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Speculators in Conflict: The Adventurers and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, 1642-1660

David Brown



PhD
HISTORIES
& HUMANITIES

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D., Trinity College Dublin, 2016

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Speculators in Conflict: The Adventurers and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, 1642-1660

Thesis Abstract

David Brown, submitted for the degree of Ph.D., Trinity College Dublin, 2016

This study reveals how the actions of an extraordinary group of skilled and innovative individuals, less than twenty in number, developed and maintained a stable system of state finance in highly challenging times. They profited enormously from their efforts and left behind them both an early form of centralised English fiscal state and the framework upon which England's overseas empire was built.

The Adventure for Irish Land of February 1642 was a speculation in the conquest of Ireland, a reaction to the Catholic rebellion of October 1641. Money contributed towards an army to conquer the Catholic rebels would be repaid in land. The Adventurers for Irish Land were the individuals who subscribed money into this scheme, despite having no prior interest in Ireland. Their significance has never been fully investigated. They had developed their commercial networks in England's American and Caribbean colonies in the 1620s and 1630s and came to prominence during the outbreak of the English Civil War. This tightly interconnected grouping of peers, parliamentarians and merchants dominated English parliamentary finances throughout the 1640s and early 1650s. They also played a key role in financing Oliver Cromwell's military endeavours, including his campaign in Ireland of 1649-50. In a bitter dispute over the nature of the Irish land settlement, the Adventurers withdrew from public finance during the Cromwellian Protectorate, 1653-1660, and achieved, instead, complete dominance over England's foreign trade. By 1660, the dramatic surge in international trade they had engineered was endangered by the bellicose foreign policies of the State and the Adventurers decided to support any initiative that could secure their own interests. In a dramatic shift of allegiance, the Adventurers facilitated the return to London and Restoration of Charles II.

This analysis is new and demonstrates how a singular group of merchants took leading roles in key three episodes of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms: the overthrow of Charles I, the Restoration of Charles II, and England's conquest of Ireland.

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Abbreviations

A&O	<i>Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum</i>
BL	British Library
CCAM	<i>Calendar of the Committee for Advance of Money</i>
CCC	<i>Calendar of the Committee for Compounding</i>
CJ	<i>Journal of the House of Commons</i>
CMEIC	<i>Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company</i>
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series</i>
CSPI	<i>Calendar of State papers, Ireland</i>
LJ	<i>Journal of the House of Lords</i>
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
TNA	The National Archives, UK

Speculators in Conflict: The Adventurers and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, 1642-1660

Introduction

Merchants, it seems, have been around since antiquity, usually occupying a space in the public consciousness somewhere between envy and mistrust. The merchant exists outside of the mainstream historical canon, rarely appearing in political, religious or military histories. The merchant is seldom awarded the honor of a hagiography of the kind bestowed upon a successful general or admiral, although a merchant normally supplies the material for victory. Maybe this is because the merchant was generally unfussy as to which general he supplied, so long as there was a profit to be made. The merchant, for all his ingenuity, had always lacked a basic moral compass. This was the general perception of merchants at least until early modern times, and perhaps this is what makes them such a compelling field for study.

By the early seventeenth century the European Age of Exploration was drawing to a close and its age of colonization and empire had begun. Almost all of this activity, from Sweden to Spain and all the maritime states in between, was planned, undertaken and financed by merchants. Foreign territories became a source of status for European monarchs and a focus of pride for the early modern European state as it developed. Some dominions undoubtedly held considerable value, for example the Spanish controlled silver mines at Potosí and the English tobacco plantations of Virginia, but most comprised fragile colonies that would still require considerable investment to become viable. As this investment came from seventeenth century merchants, not from states, and as merchants from all states operated across pretended colonial borders with impunity, there is a clear gap between the literature of the period and the real world. This would have us believe that colonial development was the work of kings and states and that grand strategic minds were guiding these endeavours. The reality was merchants from all states looking for quick profits, allied to or stealing from one another as it suited them. The early modern merchants, invisible in plain sight, have managed to elude the attention of both contemporary commentators and later historians despite being the progenitors of and modern capitalism and imperialism. This study examines key events in England and Ireland, 1642-1660, and emphasizes the

role of a small and highly influential group of merchants and how they influenced the outcomes.

Central to this study are the origins, impact and legacy of the Adventurers for Irish Land, the approximately 1,300 English merchants and politicians who subscribed money to a speculation in the conquest of Ireland, and specifically a smaller group, ever present, who acted as the leaders of these merchants throughout the period in question. The prize on offer was 2.5 million acres of Catholic Irish land, as described in the Adventurers Act of 24 February 1642 and its immediate successors.¹ These Adventurers comprised almost all of the leading merchants prepared to offer financial support to Parliament in its initial confrontation with King Charles I, an event that unfolded as the Adventurers Act was being prepared. Rather than focus on the well documented peers and elected representatives central to the conflict between king and Parliament, this dissertation follows the careers of those merchants that worked behind the scenes, at times on behalf of their leaders, but usually in their own interests.

Although these merchants were predominantly drawn from the burgeoning colonial Atlantic trades, they also included some notable figures from England's merchant establishment, the Muscovy, Levant, and East India companies, together with the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers. There was considerable overlap between the colonial and other groups. England's Western colonial enterprises were undertaken through individual companies that raised funds to establish individual plantations. Examples include the Dorchester Company, created in 1619 to establish a colony in New England and The London Company of the Somers Isles, created in 1615 to establish a colony on Bermuda. The Honourable the Irish Society was created in 1609 to establish the plantation of Derry, financed by the Companies of London.² The royal chartered companies, including the Eastland, Muscovy, Levant and East India Companies exercised monopolies, issued by the king, to trade in specific geographical regions. The leaders of the chartered companies tended to be drawn from a wealthier and more established class of merchants than those who invested in the smaller western enterprises. Unlike the Dutch Republic,

¹ 'An Act for the speedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels in his Majesties Kingdome of Ireland to their due obedience to his Majestie & the Crowne of England' in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5: 1628-80* (London, 1819), pp. 168-172.

² The Companies of London is a term used to describe cooperative ventures organised by the liveried London companies organised around trade guilds, for example the Grocers' and Ironmongers' Companies.

where the West India Company to manage all of the American trade, English trade in the Atlantic consisted of a proliferation of small, independent colonial ventures. Finally, the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers was a company of merchants specifically concerned with cloth trade between England and continental Europe, for which they also held a royal monopoly. The Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers, normally abbreviated to the Merchant Adventurers, was restricted to this trade and members were not allowed, for example, to also operate a merchant drapery in London. Trade was far better organised in theory than in practise and the 1630s were characterised by the continual attempts of independent merchants to break into the trade controlled by the monopolistic companies, usually on a casual basis but sometimes with a specific commission awarded by the King.³

The merchants who organized around the Adventure for Irish land created a distinct leadership of their own, self-interested and relatively free from the factional politics that defined parliament during the civil war years. This leadership formed a committee of its own, the Committee of Adventurers for Ireland, that met regularly in Grocers Hall, London, from 1642 until their claims were finally settled by Charles II in 1665. The ‘Adventurers’ referred to in the text are normally those sat on this committee or otherwise became, through wealth or activism, part of this inner circle. These also comprised the treasurers for most of parliament’s taxation and other revenue raising institutions from 1642 until 1653.⁴ Parliament’s financial committees, therefore, while appearing to be disjointed with disparate personnel, were in fact tied together by this Grocers Hall committee who met regularly and could discuss common goals and policies.

Among these merchants, one is prominent throughout this narrative. Maurice Thompson’s extensive colonial interests and business partnerships were first revealed by Robert Brenner in his study of the rise of what he termed the ‘New Merchants’ in pre-revolutionary England.⁵ Although Brenner’s work is an invaluable guide to English merchant networks, his characterization of these networks as sharply divided between Company, ‘old’, and colonial ‘new’ merchants is an oversimplification. The majority of colonial merchants were drawn from the Levant Company and Merchant Adventurers and

³ The most notable of the royal commissions that concerns the Adventurers for Irish land was one awarded to Sir William Courteen in 1635, permitting him to trade in the East Indies in competition with the English East India Company.

⁴ The members of the first iteration of this committee are named in British Library Additional MS 4771 ‘Committee for Ireland’, f 3v.

