.

¹³⁹ It has been suggested by K. Herlihy that the persecution of Quakers was limited to the 1650s and early 1660s. The evidence from The King's and Queen's Counties shows that the J.P.s attempted to extract tithes and other levies from these recalcitrants long after 1660; Kevin Herlihy, 'Dissenting Ministers', seminar T.C.D., 27 Jan. 1997.

¹⁴⁰ Webster to Mountrath, 30 Nov. 1660, *C.S.P.I.*, 1660-1662, p. 104.

¹⁴¹ Lord Lieutenant to Flower; 8 June 1666, Flower Papers, D.20,226.

¹⁴² Priests were obliged to give their name, age, parish abode, time and place of receiving 'pretended' orders, the name of the ordaining prelate and names of guarantors. The penalty for non-compliance was imprisonment, transportation or death. Over a 1000 parish priests complied with the act. This was a substantial proportion of the total number of Catholic clergy in Ireland. The House of Commons passed a resolution declaring that 'all magistrates and other persons whatsoever who neglected or omitted to put it in due execution, were betrayers of the liberty of the kingdom'; O'Hanlon et al, *History of the Queen's County*, pp. 561-566.

but few Papists in the county of much note, wee don't expect to find many horses or arms, yet our danger is allmost equal to any other county, by the great multitude of the meaner sort of Papists residing amongst us, for we can't compute the proportion less than twenty to one Protestant.¹⁴³

In reply to government proclamations the magistracy tended to exaggerate the extent to which they had mopped up all of the remaining clergy. In 1731 William Finn, the High Sheriff of The Queen's County was confident that he had 'made a diligent enquiry in the several parts of the Queen's County, and do not find there any reported Frierys or Nunnerys, or any reputed friers or nuns'. The returns made by the Protestant clergy in the diocese of Leighlin and Ferns (which includes parishes in The Queen's County; see Appenidix 7.1) are more detailed and they paint a rather different picture.¹⁴⁴ In the diocese there were thought to be '45 Popish priests, 3 Fryers, 24 Popish schoolmasters, and severall Itinerant Priests'. Many local office holders had a sense that there were many more regulars in hiding but they were unable to find any hard evidence. The Vicar of Rosenallis wrote 'If there be any fryers or nuns they cannot be discovered'. The magistracy relied upon informers. At Coolbanagher it was recorded that 'there is only one Mass-house and one priest. This account I have from a gentleman who is my agent at Mountmellick'.¹⁴⁵

Given the difficulties that the magistracy faced in locating Catholic clergymen it is unlikely that they were ever able to extirpate more than a fraction of them. Evidence from other parts of Ireland shows that even the most zealous magistrates realised that they were unable to deal with priests in the way that the Penal Laws permitted them to do. The Penal Laws were exercised in a very selective way and one suspects that prosecutions (against priests or those who harboured them) were often motivated by a number of other, more secular, factors. In 1737 William Flower wrote that:

Capt. Lyon and I are conscious we did our duty and will persist in doing so, in having levied £20 on Mr. William Fitzpatrick of Harristown, Q.C. for haveing harboured a popish priest for which he was duly summoned and convicted by two creditable witnesses.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³O'Hanlon et al, *History of the Queen's County*, p. 564 (taken from the P.R.O. prior to 1922).

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 568-569.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 569.

¹⁴⁶ Flower to Sir John St. Leger, 15 July 1737, Flower Papers, N.L.I. Ms. 11,481 (11).

Earlier in the same year William Flower had complained about Fitzpatrick's 'impertinence and folly' and his 'designs to be a bully'. Flower asked his associates to try and 'make him as tame as a mouse'.¹⁴⁷ Perhaps the enforcement of the 'Popish Acts' was a convenient way of bringing a troublesome (and presumably Catholic) gentleman to heel.

On occasions the magistracy sought the assistance of the regular army. Since the two counties were inland they did not have to deal with the serious crime problems that affected coastal counties such as smuggling and the plundering of wrecks. Cattle rustling was a regular problem for the magistracy and stolen livestock was often driven to far flung parts of Ireland. In pursuing rustlers from Leinster to Connaught a posse risked becoming entangled in a dispute with magistrates in other counties. J.P.s in some counties had a reputation for being more zealous than others. The army could be sent in to monitor the movements of cattle on particular roads which cut through many counties. In 1726 accounts show that William Flower gave a gratuity 'to the soldiers that prosecuted cow stealer'.¹⁴⁸ Humphrey Bland was a great advocate of using the army for this purpose. In February 1754 he mentioned that the army was engaged in suppressing cattle rustling in the Scottish Highlands. In June of the same year he reported 'one scarcely ever hears that a cow is stolen. You may travel all over the Highlands with as much safety as in the Low Country'.¹⁴⁹ He intimated that this was not the case in Ireland. The Queen's County Grand Jury issued a warrant in 1743 for the arrest of robbers for 'cattle stealing'.¹⁵⁰

When crime waves coincided with political tension (e.g. an invasion threat) the army was often instructed to muster near particular trouble spots. In 1724 Benjamin Lyndall, a soldier in Col. Groves' Regiment, gave evidence at The Queen's County Assizes 'as to persons burning a rape mill at Mountrath'.¹⁵¹ Daniel Robertson of Eyrecourt informed Mrs. Purefoy of Edenderry in May 1742 that he had:

received orders to disperse your Guards for it must be very troublesome and expensive to be obligd to keep Garrison so long I expected that you

¹⁴⁷Flower to James Loughlin, 18 Mar. 1737, Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms, 11,481 (11).

¹⁴⁸Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,463 (1).

¹⁴⁹Bland to Desbrisay, 12 Feb. 1754, 24 June 1754, Private Coll.

¹⁵⁰Calendar of presentments, Nat. Arch. Ire. 1a. 52. 159, p. 236.

¹⁵¹Ibid., p. 234.

would have been long ago quieted in the possession, and freed from any apprehension of alarms by day or attacks by night.¹⁵²

At times of national crisis Protestant Ireland could also turn to the county militia.

6.5 The county militia

Before the 1660s local defence policy rested on the capability of the royal fortresses rather than on locally raised armies. The pressure on the crown to raise a local militia came from above and below. Before 1641 the standing army was financed by two rather unsatisfactory means of local taxation. The government could ask each county to raise a set sum.¹⁵³ In addition the regiments who passed through the county could (with the appropriate royal warrant) empower the Grand Juries to collect additional sums for their support. In 1628 the Grand Jury of The King's County told Sir Charles Coote how a regiment on its way from Limerick to Maryborough 'committed depredations and levied food and money by force, giving no tickets. They abused and beat the gentleman of the county'.¹⁵⁴

The freeholders and tenants felt that they had to endure a double fiscal assault, from Dublin Castle and the foot soldiers themselves. From the army's point of view this ad-hoc system of taxation was also unsatisfactory because it took a long time for them to receive the wages and provisions that they were promised. In 1647 Capt. Jericho Rochfort wrote from Edenderry that the want of maintenance was 'hourly threatening to eat myself. My men quartered at Birr are still there and cannot march for want of provisions'.¹⁵⁵

The Protestant landed elite of The King's and Queen's counties would have given their support to a militia much earlier in the seventeenth century if it had been proposed by the government. The appearance of the banished septs in the 1620s and the horrors of the Irish Rebellion would have convinced them that there was a need for a local army.

¹⁵²Robertson to Purefoy, 22 May 1742, N.L.I., Ms. 8904.

¹⁵³In 1627 for instance 10 knights and gentlemen in The King's County were appointed as 'Commissioners' to raise £1000 and in The Queen's County 14 Commissioners were responsible for collecting £800. July 1627, *C.S.P.I.*, 1625-32, p. 251.

¹⁵⁴In 1629 the High Sheriff and J.P.s of The Queen's County complained to the Lord Deputy about the unfair incidence of tax that fell on 'oppressed tenants' and the exactions of Crosby's army. 15 Dec. 1628, *C.S.P.I.*, 1625-32, p. 419.

¹⁵⁵From Capt. Rochfort, 20 June 1674, *C.S.P.I.*, 1633-1647, p. 683.

But the government had serious reservations about creating such a force. Before 1641 Catholics still owned most of the land and there was a distinct lack of Protestant manpower. It was thought that an armed militia composed largely of Catholic officers and men could become a threat to the status quo.

It was the threat of foreign invasion that forced the government to overcome its domestic reservations about the idea of a militia: on balance it was thought that the benefits of having a militia outweighed the dangers. The creation of a militia in Ireland was also advantageous to the crown because it shifted the additional burden of raising and maintaining a temporary fighting force from the treasury to the county. Since the officers and soldiers were recruited from the locality it was expected that the principal inhabitants would be more inclined to support them. The freemen and tenants might have balked at the prospect of paying any additional tax but they could at least see where their money was going.¹⁵⁶

The absence of evidence for the period 1690-1760 means that one is heavily reliant on The King's County militia records that survive for the years 1678-1682.¹⁵⁷ In the first instance Commissioners of Array had to be appointed to raise the necessary taxes, to select the officers and soldiers, to muster the troops for exercises and alarms and to report to the government.¹⁵⁸ Between 1678 and 1682 there were 17 Commissioners in The King's County. Since general meetings took place at different locations across the county (usually Philipstown, Killeigh Birr and Ballyboy) not all of the Commissioners were able to attend at any one time.¹⁵⁹ The High Sheriff of the county was an *ex officio* Commissioner and the proclamations of the Lord Lieutenant are generally addressed to 'our loving friends the sheriffs of the King's County', then to the Commissioners and 'any of them to communicate to the rest of His Majesties Commissioners of Array for the said county'. Interestingly the Governor of the county is

¹⁵⁶E.g., the four principal freeholders in the parish of Sirkeran in the barony of Ballybrit knew in 1680 for instance that they provided for 4 1/2 horsemen, 'copy of the distribution of the 2 Troopes and three companyes upon the severall Barronyes of the county allowing 600 acres for a horseman and 300 Acres for a ffoote sold[ie]r', Birr Castle, Ms. A/19 (see below).

¹⁵⁷ Volume containing a list of officers in The King's County militia and a list of tenants in each barony who were entitled to contribute to the militia, Birr Castle, Ms. A/19; reprinted in Rolf Loeber, 'The Reorganisation of the Irish Militia', *The Irish Sword*, Vol. 19 (1995). I am grateful to Dr. Loeber for bringing this material to my attention.

¹⁵⁸ Commissioners of Array took on many of the duties of the ad hoc tax Commissioners who were appointed half a century earlier. Indeed some of the families who were appointed in 1627 to serve as Commissioners can also be found in the lists of the Commissioners of Array and Militia Captains between 1678 and 1682 (e.g. Parsons, Digby and Herbert).

¹⁵⁹ The lowest number Commissioners who met in these years was three and it seems that a minimum of two Commissioners had to be present when a troop of horse or company of men were mustered. On average 7 Commissioners met together and they reported back the minutes of their meeting directly to Dublin Castle.

not mentioned in the volume of documents relating to The King's County between 1678 and 1682. In later arrays the Governor is mentioned more explicitly. In March 1718/19 when there was a fear that Spain would invade Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant (the Duke of Bolton) wrote to the Governor and Deputy Governors of Co. Kilkenny 'to put the militia of your county in the best condition possible without loss of time'.¹⁶⁰

From the tax schedule that was used for raising the militia in the years 1678-82 one can get a rough idea of the of the size of the estates held by the Commissioners. This information is summarised in Table 6.5. Six of the Commissioners came from the top 20 landed families in The King's County and on the whole only those with a substantial interest in the county (i.e. at least 1000 acres) were appointed.¹⁶¹ All but one of the Commissioners of Array were consistantly styled as esquire.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰Lord Lieutenant to Governor of Kilkenny, 14 Mar. 1718/19, Flower Papers, N.L.I., 11,480 (2).

¹⁶¹Of the 124 freeholders listed in the several baronies of The King's County 19 of them had more than 2000 acres. At least 5 of the 17 individuals who were Commissioners came from families in this top bracket (Blundell, Parsons, Baldwin, Hamilton and Digby). Four of the other commissioners had estates in the county ranging between 1000-2000 (34 of the freeholders had this amount), four more had between 100-1000 acres (64 freeholders were in this bracket); and finally four commissioners do not appear on the tax return (which suggests that they owned lands outside the county). Those with relatively small amounts of land in King's owned larger estates in neighbouring Queen's (e.g. Gahan and Baggot).

¹⁶²The only exception was Edward Tarleton (styled as 'gent' and who held 983 acres). He seems to have been someone who were in the lower half of the landed elite of the county: he was a gentleman-farmer who was able to dower his daughter with £200 and left among other things six silver teaspoons in his will, T.C. Barnard, 'The World of Goods and County Offaly in the early eighteenth century', in W. Nolan and T.P. O'Neil eds., *Offaly: History and Society*, (Dublin, 1988), p. 385.

Table 6.5 List of the Commissioners of Array and senior officers of the companies of foot and troops of horse in The King's County 1678-82.

Name	New Prot./ Old Prot.	Acreage recorded in c.1680 in K.C	Commissioner/ Captain
Baggot, Edward	Old	-	Sheriff/ Comm.
Baldwin, John Esq.	New	2953	Comm.
Barry, Richard Esq.	?	-	Comm.
Blundell, Francis, Sir	Old	2506	Comm./Capt.
Blundell, William Esq.	Old	149 (will inherit)	Comm.
Dancer, Thomas, Sir	New?	502	Capt.
Digby, Robert Esq.	Old	heir to 1492 and Lord Digby held 5980	Comm./Capt.
Forth ,Robert, Esq.	Old	1000	Comm.
Gahan, Daniel, Esq.	Old	-	Comm./Capt.
Hamilton, William, Esq.	New	2200	Comm.
Herbert, Edward, Sir	Old	heir to 2539	Capt.
Lyons, Charles, Esq.	Old	1278	Comm./Capt.
Parsons, Lawrence, Sir	Old	5164	Comm./Capt.
Playseed, Edward	?	?	Muster-master
Purefoy, Peter, Esq.	New	1658	Comm.
Purefoy, William, Esq.	New	460	Comm.
Rolls, Samuel, Esq.	New?	-	Comm.
Sankey, George, Esq.	Old	1163	Comm.
Sands, John, Esq.	New	545	Comm.
Tarleton, Edward, Gent.	New?	983	Comm.
Wakely,	Old	1450	Capt.

Source: Militia Return , Birr Castle, A/19

Some of the officers who were appointed to lead the militia were also Commissioners (6 out of the 8 captains for instance were Commissioners of Array). The captains were drawn from the top layer of the 'esquirearchy'. 'Captaincies of horse' were

particularly prestigious and all three of the captains of the troops of horse in The King's County were knights or baronets (Parsons, Herbert and Blundell). By contrast the lower officers (the lieutenants, cornets and ensigns) were drawn from a wider cross section of the gentry. A list of 28 'Lords and Gentlemen' who were able to serve in a military capacity in The Queen's County c.1690 includes two peers and 5 esquires (this group would probably have considered captaincies). Below them were 23 'gentlemen'. It seems likely that most of these were modest landowners, townsmen or former officers in the regular army.¹⁶³

At least 9 of the 17 Commissioners were from Old Protestant backgrounds and between 1678 and 1682 the 8 captains were all (with one possible exception) Old Protestants. It would appear that in the Restoration period the leadership of the militia in The King's County rested firmly in the hands of the most established pre-1641 families. The Blundells, the Herberts, the Lyons, the Wakelys, the Digbys and the Parsons (who commanded the militia between 1679 and 1681) all had a long tradition of serving in a martial capacity for their county.¹⁶⁴

In 1690 a new Williamite militia was raised in Ireland. This was supposed to have been composed of officers who had much stronger Protestant credentials. The proclamations of the Duke of Ormonde in 1680 had made it clear that the Commissioners had to inform Dublin Castle if any of the officers were Catholic, if they were married to a Catholic, if their children were educated in Catholic schools or if they refused to take the Oath of Supremacy.¹⁶⁵ In The King's and Queen's County, where there were relatively few Catholic landowners after 1660, the militia was already a Protestant force before 1690.¹⁶⁶

A list of the militia officers in The King's County c.1690 shows the composition of the officership had indeed changed after the Williamite War, but not in an ethnic/religious sense. If one compares the 1678-82 returns with this c.1690 list one notices that the names of the captains are all different.¹⁶⁷ After 1690 it seems that many

¹⁶³Samuel Edmundson (or Edmundson) for instance was probably related to the Quaker Edmundsons from Mountmellick; Q.C. list, c.1690, De Vesci Papers, N.L.I., H/18 (a).

¹⁶⁴Some of the newcomers came from military backgrounds: Peter Purefoy was listed as Captain in the B.S.D, William Purefoy was formerly a Lieutenant Colonel and John Sand's father was listed as Captain.

¹⁶⁵Birr Castle Ms. A/19.

¹⁶⁶There were at least three Commissioners/Captains who had Irish Catholic ancestry (George Sankey, Edward Baggot and Daniel Gahan). But the B.S.D. indicates that branches of these families had converted to Protestantism before 1641. In 1681 the Commissioners of Array in The King's County wrote 'Wee have inquired and fuly satisfied that there is not an officer of the militia that is a Papist', Birr Castle Ms. A/19.

¹⁶⁷The Parsons are the only family who appear on both lists. William Parsons served as a captain of horse like his father before him. John Keating and Jonathan Darby, pre-1641 Protestants, were captains of foot.

more newer settlers managed to obtain the most prestigious positions in the militia. This may in part have been due to the performances of some of the gentlemen during the Williamite War. Appropriate military experience was valued. The return of the landowners who were fit to serve in a military capacity in The Queen's County c.1690 includes Thomas Deny who was for 'some years a Lieutenant of foot in the Dragoons till disbanded by Terconnell [sic]'.¹⁶⁸ There may also be a political explanation. Perhaps those of Cromwellian or later Protestant stock were perceived (rightly or wrongly) by Dublin Castle as being stronger supporters of the Protestant succession.

At a time of emergency the government had to decide on the total number of soldiers that were required in each county to defend Ireland from foreign invasion. It would be misleading to suggest that the militia gradually expanded during this period because it was a very ephemeral body.¹⁶⁹ The militia might have been an impressive body of 30,000 armed men in one year but a rag-bag of poorly equipped men (who could not be mobilised) in the next.¹⁷⁰ In 1690 the new militia was created, yet by 1694 it was said to have been 'now almost quite laid aside'.¹⁷¹

What concerns us here is how the Protestant office holders managed to raise the money and manpower for the militia force within their own county at times of crisis. In 1678 the Commissioners informed Dublin that they 'had assembled all his Maj[es]ties subjects dwelling and inhabiting in the Severall Barronyes of this County and out of such who appeared before us qualified' enlisted the 400 men required. Rank and file foot soldiers were almost certainly selected by the petty constables with the help of

The other two captains appointed were New Protestants: Peter Purefoy and John Baldwin. Purefoy and Baldwin had been Commissioners between 1678 and 1682. The other officers (the lieutenants, cornets and ensigns) are also mainly from New Protestant families (e.g., Warburton, Vaughan, Philips and Andrews).¹⁶⁸ Q.C. list, c.1690, De Vesci Papers, N.L.I., H/18 (a).

¹⁶⁹ Neal Garnham, 'Ireland's Protestant Militia, 1715-1776: A Military Assessment, *Irish Sword* (1998, forthcoming).

¹⁷⁰ It is difficult to obtain accurate estimates of the size of the militia in different decades, although it does seem that numbers fluctuated wildly during the period. In 1680 the total Irish militia force consisted of approximately 10,000 horse and 14,000 foot. The King's County was instructed to enlist and array 100 horseman and 300 foot. The militia was abandoned in James II reign and re-instituted in 1690. The Hanoverian Succession and the fear of invasion in 1715 led to a Militia Act and it is likely that the size of the militia was considerably larger than it was in the Restoration period. The last large scale array was in 1756 when almost 150,000 men were thought to have been enlisted (on paper at least) into the militia. This was larger than the number of regulars, fencibles, militia and yeomanry in Ireland just prior to the Act of Union put together. Of this number The King's and Queen's counties enlisted 1,872 and 1,927 soldiers respectively, Thomas Bartlett, 'Defence, Counter-insurgency and Rebellion: Ireland, 1793-1803, in Bartlett and Jeffery, eds. *A Military History of Ireland*, (Cambridge, 1996), p. 249; Rolf Loeber, 'The Reorganisation of the Irish Militia', *The Irish Sword*, Vol. 19 (1995), p. 205; Henry McNally, 'The Militia Array of 1756 in Ireland', *Irish Sword*, Vol. 1 (1949-53), pp. 100-102.

¹⁷¹ Capel to Trenchard, 14 July 1694, cited by Sean Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power*, p. 201.

churchwardens, ministers and the chief inhabitants of each parish. The Act of 1716 stipulated that all men between the age of 16 and 60 were eligible to serve in Ireland. In England it was often the vagrants and young delinquents who were impressed into the militia. The peculiar conditions in Ireland (particularly the internal threat from the Catholic population) may have induced the local office holders to have taken greater care in the selection of candidates. The horse troopers were probably chosen by the captains themselves. Since many of the officers were also landowners in the baronies in which the men were being recruited they were in a position to select tenants. It was reported that 'most of the men being raised in the Barrony of Geashell' were tenants of Lord Digby's and that Robert Digby Esq. was a captain of foot. A few hundred men would not have made a big dent in the county labour supply and the militia had only to meet a once or twice a month (in certain years). But the huge mobilisation of 1756 (if the figures can be believed) may well have created special problems. The returns for that year show that The King's County was responsible for raising 12 troops of Dragoons and that The Queen's County was to raise 2 regiments of dragoons and one regiment of horse. Perhaps certain counties had a reputation for providing large numbers of horses and horsemen. Troopers were chosen more carefully than foot soldiers and they were also more expensive, the men required expensive equipage and the horse needed oats and hay etc.¹⁷²

Money was also required for arms and ammunition and to pay the soldiers whilst they were training.¹⁷³ In order to raise this the county was divided up according to the number of units in the militia (in King's there were 2 troops and three companies, which meant that the county was divided into five sections).¹⁷⁴ Since there were 11 baronies in the county each unit would have been composed of one or more baronies plus a number of contiguous parishes.¹⁷⁵ Each section was then given the responsibility of a certain

¹⁷²See Appendix in McNally, 'The Militia Array of 1756', p. 102.

¹⁷³In 1680 the rate of pay was 1 shilling per diem for troopers and 6d per diem for foot soldiers. In 1679 the Commissioners of Array were asked to assess what arms and ammunition they required so that an order could be placed with the Tower of London. Once delivered the arms were then paid for by the Commissioners at cost price. Some of these items were very costly. The cheapest match-lock musquet cost 0.16.0 and a drum in a case cost 1.19.0. It was calculated that the bill for the 400 men in The King's County militia for one year was £462.10.10 (this included wages, new equipment and powder, match and shot), Birr Castle, Ms. A/19.

¹⁷⁴The first ordinances of 1678 were very vague about this matter. It stated that the tax was to be 'rayed upon the severall Lands in this county according to the Acres'. The method that was used in Co. Dublin for raising monies was circulated to the Commissioners in The King's County and this provided them with a template, *ibid*.

¹⁷⁵Sir Lawrence Parsons' troop for instance was to be funded by the barony of Garrycastle (except the parish of Lemanaghan) and the parishes of Birr, Sirkeran and Dunkerin, *ibid*.

number of horses and men. It was decided that the freeholders should be taxed at a rate of 3 shillings per hundred acres. This meant that each 1,500 acres block of land should support one horsemen and three footmen.¹⁷⁶

This system is an unusual blend of medieval scutage (or shield money) and the cess (the assessment levied by the Grand Juries). The problem with slicing up the county into tax units was that it took little account of the quality of the land or the incomes of freeholders and tenants. In 1679 six of the principal freeholders wrote 'this 1/2 Barrony [of Philipstown] is under a great grievance in being Charged with horse'. They argued that both the lower 1/2 barrony of Philipstown and Barrony of Geshell lyes most contiguous to Sr. Frances Blundell, who commands the Troope through which for eleven miles together any Trooper who shall get horse shall ride'.¹⁷⁷

When a small number of the militia units were mustered the above system was (by the standards of the time) reasonably successful. Tenants were put under double pressure- from their landlords and the crown- to pay and equip the militia. If tenants within a particular barony did not pay their dues then they were in effect depriving their *own* company or troop of horse (i.e. it would have been commanded by the principal landowners and manned by the general inhabitants of the area). It is more questionable whether these semi-feudal ties existed later in the period when a much larger number of units were required. Similarly, counties may have been able to provide large numbers of men but the government was unable to provide them with arms and ammunition. A return of the militia in Co. Kilkenny c. 1730 shows that a troop quartered near Gowran comprised 38 men and 24 musquets.¹⁷⁸

In 1679 the Commissioners of The King's County were happy to report to the Lord Lieutenant that all five militia units had been enlisted and that a Treasurer and Muster-Master were also appointed. Secure places had also been found to store the arms

¹⁷⁶The Upper Half barony of Philipstown for instance was expected to provide for 21 1/4 horsemen. Though the principal freeholders are listed in the returns it would appear that it was the tenants in the barony who were taxable. The Dublin Book of Militia and Array states that the petty constables and chief inhabitants of each parish were expected to send summons' to 'the severall Inhabitants of the said parrish and make a just and equall distribution...according to the Quantity of the Lands, tenement, goods and chattles of the said respective persons'. If the number of horsemen and foot soldiers allocated to each section were not provided for by the specified date then the defaulters were fined £20 or imprisoned for 10 days, *ibid*.

¹⁷⁷The Commissioners did modify the system in an attempt to make the tax marginally more equitable. They could for instance ask the poorer baronies to raise foot soldiers rather than horsemen. But there were still complaints. The tenants were also loath to provide monies for new pistols when Capt. Blundell already 'had his full number out of the store'. The owner of most of the half barony was the Earl of Arlington and the tenants could have drawn on his influence in order to change the way in which the tax was levied, *ibid*.

¹⁷⁸Compared to many other counties in Ireland this was a fairly good gun-man ratio. For comparative figures see Sean Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power*, p. 202; Kilkenny muster roll, N.L.I. Ms. 13,015.

and ammunition (Redwood House, Birr Castle, Leap Castle and lodgings in the towns of Ballyboy, Killeigh and Philipstown). On paper this fighting force seems impressive, but there were some serious teething problems. Firstly there were local disagreements over who actually commanded the units. In 1679 the Irish government had sent out new commissions because many of 'the former commissions being dead or removed out of the country'.¹⁷⁹ However, in some cases new officers were commissioned even though there were officers already in place. Capt. Wakely had a 'Comision [sic] from the Earle of Ossory, late L[or]d deputy of this Kingdome, to comand a Militia Company in the said County [King's] was disabled and unacapable of serving in that quality'. On this basis Robert Digby was given Wakely's captaincy. A little later Wakely was described as 'appearing pretty well recovered and demanding his company', and the Commissioners put Wakely back in charge. The Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council begged to differ and instructed the Commissioners to put Digby in command. This was an awkward scenario and the honour of all the parties concerned (Wakely's, Digby's and the Commissioners of Array) was at stake. Dublin Castle came up with a reasonable suggestion, which was to encourage The King's County to create a new unit so that both men could command. This case highlights the sensitivities of landowners as well as the importance of local politics in the militia. Even though Wakely may not have been physically fit enough to serve, he was still determined that he should command (according to the commission that predated those of 1679).

Such internecine arguments reduced the operational effectiveness of the militia. The companies of foot were expected to exercise two days every fortnight and the horsemen 2 1/4 days every fortnight. In addition there was a general-muster every month where all the units would come together. The attendance of the officers and men was recorded on the muster roll. On 4 June the General Rendezvous at Killeigh was 'impeded by the neglect of the appearance of Sr. ffrancis Blundells Troope and Capt. Wakely's company'.¹⁸⁰ There was probably a tendency on the part of some officers to lavish care on their own particular troop or company and ignore the wider needs of the county militia. Dublin Castle did not want a series of private armies. It was no use having several well trained units if they could not be co-ordinated at a time of crisis.

¹⁷⁹Memo Irish Privy Council, H.M.C. *Ormonde Manuscripts*, pp. 26-7, cited by Rolf Loeber, 'Reorganisation of the Irish Militia', (introduction).

¹⁸⁰This was supposedly due to 'some mistake in that officers as was alledged'. At least The King's County could get three out of five units out at once. The Lord Lieutenant 'recieved intimacion [in February 1680] from severall parts of the kingdome that the milita in divers countyes is no att p[re]sent in such a posture as might have been expected whcih must be imputed as a great neglect unto the Com[missione]rs', Birr Castle A/19.

The Irish militia was just one manifestation of the military-minded Protestant landed mentality. There was a considerable overlap between the militia and the regular army. Many of those who served in the militia had previous military experience and some officers in the militia went on to obtain commissions in the regular army. The few surviving lists of militia and regular army officers in The King's and Queen's counties show a recurrent pattern of service.¹⁸¹ At the back of 'bill for weines' inserted into a volume of the 1641 Depositions is a fragmentary list of regular officers. Among them is 'ould Sir Charles Coote' and Sir Arthur Loftus.¹⁸² Their progeny, the Earl of Mountrath (Coote) and Viscount Ely (Loftus), are also at the top of the list of those who were fit to serve in a military capacity in The Queen's County c.1690.¹⁸³ Captain John Franck first settled in The King's County c.1650 and his nephew Thomas (who inherited the estate in 1665) was a captain of horse in the militia dragoons. He was succeeded by James who became a captain of foot in the regular army in 1719.¹⁸⁴

There was a very strong military tradition among the Protestant landowning families in the two counties. Col. Humphrey Bland for example urged all three nephews to chose military careers in the 1750s.¹⁸⁵ The gentlemen of The King's and Queen's counties liked to be addressed as 'Ensign', 'Captain' or 'Colonel', even if their claim to such a title was a little tenuous. Of the c.220 individuals that Pole Cosby mentions in his autobiography at least 25 have a military title. This reveals much about the *mentalite* of the Irish gentry in this period. English travellers to Ireland also picked up on this 'martial air'. In 1732 John Loveday wrote that he 'disliked the pretensions which dubbed the squires colonels and their houses castles'. When visiting William Flower at Castle Durrow he remarked 'He, according to the general affected custom of the country is called Colonel, because he has that rank in the Militia'.¹⁸⁶ Flower was made a Lieutenant Colonel of a Militia regiment of dragoons in 1727.¹⁸⁷ The Irish gentry tended to keep such titles even after their regiments were disbanded.

¹⁸¹List of the Militia Officers of the King's Co. c.1690, B.M. Add. Mss. 34,766. The army reviewed at Birr and Tullamore in 1770, Nat. Arch. Ire. M.4901.

¹⁸²T.C.D., Ms. 815 dep. 331.

¹⁸³De Vesci Papers, N.L.I., Ms. H/18 (a).

¹⁸⁴This is probably the same Capt. Frankfort who was recorded as commanding officer of a company of foot at Philipstown in 1733. Among the regular officers reviewed at Birr in 1770 was one 'Parsons'; Rolleston Mss., N.L.I, Ms. 13,794 (5); Army garrisons in Ireland in 1733, Tennison Groves transcript, P.R.O.N.I., T.808 (15202).

¹⁸⁵ The correspondence of Humphrey Bland c.1751- c.1758, (private collection, Ireland).

¹⁸⁶ 'A tour in Kildare in 1732', (William Loveday), printed extracts edited by T.U. Sadleir in *J.K.A.S.*, Vol. 7 (1912-14) pp.168-177.

¹⁸⁷ Certificate from Lord Carteret commissioning Flower, 16 Sept. 1727, N.L.I., D.20,237.

This tension between the personal prestige of the commanding officers and the practical needs of the county can be found throughout the eighteenth century. The Volunteers of the late 1770s and early 1780s were in a sense a confederation of private military units commanded by landowners. In The King's County there were at least 8 Volunteer corps and they each had distinctive uniforms and battle cries. The 'Parsonstown Loyal Independents' (who wore scarlet tunics faced in black with silver lace) were commanded by Sir William Parsons. The 'Leap Independents' (in blue coats edged with white edges) were commanded by Col. John Darby.¹⁸⁸ In a sense little had changed since the 1680s. Both Darby and the Parsons were following a long martial tradition. The Volunteer Corps like the earlier militia units were a great source of local pomp and display.

6.6 Officers of the Revenue

The title of 'tax commissioner' may have sounded less impressive than 'captain' or 'colonel' but it still carried considerable weight in county society. In 1660, 75 Poll Tax Commissioners were appointed in the two counties. Of this number 61 were described as 'esquire'.¹⁸⁹ The 1659 Census and the 1706 Quit Rent list suggest that only about 50-60 families in total were considered as esquires in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It would seem that the entire 'esquirearchy' of the two counties were drafted in to administer this tax. Eight of the fifteen families who were listed as Commissioners of Array between 1679 and 1682 also appear on the list of Poll Tax Commissioners (and it has already been shown that some of the families who had been tax commissioners in the 1620s went on to serve as Commissioners of Array in the 1680s). Since the bulk of the Irish revenue was spent on maintaining the military establishment one can see how the offices of tax collector and military officer were inextricably linked.

For much of the seventeenth century a permanent fiscal administration did not exist since most taxes were raised on an ad-hoc basis. Tunnage and Poundage (the tax on imports) was one of the few constant sources of revenue for the crown and each major port had its own officers to supervise the collection of this tax. There were also a myriad of fines and fees that were payable to the crown for certain services. In 1620 for instance Anthony Atkinson was granted the right to sell licences for the sale of wine and aquae

¹⁸⁸Thomas Lalor Cooke, *The Early History of Birr or Parsonstown*, (Dublin, 1875), pp. 386-387.

¹⁸⁹Pender ed. *A Census of Ireland, c. 1659*, see appendix for Poll Tax Commissioners, pp. 640-641.

vitae in the town of Philipstown.¹⁹⁰ Such a perk almost certainly required a fixed payment to the treasury. All of the other main taxes were tailor-made to suit a particular purpose. Parliament usually voted on a set sum and then sent instructions to the sheriffs of each county to collect their share. The sheriffs appointed their own agents to collect the tax (which was generally imposed on tenants like the assessment) and they received a share of the total amount collected. When unusually large sums were needed the crown also appointed Commissioners to oversee the 'tax-farmers'.¹⁹¹ Each tax required its own set of personnel and the government expected the sheriff and J.P.s to liaise with all these various fiscal agents (Commissioners and collectors). After 1660 a number of new taxes were introduced, the Poll Tax, Hearth Tax and Quit Rent. The most important of these was the Hearth Tax. On paper this tax seemed an excellent source of revenue. The main drawback of this tax was that it required far more manpower and organisation than the earlier taxes. The government had in effect created new forms of taxation without radically changing the way in which tax was administered. The tax collectors could not carry out their duties successfully without the cooperation of the magistracy.

After c. 1680 a more permanent and professional revenue structure began to emerge. The government introduced a package of indirect taxes on certain goods and services known as the 'Excise' to augment the revenue that it already received from the older customs and property taxes. It proved to be an extremely lucrative form of taxation because it could be levied on goods with a relatively inelastic demand, such as tea, coffee, tobacco, sugar and chocolate (see chapter 3.7).

The main draw back with this tax (like the Hearth Tax) was that it required more administration and man-power. Land and buildings were on the the whole fixed (except the cabins of the very poor which could be demolished to avoid hearth tax) whereas goods and services were ephemeral. A collector of a property tax might have to assess the number of acres held by a tenant or freeholder but a collector of Excise had the much more complicated task of monitoring the production, transport and sale of goods. If the taxes on alcoholic beverages were to be enforced, then both the brewers/distillers and retailers had to be inspected. As a result the Excise became the largest and most important component of the revenue structure between c.1700 and 1760.

The Revenue Office was the only part of the Irish 'Civil Service' that resembled a modern bureaucracy. The headquarters was the Custom House in Dublin and the

¹⁹⁰Licence; 20 Nov. 1620, *C.S.P.I.*, 1615-25, p. 170.

¹⁹¹In 1616 Robert Leicester and Alexander Barrington were listed as 'Collectors' of The King's and Queen's counties: Leicester raised £36.1.0 whereas Barrington raised £977.6.8. in Queen's, Memo for Justices of Assize in 1616; *C.S.P.I.*, 1615-25, p. 127.

Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners had jurisdiction over particular areas or 'districts'. These in turn were sub-divided into divisions and foot walks. The 'Maryborough District' covered The King's and Queen's Counties and within it there were 13 'foot walks' (and each had its own 'gauger' who was accompanied by a surveyor).¹⁹² This fiscal structure was markedly different from that which existed in the previous century. Firstly the collectors were no longer accountable to the High Sheriff; they operated in a 'district' which was made up of more than one county and they took their orders directly from Dublin. Secondly the revenue staff were salaried; they had ceased to be private 'tax farmers' and were now part of a permanent administration. And finally each member of staff had a specific place in a multi-tiered hierarchy that was subject to closer surveillance.

The Offices of Commissioner and Sub-Commissioner were among the most coveted in the land. In addition to pay, pension and prestige the office brought with it considerable patronage. William Conolly was perhaps the first parliamentarian to become aware of the true political importance of the Revenue Commissioners in the 1710s and 1720s.¹⁹³ There were usually seven Commissioners at any one time. Some of these appointments were made to English or Irish absentees. This meant that a handful of the more active Irish Commissioners were left with considerable powers of patronage. In 1747 Sir John Denny Vesey was one of the Commissioners and it is likely that many of his kinsmen and friends in The King's and Queen's counties were given preferment as a result.¹⁹⁴

It is much more difficult to gauge how the Protestant gentry of the two counties viewed the lower grade revenue offices at a 'district' level.¹⁹⁵ Among the new freeman created at Portarlington in 1732 was Mr. Henry Palmer an 'Officer of the Excise'.¹⁹⁶ Palmer was among a new breed of salaried professionals and it is interesting that the clerk noted his 'job title' as well as his 'courtesy title (i.e. Mr.)'. At least 12 of the 600 or so freemen who are recorded in the borough of Maryborough between c.1730 and 1760 worked for the Revenue Office. There was one 'Collector' (John Massey Esq.) and two

¹⁹²There were two surveyors in the Maryborough district in 1730, 'The Register of Reports on the state of the Revenue and the Conduct of its officers, 1733', by Edward Thompson, Commissioner of the Revenue and Excise'. Nat. Arch. Ire. 2c.36.1.