⁵ Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, (Princeton, 1993).

it was their expertise in shipping that drew them into the Atlantic arena. Brenner's narrative ends with the dissolution of the Rump Parliament in 1653, but the merchants' actions thereafter disprove his argument that they were revolutionaries, as demonstrated in this thesis. Maurice Thompson was more the exception than typical as he was almost exclusively involved in American and Caribbean projects until the outbreak of rebellion in Ireland in October 1641. Of the triumvirate of merchants at the center of the English Parliament's financial arrangements for Ireland, only Thomson had this exclusively colonial pedigree. William Pennoyer, an existing partner with Thompson in some Atlantic tobacco ventures, was a member of the Levant Company. Thomas Andrews, a senior member of the Massachusetts Bay Company, derived his wealth from his association with the Craddock family, leaders of the Eastland Company.

Maurice Thompson's career began as a Virginia tobacco planter in the 1620s and culminated with the governorship of the East India Company in 1657, the acme of England's merchant hierarchy. Thompson maintained a continuous engagement with Ireland throughout this period, in trade, finance, military supply and finally with the acquisition of land. He emerged briefly in English affairs, but during pivotal episodes, and then receded to concentrate on his business interests. Maurice Thompson is rarely found directly in parliamentary or other official records yet this study makes it clear that he was never more than one step removed from central political figures and decisions. The majority of the adventurers' leadership was drawn from the networks of merchants and shipping contractors which developed in the 1620s and 1630s and, of these, most had an involvement with the Americas. Some had direct experience as colonists, others indirectly through supporting a family member. The London-based networks comprised a large number of small shared-ownership schemes, involved in shipping, plantations or investing in an imported consignment. There were a great many modest participants in these activities, but a small number for whom it was a major business and these individuals became the leading Adventurers for Irish land. These leaders operated within broad family networks connected through commerce, family and, especially, the church.

Many of the leading Adventurers were reforming Puritans and had contributed either towards the establishment of the New England Colonies or to one of the smaller Puritan ventures in the Caribbean. Many had Calvinist Dutch connections, commercial and familial and had regular dealings with the better known Puritan peers, notably the earl of Warwick. What little information that can be gleaned as to the conscience of individual

Adventurers, however, must be derived from commercial records as they have left few records other than these to prosperity.⁶ If we are to believe that they shared the anti-popery of the New English plantation landlords in Ireland whom they supported, they clearly had no difficulty in separating their souls from their bottom line. Prior to the outbreak of rebellion in Ireland in 1641, many Adventurers were, or had been, creditors of Catholic landowners. In their Atlantic world they were in continual contact with imperial Spain and Portugal and religious difference did not keep them out of the tobacco or wine trade.

The Adventurers' leadership may be divided into four distinct groups, each with a leader of its own. The largest was a Virginia group comprising traders to and planters in Virginia and the Caribbean whose leader was Maurice Thompson and his family circle the most important in the context of the Adventure for Irish land. His brothers, George, Robert and William had prominent roles in the administration of revolutionary England. Of his brothers-in-law, William Tucker was prominent in the military build up in England in 1642 and William Hawkins was secretary of Parliament's Committee for Irish Affairs, among many other roles. Another brother-in-law, Nicholas Corsellis, was a prominent anglo-dutch trader. This group included Thompson's many business partners, William Pennoyer, Samuel Vassall, the regicide Gregory Clement, Nicholas Crispe and Martin Noel, to name but a few.⁷

The second, or New England group, was led by a treasurer for the Adventure, Thomas Andrews, and included many leading puritans with new England connections for example Sir Henry Vane jr, Hugh Peter, Sir Nathaniel Barnadiston, George Downing, Sir William Brereton and John Venn. There were many cross-overs between the two groups and Maurice Thompson and George Downing formed a successful partnership to establish a

⁶ There is evidence of Maurice Thompson's religious conviction in later life. In 1653 he was central to a fund-raising effort to construct a new Church of St Matthias at Poplar, London. See Hermoine Hobhouse and Stephen Porter (eds.), *Survey of London*, Vol. 43 (London, 1994), p. 104.

⁷ Many of Thompson's commercial partnerships were identified by Brenner in *Merchants and Revolution*. Brenner also discusses in considerable detail the religious motivations for many of the early English colonies, pp. 275-281. Of equal significance, however, were the planter families Thompson dealt with during his stay in Virginia in the early 1620s. Some of these surnames are very familiar to students of the English Civil Wars: Fairfax, Purefoy, Sandys and Waller, to name but a few. All were living within the close confines of Elizabeth City, Virginia, in the 1620s. For short biographical sketches of these settlers see Martha W. MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers 1607-35: A Biographical Dictionary*, (Baltimore, MD., 2007).

New England fishing colony. A third group of men became the treasurers of parliament's many financial committees, the first of which was the Adventure for Irish land; the treasurers included Thomas Andrews, John Towse and John Warner. Warner's daughter was married to William Thompson. These three treasurers were also central to parliament's early fund-raising efforts in 1642 and as these efforts multiplied, together with the number of committees and treasurers to manage them, they were joined by further colleagues from the central committee of Adventurers for Irish land, Sir David Watkins, James Bunce, John Kendrick, John Dethick, Michael Herring and Maurice Thompson. They were helped in these efforts by further Virginians and New Englanders.

Dethick, like Corsellis, was also Anglo-Dutch and they represented an important fourth group that included several Dutch merchants resident in London, the extended Corsellis family in Middleburg and Amsterdam with its Dutch colonial interests and the important Boudin-Courteen family concern that offered a gateway to India. Again, Maurice Thompson provides the bond between this and the other groups with his deep Dutch connections and ongoing business dealings with the Boudin-Courteens.

Chapter One

Adventures and Adventurers

In its seventeenth century context an 'adventure' was a speculation, financial or otherwise. It was not a loan, by which money is made available for a fixed term and at an agreed rate of return. The closest modern equivalent is company shares from which the investor hopes to recoup a share of the profit arising from the original investment. This term 'adventure' was in widespread use among colonial merchants to describe sums of money adventured on colonial projects in the hope of a handsome return. An adventure could be in person as well as in money and one could risk oneself in the hope of a return in money or property. Financial adventures were typically collaborative and the sharing of risk suited the less wealthy, the merchants of the middling or 'meaner' sort who typically participated in colonial schemes. Adventures took many forms and ranged from a small consortium of investors in a single voyage to large projects such as the Second Virginia Company that attracted over 1,000 subscriptions in 1619.⁸ For most large projects a strict class system was observed, comprising a person of title who acted as patron and obtained a royal charter for the venture. A further assortment of lesser peers and well-connected merchants then provided the bulk of the financial backing. Most of the colonial schemes launched during the first half of the seventeenth century took the form of companies with a pool of adventurers. In this study, 'Adventurers' are capitalised to indicate the specific group of merchants, or their leadership, who subscribed to the Adventure for Irish land.

Kenneth Andrews has shown that one of the most common opportunities for the less wealthy members of the merchant community to participate in shareholding enterprises was through the shared ownership of merchant vessels.⁹ Although the very wealthy could afford to be sole owners, the risk of owning a ship was normally spread among four to sixteen individuals who could also have a share of ownership in her cargo. The numbers of ships owned by these lesser merchants rose steadily throughout the 1630s, reflecting the increase in trade between London and the Atlantic colonies of New England, Virginia and

⁸ William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large; being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia*, (Richmond, VA, 1888), i, 80-98; Samuel M. Bemiss, *The Three Charters of the Virginia Company of London*, (Williamsburg, VA., 1957), pp. 76-95.

⁹ Kenneth R. Andrews, *Ships, Money and Politics* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 34-61; Ralph Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (Newton Abbot, 1962).

the Caribbean.¹⁰ The India trade was the exception as the East India Company owned its own ships, but each voyage was also treated as an individual adventure with its own distinct group of subscribers. The Company leased the ships to the adventurers in each voyage and also took a share of the profits. In general, foreign trade and the shipping required to service it gave rise to a considerable community of merchants familiar with the concepts of shared risk and long-term credit. The early colonial period, therefore, was characterised by a huge increase in co-operative endeavours, quite unlike land-holding which is, by and large, a solitary pursuit.