¹⁹³P. McNally, *Parties, Politics and Patriots*, p. 128.

¹⁹⁴N.L.I., D.20,230.

¹⁹⁵There is a list of the officers employed in the Maryborough District in 1709; 'Employees of the Revenue Office in 1709', *Irish Ancestor*, Vol. 1 (1974), pp. 13-16.

¹⁹⁶Portarlington Minute Book, 2 Oct.1732. N.L.I., Ms. 90.

'surveyors' (Hewitson Hill Esq. and John Bowker). Below them were 9 'gaugers' who were not given any form of courtesy title (i.e. 'Esq.', 'gent'. or 'Mr.').¹⁹⁷

Though the Revenue Office may have lacked the glamour of the army or the respectability of the church it was to become a useful outlet for younger sons. The post of Collector required a degree of intelligence and education and there were opportunities for promotion. Some Irishmen moved from district offices to Dublin or further afield. In 1728 Mr. Proby of Chester asked William Flower to look him up in the Durrow parish books. The reason for this was that Proby was about to take up a job with the Excise Office in London and needed proof of his age.¹⁹⁸ This is yet another small indicator of the increasing professionalism of the Revenue.

One of the surveyors in Maryborough c.1760 was styled 'Esq'.¹⁹⁹ This was probably the exception to the rule since men of a much lower rank usually accepted the lower officerships in the district (surveyor, gauger, boatswain and footwalker). The report by Edward Thompson in 1733 on the conduct of the Revenue Officers gives one a sense of the social and economic backgrounds of these rank and file officers.

Each of the 13 footwalks in the District of Maryborough was manned by a surveyor and a gauger. The walks varied between 4 and 16 miles in length and each contained between 10 and 24 brewers (there were 194 licensed brewers in the district as a whole). Armed with appropriate measuring instruments, journals and stock books their task was to sniff out unlicensed ale houses and secret caches of undeclared liquor.²⁰⁰ This was a potentially onerous job and it required considerable local knowledge and integrity. Edward Thompson commended some of these officers for their long service and devotion to duty. Richard Boyland (a gauger) was 'well enough qualified for his post, having been 22 years imployd in the revenue', and Edward Blurton 'has been fifteen years in this division and is verry well qualified for a walk of better business'.²⁰¹

Landlocked King's and Queen's counties generated far less revenue than maritime districts such as Cork and Wicklow and this meant that they were under far less scrutiny by the revenue inspector. In his report Edward Thompson admitted that 'I have touched lightly on Maryborough District and pas'd Naas without surveying it'.²⁰² Nevertheless

¹⁹⁷N.L.I., Ms. 1726; Ms. 1727.

¹⁹⁸10 June 1728, Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,481 (4).

¹⁹⁹Hewitson Hill Esq. Surveyor, N.L.I., Ms. 1727.

²⁰⁰In the whole district there were 194 brewers in all the walks amounting to 128 miles, Thompson report, p. 108

²⁰¹Ibid., p. 106-107.

²⁰²Ibid., p. 98, figures for amounts collected from Inland Excise, Ale Licence, Wine Licence, Quit Rents and Hearth Money on p. 104.

Thompson could still find some serious faults with the petty officers in Maryborough District.

The surveyors did not always live near their 'walks'. It was noted that William Phelan the gauger of the Mountrath Walk 'is a native of this county and spends too much time with his wife and family who live at Ballyroan, three miles distant from his residence and out of his walk'.²⁰³ On average there was a distance of between 4 and 20 miles between the gauger's residence and the surveyor's office. The non-gentry status of the junior officers meant that there was a danger of them becoming too familiar with the tax payers. At Ballinakill the report says 'there are three persons in this division who sell wine constantly, yet there is no charge made upon them this year in any book whatever, the officer says that they are very poor', as a result he was 'severely reprimanded'. In the same town it was found that 'the surveyor has not been in his residence... and that he had forged that survey'.²⁰⁴ There are other instances where it appears that the officer turned a blind eye to private cellars, perhaps for a liquid reward.²⁰⁵ One of the 'general observations' of the report was that there 'were great opportunities to the officer to act dishonestly in their stations if so minded'. Information was received that Mr. Henry, the gauger of Mountmellick, 'kept a shop and three brewing pans'.²⁰⁶

Like all the other crown agencies within the Irish civil establishment the Revenue had its fair share of idle and corrupt officers during this period. But at least this branch of the 'civil service' was under some kind of surveillance. The day-to-day tasks of the taxmen were under a much closer scrutiny than the county commissioners and sheriffs.

It is probable that many members of the Protestant landed gentry viewed this new breed of 'civil servant' with some suspicion or even disdain. For centuries the responsibility for collecting taxes had rested mainly in the hands of the principal inhabitants of the county. Now a group of salaried officers under the direction of higher officials outside the county had taken over the most important fiscal role. On occasions they crossed swords with the High Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace. According to Matthew Dutton 'all sheriffs, mayors, sovereigns and constables are at all times to be aiding and assisting unto the commissioners of the Excise, their sub-commissioners, collectors and all other offices and persons imploy'd'.²⁰⁷ This begs the question of whether the word of an officer employed by the Revenue would outweigh that of a High

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 106.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., pp 89-91.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 89, 106.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 992, p.105.

²⁰⁷ Dutton, p. 67.

Sheriff. In 1725/26 it was noted in the calendar of presentments that Mr. Alexander Hamilton had made a complaint about the 'illegal arrest of his servant by the officer of the Excise'.²⁰⁸ A officer of the Revenue may well have undercut the authority of the sheriff by deferring certain civil disputes to the Commissioners at the Custom House or the Courts of Chancery rather than the Assizes or Quarter Sessions.

Revenue officers were also unpopular with the taxpayers. The officers of the Excise were much more conspicuous than the 'tax farmers' of the previous century. Bedecked with books and instruments the gaugers and surveyors became ubiquitous figures of the Irish countryside. Contemporary literature shows that they soon became a source of ridicule or even hatred. As the number of goods subject to tax increased so too did the animosity towards these officers. On the whole the main tax burden fell on upper and middling income groups since they consumed luxury goods. But at times of crisis the government turned to goods which were consumed by a wider cross section of the population.²⁰⁹ It could also be argued that since the local esquirearchy was no longer entrusted with the collection of national taxation they could deflect the anger of the local inhabitants. The tax collector was the most visual manifestation of the state and it was convenient to see him (rather than the landowners) as the greatest source of oppression.

²⁰⁸Calendar of presentments, p. 2.

²⁰⁹In 1793 for instance Excise was levied on leather goods and this generated a strong negative reaction from the poor and increased the political tension in the localities in the years leading up to 1798, D. Dickson, 'Taxation and Disaffection in Late Eighteenth century Ireland', in S. Clark and J.S. Donnelly eds. *Irish Peasants: Violence and Political Unrest 1780-1914*, (Madison and Manchester, 1983), p. 37.

6.7 County events

The above summaries of the duties of the various county office holders might, without further qualification, give an impression that 'county society' was neatly compartmentalised: Sheriffs, Grand Jurymen and magistrates met in the courts, the militia mustered in the towns, and civic office holders met in the tholsells and market houses. There was of course considerable overlap between all these different components of local tax, justice and administration and the officers did not always meet together in public buildings on formal occasions.

Much of 'county Society' was event based, but not all of the principal events were held in the court house. Though firm evidence is lacking it seems likely that much official and unofficial business was conducted in private houses and in taverns throughout the year. Before 1760 there were few public buildings in towns and most court houses were modest structures. When the courts were not sitting it was probably more convivial for jurymen and magistrates to meet at country houses. After exercises it is known that the officers of the militia stowed away their arms and ammunition in castles and secure buildings in towns. No doubt they then retired to a suitable watering hole or to the home of the commanding officer for refreshment.

One also has to consider the number of other official and quasi-official bodies in the county that came together at various times of the year. The Linen Board was founded in 1711 to improve the quality of the linen produced in Ireland and to enforce regulations laid down by parliament regarding its manufacture and distribution. The board of 80 trustees met at the Linen Hall in Dublin. In addition there must also have been a series of county committees for a list survives of 'The names of the Directors of the management of the Linnen Manufacture for the Queenes County' for c.1715.²¹¹ The directorship consisted of 4 peers, 1 knight, 12 esquires and 4 gents: all of whom were prominent landowners in the county. One presumes that these directors met in private houses; quite possibly at Abbey Leix where this document was found. By the 1730s a much smaller number of 'trustees' of the 'Linen Manufacturies' were appointed in each county.²¹²

The county administration was like one great Venn diagram, it was made up of a series of distinct, though overlapping, circles. In the chapter on the household we have already looked at the importance of the small gatherings that involved a tight-knit group

²¹¹Misc. papers, De Vesce Papers, N.L.I., Ms. H.18.

²¹²E.g. *Pue's Occurrences*, 1732, no. 97: two trustees for King's and three for Queen's are mentioned.

of friends and family. But in what other contexts did the Protestant landed gentry of the county meet together in a more informal capacity?

If a gentleman was unwilling or unable to meet all of the principal landowners of the county during his life he would almost certainly have brought them together after his death. The funerals of the gentry were, after the Assizes, sessions and elections, probably the most important county events. Pole Cosby said that his 'Father was buried with very great pomp (as any that ever was in the Queen's County)'.²¹³ News obviously spread fast in county society since St. Leger Gilbert set up as a Knight of the Shire as soon as he heard of the death of Cosby 'but he declined the day that he was buried'. As well as funerals there were other 'rites of passage' events that served to bring together members of the county gentry and to reinforce paternal ties between landowners, tenants and dependants (see chapter 3.10)

Another place where landowners of the county met together was the hunting field. Hunting had long been a popular sport in Ireland but it was not until the early eighteenth century that one begins to see the emergence of the county hunt.

In places where certain types of wild animal were abundant hunting was viewed as no more than a necessary part of running an estate. Landowners employed professional huntsmen to track down and kill vermin. Wolves are not mentioned by Arthur Stringer (who wrote the first treatise on hunting in Ireland in 1714) even though they were supposed to have preyed on the sheep of Lord Conway's estate into the 1660s.²¹⁴ One can assume that there were not enough wolves left in Ireland by the early eighteenth century to hunt in a systematic way. Similarly wild deer could only be found in certain pockets of the north and west. Foxes by contrast could be found in sufficient numbers almost everywhere in Ireland. They also posed a real challenge to the sportsmen. Stringer observed 'that a fox-chase is much harder for hounds and horses than any other chase...it is an extraordinary horse that is able to keep company with fleet hounds when a fox runs so a head'.²¹⁵ In 1691 Edmond Doyne, the agent at Castle Duroy, complained to his master that the estate was plagued with foxes because all the hounds had been taken away.²¹⁶ When normality returned after the Williamite War landowners could concentrate their

²¹³Cosby Autobiog., p. 180.

²¹⁴Arthur Stringer (b. c.1664) who wrote the first treatise on hunting in Ireland in 1714 was employed by the Conway family in Co. Antrim; Arthur Stringer, *The Experienc'd Huntsman*, (Belfast, 1714), reprinted in 1780 (Dublin) and again in 1977 (Belfast) with an introduction by James Fairley; Sir George Rawdon to Viscount Conway, 3 Sept., 6 Oct. 1665, *C.S.P.I.*, 1663-1665, pp. 637-649; Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power*, p. 42.

²¹⁵Stringer, p. 87.

²¹⁶Doyne to Flower, 15 Mar. 1691, Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,473 (1)

efforts once more on hunting the fox. Packs of hounds were brought over from England for this purpose.²¹⁷ Hounds, like horses, were carefully bred and it was important to keep the pack together. Later in the century packs were advertised for sale in Dublin and provincial newspapers. In 1767 for instance James Cooke Esq. of Kilkenny offered for sale a 'choice pack 16 couple hounds of a good kind, being tall, light and high mettled' which 'go very hard' in *Finn's Leinster Journal*.²¹⁸

By the first quarter of the eighteenth century hunting with hounds was widespread and there were probably a number of 'private packs' in every county. William Flower kept hounds at Castle Durrow and was a keen sportsman. Pole Cosby by contrast said that he did not care much for sport and preferred walks and conversation to pursuing wild animals. Yet even he succumbed to 'Judge Parnell's beagles and used to go a hunting sometimes'.²¹⁹ Jonah Barrington's description of the objects in the hallway at Cullenaghmore House (when his grandfather was alive) is a *leitmotif* of the country pursuits that gentlemen enjoyed in the period:

The walls of the large hall were decked (as is customary) with fishing rods, firearms, stags' horns, foxes' brushes, powder flasks, shot pouches, nets and dog collars, here and there relieved by the extended skin of a Kite or a King-Fisher, nailed up in the vanity of the destroyer: that of a monstrous eagle, which impressed itself upon my mind, surmounted by the chimney-piece, accompanied by a card announcing the name of its slaughterer-'Alexander Barrington'.²²⁰

Stringer maintained that hunting was not an prohibitively expensive pastime for most gentlemen:

it is perhaps thought that the charges of the hounds, huntsman and horses are too much, though a gentleman may keep ten or twelve couple of hounds for 40/- per annum here in Ireland which is no great matter to a gentleman

²¹⁷In 1700 Sir Edward Seymour and his son (later Lord Conway) 'came out of England to Portmore and brought with them twenty couple of hounds in order to hunt'; Stringer, p. 57.

²¹⁸*Finn's Leinster Journal*, 8 April 1767, No. 25.

²¹⁹Cosby Autobiog., p. 173.

²²⁰Barrington, *Personal Sketches*, p. Vol. I, p. 2.

of an estate, considering the advantage of health and pleasure reaped by it.²²¹

Though gentlemen could afford to keep their own hounds it would seem that many preferred to subscribe to a pack. Gentlemen-hunters probably met more regularly in the eighteenth century than those who attended 'county hunts' after 1800.²²² By subscribing to one or more packs a gentleman could go out hunting as frequently or as infrequently as he wanted.²²³ He could benefit from the pleasures of the sport without the responsibilities and expense of keeping a pack of hounds. The institutionalisation of hunting also brought with it further opportunities for social events.²²⁴

There are many rival claimants for the oldest hunt club in Ireland.²²⁵ It has been claimed that the 'Ormonde' and King's County packs were established in late seventeenth century.²²⁶ One historian of the Westmeath Hunt said that Bishop Dopping of Meath kept hounds near Killucan in 1697, but he argued disparagingly that 'these can scarcely be ranked as a county pack'.²²⁷ In reality there was no neat distinction between 'private' and 'county' packs.

One can speculate that gentlemen encouraged the creation of 'county hunts' in order to distance themselves from the kinds of pack that attracted men of a lower social status. As in so many areas the elite were victims of their own success. Though there is as yet no hard evidence that would reveal the membership of hunts, it seems likely that subscription packs gave many more landowners the opportunity to hunt. Daniel O'Byrne maintained that The Queen's County had for a long time been a 'favourite hunting ground

²²¹Stringer, p. 140.

²²²Stringer said that 'If sloth hath seized any gentleman to that degree as he hath not power to rise early one morning or two in the week to ride a hunting, it must needs be a very ill companion'. Ideally he recommended that gentlemen should spend four days of the week 'in his search after riches' and two days to recreate himself on the hunting field; *ibid.*, p. 140.

²²³Writing in the late 1760s and early 1770s when the sport was more developed Anne Cooke often noted in her diary when 'The Gentlemen went out a Hunten' and even noted the injuries that they sustained. On 27 October 1770 for instance 'Mr. Anthony Weldon dine with us, and returned home in the evening with a Black Eye got by a fall out a Hunten'; *Diary of Anne Cooke*, p. 208.

²²⁴In 1768 readers of *Finn's Leinster Journal* were informed that 'the gentlemen of the Slevardagh Club Hunt are desired to meet at the house of John Bacon, inn holder, Killinaul to run a sporting doe, and to dine on'; *Finn's Leinster Journal*, No. 38, 1768.

²²⁵Contemporary evidence is lacking and apocryphal stories abound. According to one account the Dunhallow Hunt was formed c.1745 and Mr. Henry Wrixton kept a pack of hounds and paid 13 guineas to rent a 'fox covert'. When in 1738 ~~John~~ Pakenham came to visit his brother at Tullynally he 'found to his surprise that a fine pack of hounds was kept there'; early 20th c. typescript on the Dunhallow Hunt, N.L.I., Ms. 4570. George

²²⁶Earl of Mayo and W.B. Boulton, *A History of the Kildare Hunt*, (London, 1913), p. 17.

²²⁷E.F. Dease, *History of the Westmeath Hunt*, (Dublin, 1898), p. 3.

for the Irish militia'.²²⁸ Indeed it seems likely that the popularity of fox hunting among officers in the regular army and the militia helped to give the sport an extra fillip in the early eighteenth century.²²⁹

It is unclear whether hunting with hounds was mainly the preserve of the Protestant landed elite. Though hunting could be very informal in the early to mid eighteenth century (in the sense that a group of gentlemen might on the spur of the moment decide to take out the hounds) social protocol was still observed. Stringer noted that:

when gentlemen are in the field, they commonly are very familiar with huntsmen and often talking to them in relation to the hounds or game they hunt, and some huntsmen that are proud and ambitious, not knowing themselves, fancy they are all fellows at foot-ball; and so, presumptuously, intrude, and throw themselves into such a gentleman's company at unseasonable times, so that gentlemen in such cases must either seem shy in the field to such fellows, or severly check their impertinence.²³⁰

The same attitude may have applied to all but the very richest Catholic landowners: i.e. they were able to join the hunt so long as they knew their place in the social pecking order of the county. Some Catholic landowners might well have been excluded (or excluded themselves) from this sport but this did not prevent Protestants from delving into the more traditional pastimes of the Irish Catholics. Pole Cosby said that his father could keep 'a pack of fleet Hounds from morning till night and keep closer in the hounds than anyone on horseback' but he was also an 'extraordinary fine Hurler'.²³¹ Though most gentlemen probably preferred to watch rather than to participate, hurling matches had become important county events by the end of the period. A 'Grand Hurling Match' at Gurteen near Durrow was advertised in 1768 and the prize money was 100 guineas.²³²

²²⁸O'Byrne, p. 2.

²²⁹ To this day the Fermanagh Harriers wear green tunics of a similar design to those worn by soldiers (based at Enniskillen) who hunted in the late eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century it would seem that virtually every county in Ireland had its own hunt.

²³⁰Stringer, p. 35.

²³¹Cosby Autobiog., p. 179.

²³²3 Sept. 1768, *Finns' Leinster Journal*, no. 72.

6.8 County histories

The gentry of the two counties operated in a social world where bonds of kinship and friendship had to be regularly kept in check by face to face contact in houses, taverns and court houses and through other very direct means such as hospitality, hunting, and gift-giving. Letters were important but it was not the kind of society that could be held together by words alone. The correspondence that has survived provides us with the most vivid description of county society but it must be remembered that most landowners seemed to be more preoccupied with 'doing' rather than 'writing'. William Flower had a number of lady correspondents and he ruffled their feathers when he did not reply to their letters as quickly as he might. Flower was probably too busy attending to the more immediate ways in which he could serve the gentlemen of the county. There was no substitute for a personal visit to a country house, a firm handshake and a bumper of claret. Similarly Lord Lieutenants who relied on letters to obtain support in the counties did so at their peril, as Lord Carteret found in 1725.²³³

Even if a gentleman was very punctilious about maintaining friendships he would still have only been able to keep in regular contact with just some of the leading families in the county. Though small and enclosed Protestant landed society was like any other comparable group based on a series of potentially conflicting factions and cliques. One way in which landowners might have received an overall sense of the 'county gentry' or even perhaps a 'county identity' was through maps and the printed works of antiquaries.

The regional and county maps that were printed in early modern Europe could be seen as merely a reflection of deep rooted local identities. In England the system of shires had existed for more than half a millenium before cartographers like Speed and Norden began to produce county maps. In Ireland, where counties were a relatively new creation, maps probably played a more important role in shaping county identities. In the period c. 1550-1750 there were a number of important surveys of the whole of Ireland (e.g. Boazio, Mercator, Nowell, Petty, Pratt and Moll). Each of these cartographers was pioneering in his own way and a number of them actually printed their maps in a provincial or county format (e.g. the four provinces of Ireland by Speed c.1610 and the Down Survey maps published as county maps in *Hiberniae Delineatio* in 1685). The Down Survey maps were still being used as an important guide to landownership for more than a century after they were produced. In a dispute over lands in the Diocese of

²³³P. McNally, *Parties, Patriots and Undertakers*, (Dublin, 1997), p. 131.

Ossory in 1720 the Bishop (Thomas Vesey) was informed by his agent that 'the copie of the Down Survey ...may be useful. I am told that in common law the Capt. [Fitzgerald] will be obliged to bide by the determination of the Down Survey which I am sure is on our side'.²³⁴

As a point of reference for the study of the topography and antiquities of each county these maps were less useful. The earliest maps of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were not consistent in their depiction of settlements and other man-made features (i.e. different map makers noticed different towns).²³⁵ Though a remarkable feat for its time, the Down Survey did have its limitations. Large areas of each county were not properly surveyed. In the engraved versions of the Down Survey maps The King's and Queen's county baronies of Geashill, Cullinagh and Tenehinch appear almost blank, rather like the depiction of the un-explored parts of Black Africa in the nineteenth century. Petty, and his team of surveyors, were more concerned with natural boundaries (especially rivers, mountains and bogs) and townland names rather than roads and seats. By contrast Moll in the 1720s concentrated on the roads in a given region (e.g. King's, Queen's and Kildare are shown on one plate) rather than its topography.

It was not until the mid-eighteenth century that satisfactory 'county maps' were produced that depicted all the features that were likely to have been of interest to landowners: towns, seats, farmhouses, castles, ruins, churches, roads as well as rivers, bogs, woods, hills and mountains. Oliver Sloane's map c.1765 of The Queen's County is one of the earliest of this new type of 'county survey'.²³⁶ These printed maps are often termed as 'Grand Jury maps'. Some of them probably were commissioned by Grand jurymen but in other cases it seems more likely that enterprising cartographers obtained a number of subscriptions from other interested parties. Sloane's map of The Queen's County is dedicated to the 'Noblemen and Gentlemen of the said County- Encouragers of this work'. As well as being a useful over-view of the county, these maps were attractive objects in their own right. Sloane's map has an elaborate rococo-style cartouche with farm animals and agricultural *implementa*. It seems likely that these maps were framed

²³⁴Thomas Fitzgerald to Bishop of Ossory, De Vesce Papers, N.L.I., Ms. J/5.

²³⁵One map c. 1564 of the midlands region does not show any towns in The King's and Queen's counties. Mercator's map of about the same year shows Ballyadams and Croghan. Boazio's map of 1599 shows Maryborough and Nowells also depicts Lea, J.H. Andrews, *The Shapes of Ireland*, (Dublin, 1997), pp. 41, 45, 59.

²³⁶William Beaufort makes a reference to county map made by Sloane of Meath in 1752 but unfortunately this does not survive. In 1755 a county map of Co. Down was made by Kennedy, this was followed by Rocque's maps of Armagh and Wicklow in 1760 and Netterville's survey of Wicklow in the same year. Sloane's map of The Queen's County c. 1765 is next in this sequence, *ibid.* p. 214.

up and displayed in country houses, farmhouses, townhouses and elsewhere. In addition to the Wilton carpet, pillows, foot warmers and looking glasses that adorned the passenger boats that slipped through the Grand Canal in the two counties at the end of the century, there were 'framed maps of Ireland showing the course of the canal hung up in cabins'.²³⁷ The advent of cheap print meant that landowners, as well as the servants, tenants, tradesmen and other dependants who were able to look at these maps, became much more aware of the geographical space that they inhabited.

A gentleman's sense of county or regional identity was achieved mainly through direct contact with the families who lived in the area. But he could also get a more abstract sense of 'the county' (in terms of its geography, history and people) while sitting in his library or drawing room. The history and antiquities of The King's and Queen's county provided the inspiration for some of the most important antiquaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Before the eighteenth century landowners may not have taken much of a scholarly interest in the the origins of antiquities that littered the countryside but they were nevertheless keen to record ancient monuments and artefacts. In 1633/34 John Bramall reported to the Lord Deputy about what he had seen in Birr:

At the end of the town is a marble stone of a pyramid form placed in the ground hollow within and so deep that a man before it was filled up with rubbish could not perceive the bottom of with a spear, conterminous of old to all the provinces, where the Irish Kings used to meet in public consulation. The natives call it the navel of Ireland.²³⁸

Finds of 'treasure trove' also raised the passions of the inhabitants of the two counties, but not in a historical sense. Ancient gold and silver objects were usually treated as no more than bullion by the finders and the local magistracy. In 1665 William Jans, who leased lands in The King's County, wrote to the Lord Lieutenant to ask for his share in a treasure trove find:

there hath been of late discovered and taken from the ruines of an old crosse in the King's County in one of the mannor towns of Lewis

²³⁷H. Philips, 'The Grand Canal (2): Passenger Boats', *J.K.A.S.*, Vol. 10 (1922-28), pp. 3-18.

²³⁸John Bramall to Lord Lieutenant, 17 Mar. 1633/4, *Hastings Mss.*, H.M.C., Vol. IV. (1947), pp. 57-59.

O'Dempsey Ld. Viscount Clanmalia, great summes of money and treasure by one Donnagh O' Farrell, a smith, and divers other country swayne.

The value of this hoard was said to have been £1,700 and the matter was eventually brought to the attention of the Privy Council.²³⁹

In 1670 there was a similar disagreement over treasure in the same county. Large quantities of gold was found near Ballymorish.²⁴⁰ Edmund Mullawny (on the behalf of the finder) discreetly took a sample of this hoard, in the form of 1/2 inch of the smallest ring, to Birr to see if it was 'good metal'. He received 30 shillings from John Cavan (the goldsmith) who described it as the best piece of gold he had ever seen. Rather unwisely Mullawny told Mr. Cavan that they had infinite quantities of this gold and would bring in more from time to time. Mullawny then proceeded to spend what money he had earned out of his transaction on drink and news soon spread. The jealousies and greed of the local inhabitants led to the theft of the gold. He described how his:

neighbours had taken it by force on a morning before he was out of his bed, and that the greatest cause of his grief for his losse, was that it was a Protestant and not one of his owne profession that tooke it from him, and that he was forced to sweare never to tell which robbed him thereof.²⁴¹

As well as being valuable for what it tells us about the kinds of objects that were found in the county, it also throws an interesting side light on the religious/ethnic animostities of the period. Treasure trove cases were reported throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In about 1700 for instance a farm labourer called Purcell found a barrow in the parish of Rosenallis which had 'therein a spur of rude and antique workmanship, composed of solid gold'.²⁴²

When artefacts were found that were not made of precious metals the local inhabitants sometimes thought a little harder about the ancient peoples that made them.²⁴³ Though there is no evidence of anyone writing serious studies of the antiquities

²³⁹ 'Find of Treasure Trove-1665', *J.K.A.S.*, Vol. 7 (1912-14), p. 189.

²⁴⁰ The case of the Farrell trasure, 1670, T.C.D., Ms. 806 f. 1.20, item 7.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² Rev. John Baldwin, 'Rosenallis', in Mason ed. *Parochial Survey*, Vol. III, (1819), p. 327.

²⁴³ Writing in 1819 the Rev. Baldwin was able to draw on the long memories of local people. He described the discovery of a monastic burial ground in Rosenallis in 1768 by labourers who were digging in the area. Though most of the topographical and historical works were written after 1800 writers utilised a number of much earlier accounts. Writing in 1856 Daniel O'Byrne refered back to a find of an earthen ware urn and a

of the two counties until the late eighteenth century it does seem that there were a number of people who were sufficiently interested in artefacts and ancient manuscripts to have recorded them for posterity.²⁴⁴

Most landowners would have used 'historical' documents on a regular basis in order to secure their title over land. The almost universal use of written legal instruments and the litigiousness of landowners during this period meant that virtually all ancient documents relating to land (e.g. title deeds, marriage settlements, rentals, land surveys) could be put to some practical use. On the whole landowners had a rather utilitarian view of the study of history. An intimate knowledge of the records concerning the ancient territories of the Old Irish, the holdings of the church before 1535 and the plantation in the sixteenth century could help them to secure their title or pedigree. Daniel O'Byrne argued in 1856 that the 'Bawnes [from The Queen's County] like other English upstarts, ransacked the annals of antiquity in order to display a pedigree'.²⁴⁵ Rev. Edward Ledwich said that Otway, the Bishop of Ossory, 'paid very laudable attention to the state of his diocese, carefully examining old records, documents respecting each parish, and these forming in 1679, his visitation book now in the episcopal palace of Kilkenny'.²⁴⁶ Not all clergymen had the same preservationist streak. A 'thought for posterity' could mean keeping only those documents that would put the church or a particular family in a favourable light. Muschamp Vesey (Archdeacon of Leighlin) stipulated in his will (1761) that Lord and Lady Knapton at Abbey Leix would with 'their own hands burn all the manuscript sermons they shall find amongst my papers without reading themselves or suffering any part of them to be read by any other'.²⁴⁷

The church had a landed interest in virtually every barony of Ireland and the upper clergy were equipped with the skills to deal with vast quantities of paper, vellum and parchment. The only landowner in the two counties who is known to have had a library of books (as opposed to small collection of books kept in trunks and closets) in

number of silver coins in 1786; O'Byrne, *The History of the Queen's County*, (Dublin, 1856), pp. 28, 76, 320.

²⁴⁴ It is not until the later eighteenth century that one can find evidence of a more systematic approach to the writing of parish and county histories. In 1796 Rev. Ledwich wrote *A Statistical Account of the Parish of Aghbae*. When the Ordnance Survey collected material on the topography, history and folklore of the two counties in the 1830s they copied documents that had been collected more than half a century earlier; extracts relating to the topography and antiquities of the two counties- O/S survey, Queens Co. Vol. 1, p. 370, King's Co. Vol. 1, p. 195; R.I.A., Dublin, Ms. Mss. 14.f.1-3.

²⁴⁵ O'Byrne, p. 76.

²⁴⁶ E. Ledwich, *A Statistical Account of the Parish of Aghbae*, (Dublin, 1796), p. 2.

²⁴⁷ Will of Muschamp Vesey, 1761, De Vesce Papers, N.L.I., Ms. B/11.

this period was Thomas Vesey, Bishop of Ossory.²⁴⁸ In about 1720 he had at least 1,025 books at Abbey Leix.²⁴⁹ The clergy were therefore well placed to peer into the past and some of them were moved to write potted histories of landownership in a given parish or diocese. Indeed many of the greatest antiquaries have come from ecclesiastical backgrounds.

The first noted historian to have come from the region was Walter Harris. Though Harris lived in Dublin for most of his life and did not write anything specifically about his own county, he did collect manuscripts relating to the plantation of The King's and Queen's counties and wrote about important ecclesiastical sites in the region (e.g. Clonmacnoise). He was also assisted by friends in his home town. One note appended to a document reads:

The foregoing catalogue was wrote by Alexander Hanngan, late of Mountmellick in the Queen's County, now of Sragh in the King's County for the use of Walter Harris late of Mountmellick aforesaid, now of Clarendon Street, Dublin, 1741'.²⁵⁰

In the 1740s the Physico-Historical Society had an ambitious scheme to produce county surveys of Ireland and to appoint a number of representatives in each county. There were no obvious candidates in The King's and Queen's counties.²⁵¹ The foremost antiquaries of the period were very mobile and their interests were not generally restricted to the natural and man-made curiosities of their own backyard. The Irish Protestant gentry did after all belong to a much wider world.

²⁴⁸Libraries of this size were uncommon in Ireland in this period. Of the 175 owners of libraries sold in Ireland between 1741 and 1760 nearly 69% were owned by merchants and professionals, and only 18% of the landed; T.C. Barnard, 'Learning, the learned and literacy in Ireland, c. 1660-1760', in T.C. Barnard et al eds., *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish learning*, (Ashgate Press, 1998), p. 213.

²⁴⁹Many of these volumes cover a wide range of historical and geographical matters. In Sept. 1720 he subscribed to c. 200 books; in Feb. 1728/9 he bought a number of books at 'Dr. Friend's' auction, N.L.I., De Vesce Papers, library catalogue and book binding bills, 29 May 1720.T/2A and J/3.

²⁵⁰'Collectanea De Rebus Hibernicus', *Analecta Hibernica*, No. 6 (1934), pp. 251: brief catalogue of the volumes in the N.L.I. Vol. 15 (items 86-96) contain information on the planters of the two counties.

²⁵¹The plan was to have representatives in each county. No one is listed under the entries for The King's and Queen's counties. The society folded in 1748, Lodge Mss. records of the Physico-Historical Society, Armagh Public Library.

CHAPTER 7

The County, Parliament and the Wider World

Protestant county gentlemen were not merely appendages of the state, many of them were themselves components of the central machine and they helped to frame the policies of Dublin Castle and legislation of the Irish Parliament. Their identity transcended county and indeed national boundaries.

Recent scholarship on Irish politics has given us a clearer picture of some of the forces that motivated landowners to stand for election as a Member of Parliament, the insatiable desire for personal economic and social gain, the need to defend the interests of the family, a frustration with government policies, protestantism, 'patriotism' and the pull of party. The notion of public service and the 'good of the county', if it existed, remains hidden among the brambles of high politics. Much attention has been given to Whigs and Tories, and (as will be apparent) even the M.P.s and office holders of The King's and Queen's counties were not spared from the 'rage of party' in the early eighteenth century. However, those gentlemen with rock-solid political affiliations were in the minority. The vast majority of M.P.s during this period would have been loosely described as independent gentlemen, the 'country party' or 'backwoodsmen'. For some M.P.s a 'country' viewpoint merely meant opposition to the executive of the day or opposition to new taxes, expensive government, and continental warfare. But did the 'country party' include among them a group of paternalistic M.P.s who wished to promote their county and who focussed primarily on local problems rather than wider issues?

Who were the political elite of The King's and Queen's counties and what were the mechanisms by which the members of both houses of parliament defended and extended their political and economic interests within the two counties? A related question is how did county politics and society fit into the wider national and European picture?

7.1 The House of Lords

Ireland was still in the eighteenth-century a highly deferential society: even though the powers of Parliament were extended after 1690 the political nation was still technically headed by the crown and the members of the peerage. The monarch was considered as the fount of all honour and a place in the 'upper house' remained the highest political and social accolade that one could achieve. In Ireland this issue of precedence of the peerage was even more pronounced because of the peculiar position of the Irish Parliament.¹ The many rituals and customs that are recorded in the *Journal of the House of Lords* illustrate how the lords took every opportunity to remind M.P.s of their inferior status.²

There was also a strict hierarchy among the lords themselves. In 1692 it was emphasised in the regulations of the house that 'every peer upon a new creation shall have a place according to the time of his creation...and that every other antient peer is to hold his place and precedency, according to his Antiquity and Creation'.³ The work of the heralds was regularly noted in the *Journal of the House of Lords*, and some peers were obsessed with ensuring that their arms and family trees were accurate. In 1726 John Gregory, an associate of Thomas Vesey, discussed the anomalies and inaccuracies of the arms relating to the bishoprics of Ireland with 'Mr. Hawkins King of Arms'. Much to the chagrin of Vesey it was discovered that the arms for the Bishop of Ossory were 'wrong for that no such is worn by any of the B[isho]p[s] in this kingdom'.⁴

The Irish House of Lords however lacked the dynamism and political weight of the 'other place'.⁵ The majority of the Lords did not attend regularly, they sat for shorter

¹The concern with precedence was especially noticeable in Ireland because of the batch of new creations after 1660 and again after 1714. It was argued that some of those who were newly ennobled did not seem to have the incomes commensurate with their new found status.

²No peer (or any of the officers of the House of Lords) were able to visit the Commons without the express permission of a Lords' committee. When an M.P. requested to speak to members of the upper house they had to send messengers and then wait at the door of the Lords. Once inside they had to show 'three courtesies' and wait at the bar of the house. When William Dawson (a substantial gentleman and Sheriff of Monaghan) addressed the Lords in 1692 for instance he 'was brought unto the bar of this house on his knees'; 11 Sept. 1695, *J.H.L.*, Vol. I, p. 499.

³Rules of the House, 2 Nov. 1692, *J.H.L.*, Vol. I, p. 473.

⁴John Gregory to Thomas Vesey, 30 April, 1726, De Vesce Papers, N.L.I., Ms. J/9. The amount that Vesey spent when he was 'made up' as Lord Knapton is also indicative of the prestige attached to such titles. In 1750 he paid £39.8.9. in fees 'paid in England for creating Sir John Denny Vesey as baron'. In Ireland he paid almost £100 in fees to the Lord Lieutenant and other officers for being created a lord, De Vesce Papers, N.L.I., Ms. K/2.

⁵The Lords did not have the authority to grant the government additional revenues (only the Commons decided on the Money Bills) and their power and prestige was severely dented after 1720 when they ceased to act as a final court of appeal for Ireland.

periods and were on the whole rather unproductive.⁶ But the importance of the Lords rested on more than mere political arithmetic.