The body of merchants comprising the Adventurers for Irish Land operated on a global scale, realising the imperial ambitions of their political collaborators. They did not make policy, which was a function of the King and his Privy Council in the 1630s, and mainly of Parliament through the 1640s and 1650s. The Adventurers sought to profit from those policies. This search for profit was dominant, and transcended territorial, religious and linguistic boundaries. The story of the Adventurers is defined by the requirement to keep these political and financial ambitions in reasonable alignment, to allow politics to be financed on one side and a profit to be made on the other. This system permitted an investment in a political struggle to be offset against a subsequent gain in trade or profit, the most persistent characteristic of engagement by the Adventurers with the succession of English governments from 1640 to 1660. The historiographical convention is to treat these two topics, politics and money, in parallel. For political history, the nation state is usually seen as the most appropriate container and most narratives reconstruct an imaginary national boundary and describe events within it. This is evident in the histories of most of the geographical regions of the early modern Atlantic world that treat each European state and its nascent empire as a separate entity. The early modern merchant did not see the world in this way. Spanish or Dutch silver, once acquired by an English merchant, could be melted and minted into English coin. The history of commerce is not as easily territorially defined as the history of nations. Although the merchant could profit by a territorially ambitious monarch, financing that monarch's campaigns, what the merchant really required was stability and a safe space in which to operate. The efficient circulation of

¹⁰ Russell R. Menard, *Sweet Negotiation: Sugar, Slavery and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados*, (Charlottesville, VA., 2006); Henry A. Gemery, 'Emigration from the British Isles to the New World: 1630-1700: References from Colonial Populations', *Research in Economic History* 5 (1980), pp. 179-231.

money, inside and across territorial boundaries, was essential to merchants and monarchs alike.

History contained within a nation state does not address this problem of regionality. Regionality assumes that in the absence of a clear foreign intervention the answer to an historical enquiry can be found within the imagined boundary of the nation state under consideration. David Armitage escapes the historiographical problem of regionality with his definition of 'circum-Atlantic' history, the idea that the history of the Atlantic is a transnational one that transcends the European nation states and also draws Asian economies into an expanding Atlantic network.¹¹ The Adventurers for Irish land were part of this circum-Atlantic world. They were English but with strong Dutch commercial and familial connections. Their activities ranged from the supply of Canadian fish from French colonies in North America to Spain, to the supply of African slaves from Portuguese trading stations to Spanish, Dutch, French and English colonies in the Americas. They shipped the produce of these colonies to England, Ireland and Scotland and onwards to the markets of Western Europe and Scandinavia.

The position of Ireland in this circum-Atlantic world has been treated by Jane Ohlmeyer in a historiographical survey article, 'Seventeenth-Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories', examining emerging scholarship on the topics of religious, cultural and political commonalities.¹² Ohlmeyer takes issue with the regionalism of Irish historiography and embraces the trend towards including Ireland's history with that of its immediate neighbours. Some shared themes in the separate histories of England's Atlantic colonies are discussed in the edited volume, *The Westward Enterprise*, but this work is essentially a collection of regional histories and emphasises the diversity of the English colonies as opposed to what they had in common.¹³ A recent study by Alison Games examines a broad cross-section of English colonial projects, from the Caribbean to the Indian Oceans in the 1630s and 1640s.¹⁴ Games draws attention to how some persons, including colonial governors and clerics, migrated across colonies, seeking both to spread a conforming world view and to make their personal fortunes. These works are more about

¹¹ David Armitage, 'Three Concepts of Atlantic History' in David Armitage and Michael Braddick (eds.), *The British Atlantic World*, (Basingstoke, 2009 edition), pp. 18-20.

¹² Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Seventeenth Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories' in *American Historical Review*, 104: 2, (Apr., 1999), pp. 446-462.

¹³ K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny and P. E. H. Hair (eds.), *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650* (Liverpool, 1978).

¹⁴ Alison Games, *The Web of Empire* (Oxford 2008).

the spread of English people and ideas, especially religion, around the world than the acquisition of money, the primary goal of the Adventurers. Money still remains the domain of the economic or financial historian.

Steven Pincus argued that the modern English imperial economy emerged towards the end of the seventeenth century, following the invasion of England in 1688 by a Dutch prince and the establishment of financial institutions on the Dutch model.¹⁵ While it is true that English financial structures formalised post-1688, many characteristics of this later economy existed in an informal way during the Commonwealth period in the 1640s, and the English fiscal state had become, through the efforts of the Adventurers, highly centralised. The primary Dutch fiscal innovation of the early seventeenth century was the development of a transparent clearing institution through which instruments of credit could be exchanged.¹⁶ The Thompsons and many other leading Adventurers had close familial and commercial Dutch connections and were familiar with Dutch practise. Money will not, on its own generate any more money, but it is a dependable medium of exchange for goods or for the debt obligations of others.¹⁷ Money also represents a store of value. The Adventurers understood this, but they also understood the importance of the pre-eminent early modern store of value, land. Unless Parliament had credit, and early in 1642 this was not the case, Parliament required either money or land to finance its military campaigns. The Adventure for Irish Land provided investors with a highly attractive form of collateral, sufficient to allow them to monetise the crushing of the Irish rebellion.

The Adventure for Irish Land was a shared-ownership speculation in the conquest of Ireland, not a loan secured on the public revenue. The intention of the speculators was that money contributed towards an army to defeat the Irish rebellion of October 1641 would be repaid in the form of land, quickly and at an attractive rate of return. The Adventurers Act of 1642 assumed that the rebellion in Ireland was a general one and that all Catholic owned land in Ireland would be subject to forfeiture. This assumption provided the basis for the

¹⁵ Steven Pincus, *1688 The First Modern Revolution*, (Yale, 2009), pp. 370-84.

¹⁶ For a brief survey article on the development of instruments of credit during the early modern period see Frederick K Beutel, 'The Development of Negotiable Instruments in Early English Law', *Harvard Law Review*, 51:5 (March, 1938), pp. 813-845. For a detailed description of the methodology for the early form of banking practised by the Adventurers, see Frank T. Melton, *Sir Robert Clayton and the Origins of English Deposit Banking, 1658-1685*, (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 16-94.

¹⁷ Douglas Fisher, *Monetary Theory and the Demand for Money*, (London, 1978), pp. 14-15.

Cromwellian land settlement in the 1650s and its subsequent confirmation by Charles II with the Acts of Settlement and Explanation 1662 and 1665 respectively.¹⁸ From a regional perspective this narrative is a perfectly logical one and existing studies reflect this.

The significance of the Adventurers Act however has been interpreted in several ways.¹⁹ John Prendergast, writing in 1890, viewed it as a final plantation scheme under which the total conquest of Ireland was envisaged.²⁰ To Prendergast, the Adventure was a private enterprise over which the King had little control, and it obliged many Catholic landowners, with some reluctance, to take up arms against the crown. Robert Mahaffy provides an extensive introduction to the initial legislation and subsequent dealings of the Adventurers with parliament in the preface to his calendar of material relating to the Adventurers in the Public Record Office in England.²¹ Writing in 1908, Mahaffy presents the material as ‘in effect a list of the names and addresses of subscribers, of the places in which the lands were awarded to them or their successors, and of the deeds or transfers by which those who actually received land derived their title from the original subscribers’.²² William Scott’s corporatist analysis of the Adventure includes the observation that although the Adventure was a ‘lottery-loan’ and not a joint stock company in the technical sense, a successful outcome depended on the Adventurers cooperating in the fitting out of troops and the

¹⁸ ‘An Act for the better Execution of His Majesties gracious Declaration for the Settlement of his Kingdom of Ireland, and Satisfaction of the several Interests of Adventures, Soldiers and other his Subjects there’ in *Statutes passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland*, (number of volumes? Dublin, 1794), i, 338-364 and ‘An Act for the explaining of some Doubts arising upon an Act initiated...’ in *Statutes passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland*, ii, 1-137.

¹⁹ John P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Conquest of Ireland*, (Dublin, 1890), pp. 72-9; For the legislation see Robert Pentland Mahaffy, (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland Preserved in the Public Record Office: Adventurers for Land, 1642-59*, (London, 1903). For a corporatist analysis of the Adventure for Irish land see William Robert Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720*, (3 vols, Cambridge, 1910), ii, 344. For a treatment of the Adventurers in the context of the ongoing English plantation of Ireland see Karl S. Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, (Oxford, 1971). For the Adventurers and their association with the Radical faction in the English Parliament see J.R. MacCormack, ‘The Irish Adventurers and the English Civil War’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 10:37, (1956-7) pp. 45-67 and Keith Lindley, ‘Irish Adventurers and Godly Militants in the 1640s’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 29:113 (May, 1994), pp. 1-12. The immediate reaction to the Irish rebellion in political circles in London is treated in Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641*, (Dublin, 1994), pp. 261-284.

²⁰ Prendergast, *Cromwellian conquest*, pp. 72-9.

²¹ Mahaffy, *Adventurers*.

²² Mahaffy, *Adventurers*, introduction, p. v.

prosecution of a campaign for the conquest of Ireland.²³ This is an important observation as the Adventurers could not be passive investors if the lottery for Irish land, their only promised return, was ever to take place.

Karl S. Bottigheimer observed in 1967 that ‘the Adventurers were to play a participating, if never dominant, role in the formulation of Irish policy’, a reference to the inclusion of some Adventurers who were not MPs at meetings of the English Parliament’s Committee for Irish Affairs in 1643.²⁴ This assertion has become the accepted interpretation of the political role of the Adventurers. J.R. MacCormack’s analysis of the political loyalties of those Adventurers who were MPs was published in 1956.²⁵ MacCormack indicates that the Adventure was factional, supported by a far greater proportion of Parliamentarians than Royalists. Bottigheimer’s subsequent monograph published in 1971, *English Money and Irish Land*, made available for the first time, as appendices, lists of the original Adventurers from 1642-3 and their equivalents in 1658, following the initial Cromwellian land settlement, but did not attempt a systemic analysis of each individual Adventurer.²⁶ This monograph explores the geographical distribution of the Adventurers and classifies them, where possible, by profession. *English Money and Irish Land* also includes a survey of plantation Ireland prior to 1642, a detailed account of the progress of the conflict in Ireland from 1642 to 1653 and the negotiations that surrounded the eventual lottery for land. Overall, however, Bottigheimer’s work is a study of the Adventure, but not of the Adventurers who subscribed to and managed the investment.

Hugh Hazlett contextualised the fiscal impact of the Adventure in a general study of all of the English fundraising efforts to support the war in Ireland.²⁷ Hazlett observed that an existing fund-raising scheme in 1642, a church gate collection to provide relief to ‘the poor Protestants of Ireland’, failed due to a general perception that the money raised was being diverted by parliament to its own ends.²⁸ He provides a useful table showing that the

²³ Scott, *Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies*, ii, 344.

²⁴ Karl S. Bottigheimer, ‘English Money and Irish Land: The “Adventurers” in the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland’ in *Journal of British Studies*, 7: 1 (Nov., 1967), pp 12-27 at p. 20.

²⁵ MacCormack, ‘Irish Adventurers’, pp. 45-67.

²⁶ Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, (Oxford, 1971).

²⁷ Hugh Hazlett, ‘The Financing of the British Armies in Ireland 1641-9’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 1 (1938), pp. 21-41.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 27.

Adventure raised £333,000, out of a total of £2,031,000 raised in England to fund the military conquest of Ireland between 1642-9.²⁹ These figures demonstrate that although the Adventure raised a substantial sum, it was hardly one of overwhelming significance in the context of the total amount of English money spent on the conquest of Ireland.³⁰ There were, however, substantial differences between the purposes for which money was raised during this period and how it was spent. Equally, there were considerable differences between aspirations to raise funds and the amounts actually collected. Taking these figures at face value, the Adventure can be interpreted as being only of minor significance in the overall context of England's war effort as it related to Ireland. The significance of the Adventure, however, lies not in the capital raised but in the merchants who provided it and the subsequent use of their money.

The most recent study of the Adventurers, published twenty years ago, was by Keith Lindley in his article 'Irish Adventurers and Godly Militants'.³¹ Lindley, using Bottigheimer's lists, focuses on the religious motives of some of the Adventurers. He devotes some space to the individuals calendared as members of Adventurers' committees in the 1640s and mentioned in Bottigheimer's text, and highlights the merchants' religious orientation but does not dwell on their commercial activities. The final page of Lindley's article, drawing heavily on the work of Robert Brenner, deals with the colonial connections of some of the Adventurers, although Brenner, as Lindley points out, analyses only the Additional Sea Adventure of July 1642.³²

All of these works suffer from two distinct weaknesses, both connected to the regionalism prevalent in Irish historiography of the early modern period. Firstly, the analyses are unduly influenced by the consequence of the Adventurers Act, the Cromwellian Land Settlement, and do not focus on the Act itself. The Adventure for Irish Land is uniformly portrayed as yet another phase of the English plantation of Ireland, the colonisation of the rest of the country being a logical progression from the regional plantations effected by the Tudors and Stuarts during the preceding century. The framing of the Act itself has attracted

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 37.

³⁰ According to Hazlett, the Adventure comprised 16% of the total raised in England for the conquest of Ireland. These figures can only be considered as indicative, and based on intent as most of the money raised prior to 1648, and the Adventure is no exception, was diverted towards military campaigns in England.

³¹ Keith Lindley, 'Irish Adventurers and Godly Militants in the 1640s', *Irish Historical Studies*, 29 (May, 1994), pp. 1-12.

³² Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 400-409.

little discussion and its text is taken at face value with no weight given to the circumstances surrounding the framing of the initial legislation. The Adventurers Act was framed in London, a process that began in January 1642 immediately following the English parliament's initial armed uprising against King Charles I. Its promoters were central to the faction in the English parliament opposing the King. The framing of the Act must, therefore, be considered with the divisions that opened up in London at the same time and should not be viewed solely as a further instrument of Plantation.

The second gap in the treatment of the Adventure for Irish land to date is the absence of any meaningful analysis of the 1,300 Adventurers who subscribed to the fund. As only a handful were active in plantation Ireland prior to 1642, and hardly any ever visited the country, a cloak of anonymity is maintained and their significance in England's Civil Wars has eluded Irish and, to a certain extent, English historians. To the parliamentarians, it was the Adventurers who were important and not the Adventurers Act. The Adventurers, organised as a corporate body, had a distinct leadership comprising approximately twenty merchants with strong connections among independent MPs and peers, as well as within London's political and military institutions. With their background in colonial shipping, the Adventurers possessed, collectively, one of the strongest navies in the early modern world. The committee of Adventurers, established in March 1642, dispersed into the highest positions in parliamentary finance and occupied leading posts on every important English financial committee by January 1643. The multiplicity of committees created by Parliament during this period to finance its militarisation appear disjointed, but there was an Adventurer for Irish land on every one of them and all met regularly at Grocers Hall in London. Understanding the importance of the Adventurers in England is crucial to understanding the subsequent Irish land settlement, and to understand the land settlement it is vital to identify who the Adventurers were.

The politics of the London merchant community experienced revolutionary change during the winter of 1641-2, at the same time as the Adventure for Irish land was being developed and negotiated. Established Aldermen were being replaced by merchants from the colonial and shipping trades and an unprecedented struggle for the Mayoralty of London underlined a shift in political power away from the existing establishment.³³ The London based

³³ Robert Ashton, 'Puritanism and Progress', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 17:3 (1965), pp. 579-587; Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court*, (Cambridge, 1979); Alfred B. Beavan *The Aldermen of the City of London*, (London, 1913); John Bond, *The Downfall of the old Common-Counsel men...extruded the old out of their corrupted offices, and elected*

Adventurers were prominent participants in this upheaval. David Cressy offers a more reductionist analysis of these events than Brenner, arguing that events were focussed almost entirely on London, with an emphasis on religious and cultural disturbances.³⁴ This interpretation ignores the effect of the Irish rebellion of October 1641 on the London polity and how the indecisive response to the rebellion posed a challenge to the authority of the King.³⁵ This research demonstrates that the Adventure for Irish land was central to parliament's efforts to assemble a military force for use in its struggle with Charles I and that the emergency in Ireland was frequently invoked to raise resources by parliament, resources that were later diverted elsewhere.