There were about 125 peers who were entitled to sit in the Irish House of Lords at any one time in the period 1690-1760. Of this number about 25 between 1690 and 1714 and about 35 between 1715 and 1760 owned lands in The King's and Queen's counties. In the earlier period Charles Coote (3rd Earl of Mountrath), Robert Ridgeway (4th Earl of Londonderry) and Henry Moore senior and Henry Moore junior (the 2nd and 3rd Earls of Drogheda) were among the more energetic peers.⁷ Unfortunately *The Journal of the House of Lords* does not reveal the specific issues or topics that were discussed in committee sessions and it is difficult to gauge the amount of time that the lords spent on local problems.⁸ What does emerge is the large amount of parliamentary time taken up in discussing the treatment of Catholics and dissenters at a national level. The Earl of Mountrath was said to have taken quite a tough line on Catholics whereas the Earl of Londonderry was more 'pro-Catholic'.⁹ During the first quarter of the eighteenth century the House of Lords (which of course contained the bishops of the established church) had a particularly acrimonious relationship with Presbyterians and Quakers. It has been claimed that the Earl of Drogheda was one of the few spokesmen for the dissenters in the House of Lords.¹⁰ There is some evidence that by the 1720s the lords' stance on dissent had softened a little (for the example of Lord Tullamore see chapter 5.3).¹¹

Did the batch of new creations in the reigns of George I and George II breathe new life into the rather lacklustre House of Lords? Many of the new peers already had a

⁶A large proportion of the Lords did not actually attend the house. Approximately 40% of the total number of peers spent all or most of their time abroad and many of those who resided in Ireland did not attend (see Appendix 6 and chapter 2.4 for absentees from the two counties), F.G. James, *Lords of the Ascendancy*, (Dublin, 1995), p. 73.

⁷The Earls of Cavan and Mount Alexander and Barons Fitzharding and Ely had more of a peripheral interest.

⁸In 1692 Moore sat on three of the five main committees: for 'Privileges', 'grievances', and 'justice' and Coote sat on the other two committees: for 'religion' and 'trade'. The Earl of Drogheda seems to have been an influential figure in this period for in 1709 he was offered the prestigious (though onerous) task of becoming Lord Justice: Moore turned down the position in 1703. Lord Londonderry served on four committees, 10 Oct. 1692, *J.H.L.*, Vol. I, p. 450; P. McNally, *Parties, Patriots and Undertakers*, p. 49.

⁹Generally the lords were more sympathetic to the landed Catholic population than M.P.s and they even attempted to 'reverse the outlawry' of some of their fellow peers (e.g. the Earl of Tyrone); 12 Oct. 1692, *J.H.L.*, Vol. I, p. 452.

¹⁰According to F.G. James only one peer (the Earl of Drogheda) 'favoured relaxing restrictions on Protestant non-conformists'. Drogheda's estate (which was centred on Monasterevan in Co. Kildare and encompassed parts of The King's and Queen's counties) did contain a number of dissenting congregations: although this in itself is not an explanation of his supposed toleration, T.C. Barnard, 'Identities, Ethnicity and Tradition among Irish Dissenters c. 1650-1750', in Kevin Herlihy ed. *The Religion of Irish Dissent*, (Dublin, 1995), pp. 34-35; *Lords of the Ascendancy*, p. 67.

¹¹In 1727 for instance a bill was passed in the house to allow Quakers to take a 'solemn declaration' rather than an oath, 18 Mar. 1727, *J.H.L.* Vol. III, p. 54.

good deal of political experience when they entered the house; some had served as M.P.s or as important office holders. Among the 11 ennobled in 1715 were Richard Fitzpatrick (Baron Gowran) and John Moore (Baron Tullamore), who had both previously served as M.P.s for constituencies in the two counties. In 1733 William Flower was made Lord Castle Durrow (having served the County of Kilkenny between 1715 and 1727 and the borough of Portarlinton between 1727 and 1733).¹²

In the first Hanoverian parliamentary session of 1715-16, the whiggish barons did make a difference to the size and composition of the House of Lords. Indeed the main reason for creating such a large number of new peers was to dilute the Tory opposition.¹³ Robert Molesworth, created Viscount Molesworth in 1719, (owner of the town of Philipstown) was one of the leaders of the 'Irish Party' in the House of Lords and was among the British ministry's most implacable opponents between 1717 and 1720. His lofty rhetoric was matched by practical example in the form of agricultural and architectural improvements. From the 1720s it becomes less clear as to whether the new peers were more active than the senior lords.¹⁴

William Flower is an interesting case. He was among the new peers that were created in George II's reign and he almost certainly owed his preferment to links with the Duke of Dorset when he was Lord Lieutenant. In 1736 Flower told Dean Swift that Dorset was 'an old intimate of my youth, and has always distinguished me with affection and loyalty'.¹⁵ When Flower vacated his seat at Portarlinton he gave his interest to the government (between 1733 and 1760 George Sackville held his seat). When William Flower was 'made up' in November 1733 he could revel in the splendour and ritual of the upper house.¹⁶ Having waited so long to be elevated one might have thought that a new peer like Flower would have been itching to make his mark in the lords. The *Journal of the House of Lords* suggests that this was not the case.

¹²In all 37 of the 99 peers who attended the House of Lords between 1692 and 1727 had previously served in the lower house (34 served before they inherited and 26 were newly created) and this trend is even more noticeable after 1760; 60 of the 99 peers active between 1762 and 1782 had served in the lower house, F.G. James, *Lords of the Ascendancy*, p. 127.

¹³Five of the new barons attended half of all the sittings in the 1715-16 session, McNally, p. 76.

¹⁴During the reign of George I alone 38 new peers were created (and 14 existing peers were promoted to a higher rank). But 10 of these new peerages were given to Englishmen and not all of the Irish peers were very active.

¹⁵Flower to Swift, 11 Jan. 1736, Swift Letters. Vol. V, p. 1.

¹⁶He arrived in his robes and was 'introduced between the Lord Altham and the Lord Carbery, also in their robes' and read his writ before being finally accepted into the fold of this social elite; 20 Nov. 1733, *J.H.L.*, Vol. III, p. 241.

Within three days of being ennobled Flower started to show signs of the apathy that was to characterise the final decade of his political career.¹⁷ In 1743 it was recorded that Lord Castle Durrow did not appear again and the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod was 'to keep him in safe custody, until further order from the house' until such times as he paid his fines for non-attendance.¹⁸ Flower's correspondence to Swift confirms that he had indeed lost interest in politics by the 1730s. In 1736 he recalled that 'once in two years I appear in the *amus* of the world, our metropolis. His grace [Lord Lieutenant], my acquaintance told me, I began to contract strange old fashioned rust, and advised me to burst out of my solitude, and refit myself for the public'. But instead of sitting on important Lords' committees and pondering over proposed legislation, he was content to write mischievous letters to ladies and potter about in his garden (which underwent a transformation in the 1730s and 1740s (see chapter 4.6)). He wrote, 'This, and such other innocent amusements, I devote myself to in my retirement'. In 1739,¹⁹ the year in which Great Britain and Ireland entered the War of the Austrian Succession, Flower seemed more excited about the prospect of travelling with Dean Swift to see Dr. Delany's new garden: 'take me under your protection (as soon as the weather will permit) in a warm hackney coach, which I shall take care to provide. Let us jumble together to his little paradise, which I long much to see, as well as pay my debt to his benevolence'.¹⁹ William Flower was aged 58 when he became a peer and his political career had effectively ended. As a result one could argue that the contributions that Flower made to local urban and rural development in the 1730s and 1740s had little to do with the politics of the House of Lords. But how typical was William Flower?

On reading the *Journal of the House of Lords* from 1692-1760 one is struck by the amount of time that the lords spent arguing about parliamentary privilege and the legal problems of individual peers rather than the interests of particular cities, towns and villages.²⁰ To their credit the lords did initiate some bills that concerned the economic

¹⁷On 23 November he was among a number of lords who were not excused from attending and it was noted that the clerk of the house wrote a stern letter to inform Flower that the house 'doth expect and require his lordships attendance', 23 Nov. 1733, *J.H.L.*, Vol. III, pp. 241, 243.

¹⁸12 Dec. 1743, *J.H.L.*, Vol. III, pp. 551 and 557.

¹⁹Flower to Swift, 4 Dec. 1736, 11 Jan. 1736 and 2 Feb. 1739, *Swift Letters*, Vol. IV, pp. 556; Vol. V, pp. 178.

²⁰During one sitting in 1695, the lords discussed the petition of Denny Muschamp which concerned his litigation with the Earl of Londonderry of Abbey Leix (see chapter 2.1), and Periam Poole from Ballyfin in The Queen's County asked the lords to prevent 'passing of the heads of bill for the relief of Lord Arran'. In 1740 John Fitzpatrick claimed that he (and not James Fitzpatrick who had already been received into the house) was the rightful heir to the title of Baron of Upper Ossory; 22 Oct. 1695, *J.H.L.*, Vol. I, pp. 545-548; 22 Mar. 1740, Vol. III, p.762.

improvement of town and countryside (such as the Act of 1730 for cleaning and paving the city of Dublin, or the Act of 1731 to prevent exorbitant tolls) but on the whole they tended to approve or re-draft the ever increasing number of acts that were brought up from the Commons.²¹

The peers seem to have had more influence over rural and urban development and local administration in their capacity as office holders or as informal advisors to the government rather than as members of the House of Lords. In 1715 the government proposed to build 8 new barracks across Ireland and more than 200 applications were received from landowners (who desired to have them built on their land). John Moore, Baron Tullamore, was one of the fortunate few who received a contract to build a barrack to house two companies of foot in his town of Tullamore (this indeed had a major impact on the development of Tullamore, see chapter 5.6). His success was almost certainly due to his connections with the Whig administration.²² Peers also held positions in the Revenue Office (e.g. as commissioner) which gave them considerable personal patronage. In theory the 50 to 60 men who made up the Irish Privy Council also had extensive powers.²³ They could frame bills as well as veto or revise the bills that had originated from either houses of Parliament.²⁴

One can best understand the more subtle ways in which the lords influenced government policy by examining their role in parliamentary elections and politics at a county level. Studies of parliamentary constituencies in the late eighteenth century has shown some of the mechanisms by which 40 or so peers were able to control more than a hundred of the 234 borough seats in the House of Commons.²⁵ But how did peers influence elections before 1760?

²¹In 1733 for instance Richard Warburton of Garryinch, the M.P. for The Queen's County, sent a message to the lords about making the act for the repair of the turnpike road between Naas and Maryborough more effectual. He did not ask the peers to change the existing Act or to come up with a new one he merely wanted the 'lords concurrence' so that he could put added pressure on the trustees and financiers of the turnpike to carry out what they were enjoined to do, 29 Dec. 1733, *J.H.L.*, Vol. III, p. 260.

²²In 1718 he also obtained the reversionary grant of the offices of Muster-Master General and Clerk of the Armies and Garrisons; Michael Byrne, 'The Development of Tullamore', p. 39; P. McNally, p. 105.

²³One can extract the names of Privy Councillors from the *Dublin Directory*. In October 1740 for instance 63 Councillors are listed. Only three of these had strong landed connections with the two counties: Earl of Mountrath; Viscount Molesworth and Baron Castle Durrrow.

²⁴Since Privy Councillors were appointed by the Lord Lieutenant a large proportion of them would have been peers. The letters addressed to the 'Rt. Hon William Flower' indicate that he was a councillor in the 1730s.

²⁵Most notably, Edith Johnston, *Great Britain and Ireland 1760-1800*, (Edinburgh, 1963); A.P.W. Malcomson, 'The Parliamentary Traffic of this Country', in D. Hayton and T. Bartlett, *Penal Era and Golden Age*, (Belfast, 1979), pp. 137-161.

In his capacity as a landowner, as well as a spiritual peer, Thomas Vesey had some influence over the elections at the borough of Ballinakill (which was just 4-5 miles south of Abbey Leix). In 1713 his accounts show that £5.8.4. was spent when he 'went to the election at Ballinakill', and he was informed of the events which led to the return of John Barrington and General Owen at the time of the hotly contested general election of 1715 (both were later removed).²⁶ For most of the seventeenth century the Ridgeways (Earls of Londonderry) appear to have controlled the borough of Ballinakill. By 1690 the Barringtons obtained the charter of the town and a member of this family represented the borough for most of the period 1692-1760 (except 1695-1703 and 1715-1727). After 1763 the Barringtons sold their interest to the Earl of Drogheda (for c. £4000).²⁷

In addition to Ballinakill the 6th Earl of Drogheda was said to have acquired the interest of Maryborough. Maryborough was a relatively large 'freeman borough' and in the first half of the eighteenth century it was very difficult for two or three powerful factions to dominate the corporation (let alone for a single peer to do so). It is all the more surprising then that the Earl of Drogheda was appointed 'governor' of Maryborough in 1765, and in 1773 was described as 'having lately got possession' of the borough.²⁸ Between 1733 and 1760 one of the Portarlinton seats was held by the son of the Rt. Hon Lord George Sackville (the Duke of Dorset), taking the place of William Flower.²⁹ In the King's County, Philipstown was inherited by Robert Molesworth (made Viscount Molesworth in 1719), and William Molesworth held onto his seat in the town between 1717 and 1761. Just prior to 1760 the Molesworths sold their interest to the Rochfort family and in 1761 Robert Rochfort was returned for the borough.³⁰ There are no signs

²⁶Tradesmens' bills; Mr. Medlicott to Vesey, 26 Oct. 1714, De Vesci Papers, N.L.I., Ms. J/1 and J/3 (envelope 2).

²⁷Mr. Frederick Trench's description of the borough of Ballinakill in 1770, from the Stanhope Papers (Irish estate), copy in P.R.O.N.I., ENV5/HP/24/2. In 1783 the patronage of the borough was still in the hands of the Earl of Drogheda and the owner of the soil was the Earl Stanhope. At the Act of Union the Earl of Drogheda received £15,000 in compensation for loss of representation, John Newport, *The State of the Borough Representation of Ireland in 1783 and 1800*, (London, 1832), pp. 22 and 29.

²⁸The Earl of Drogheda's hold over the town may have been short lived for in a report of 1783 the two 'patrons' of the town were listed as Dean Coote and Sir John Parnell and at the Act of Union Charles Henry Coote and Sir John Parnell received compensation, M. Bodkin ed., 'Notes on the Irish Parliament of 1773', in *P.R.I.A.* Vol., XLVIII, sect. c, no. 4, p. 210; cited by H.F. Kearney in 'A Handlist of the Votes of Maryborough', *I.H.S.* Vol. 8, no. 8 (March, 1954), p. 52. After the Act of Union Coote and Parnell received £7,500 each, John Newport, *The State of the Borough Representation of Ireland*, pp. 22 and 29.

²⁹At the accession of George III this 'government seat' became 'open' again once more and Portarlinton remained in the hands of the Dawsons: as it had done between c. 1710 and 1760. After 1760 the Damers and Dawsons (who were allied together by marriage) held the seat.

³⁰Also in 1761 George Rochfort was elected M.P for Westmeath. In 1783 the patronage of the borough was in the hands of Lord Belvedere and the proprietors of the soil were Lord Belvedere and Lord Molesworth. Lord Belvedere (Rochfort) received the compensation of £15,000 at the Act of Union. The second borough

of any member of the peerage holding the borough of Banagher until the 1780s.³¹ Thus with the exception of the Molesworths (who inherited rather than purchased Philipstown) there was very little aristocratic involvement in borough elections. After 1760 a different pattern emerges and members of the expanded peerage start to buy up boroughs in a more systematic way.³²

The relationship between aristocratic patronage, boroughs and parliament in later eighteenth century has been examined elsewhere.³³ Less attention has been given to the role of peers in county elections before 1760. Pole Cosby gives a tantalising glimpse of the way in which the Earl of Mountrath was able to tip the balance during Cosby's unsuccessful campaign to become Knight of the Shire in 1729. In the early stages of the contest Cosby felt that he was 'pretty strong for I was sure of 200 votes and Lord Montrath [sic] had not declared who he wo'd give his interest to, so both Mr. Warburton & I was in suspense and both to be sure of using means that could be thought of to gain my Lord Montrath to his side, for that was to determine the affair'.³⁴ It is interesting that Mountrath maintained so much influence bearing in mind that he spent so much time in England (see chapter 2.4).³⁵ In this instance Coote's considerable interest rested largely on his c. 20,000 acres in The Queen's County (he could therefore instruct a large number of freeholders how to vote) rather than on his social status as a peer of the realm. Peers could also exert pressure on blood relations to prop up their interest. At Maryborough, for instance, a junior branch of the Coote family had managed to engineer a considerable interest in the borough of Maryborough just prior to the 1760 general election. In that year Dean Coote was elected burgomaster of the borough and according to John Parnell (who petitioned parliament about the election) Coote had arrived in the county to act as an agent for the Earl of Mountrath. An examination of the poll book from this period does show that most of the new burgesses created by Coote resided in the town of

seat was won by Duke Tyrrel in the same year. Neither family had any prior history of serving the two counties or any of the 5 borough constituencies before 1760; Newport, pp. 15 and 29.

³¹From 1692 the interest was divided between the Lestrangle and Holmes families. In 1783 Peter Holmes was described as the patron of the town and c.1800 Charles Coote commented that the Holmes family still had the patronage of the borough. Coote's information must have been a little out of date because the Ponsonby family acquired the interest c. 1788 and the 'Rt. Hon. W.B. Ponsonby received £15,000 compensation at the Act of Union; Coote, *General View, K.C.*, p. 112; Newport, pp. 15 and 29; A.P.W. Malcomson, *John Foster*, p. 202.

³²Just before the Act of Union 3 of the 5 boroughs in the two counties were owned by nobles (Lords Drogheda, Belvedere and Carlow), although it must be remembered that the Dawsons and the Rochforts were created peers after they had already acquired the patronage of their borough.

³³A.P.W. Malcomson, 'The Politics of Natural Right, the Abercorn Family and Strabane Borough 1692-1800', *I.H.S.*, (1976-7), pp. 43-90.

³⁴Cosby Autobiog., p. 182.

³⁵In 1730 Thomas Prior listed Coote as a second class absentee who spent £400 p.a abroad (see Table 2.4).

Mountrath. As burgomaster Dean Coote was well placed to influence the outcome of elections and he put forward his own brother Eyre Coote (who served in India at the time) as a parliamentary candidate in 1760.³⁶

The 'law lords' might also have had some influence on county elections. Judges were *ex officio* members of the House of Lords. Though unable to vote in parliament they still had a considerable impact on the running of the house, since so much of the business that came to the lords was concerned with the law. John Parnell was appointed a Justice of the King's bench in 1722. It would appear that Parnell's appointment was one of the conditions that William King laid down for accepting the post of Lord Justice.³⁷ Soon after he became a judge, Parnell acquired lands at Rathleague in The Queen's County. Parnell's estate does not seem to have been very large and he was complete newcomer to the county. But his status and influence as a law lord in Dublin meant that his views did have some bearing on county elections. In 1727 Ephraim Dawson wrote to Thomas Vesey about the forthcoming election and he commented that 'contrary to the resolution taken by Mr. Justice Parnele with severall other gentlemen of the county of Dublin, I am to be opposd in standing for the country by young Mr. Warburton'.³⁸ In 1761, Parnell's son (also called John) was returned for the borough of Maryborough and went on to have an impressive career in the Commons (as did his grandson).

The influence that members of the peerage could have in both borough and county elections did not go unnoticed. There was a standing order in the Irish House of Commons against 'persons' (presumably peers) from concerning themselves with elections for the lower house.³⁹

³⁶Handlist for the borough of Maryborough, N.L.I., Ms. 1726.

³⁷See Mc Nally, p. 48.

³⁸Dawson to Vesey, 30 June 1727, De Vesce Papers, N.L.I., J/1.

³⁹A.P.W. Malcomson, *John Foster*, p. 318.

7.2 The House of Commons

In examining the House of Commons in this period one has to be aware of the *actual* as well as the *imagined* legislative significance of the Irish Parliament. Arguably the sense of corporate importance that M.P.s felt before 1782 is of greater significance than their real legislative powers (which between 1692 and 1782 were severely circumscribed). The importance that the Irish Protestant elite attached to Parliament, and the House of Commons in particular, is symbolised by the new Parliament House designed by Edward Lovett Pearce. For more than three decades it dwarfed the red-brick shops and the old front of Trinity College and stood out as a gleaming white temple to the new Protestant landed elite.

Among those who sat on the new green upholstered benches in the mid-1730s (when the building was opened) were some familiar faces: Ephraim Dawson and his son William Henry Dawson, Richard Warburton, Warner Westenra, William Wall, Sir William Parsons and several others from The King's and Queen's counties. Of the 300 Members of Parliament 14 'represented' the two counties (2 for each county and 2 for each of the 5 boroughs).⁴⁰

'County representation' is a theme that has been largely ignored in the studies of Irish politics in the early eighteenth century.⁴¹ It could be argued that the concept of 'constituency politics' was alien to eighteenth century gentlemen. M.P.s could represent many causes at the same time, 'the Protestant interest', 'Protestant Ireland', 'Ireland' 'the government', 'the party', 'the faction', 'the family'. Where does the notion of 'the county interest' fit in this scheme of things?

Some M.P.s owned lands in different parts of the Irish midlands and they could claim to represent more than one county. William Flower at various times represented the county of Kilkenny as well as the borough of Portarlinton in The Queen's County. A glance at the lists of M.P.s from neighbouring counties reveals that at least 4 of the 16 men who were returned to serve the constituencies in Kilkenny in the election of 1715 had seats in The Queen's County.⁴² There were also other M.P.s like Dudley Alexander Sydney Cosby who represented places where they had little or no landed interest (he was M.P. for Carrick-on-Shannon between 1763 and 1768). Electoral 'interests' could be bought and sold, and boroughs were sometimes used like gaming counters. M.P.s could

⁴⁰Portarlinton became a parliamentary borough in 1692.

⁴¹For the later eighteenth century, A.P.W. Malcomson, *John Foster*.

⁴²William Despard, William Wall, Maurice Cuffe and William Flower.

switch from one constituency to another as political events dictated.⁴³ This gives the impression that M.P.s had no great political or sentimental attachment to the county in which they actually lived. Indeed it is important to be aware of the self-centred attitudes of M.P.s and the under-developed nature of local institutions in the first half of the eighteenth century.

However one cannot discard the notion of 'county politics' or 'county society' so easily. Between 1692 and 1761 75 individuals (from 54 families) represented the 7 constituencies of The King's and Queen's counties (see Appendix 5).⁴⁴ Given that most boroughs were controlled by a single patron (or contested by one or two leading families) this figure seems to be a very high. Put simply, each constituency was represented by an average of 7.7 families over a 70 year period. Of the 54 families only 13 of them had more than one family member in parliament during this period.⁴⁵ Before looking more closely at these figures one needs to make a crucial distinction between 'county' and 'borough' constituencies and to examine the internal movement of M.P.s within the two counties.

Though the M.P.s who represented counties and boroughs carried the same weight in parliament, they were a world apart in terms of prestige.⁴⁶ The size of the two county electorate was much larger than that of individual boroughs and as a result they were much more difficult to control. One poll book from The Queen's County shows that 799 freeholders registered to vote between 1758 and 1775 and another list from 1779 lists 1080 voters.⁴⁷ The King's County almost certainly had a smaller electorate than The Queen's County (probably no more than 700 in 1760, given that the Protestant population there was smaller). By contrast the electorate of the large 'freeman' borough of Maryborough was about 400 in 1760.⁴⁸

⁴³ This behaviour was not by any means limited to Ireland. Corruption was also a feature of the un-reformed electoral system of Hanoverian England; F. O'Gorman, *Voters, Patrons and Parties: The Un-reformed Electoral System of Hanoverian England 1734-1832*, (Oxford, 1989), pp. 38-68.

⁴⁴ The Q.C. boroughs were Maryborough, Ballinakill and (after 1692) Portarlington; at K.C., Philipstown and Banagher.

⁴⁵ Viz, Barrington, Dawson, Gilbert, Holmes, Lestrangle, Lyons, Parsons, Peppard, Pigot, Pole, Purefoy, Warburton and Weaver.

⁴⁶ A.P.W. Malcomson, 'The Parliamentary Traffic of this country', p. 140.

⁴⁷ 1758-1775 list printed in *J.K.A.S.*, Vol. 8 (1915-1917), pp. 309-327; 1779 Poll Book (private collection), N.L.I., M/film P. 3064.

⁴⁸ Poll Book, N.L.I., Ms. 1726; Sir John Newport calculated in 1783 that the electorate of Maryborough was between 300-400 whereas the number of voters at Portarlington, Philipstown and Banagher varied between 30 and 65. Ballinakill was said to have been a 'corporation borough' (i.e. technically only the sovereign and 12 burgesses were able to vote). Even though Newport probably under-estimated the number of freemen (he was wanted to show how 'decayed' boroughs had become) one can surmise that 4 of the 5 boroughs in the two counties were effectively 'closed' and had very small numbers of voters, Newport, p. 22.

During the 'rage of party', political allegiances did have an effect on the outcome of borough elections but in most years a landowner was well placed to control a borough if he owned the soil on which the town stood or if he had the resources to buy votes. With the help of a sympathetic (or bribable) burgomaster, a landowner could control the number of freemen who were entitled to vote and in a small borough he could effectively engineer the election result. Boroughs were sometimes used by ambitious politicians as launch pad for contesting a more prestigious county seat. Ephraim Dawson started his career by winning the safe seat of Portarlinton in 1713 (he owned most of the town) before becoming M.P. for The Queen's County in 1715. His son W.H. Dawson followed the same trajectory.⁴⁹

At a county election a landowner required more than just money (although money did change hands at county elections) if he was to obtain the 'interest' of hundreds of freeholders. Both William Flower (in 1715) and Pole Cosby (in 1729) laid out large sums during county election contests, yet neither of them succeeded. Family honour, lineage, social status, party politics, skill and personal popularity were of greater importance in county elections, and the term that was commonly used to describe a county M.P., 'the knight of the shire', is very revealing in itself.

Given that counties were more difficult to control than boroughs it is striking that a handful of families repeatedly won the county seats. Three members of the Parsons family held one of the King's County seats for 66 of the 68 years under question (the only election the family lost was in 1713 and they got the seat back in 1715). Three other families won a county election more than once, the Blundells in 1692 and 1703, the Lyons in 1727, 1747 and 1761, and the Purefoys in 1707 and 1715.⁵⁰ In The Queen's County three families, the Weavers, Cosbys and Dawsons, won seats on more than one occasion.⁵¹

⁴⁹John Moore was the M.P. for Philipstown between 1703 and 1713 and at the next election he became M.P. for The King's County (between 1713 and 1715). He was M.P. for Portarlinton between 1733 and 1760 and then in 1761 he fulfilled his ambition of becoming knight of the shire. The reverse side of the coin was that the borough could also be used as a consolation prize. In 1727 when William Flower was unable to get re-elected as M.P. County Kilkenny he took the borough seat at Portarlinton instead. James Forth got the the borough of Philipstown after he was ousted from his King's County seat in 1715.

⁵⁰Trevor Lloyd served just once between 1743 and 1747 and John Moore and James Forth represented the county for two years (they won the election of 1713 which was in many ways exceptional).

⁵¹The Weaver family won a seat in 1692, 1695 and 1703 (in 1695 John Weaver senior and John Weaver junior held the two county seats). In 1695 Robert Warnford displaced John Weaver senior and in 1713 Richard Fitzpatrick took the seat of John Weaver junior. Ephraim Dawson won his first county seat in 1715 and held it in 1727 (his son went on to win a seat in 1761). Dudley Cosby won four consecutive elections in 1703, 1713, 1715 and 1727. After Dudley's death the Cosbys never won a seat again in the period 1729-1800. Richard Warburton took the Cosby seat in 1729 (this family also win seats after 1760).

All 15 of the families who held county seats during this period were very much 'insiders' in the sense that they all had country seats in the two counties and lands concentrated in the area. Residence was less important in borough constituencies: indeed after 1760 one can identify many more new faces in the boroughs who had little or no association with the two counties.⁵² There was a subtle, though important, difference between a landowner with an 'interest' in the county and a gentleman *of the county*. The Gore family for instance owned lands in the region, but The King's and Queen's counties were peripheral to their main political interests.⁵³

M.P.s moved both between constituencies in a county (e.g. from a borough to a county seat), and to constituencies outside The King's and Queen's region (e.g. from The Queen's County to Kilkenny), but in no instance did they switch from a seat in The King's County to one in The Queen's County (or vice versa). None of the 75 M.P.s who served in the period 1692-1761 (see Appendix 5) represented *both* counties in the course of their career.⁵⁴ Similarly during the Cromwellian and Restoration settlement there was a tendency to grant settlers lands in one county or the other (see chapter 1.5). This is further evidence of the increasingly unitary nature of 'the county' and of the existence of county rivalries.

What were the religious/ethnic origins of the families who served as M.P.s in the two counties? The King's County M.P.s were usually drawn from leading Old Protestant families (the Blundells, Parsons, Moores, Lyons, Lloyds and Forths). The only New Protestant who held a seat during this period was William Purefoy. In The Queen's County the Weavers, Warnfords, Cosbys, Fitzpatricks were all Old Protestants and they held the reins of political power until 1715. After this date Ephraim Dawson, a total newcomer (he only arrived into the county c. 1710) broke the mould and was elected in 1715 and again in 1727. When Dudley Cosby died in 1729 his seat was taken by Richard Warburton and for the next 70 years the county seats tended to go to three important New Protestant families (the Dawsons, Parnells and Warburtons).

⁵²In 1761 there was a whole new batch of families: Marcus Patterson, Charles O' Hara, Robert Rochfort, Duke Tyrell, John Damer.

⁵³The only member of this family who held a seat in the two counties was Arthur Gore. He was elected M.P. for the borough of Ballinakill in 1703. He was not reelected in 1713 and took the borough of Donegal instead. This contrasts with county elections where it would almost have been inconceivable for an outsider to win a seat. The earliest reference of the Gores holding lands is in 1705, the Common Pleas Indexes, Nat. Arch. Ire. loc no. 2/447/25.

⁵⁴Only the Piggots, who had cadet branches across the region, represented constituencies in The King's and Queen's Counties.

Before 1650 members of the political elite in the two counties were from a similar mould (i.e. English Protestant 'planters' who had arrived shortly after c.1550, or English Protestant 'undertakers' introduced in the early seventeenth century to supplement the dwindling number of English settlers).⁵⁵ One can speculate that the length of time a Protestant landowner spent in the county was less of an issue in the first half of the seventeenth century than it was to become after 1660. The English settlers were in a unusual position. Their natural inclination was to respect established landed families, and the antiquaries of the day eulogised the feats of the ancient families in English counties. But in Ireland the new settlers could not be so deferential to the surviving Old Irish and Old English families because of their religion. In the first half of the seventeenth century there was a shortage of English man-power and wealthy newcomers like the Parsons (who arrived in the 1610s) soon blended in with members of the existing social and political elite (some of whom had first arrived 70 years earlier). More emphasis was placed on pedigree and social status.⁵⁶

The social and cultural differences between the New Protestants (the Cromwellian and Restoration newcomers) and the Protestants *in situ* before 1641 were probably greater than those which existed between the settlers of the early plantation period and those entering the area in the 1620s. Some contemporaries complained about the uncouthness of the Cromwellian grantees. It is true that a large proportion of the new men in the 1650s and 1660s came from military backgrounds and that their holdings tended to be smaller than those of the Old Protestant families (see chapter 1.3). In a county like Kilkenny (where there was a longer tradition of English settlement and a larger number of surviving Old English families) the *parvenu* settlers were especially noticeable.⁵⁷

By 1650 a handful of the Old Protestant families had already built up a tradition of public service in the two counties. With the arrival of so many new landowners one might have expected the older political elite to have closed ranks in an effort to prevent Cromwellian upstarts from breaking their monopoly. Parliamentary election results show that the newcomers were not prepared to wait in the wings. They made an impact on county politics as soon as they arrived. In the Restoration period a number of New

⁵⁵List of 'undertakers in Leitrim, King's, Queen's and Westmeath' in the reign of James I; Marsh's Library, Dublin, Ms. Z.4.2.6, p. 458.

⁵⁶Before 1660 it seems to have been more common for knights and baronets to become M.P.s and this might explain why the term 'The Knight of the Shire' was used to describe a county M.P. (Sir Henry Power, Sir Robert Piggott, Sir Pierce and Sir Walter Crosbie, Sir Charles Coote, Sir Adam Loftus and Sir Thomas Ridgeway are among those who sat for Queen's County constituencies between c. 1610 and 1661).

⁵⁷Monica Brennan, *The Making of the Protestant Ascendancy in Co. Kilkenny*, p. 123.

Protestants (like Peter Purefoy and Periam Poole) became High Sheriffs: a first rung on the political ladder. In 1661 Alderman Daniel Hutchinson (a new grantee) even managed to get elected M.P. for The Queen's County (in the place of Chidley Coote who took a seat in Co. Galway instead). When the next Parliament was called in 1692 a number of seats were taken by New Protestants (Peter Purefoy at Philipstown, Periam Poole at Maryborough and Richard Warburton at Portarlinton). Success in a borough constituency was the second rung on the ladder. At the bye-election of 1707 Peter Purefoy was the first New Protestant to become a Knight of the Shire for The King's County and in 1715 Ephraim Dawson took a Queen's County seat. Looking at the period 1692-1761 as a whole, at least 25 out of the 54 families who served in the Commons were New Protestants. The newcomers such as the Warburtons, Dawsons, Poles and Purefoys were among the most ubiquitous. In the period 1692-1761 the Warburton family held at least one seat in The Queen's County at any one time, and between 1695 and 1703 two members of the same family served in different constituencies (see Appendix 5). How can one explain the success of the New Protestants in breaking into an existing political elite in such a short space of time? Could the gentry of the two counties be described as an 'open' elite?

The established Old Protestant families may well have felt a little uneasy about the Cromwellian and Restoration grantees. Landed societies right across early modern Europe were suspicious of newcomers and they even invented new words, such as *arriviste*, *parvenu* and *nouveaux riches*, to describe them. In his autobiography Pole Cosby, whose family had settled at Stradbally in the mid-sixteenth century, looked down upon some of the more recent settlers and those without pedigrees. He described Judge Parnell as a 'so so judge he had neither the parts nor knowledge that his high post required, he was but a mushroom, a man of no family at all at all'.⁵⁸ Ephraim Dawson was similarly disdained: 'he got a very great interest into this county though he was quite a newcomer into this county and a very mean upstart, for his father kept an ale house the sign of the cock in Belfast' (in reality Dawson's father had been a revenue collector for Carrickfergus). Cosby's criticism was not consistent since he summed up John Bland as a 'very polite, well bred man, had read a good deal and well versed in books and knew mankind very well, he was a sensible and cunning artful man'. Bland had arrived in the

⁵⁸The Parnells, originally from Cheshire, appear to have arrived in Ireland during the Cromwellian period. Genealogical notes, (modern typescript) on the Parnell family of the Queen's County, P.R.O.N.I. D289/1.

county shortly after Dawson but seems to have been accepted into the fold because he had fought alongside Dudley Cosby on the continent.⁵⁹

The Blands, Dawsons and Parnells were perhaps special cases because they arrived in the county after 1700. What did Cosby make of those families who settled into the county during the 1650s and 1660s? He admired and respected the Poles of Ballyfin (who originally came from Devonshire and were granted lands in Ireland in the 1660s). This is not surprising since Cosby's father married the daughter of Periam Pole and Pole Cosby's first name derives from the Poles of Ballyfin.

Cosby had less praise for the Byrne family. At the election of 1727 Cosby argued that '[Sir John] Byrne had little busyness to set up in the Q.C. and about the beginning of July his friends found their error for they co'd not get above 80 votes for him, and so he declined'.⁶⁰ What made Byrne so unappealing to the electorate? He was of considerable social status. His family had acquired lands in The Queen's County in the 1680s and was a baronet. Daniel Byrne, a dispossessed landowner, had made his money as a merchant in Dublin. He received valuable contracts from the government and with the proceeds he bought the lands at Tully, Timogue, Kilmurray and Shane. Daniel's eldest son Gregory inherited his 'Hawking Patent' and was made a baronet.⁶¹ According to Cosby John Byrne 'was born a Protestant, turned Papist, and when he married his first wife Copley a Presbyterian, he turned Protestant and when he married his second wife Lord Slane's daughter he turned Papist and dyed a Papist'.⁶²

It was not the recent entry of the Byrnes into county society that made them unpopular. Cosby disliked them because of their dubious Protestant credentials and to a lesser extent, their urban commercial origins. The Old Protestant families seemed to operate a kind of double standard. A new arrival into the county had little to fear at parliamentary elections if he was a solid Protestant with a landed background and good English pedigree. But if he came from a non-landed background and had even a mild scent of 'Popery', then political rivals might play up his *arriviste* status. One way of building up credibility was to marry into an established family. Cosby recalled that

⁵⁹ Cosby Autobiog., Parnell, p. 254; Dawson, p. 174; and Bland, p. 253.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 182.

⁶¹ One chronicler has used a conversation (that was supposed to have taken place between Daniel Byrne and his son Gregory) to highlight the complex social attitudes that existed at the time; 'Gregory was made a baronet at the Restoration. A short time after this, father and son were walking together in Dublin: father, said Sir Gregory, 'you ought to walk on the left of me, I being a knight and you but a private individual'. No, you puppy, replied Daniel, 'I have the precedency in three ways; first I am your senior, secondly, I am your father, and thirdly, I am the son of a gentleman and you are but the son of a poor lousy tailor'; McLysaght, *Irish Life*, p. 115 (cited from John Gilbert, *Hist. of Dublin*, Vol. I, pp. 157-159).

⁶²Cosby Autobiog., p. 255

Daniel Byrne married 'the eldest daughter of Mr. Warren of Poynton in Cheshire in England a most antient family ever since William the Conquerors reign'.⁶³

The rapid acceptance of a number of Protestant newcomers into county society may help us to understand why landowners from both New and Old Protestant backgrounds won elections in this period (half of the M.P.s came from pre-1641 families and half from post-1652 families). But one has yet to explain the meteoric rise of certain families and the means by which candidates drummed up support at election time.

7.3 Party politics

A good pedigree and landed wealth does help to explain why some families won elections. After many generations of service the Parsons of Birr probably thought that it was their hereditary right to represent The King's County in Parliament. After winning three elections in a row Dudley Cosby might have expected his son to have followed in his footsteps. Yet Sir William Parsons was unsuccessful at the 1713 election and Pole Cosby lost to a newcomer in 1729. Such defeats must have come as a shock to the oldest Protestant families and it would have reminded them that their electoral base had to be constantly minded and not taken for granted. After 1690, party politics, electioneering, personal popularity, and political intrigue, were key determinants of electoral success.