The Additional Sea Adventure to Ireland was a far smaller enterprise, conceived as a naval expedition to complement the land expedition envisioned by the original Adventure.³⁶ Modern analyses of the Additional Sea Adventure are based on a single source, the relation of the voyage written by Hugh Peter, the Puritan divine who was its pastor. This was, however, essentially a work of propaganda.³⁷ Although the Sea Adventure was of marginal significance in naval terms, it marked a major shift in the posture of the leading Adventurers, who were prepared now to intervene militarily as well as financially. Charles refused to sanction the Sea Adventure which became a piratical assault on one of his Three Kingdoms. Robert Brenner identified the close correlation between the investors in the Sea Adventure to Ireland and the contractors to the earl of Warwick's Providence Island company.³⁸ The Providence Island company was owned by the 'Junta' of opposition peers

new in their places, (London, 1641); Robert Brenner, 'The Civil War Politics of London's Merchant Community', *Past & Present*, 58 (Feb., 1973), pp. 53-107; Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: City Government and National Politics, 1625-43*, (Oxford, 1961).

³⁴ David Cressy, *England on Edge: Crisis and Revolution 1640-1642*, (Oxford, 2006).

³⁵ Perceval-Maxwell, *Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion*, pp. 261-284.

³⁶ A&O, I, pp. 9-12. 'June 1642: The Ordinance for the Sea Adventure to Ireland.' If this is the first use of the abbreviation A&O it needs to be identified as [hereafter A&O] when the full title is used, or else included in an abbreviation list.

³⁷ Hugh Peter, *A True Relation of the Passages of Gods Providence in a Voyage for Ireland...*, (London, 1642). Peter was a Puritan pastor who trained in Holland and worked in New England as a representative of the Massachusetts Bay Company in the 1630s. He returned to London in 1640 as an advocate for the New England colony. His brother, Benjamin Peter, commanded one of the vessels set out by the Sea Adventurers and later served as a captain for both the Levant and East India companies.

³⁸ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 400-409. Providence Island, now Providencia, is located off the coast of Columbia in the Caribbean Sea. Although in theory an agricultural plantation it operated almost exclusively as a fortress for English pirates and

and a small number of equally influential MPs, including John Pym. John Adamson presents the events leading up to the English Revolution as a revolt led primarily by this section of the peerage, specifically Robert Rich, earl of Warwick, Robert Greville, Lord Brooke and William Fiennes, Viscount Say and Sele.³⁹ This connection was developed further by Karen Ordahl Kupperman who, using the records of the Providence Island Company, demonstrated that a close relationship existed between Warwick and the leading Sea Adventurers, especially Maurice Thompson, who became the main contractor of naval services for the company.⁴⁰

The regionalism that has excluded the Adventurers from Irish historiography has also led to the exclusion of the Adventure from the historiography of the origins of the English Civil Wars, despite the overwhelmingly parliamentary profile of its MP investors and the close association of the promoters with the earl of Warwick and the rest of the Providence Island Company peers. Much of the Adventure's £300,000 was raised between March and June 1642 as England slid into Civil War. Despite a vibrant and continuing debate over the political and societal causes of the English Civil War, the role of those who financed its outbreak has not been analysed.⁴¹ Although the Adventure was not a direct cause of the English revolt, it was evidently a facilitator, bringing together the 'Junta' of peers central to the heart of the confrontation between King and parliament with Brenner's 'New Merchants'. These peers were already the merchants' best customers. This alliance bypassed the established relationship that existed between parliament and the merchant leadership of the City of London, the normal route through which parliamentary finance was raised. The participants in this new alliance, dispersed throughout a variety of sources, are clearly tabulated in Bottigheimer's list of the original Adventurers in Irish land. This study reveals that the small group of merchants on this list, who dominated all areas of parliamentary finance during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, was drawn mainly from the network that developed to service England's colonial expansion in the Atlantic in the

privateers throughout the 1630s until it was destroyed by a Spanish expeditionary force in September 1640.

³⁹ John Adamson, *The Noble Revolt*, (London, 2007).

⁴⁰ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (Cambridge, 1993); TNA CO125/1-2 Records of the Providence Island Company. TNA probably needs to go to an abbreviations list.

⁴¹ Conrad Russell, *The origins of the English Civil War*, (London, 1973); Ann Hughes, *The Causes of the English Civil War*, (Basingstoke, 1998); Richard Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy*, (London 2013); Adamson, *Noble Revolt*. The Junta and the Atlantic colonial projectors among the peerage are almost interchangeable.

1620s and 1630s.⁴² The few who were not were, to some degree, colonial merchants had financial or trade links with them, or were colonial planters in their own right.

In the early decades of the seventeenth century, the American colonies existed in a governmental vacuum. Their economic expansion accelerated in the absence of a centralised economic strategy and according to the capacities of their various patentees and promoters. The colonies developed as barter economies, exchanging agricultural commodities for English manufactured goods and indentured labour. Keith Wrightson portrays economic life in England in the first half of the seventeenth century as a slow process of commercialisation, a transition from an agrarian to a mercantile economy without a formal policy to make this transition.⁴³ The mid-American and Caribbean colonies achieved this transition in a very short space of time (1620 to 1640), and the mercantile wealth that accrued from this expansion was concentrated in the hands of a small number of colonial contractors in London. It is probable that only the colonial merchants and the Providence Island peers who oversaw the colonial expansion were aware that this transition had taken place. The two way trade between England and the colonies was allowed to develop without state intervention and the scale of this trade developed without state knowledge.

The historiography of the early English colonies in the Americas tends towards a focus on the social and religious development of the colonies, with less emphasis on the motives and expectations of the promoters of these colonies back in England. The investors at home wanted to make money and from their perspective, New England was a failure when compared with the profitable tobacco and cotton plantations to the south. Many of these investors speculated on more than one region, and colonial Virginia and plantation Ireland had many English investors in common. English colonial enterprises in Ireland and in the American colonies of Virginia and Massachusetts Bay were being run on more or less the

⁴² There is a huge literature concerning the English colonies in North America. The most valuable works for this study, in addition to the ones already cited, Susan Myra Kingsbury, *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, (4 vols. Washington, D.C., 1906); James Phinney Baxter, *Sir Fernandino Gorges and the Province of Maine*, (Boston, 1890); Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line, The English in the Caribbean 1624-1690*, (New York, 1972); Gemery, 'Emigration', pp. 174-212; Frances Rose-Troup, *The Massachusetts Bay Company and its Predecessors*, (New York, 1930); Bernard Bailyn, *New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century*, (Cambridge, MA., 1962).

⁴³ Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain*, (New Haven, CT., 2000).

same lines by 1640. All had local parliaments with local courts and local officers, although only in Ireland were these courts answerable to the Privy Council in England and ultimately to the King.⁴⁴ This distinction was important as it allowed the American colonies to be administered by the patentees and their agents. Ken Macmillan argues against this theory of 'government by license' and contends that the state took a keen interest in colonial affairs.⁴⁵ This is true in terms of the conditions written into the various patentees' charters, but practical interventions were rare. The independently minded 'Americans', English colonists who returned in the years immediately preceding the English revolt, took leading roles on the parliamentary side, and made a disproportionate impact compared to the tiny numbers involved. The 'Americans' were already trusted both by the Adventurers and the colonial peers and provided useful administrative and leadership skills that parliament could exploit to its advantage.

The Adventurers can be viewed as classic 'money-fetishists', a convenient Marxist expression meaning that they valued the acquisition of money above all else.⁴⁶ In a pure form, their colonial enterprises consisted of buying human labour and colonial land, combining the two in order to create more money and starting the cycle again. There are exceptions to this rule, but most leading Adventurers appear to have been interested in little else. It is important to understand this concept, as it sets the Adventurers apart from many of their associates and peers whose primary motivations were either political or spiritual advancement. Money-fetishism allowed the Adventurers to be essentially apolitical and to support Crown, Parliament and Crown again over a twenty year period and to create Puritan settlements in North America, while at the same time trading with Spanish America in the South. Better than anyone else in England in the 1640s, the Adventurers understood the power of money as an instant means of exchange. Their trade with Spain and Spanish America was essential to the Adventurers' trading network, as these were the principal sources of silver bullion from which money could be made. Outwardly, however, the Adventurers were overwhelmingly Puritans, comprising not only

⁴⁴ Conrad Russell, *Unrevolutionary England 1603-1642*, (London, 1990).

⁴⁵ Ken Macmillan, 'Bound by Regal Office: Empire, Strategy and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century' in Stephen Foster (ed.), *British North America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (Oxford, 2013), pp. 67-89.