How far was the electoral success of the M.P.s who served in the two counties (see Appendix 5) determined by national 'party' loyalties as opposed to other local factors? 'Party politics' was not invented during the reign of Queen Anne. Throughout the seventeenth century parliamentarians were described in terms of the 'faction', 'interest' or 'party' that they were associated with. A 'party' might constitute the relatives, friends and allies of a grandee (e.g. the Ormondes and their followers in The King's and Queen's counties, Kilkenny and Tipperary); or a 'party' could be a group of parliamentarians who formed a temporary alliance to propose or oppose a bill. Prior to 1690 the Parliament Houses at Westminster and College Green were made up of an ever changing kaleidoscope of small parties, factions and 'independent' gentlemen. The nearest comparison to the two party system that existed in the early eighteenth century are the 'Court' and 'Country', and 'Parliamentarian' and 'Royalist' groupings in the early seventeenth century: indeed terms such as 'cavalier' or 'independent countryman' were still of great relevance in the eighteenth century.

⁶³Ibid., p. 255.

By the early eighteenth century a much clearer two party system had emerged: one that was based on religious and political issues of national and international importance. While M.P.s did not simply jettison their older values and motivations (that were based on local interests, heredity and kinship) they found themselves increasingly embroiled in a conflict that raged between two distinct (but not immutable) political groups.

The roots of the Whig and Tory parties in England and Ireland can be traced back to the early 1680s (i.e. the Exclusion Crisis divided English parliamentarians into roughly two camps) but they only developed into distinct political 'parties' after 1691. Prior to the Williamite conquest parliamentarians were defined in terms of their allegiance (or lack of) to James II or their religion (Catholic or Protestant). The Jacobite gentlemen from the two counties who were attainted in 1689 were almost all exclusively Catholics from Old Irish and Old English backgrounds.⁶⁴ After 1691, when Catholics were effectively excluded from government, the Irish parliament was no longer divided on purely religious/ethnic lines. *All* the King's and Queen's county gentlemen who served in parliament in 1692 were ostensibly Protestants supporters of William III with an interest in protecting and consolidating the landed settlement. Yet within a decade of the Williamite victory the M.P.s were labelled as 'Whigs' 'Tories' or 'independent gentlemen' (see Table 7.3). What should have caused this polarization of opinion in parliament in such a short space of time? What were the essential differences between these 'parties'?

⁶⁴J.G. Simms, 'Irish Jacobites', *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 22 (1960), p. 84.

Table 7.3 Political allegiances of the M.P.s from The King's and Queen's County in 1703, 1713, 1715 and 1727

Constituency	1703	1713	1715	1727
Queen's	Dudley Cosby Tory John Weaver Whig	Dudley Cosby Whig Richard Fitzpatrick Whig	Dudley Cosby Whig Ephraim Dawson Whig	Dudley Cosby (Whig) Ephraim Dawson (Whig)
King's	Francis Blundell ? William Parsons Tory	John Moore Whig James Forth Whig	William Parsons Tory William Purefoy Whig	William Parsons (Tory) Colley Lyons ?
Maryborough	St. Leger Gilbert Tory Robert Pigot Tory	William Wall Whig Robert Pigot Whig	William Wall Whig Robert Pigot Whig	William Wall (Whig) Robert Pigot (Whig)
Portarlinton	Thomas Carter Whig Richard Warburton Whig	Ephraim Dawson Whig Richard Warburton Whig	Richard Warburton I Whig? Richard Warburton II Whig	William Flower (Tory) George Johnston ?
Ballinakill	John Barrington Tory Arthur Gore Whig	John Barrington Tory Thomas Medicott Tory	Samuel Freeman ? John Weaver Whig	John Barrington (Tory) Richard Warburton (Whig)
Philipstown	George Monk Whig John Moore Whig	John Forster Whig James Peppard Whig	William Tichborne ? William Molesworth Whig	Robert Adair ? William Molesworth (Whig)
Banagher	George Eyre Tory Thomas Lestrangle Tory	Charles Plunket Tory George Holmes Tory	Charles Plunket Tory George Holmes Tory	Charles Plunket (Tory) George Holmes (Tory)

Source: Edward Southwell's lists, 1706-13 and P.R.O.N.I., ENV/HP/24/1-24, ENV/HP/15/1-2.

A superficial reading of the list of potted biographies compiled by Edward Southwell (whilst he was Chief Secretary) between c.1706 and 1713 (see Table 7.3) would suggest that the M.P.s were chameleon-like: they changed according to the issues that were being discussed in Parliament. Edward Dodsworth (who was 'not duly elected' as M.P. for Maryborough in 1713) was listed as a Whig in 1713, yet voted for the Tory candidate (Sir Richard Levinge) for the speakership of the House of Commons in the same year. By contrast Peter Holmes, a Tory, voted against Levinge in 1713. Robert Pigot (who was a Tory between 1706 and 1711) supported Brodrick (a Whig) as speaker in 1713 and transferred his interest to the Whig party. Dudley Cosby was listed as a 'government Tory' in 1711 and an 'Opposition Whig' in 1713. There were also M.P.s who represented the interests of one particular party but voted for the opposite party when it suited them. Ephraim Dawson was ostensibly a Whig, yet in 1715 he was happy to give his 'interest' in Co. Kilkenny to the Tory candidate because Mr. Cuffe 'had something to propose to the advantages of my tenants in ossory'.⁶⁵

M.P.s could be brutal pragmatists when it came to aligning themselves with a particular party. The rapid downward trajectory of the Tory interest in Ireland after 1713 (in numerical terms at least, see Table 7.3) may indicate that Irish M.P.s sailed with the prevailing winds from England in an effort to be on the winning side. But one also has to consider the more underlying reasons for political affiliations.

The political preferences of M.P.s were not as fluid as Southwell's list might at first suggest. In 1703 there were at least 7 M.P.s who aligned themselves to the Tory interest. Robert Pigott is the only 'Tory' who seems to have changed allegiances after 1713 in order to hold onto his seat in the open and fiercely contested borough of Maryborough. Dudley Cosby, was described as a 'government Tory' in 1713 and then a Whig in 1714. But we know from his son's autobiography that he was a 'staunch Wig [sic]'.⁶⁶ William Parsons and John Barrington went onto win elections as 'Tories', and George Eyre and Thomas Lestrangle were replaced by two other Tories in the closed borough of Banagher. St. Leger Gilbert lost his seat and was pushed out of the political arena; but he did not change allegiances. A closer look at the names of the Whig M.P.s in 1713 also shows that there was not a mass exodus from the Tory party: rather an injection of new blood into the Whig party. The Whig M.P.s who took 10 of the 14 seats in the two counties in 1713 were (with the exception of Robert Pigot) either Whig supporters in the 1703 parliament or new entrants to the political arena.

⁶⁵10 Oct. 1715, Dawson to Flower, Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,481 (1).

⁶⁶Cosby Autobiog., p. 180.

The 1713 election was not as cataclysmic for the Tory party as the raw figures would suggest on Table 7.3. Only two (Dawson and Wall) of the seven Whig newcomers in 1713 were subsequently re-elected in 1715. Three of the seven constituencies had at least one Tory in place in 1713 and 1715 and two notable Tories were able to regain their seats: William Parsons returned to his seat in 1715 (at a time when the Whigs were poised to carry out a more thorough purge of the Tories) and John Barrington got the borough seat of Ballinakill back in 1727. A number of M.P.s elected after 1715 (like William Flower) were also 'old Tories', but the label was not used so frequently because of the obvious stigma.

The relationship between Jacobitism and Toryism was at times dangerously close in the period 1691-1745: indeed the Whigs capitalised on making connections between dangerous subversives and the Tory party. But few Tory supporters in the two counties would have contemplated the restoration of James II prior to 1714 (let alone between 1714 and 1745). Those Protestant landowners who had fought on the Jacobite side were attainted and ushered out of parliament and the magistracy (see Chapter 1.5). The only documented Jacobite in the region was Knightley Chetwood who went into exile with Ormonde in 1714. Chetwood was at one end of the Tory/Jacobite spectrum: he was prepared to voice his opinions in public and if necessary lose property and social status. There were perhaps many more Jacobite sympathisers at the other end of the spectrum: M.P.s who were prepared to adjust to the new order; or to quietly remove themselves from the political scene. The 5th Baron Digby, who was absent from his Irish estates, 'lingered awkwardly and painfully over William III's accession' and turned his back on the English parliament in 1698. Once free from politics he was able to maintain his honour and dignity by devoting himself to religious and charitable causes.⁶⁷ Thomas Lestrangle Esq. (who was elected as a 'Tory' M.P. for Banagher in 1703) was one of the 13 burgesses who sat in the 'Jacobite' corporation of Banagher in 1688. Unlike other members of the 'packed' corporations (such as Heward Oxburgh, the burgomaster at Philipstown or Garret Moore, the sovereign of Banagher) Lestrangle does not appear to have been actively involved in fighting for the Jacobite cause and escaped retribution after 1691.⁶⁸ The Flower family did not display any outward signs of Jacobitism. During the Williamite War Thomas Flower (William's father) had removed himself to Wales. One can speculate that while many Tory M.P.s like Flower would have had a strong

⁶⁷I am grateful to Dr. Hayton for allowing me to use a typescript version of William Digby's entry in the *History of Parliament*.

⁶⁸Harman Murtagh, 'Jacobite Offaly, 1689-91', in W. Nolan and T.P. O'Neil eds, *Offaly: History and Society*, (Dublin, 1998), Appendices 1-7, pp. 332-335.

emotional attachment to the concept of *jure divino* succession (and all the connotations that this had with the established church) they would not have gone so far as to support a Catholic monarch.

One must also consider those Protestant landowners who actively fought against the Jacobite army (and who had little reason to support the Jacobite cause after 1691) but who nevertheless supported the Tory party after 1703. Sir Laurence Parsons was attainted and condemned to death by a packed jury made up of supporters of James II in 1689 and his seat (Birr Castle) was seriously damaged by the Jacobite army. What then was the connection between Protestant landowners like Parsons and the Tory party?

All the M.P.s who aligned themselves with the Tories in 1703 came from the oldest Protestant families in the two counties. Though it would be simplistic and inaccurate to equate 'Old Protestant' with 'Tory' and 'New Protestant' with 'Whig', one can argue that there was a distinct tendency for the pre-1641 families in the two counties to support the Tory party during the reign of Queen Anne.

One cannot claim that the Old Protestant families had a tradition of aligning themselves with the Tories because the two party system had only begun to crystallise in the first decade of the eighteenth century (prior to c.1707 terms like 'Church Party', 'Honest Gents.' and 'Sole Right Men' were more commonly used to describe the main groupings in parliament). But there were M.P.s in the two counties who had a tradition of supporting the political dynasties and 'interests' that later became closely associated with the Tory party. The interests of the Flower family were inextricably bound up with those of the Ormondes throughout the seventeenth century. In 1642 The Earl of Ormonde had been instrumental in getting William Flower (the grandfather of the M.P. for Portarlinton in 1727) the borough seat at Ballinakill and an officership in his army between c.1642 and 1647. At the Restoration William was handsomely rewarded for his constant loyalty to the Royalist cause: he was knighted, made a Lieutenant Colonel of the Irish Guards, a member of the Privy Council and an Alderman of the City of Kilkenny.⁶⁹ The Flowers were head tenants of the Ormondes until 1708 when the 2nd Duke effectively alienated much of his land in order to ease his severe financial difficulties (i.e. converted his leases of lives into fee farm leases). Sir William Flower attended Christ Church, Oxford in 1701 when James, 2nd Duke of Ormonde was Chancellor of the University. Flower would have rubbed shoulders with many 'High Churchmen' in Oxford and London, and one can speculate that this would have made him more susceptible to

⁶⁹Carrigan, *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, Vol. 1 pp. 220-221; *An Historical and Social Diary of Durrow*, pp. 1-3.

the Tory interest when he returned to Ireland. During the 1715 election William Flower successfully stood as M.P. for County Kilkenny. His rival Agmondisham Cuffe argued (in a revealing petition to parliament) that the election was conducted unfairly:

the said sheriff (who, during the election manifestly favoured the said William Flower in prejudice to the petitioner) having received the votes of all the freeholders that were to vote for the said William Flower (most of whom were the late Duke of Ormond's friends) and seeing the petitioner still had a great number of more freeholders shut up books and refused to take another vote.⁷⁰

Though the Ormondes had vast estates and a huge patronage network at their disposal (offices at Dublin Castle, in parliament and in the civil, military and ecclesiastical establishments) they were not able to pull all M.P.s into their orbit. Indeed a lack of patronage from the Ormondes can in part explain why some gentlemen were less likely to vote for the 'Ormondite' or 'Tory' cause in the period 1703-1714. In 1703 Dudley Cosby was apparently 'sent out of peque by the Late Duke of Ormonde...(because he wo'd not vote for him in parliament)'. Cosby suggests that his father sacrificed material gains by not supporting Ormonde: 'had he been of the other side [Tory] he would have got more by it, & at the time that he gave £300 for his Commission the Duke of Ormond wo'd have given him a captain's Commission (as he did to Col. Robert Pigot, Walter Weldon and others)'.⁷¹ Pole Cosby believed that his father eschewed Ormonde because of ideological and religious reasons (factors which will be examined). But one also has to consider selfish economic motives: Dudley Cosby may have had a grudge against Ormonde precisely because he did not obtain patronage in 1703.

It is more difficult to find a 'Whig tradition' in the two counties because the Whig party drew its support from a much wider base than the Tory party. What is significant about the election of 1713 is not just the number of Whigs who were returned but the number of gentlemen who made their political debut in the two counties: Richard Fitzpatrick, John Moore, James Forth, Ephraim Dawson, John Forster, James Peppard and William Wall.⁷² Did the Whig party represent the interests of the post 1641 gentry families? The M.P.s who supported the Whig party in the two counties in 1703 and 1713

⁷⁰24 Nov. 1715, *J.H.C.*, Vol. 3, p. 25.

⁷¹Cosby Autobiog., pp. 84, 180.

⁷²In 1713 Forster, a leading Whig, was elected as chairman of the crucial Commons Committee on Elections by 127 votes to 121 (but did not represent the two counties again). Forster is mentioned by McNally, *Parties, Patriots and Undertakers*, p. 64.

were not all Cromwellian (as the examples of the Weaver, Cosby and Moore families show) but one can identify a number of Whiggish traits that were associated with the newer entrants to Protestant landed society.

A striking number of Whig supporters from the two counties were closely connected to the military establishment. William Purefoy (who was elected as a M.P. for The King's County in 1714) descended from a Cromwellian army officer. William, like other members of his family, held a commission as Major in the regular army. In 1702 Lord Rochester (a member of the Tory junta) allegedly disposed of his commission without providing adequate pay or pension. The army, which had been purged and packed in the reign of James II and had borne the brunt of the war, was understandably more anti-Jacobite than most sections of Protestant society. Indeed most commanding officers of the garrisons in Dublin and in the provinces were decidedly more Whig than Tory before 1713.⁷³ After 1713, when Ormonde was no longer able to dish out commissions as Commander in Chief of the army, ambitious army officers felt that they had even less to gain from a Tory administration.

Those M.P.s from the two counties who had strong military connections had much to gain from supporting the Whigs after 1714. In 1716 Dudley Cosby was recommended by the Whig junta for one of the new commissions in the army.⁷⁴ In the following year William Purefoy successfully petitioned parliament to put him on half pay.⁷⁵ John Moore became Muster-Master General of the army in 1718 and Richard Fitzpatrick (who had a successful career in the navy) was elevated to the House of Lords.

Banking and business is another 'interest' that can be identified with those M.P.s who aligned themselves to the Whig party prior to 1714. Richard Warburton, who was directly related to the Dublin Warburtons, was able to provide Pole Cosby £1000 in credit in the 1730s and 1740s (see chapter 2.1). John Moore (a Whig M.P. for Philipstown and The King's County who was elevated to the Lords in 1715 for his staunch support of the Hanoverian Succession) married the daughter of the Dublin banker Elnathan Lumm. Ephraim Dawson was one of a number of M.P.s from Ulster (with landed and non-landed interests) who became prominent in the Parliament House during the early eighteenth century. Dawson's political career did not start off smoothly.

⁷³For Limerick garrison, T.C. Barnard, *The Abduction of a Limerick Heiress: Social and Political Relations in Mid-Eighteenth Century Ireland*, (Dublin, 1998), pp. 16-17.

⁷⁴His 'long good services both in the army and in Parliament, entitle him to is Majesty's favour, he has a brevet of Major, and is particularly recommended by an address of the House of Commons'. Recommendations for new Commissions, 8 March 1716, P.R.O. SP63/374/84-85, cited by McNally, *Parties, Patriots and Undertakers*, p. 103.

⁷⁵Purefoy, 18 Sept. 1717 and 19 Sept. 1717, *J.H.C.*, Vol. 3, pp. 131-132.

In 1704 he was sworn in as M.P. for the borough of Carlingford, but the parliamentary committee on elections upheld the petition of his rival, 'Mr. Balfour'. Dawson also tried for the borough of Lisburn and complained to parliament in 1703 that the followers of one of the candidates, Richard Nutley, had intimidated and assaulted the voters.⁷⁶ One can speculate that Dawson moved from Ulster to the midlands for political as well as economic reasons: i.e. strategically he would stand a better chance of getting a seat in a midlands borough that was less politicised and more dependent on the 'old fashioned' patronage. During the reign of Queen Anne party politics seemed to have more of an explosive charge in areas where there were large numbers of Presbyterians. Portarlington and Lisburn both had high concentrations of dissenters, but in political terms they were very different. The Huguenot community in Portarlington crossed swords with High Churchmen like Bishop Moreton of Kildare, but they were not seen as a threat to Church and State in the same way that the northern Presbyterians were. As a Whig and a landowner with business interests Dawson probably had a sympathy for dissenters, but he may not have had to get embroiled in party politics. The denizens of Portarlington seemed to be swayed more by Dawsons' patronage and influence as a proprietor (see Chapter 5.5 and 5.6) than as a defender of the Whig interest.

Tradition and self interest do help to explain why M.P.s gravitated to one of the two main political parties prior to 1714. But some M.P.s cannot be categorised according to the antiquity of their family or the nature of their landed and non-landed interests. Dudley Cosby and William Parsons both came from pre-1641 families in the region and were supporters of the Old Protestant interest, yet Cosby aligned himself with the Whigs and Parsons with the Tories. Pole Cosby said that his father was 'very Low in his opinion of religion and a staunch Wig [sic] but not violent either for the House of Hannover'.⁷⁷ Evidently, one must not underestimate the importance of religion and ideology.

After 1691 landowners in Ireland could not afford to be anything other than 'pro-Protestant' and 'anti-Catholic'; and after 1714 they could not afford to be anything other than 'pro-Hanoverian'. The uniqueness of the landed settlement in Ireland (and the overriding importance that all Protestant landowners attached to it) may have meant that the Tory/Whig divide in Ireland was less pronounced than it was in England. The Toryism of the nine M.P.s in the two counties in 1703 was perhaps more a reflection of attitudes towards the established church (and towards certain personalities and factions in parliament) than a reaction against the post 1691 political settlement. M.P.s like Parsons

⁷⁶Dawson, 16 Mar. 1704, *J.H.C.*, Vol. 2, p. 456; 27 Dec. 1703, Vol. 2, p. 320.

⁷⁷Cosby Autobiog., p. 180.

and Flower (like Archbishop King) could perhaps best be defined as 'Church Tories' and 'State Whigs: their commitment to the Protestant succession was absolute but their attitude towards dissenters and certain aspects of policy differed from the Whig junta. What concerns us then is the *degree* of enthusiasm that landowners from the two counties showed towards the established church and the Hanoverian succession, and how far this determined their political allegiances.

The stongest defenders of the established church were naturally in the church itself. Bishops could not (like M.P.s and other office holders) be removed from their benches and they provided the backbone of the Tory party in the early eighteenth century. Irishtown, in Kilkenny city, was one of three boroughs where bishops had some control over the election of M.P.s (they could elect the burgesses). During the electioneering in 1714 Thomas Vesey, Bishop of Ossory, was called a 'scoundrel and a booby' by one of the (presumably Whig) parliamentary candidates in Kilkenny.⁷⁸ It could be argued that the clergy had more of an impact on party politics outside parliament. At Trinity College the fellows (of whom many were clergymen and supporters of the Tory party in the first quarter of the eighteenth century) were in a position to shape the minds of the 40 or so undergraduates from the two counties who entered the college between c.1685 and 1714. Indeed students at Trinity were involved with producing and circulating thinly veiled Jacobite propaganda c.1714 (e.g. *Nero Secundus*). In the pulpits clergymen could also encourage their flocks to support those politicians who defended the established church from the dangers and insults of dissenting factions.

Tory churchmen felt that the established church (which had been severely buffeted in the period 1641-1660 and again from 1685-1691) needed a period of retrenchment rather than theological experimentation if it were to survive as an institution. In parliament prelates and politicians had heated debates about the future of the church, but at a local level the established church (as an institution) encouraged uniformity rather than individual spiritual exploration. The surviving printed evidence would suggest that most sermons of the period were little more than moral charges: the clergy, like the judges on circuit, directed their flocks to uphold the law and to conform with their co-religionists across the Irish Sea. In 1709 for instance the Vicar of Ardnurcher (in The King's County) printed a pamphlet (probably taken from a sermon) entitled *The Reasonableness of Constant Communion with the Church of England*.⁷⁹

⁷⁸Coxe to Southwell, 18 Sept. 1714, Brit. Lib. Add. Mss. 35,137, cited in R.E. Burns, *Parliamentary Politics in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 1 1714-1730, (Washington, 1989), p. 11.

⁷⁹The vicar was Benjamin Hawkshaw. See Leslie Succession Lists: Diocese of Meath, (Ardnurcher), R.C.B. Lib.

Another means of encouraging greater uniformity in the Anglican church was to provide congregations with appropriate liturgical books. When Bishop Dopping made his visitations of the diocese of Meath between 1682 and 1685 he could find Bibles and Books of Common Prayer in only 4 out of the 21 churches in the Deanery of Ardnurcher.⁸⁰ From 1700 parishes started to buy more books. In 1702 the Edenderry vestry minutes show that monies were laid out on 'binding 2 church common prayer books' and buying a new 'book of articles'. In 1715 more Books of Common Prayer were bought and a Bible was bound with a 'new bleach cloth'. In the 1720s and 1730s larger quantities of books were bought (e.g. £1.10.0 was spent in 1734 alone on new Books of Common Prayer). It would seem that within the space of three decades (between 1700 and 1730) the parish of Edenderry had changed from a position where it could only equip the clergy with books to a situation where a significant minority of the congregation could have access to the written word in church.⁸¹

Landowners in the two counties took a more pragmatic approach to dissent than their clerical friends. Some landed gentlemen in the region may have voiced their concern about the national consequences of heavy Presbyterian immigration into Ulster: indeed scaremongering helps to explain why the Irish M.P.s voted for the Test clause of the Popery Act in 1704. But locally M.P.s had little to fear from dissenters. There were a very small number of Presbyterians in the region between 1690 and 1760 (see Table 1.1a) and the Quaker communities (who had non-landed interests) soon proved to be an asset to many towns. Dudley Cosby had close professional links with Presbyterians like Dr. Cummings and Mr. Boyle 'the Prsbeterian Minister of Wood Street'. Cosby's brand of low church Protestantism was also not dissimilar to that which was professed by Presbyterians. Professor Bourhave provided Dudley Cosby with advice about his gout, and in 1722 Pole Cosby was sent to the Calvinistic university in Leyden rather than the more High Church college in Dublin.⁸² A 'Whiggish' tolerance of dissent did not necessarily mean that landowners were less likely to support the established church. Dudley Cosby and Francis Blundell encouraged industrious Quakers, but they were also active patrons of their own Anglican parish churches in Stradbally and Edenderry (see chapter 5.5). The preservation of the 'Protestant interest' seemed to have more direct relevance to gentlemen like Cosby and Blundell than the conflicts between Anglicans and dissenters. While M.P.s quarrelled about the threat of the Presbyterian influx in

⁸⁰C.C. Ellison ed., 'Bishop Dopping's Visitation Book 1682-1685', in *Riocht na Midhe*, Vol. VI, no. 1, pp. 3-13.

⁸¹Vestry minutes for the parish of Monasteroris (Edenderry) 1702-, R.C.B. Lib. P.484.5.1.52.

⁸²Cosby Autobiog., pp. 92-95.

Ulster, Catholic congregations seemed to be flourishing in The King's and Queen's counties. It was perhaps this fear of 'Popery' (rather than the 'Presbyteries') that spurred landowners like Pole Cosby to forge links with dissenters and to establish Charter Schools.

The loyal addresses from corporations give an indication of the overall solidarity that existed between Protestants when there were invasion threats after 1714.⁸³ From these lists one can isolate a few landed families who were staunch supporters of the Hanoverian succession when it most crucial (i.e. in 1713 and 1714). The parliamentary committee that examined William Purefoy's petition about his army pay (which interestingly included Sir William Parsons) resolved that 'the petitioner hath greatly suffered for his firm adherence to the late happy revolution, and constant zeal for the Protestant accession in the illustrious house of Hanover'.⁸⁴ A petition written by John Pigott in 1755 about his family's connection with Maryborough also highlights his Hanoverian loyalties:

The ancestors of the sitting member have, since the revolution had a considerable interest in this borough. In the year 1713 said Robert Pigot, who was attached to that interest that supported the constitution, and was distinguished for his zeal for the Protestant succession entered onto an agreement with William Wall esq. to endeavour as much as they could, to get men of the Whiggish principles to represent the said borough.⁸⁵

The poor performance of the Jacobite army in Scotland in 1715 would have dashed the hopes of those landowners who still harboured any vestige of loyalty to the old regime. After 1715 few landowners would have dared to portray themselves as anything other than loyal Hanoverians and party politics seemed to have less and less relevance. The elevation of William Flower to the House of Lords in 1731 is a measure of how far the 'rage of party' had dissipated within the space of fifteen years. The Duke of Dorset (who arrived in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant in 1730 and who almost certainly eased Flower into the peerage) was a 'child of the Revolution' and closely identified with the Whig cause. It would have been almost unthinkable for him to have elevated his Tory friend during the period 1703-1714. The unity of the Whig party in Ireland largely

⁸³E.g. the loyal address of the corporation of Maryborough, 3 March 1743, DeVesci Papers, N.L.I., Ms. K/5.

⁸⁴Purefoy, 18 Sept. 1717 and 19 Sept. 1717, *J.H.C.* Vol. 3, pp. 131-132.

⁸⁵ 11. Nov. 1755, *J.H.C.*, Vol. V, p. 244; case of Pigott, P.R.O.N.I., T.2519/ 4/ 230-231.

depended on the perceived threat of a Tory party. Once the Whigs had achieved ascendancy in 1715 they soon began splinter into different familial or regional groupings (e.g. Brodrick and his 'Cork Squadron'). Indeed it could be argued that the 'rage of party' was little more than a blip because the Irish parliament soon reverted back to pre-1703 kaleidoscopic state. But the two party divide did leave an enduring mark upon Irish politics for the rest of the period.

The network of friendships that had formed during the hey-day of the party still lingered on. Knightley Chetwood may have considered Birr Castle as a suitable abode for his estranged wife in 1724/25 because William Parsons, like his own family, had been aligned to the Tory interest between 1703 and 1714.⁸⁶ Both William Flower and Knightley Chetwood corresponded with Jonathan Swift in the 1720s and 1730s. Flower reminisced about old Tory friends and bemoaned how things had changed for the worse (in politics and society) since the days when he was a 'fine Gentleman of the town'.⁸⁷

Many M.P.s who were unable to express their Tory values openly after 1714, but who nevertheless wanted to re-enter parliament, opted instead to take the position of 'independence'. There were almost certainly more 'independent country gentlemen' at any one time in parliament in the period 1714-1760 than there were 'Government Whigs'. The difficult task of the government was to rustle up support from among this heterogenous group of 'independents' in order to get the vital legislation (such as the Supply Bills) through parliament. Conversely, outstanding opposition leaders could on occasions set the 'independents' against the government when the issue of 'Sole Right' (or 'Patriotism') reared its head.

The role of Independent M.P.s were especially important in those counties where there were no dominant political/familial factions. Prior to 1714 parliamentary representation in County Kilkenny was shared by the Ormondes (who set up relatives, friends and allies as candidates) and the Ponsonbys.⁸⁸ After the exit of the Duke of Ormonde in 1714 the Ponsonbys continued to be a driving force in local as well as national politics. In The King's and Queen's counties by contrast there did not appear to have been any comparable political dynasty in the period 1714-1760. Many of the most important peers (who owned the largest estates in the two counties) such as the Earls of Mountrath were absentees with little or no interest in the local constituencies. Families such as the Parsons and the Dawsons did have a long tradition of service in the two

⁸⁶Swift to Chetwood, 30 Jan. 1724/25, Swift Letters, Vol. III, p. 49.

⁸⁷Swift to Flower, 24 Dec. 1736, Swift Letters, Vol. IV, p. 556.

⁸⁸T.P. Power, 'Parliamentary Representation in County Kilkenny in the eighteenth century', in K. Nolan and K. Whelan eds., *Kilkenny: History and Society*, (Dublin, 1990), pp. 305-332.

counties but there was no dominant familial faction (comparable to Ormonde interest in the late seventeenth century or the Broghill 'Cork Squadron' in the early eighteenth century) that could mobilise the support of the other the M.P.s in the region. The stance that the M.P.s from the two counties took on national issues was therefore likely to be determined more by the persuasion of outstanding parliamentary leaders (e.g. William Conolly) and political theorists than by obligations to kinsmen and allies. Viscount Molesworth for instance (who had a relatively small landed interest in the two counties) may have influenced the M.P.s in The King's and Queen's counties through the force of his political writings rather than his local or familial connections.⁸⁹

The 'Sole Right' issue, which was first debated in the 1690s and was alluded to in Molesworth's political pamphlets, manifested itself in different contexts throughout the period. The reaction of the Irish Parliament to the Wood Halfpence patent between 1722 and 1725 highlights the importance of 'Independent gentlemen' and public opinion in shaping events.⁹⁰ Even the most powerful 'undertaker' in the Commons, William Conolly, could not push through a bill that was so universally unpopular. The role that the M.P.s in the two counties played during this crisis is not known, but there is evidence that coalitions began to form in anticipation of a tough general election. James Tynte informed William Flower in December 1725 that:

I do, on very good ground, assaure you we shall change our Ld. L [ieutenant] not our parliament, the great ministers here are more concern'd to excuse their want of power in the house by laying the ill success on his house, than their want of interest. Ask for me, no interest but that wch is for the preservation of the kingdom shall seperate my vote.⁹¹

Similar issues were discussed in parliament thirty years later. In 1753 the fierce debate over the disposal of the surplus revenue divided the Commons into two almost equally matched camps, and it was against this backdrop of bitter political strife in

⁸⁹During the Wood Halfpence crisis Molesworth did not take an active political role. Indeed Swift lampooned him for not becoming embroiled in the affair. But his political writings helped to persuade M.P.s to challenge the authority of the English parliament.

⁹⁰ It has argued that there were four main parties to the process of political decision making in eighteenth-century Ireland: 1) Dublin Castle, 2) the Irish Parliament, the 3) British Government and 4) public opinion, James Kelly, *Prelude to Union: Anglo-Irish Politics in the 1780s*, (Cork, 1992), p. 6.

⁹¹James Tynte to William Flower, 11 Dec. 1725, Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,481 (3).

Dublin that the Maryborough bye-election was fought.⁹² In August 1754 during the struggle for the burgomastership Cornet Edward Smith wrote to Lord George Sackville:

This little town is becaome very disagreeable from the vast riot of party which rages here. It is between Gilbert supported by Dawson and Westenrow [Westenra] against Pigott that you made high sheriff of this country. I believe Pigot will carry it though he is hard pressed. Lord [K]Napton having declared at the other side. Pigott has been told he is a courtier and that his opponents are determined to support the speaker'.⁹³

It would appear that Gilbert, Dawson and Westenra supported the 'Patriot party' whereas Pigot was a friend of the 'court' or 'Primate's Party'. Pigott was returned as M.P. for the borough in 1755 but his election was declared null and void because it was determined that he had illegally created 200 new freeman between 29 September 1754 and 29 September 1755 (in his capacity as burgomaster).⁹⁴

One cannot gauge the level of 'patriotism' or 'independence' in the two counties on the basis of the sparse local evidence that relates to the parliamentary crises of the period. In addition to the M.P.s who aligned themselves with the 'Patriot party' (a group that was usually in opposition to the government or court party) there were also cross-party 'patriots' who sat on numerous parliamentary committees and worked towards the improvement of Ireland by encouraging bills relating to areas such as inland navigation, industry and turnpike roads.⁹⁵ Molesworth's brand of 'patriotism' was attractive to Whigs and Tories alike because it emphasised the improvements that could be made in agriculture and manufactures *within* the economic and political strait jacket that Britain had constructed: as well as continually pressing the British government to reverse some of its protective trade policies Irish landowners needed to minimise their handicaps by improving farming methods, communications and the fledgling linen industry (see chapter 2.6).⁹⁶

⁹² The 'patriot party' led by Henry Boyle, the speaker of the House of Commons and the 'government party' led by Primate Stone and John Ponsonby.

⁹³ 1 Aug. 1754, *H.M.C. Stopford-Sackville Manuscripts*, Vol. I, (1904), p. 222.

⁹⁴ The Newtown Act of 1748 merely formalised the types of practices that had long gone on in boroughs; A.P.W. Malcomson, 'The Newtown Act of 1748: revision and reconstruction', *I.H.S.*, Vol. VXXIII, (1973), pp. 313-344.

⁹⁵ D. Hayton, 'The 'Country' interest and the Party system, 1689-c.1720', in C. Jones ed., *Party and Management, 1660-1784*, (Leicester, 1984), p. 38.

⁹⁶ Molesworth, *Some Considerations for the Promotion of Agriculture*, (Dublin, 1723); cited by R.E. Burns, *Irish Parliamentary Politics in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 190.

Parliament was not the only forum for debate. The public-spiritedness (or 'patriotism') of the M.P.s in the two counties manifested itself on their estates, and in new organisations such as the Dublin Society: Ephraim Dawson, William Flower, Bartholomew Gilbert, Colley Lyons, John Moore, John Parnell, William Sprigge, Richard Warburton and Warner Westenra are among the M.P.s from the two counties who became members of the Dublin Society between 1731 and 1760 (see Appendix 4).

7.4 Electioneering

At the first session of parliament in 1727 the House of Commons committees spent a substantial proportion of their time dealing with the avalanche of petitions and legal cases that had been generated during the election.⁹⁷ Among them was the case of Anthony Atkinson who argued that Sir William Parsons and Colley Lyons had been illegally elected as Knights of the Shire for The King's County. William Trench also informed the Commons how Robert Pigot and William Wall had resorted to intimidation and violence in order to hold their seats in Maryborough.⁹⁸ These electoral disputes cannot be explained away by national issues alone. The 'rage of party', as we have seen, dissipated after 1714 and the Wood Halfpence crisis had been defused by the Carteret administration in August 1725.

After 1692 the Irish House of Commons had a new importance but general elections were irregular until the Octennial Act in 1768 (they usually occurred only at the accession of a new monarch). The election in 1727 was the first in twelve years and this meant that strenuous campaigns were waged in contested elections all over Ireland. The King's and Queen's counties had a relatively small number of borough constituencies (just two in King's and three in Queen's compared to seven in County Kilkenny). This meant that contests in relatively open boroughs like Maryborough were particularly fierce.

The poor conduct of candidates at election time could be the source of friction in county society. In December 1715 Agmondisham Cuffe gave a damning account of the conduct of William Flower during the contest for the County Kilkenny seat: 'a manager for the said William Flower did lay hands to his sword and draw it out, and to insult one

⁹⁷This is indicated by the number of petitions that reached the parliamentary committees about electoral irregularities; e.g. in 1695 the election result at Ballinakill was disputed and two petitions were sent to the Commons. In 1703 there were disturbances at the election in Maryborough, 14 Sept. 1695, 18 Oct. 1695, *J.H.C.*, Vol. II, pp. 61 and 97; 29 Sept. 1703, Vol. II, p. 318.

⁹⁸ 6 Dec. 1727 and 8 Dec. 1727, *J.H.C.*, Vol. III, pp. 477 and 482.

of the gentlemen that voted for the petitioner'.⁹⁹ Such accusations were very serious, and Flower might have easily been drawn into a duel in order to preserve his honour. Interestingly Cuffe withdrew his complaint after just one week. It is possible that a behind the scenes deal was struck that would preserve the honour of both parties.

Contested elections were usually the result (rather than the cause) of local antagonisms. Indeed personal conflict, ambition and honour were as important, if not more so, than parliamentary politics during this period.¹⁰⁰ Duels reveal much about the interplay of personal and political factors that came caused discord at election time.¹⁰¹ Col. Emmanuel Pigott was described by Cosby as 'a most violent man in his friendships and enemitys and also violent in his principles, he never was moderate'.¹⁰² In 1718 Pigot challenged Knightley Chetwood to a duel.¹⁰³ Perhaps the combination of Chetwood's political views ('old Tory') and personal vanity proved too much for the opinionated old colonel. In 1759 Col. John Barrington settled a long standing grudge with Bartholomew[?] Gilbert by challenging him on horseback with swords and pistols on Maryborough Green.¹⁰⁴ Such disputes could cause a bitter taste in the county for years afterwards. In 1730 Chetwood wrote to Swift that 'when I am at home I do not like my neighbourhood, and shall therefore probably seldom stir beyond the limits of my gardens and plantations which are big enough for my purse'.¹⁰⁵ Other gentlemen spent the contents of their purse on electioneering.