⁴⁶ Harry Cleaver, 'The Subversion of Money as Command in the Current Crisis' in Werner Bonefeld and John Holloway (eds.), *Global Capital, National State and the Politics of Money*, (Basingstoke, 1995), pp 141-177.

the London Puritans identified by Lindley but also returning emigrants from the American colonies.⁴⁷

Many the leading Adventurers also feature among the Puritan protagonists in John Donohue's work on the English Revolution.⁴⁸ Most of the leading London based Adventurers had close commercial and familial ties with the Dutch Republic and tended towards the Calvinist churches established in London.⁴⁹ The Adventurers for Irish land not drawn from the maritime merchant community were normally involved in Dutch trade, either through the Merchant Adventurers or independently. The fact, however, that many Adventurers were Puritans did not preclude them from crossing the religious divide in pursuit of opportunities, despite the vehement anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish rhetoric in which they frequently indulged. They were also able to work with both Independent and Presbyterian factions in parliament, without any obvious problems of conscience.

The typical Adventurer for Irish land also fails to satisfy the classical definition of a mercantilist, who uses trade as a lever to wield power.⁵⁰ Power was not the primary objective of the Adventurers and their leadership rarely sought or accepted political office. This may seem to be at odds with the belligerent foreign policies recommended to Cromwell by the Adventurers during the early 1650s and supported by them financially, but the Adventurers understood global trade to be fixed in size and their only route to increasing their share of it was through conquest or by depriving other nations of their share.⁵¹ The Adventurers confused the nature of trade with the nature of land which is, by and large, fixed in terms of area and the global share of it expandable only through conquest or colonisation. The story of the Adventurers is easier to understand when examined in the context of their worldview. The acquisition of money was their primary

⁴⁷ William L. Sachse, 'The Migration of New Englanders to England, 1640-1660', in *American Historical Review*, 55 (Jan. 1948), pp. 251-278.

⁴⁸ John Donohue, *Fire Under the Ashes, an Atlantic History of the English Revolution*, (Chicago, 2013).

⁴⁹ Ole Peter Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in early Stuart London: The Dutch Church at Austin Friars 1603-42*, (London, 1989); Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ, a Calvinist network in Reformation Europe*, (Cambridge, 2011); Ashton, 'Puritanism and Progress'; Christian J. Koot, *Empire at the periphery: British colonists, Anglo-Dutch trade, and the development of the British Atlantic, 1621-1713*, (London, 2011).

⁵⁰ Jacob Viner, 'Power versus Plenty as objectives of foreign policy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *World Politics*, 1 (October, 1948), pp. 1-29.

⁵¹ Douglas A. Irwin, 'Strategic Trade Policy and Mercantilist Trade Rivalries', *American Economic Review* 82, (May, 1992), pp. 134-9.

goal, but land was a good substitute for money. Religion, reputation and status were important, but less so for them than for most of their contemporaries.

Once battle lines were drawn in England, Ireland and Scotland the Adventurers alternated between the financing of war and the development of their extra-territorial commercial empires. They maintained a particular interest in Ireland where the fate of their Adventure was at stake but also, and of equal importance, the profits to be made through providing military supplies.⁵² The important area of English parliamentary finance has been the subject of a number of recent studies that deal with many aspects of management at the centre and of collection at a local level.⁵³ The Adventurers for Irish Land were appointed to leading roles in all of parliament's major financial committees, and also to the later committees that dealt with the sale or farming of royalist, ecclesiastical and crown property.⁵⁴ The proliferation of committees appears to be somewhat confused but each was headed by a sub-set of closely-related Adventurers. As a result, the parliamentary financial committees can be viewed holistically, as opposed to in a mutually competitive way. The Adventurers normally appointed their associates from previous commercial partnerships or family members to key positions in each committee. Many of these appointees were also originally Adventurers for Irish Land. To oversee their activities a Committee of Accounts was appointed, also mainly comprised of Adventurers with more than a sprinkling of business associates of Maurice Thompson. Parliament's financial committees were far more homogenous than individual studies of single sources of funds suggest, and as they were controlled, staffed and audited by a single group of interconnected merchants, the potential for corruption is all too apparent. There is a modern tendency to view these committee-men as prototypes for the high-principled and impartial civil servants of later

⁵² Robert Armstrong, 'The Long Parliament goes to war: the Irish campaigns, 1641-3, *Historical Research*, 80, (February 2007), pp. 73-99.

⁵³ Michael Braddick, *Parliamentary Taxation in Seventeenth Century England- Local Administration and Response* (Woodbridge, 1994); Braddick, *The Nerves of State: Taxation and the financing of the English State*, (Manchester, 1996); D'Maris Coffman, *Excise Taxation and the Origins of Public Debt*, (Basingstoke, 2013); D'Maris Coffman, 'Towards a New Jerusalem: The Committee for *Regulating the Excise, 1649-1653*', *English Historical Review* 128:535 (Dec. 2013), pp. 1418-1450; Ben Coates, 'The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1652-1650', (PhD. Thesis, University of Leicester, 1997).

⁵⁴ Mary Anne Everett Greene, (ed.), *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Advance of Money, 1642-1656*, 3 Vols., (London, 1888); Ian Gentles, 'The Sales of Bishops' Lands in the English Revolution, 1646-1660', *English Historical Review*, 95, (July, 1980), pp. 573-596.

centuries. These men were nothing of the sort. They were pirates and slavers, men who increased trade through conquest and seized every opportunity for personal gain. Their self-regulated state treasury, staffed throughout by family members and business partners, could not have been better designed for widespread corruption and favouritism. Parliamentary sequestrations were, in essence, just another form of plunder and the burden of taxation normally fell more heavily on the Adventurers' competitors than on their partners.

Studies of England's colonies during the Civil War years conform to the regional model established for earlier narratives. There is a convention that describes the Virginia and Caribbean colonies as broadly royalist and New England as broadly supportive of the parliamentary cause. This interpretation ignores the complication that the economic development of the colonies was primarily in the hands of the Adventurers, parliament's financial managers. There was a noticeable pattern of alignment between economic expansions in the colonies and expansions of the parliamentary war effort, especially around sugar and the slave trade, both of which generated bullion. Colonial profits increased rapidly in importance as a source of the Adventurers' funds. Taken in this monetary context, the colonial uprising in favour of Charles II in 1649, quashed by the parliamentary navy in 1651, was of major significance. Control of the profits from Caribbean sugar plantations played an increasingly important role in England's financial affairs, a point that was probably not lost on the new king. Distant Barbados had become a weak link in the parliamentary financial system.

Ireland's role in this system, until Cromwell's arrival in the summer of 1649, was typically as an excuse to raise funds, a pattern apparent to commentators at the time. Samuel Sheppard's observation in 1647 on a new subsidy of £20,000 per month to be collected for Ireland, the treasurer for which was Maurice Thompson, reflected a popular perception:

'But however posterity may censure their actions, they are agreed to set all their wits a wheeling, to wind up with as much money as may be (before they go) out of the pockets of the people, which they suppose may be best accomplished by the help of the old Engine of Levying money for the relief of Ireland: for which purpose they have passed and published a new ordinance for the raising of £20,000 *per mensem*. And they have feigned a new victory too, (according to their old custom) to usher forward the design, thinking by that means to revive the Old

Drooping Purchasers, or at least-wise to encourage some new upstart covetous creatures to a New-Hazard. Yes, and they have (as they used formerly to do) consulted with certain eminent citizens, to make free (but feigned) proffers of lending certain considerable sums for that service, hoping by that means to draw in others whilst (God knows) they intend neither men nor moneys there'.⁵⁵

There was little by way of parliamentary opposition to this approach until Cromwell's campaign and his policy of actually paying soldiers. The Adventurers, although Puritans with presumed sympathy for the Independent members of parliament, remained aloof from parliamentary factionalism and retained a consistent grip on state finance until Cromwell ejected both parliament and the Adventurers from office in 1653. The Adventurers thereafter took a different approach, avoiding offering the Protectorate financial support beyond paying their taxes, while working to promote their allies to positions of influence within the regime. In the context of the Irish land settlement, their claims were in competition with the army, whose pay arrears were also to be settled with land. Technical aspects of the land surveys performed in Ireland, and the land settlement itself, have been the subject of extensive academic scrutiny.⁵⁶ These studies, however, treat the land settlement solely within an Irish context, leaving aside the enmity that existed between the

⁵⁵ Samuel Sheppard, *Mercurius Elenticus*, No. 14, 23 February to 1 March 1647, p. 5.