Canvassing support at county elections could be a costly and complex business. The resources, energy and ingenuity of a candidate were as important (if not more so) than his party politics or family background. Considerable planning went into an election campaign. In order to gain an upper hand a prospective M.P. tried to predict when an election was likely to take place and to make some preliminary overtures to the important interests of the county. This was no mean feat since the lobbies of the Parliament House and Dublin Castle were filled with rumours, especially when a monarch was in poor

⁹⁹ 24 Dec. 1715, *J.H.C.*, Vol. 3, p. 25.

¹⁰⁰ Long standing local (as opposed to party) rivalries have also been noted in an English context, J.H. Plumb, *The Growth of Stability in England 1675-1725*, (London, 1967), p. 82.

¹⁰¹ According to another chronicler, during the election of 1783 General Walsh challenged a number of men to a duel 'for running a butt end of a whip down his throat while he lay drunk, with his mouth open'; Byrne, *History of The Queen's County*, p. 60.

¹⁰² Cosby Autobiog, p. 256.

¹⁰³ 'The Chetwoods of Woodbrook', p. 218. In letter from Chetwood to Swift he mentions that William Wall of Maryborough brought the challenge (presumably on behalf of Piggot), Nov. 1718, *Swift Letters*, Vol. II, p. 386.

¹⁰⁴ Barrington, *Personal Sketches*, Vol. 2, pp. 54-7; J. Kelly, *That Damn'd Thing Called Honour: Duelling in Ireland 1570-1860*, (Cork, 1995), p. 76.

¹⁰⁵ Chetwood to Swift, Feb. 1730/31, *Swift Letters*, Vol. III, p. 442.

health or if there was a political crisis. The closer an M.P. or office holder was to the centre of government the more likely he was to know about the intentions of the English ministers. If a candidate got off to a false start (i.e. a rumour turned out to be unfounded) then he might lose face (as well as time and money). In November 1725 William Flower was convinced that there was about to be a general election and wrote a batch of letters to potential supporters. Ephraim Dawson informed Flower in the following month that the rumours of an impending election were totally unfounded.¹⁰⁶

At the death of George I in 1727 Flower could begin his real campaign. At the outset a candidate needed to ascertain how many rivals would be pitched against him. At bye-elections in the two counties there were usually just two contenders. In 1729 four candidates (St. Leger Gilbert, Sir John Byrne, Richard Warburton and Pole Cosby) had showed an interest in competing for Dudley Cosby's Queen's County seat but two of them dropped out in the early stages, leaving Cosby and Warburton to fight it out between themselves.

At general elections two M.P.s were elected for each constituency. The election of *two* members is of crucial importance. If there were 3 candidates then deals could be struck between A and B, A and C or B and C. Alternatively A and B might gang up on C or A and C against B or B and C against A. If there were more than three candidates the number of possible combinations was even more complicated. In September 1727 William Flower and Edward Deane agreed to stand on a double-ticket for the knights of the shire in Kilkenny. Fighting an election was a costly business and they struck a deal. An indenture, which was witnessed by three gentlemen outlined the following conditions: a) if they both succeeded in getting elected they would share the election expenses equally, b) if only one of them succeeded then the whole expense would be borne by the successful candidate and c) if neither succeeded then the whole would be borne by Edward Deane.¹⁰⁷ Evidently, Deane was more confident of victory. In the event neither Flower or Deane won seats. Such deals meant that a candidate was not just elected on the basis of his own honour, influence, politics and personal popularity. He was also judged in terms of the candidate he was associated with. If the support of one half of a double ticket crumbled then the other half was also likely to fall. During the 1727 election Dudley Cosby sided with Warburton instead of Ephraim Dawson and this required some intensive electioneering. Dawson still won by 80 votes even though Cosby had:

¹⁰⁶Dawson to Flower, 30 Nov. 1725, 18 Dec. 1725, Flower Papers, N.L.I., 11,481(3).

¹⁰⁷Agreement between Deane and Flower, 15 Sept. 1727, Flower Papers, N.L.I., D.20,237.

spent at least £330 more than he need to have done for the expense of this affair was to my father £430, had he stuck to Dawson noone would have opposed him so that it would have cost him only the expense of the day of Election which could not be above £100 so that the truth my father spent £330 to oblige Mr. Warburton & for his interest & a base, ungenerous, dishonourable, unworthy return he & and I met with afterwards as shall be told hereafter.¹⁰⁸

In 1729 'the treachery of Dick Warburton and his friends came to light'. If Cosby's story is to be believed, then Warburton deliberately set out to drive a wedge between Cosby and Dawson so that it would 'insense Dawson so much that would ever after do my Father and me all the prejudice in his power'. At the bye-election of 1729 Pole Cosby felt betrayed because Warburton 'who had been with my father now set up against me'.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore Dawson transferred his interest to Warburton, either out of spite or because the two of them had made a secret agreement before hand. Indeed Dawson wrote to William Flower to ask him to declare for Warburton at the election.¹¹⁰ Thus a strong candidate might lose an election because he was unable to strike the best deal with another contender, or because he was not able to manipulate public opinion or simply because he was not cunning enough.

Having identified the various possible alliances a candidate then had to assess his electoral strength by sending out standardised letters that requested support from landowners. In 1725 Flower wrote:

I trust I shan't be forsaken by old friends and laid aside with the empty praise of having done my duty. I am sensible [sic] how much is in your power to prevent any cabals against me, your great influence must sway many and as tis your peculiar Blessing not to be known without being beloved, the charms of your conversation endear you to every one.¹¹¹

Some of the replies were most encouraging. James Tynte wrote 'you need not have given yourself the trouble of writing to me, this is the time to prove your friends, and

¹⁰⁸Cosby Autobiog., p. 175.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 182.

¹¹⁰Dawson to Flower, Sept. 1729, Gowran Correspondence, N.L.I., Ms. 21,275.

¹¹¹Flower to the voters, 30 Nov. 1725, Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,481 (3).

you shall not find me to fail you. I wish you success with all my heart'.¹¹² Others were less forthcoming. Peter Hickey wrote 'my long and great disorder induce me to believe I shall not be able to goe to any Election, and not knowing as yett who sett's up for the knight of the shire I can't without further consideration give you my positive answer'.¹¹³

Within each county there were a number of landowners who could mobilise the support of a large number of tenants/freeholders. Although landowners were not legally entitled to coerce or bribe their tenants they had a large measure of influence over them, in an economic, social and moral sense.¹¹⁴ Some of the principal landowners also helped their chosen candidate in a more material way. In 1758 Henry Hatch informed William Trumbull (who inherited the Blundell estate) that '£38.18.10 is the whole expense of your tenants at the last election, in which is also included my expenses and coach hire' since 'it was agreed by the several gentlemen of the county [King's] who supported Mr. Malone that they would do it at their own expenses'.¹¹⁵

A minority of voters were not in the pocket of any particular landowner. In order to identify these floating voters candidates analysed the poll books compiled by sheriffs in great detail. In 1725 Mr. Caulfield told Flower that he was sending on the 'Poll book which was wrote when I was sheriff, I was forced to keep your servant until I could get the key of my closet where the book was'.¹¹⁶ There is evidence to suggest that the principal candidates could predict the outcome of an election with a great degree of accuracy. In 1729 Pole Cosby realised a week or so before the election that he was not going to win.¹¹⁷

When an election was close the candidates needed to make more direct contact with the electorate. In 1727 Dudley and Pole Cosby 'were employed in rideing the county over and & over to make interest'. The last few days leading up to polling were crucial because there must always have been a number of waverers, who made up their mind at

¹¹²Tynte to Flower, 27 June 1727, *ibid*.

¹¹³Peter Hickey to Flower, 28 June 1727, *ibid*.

¹¹⁴By securing the 'interest' of one of these landowners a candidate effectively bagged a large number of votes. A break down of the voters in 1775 for example shows that John Dawson had 295 freeman in his personal 'interest' (by far the highest number) whereas Lord Drogheda had 82 and Lord Mountrath had 69. A substantial gentlemen like Philips Cosby's could count on at least 33 votes and Dean Coote, a more modest landowner, had just 3 votes, poll book, Nat. Arch. Ire., 999/1; P.R.O.N.I., ENV5/HP/24.

¹¹⁵Henry Hatch to William Trumbull, 17 Jan. 1758, Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I., D.607/A/173.

¹¹⁶Caulfield to Flower; 1725, Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,481 (3).

¹¹⁷Two poll books from 1779 reveal how meticulous some candidates were in counting the number of prospective votes. One of the books contains the names of c. 1040 freeholders from The Queen's County. Each voter is placed into either the column marked 'H.W.' or 'J.W.' (which stand for Hunt-Walsh and Richard Warburton; the two candidates at the bye-election in 1779); Cosby Autobiog., p. 176; Walsh-Kemmis poll books, Private Collection, N.L.I., M/film P.3064; Ainsworth report, N.L.I., No. 34.

the last minute or over a hogshead of beer at the place of polling. Cosby said that his father would, in ordinary circumstances, have spent £100 on 'the day of Election'.¹¹⁸ One presumes that food and drink, and not just political platitudes, were needed to gain the support of the voters. Lord Carteret was criticised at the time of the Wood crisis because he did not cultivate the support of the gentry in the most appropriate way. Philip Perceval wrote in 1726, 'you know a little eating and drinking well timed goes a long way with our country gentlemen...for one bellyful of good meat and drink is more acceptable to the generality than twenty courteous smiles'.¹¹⁹

At county elections the polling usually took place over a number of days. In 1727 the 'election began at the Court House of Maryborough' and lasted three days.¹²⁰ From 1728 Catholics (and those married to Catholics) were formally excluded from the franchise and all the relevant sections of the various 'Popery Acts' were incorporated into the printed poll books. If it was likely that an 'illegal voter' was going to vote 'the other way' then the candidate would protest to the returning officers. A voter could be accused of having an 'insufficiency of freehold' (i.e. under the 40 shilling qualification), being susceptible to bribery, or having practised the 'popish religion'.¹²¹

7.5 Parliamentary activities

Election material reveals much about the relationships between gentry families, the priorities of the political elite and the links between national and local politics. The Cosby and Flower electoral evidence can be used like an augur to bore a hole right into the core of county society. By contrast there are very few references to the more day-to-day business of M.P.s in the Commons. There are no recorded speeches or parliamentary diaries to compare with those that exist for the latter part of the eighteenth century. Ephraim Dawson served in parliament for 33 years yet virtually nothing is known about his political career. What contributions did he make to the legislative process and how did he serve his county?

¹¹⁸Cosby Autobiog., p. 175.

¹¹⁹Philip Perceval to Lord Percival, 1 Feb. 1726, B.L. Add. Mss. 47031, fols-92-94, cited by McNally in *Parties, Patriots and Undertakers*, p. 131.

¹²⁰In 1779 the polling lasted 9 days (although no votes were cast on the sabbath). As the voters began to arrive in the county town to cast their vote a candidate (along with his agents) would try to spot the men who were not entitled to vote, N.L.I., P.3064

¹²¹In 1779 about 25 (or 5%) of the votes were 'objected to'. Of these less than half (or 2% of the poll) were actually rejected for want of evidence. This was quite a small proportion of the total number of voters and in ordinary circumstances they might not have made much difference to the outcome. But in 1779 the election was exceedingly close and every last vote counted, *ibid.*

A systematic examination of the *Journal of the House of Commons* reveals surprisingly little about the parliamentary activities of M.P.s. The scraps of information gleaned from the c.250 'accounts', 'addresses', 'bills', 'elections', 'writs', 'petitions', 'committees' and 'privileges' (that mention the 70 M.P.s who served in the two counties between 1692 and 1760) can be broken up into eight categories: 1) election disputes; 2) salaries and patronage; 3) debtors and creditors; 4) inheritance and the subdivision of estates; 5) the provision for wives and daughters; 6) parliamentary privileges and legal suits; 7) the regulation of industry and agriculture and 8) inland communications.¹²²

After 1692 it became increasingly common for unsuccessful candidates to petition parliament about irregular practices during elections. Electioneering in borough constituencies in particular could be rough indeed. Corporation officials and freemen could be bribed, the number of voters could be carefully controlled, intimidatory tactics might be employed and even the returning officer could be corrupted.¹²³ Petitions were usually referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The process was very slow and laborious and took up a great deal of parliamentary time: after a general election the committee members might have to deal with dozens of cases. In December 1727 Anthony Atkinson petitioned parliament about the conduct of the candidates for The King's County seats, but it was not until November 1729 that a decision was finally taken by the Committee (in favour of the sitting members).¹²⁴

Once safely seated in the Commons M.P.s used their influence to obtain salaries and pensions for themselves (and for their relatives, friends and allies). William Purefoy received half pay for his past services in the army in 1717, and in 1723 William Molesworth complained that his salary was not 'equal to the trouble and expense' that he incurred as the Surveyor General of the Lands in Ireland.¹²⁵ Parliament could also be used to help relatives and friends who were in financial distress. In 1716 a bill was proposed for the relief of the creditors of Sir Maurice Eustace, and in 1727 William

¹²²An examination has been made of all the indexes for the accounts, addresses, bills, elections, writs, petitions, privileges and committee's that mention the 70 M.P.s in this period. I have also examined the parliamentary session 1730/31 to check the accuracy of the indexes.

¹²³It is little wonder then that the Convention of Volunteers in 1783 looked into *The State of the Borough Representation of Ireland*. The preface to their report says 'To those persons who may doubt the necessity of a farther Reform of the Irish Borough System, I recommend an inquiry to ascertain *how often* and *to whom* the right of *misrepresenting* the Boroughs of Dundalk, Cashell, Tralee and Portarlington'; John Newport, *The State of the Borough Representation of Ireland in 1783 and 1800*, p. 1.

¹²⁴6 Dec. 1727, *J.H.C.*, Vol. III, p. 477; 7 Nov. 1729, Vol. II, p. 594.

¹²⁵19 Sept. 1717, *J.H.C.*, Vol. III, p. 132; 13 Oct. 1723, Vol. III, p. 265.

Flower asked the house whether it might consider the plight of James Cooney, an 'insolvent debtor' who languished in a Dublin gaol.¹²⁶

Members drew up a plethora of private bills in order to overcome inheritance problems and title disputes. Representatives of the Molesworth family petitioned the Commons in 1725 to create a special Act of Parliament so that they could build on parcels of land near St. Stephen's Green in Dublin (presumably Molesworth Street).¹²⁷ Between 1697 and 1698 a battle raged between Sir Edward Massey and Denny Muschamp over the estate at Abbey Leix (see chapter 2.1). As M.P. for the borough of Ballinakill Massey was able to use his influence to get matter settled in his favour.¹²⁸

The strict settlement was a legal device that was used to keep estates intact in the long term. In the short to medium term however, the settlement could limit the ability of the inheritor to sell any land and prevent him from living in a style that was appropriate (see chapter 2.1). In many cases a private act of parliament were needed to break an entail. A bill was passed in 1697 that enabled Sir Laurence Parsons and his heir to sell certain lands, tenements and tithes in order to pay a debt of £2200.¹²⁹ In 1746 a similar bill was passed that enabled the executors of William Sprigge to carve up the Clonivoe estate in The King's County. Sir Lawrence Parsons, the M.P. for the county, had a vested interest in getting this bill through parliament: it was agreed that he had the right to make leases of 31 years or lives on a portion of this estate.¹³⁰

The marriage of an heiress rarely brought instant financial rewards. In order to obtain his wife's assets an inheriting husband had to clear various debts and cut through a number of legal devices (that were designed to protect the integrity of his wife's estate). Sir William Parsons initiated a bill in parliament in 1757 that would allow him to clear debts of £6000 on lands that he inherited when he married Mary Cleare. In the following year the children of Sir William modified the bill so that they could sell a third of their lands in County Galway in order to pay off encumbrances.¹³¹ Strict settlements were usually broken by parliament so that portions, jointures and allowances could be provided for children. In 1697 a bill was prepared that would enable Sir Francis Blundell to raise £2000 from his estate for his daughter and in 1719 Thomas Carter obtained a bill so that he could sell part of his estate to make provision for his younger children.¹³² In

¹²⁶ 8 June 1716, *J.H.C.* Vol. III, p. 104; 15 Feb. 1727, Vol. III, p. 525.

¹²⁷ 23 Sept. 1725, *J.H.C.*, Vol. III, p. 401.

¹²⁸ 21 Nov. 1698, *J.H.C.*, Vol. II, p. 271.

¹²⁹ 16 August 1697, *J.H.C.*, Vol. II, p. 169.

¹³⁰ 7 April 1746, *J.H.C.*, Vol. IV, p. 505.

¹³¹ 16 Dec. 1757, *J.H.C.*, Vol. VI, p. 54; 29 April 1758, Vol. VI, p. 113.

¹³² 18 July 1719, *J.H.C.*, Vol. III, p. 194.

1721 Maurice Cuffe, the legal guardian of George Hartpole, called on parliament to make an amendment in the law so that his charge could have access to some of the resources that were tied up by the strict settlement.¹³³

Parliament could also be used by M.P.s to deal with the legal suits that affected their landed interests. In 1723 parliament was informed of an alleged offence that took place on Sir William Parsons' property: two men were accused of 'forcibly entering on his [Parson's] fishing weirs on the River Shannon, near Limerick, and beating his servants and tenants, and taking their nets from them, during the time of privilege'.¹³⁴ William Wall, the member for Maryborough, told the House in 1725 about three magistrates who had arrested one of his servants and kept him in custody.¹³⁵ In 1745 the same M.P. complained about a carpenter who illegally entered his woods on his Ballygile estate and cut down timber trees.¹³⁶

The participation of M.P.s from The King's and Queen's counties in special committees and in the drafting of particular bills can sometimes give an indication of the wider issues that were discussed in the first half of the eighteenth century. In November 1725 Sir William Parsons, Ephraim Dawson, William Flower and William Wall were among those who put forward a bill to regulate the measurement of corn and the price of bread. In 1727 Flower read another bill to prevent 'abuses committed by bakers, millers and farmers'.¹³⁷ In a letter to Swift in 1727 Flower discussed the 'miseries of the north' and felt that the poorer sort 'demand the utmost compassion'.¹³⁸ In the years 1726, 1727 and 1728 there were severe harvest failures in parts of Ireland and it is likely that The King's and Queen's counties suffered badly (see chapter 1.1). Perhaps a number of merchants in the towns of Mountmellick, Maryborough and Mountrath had hoarded corn and pushed up prices. By taking this issue straight to the heart of government men like Flower could strengthen the arm of the magistracy and help to tackle a very serious local problem. The linen industry was another area that was discussed by M.P.s on a regular basis after 1690. In 1697 for instance it was minuted in the *Journal of the House of Commons* that Colonel Hamilton of Tullamore should be a director of the Linen Board in The King's County.¹³⁹ The entrepreneurial abilities of the Quaker communities and the

¹³³1 Dec. 1721, *J.H.C.*, Vol. III, p. 301.

¹³⁴21 Dec. 1723, *J.H.C.*, Vol. III, p. 371.

¹³⁵Agmondisham Vesey reported in 1729 how a 'gaoler' had broken into the house of one of his tenants and taken away goods, 29 Oct. 1729, *J.H.C.*, Vol. III p. 591; 9 Nov. 1725, Vol. III, p. 411.

¹³⁶4 Dec. 1745, *J.H.C.*, Vol. IV, p. 471.

¹³⁷19 Nov. 1725 and 21 Dec. 1727, *J.H.C.*, Vol. III, pp. 422 and 489.

¹³⁸Flower to Swift, 18 Mar. 1728/29, *Swift Letters*, Vol. II, p. 319.

¹³⁹16 Sept. 1697, *J.H.C.*, Vol. II, p. 199.

encouragement of the Moore family made Tullamore one of the main woollen and linen centres in the midlands.¹⁴⁰ By 1760 Robert Stephenson was able to report that 'from Tullamore to Shannonbridge, Birr and the extreme parts of it round Edenderry, there are beginning small factories, that will with a little care make the manufacture spread throughout the whole county'.¹⁴¹

The expansion of industry required better inland communications and as early as 1703 a parliamentary committee considered how they might improve the navigation of the River Shannon (almost certainly in the light of the expected growth of the linen industry). Another infrastructural development that required acts of parliament (as opposed to a bye-law or ordinance issued by a corporation) and which affected the general population were the turnpike roads. These roads were not constructed on a county basis. Instead particular stretches of road- that might link a number of towns in different counties (e.g. Naas to Maryborough in 1746)-were considered by parliament. Some turnpike acts seem to have been framed to suit the interests of a handful of landowners and financiers rather than the interests of the county and national road network. The report of Benjamin Burton to parliament on the 'state and condition of the Turnpike Road leading from Timaho in the Queen's County, through Ballynakill, Durrow, Beggars Inn and Cashel' reveals the difficulties that turnpike trustees faced in maintaining the condition of roads once they had been built. A special parliamentary committee headed by John Pigott concluded that there had been 'a great mismanagement of the publick fund arising from the said Turnpike', and as a result there was not enough cash to pay for the necessary expenses of running the turnpike. The parliamentary committee made a number of recommendations (e.g. that new turnpike gates should be erected at 'Beggars Inn') in the light of this report.

7.6 Dublin and the wider world

On the basis of this sparse parliamentary evidence the M.P.s from the two counties appear lethargic and unproductive. The sheer volume of private members bills give the impression that M.P.s viewed the Parliament House as their own court of law rather than as forum for debate about national issues. But it must be remembered that 'politics' formed just one small part of their lives. William Flower and Ephraim Dawson were not 'politicians' in the modern sense. Sometimes M.P.s demonstrated only a passing interest

¹⁴⁰M. Byrne, 'The Development of Tullamore', p. 47.

¹⁴¹Robert Stephenson, *Journal of Tour of Inspection in 1755*, (Dublin, 1764), p. 19.

in local and national politics. In March 1728 Flower told Swift 'I have buried myself in the county, and know little of the world, but what I learn from newspapers'. Newspapers were an increasingly important medium after c.1715. Accounts at Castle Durrow show that Flower was paying £0.13.0 a year in 1735 for newspapers. By 1746 he was paying the General Post Office in Dublin £3.11.7 a year for 'English and Irish prints'.¹⁴² Even if they were not at the centre of events in Dublin or London country squires could still feel that they were part of the 'bigger picture' by reading accounts of British military and diplomatic entanglements on the continent.

M.P.s kept town houses in Dublin so that that they could attend the Parliament during the season.¹⁴³ But gentlemen also kept such residences for a number of other reasons. Pole Cosby was neither an M.P. nor an important county office holder, yet he went 'constantly every winter to Dublin'.¹⁴⁴ Cosby, like other gentlemen, was drawn to Dublin for a number of social, medical, legal and financial reasons.¹⁴⁵ The richest landowners also took townhouses further afield. In the 1720s Thomas Vesey resided at Ormond House, St. James and in the following decade William Flower also spent much time in the smart 'Court End' of London. Pole lived in Bristol for a year in 1733, and the Cootes, Blands, Blundells, Molesworths and Veseys spent many a season 'taking the waters' in Bath.

The types of political, social and religious organisations that Protestant landowners subscribed to are also an indication of the wider worlds in which they operated. In the 1690s there was a drive to reform the manners of the Irish and societies were set in Dublin for this purpose.¹⁴⁶ At the end of the period many Protestant charitable and moral societies were still flourishing. Charity did begin at home (see chapter 3.10), but the Protestant landed elite of The King's and Queen's counties also felt a particular duty to support the less prosperous members of Protestant Ireland, particularly the urban poor, widows and orphans in the city of Dublin. In 1736 Montague Blundell paid £50 'for promoting Protestant schools in Ireland' and in 1746 Francis Rolleston also made arrangements for the Archbishop of Dublin to receive a regular payment towards

¹⁴²Flower Papers, N.L.I., Ms. 11,463(1), 11,468(1).

¹⁴³Dudley Cosby for instance took a house for six months 'next to the graveyard in Stephens Green when Lord Carteret came over for a second time' in 1725; Cosby Autobiog., p. 172.

¹⁴⁴Cosby Autobiog., pp. 85, 256, 317, 435; Vestry Minute Book, St. Pauls, Dublin, 1698-1750, R.C.B. Library, P. 273/6/1, p. 77.

¹⁴⁵For social events see, T. Mooney and F. White, 'The Gentry's Winter Season', in D. Dickson ed., *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700-1850*, (Dublin, 1987), pp. 1-17.

¹⁴⁶T.C. Barnard, 'Reforming Irish Manners: The Religious Societies in Dublin during the 1690s', *Hist. Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, (1992), p. 805.

'promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland'.¹⁴⁷ The Veseys preferred to give to the Blue Coat School in Dublin.¹⁴⁸ Though open to all the poor children of the city it was intended to be a 'profitable nursery' that would produce industrious (and it was hoped) Protestant children. By 1760 there was a much wider range of organisations that Protestants (from both the clergy and the laity) could subscribe to. Many gentlemen from the two counties joined the Dublin society between 1731 and 1760 (see Appendix 4). In 1758 for instance Nicholas Pococke, Bishop of Ossory, reported to the members of the Dublin Society about the progress of a sculptor that they had sponsored to go to Rome to learn about 'statuary arts'.¹⁴⁹

In 1689 Protestant landowners like Thomas Flower felt vulnerable on their estates and fled to Dublin and further afield for safety. The Archbishop of Tuam felt forlorn when he arrived in England. He had no money and had lost his furniture, horses and books. But outside Ireland he did at least belong to number of wider worlds. These associations with the established church, his English relatives, and university friends are reflected by the long list of people who gave him money. On the way out of St. Lawrence Jewry in London a clergyman approached Vesey and said he 'was sorry for my losses and my countrey mens in Ireland and putting a shilling in my hand, desird [sic] me to accept it'.¹⁵⁰ At the other end of the period Protestant landowners still belonged to these same 'wider worlds'. But they arrived in Dublin, London and Europe in very different circumstances from that of their parents and grandparents in 1690. It is these differences, both material and social, that have been the subject of this thesis.

¹⁴⁷Rolleston deeds, N.L.I., D.23,905; ledger, 1707-1744, Downshire Papers, P.R.O.N.I., D.671/A1/1B.

¹⁴⁸In 1704 for instance £10.0.0 was paid to 'blew boyes hospital', there are also payments to various workhouses in Dublin, De Vesci Papers, N.L.I., envelope of bills, 1701-08, J/2.

¹⁴⁹John Crawley may have been an associate/apprentice of Van Nost who was working on a bust of Thomas Prior at the time. Pococke wrote, 'I find he goes on very well at Rome', Dublin Society minutes, (rough copy), Vol. 5, 1758-1761, p. 10.

¹⁵⁰Archbishop of Tuam's journal, De Vesci Papers, N.L.I, G/5, p. 17.

Conclusions

If ever a group can be said to have been among 'the losers' in Irish history, it must surely have been the landed aristocracy and gentry.¹

L. Proudfoot, 1997

Viewed over *la longue durée* the ascendancy of the Irish Protestant elite does seem to have been shortlived. Within the space of little more than two centuries (c.1690-1922) they moved from a position of dominance to a situation where they 'were economically disinherited, politically disfranchised and socially disempowered'.² But there are dangers in viewing the Protestant landownership in terms of 'a long retreat'.³ In 1760 the Protestant elite seemed to have every reason to survive and prosper. Indeed in retrospect the period 1690-1760 could be seen as the halcyon days of the Protestant elite in Ireland. Unlike their forebears in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries or their descendants in the later eighteenth century the Irish Protestants in this period enjoyed seven decades of uninterrupted peace.

In the 1690s the final act of the 'land settlement' took place, and from 1710 to 1760 the Protestant landed elite successfully consolidated their economic position. In those five crucial decades lands tended to remain in the same hands and in contrast to the previous century estates were only broken up as a result of biological failure or indebtedness, not sequestration or crown intervention.

For too long the period 1690-1760 has been treated as a prologue to the dramatic events of the last four decades of the century. The Rev. John O'Hanlon argued that 'The history of the Queen's County in the eighteenth century (in so far as it can be said to have any history) is the history of the Penal Laws'.⁴ In political terms the years 1690 to 1760 were (in comparison to the later period) rather lack-lustre as chapter 7.3 has shown. But in an economic and social sense these years could be said to be as important, if not more so, than the later eighteenth century. The lack of standing material remains from this period can lead one to underestimate the great strides that were made. So many of the

¹L. Proudfoot, 'Landownership and Improvement, c. 1700-1845', in L. Proudfoot et al eds., *Down: History and Society*, (Dublin, 1997), p. 203.

²Ibid, p. 203.

³Liam Kennedy et al, 'The Long Retreat: Protestants, Economy and Society, 1660-1926', in R. Gillespie and G. Moran eds., *Longford: Essays in County History*, (Dublin, 1991), pp. 31-61.

⁴O'Hanlon et al, *History of The Queen's County*, p. 558.

most conspicuous features in the urban and rural landscape such as improved fields, roads, bridges, landlord towns, churches, country houses, demesnes and plantations which have traditionally been ascribed to the period c.1770-1840 are in fact the products of the years c. 1690-1760.

In 1690 there were just three urban settlements in The King's and Queen's counties that showed signs of prosperity. By 1760 there were at least 10 thriving urban centres and a number of landlord towns which produced a wide range of goods (e.g. woollen and leather goods, metal work and linen) and services (e.g. the schools and coaching inns). In 1690 landowners lived in fortified houses and castles. Many of these were in very poor repair, or else uninhabitable, as a result ^{of} recent warfare. From c.1715 to 1750 most of these houses were modernised and a number of landowners built new dwellings. By 1760 the two counties had a network of about 80 country houses and demesnes and perhaps as many as 400 substantial farmhouses. In 1690 internal communications were poor on account of boggy stretches of roads and causeways. By 1760 all of the major river crossing points had been bridged and there were now a number of entirely new turnpike roads. Elsewhere roads were straightened and tracts of land were drained. Such achievements are all the more striking when one considers the slow demographic growth as well as the serious famines and epidemics that occurred during this period.

From the late eighteenth century many of these infrastructural developments were rebuilt, extended or otherwise improved. But this should not disguise the fact the foundations for economic growth had already been laid in the first 50 or 60 years of the century. It might be argued that the economic trajectory of The King's and Queen's counties was markedly different from that in other parts of Ireland (indeed it has been suggested, in the context of Co. Down, that 'landlord developments in urban and village improvements dated from the mid-eighteenth century').⁵ Alternatively, it might be asserted that the evidence relating to the development of The King's and Queen's counties in the period 1690-1760 only appears striking because there is a lack of comparable published material relating to other parts of Ireland.

How important were the Protestant landed elite in bringing about these changes in town and country? Landowners were not the only agents of economic, social and cultural development. In chapter 5.3 for example we have seen how important Quaker communities were in setting up industries in towns. But landowners did play a crucial role in all of the infrastructural developments. This is hardly surprising given that around

⁵Proudfoot, 'Landownership and improvement', pp. 221-227.

270 families held the title deeds to virtually every profitable acre of land in the two counties (see chapter 1.2). What is more difficult to decide is which section(s) of this elite made the most impact. Who were the movers and shakers at county level during this period?

This thesis has focussed almost exclusively upon the Protestant landownership since they monopolised the landed wealth locally in this period (chapter 1.5). In so doing the contribution that the Catholic gentry and tenantry made to the economy in this period has probably been underplayed. Throughout history it has often been the most successful members of society who have left records for posterity. But there is evidence to suggest that Catholics in these two counties were in a midlands context at least notably weak in the ranks of the social, economic and political elite.

In the widest possible sense the Protestant elite of the two counties could be said to have been made up of perhaps 10,000 families (if one includes all the craftsmen, tenants, clergymen, professionals and farmers who had an income that was in excess of that of the bulk of the Catholic population). Indeed one recent study of the Protestant population in Dublin has shown how important it is to examine the 'Protestant interest' as a whole and to look for the labyrinthine mesh of familial, landed and mercantile connections that held Protestant Ireland together.⁶ The King's and Queen's counties await such an ambitious study.

In the narrowest social sense the elite of the two counties comprised the 60 or so men who had a formal title. But there were only a handful of peers whose presence or absence had any demonstrable effect on the two counties (in either an economic and political sense). Many untitled substantial gentlemen had estates which were far larger than those of the peers. The noblemen who played an active part in the affairs of the two counties were those who had been elevated to the House of Lords after 1715. The Blundells, Cosbys, Dawsons, Fitzpatricks, Flowers, Molesworths, Moores and Veseys, were all gentry families in 1690. By 1770 all of them had risen into then ranks of the nobility (see Appendix 6b). The King's and Queen's counties remained in essence a gentry-run society.

Though small in numerical terms the 230 or so the gentry families were quite a heterogeneous group, as chapter 1.3 has shown. This all embracing term includes those who were titled and untitled (knights, baronets, esquires, gents, etc.), although the gulf between the wealthiest and the least wealthy was very great. It is very difficult to

⁶Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin Civic Politics and Irish Protestant Nationalism 1660-1840*, (Oxford, 1997).

delineate the subtle social gradations within this group since even contemporaries were not always certain about how they should address each other.

Within this gentry group one can identify about 40 to 50 usually resident families in each county who could be said to have played the most conspicuous role in the affairs of the county (as M.P.s, J.P.s and other office holders). The majority of these landowners were knights, baronets and esquires and the surviving estate papers relating to this narrow group have formed the basis of this study.

How did the Protestant gentry of the two counties consolidate their economic position between 1690 and 1760? Rent was the principal source of income for virtually all gentry families. In the 1710s, 1720s and 1730s rents rose dramatically on some estates. As a result, substantial landowners like the Cosbys, Flowers and Veseys were able to invest more capital in their houses, demesnes, plantations, fields and towns. By contrast the tenantry and labouring classes were not able to benefit from the increased monetary potential of land and more settled conditions to the same degree. These were lean years for the great bulk of the population and when natural disaster struck, as it did in the years 1725-1727 and 1740-1741 the results could be cataclysmic. Thus Jonathan Swift's criticism of rapacious landowners in this period was not without some justification.

Contemporaries however placed far too much emphasis on the detrimental effects of external absenteeism. Thomas Prior seriously underestimated the proportion of the incomes that grandees had tied up in Ireland (e.g. in portions, jointures, mortgages, wages). Similarly there is no neat correlation between absenteeism and neglect (as chapter 2.5 shows). Peers like Viscount Molesworth and Baron Castle Duroy invested in their estates whilst they were in England, and were particularly interested in the 'cult of improvement'.

The increased prosperity of landowners can in part be attributed to *fortuna* rather than to astute business acumen. In the early eighteenth century many of the older leases (that had been signed in the mid to late seventeenth century) fell in, and landowners took the opportunity of increasing rents and inserting improvement clauses and entry fines. For some landowners this was a honey-moon period. Pole Cosby boasted how in the 1720s he could increase the rent on certain properties by two or three fold. But this bonanza was transitory. There were limits to the extent a landowner could increase rents (e.g. availability of tenants and intrinsic quality of the land) or borrow money. In order to obtain the right kind of tenant who would be able to pay these increased rents and improve the land the landowner had to offer suitable tenure (i.e. 31 years or 'lives' in

non-urban holdings). Initially head tenants had to pay entry fines and make significant capital investments, but after a number of decades head tenants began to reap the dividends. In the medium to long term (i.e. by the 1750s and 60s) there are signs that these middle-men were able to obtain an increasing proportion of the total economic rent. By contrast landowners like Cosby ran in to serious economic difficulties by 1760.

Some landowners placed too much faith in their ability to raise rents in the future and spent far beyond their means. Gentlemen often built houses, bought new furnishings and laid out gardens on borrowed capital. Many anticipated that a batch of leases would soon fall in and boost the rental further. Marriage portions could also help to ease indebtedness in the short term, but in the long run reliance on such lump sums could be disastrous. Landowners explored ways of reducing their outgoings (e.g. trimming household expenditure, living away from the country seat and earning non-landed incomes) but such policies rarely removed debt altogether. Some landowners were astute managers of their estates and yet even they got into debt frequently. Given that serious indebtedness could ultimately lead to the sale of part of an estate (as happened at Stradbally), why was it that Irish county gentlemen could not or would not spend according to their purse?

Historians of other landed elites in early modern Europe have also pondered over the issue of conspicuous consumption. Landowners have traditionally had a strong sense of their own place or rank in the social hierarchy. In some *anciens regimes* noblemen and gentlemen were stratified within a very rigid framework. During the *recherches de noblesse* of the 1660s for instance thousands of 'false' nobles in France lost their privileges because they lacked legal proof of their noble origins or because they did not have enough money to buy their way back into the order.⁷ In England and Ireland one can also observe a similar tendency. The crown did not generally elevate gentlemen to the Upper House unless they had an income that was commensurate with their new rank. At times it seemed that titles were granted according to a sliding rule. In the period 1715-1760 for instance Irish gentlemen like William Flower and Thomas Vesey probably needed about £3000 if they were to maintain the title of baron.⁸

At a gentry level however there were fewer hard and fast rules as to what income was needed to maintain a particular social position. Economic differences between regions could mean that a gentleman in say Glamorgan or The Queen's County could live in the same state as a gentleman in Suffolk with a smaller income. Much also depended

⁷Robin Briggs, *Early Modern France 1560-1715*, (Oxford, 1977), p. 63.

⁸See chapter 3.6 for references to the landed incomes of these families.

upon peer perception. A landowner might have had an income that could only support him properly as a simple gentleman yet he might have attempted to live in the style of an esquire.

It was in part this 'social overstretch', which contemporaries like Humphrey Bland noted, that helps to explain some of the acute financial difficulties of the Irish gentry during this period. The gentry of The King's and Queen's counties were a provincial elite in the sense that they inhabited a territory that had only been recently planted by the English and which differed in many aspects from the more settled parts of England. But this is not to say that the gentry saw themselves as being backward or impoverished. The surviving estate papers show that the upper gentry of the two counties based themselves very closely on the English model. Pole Cosby dressed according to the latest fashions in London and Paris. Lady Vesey ordered teapots almost as soon as the craze started in England and William Flower was only content with the most modern and expensive form of neo-Palladian architecture. Perhaps if the Irish gentry had seen themselves as being the poor cousins of their counterparts in England then they would have had fewer financial difficulties.

As well as keeping a vigilant eye on those above their station, the gentry also had to keep one step ahead of their social inferiors. In all parts of Great Britain and Ireland the landed gentry maintained their social ascendancy by 'constant attention to, and gratification of, the lesser gentry'.⁹ In South West Wales in the same period it has been suggested that 'there was a clear distinction between the lifestyle of the relatively few substantial gentry on the one hand and that of the stay at home small squires and lesser gentry on the other'.¹⁰ In Ireland the peculiar history of settlement and the opportunities for upward social mobility between 1690 and 1760 meant that the gulf between the upper gentry (knights, baronets and esquires) and the lesser gentry (simple 'gents') was often very narrow. This might help to explain some of Cosby's verbal attacks on those who were 'upstarts', 'mushrooms' and 'of no family at all at all'.

The long-established county gentry families could not prevent newcomers from making their fortunes and breaking into the esquirearchy. Indeed the examples of Ephraim Dawson and John Bland show that outsiders with necessary capital and skill could become enmeshed in the fabric of the county in a relatively short space of time.

⁹D. Howell, *Patriarchs and Parasites: The Gentry of South West Wales in the Eighteenth Century*, (Cardiff, 1986), p. 171.

¹⁰*Ibid*, p. 220.

Such landowners played a disproportionately important role in the economic development of the two counties during this period

The upper gentry (which included both New and Old Protestants) were more successful at separating themselves from their social inferiors in the years 1700-1760. In 1690 the Flower and Cosby families lived in castles that would not have been dissimilar to those owned by some of their lesser gentry neighbours. By the early eighteenth century they lived in country houses filled with paintings and furniture of the 'newest taste'. Other forms of outward display and hospitality such as coaches, horses and funerals (as explained in chapter 3.7) were also developed. It could be argued that the years 1700-1760 were the most formative in the development of the country house and an elite culture in Ireland.

Towards the end of the period there are some signs that the upper gentry began to lose their monopoly over certain forms of hospitality and display. One finds in the inventories of lesser gentlemen like George Piggot in the 1760s objects, such as types of table ware and plate, that in the 1730s could only be found in the houses of the upper gentry. Cheaper imitations, the development of new manufacturing processes (which were encouraged by organisations like the fledging Dublin Society in which the gentry of the two counties played such an important role) and the increase in the incomes of the middling sort meant that more and more families could buy the latest novelties.

Substantial gentlemen may have been successful in generating an elite culture for most of the period, but how far were they able to convert their landed wealth into political power? The members of the peerage played only a small role in county politics during this period, although a handful of them as substantial landowners did have some influence at election time. It was not until after 1760 that peers attempted to control borough elections. The county seats in parliament were held by 15 resident gentry families between 1690 and 1760 and these carried with them far more prestige than borough seats. The King's and Queen's counties, like elsewhere in Ireland, were embroiled in party politics in the first quarter of the eighteenth century and the Whig interest prevailed. After 1713 elections were never the same again in the two counties. Many more new faces appeared in parliament and election contests were fought with greater vigour than ever before (see chapter 7.3). Party politics can disguise deeper, more personal animosities. Pole Cosby disliked Ephraim Dawson intensely for reasons that had little to do with the politics of College Green. The correspondence between Humphrey Bland and Cosby show how the failure to pay a debt, the lack of due respect shown to kith and kin at a county event, or merely the refusal to answer a letter could cause bad

feeling for years or even decades. Such feelings could manifest themselves at election time in the form of fierce verbal attacks or even duels.

In parliament fourteen gentlemen from the two counties had some say in the governance of Ireland and could discuss some of the wider issues that affected England, Scotland, Wales and the colonies. But what relevance were county issues and how important was the county as a unit of government and sociability?

Though The King's and Queen's counties did share certain physical characteristics (e.g. natural resources) and were planted at the same time they did not in the last analysis form a distinct sub-region of Ireland. This is striking given that the two counties cover such a relatively small part of Ireland. Differences in the quality of the land meant that range of economic activities that were carried out in the two counties differed (chapters 1.1 and 5.2). Prior to 1690 there had been a pattern for land grants to Old and New Protestants to be in one county or the other. During the elections of the period M.P.s did not serve in both counties; other county office holders were also drawn from the county in which they served. This is all evidence of the increasingly unitary nature of the 'county' over the region or other informal unit. Given that Ireland based its administrative structure on English lines (with baronies and counties) it may not seem surprising that the Irish gentry would also form a 'county society'. But the inhabitants of the English shires had 600 years to form an identity. Though partially planted in the mid-sixteenth century The King's and Queen's counties were still in the melting pot for almost a century afterwards. Map 5 shows that during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the eastern half of the region was noticeably more settled than the western half.¹¹ It was probably only from the mid-seventeenth century (i.e. once the detailed land surveys of the Cromwellian and Restoration period had taken place) that a strong county identity began to emerge.¹²

It is likely that the great bulk of the population (most of whom were Irish Catholics) would still have preferred to place themselves within the geographical context of the older territories such as Ely O'Carroll, Leix or Offaly for centuries after the plantation. The civil and religious structure that existed in this region before the English settlements in the sixteenth century had been extraordinarily complex (overlapping

¹¹The boundaries were re-drawn in the 1610s and 1620s for instance when more land was annexed from the ancient Irish territories; N.D. Atkinson, 'The Plantation of Ely O'Carroll, 1619-1693', (M.Litt, T.C.D., 1958).

¹²Even after this date there were a number of peculiarities. Durrow town for instance was originally part of Leix/The Queen's County, then technically part of Kilkenny until the twentieth century.

parishes, dioceses and territories) and there is no reason to suggest that such boundaries were simply abandoned in favour of the English model.

However, by the early eighteenth century Protestant landed gentlemen in this region had developed a very strong social, cultural and mental association with their county. This is in part reflected by the Grand Jury maps which began to appear at the end of the period. But, given the newness of the county structure, the lack of county maps (as distinct from estate maps) and the scarcity of road signs, how was it that the gentry developed a keen sense of the 'county' within such a relatively short space of time?

Apart from natural physical boundaries (e.g. rivers and hills) there were also man-made structures in the period 1690-1760 that provided gentlemen with constant reminders of the geographical space that they inhabited. The numerous country houses and plantations acted as a kind of compass for travellers. By looking out for the seats that were perched alongside the River Barrow for instance an observer could begin to understand the eastern contours of The Queen's County. But more important than these visual aids were the many events that the gentry regularly attended; such as the Assizes in the county town, the militia, and the hunt. At some of these events there were rituals, such as the symbolic meeting of judges at the county border, which enhanced their county identity.

The Protestant landed elite also operated in wider worlds. Indeed the degree to which the gentry (as opposed to the nobility) travelled within the three kingdoms, the principality of Wales and Europe has been underestimated. But this did not mean that the gentry's close attachment to The King's and Queen's counties was diluted.

Pole Cosby spent long periods in England and this had a profound affect on his perceptions both of his estate and of Irish society. Yet his exposure to English metropolitan standards led to the broadening of his horizons rather than the ushering out of his 'Irishness'.¹³ His outward expressions of 'Englishness' (such as his house, furnishing and clothes) must be set against other evidence in his account that clearly shows that his primary political and emotional commitments were to Ireland and the greater part of his autobiography is devoted to descriptions and potted histories of his predominantly 'Irish' relations and the exhaustive reconstruction of family trees. This is not just symptomatic of antiquarian obscurantism, but is indicative of his very real sense

¹³D.M. Beaumont, 'An Irishman in England: The Travels of Pole Cosby, c. 1730-35', *Journal of The British Archaeological Association*, Vol. CXLIX, (1996), pp. 37-54.

of pride in his roots in The Queen's County.¹⁴ Though his absences were lengthy there was never any real suggestion of his being ordinarily resident in England, nor of any intention to shut up shop and leave Stradbally for good. Though not explicitly stated we can infer that while he appeared to embrace English culture and society he still considered himself first and foremost as 'Irish' or at least 'of Ireland', and this underlines the many problems and contradictions that make the categorisation of such families virtually impossible.

How does the experience of the gentry in The King's and Queen's counties fit into the larger picture? First and foremost they were like all the Irish Protestant gentry in that the position as a political elite rested on their ownership of land. Right across eighteenth-century Europe, from St. Petersburg to Lisbon, politics was the preserve of a small and predominantly landed elite.¹⁵ There were certain codes of honour and social mores that were shared by all the different landed elites in Europe. When Pole Cosby toured Europe in 1723 for instance he socialised with the Lord Abbot of a Benedictine monastery. Temporarily national and religious identities were cast aside as the two men had 'good breeding', a broad education and landed wealth.¹⁶

The Irish gentry were part of a nation (or nations) and they were also defined by their 'Protestantism'. It is at this point that the European models become less useful. The identity of the English and Irish Protestants in this period is extraordinarily complex. Depending on social background, wealth, politics and religious fervour one could feel primarily 'Irish', 'English', or Protestant at different times. When there was a national crisis, such as a dispute over royal succession or a threat from a Catholic power, 'Protestantism' seemed to be the most important catch-cry and could be used to hold the political elite together. It has been argued that 'Protestantism, broadly understood, provided the majority of Britons with a framework for their lives'.¹⁷ In Ireland the surviving 'humble petitions' and 'loyal addresses' show that the local gentry owed their allegiance to the 'Protestant interest' in the widest possible sense: i.e. the established church and state in all three kingdoms presided over by a single crown. The 'gentlemen and freeholders and clergy' who attended the assizes at Maryborough in 1743 took the opportunity 'to beg leave to express our most hearty detestation and abhorrence of the

¹⁴Evidence of this can be found in a volume entitled, 'Antient [sic] records, papers, and anecdotes of the family of Cosby of Stradbally Abbey in Leix and Stradbally Hall in the Queen's County', Stradbally Hall, P.R.O.N.I. ref. T. 3829/J/1.

¹⁵Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists*, pp. 6, 9.

¹⁶Cosby Autobiog., p. 98.

¹⁷Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, (Yale, 1992), p. 55.

insolent and perfidious designs of the French to invade your majesty's dominions and to impose on us a popish and abjured Pretender'. Above all they wanted to preserve 'that liberty and religion which were established by our glorious deliverer the great king William of immortal memory'.¹⁸

Throughout the eighteenth century, and arguably up to the present day, the identity of the 'English' has often been based on the type of government that the English political elite wished to preserve from foreign contamination rather than just on the distinct language or race of the people. Opposition to the European Catholic powers and to absolutist rulers galvanised the political elites of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the colonies that formed the first British empire. Taken on its own Ireland was peculiar since the majority of the population was Catholic but when included under this greater umbrella it formed part of a predominantly Protestant confederation. Such a broad concept of religious and national identity was essential since the population and military capability of Catholic Europe was awesome. Individually the military establishments of England, Ireland or Scotland were perceived to be no match for one of the key Catholic powers such as France. Even taken together Great Britain and Ireland had to rely on Protestant allies to maintain the balance of power in Europe.

At other times it seemed that the interests of 'Protestant Ireland' were rather distinct from those of 'Protestant Great Britain'. Periodically there were calls for either greater integration (i.e. a union with England on the same lines as Scotland in 1707) or separation (a stronger and more free-standing Irish Parliament). The majority of the gentry landowners in The King's and Queen's counties resided on their estates in Ireland and they were under less pressure to support the policies and Supply Bills that were framed in England than the peers (who were more likely to live on their estates in England and rely on English patronage).

'Protestant Ireland' was in some senses an artificial construct. It does not refer to a particular geographical area or to a particular social group. Protestants, like Catholics and dissenters, could be found in all walks of life in town and countryside as gentlemen, professionals, craftsmen, labourers and as 'impotent or idle' poor. There is abundant evidence to suggest that by the eighteenth century Catholic and Protestant gentlemen were often indistinguishable in terms of physical appearance, manner and language. The improvements on the estates and in the towns benefited a wide section of the Irish population and there are signs in the first half of the eighteenth century that the Irish gentry were beginning to identify themselves more closely with their 'county' and its

¹⁸3 March 1743, address to the king (in draft form), De Vesci Papers, N.L.I., Ms. K/5.

population. The Grand Jury maps that were commissioned from the mid-eighteenth century (which pick out all the seats, churches, turnpikes and civic buildings) demonstrate their pride in the county. It is no coincidence that after 1745 some 'patriots' felt confident enough to refer to a wider Ireland in their political literature, one which embraced Catholics and dissenters, and this also manifested itself in the fascination with the history of early Ireland and the surviving antiquities.

These broader social and political developments are important but they do not disguise the fact that The King's and Queen's counties were deeply divided on confessional lines during this period. Though the plantation had taken place in a very piece-meal fashion, and was less successful than the plantations in other parts of Ireland, the Old Protestants had a firm grip on the landed wealth of the two counties before 1641. Those from Irish Catholic backgrounds fared particularly badly during the Interregnum.¹⁹ The roll call of the M.P.s, sheriffs, J.P.s, the militia and corporation office holders shows just how far the county administration was dominated by a small junta of Old and New Protestants in this period. It might in part have been the settled and anglophone nature of the two counties that first attracted the Quakers. Once established the Quaker, and to a lesser extent, the Huguenot communities, greatly strengthened the 'Protestant interest' in towns like Mountrath, Mountmellick and Edenderry.

The Old Protestant families had long been embroiled in warfare. At the Battle of Stradbally Bridge in 1596 for instance both Alexander Cosby and his eldest son were slain.²⁰ By the early eighteenth century the threat of warfare may have diminished but Pole Cosby's immediate habitat was still peopled by the 'captains' and 'colonels' who had served in the regular army or the militia. This martial tradition lingered on and gave the Protestant landownership of the two counties a particularly strong 'colonial' flavour.

Since there is so little reliable evidence as to how Protestants and Catholics actually viewed each other (at a personal rather than at an abstract level), one should be wary of making sweeping generalisations about the nature of sectarianism in the two counties. But the derogatory language that was regularly used by Pole Cosby, Ephraim Dawson, William Flower, Humphrey Bland and members of the Blundell family when they referred to their Catholic neighbours, as well as strong evidence from the corporations, does highlight the considerable tension that existed between these two groups. During those years when the 'Papists' and Jacobites 'were stirring' on the

¹⁹By c. 1710 there were only 15 landowners from Catholic backgrounds who paid quit rent, and some of these may have converted to the established church; see chapter 1.1.

²⁰'Antient[sic] records, papers and anecdotes of the family of Cosby of Stradbally', Cosby Papers, P.R.O.N.I. ref. T.3829/J/1.

continent the gentry of the two counties were particularly aggressive towards those who did not greet the Hanoverian Succession with enthusiasm. Knightley Chetwood, a fully fledged Jacobite, was especially unpopular in The Queen's County when he returned from exile. In the 1730s, when he was not pursuing women in Dublin, he spent most of his time within the narrow confines of his demesne.

Similar sectarian/political rivalries must also have existed elsewhere in Ireland during this period. In a non-midlands context there may have been other gentry societies that were far more 'Protestant', 'colonial' and 'Hanoverian' in feel (e.g. parts of Ulster). But one has to consider the possibility that the tensions in The King's and Queen's counties were distinctive, and were perhaps the result of its peculiar history of plantation and the particular group of Protestant landowning families that settled there in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One may also speculate that some of these same tensions existed right up until the twentieth century.

1. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
2. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
3. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
4. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
5. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
6. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
7. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
8. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
9. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
10. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
11. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
12. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
13. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
14. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
15. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
16. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
17. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
18. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
19. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1
20. Carrigrohane (K)	1	1	1

Appendix 1

Geographical distribution of Protestants in The King's and Queen's Counties

(see also Map 4)

1a. The distribution of titulados among the baronies in 1659

Barony	% area	Number of titulados	% stock of titulados	per 10,000 acres
1. Kilcoursey (K)	4	26	17.5	13.5
2. Stradbally (Q)	7	16	11	6.1
3. Ballyadams (Q)	6	13	8.5	5.4
4. Maryborough (Q)	16	34	22.5	5.1
5. Ossory (Q)	20.5	42	28	4.8
6. Geashill (K)	6	12	8	3.9
7. Garrycastle (K)	20	37	25	3.6
8. Slievemargy (Q)	8	11	7	3.1
9. Philipstown (K)	14	20	14	3.0
10. Clonisk (K)	10	15	10	3.0
11. Ballybritt (K)	11	15	10	2.8
12. Tinnahinch (Q)	13	13	9	2.4
13. Eglisk (K)	6	7	5	2.4
14. Cullinagh (Q)	10	10	7	2.3
15. Warrenstown (K)	4	4	3	1.9
16. Portnahinch (Q)	8	6	4	1.7
17. Coolestown (K)	10	7	5	1.5
18. Upper Ossory (Q)	11.5	4	3	0.8
19. Ballycowen (K)	8	3	2	0.8
20. Ballyboy (K)	7	1	0.5	0.3

Source; 1659 census

1b. The proportion of the population in each barony classified as 'English' (heads of household) in 1659 and Protestant (families) in 1732

Barony	% 'English' 1659	% Protestant 1732
1. Tinnahinch (Q)	19	21 (2.)
2. Ballycowen (K)	19	-
3. Geashill (K)	19	-
4. Warrenstown (K)	17	10 (12.)
5. Philipstown (K)	16	13 (11.)
6. Ballyboy (K)	16	-
7. Ballybritt (K)	15	24 (1.)
8. Ballyadams (Q)	15	7 (15.)
9. Garrycastle (K)	14	8 (14.)
10. Coolestown (K)	13	19 (6.)
11. Eglisk (K)	13	-
12. Maryborough (Q)	12	21 (4.)
13. Cullinagh (Q)	12	14 (8.)
14. Upper Ossory (Q)	12	14 (10.)
15. Portnahinch (Q)	12	19 (5.)
16. Kilcoursey (K)	11	15 (7.)
17. Stradbally (Q)	11	14 (9.)
18. Slievemargy (Q)	11	10 (13.)
19. Clonisk (K)	10	21 (3.)

Source: 1659 census and 1732 religious census

1c. The distribution of the 'English' heads of households and Protestant families in each barony

Barony	no. English 1659	% total no. English	no. Prots. in 1732	% total stock Prots.
1. Upper Ossory (Q)	442	17	294	10 (3.)
2. Maryborough (Q)	231	9	310	10 (2.)
3. Philipstown (K)	186	7	123	4 (10.)
4. Ballybritt (K)	181	7	208	7 (5.)
5. Cullinagh (Q)	164	6	155	5 (8.)
6. Garrycastle (K)	158	6	103	3 (11.)
7. Tinnahinch (Q)	153	6	247	8 (4.)
8. Geashill (K)	139	5	-	-
9. Ballycowen (K)	132	5	-	-
10. Slievemargy (Q)	112	4	84	3 (12.)
11. Clonisk (K)	109	4	151	5 (9.)
12. Ballyadams (Q)	104	4	29	1 (15.)
13. Portnehinch (Q)	101	4	176	6 (6.)
14. Ballyboy (K)	91	4	-	-
15. Stradbally (Q)	89	3	932	30 (1.)
16. Warrenstown (K)	73	3	30	1 (14.)
17. Coolestown (K)	62	2	165	5 (7.)
18. Eglisk (K)	54	2	-	-
19. Kilcoursey (K)	40	2	75	2 (13.)

Source: 1659 census and 1732 religious census

1d. The number of 'English' heads of household in 1659 and Protestant families in 1732 per thousand acres

Barony	number of English per 1000 acres in 1659	number of Protestants per 1000 acres in 1732
1. Geashill (K)	4.5	-
2. Ballyadams (Q)	4.3	1.2 (14.)
3. Cullinagh (Q)	3.7	3.5 (7.)
4. Maryborough (Q)	3.5	4.6 (3.)
5. Ballyowen (K)	3.4	-
6. Warrenstown (K)	3.4	1.4 (13.)
7. Ballybritt (K)	3.4	3.8 (6.)
8. Upper Ossory (Q)	3.2	2.2 (11.)
9. Stradbally (Q)	3.2	33.3 (1.)
10. Slievemargy (Q)	3.2	2.4 (10)
11. Portnahinch (Q)	2.8	4.9 (2.)
12. Tinnahinch (Q)	2.8	4.6 (4.)
13. Ballyboy (K)	2.8	-
14. Philipstown (K)	2.8	1.8 (12.)
15. Clonisk (K)	2.2	3.0 (9.)
16. Kilcoursey (K)	2.0	3.9 (5.)
17. Eglis (K)	1.9	-
18. Garrycastle (K)	1.5	0.9 (15.)
19. Coolestown (K)	1.3	3.4 (8.)

Source: 1659 census and 1732 religious census

1e. Comparison of the of the baronies ranked according to method A). the proportion of English/Protestants vis a vis the rest of the population, B). the numerical strength and C). concentration per 1000 acres.

Barony	1659			1732			() = % numerical growth 1659- 1732
	A	B	C	A	B	C	
Geashill (K)	3	8	1	-	-	-	-
Ballyadams (Q)	8	12	2	15	15	14	15 (-72)
Cullinagh (Q)	13	5	3	8	8	7	9 (-5)
Maryborough (Q)	12	2	4	4	2	3	7 (+34)
Ballycowen (K)	2	9	5	-	-	-	-
Warrenstown (K)	4	16	6	12	14	13	14 (-59)
Ballybritt (K)	7	4	7	1	5	6	8 (-13)
Upper Ossory (Q)	14	1	8	10	3	11	11 (-33)
Stradbally (Q)	17	15	9	9	1	1	1 (+947)
Slievemargy (Q)	18	10	10	13	12	10	10 (-25)
Portnahinch (Q)	15	13	11	5	6	2	4 (+74)
Tinnahinch (Q)	1	7	12	2	4	4	5 (+61)
Ballyboy (K)	6	14	13	-	-	-	-
Philipstown (K)	5	3	14	11	10	12	12 (-34)
Clonisk (K)	19	11	15	3	9	9	6 (+39)
Kilcoursey (K)	16	19	16	7	13	5	3 (+38)
Eglish (K)	11	18	17	-	-	-	-
Garrycastle (K)	9	6	18	14	11	15	13 (-35)
Coolestown (K)	10	17	19	6	7	8	2 (+166)

Source: 1659 census and 1732 religious census

1f. Changes in the numerical size of the English/Protestant population compared with that of the Catholic population in sixteen baronies between 1659 and 1732

Barony	% change English/ Protestant population	% change Catholic population
Stradbally (Q)	1. + 947	1. + 700
Coolestown (K)	2. + 166	2. + 61
Kilcoursey (K)	3. + 88	4. + 36
Portnahinch (Q)	4. + 74	3. + 42
Tinnahinch (Q)	5. + 61	6. + 1
Clonisk (K)	6. + 39	14. - 42
Maryborough (Q)	7. + 34	11. - 29
Ballybritt (K)	8. + 13	13. - 35
Cullinagh (Q)	9. - 5	9. - 21
Slievemargy (Q)	10. - 25	8. - 19
Upper Ossory (Q)	11. - 33	15. - 44
Philipstown (K)	12. - 34	7. - 15
Garrycastle (K)	13. - 35	5. + 16
Warrenstown (K)	14. - 59	10. - 25
Ballyadams (K)	15. - 72	12. - 34

Source: 1659 census and 1732 religious census

Appendix 2

2a Social classification of landowners in The King's County in 1641, 1665, 1659 and 1706

() = %

Title	1641	1665	1659	1706
Peers	9 (6)	11 (9)	2 (1)	17 (10)
Knights	11 (7)	10 (8)	2 (1)	20 (11)
Esquires	5 (3)	6 (5)	28 (19)	33 (19)
Gents	0 (0)	0 (0)	98 (68)	1 (0.5)
Mr.	1 (1)	0 (0)	1 (1)	0 (0)
Military	4 (3)	13 (10)	2 (1)	14 (8)
Civic	0 (0)	1 (1)	0 (0)	2 (1)
Sub total	30 (20)	41 (32)	133 (92)	87 (49)
Unclassified	125 (80)	86 (68)	12 (8)	90 (51)
Total	155	127	145	177

Source: Books of Survey and Distribution, 1659 'census' and 1706 Quit Rent list

2b Social classification of landowners in The Queen's County in 1641, 1665, 1659 and 1706

() = %

Title	1641	1665	1659	1706
Peers	9 (9)	5 (5)	0 (0)	9 (5)
Knights	14 (14)	9 (10)	1 (1)	16 (8)
Esquires	5 (5)	5 (5)	20 (14)	20 (12)
Gents	0 (0)	0 (0)	114 (80)	4 (2)
Mr.	3 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Military	4 (4)	12 (13)	0 (0)	13 (8)
Civic	0 (0)	1 (1)	2 (1)	1 (0.5)
Sub total	35 (35)	32 (34)	137 (96)	63 (38)
Unclassified	65 (65)	62 (66)	6 (4)	10 (62)
Total	100	94	143	164

Source: Books of Survey and Distribution, 1659 'census' and 1706 Quit Rent list

Appendix 3

The acreages of landowners in The King's County c. 1680

Name	Title used in source	Acres by barony	Total acres K.C.
Adair, Archibald	Esq.	3173 (b)	3173
Andrews,	Lt.	895 (c)	895
Ardagh, Arthur	Esq.	80 (bo)	80
Armstrong, Edmund	Esq.	412 (g)	412
Aston, Henry		532 (g)	532
Atkinson, William		226 (c) 504	730
Bancroft, William		315 (co)	315
Baldwin, John		1410 (c) 1543 (g)	2953
Bennet, Henry	Lord Arlington	10231 (w)	10231
Blacknall,	Capt.	1055 (co)	1055
Blundell, Francis	Sir	2031 (co) 475 (k)	2506
Blundell, William	Esq.	149 (co)	149
Boate, Godfrey	Esq.	510 (c)	510
Brabazon	Earl of Meath	68 (bo)	69
Burke		48 (g)	48
Carroll, Anthony		1250 (c)	1250
Carroll, Daniel		186 (b)	186
Carroll, John		308 (c)	308
Carroll, Owen	Esq.	1498 (b)	1498
Coffye, Thomas	Clerke	665 (bc) 1428 (bo) 589 (e)	2862
Coghlan, Daniel		132 (g)	132
Coghlan, Edmund		165 (g)	165
Coghlan, Francis	Esq.	2409 (g)	2409
Coghlan, Henry		145 (g)	145
Coghlan, John	Esq.	2410 (g)	2410
Coghlan, Joseph		854 (k)	854
Coghlan, Terence	Esq.	1979 (g)	1979
Conner, John		125 (b)	125
Coote, Charles	Earl of Mountrath	2242 (bc) 818 (bc)	3060
Dairagh, Owen	Clerke	259 (c)	259
Dancer, Thomas	Sir	302 (g) 200 (bo)	502
Darby, Jonathan	Esq.	1467 (b)	1467
Davies, Francis		193 (c)	193
Derenzi, Matthew		577 (bc)	577

Digby	Lord	516 (w) 5464 (g)	5980
Digby, William	Esq.	557 (c)	557
Dillon, Carey	Col.	184 (b) 987 (c)	1171
Disbrow	Mr.	1195 (c)	1195
Dromore	Bishop of	1492 (g)	1492
Eyre, John	Esq.	84 (b) 807 (g) 2183 (c) 202 (k)	3267
Fitzharding	Lord	108 (bo)	108
Ffrank, Thomas	Esq.	1305 (c)	1305
Ffox, Edward		57 (k)	
Ffuller, Abraham		239 (k)	239
Fforth	heiresses of	1000 (bc)	1000
Flood, Francis		413 (p)	413
Fortis, Johm		95 (c)	95
Gage		505 (k)	505
Geoghegan	heiresses of	341 (bc)	341
Gifford	heiresses of	1715 (w)	1715
Gray, Johm		414 (b) 548 (c)	962
Gurd, Thomas		892 (k)	892
Hamilton	heiresses of	2200 (g)	2200
Hawkins, William	Esq.	1942 (co)	1942
Henzey, Bigoe		210 (c)	210
Herbert, William	heiresses of Sir	369 (co) 2170 (bc)	2539
Herbert	Esq.	1244 (e)	1244
Holin, Edward		479 (c)	479
James, Thomas	Clerke	1209 (c)	1209
Jervis, John		431 (bc)	431
Johnson, George		884 (c)	884
Jones, Thomas	Clerk	231 (c)	231
Lambert, Richard		763 (p)	763
Lambert,	Earl of Cavan	435 (bc) 1491 (k)	1926
Lauder	Mr.	328 (b)	328
Laughlin, Bryan		72 (c)	72
Lestrangle, Robert		467 (k)	467
Lestrangle, Thomas	Esq.	1300 (g)	1300
Leycester, John	Esq.	593 (p) 744 (bo) 584 (e)	1921
Lloyd, Digby		1374 (g)	1374
Lloyd, Trevor	Mr. Esq.	1282 (c) 1180 (b)	2462
Lloyd	Mrs.	261 (c)	261
Loftus,	Viscount	1957 (w) 432 (e)	2389
Long, Thomas	-	693 (c)	693
Lowther, George	Mr./Clerke	589 (g)	589

Lucas,	Heiresses of Lt. Col.	689 (co)	689
Lynan, Roger		40 (e)	40
Lyons, Charles	Esq.	410 (p) 868 (bc)	1278
Mackensie	Mr.	354 (c)	354
Meath	Bishop of	1466 (g)	1466
Meredith, Charles	Sir	471 (co)	471
Minchin, Charles		656 (c)	656
Molesworth, Robert	Esq.	1200 (g) 2471 (p)	3671
Molloy, Barch.		236 (bo)	236
Molloy	Col.	1521 (bo)	1521
Molloy, Kimpten[?]		264 (e)	264
Molloy, Philip		812 (bo)	812
Molloy, William		133 (bo)	133
Moony, Owen		467 (g)	467
Moore,	Col.	1328 (p)	1328
Moore, John	Esq.	1600 (p)	1600
Moore, Thomas		253 (p) 727 (bc)	980
Mosse, Samuel		933 (e)	933
Oxburgh, Heward	Esq.	94 (b) 460 (c)	554
Petty, William	Sir	2857 (bo)	2857
Parker, John		230 (bo)	230
Parson, Lawrence	Sir	3412 (b) 1752 (e)	5164
Piggott	Mr.	250 (b)	250
Purefoy, Peter	Esq.	1658 (co)	1658
Purefoy, William	Esq.	1460 (co)	1460
Reading, John	Snr.	602 (bc)	602
Reading, John	Jnr.	798 (bc)	798
Rolle, Samuel	Esq.	439 (g)	439
Rust, Samuel		1190 (p)	1190
Sands, John	Esq.	545 (p)	545
Sankey, George		468 (co) 695 (w)	1163
Scott, Hibernius		626 (g)	626
Smith, Joshua		754 (c)	754
Smith,	Alderman	493 (k) 2166 (e) 393 (g)	3052
Stanly, Nicholas	Esq.	1553 (e)	1553
Talbot, Benjamin		387 (c)	387
Talbot, Thomas	-	216 (c)	216
Tarleton, Francis		983 (g)	983
Tarragh	heiresses of Lord	1425 (w)	1425
Usle[?]y, Anthony		100 (g)	100
Vaughan, Hector		1816 (b)	1816

Wakely	Esq.	1450 (w)	1450
Walter	Lt.	628 (co)	628
Warren	Mrs.	487 (w)	487
Warburton, Richard	Esq.	1200 (co)	1200
Weldon,	Mr.	1600 (b)	1600
Weaver, John	Esq.	3045 (b)	3045
Westenra, Henry	Esq.	1482 (b) 628 (c)	2110
Woolferson, Robert		700 (p)	
?	heiress of Capt. ?	516 (co)	516

Source: Birr Castle militia list, Ms. A/19.

Key for baronies: b= Ballybritt, bo= Ballyboy, c=Colleystown, e=Eglisk, g= Garrycastle, k= Kilcoursey, p=Philipstown, w=Warrenstown

Appendix 4

Prominent landowners in The King's and Queen's counties who were members of the Dublin Society between 1731 and 1770.

Family name	Member	Year(s)
Baldwin	John	1733-39
	John jun.	1759-67
Barrington	Rev. Dr. Benjamin	1751-64
	Rev. Dean	1765-67
	Jonas	1752-63
Bland	Dr.	1731
	Nathaniel	1733
Bury	Benjamin	1732
	John	1750-54, 1756-57
	William	1733-39, 1750-57, 1760-70
Bush	Amyas	1762-1772
Cobbe	Charles, Bishop of Kildare	1733-42
Coghlan	various members	
Coote	Sir Charles	1764-1765
	Hon. Thomas	1733-40
Cosby	Dudley Alexander	1767
	Sydney	1752-60
	Francis	
Cuffe	various members	
Dawson	Ephraim and other Dawsons	1733-1740
Debrisay	Capt. Theophilus	1746-1768
Digby	John	1731, 1733-1745
Dillon	various members	
Dopping	Anthony, Bishop of Ossory	1741-42
Drought	Rev. James	1766-1776
Evans	Eyre	1733-1737
	and others	
Flood	various members	
Flower	Lord Castle Durrrow	1733-1740
Gilbert	Bartholomew William	1750-1761
Lum	Capt.	1731
Lyons	Colley	1731-40
	Henry	1742-47
	Philip	1767-69
Meredith	various members	

Moor	Charles Stephen	1731-37, 1742 1731-40
Moore	Sir Charles	1742-52
Moore	Lord Tullamore Earl of Charleville	1746-57 1758-63
Moore	Earl of Drogheda	1766-69, 1772-90
Parnell	John	1751-62
Parsons	Sir William	1766-73
Pococke	Richard, Bishop of Ossory	1756-64
Preston	Thomas Rev. Nathaniel	1758-67 1762-73
Prior	Thomas John Murray	1731-1750 1759-66
Ram	Abel	1731, 1733-42, 1758-59
Robinson	Richard, Bishop of Kildare	1761-64
Rose	Henry	1731, 1733-37
Sandford	various members	
Sandys	Mr.	1731
Sprigge	William	1731-33
Stannus	Mr. Ephraim	1731 1766-1769
Stone	George, Bishop of Kildare	1743-44
Vaughan	George William Peasley	1733-62 1765-69
Vesey	Agmondisham Rt. Hon. Agmondisham George Colclough	1739-40, 1752-65 1766, 1769-84 1764-66 1766-1792
Warburton	Richard Richard of Garryhinch	1731, 1733-1740 1731-
Westenra	Warner	1731-1740

Source: The minute books of the Dublin Society, R.D.S. Library and the handlist of members taken by Mary Kelleher.

Notes: All of those families listed had some landed connection with the two counties. Those individual members who are in bold feature prominently in other sources discussed in this thesis. Where there are many individuals with common surnames who may or may not have resided in the two counties I have put 'various members'.

Appendix 5

The Members of Parliament for the county and borough constituencies of The King's and Queen's Counties between 1692 and 1761

Surname	First names	Constituency	Date of service
Adair	Robert	Philipstown	1727-1737
Barrington	John Snr	Ballinakill	1692-1695, 1703-1715.
Barrington	John Jnr	Ballinakill	1727-1755
Barrington	Jonah	Ballinakill	1747-1760
Bellfield	Hon. Lord	Philipstown	1759-1760
Blundell	Francis	King's	1692-1707
Carter	Thomas	Portarlinton	1703-1713
Cosby	Dudley	Queen's	1703-1729
Damer	John	Portarlinton	1761
Dawson	Ephraim	Portarlinton	1713-1715
		Queen's	1715-1746
Dawson	William Henry	Portarlinton	1733-1760
		Queen's	1761-
Evans	George	Queen's	1747-1760
Eyre	George	Banagher	1703-1711
Fitzpatrick	Richard	Queen's	1713-1715
Flower	William	Portarlinton	1727-1733
Forster	John	Philipstown	1713-1715
Forth	James	King's	1713-1715
		Philipstown	1715-1727
Freeman	Samuel	Ballinakill	1715-1727
Gahan	Daniel	Portarlinton	1692-1695
Giffard	Duke	Portarlinton	1692-1703
Gilbert	St. Leger	Maryborough	1692-1713
Gilbert	Bartholomew, William	Maryborough	1755-1760
Gilbert	William	Maryborough	1761
Gore	Arthur	Ballinakill	1703-1713
Hartpole	George	Portarlinton	1761
Holmes	George	Banagher	1727-1735
Holmes	Peter	Banagher	1761
Johnston	George	Portarlinton	1727-1729
Lestrangle	Thomas	Banagher	1692-1713, 1715-1727
Lestrangle	William	Banagher	1735-1761

Lloyd	Trevor	King's	1743-1747
Lyons	Colley	King's	1727-1743
Lyons	Henry	King's	1747-1760, 1761-
Massey	Edward	Ballinakill	1695-1703
Medlicott	Thomas	Ballinakill	1713-1715
Molesworth	William	Philipstown	1717-1760
Monk	George	Philipstown	1703-1713
Moore	John	Philipstown	1703-1713
		King's	1713-1715
O'Hara	Charles	Ballinakill	1761
Parnell	John	Maryborough	1761
Parsons	William	King's	1692-1713, 1715-1743
Parsons	Laurence	King's	1743-1757
Parsons	William	King's	1757-1760, 1761-
Patterson	Marcus	Ballinakill	1755-1760, 1761-
Peppard	Robert	Philipstown	1695-1703
Peppard	James	Philipstown	1713-1715
Pigot	Robert	Maryborough	1703-1729
Pigot	John	Banagher	1761
Plunkett	Charles	Banagher	1711-1729
Pole	Periam	Marybrough	1692-1695
Pole	William	Queen's	1761
Purefoy	Peter	Philipstown	1692-1695
Purefoy	William	King's	1707-1713, 1715-1727
Rochfort	Robert	Philipstown	1761
Sandys	Lancelot	Portarlinton	1723-1727
Sackville	Lord	Portarlinton	1733-1760
Sprigge	William	Banagher	1692-1703, 1729-1735
Stannus	Trevor	Portarlinton	1729-1733
Tichborne	William	Philipstown	1715-1717
Trench	Richard	Banagher	1735-1760
Tyrell	Duke	Philipstown	1761
Wall	William	Maryborough	1713-1755
Warburton	Richard Jnr	Portarlinton	1692-1727
Warburton	George	Portarlinton	1695-1703
Warburton	Richard of Portartlington	Portarlinton	1715
Warburton	Richard	Ballinakill	1727-1747
Warburton	Richard	Queen's	1729-1760
Warnford	Robert	Queen's	1695-1703

Weaver	John Snr	Queen's	1692-1695
		Maryborough	1695-1703
Weaver	John Jnr	Queen's	1692-1713
		Ballinakill	1715-1727
Weaver	Daniel	Ballinakill	1692-1695
Weldon	Walter	Ballinakill	1695-1703
Westenra	Warner	Maryborough	1729-1760
Williamson	Joseph	Portarlinton	1695
Whitney	Boleyn	Philipstown	1737-1759

Source. The Journal of the House of Commons. The data for The Queen's County has been cross referenced with Appendix IV in *The History of the Queen's County*. The dates given generally refer to the year in which the members were sworn into Parliament. Double-returns of candidates, and conflicting reports of the dates of by-elections etc. can lead to inaccuracies.