⁵⁶ W.H. Hardinge, 'On Manuscript Mapped and Other Townland Surveys in Ireland of a Public Character, Embracing the Gross, Civil, and Down Surveys, from 1640 to 1688', *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy: Antiquities*, 24 (1873), pp. 3-118; R.C. Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey and Distribution: being abstracts of various surveys and instruments of title, 1636-1703* (4 vols, Dublin, 1949-67) and *The Civil Survey*, (10 vols, Dublin, 1931-61); John Andrews, *Plantation acres: an historical study of the Irish land surveyor and his maps*, (Belfast, 1985) and *Shapes of Ireland: maps and their makers 1564-1839*, (Dublin, 1997). National studies and commentaries relating to the Cromwellian land settlement include: Toby Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland 1649-1660*, (Oxford, 2000); Toby Barnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, Prophets and Profiteers, 1641-1786*, (Dublin, 2008); Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*; Aidan Clarke, *Prelude to Restoration in Ireland: The End of Commonwealth*, (Cambridge, 1999); Padraig Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest: Ireland 1603-1727*, (Harlow, 2007); Kevin McKenmy, 'The Restoration Land Settlement in Ireland, A Statistical Interpretation', *Irish Historical Studies*, 24 (1994), pp. 14-36; Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: the Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century*, (London, 2012); Prendergast, *Cromwellian conquest*. Local studies include: L.J. Arnold, *The Restoration Land Settlement in County Dublin 1660-88*, (Dublin, 1993); James Barry, *The Cromwellian Settlement of the County of Limerick*, (Limerick, 1900); Harold O'Sullivan, 'The Cromwellian and Restoration Settlements in the Civil Parish of Dundalk, 1649-73', *Journal of the Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, 19, (1977), pp. 24-58.

two camps, soldiers and Adventurers. The Irish Protectorate was heavily in debt by 1658 and the Adventurers' claims represented a small fraction of this, yet the Adventurers maintained that their claims took priority. Although the land surveys were headquartered in Dublin, where army claims for land were heard, the Adventurers insisted on managing their affairs from London. This thesis highlights the conflict between Adventurers and army that resulted in the Adventurers finding an unlikely ally, the 'Old Protestants', the existing Protestant landowners in Ireland.

In his assessment of the new men appointed by the Protectorate to manage its finances, Maurice Ashley states that that 'All of these men must have had a real influence on the determination of policy. They formed a new class of government officials, distinguished alike by their single-mindedness and ability, who were appointed because their special knowledge made them suitable for the work'.⁵⁷ The Protectorate was forced to appoint new officials because the Adventurers had a profound disagreement with Cromwell over the distribution of Irish land. It was the Adventurers who were possessed of real knowledge and ample experience of the organisation of state finance, and it was they who would have been best placed to serve the Protectorate had they continued in their posts. These changes in personnel and policy were forced upon Cromwell by the Adventurers and were not entered into voluntarily by the new government.

The Adventurers, for so long westward-facing, had turned east and became preoccupied with the Levant and East India trade, taking control of both companies and of the African slave trade that ran along the Asian shipping routes. Indian cotton was as much prized by west-African slave dealers as African gold was to Indian cloth merchants. As part of this process they absorbed into their circle former royalist merchant grandees who had drifted back to London following the death of Charles I. The Adventurers thus acquired a second group of important allies, alongside the Old Protestants in Ireland. Taken separately, the Old Protestants have little in common with the royalist merchant elite. This is reflected in existing literature concerning both Charles II's subsequent affirmation of the Adventurers' claim to Irish Land, and the key circumstances surrounding the King's return to London. In May 1660 a group of London merchants and MPs travelled to The Hague to negotiate terms with Charles II. The majority of these merchants were Adventurers for Irish Land and the remainder were their new partners and fellow members of the Levant and East India companies. On behalf of the City of London, the merchants gave Charles a gift of

⁵⁷ Maurice Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate*, (Oxford, 1962 edition), p. 9.

£80,000 and were immediately knighted by a grateful King for their efforts.⁵⁸ On 9 June 1660 Maurice Thompson received a royal pardon from the King in person.⁵⁹ The personal treatment of Maurice Thompson is indicative of the significant role that he played, behind the scenes, working for the restoration of the King.

The mission to The Hague helps to explain why the Adventurers' claims to Irish Land were upheld. Toby Barnard observed that there was 'a disparity between the number and possessions of newcomers and their political weight that needs to be explained'.⁶⁰ Patrick Little saw the acceptance by the 'Old Protestants' of the Adventurers settlement as being the only way in which their own debts from the Civil War years could be recouped.⁶¹ Most accounts focus on the influence of 'Old Protestants' and former soldiers in Dublin or London but do not take account of the fact that the Adventurers were in a far stronger position than either. Even the Old Protestant's gift of £20,000 to Charles II could not outweigh the Adventurers larger offerings, or their role in the return of the King.

There is a general consensus on the events surrounding the restoration of Charles II. It is generally credited as having been instigated by General George Monck, triggered by his march on London in February 1660, and the lack of any determined opposition.⁶² All accounts are silent on the source of Monck's finance. There is also a conflict between Monck's purported cause; a 'free' parliament and the restoration of the monarchy. Monck's order for the dissolution of the Rump on 11 February 1660 'remains a matter for conjecture'.⁶³ One account, by Gary S. De Krey, includes references to the position of England's foreign trade.⁶⁴ De Krey focusses on the India Company, the Royal Adventurers

⁵⁸ Carolyn A. Edie, 'For "The Honour and Welfare of the City": London's Gift to King Charles II on His Coming into His Kingdom, May 1660', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 50:2 (Spring, 1987), pp. 119-131; Gary S. De Krey, *London and the Restoration 1659-1683*, (Cambridge, 2005).

⁵⁹ TNA SP 29/3, f. 103, Pardon of Maurice Thompson.

⁶⁰ Toby Barnard, *Irish Protestant Ascents and Descents: 1641-1770*, (Dublin 2004), pp. 2-3.

⁶¹ Patrick Little, *Lord Broghill and the Cromwellian Union with Ireland and Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 71-4.

⁶² N. H. Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s*, (Oxford, 2002), pp.5-31; Tim Harris, *Restoration, Charles II and his Kingdoms*, (London, 2006), pp 1-42; John Miller, *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the reign of Charles II*, (Harlow, 2000), pp. 161-2; Paul Seaward, *The Restoration*, (Basingstoke, 1991).

⁶³ Miller, *After the civil wars*, p. 21.

⁶⁴ Gary S. De Krey, *Restoration and Revolution in Britain: A political history of the Era of Charles II and the Glorious Revolution*, (Basingstoke, 2007), pp. 49-51

into Africa, the Levant Company and the American colonies, but is unaware that all of these companies and activities were, in 1660, dominated by the leading Adventurers for Irish Land. Most works pass comment on the Protectorate's chronic indebtedness, yet the idea that the creditors for may have had a role in the Protectorate's fall is unexamined. The fact that the Adventurers were best placed to finance Charles II connects the Irish land settlement with the King's return. Indeed, he had few other options.⁶⁵

A core and stable group of Adventurers emerged at the heart of the events surrounding the initial ousting of Charles I from London, organised parliament's financial machine and navy, became prominent in all areas of England's foreign trade and took a central role in the events surrounding the restoration of Charles II. Despite the fluctuating fortunes of war and politics, their story is one of consistent advancement and eventual victory. No other group in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms achieved such relentless progress.

As the Adventurers operated both on a global scale and in the most intimate committee rooms at the centre of the government of the Commonwealth, a comparative study from a wide range of primary sources was required to put their story together. The records of the Adventurers, their partnerships, land transactions and various negotiations with the Protectorate regime in London are found in a discreet set of Irish State Papers at The National Archives in Kew⁶⁶. Possibly because of this, they have escaped the attention of historians of the English revolt. These records map the evolution of the Adventurers relationships with one another from 1642 to 1660, relationships that are paralleled in the commercial partnerships that also developed during this period. The Adventurers were mainly drawn from investors and merchants active in the Americas and a detailed inspection of sources relating to all of these colonies, with particular reference to how each American plantation was financed, proved necessary to determine how each of the leading Adventurers related to one another.⁶⁷ Some of these colonial entrepreneurs also had dealings with Ireland, traceable in part through Admiralty Court records and also through accounts of individual voyages.

⁶⁵ See Allan I. MacInnes, *The British Revolution, 1629-1660*, (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 223-5.