Appendix 6

6a. An Index of the Nobles, Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen of The King's and Queen's counties and their participation in county office holding, 1641-1760

Family name	1641/65	1659	1706	Office
Adair	-	-	-	SH.K.1707
Annesley	QC. NP.Earl	-	QC. Earl	-
Armstrong	-	KC. Gent.	KC. And. Geo.--	SH.K.1730/39/56
Atkinson	KC. OP.	-	KC. Wm. --	
Bagot (Biggot?)	KC. OP.?	-	-	SH.Q.1680.K. 1681/86/1747/70
Baker	KC. NP. Barker?	KC. Gent.	KC. Wm. Esq.	SH.Q.1750
Baldwin	KC. NP.	KC. Esq.	KC. Jn. Esq.	SH.K.1672/97/ 1735. M/B
Bambrick	-	QC. Gent	-	SH.Q.1758. MG.Q.1751
Banane	--	KC. Esq.	--	
Banquier	-	-	-	SH.K.1732
Barrington	QC. OP. Esq.	QC. Esq.	QC. Fran.--	SH.Q.1697,1711. MG.Q.1714.M/B. M.P.B/BAL.etc.
Barnwall	-	QC.Lord	-	-
Beard	QC.OP.-	QC.Gent.	QC. Thos.--	MG.Q.1724.
Bennet	QC.KC.Lord.	-	-	-
Bently	KC. NP. Capt.	KC. Gent.	KC. Th. Capt.	
Berkely	KC.NP.Earl	-	-	-
Best	-	-	QC. Eliz.--	SH.Q.1717.MG.Q. 1707.
Biddulph	-	-	-	SH.K.1741.
Bigoe	KC. OP. Mr.	KC. Esq.	KC.Phil. Esq.	SH.K.1660-1.
Bland	-	-	-	MG.Q.1714.
Blundell	KC. OP. Sir	KC. Sir.	KC. Fran. Geo, Sir.	SH.K.1657
Blunt	QC. NP. Sir	--	---	
Bolton	KC. OP. Sir	KC. Sir	QC. Edw. Sir	
Booth	KC. NP. --	KC. Gent.	KC. Rob. Esq.	
Bowen	QC.IC? Sir	QC. Esq/Gent	QC. Jn.h.--	SH.Q.1672.
Boyle	KC.NP.Earl.	-	KC.Earl.	
Brereton	QC. OP. Mr.	QC. Gent.	---	SH.Q.1676/77.MG .Q.1742.M/B.
Browne	-	-	-	SH.K.1748.MG.Q. 1727.M/B.
Bryan	-	QC. Gent	-	MG.Q.1686.
Buller	-	-	-	MG.Q.1746.
Bullock	KC. NP. --	--	KC. Thos. Esq.	
Burrell	QC. NP. Esq.	QC. Gent.	QC. Thos.--	
Burgh	KC.Earl	-	KC.Earl.	
Burrowes	KC. OP. Sir	--	QC. Walt. Sir	SH.Q.1721.MG.Q. 1723.1759.
Busbridge	--	KC. Esq.	--	
Butler	KC. QC. OP.	KC. QC. Gent.	QC. Thos. Capt.	
Butler	QC.IC.Lords		KC.Arran.Dunboy.etc	

Byrne	QC.O/NP.	QC.Gent.	QC. Dan.	SH.Q.1690.MP.Q.
Bysse	KC. OP.	--	KC. Jn. Esq.	
Candler	-	-	-	P.T.C. Esq. K.
Carden	-	-	-	MG.Q.1730.1761?
Carey	--	--	KC. --Col.	
Carpenter	QC. OP.Mr.	--	QC. Phil. --	
Carr	QC. NP.	--	QC. Thos. Esq.	SH.Q.1696.
Carter (Carr?)	-	-	-	MG.Q.1714.MP.
Carrol	KC.IC	KC.Gent.	KC.Miles--	MG.Q.1723.
Cassan	-	-	-	SH.Q.1763.MG.Q. 1740.
Cave	--	--	KC. Thos. Sir	
Chaafe	KC. NP. Esq.	--	KC. Rob.--	
Champanier	-	-	-	MG.Q.1712.Port.
Chetwood	-	-	-	SH.Q.1758/59.MG .Q.1708.1753.M/B
Clapham	-	-	-	MG.Q.1664.
Clerk	-	QC. Gent.	-	MG.Q.1724.
Coddington	-	-	-	MG.Q.1729.
Colley	KC. OP. Sir	--	QC. Fred.--	SH.K.1665.1746. M/B.MP.
Cooper	-	-	-	MG.Q.1756.
Coote	QC.KC. OP.Earl	--	QC. Thos, Esq.Earl.	MG.Q.1664.1714. 1719.1758.MP.etc.
Cosby	QC.OP.Esq.	QC.Esq.	QC.Alex--	SH.Q.1681/2.1702 .1718.MG.Q.1686. etc.
Coughland	KC. OC. Capt.	--	KC. Dermit. Capt	SH.K.1689/90. 1762
Croassail	-	-	-	SH.Q.1743.MB. Esq.
Cuffe	QC.O/NP.	-	QC. Jo.--	SH.Q.1749.MG.Q 1725
Curtis	-	-	-	SH.K.1767.MG.Q. 1734.
Damer	-	-	-	MP.Port.
Dancer	-	-	-	SH.K.1677.
Darby	-	KC.Gent.	-	SH.K.1674.
Darly	--	KC. Esq.	--	
Davis	-	KC.Esq.	-	MB.Esq.Cons
Dawson	-	-	-	SH.Q.1723.MG.Q. 1714.MP.etc.
Dempsey	KC.QC.IC.Lord	KC. Gent.	-	-
Desborrow	KC. NP. -	KC. Esq.	KC. Jn. Esq.	SH.K.1669.
Despard	QC.NP.	-	QC. Wm.-	SH.Q.1727.1742. 1722. etc.
Digby	KC. OP. Lord	KC. Lord.	KC. Wm. Lord	MB.
Dillon	QC. KC. NP. Col.	KC. Esq.	KC. QC. Carey, Col.Earl.Roscommon.	
Doyne	QC. OP. Esq.	QC. Gent.	KC. QC. Chas. Esq.	
Direnzy	KC. OP. Mr.	--	KC. Matt, Sir	
Drought	-	-	-	MG.Q.1759.
Duckingfield	--	QC. Esq.	--	
Duggan	QC.NP.	QC.Gent?	QC.Den.--	MG.Q.1742.
Dunne	QC.OP/IC	QC.Esq.Gent.	QC.Chas.--	MG.Q.1687.

Evans	QC. NP. Capt.	QC. Gent.	QC. Thos. Capt.	MG.Q.1664.1754. M/B.MP.
Eyres	QC. NP. Esq.	--	KC. Jn. Esq.	SH.K.1758.
Finn	-	-	QC.Dan.--	SH.Q.1731.MG.Q. 1717.1724.M/B.
Fisher-	-	-	-	MG.Q.1751.M/B.
Fitzgerald	QC. OP.	QC. Gent.	QC. Rob. Esq.	SH.Q.1704.1729. 1733.MG.Q.1757/ 58.M/B. etc.
Fitzgerald	QC.QC.OP.Earl.	-	KC.Earl	
Fitzpatrick	QC. OP.	QC. Gent.	QC. Jn. Pat. Esq.	MG.Q.1686.MP.
Fitzpatrick	QC.OP.Lord	-	QC.Barna.Lord	
Flood	KC.NP.	-	KC.Oliver.--	SH.Q.1756.1767. MG.Q.1746
Flower	QC. OP. Sir	--	KC. QC. Wm. Sir	MP.Port. MG.Q. etc.
FFranck	KC. NP. Esq.	--	KC. Thos.--	SH.K.1676.1706.
Forth	-	-	-	SH.K.1675.1711.
Fraser	-	-	-	SH.K.1734.1752.
Freeman	-	-	-	SH.Q.1706.1710. MP.
French	QC.NP.	-	QC.Jn.--	MG.Q.1755
Frend	-	-	-	SH.K.1717.1740.
Fullerton	--	--	QC. Jam. Sir	
Gahan-	-	-	-	MG.1686.MP.Port
Galbrath	-	-	-	-
Gale	-	QC. Gent	QC.Jn (Geale)	MG.Q.1751.
Garret	QC. NP. Capt.	--	QC. Garret. Col.	
Gifford	KC. OP. Sir	--	KC. Jn. Sir	
Gilbert	QC. OP. Sir/Capt.	--	QC. Wm. Sir	SH.Q.1677/8.1736 .1762.MG.Q.1733. MP. etc.
Goodmins	QC. OP. Sir	--	--	
Gough		QC. Gent.		P.T.C. Esq. K.
Gore	-	-	-	SH.Q.1737.MG.Q. 1698.MP.SH.K.17 60.
Grace	QC. O/NP. Col.	--	QC. Jam. Jn. --	SH.Q.1684.MG.Q. 1662.1714.
Graham	QC.OP.	QC.Esq./Gent.	-	MG.Q.1733.M/B.
Grant	-	-	-	MG.Q.1694.
Gray	-	-	-	SH.Q.1698.1713.
Gregory	-	-	-	MG.Q.1748.
Hales	QC. NP.	--	QC. Jn. Gent.	
Hallam	KC.NP.	-	KC.Jn.--	SH.K.1664.
Halfpenny	-	-	-	MG.Q.1688.
Hamilton	QC.KC. NP. Sir/		KC. Wm. Lt. Col.	
Handcock	-	-	-	MB.Esq.
Hankshod	-	-	-	MG.Q.1732.
Henderson	-	-	-	Quaker
Hensey	KC.NP.	KC.Esq.-	KC.Anan.--	-
Hartpoole	QC. OP. Esq.	--	QC. Wm. Esq.	SH.Q.1700.1757. MG.Q.1662.1734.
Hartwell	KC. NP.	--	KC. Hum. Capt.	
Hawkshaw	-	-	-	SH.Q.1746.

Heaton	KC.NP.	-	KC.Edw.-	SH.K.1705.
Hedges	-	QC.Gent.	-	SH.Q.1680/81
Hegan (Higgins?)	KC.QC.IC	?	-	SH.Q.1689.
Helsham	QC. NP. Capt.	--	QC. Art. Capt.	
Herbert	KC. OP/C Sir	KC. Sir	KC. -- Lord	SH.K.1668.
Hetherington	QC. OP. Esq.	QC. Gent	QC. Wm. --	
Hill	-	-	-	MB. Esq.
Hoden	--	KC. Esq.	--	
Hodder	-	-	-	MG.Q.1705.
Holmes	-	-	-	SH.K.1707.1713. 1770/1
Hovendon	QC.EC.	-	QC. Thos.--	MB.Esq.
Hoy	KC. OP. Sir	--	KC. Wm. Esq.	
Hussey	QC. OC. --	--	QC. Luke Esq.	
Hutchinson	KC. NP.	--	KC. Dan, Esq. Alder	MP.Q.
Ivory	QC. NP.	--	QC. Wm. Esq.	
Jervis	KC. NP.	--	KC. Jn. Esq.	
Jocelyn	-	-	-	MG.Q.1757.M/B.
Johnston	-	KC.Gent.	-	MP.Port.
Jones	KC. QC. NP.	KC. Gent.	KC. Jam. Esq.	MG.Q.1721.1749.
Jones	KC. QC. NP. Sir.	--	KC. Theo. Sir.Lord Ranelagh	
Jones	KC.NP. Earl.	-	KC.Earl.	-
Judge	-	-	-	SH.K.1750.
Keating	KC. OP. Esq.	--	KC. Maur. Esq.	MP.Ball.
Kemmis	-	-	QC.GIII.Thos.--	
Kerin (Kieron?)	QC.NP?	-	QC.Dan.Kerron.Kev	SH.Q.1679/1680.
Kidder		QC. Gent.		P.TC. Esq. Q.
Kildare (bishops)	QC.OP.	-	QC.Bish.	
King	KC. O/NP. Sir	--	KC. Wm. Sir	
King	QC.KC.NP.	-	QC.KC.Lord Kingst.	
Lambert	KC.OP. Lord.	KC.Lord?	KC. --Lord	MG.Q.1704.1727.
Lane	KC. NP. Sir.	--	--	
Lapsly	QC. NP.	QC. Gent	QC. Thos. Gent.	
Lawrence	KC. NP. Capt.	KC. Gent.	KC. Thos. Capt.	
Legg	KC. NP. Col.	--	--	
Leicester	KC. OP.	--	KC. Rob. Esq.	SH.K.1678.M/B.
Leigh	QC. OP.	QC. Mr.	QC. Jam. Thos. Esq.	MP.Ball.
Lestrangle	KC.NP.	KC.Esq.	KC.Thos.-	SH.K.1656.1666.1 684/5.1721.1733. 1742.
Lloyd	QC. KC. OP. Sir/	QC. Esq.	QC. Chas. Sir	M/B.Esq.
Loftus	QC. KC. OP. Vis	QC. Esq/Gent.	KC. Edw. Esq. Q. Dud.Esq. Vis.	M/B. Esq.
Long	QC. NP. Col.	--	QC. Thos. Col.	
Loughlin	--	KC. Esq.	--	
Lovett	-	-	-	SH.K.1727.1749.
Lowe	-	QC. Gent.	-	SH.K.1708.1718.
Lucas	KC. NP.	--	KC. Ben. Esq.	SH.K.1743.
Lumm	-	-	-	SH.K.1722. 1723/24.1755
Luther	-	KC.Gent.	-	SH.K.1721/22.
Lye	--	--	KC. Fran. Esq.	

Lyon(s)	KC.OP.	KC.Esq.	KC.Chas.--	SH.K.1663.1693. 1702.1715.1744.M G.Q.1733.
Magawly	KC.NP?	-	-	-
Malone	KC.NP.	-	KC.Edm.-	SH.K.1720
Marks	QC. NP. Sir	KC. Esq.	QC. Nat. Esq.	SH.Q.1660.1671.
Marsh	-	-	KC.Jn.	SH.K.1729.1754.
Massie	--	--	QC. Edmun. Sir	MP.Bal.M/B. Esq.
Matthews	--	--	QC. Geo. Capt.	
Maule	--	--	KC. Thos. Esq.	
May	QC. NP.	QC. Gent.	QC. Abrah. Gent.	MG.Q.1715.
Medhop	KC. OP.	--	KC. Fran. gent.	
Medlicott above?	-	-	-	MP.Bal.
Meredith	KC. NP. Sir	KC. Sir	KC. Chas. Rob. Sir	MP.Bal.
Minchins	-	-	-	SH.K.1737.1768.
Mitchell	-	-	-	SH.Q.1724.1734. MG.1732.M/B.Esq
Molesworth	-	-	-	owner P/t
Molloy	KC. OC.	--	KC. Ter. Capt.	
Moor	KC. OP.	KC. Esq. ?	KC. Jn. Esq.	lots.
Moore	KC. OP. Esq.	--	KC. Garret. Col.	lots.
Moore	KC.OP.Visc.	-	KC.QC.Earl	MG.Q.1753.
Montgomery	QC.NP.Earl	-	-	-
Morris	KC. OC.		KC. Hugh. Esq.	SH.Q.1687.88.MG .Q.1670.
Morton	-	-	-	SH.Q.1751.
Mosse	-	KC. Esq.		
Murray	-	-	-	MG.Q.1733
Mushamp	QC.	-	-	-
Nelson		KC. Esq.		P.TC. Esq. K.
Nest				P.T.C.Esq. K.
Newman	QC. NP. Capt.	-	QC. Thos. Capt	
Nesbitt	-	-	-	SH.K.1710.1728.
Noell	QC. NP. Sir	-	QC. Mart. Sir	
O'Brien	QC.OP.Earl.	-	QC.Earl.	-
O'Connor	-	-	-	SH.K.1759.
O'Hara	-	-	-	MP.Bal.
Owens	-	-	QC.GIII.Wm.-	SH.Q.1686.MG.Q. 1688
Oxburgh	KC.EC.	KC.Esq.	-	SH.K.1687/88.
Pakenham	QC. NP. Sir	-	QC. Edw. Sir	
Parker	-	KC. Esq.	--	
Parnell	-	-	-	SH.Q.1753.MG.Q. 1745.M/B.MP.
Parsons	KC. QC. Sir	K.C. Esq.	KC. QC. Wm. Sir Wm.Esq	lots.
Patterson	-	-	-	MP.Ball.
Pennyfeather	QC. NP. Capt.	-	QC. Jn. Capt.	
Pepper	KC. NP.			
Petty	KC. NP. Sir	-	KC. Wm. Sir	
Philips	KC. OP. Esq.	--	KC. Coley--	
Piggott	QC. OP. Maj.	QC. Esq./Gent	KC. Thos. Esq. QC. Rob. Sir	SH.Q.1705.MG. MP.etc.
Pimm	-	-	-	Quaker
Pincent	QC. NP.	-	QC. Wm. Sir	

Pleasant(s)	-	-	-	SH.Q.1746/47.
Plunket	-	KV.Fem.	-	SH.K.1712.
Poole	QC. NP. Sir/	-	QC. Periam. Esq.	SH.Q.1669.1709. MG.Q.1714.1725. MP.M/B.
Power	-	-	-	MG.Q.1693.
Poyntz	-	-	-	SH.K.1682/83.
Pratt	QC. NP. Ensign	-	QC. Rd. Ensign	
Preston	QC. NP. Alder	--	QC. Jn. Alder. Vis, Tarragh?	SH.Q.1676.
Prior	QC. NP.	QC. Esq.	QC. Thos. Capt.	MG.Q.1714.1738. 1753.M/B.
Purefoy	KC. NP.Col. Cap	-	KC. Pet. Cap.Wm.Col.	SH.K.1673.1704.
Rawkin (Rawlin?)	KC.QC.IC.NP?	QC..Esq.	QC.Jn.--	
Rawson	QC.OP.Esq./Capt.	QC.Esq.	QC.1747.Phil.--	SH.K.1745.MP.Q.
Reading	QC. NP. Esq.	QC. Gent.	QC. Rob. Esq and Sir	SH.K.1671.1703.
Recubie	-	KC. Esq.	-	
Redmond	QC. KC. NP. Col.	--	KC. QC. Dan. Esq.	
Richards	QC. NP. Capt.	QC. Esq.	QC. Thos. Capt.	
Ridgeway	QC.OP.Earl.	-	QC.Lord.	
Rochford	KC.NP.	-	KC. Ralph.-	SH.Q.1766.MG.Q. 1752.1761
Roe	QC. NP.	QC. Gent?	QC. Jn. Gent	
Rolle	KC.NP.	KC..Esq.	-	SH.K.1669.
Rolleston	-	-	-	Frankford
Rose	KC. NP. Capt.	-	KC. Jn. Capt.	
Rotle (Roll)	KC. NP.	KC. Esq.	KC. Sam. Esq.	SH.K.1669.
Rotherham	KC. OP. Sir	-	-	
Sabatier	QC. NP.	-	-	-
Saltonstall	KC. NP. Sir	-	KC. Peter. Sir	
Sands	KC. NP. Capt.	-	KC. Wm--	SH.Q.1675.1685. MP.etc.
Sanders	-	-	QC.Jo.--	MG.Q.1752.M/B.
Sankey	KC. O/NP. Capt/	KC. Gent.	KC. Hen. Capt. QC. Esq.	SH.K.1665.
Savage	QC. OP. Sir	-	-	
Scott	-	QC. Esq.	-	SH.Q.1662.1674.
Segar	-	-	-	SH.Q.1694.MG.Q. 1664.
Seagray	-	KC. Esq/Capt.	-	
Shane	-	KC. Esq.	-	
Sharp	-	-	-	SH.Q.1740.MG.Q. 1739.
Shapcott	QC. NP.	-	QC. Rob. Esq.	
Sherlock	KC. OP. Sir	-	-	
Short	QC. NP. Ensign	QC. Gent.	QC. Jn. Ensign	SH.Q.1716.MP. Port.M/B.
Smith	QC.KC. NP.	QC. Gent./Mr.	KC. Eras. Edw. Esq.	
Southwell	-	-	-	MG.Q.1734.
Sprigge	-	-	-	SH.K.1714.
St. George	QC. NP. Sir	-	QC. Oliver Sir	MP.Mar.
St. Leger	QC. OEC	-	QC. Wm. Sir	MB.Esq.
Stannus	-	-	-	M/B.Esq.MP.Port.

Stephens	KC. NP. Sir	-	KC. Jn. Sir	SH.Q.1738.MG.Q.1730.
Stephny	QC. NP.	-	QC. Jn. Esq.	
Sterling	-	-	-	SH.K.1699.
Stewart	-	-	KC.Alex.-	SH.Q.1752.
Stratford	-	-	-	SH.Q.1755.M/B.
Stringer	-	-	-	MG.Q.1717.
Stubbers	QC.KC. O/NP	-	KC. QC. Edw. Esq.	SH.Q.1708.1746. MG.Q.1705.1739.
Sybbals		QC. Gent.		P.T.C. Esq. K.
Synge	-	-	-	-
Tanner		QC. Gent		P.T.C. Gent. Q.
Tarleton	-	KC.Gent.	-	?invol.
Tatty (Totty)	KC. NP. Alder.	-	KC. Jn. Alder.	
Temple	QC. NP. Sir	-	QC. Jn. Sir	
Tench (Trench)	KC. NP. Esq.	-	KC. Allen--	MG.Q.1719.
Tennison	-	-	-	MG.Q.1727.M/B. Esq.
Thornton	-	-	-	SH.Q.1707.
Trant (Tant)				MG.Q.1686
Trevor	QC.NP. Lord	-	-	-
Tynte-	-	-	-	MG.Q.1662.
Vaughan	KC. QC. NP.	KC. Gent	KC. Jn. Esq.	SH.K.1698.1738. 1766.MG.Q.1714.
Vering	--	--	KC. Grivell. Sir	
Vesey	-	-	-	MG.Q.1685.1735. MB. Bish.
Vicars	-	-	-	SH.Q.1764.MG.Q. 1698.1714.1726. 1750.1754.M/B. Esq.
Vigors	-	-	-	SH.Q.1714.MG.Q. 1728.
Villiers	KC.Q.C.OP.Duke	-	QC.Geo.Duke.	and Grandison?
Wade	KC. NP. Maj.	KC. Gent.	KC. Wm. Maj.	
Wainman (Wenman?)	-	-	KC.Lord	SH.K.1696.
Wakely	KC. OP. Sir	KC. Esq.	KC. Jn.--	SH.K.1667.1695. 1726.1763.
Waldron	-	-	-	MG.Q.1680.
Wall	-	-	SH.Q.1736.MG.Q. 1707.M/B.Esq.MP. Mar	
Walker	-	QC. Esq.	K.C.QC. Peter, Rd.-	SH.Q.1673.
Waller	KC.NP.-	-	QC.Sam.--	MG.Q.1721.
Wallis	-	-	-	MG.Q.1681.1720.
Walpole	-	-	-	Quaker
Walsh	QC.NP.-	-	QC.Oliver-	SH.Q.1692/93.MG. .Q.1685.MP.etc.
Warburton	-	KC.Gent.	-	SH.K.1691.1701. MG.Q.1714.1748. MP. etc.
Ware	QC. OP. Sir.	-	QC. Jam. Sir	
Warnford	-	QC. Esq.	-	SH.Q.1699.MP. Ball.

Warren	KC.OP.-	-	KC.Mary.-	SH.Q.1682/83.
Weaver	KC. O/NP?	KC. Esq.	KC. Jn. Esq.	SH.Q.1667.MG.Q. 1666.MP.etc.
Weldon	QC.KC. OP.	-	KC. Thos. Esq.	SH.Q.1719.MG.Q. 1721.MP.M/B.Esq
Wemyss-	-	-	-	SH.K.1694.
Wenman	-	KC. Gent.	KC. Ferdinand. Sir	
Westenra	KC. NP.	-	KC. Hen. Warne. Esq.	SH.Q.1729.MG.Q. 1727.MP.M/B.etc.
Wetherelt	-	-	-	SH.K.1736.1757.
Wheeler	KC/QC O/NP.Col	KC. Esq. Gent.	KC. Oliver, Esq. QC. Chas. Sir/Esq	SH.Q.1703.
Whitney	QC. OP. Capt.	QC. GentW.	QC. Rob.--	P.T.C.Esq. Q.
Whittell	-	QC. Esq.	-	
Wilkinson	-	-	-	MG.Q.1664.
Williamson	-	-	-	MP.Port.1695-99.
Wilton	-	-	-	SH.K.1731.
Worsley	-	QC. Esq.	-	SH.Q.1722
Wyar	-	-	-	SH.K.1679/80.
Wynne	-	-	-	MP.Bal.1715-27?

Note of methodology

This list was compiled using the following criteria:

- 1) All those listed with a formal title or as Esquire, Gent or Mr. in the survey (OP-Old Protestant, IC-Irish Catholic, E.C. Catholic) and distribution side of the B.S.D. (NP-New Protestant). The compilers of this survey were quite sparing in their use of courtesy titles.
- 2) With a title or as esquire in 1659 census (the term gent is excluded because it was used with gay abandon in this list).
- 3) I include those with a formal title, esquire, gent, Mr., Capt, Alderman etc. in the 1706 quit rent list.
- 4) Members of a family who served as a sheriff, (SH) magistrate, (MG.) or as MP between c.1660-1760. This is only a rough guide to the degree of participation. For those with a very full record of office holding (e.g. Barrington) only some of the years are listed. The constituencies are as follows: Queen's County=Q.; Bor. of Maryborough=Mar.; Bor. of Ballinankill=Ball; Bor. Portarlington=Port. King's County=K., Bor. Philipstown=P/T; Bor. Banagher=Ban..
- 5) Those classified as Esq. in the Maryborough Poll Lists (M/B).
- 6) Those listed as Poll Tax Commissioners in the year 1659 (P.T.C.)
- 6) All are cross referenced, e.g. if an individual is described as an Esquire in just one list then the terms used to describe him (or other members of his family) in the other lists are also recorded.
- 7) Some additional names have been added on the basis of evidence from estate papers and Genealogical Office family histories etc. (e.g. Rolleston, Pym and Henderson).

Limitations The c.300 names listed here probably constitutes the most complete record of the landed elite (given the evidence available). Only a very small number of the landed gentlemen who owned lands in the county in the period are likely to have escaped through the net. There are often different branches to a family (e.g. Butler, Despard, Warburton, Moore, Fitzpatrick, Fitzgerald etc.) and it is sometimes difficult to isolate the branch that was the most active in the two counties. In this index all of the core surnames are listed. In subsequent tables I have attempted to break down the families into different branches.

6b. Residence and participation of members of the peerage

Family name	Lands	Pre-1714	Associated/earlier titles	Residence/offices
Villiers	KC.QC.	Duke of Bucks.		NR
Annesley	QC.	Earl of Anglesey	Viscount Valentia	NR. 2nd. cl. absentee 1730. 2nd. cl. 1769.
Boyle	KC.	Earl of Cork		NR
Burgh	KC.	Earl of Clanricard	Lord Dunboyne	NR. 2nd. cl. absentee 1769
Butler	KC.QC.	Earl of Arran		NR- sometimes in K.K
Butler	KC.QC.	Earl of Ormond		NR.-sometimes in K.K
Coote (see esquires)	KC.QC.	Earl of Mountrath		OR. Seats in QC. 2nd. cl. absentee 1730. 1st. cl. 1769. MG.Q. 1664. 1714. 1719.
Dillon	KC.QC.	Earl of Roscommon		NR
Fitzgerald	KC.QC.	Earl of Kildare		NR
Jones	KC.	Earl of Ranelagh		NR. 2nd. cl. absentee, daughters are 1st. cl. absentees 1730
King	KC.QC.	Earl of Kingston		NR. 2nd. cl. absentee 1730
Lambert	KC.	Earl of Cavan		OR?- MG.Q. 1704. 1727.
Montgomery	QC.	Earl Mount Alexander		NR.
Moore	KC.QC.	Earl of Drogheda	Viscount Drogheda	NR- in KD. Seat=KD. Lady Drogheda 1st. cl. absentee 1730. MG.Q. 1753.
O'Brien	QC.	Earl of Thomond		NR. 1st cl. absentee 1730
Ridgeway	QC.	Earl of Londonderry		NR. 1st cl. absentee 1730
Ruvigny	KC.QC.	Earl of Galway		Gone by c. 1703.
Dempsey	KC.QC.	Viscount Clanmalier		Gone by c. 1660
Loftus	KC.QC.	Viscount Ely		NR
Preston	QC.	Viscount Tarragh		NR. see equires
Villiers	KC.QC.	Viscount Grandison		NR. 1st. cl. absentee 1730
Barnwall	QC.	Baron Trimbleton		NR
Bennet	KC.QC.	Baron Arlington		Gone by c. 1685
Berkeley	KC.	Baron Fitzharding		NR
Digby	KC.	Baron of Geashill		NR. 1st. cl. absentee in 1730. 1st. cl. 1769.
Herbert	KC.	Baron Herbert?		NR
Fitzpatrick	QC.	Baron of Upp. Ossory	Earl of Upp. Ossory	
Wenman	KC.	Baron Wenman?		NR

Family name	Creations post 1714	Associated/previous/ subsequent titles	Residence/Office
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Dawson	Baron Dawson of Dawson's Court; Viscount Carlow in 1776.		
Fitzpatrick	Earl of Gowran, 1715.	Baron Gowran/Earl Upper Ossory	OR.Seat=Tentore,Q.C . 1st.cl.absentee1730
Fizpatrick	Earl of Upper Ossory. 1751.		NR. 1st.cl.absentee 1769
Flower	Baron CastleDurrow. 1733.	Viscount Ashbrook	Res. until 1750s. seat=Castle Durrow. 1st.cl.absentee 1769
Jocelyn	Viscount Jocelyn 1767	Earl of Roden	OR.seat= Brockley Park,QC.MG.Q.1757.
Molesworth	Viscount Molesworth, 1719		NR. 2nd.cl.absentee 1730.2nd.cl. 1769. Has an interest Philipstown
Moore	Baron Moore of Tullamore 1716.	Earl of Charleville	OR.seat=Charleville, KC.
Vesey	Lord Knapton 1750	Bishop of Ossory	OR. seat=Abbeyleix, QC.

6c. Residence and participation of Old Protestant Knights and Baronets*

Family name	Seats/area	Office Pre-1690	Office post-1690
Blundell OP. KC.	OR-Edenderry Castle, KC	SH.K.1657. PTC.K.	
Bowen OP.QC	RES?-Ballyadams Castle	SH.Q.1672. PTC.Q.	
Byrne QC.	Res. Killone, QC.		SH.Q.1690.
Burrowes OP.QC.	NR. Gilltown, Kildare.		SH.Q.1721. MG.Q.1723. 1759.
Direnzy OP.KC	Res. Clonony Castle, KC.	-	-
Flower OP.KC.QC. (see list peers)	Res. Castle Durrow, QC.	PTC.Q.	MP.Port.1727 -1733. MG.Q. 1707. 1747.
Forth OP. KC. (see Esquires)	Res. Redwood, nr, Tullamore, KC.	Constable of Philipstown, c.1620.	
Gifford OP. KC.	NR?	PTC.K.	-
Gilbert OP.QC.(see esquires)	Res. Kilminchy, QC.	SH.Q.1677/8 non-knt.	Lots. non-knt branch
Goodmins OP.QC.	NR. probably gone by 1690	-	-
Hamilton OP.QC.	NR. probably gone by 1690	-	-
Herbert OP/IC.KC.	Res. Durrow	SH.K.1668. PTC.K.	-
Hoy OP.KC.	?		-
Jones OP.KC.QC. (see peers and esquires)	NR?	-	MG.Q.1721. 1749. Non-knt

Meredith NP.KC. (see esquires)	Res. pre-1690?	MP.Ball. 1661-62 PTC. Q.	-
Parsons OP.KC.QC.	Res. Birr Castle, KC.	SH.K.1662 etc	SH.K.1753etc
Piggott OP.QC. (see esquires)	NR?	MP.etc. non-knt.	SH.Q.1712 etc.non-knt
Rotherham OP.KC.	NR. Probably gone by 1690	-	-
St.Leger EC/OP. QC.	Res.?	-	M/B. non-knt.
Savage OP.QC.	NR probably gone by 1690	-	-
Segar QC.	Res. Redcastle	MG.Q.1664.	SH.Q.1694.
Sherlock OP. KC	NR probably gone by 1690		
Trant IC.KC.QC.	Lands forfeited, in exile 1690	MG.Q.1686?. MP.	-
Vesey OP.NP.QC.(see peers)	OR. Abbeyleix, QC.	-	M/B. Bishop
Wakely OP. KC. (see esquires)	Res. Ballyburley House, KC.	SH.K.1667.	SH.K.1695. 1726 etc. non-knt.
Ware OP.QC.	NR?	-	-

6d. Residence and participation of New Protestant Knights and Baronets*

Family name	Seat/residence	Office pre-1690	Office post-1690
Blunt NP.QC.	NR. probably gone by 1690	-	-
Bolton NP.QC.	NR?	PTC.Q.	-
Cave NP.KC.	NR?	-	-
Dancer NC.QC.	Res. Modreeny, Co. Tipp.	SH.K.1677	
Fullerton NP.QC.	NR?	-	-
King NP.KC. (see peers and esquires)	NR?	-	
Lane NP.KC.	NR? probably gone by 1690 (a branch 1st. cl. absentee, 1730.	-	-
Lloyd NP.QC. (see esquires)	NR?	-	M/B.Esq. non-knight
Marks NP.QC.	Res. pre-1690?	SH.Q.1660. 1671. PTC.Q.	-
Meredith NP.KC. (see esquires)	Res. pre-1690?	MP.Ball. 1661-62 PTC. Q.	-
Noell NP.QC.	NR.?	-	-
Parkenham NP.QC.	NR.?		
Petty NP.KC.	NR?	-	-
Pinsent NP.QC.	NR?	-	-
Poole NP.QC. (see esquires)	NR?	SH.Q..1669, non-knt.	MG.Q.1725 etc. non-knt.
Reading NP.QC. (see esquires)	NR?	SH.K.1671, non-knt.	SH.K.1703, non-knt.
St. George NP.QC.	NR?	PTC.Q.	-

Salonstall NP.KC.	NR?	-	-
Stephens NP.KC.(see esquires)	NR?	-	SH.Q.1730. 1738. non-knt.
Temple NP.QC.	NR	-	-
Vering NP. KC.	NR	-	-
Wenman NP. KC. (see peers)	NR?	-	-
Wheeler NP.KC.QC.	NR?	PTC.Q.	SH.Q.1703, non-knt.
Williamson	NR?		MP.Port.1695-99.

6e. Residence and participation of Old Protestant esquires

Family name	Seat/residence	Office pre-1690	Office post 1690
Atkinson KC.	Res. Cangort Park, KC.	PTC.K.	-
Barrington QC.	Res. Knapton, Cullinagh, QC.	MP.Q.1646-61	MP.Ball.1692-95,1703-13,1713-14,1715-27,1727-60,1760- .SH.Q.1697.1711.1728 .MG.Q.1714.1720. 1755.M/B.Esq.
Brereton QC.	Res. Springmount Hse, Raheenduff, QC.	SH.Q.1676/77.	MG.Q.1742. 1770. M/B. Esq.
Bigoe KC.	Res. near Birr, KC.	SH.K.1660-1	
Bysse KC.	NR.in Dublin	estate passes to Molesworth	-
Cootte QC.	Dublin	MP.Q c.1661.	
Cootte QC.			MG.Q.1758
Cosby QC.	Res. Stradbally Hall, QC. Absentee in 1783	MG.Q. 1686. PTC.Q.	MP.Q.1703-1713,1713-14,1715-27,SH.Q.1681/82.1702 1715.1718.M/B.Esq.
Dillon KC.		PTC.K.	
Doyne KC.	?	PTC.Q.	-
Dunne QC.	Res. Brittas, QC.	MG.1687.	-
Eyre KC.QC.	NR.Eyrecourt, Galway	-	SH.K.1758.
Finn QC.	Res. Coolfinn Hse. QC.		SH.Q. 1731 MG.Q. 1717.1724. M/B. Esq.
Fitzgerald QC.	Res. Morett, QC.		SH.Q.1733.MG.Q. 1758.M/B.Esq.
Fitzgerald QC.	Res. Newtown-Hartpole, QC.	-	SH.1704.MG.Q.1714. 1757.M/B. Esq.
Fitzgerald QC.		-	SH.Q.1729. 1748.MG.Q. 1714.M/B.Esq.
Fitzpatrick QC. (see peers)	Res. Tentore House and Loughteague, QC.	MG.Q.1686.	MP.Q.1713-14.
Forth KC.	Res. Redwood, nr. Tullamore, KC.	Constable of Philipstown, c.1620. SH.K.1675.	SH.K.1711.

Gahan QC.			MP.Port. 1692-95.
Gilbert QC. (see kns)	Res. Kilminshy, QC.	MP. Mar. 1639-1661. MP. Mar. 1644-61. SH.Q.1677/8. PTC.Q. etc.	SH.Q.1701. 1726, MG.Q.1714.
Graham QC.	Res. Lea, QC.	MP.Q.1642-43	MG.Q.1733.M/B.
Handcock QC.	Res. M/B and Clonrusk Q.C.	-	M/B.Esq.
Hill QC.	Res. M/B.		M/B.Esq. surveyor.
Hovenden QC.	Res.		M/B. Esq.
Hartpole QC.	Res. Shrule Castle, QC.	MG.Q.1662.	SH.Q.1700.1757.MG. Q.134.1757?.MP.Port. 1761-68?
Hetherington QC.	?	-	-
Higgin QC.	Res. Mountmellick, QC.		M/B. Esq.
Hovendon QC.	Res. Tankardstown Castle, QC.		M/B. Esq.
Hussey QC.	?	-	-
Keating KC.	NR. mainly Kildare	MP.Ball. 1661-92.	-
Leicester KC (Leycester)	Res. Philipstown, Cloneril, Kilcormack, KC.	SH.K.1678	M/B.
Leigh QC.	?	MP.Ball. 1642-61	-
Lloyd KC.QC.	Res. Gloster House, KC.	PTC.K.	M/B. Esq.
Loftus (see peers)	Res. Grange, QC.	PTC.Q.	M/B.Esq.
Lyon (S) KC.	Res. River Lyons Killeen, KC. Absentee in 1783.	SH.K.1663	SH.K.1693.1702.1715. 1744.
Lyon (s)	Res. Watercastle, QC.	PTC.K.	MG.Q.1733
Medlicott QC.			MP.Ball. 1713-14.
Moore KC.	Res. Croghan, KC.	PTC.K.	SH.K.1692.1700
Moore QC.	Res. Cremorgan, QC.		SH.Q.1732.1760.1765. MG.1759.1766.M/B. Esq.
O'Hara QC.			MP.Ball. 1761-68.
Philips KC.	Res. Clonarrow, KC.	-	-
Piggott QC.	Res. Dysart and Grangebegg QC. A branch are 1st. cl. absentees, 1730.	MP.Q. 1639-46, 1661- 92 MP. Mar. c.1660. SH.1663. 1670.1690. PTC.Q. etc.	MP.Mar.1699- 1703,1703-14,1715-27, 1727-1760.SH.Q.1712.
Piggott QC.	Res. Cappard House, QC.		SH.Q.1754.MG.Q. 1730 1738.M/B. Esq.
Piggott QC.	Res. Prospect House, Loughteague, QC.		SH.Q.1705.MG.Q. 1707.1732.MP.Mar. 1727-60.M/B. Esq.
Plunket KC.	Res. Dillonstown, Co. Louth.		SH.K.1712.
Rawson QC.	Res. Durrow, QC.	MP.Q.1646-1661. PTC.Q.	SH.K.1745
Sankey QC.	Res. Sankeystown (Balenrath?), KC.	SH.K.1665. PTC. K.	-
Stubbers QC.	Res. Aghaboe and Shrowland, QC.		SH.Q.1708.1746.MG. Q.1705-1739.

Wakely OP. KC.	Res. Ballyburley House, KC.	SH.K.1667. PTC.K.	SH.K.1695. 1726 etc.
Warnford QC.	Res.?	MP.Bal.1639-1640.	MP.Q.1695-99.SH.Q.1699.
Weaver QC.	Res. Ballymaddock, QC.	SH.Q.1667.MG.Q. 1666. PTC.K.	MP.Ball.1692-95,1715,1727.MP.Mar .1692,1695-99.MP.Q. 1692-95,95-99,1703-1713.
Weldon KC.QC.	Res. Sportland, Kilmorony and Rahin(derry), QC.	MP.Q.1661.PTC.Q.	SH.Q.1695.1719.MG. Q.1716.1721.1738.175 2.M/B.Esq.
Weldon QC.	Res.Portarlinton, QC	-	MG.Q.1744.M/B.Esq.
Weldon QC.	Res. Roscomroe, KC?.	-	SH.K.1761

6f. The participation and residence of the New Protestant Esquires*

Family name	Seat/residence	Office pre-1690	Office post 1690
Baker KC.	?		SH.Q.1750
Baldwin KC.	Res.Shinrone, Corolanty, KC.	SH.K.1672. PTC.K.	SH.K.1697.1735.
Booth KC.	?	-	-
Browne QC.	Res. Browne's Hill and Riverstown, QC/Carlow.		SH.K.1748.MG.Q. 1727. M/B. Esq.
Bullock KC.	?	-	-
Burrell KC.	?	PTC.Q.	-
Busbridge KC.	?	PTC.K.	-
Candler KC.		PTC.K.	
Carter (Carr?)QC.	?	-	MP.Port.1703-13.SH.Q.1696.1714.
Chaafe KC.	?	PTC.K.	-
Chetwood QC.	Res. Chetwood House, QC.		SH.Q.1758/9.MG.Q. 1708.1753.M/B/.Esq.
Croasdaile QC.	Res. Rynne, QC.		SH.Q.1743.M/B.Esq.
Darly KC.	?	-	-
Davis KC.	Res.	-	M/B.Esq. Constable
Damer QC.	Res. Roscrea, Co. Tipp. and Portarlinton, QC.		MP.Port.c.1760.
Dawson QC.	Res. Dawson's Court, QC.		MP.Port.1713-14.MP.Q.1715-2,1727-60, 1761-78 SH.Q. 1723.MG.Q. 1714. 1747. M/B.Esq.
Desbrow KC.	Res. Cullenwaine?	SH.K.1669	-
Despard QC.	Res. Crannagh Hse. and Coolrain,Hse. QC.		SH.Q.1727. 1739. 1742. 1744. MG.Q.1699. 1703. 1719. 1722. 1743. 1748. M/B. Esq.
Dillon (see peers) KC.QC.	?	-	-

Duckingfield QC.	?	-	-
Evans	Res.	MG.Q.1664.	MP.Q.C.1760.MG.Q.1754.M/B/.Esq.
Fisher QC.	Res. Old Derrig Hse, QC.		MG.Q.1751.M/B.Esq.
Ffranck KC.	Res. Frankford Castle, KC.	SH.K.1676	SH.K.1706
Freeman QC	Res. Esker, QC.		MP.Ball. 1715-27. SH.Q.1706.1710.
Gore QC.	Res. Philipstown. KC.		MP.Ball.1703-13. SH.Q.1737. 1760.1698
Hamilton		PTC.K.	
Hensey KC.	?	-	-
Hoden (Hodder?) KC.	Res.?	-	MG.Q.1705
Hutchinson KC.	Dublin (alderman)	MP.Q.C.1661-1692	-
Ivory QC.	?	-	-
Jervis (Jervis) KC.	?	-	-
Johnston KC.	Res. Portarlinton?		MP.Port. 1727-?.
Jones QC.	Res.?	-	SH.Q.1721.1749
Jones KC.	?	-	-
Kidder		PTC.Q.	
Lestrange KC.	Res. Moystown, KC.(mother seat is Castle Strange, Co. Roscommon).	SH.K.1656. PTC.K.	SH.K.1733.1742
Lestrange QC	Res. Castle Cuffe, Castle Bennet, QC.	SH.K.1666	
Lestrange KC and elsewhere	NR. Castle Strange, Co. Roscommon and Ballynahown, Co.W.Meath.	SH.K.1684-85	SH.K.1721
Loughlin KC.	?	-	-
Lucas KC.	Mount Lucas, KC? and Estcourt,Co. Tipp.?	-	SH.K.1743.
Lye KC.	?	-	-
Marks KC.QC. (see knts)	?	SH.Q.1660.1671. PTC.Q.	
Maule KC.	?	-	-
Mitchell QC.	Res. Castle Mitchell, QC.	PTC.K.	SH.Q.1724.1734. MG.Q.1732.M/B. Esq.
Morris KC.	Res. ?	SH.Q.1687/88.MG.Q.1670.	
Mosse KC.	?	-	-
Nelson		PTC.K.	
Nest		PTC.K.	
Oxburgh KC.	Res. near Birr	SH.K.1687/88	
Parker KC.	?	-	-
Parnell QC.	Res. Rathleague Hse,QC. and Dublin		SH.Q.1753. MG.Q.1745. M/B. Esq.
Patterson QC.	Res. ?		MP. Ball. 1760-68.
Peasley		PTC.K.	

Poole QC.	OR.Ballyfin, QC. 3rd.cl. absentees in 1730.	SH.Q.1669	MP.Mar.1692- 95.MP.Q.1761-1768. SH.Q.1709.MG.Q. 1714.1725.1748.M/B. Esq.
Prior QC.	Res. Rathdowney, QC.	PTC.Q.	MG.Q.1714.17381753. M/B.
Purefoy KC.	Res. Purefoy's Place, / Ballylackin	SH.K.1673. PTC.K.	SH.K.1704.
Rawkin (Rawlin?) QC.KC.	?	PTC.Q.	-
Reading QC.	Readingstown, Co. Tipp?	SH.K.1671.	SH.K.1703
Recubie KC.	?	-	-
Redmond QC.	?	-	-
Richards QC.	?	-	-
Rolle KC.	?	SH.K.1669. PTC.K.	
Rose		PTC.K.	
Sanders QC.	Res. Pendred, QC.?		MG.Q.1752, M/B. Esq.
Sands KC.QC.	Res. Killcavan Hse. QC.	SH.Q.1675. 1685.	MP.Port. c.1727. SH.Q.1715. 1761. SH.K.1716. 1725. MG.Q.1707. 1722.1728. M/B. Esq.
Scott KC.	Res.?	SH.1662.1674. PTC.K.	
Seagray KC.	?	-	-
Shane KC.	?	-	-
Shapcott QC.	?	-	-
Short QC.	Res. Grange Hse., QC.		MP.Port. c.1727. SH.Q.1716.M/B. Esq.
Smith KC.QC.	?	-	-
Stannus QC.	?		MP.Port.c.1750
Stepney QC.	?	PTC.K.	-
Stratford QC.	Res. Corbally Hse. and Ballycorman, QC.? A branch 3rd.cl. absentee, 1730		SH.Q.1755. M/B. Esq.
Symball QC.		PTC.Q.	
Tennison QC.			MG.Q.1727. M/B. Esq.
Trench KC.QC.	Res. Heywood, QC.		MG.Q.1719.
Vaughan KC.QC.	Res. Golden Grove, KC.		SH.K.1698.1738.MG. Q.1714.
Vicars QC.	Res. Levally Hse. and Grantstown Hse. ,QC.		SH.Q.1764.MG.Q. 1698. 1714. 1726. 1750.1754. M/B. Esq.
Vincent		PTC.K.	
Walker KC.QC.	Res.?	SH.Q.1673.	(Waller=MG.Q.1721)
Wall QC.	Res. M/B and Moylestown?		MP.Mar.1703- 14,1715-27,1727- 60.SH.Q.1736.MG.Q. 1707.M/B.Esq.

Walsh QC.	Res. Ballykillcavan, QC.	MG.Q.1685.	MP.Mar.c.1761-68. SH.Q.1692/93.1719/20 . MG.Q.1716. M/B.Esq.
Warburton KC.QC.	Res. Garryhinch, KC. 3rd.cl. absentees in 1730.	PTC.Q.K.	MP. Port. 1692-95, 1695-99, 1703-13, 1713-14, 1715-27. MP. Bal. 1727-60. SH.K.1691. 1701. SH.Q.1725. 1741. MG.Q. 1714. 1748. M/B. Esq.
Westenra KC.	Res. Lambarton, QC.		MP.Mar.C.1760- 1.SH.Q.1729.MG.Q. 1727.M/B.Esq.
Wheeler KC.QC.	Res. Grenan, QC.		SH.Q.1703.
Whittell KC.QC.	?	-	-
Worsley (Wolesley?) QC.	?		SH.Q.1722.
Wynne QC.?			MP.Q.Ball. 1715-27.

6g. The participation and residence of the Old Protestant Gentlemen

Family name	Seat/residence	Office pre-1690	Office post 1690
Baggot KC.	Res. Kilcoursey and Ard. KC.		SH.K.1747.1770.
Baggot QC.	Res. Harristown, QC.	SH.Q.C.1680. SH.K.1681.1686.	
Beard QC.			MG.Q.1724.
Bryan QC.		MG.Q.1686.	
Butler KC.QC.	Res. Edmondsbury, QC.	-	-
Carpenter ?	-	-	-
Carroll KC.QC.			MG.Q.1723.
Coghlan KC.	Res. Kilcolgan Castle and Garrycastle, KC.	SH.K.1689.	SH.K.1690. 1762.
Cuffe QC.	Res. Cuffesborough, QC.		SH.Q.1725. 1749.
Grace QC.	Res. Gracefield, QC.	MG.Q.1662. 1684.	MG.Q.1714.
Kerin QC.		SH.Q.1680.	
Medhop KC.	?	-	-
Molloy KC.	?	-	-
O'Connor KC.	Res. Mountpleasant/ Gartnamona, KC.?		SH.K.1759.
Pepper KC	Res. Loughton, KC.	-	-
Plunket KC.	Res. Dillonstown, Co. Louth.		SH.K.1712.
Sankey KC.	Res. Balenrath, KC.?	SH.K.1665.	
Warren KC.		SH.Q.1682/83.	

6h. Residence and participation of New Protestant Gentlemen

Family name	Seat/residence	Office pre-1690	Office post 1690
Adair KC.	Res. Litter House, KC. A branch 1st. cl. absentee in 1769.		SH.K.1707.
Armstrong KC.	Res. Castle Armstrong, KC. also Stonestown, Gallen, Ballycumber and Clara, KC.		SH.K.1730.1739.1751. 1756.
Bambrick QC.	Res. Maidenhead House, QC.		SH.Q.1758.MG.Q. 1751.
Bentley	?	-	-
Bernard KC.	Res. Castle Bernanrd, KC.		
Best QC.	Res. Bestfield House, QC.		SH.Q.1717.MG.Q. 1707.
Biddulph KC	Res. Rathrobin and Fortall,,KC		SH.K.1741.
Bland QC.	Res. Blandsfort, QC.		MG.Q.1714.
Buller QC	?	-	MG.Q.1746.
Carden QC.	Res. Lismore House and Ballybrittas, QC.		MG.Q.1730.1761.
Carey KC.	?	-	-
Cassan QC.	Res. Sheffield Hse., QC.		MG.Q.1740.
Champanier QC.	Res. Portarlington, QC.		MG.Q.1712.Sov.Port
Clapham QC.	?	SH.Q.1664.	
Clerk QC	?		MG.Q.1724.
Coddington QC.	?		MG.Q.1729.
Cooper QC.	Res. Cooper's Hill and Graigue, QC. and Dublin?		MG.Q.1756.
Curtis	Res. Ballina?		SH.K.1767.MG.Q. 1734
Darby KC.	Res. Leap Castle, KC.	SH.K.1674	
Drought QC.	Res. Mount Oliver Hse, QC.		MG.Q.1759.
Duggan QC.			MG.Q.1742.
Flood	Res. Res. Middlemount Hse. and Roundwood, QC.		SH.Q.1756. 1767. MG.Q. 1746
Fraser KC.	Res. Res. Cuba Hse., KC.		SH.K.1734.1752.
French			MG.Q.1755.
Frend KC.	Res. Myrtle Grove and Ballyreehy?, KC.		SH.K.1717.1740.
Galbraith QC. (see Fisher).	Old Derrig Hse, QC.		
Gale QC.	Res. Ashfield/brook, QC.		MG.Q.1751.
Garret QC.	?	-	-
Gray QC.			SH.Q.1698.1713.
Gregory QC.	Res. Tentore Hse., QC.		MG.Q.1748.
Gough		PTC.Q.	

Hales QC.	?	-	-
Hallam KC.	Res. Hallam Hill, KC.	SH.K.1664. PTC.K.	
Halfpenny QC.		MG.Q.1668	
Hankshod QC.			MG.Q.1732.
Henderson QC.	Res. Edenderry, KC. (Quaker)		
Hartwell	?	-	-
Hawkshaw QC.			SH.Q.1746.
Heaton KC.	Res. Mount Heaton Hse. KC?.		SH.K.1705.
Hedges QC.	Res.	SH.Q.1680/81.	
Helsham QC.	?	-	-
Hodder QC.			MG.Q.1705.
Holmes KC.	Res. Liscloony, Belmont, KC. and Johnstown, Co. Tipp.		SH.K.1707.1713.
Judge QC.	Res. Readingstown		SH.K.1750.
Kemmis QC.	Res. Shane Castle, QC		
Lapsley QC.	?	-	-
Lawrence KC.	?	-	-
Legg KC.	?	-	-
Long QC.	?	-	-
Lovett KC.	Res. Dromoyle and Rathegan.		SH.K.1727.1749.
Lowe KC.	Res. Cloneril and Barnan, KC.		SH.K.1708.1718.
Lumm KC	Res. Lumsville Hse, KC.		SH.K.1722.1723/24. 1755.
Luther KC	Res. Ballyboy, KC.		SH.K.1721/22.
Magawly (see Franks) KC.	Res. Frankfort Castle, KC.		
Malone KC.	Res. Streamstown and Litter, KC.		SH.K.1720.
Marsh KC.	Res. Ballinaminton, Moyalley, KC.?		SH.K.1729.1754.
Matthews KC.	-	-	
May QC.			MG.Q.1715.
Minchins KC.	Res. Busherstown (Butcherstown) Castle, KC.		SH.K.1737.1768.
Morton QC.	Res. Ballyroan, QC.		SH.Q.1751.
Murray QC.			MG.Q.1733.
Newman QC.	?	-	-
Nesbitt KC.	Res. Tubberdaly, KC.		SH.K.1728.
Ogle		PTC.Q.	
Owens QC.	Res.	SH.Q.1686. MG. Q. 1688.	
Pennyfeather QC.	?	-	-
Pimm QC.	Res. Mountrath, Edenderry etc. QC. (Quaker).	-	-
Pleasants QC.	Res. Mountpleasant/ Redcastle nr Carlow.		SH.Q.1746/47.
Power QC.			MG.Q.1693.

Poyntz KC.	Res. Gaichborough	SH.K.1682-83.	
Pratt QC.	?	-	-
Rhodes		PTC.Q.	
Rochford KC.QC.	Res. Cloghrennan, KC.?		SH.W.1766. MG.Q.1752. 1761.
Roe QC.	?	-	-
Rolleston KC.(see Franck and Magawley)	Res. Dunkerrin. later Frankford, KC.		
Sabatier QC.	Res. Summer Grove Hse., QC.	-	-
Seargeant		PTC.Q.	
Sharp QC.	Res. Roundwood Hse., QC.		SH.Q.1740. MG.Q.1739
Southwell QC.	Res. Kilcoleen. QC?		MG.Q.1734.
Sprigge KC,	Res. Cloonivoe, KC.		SH.K.1714.
Sterling KC.	Res. Whigsborough, KC.	SH.K.1699.	
Stewart QC.	Res. Ballyrogan?		SH.Q.1752.
Stringer QC.			MG.Q.1717.
Synge KC.	Res. Syngefield, KC.		
Tanner		PTC.Q.	
Tarleton KC.	?	-	-
Tatty KC.	Dublin? (alderman)	-	-
Thornton QC.			SH.Q.1707.
Tynte QC.		MG.Q.1662.	
Vigors QC.			SH.Q.1714. MG. QC. 1728.
Wade KC.	?	-	-
Waldron QC.			MG.Q.1680.
Waller QC.			MG.Q.1721.
Wallis QC.			MG.Q.1720.
Walpole QC.	Res. Mondrehid Hse. (Quaker)	-	-
Wemyss KC.	Res. Rosetown, Co. Kildare.		SH.K.1694.
Wetherelt KC.	Res. Castletown?		SH.K.1736.
Wilton KC.QC.	Res. Cloneen. KC?		SH.K.1731.
Wyar KC.		SH.K.1679/80.	

Notes

The *asterisk- the terms 'New' and 'Old Protestant' need to be used with some care. It is likely that some of those in the 'new esquire and 'gent.' bracket' are in fact from planter families but do not appear in the B.S.D. Similarly though some families may be new to the two counties they may be from Old Protestant families who had at first settled in other parts of Ireland.

Those highlighted are the families who have had some tradition of serving in either the magistracy or in Parliament or who were listed as esquires in the Maryborough poll books.

Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen. Families are put in the 'Knight' category if at least one member of the family was a knight or baronet between c.1660-1760. However, many of the family members who subsequently had places in the magistracy (e.g. Gilbert and Piggott) were not knights (i.e. the knighthood had died out, but the family continues through another branch). The esquires are selected using the earlier criteria (esquires listed in B.S.D., 1659 census, 1706 quit rent Maryborough poll book and Poll Tax Commission list) and if they were a Member of

Appendix 7

7.1 List of parishes in The King's and Queen's counties with notes on the condition of the churches and glebe houses in different periods

*Name of benefice or - part of a benefice	Evidence for parish church prior to 1760	Evidence of glebe house prior to 1760	1) parish churches in 1830 and date of First Fruits gift 2) date of any churches and (chapels) that were standing in 1837	1) glebe houses in 1830 and date of First Fruits gift 2) date of any glebe house that was standing in 1837
Ossory				
Killermogh	1731-church lies in ruins	1731-house needs new roof	1798 1809	1807 1806
Bordwell	1731-old church has walls still standing		0 0	0 0
Durrow	1731-church newly built	1731-house under construction	1 1793	1731 1731
Aghavoe	1731-church repaired 1777-in repair		1818 1818	1820 1820
Sierkyan	1777-chapel used in the parish, in poor repair		1 old ch ruinous	1814 1814
Donoughmore	1731-church needs some repairs	1731-curate resides elsewhere	1787/1821 u/k	1 1822
Donougmore/ Aghamacart	1731-church needs some repairs	1731-did not look at house closely		
Offerlane	1731-church in good order 1777-in good order	1731-three cabins, but curate lives in none of them	1 ruinous	1813 0
Skeirke	1731-needs some repairs	1731-curate lives elsewhere 1745-petition to build a house	1 1831	1812 0
Rathdowney	1731-church in repair 1777-in repair	1731-glebe house repaired	1815 1815	1814 1814
-Glashare			0 -	0 -
-Kildelgy			0 -	0 -

Eirke	1731-about to be re-built with private subscriptions	1731-no residence, but was one c. 1715	0 1824	1812 1812
Rathsaran	1731-walls of old church still standing		1797 1807	1820 1819
Rosconnell	1759-no church standing	1759-house re-fitted 1760-house re-fitted	-	1734
Kildare				
Coolbanagher			1 1786	1790 1788
-Ardee			1 -	1 -
Lea			1810 1809	0 1827
Harristown			0 0	0 0
Geashill	'Repaired throughout in 1654'		2 (one 1814) ch (1815) + 2 chap (1654 and 1827)	1 'Old glebe house'
-Killeigh			1 -	0 -
Timahoe			0 -	0 -
-Ballymc-william			0 0	0 0
Clonast alias Clonbulloge	c. 1700		1 c. 1700	0 0
-Ballynakill			0 -	0 -
Rosenalis alias Oregon			1816 ch 1797 chapel 1828	1 c. 1780
Primult	c. 1680 built by Wakelys		- c. 1680	- 0
-Kilmanman			1788 -	0
-Rerymore			0	0
-Castlebrack			0 -	0 -
Clonaslee			1814 1814	0 1830
-Ballyburley			1 -	0 -
-Coolcor			0 -	0 -

St.Pauls			1 'built and enlarged at various times'	0 0
St. Michaels			1 u/k	0 0
Killaderry			1 c. 1767	0 0
Killeighy			1 1827	1818 1818
Castropetre alias Monasteroris	c. 1702-onwards, church in good repair		1 1778	0 0
-Kilclonfert			0 0	0 0
Killbracken			0 0	0 0
-Monasterevan			0 -	0 -
Ballycommon			1 u/k	1817 1817
Croghan			0 0	0 0
+Dublin				
Tankardstown		1725-no glebe house	1	0
Fonstown			1 1825	1 1807
Leighlin				
Dysart-enos			1 -	1813 -
Kilteal			0 -	0 -
Cloneagh			1818 1796	0 0
-Clonagheen			1 -	0 -
Killeban			2 (one is 1813) 1801	0 0
Timogue	in repair in 1615		1 old church	0 0
-Tullomoy	in repair in 1615		0 0	0 0
-Kilclonbrook	in repair in 1615		0 0	0 0
-Fossey			0 -	0 -
Ballyadams			1 u/k	0 0
Ballintubber			1766 -	0 -

Dysart-galen			1821 1821	1810 1810
Stradbally			1 c. 1774	1 c. 1780
-Moyanna			0 -	0 -
Abbeyleix	1768-onwards church in repair		1 1830	1810 1809
Maryborough	1615 in repair		1818 1803	0 0
-Killcoleman-bane			0 -	0 -
-Straboe			0 -	0 -
Ballyroan			1 c. 1780	0 0
Corclone			1 1804	0 0
-Killeany			0 0	0 0
Moyne			1 -	1817 -
Grangemonk			0 0	0 0
Shrule			0 0	0 0
-Slatey			0 -	0 -
-Cloydah			1803 -	1813 -
-Painstown			0 -	0 -
Killeshin	roof fell in in 1726		0 1826	0 0
Rathasbeck			1766 1813	0 0
Ballinure			1814 -	0 -
Telcolme			0 c. 1730	0 1813
Timahoe			- 0	- 0
Meath				
Clonmacnoise	1620-church in repair 1682-church put in good repair in 1647 but has gone to decay ever since		1 repaired c. 1730	1 1744
Tessauran	1620-church ruined		1805 1805	1812 1812

Kilbride Tullamore			1820 1820	1815 1814
Clara			1 1770	1 1813
Durrow	1620-church ruined 1682-church in poor condition present structure: c.1710		1 'built many years ago at expense of Mrs Fox.'	1812 1812
Farbane			1 1804	1818 1818
Fercall	1620-church ruined		0	0 built between 1773-96
-Ballyboy	1682-church recently repaired 1710-onwards, church in good repair	1682-curate resident	1815 1815	0
-Kilaghey	1620-church ruined 1682-church ruined	1682-curate at Ballyboy	1 1818	1
-Lynally	1682-church in good repair 1733-church in good repair	1682-curate resides elsewhere	1 1831	0
Rahan	1682-church in repair		0 1732	0 1817
Drumcullin	1682-church ruined 1733- church in good repair	1682-curate resides at Lynally	0 -	0 -
Eglis	1620-church ruined 1682-church out of repair		1 ancient	0 -
Ardnurcher	1620-church ruined 1682-church in bad repair	1682-resident curate	1 ancient	1815 1815
-Killbride-Tangan	1682-church out of repair	1682-curate based in Ardnurcher	0 -	0 -
Killmanaghan	1682-church out of repair	1682-curate based at Ardnurcher	0 -	0 -
Castle Jordan			- 1824	- 0
Kilnagarenagh			1826 -	- 'curate resides in a thatched cottage'

Reynagh	1620-ruined		- 1829	- c.1780; rebuilt 1800
Clonfert				
Lickmollasy			1 1821, rebuilt 1832	1812 1813
-Ballynakill			1	0
-Lusmagh			0	0
-Killmacunna			0	0
Killaloe				
Birr			1 1815	1 1826
-Killcoleman			0 0	0 0
Kinnity part of			1 'old church enlarged in 1817	1 1810
-Letterluna			0	0
-Roscomroe			0	0
Templeharry			1 1805	1 1812
-Cullenwayne			0	0
Roscrea			1 1812	1 1812
-Clonfertmulloe			0	0
-Ettagh			1 1813	0 0
Shinrone			1 1823	1794 1794
-Killmurray-ely			0	0
-Killcomin			0	0
Dunkerrin			1 1818	1803 1798
-Castletown-ely			0	0
-Rathnaveoge			0	0
-Finglas			0	0
Aghancon			1786 1787	1 'built at private expense by last incumbent'
Bourney			- 1778/1824	- 1814

Source: *An Account of the Ecclesiastical Establishment of Ireland*, (Dublin, 1830); *Fourth Report of Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland*, (House of Commons, 10 July, 1837); *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Revenues and Condition of the Established Church (Ireland)*, (Dublin, 1868).

Note: There may be other parishes that are missing from this list for the following reasons:
1) topographers and church commissioners were often unclear as to which parishes were within the bounds of The King's and Queen's counties. Daniel Beaufort in his *Memoir of a Map of Ireland*, (London, 1792) maintained that there were 92 parishes in seven dioceses. The above reports show

that were other parishes that he did not include. The parish system in Ireland is extraordinarily complex and the size and shape of the dioceses bear no relation to the civil county structure. Roscrea for instance is usually described as a parish in 'Tipperary', but part of the parish is in The King's County. The indexes to ecclesiastical reports are not always reliable.

2) parish names have changed over time. A parish may be named after the parish church, one of the chapels of ease or the union of parishes that made up a benefice. The church at Edenderry for instance is in the parish of Castorpetre or Monasteroris.

Appendix 7.2

A list of clergy serving within the bounds of The King's and Queen's counties c. 1731

Name of benefice	Name of clergyman	Share of tithes: vicarial (v) or rectorial (r)	Other parishes and church offices
Ossory			
Killermogh	Francis Schuldman	r	
"	Joseph Read	v	
"	William Shervington	c	v of Durrow and Preb. Tascoffin
Bordwell (r) with Rath saran (r and v)	Edward Maurice	r and v	was later Precentor (Ossory) and Bishop (Ossory)
Durrow	William Shervington	v	c of Killermogh Preb. Tascoffin
Aghavoe	Arthur Llewellyn	v	
"	John Hunt	c	
Sierkieran	George Warburton	c	Preb. Cloneamery
Donoughmore and Coolcraven (r), Aghamacart, Killeen and Cahir (v)	Peter Alley jun.	r and v	
Offerlane	Henry Alley	v	
Skeirke	Hugh Dawson	v	Treasurer (Ossory), later Precentor and Vicar-General (Ossory)
"	Peter Alley	c	r and v Donoughmore
Rathdowney and Glashare	Edward Maurice	v	r of Bordwell
"	Charles Jackson	c	
Kildelgy	Oliver Grace	v	
Eirke (r) and Claragh (v)	William Candler	r and v	later Preb. Blackrath
Rosconnell	William Shervington	r	v of Durrow and c of Killermogh
Kildare			
Coolbanagher	George Murray	v	v of Oregan

Lea	Richard Foxcroft	v	v of St. Michaels and Chancellor (Kildare)
Harristown	Moore Booker	c	
Geashill	Edward Shawe	c	
"	Joseph Grave	Prebend	Canon (Kildare)
Timahoe	William Preston	r	r or v of Ballymcwilliam and r of Kilclonfert and Killaderry
"	James Moorecroft	c	
Ballymcwilliam	William Preston	r or v	r of Kilclonfert and Killaderry and r of Timahoe
Clonbulloge and Clonsast	Boyle Travers	r	Preb. and v Rathangan
Oregan and Rosenallis	George Murray	v	v of Coolbanagher later Bishop (Dromore)
Ballyburley and Primult	John Gibson	r	
St. Michaels Portarlington	Richard Foxcroft	v	
St. Pauls (French) Portarlington	Anthony Ligoneur de Bonville	?	
Killaderry	William Preston	v	r of Timahoe and r or v of Ballymcwilliam
Monasteroris	William Tisdall	v	
"	James Walsh (?)	c	
Kilclonfert	William Preston	r	r of Killaderry, r of Timahoe and r or v of Ballymcwilliam
Ballycommon	David Dunbar	r and v	v of Killeighy
Killeighy	David Dunbar	v	r and v of Ballycommon
Croghan	Thomas Bushe	r and v	Preb. of Castropetre
Meath			
Clonmacnoise	Robert Jackson	c	
Ferbane	James Smith	v	
Fercall with Ballyboy	Daniel Jackson	v	
Ardnurcher	Benjamin Hawkshaw	v	r of Piercetown and Rathconrath
Kilmanaghan	William Brereton	c	
Castlejordan	John Gibson	perp. c	
Kilnegarenagh	John Antribus	v	
Reynagh	?	v	
Fonstown	Robert Caulfield	v	Preb. Harristown
Leighlin			
Dysart-enos and Killeale	John Pigott	v	
Cloneagh	Robert Mossum	r or v	Dean of Ossory
Killeban	Francis Lloyd	c	c of Rathaspeck and Telcome and later r of Tullomoy

Timogue	James Higgins	r	also v of Stradbally and r of Kilclonbrock
Tullomoy	Francis Lloyd	r	r and v of Ballyquillan, c of Rathaspeck and Telcolme
Kilclonbrock	James Tasker	r	
Ballyadams and Ballintubber	Alexander Bradford	r	
Dysert-galen	William Dawson	v and r	
Stradbally	James Higgins	v	r of Timahoe and Timogue; later r of Kilclonbrock
Abbeyleix	Muschamp Vesey	v	r of Burnchurch and later Archd. (Leighlin)
Maryborough, Burres, Straboe and Corclone (and Kilcolemanbane after 1731)	John Orr	r and v	v Straboe
Kilcolemanbane,	Thomas Mosse	r and v	v Straboe just prior to Orr in 1731
Ballyroan	William Dawson	r and v	r and v Dysert-galen
Grangemonk	Armstrong Ryves	r	
Slatey and Painstown	George Crump	r and perp.c	later Preb. Telcolme
Cloydah	Michael Nelson	v	later Preb. Telcolme
Killeshin	Richard Grantham	r	
Rathaspeck	William Curtis	v	r and v of Burres etc Preb. Telcolme
Timahoe	Philip Jones	v	
Clonfert			
Lickmollassy and Ballinakill	Thomas Revet	r and v	
Killaloe			
Birr	George Warburton	r and v	Preb. Lockeen
Templeharry	Thomas Hemsworth	v	
Roscrea	Thomas Carr	r and v	
Shinrone	possibly James Lovey (Tovey?)		
Aghancon	Dominic Meade	r and v	
Bourney	Thomas Carr	v	r and v Roscrea

Source: Leslie Succession lists, R.C.B. Lib.

Appendix 7.3 A list of lay patrons in The King's and Queen's counties

Patron	P= number of parishes (B)= number of benefices	Diocese	Name of towns within or in close proximity to the parish
Carew	2P (1B)	Leighlin	-
Carr	1P (1B)	Ossory	-
Carroll	1P (1B)	Leighlin	-
[^] Cooté (Earls of Mountrath)	7P (1B)	Meath	Frankford
Cosby	2P (1B)	Leighlin	Stradbally
Digby	2P (1B)	Kildare	part of Portarlinton
Fitzgerald (later Dukes of Leinster)	2P (1B)	Kildare	
Fitzpatrick	1P (1B)	Ossory	-
Giffard	2P (1B)	Kiladre	part of Portarlinton
Hartpole	1P (1B)	Leighlin	-
*Joly	1P (1B)	Meath	-
Landsdown estate	1P (part of B)	Leighlin	-
Kemmis	4P (1B)	Kildare	Mountmellick
Dukes of Leicester estate	2P (1B)	Kildare	-
+Maguire	2P (1B)	Leighlin	
Moore (Marquis of Drogheda)	3P (2B)	Kildare and Dublin	Monasterevan
O'Brien (Earls of Clanricarde)	1P (1B)	Clonfert	Portumna
Stanhope	1P (1B)	Leighlin	Ballinakill
Stepney	1P (1B)	Meath	-
Trench	1P (1B)	Kildare	-
Vesey	1P (1B)	Leighlin	Abbeyleix
Wakely	2P (1B)	Kildare	-

Source: *An Account of the Ecclesiastical Establishment of Ireland*, (Dublin, 1830); *Fourth Report of Ecclesiastical Revenue and Patronage in Ireland*, (House of Commons, 10 July, 1837); *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Revenues and Condition of the Established Church (Ireland)*, (Dublin, 1868).

[^]In the 1680s the Bishop of Meath was returned as patron, but this was successfully challenged by the Earls of Mountrath and they appear to have been patrons thereafter.

*The Joly family probably obtained patronage long after 1760; they are first recorded as patrons in 1868.

+ In the 1830s the patronage was still disputed. In 1868 the patron was said to be Maguire.

Appendix 7.4 The size of congregations, the number of 'English' schools and the income from tithes and glebe land in selected parishes in the diocese of Ossory c. 1731

Parish	Number Protestant families	Number non-Protestant families	Number of communicants (e) Easter	Evidence of 'English' school (sch) and number of pupils	Income (£) from tithes (t) and glebe (g)	Extent of glebe land (acres)
Killermogh	-	-	120-130 (e)	sch	115	250
Bordwell	6	44	-	-	30	2
Rathsaran	7	33	-	-	-	60
Coolkerry	3	57-60	-	-	2	-
Glashare	6	27	-	-	-	none
Rathdowney	-	-	50 (e)	sch. 50	-	380
Eirke	23	90	15	sch. 20	150-160	15
Donoughmore	5	46	5 (e)	sch. 25	-	184
Aghamacart	15	45	-	-	-	25
Aghavoe	30	120	7 (e)	sch.	-	123
Skirke	7	51	7 (wh)	sch.	-	183
Offerlane	42	258	40 (e)	sch.	-	264
Durrow	-	-	-	sch. 40	-	17-18

Source: visitation book for the Diocese of Ossory 1731, R.C.B. Lib.

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- c) maps, plans and drawings
- d) administrative and official papers

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- a) contemporary books, pamphlets and maps
- b) published manuscript sources
- b) newspapers
- d) parliamentary and ecclesiastical journals and reports

3) Secondary Works (local)

- a) theses
- b) articles and pamphlets
- c) books
- d) photographs and ephemera

4) Secondary Works (Ireland)

- a) theses
- b) books and articles

5) Secondary Works (General)

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