⁶⁶ TNA SP 63/288-301.

⁶⁷ Robert Brenner's *Merchants and Revolution* is the most convenient starting point, and almost all of the early American colonies have specific literature devoted to each. Colonial Papers (TNA CO 1/5-11) include references to many of the investors and these were used alongside minute books of the Levant (TNA SP 110/10, 55) and East India (BL IOR/B/19-26) Companies to establish the pattern of investors migrating from the western colonies to the eastern companies.

To track the movement of funds from the Adventure to parliament, an inspection of army income and payment warrants was required. This information was fed into a commercial accounts program to make it easier to trace the transactions.⁶⁸ Army payment warrants confirmed that the Adventurers were also the main receivers of army and navy contracts, thus controlling both sides of parliament's military state, finance and purchasing, from the early stages of the conflict. This level of control is even more apparent in Navy records. Parliamentary Ordinances provided a vital source for the names behind each financing measure, particularly with regard to the collection of subsidies and the networks in the English provinces. Many of these individuals, particularly in West of England coastal towns, were also active in the early colonial plantations.

The Adventurers' involvement in Irish affairs was through their membership of the various iterations of the English Parliament's committee for Irish Affairs.⁶⁹ Their key interventions included their opposition to the cessation of hostilities between Charles I and the Irish Confederates in 1643 and their attempts to maintain a monopoly over military supplies sent from England to Ireland. There are separate records of sums raised for some of the larger fundraising efforts, and matching records of repayments by parliamentary finance committees, details of which are referenced in the relevant chapters. These loans were often the subject of popular scrutiny and as men of great wealth often are, the Adventurers found themselves written about in the popular press, especially Royalist news sheets.⁷⁰ The Adventurers were evidently not well liked, particularly as in addition to raising loans, they also collected taxes. Finally, although the Adventurers rarely published petitions of their own, the very few that survive provide significant insights into their motivations.

⁶⁸ The data contained in TNA SP 28/1 A-D, with some other records, was treated in this way. The specific dates at which payment warrants were raised, and then paid, were then compared with the funds available to the treasurers of each fund-raising committee at specific times.

⁶⁹ The minute books for the Committee for Irish Affairs are dispersed among State Papers in The National Archives and at several other repositories. Taken together, almost a complete series has been preserved. In broadly chronological order they are to be found in National Library of Ireland MS 14,305 (1642-3); TNA SP 16/539/2-3 (1643-4); BL Add Ms 4749A, 4771 (1643-6); TNA SP 63/266 (1647); TNA SP 21/26-29 (1646-9); BL Add Ms 4782 (1647-8). Despite frequent changes in personnel, the secretary of the committee throughout was William Hawkins, a brother-in-law of Maurice Thompson. The manuscript in the National Library of Ireland is his minute book.

⁷⁰ The majority of this material has been drawn from the Thomason Collection at the British Library, available through Early English Books Online (EEBO). George Thomason, the publisher responsible for the collection, was a member of the Adventurers' committee in London, 1643-45.

This thesis is arranged chronologically, charting the development of the Adventurers' activities within specific geographical regions. This approach demonstrates both their simultaneous involvement across multiple economic domains and how these activities were often interrelated. Chapter One is divided into two parts. The first part is a survey of the colonial activities from 1620-1641 of those merchants who became leaders of the Adventure for Irish Land in 1642. They were drawn from networks of London-based merchants trading with the English colonies in North America and the Caribbean, but with a significant number also drawn from the Levant and Indies trade. The emergence of Ireland, particularly Munster, as a provisioning stop for traders between Europe and America is examined, as is the network of ship owners that managed the provisioning and servant trade between the two regions. These colonial networks emerged as a powerful force in London politics at the outbreak of the city's rebellion against Charles I in January 1642. One faction, led by Maurice Thompson, quickly became an important component of the English Parliament's response to the outbreak of the Irish rebellion of October 1641. The Irish rebellion, and parliament's response to it, was central to the widening gap between Charles I and his Parliament.

Chapter Two demonstrates for the first time that the Adventure for Irish Land, a suggestion of Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, was instigated and funded by the small circle of radical peers, politicians and merchants at the heart of the rebellion against Charles I. The core purpose of the Adventure was political and the participant's interest in Irish land appears incidental and opportunistic. Much of the money raised was only contributed after it became apparent in July 1642 that the funds would be used to finance parliament's forces in England. In August 1642 the leading Adventurers in London began assembling money and military equipment for parliament's forces, much of it drawn from their own stores.

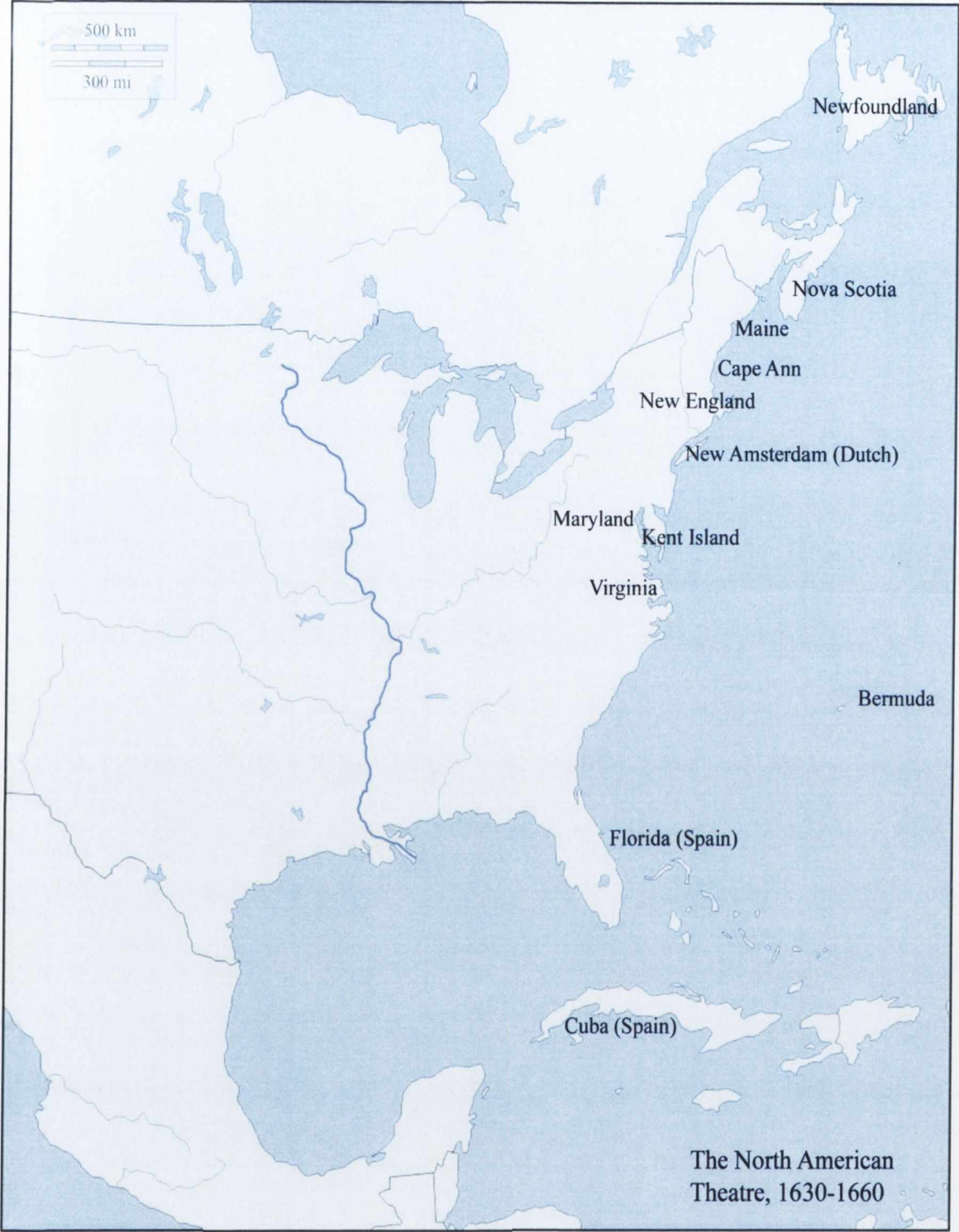
Maurice Thompson initiated a further Adventure secured on Irish Land, the Additional Sea Adventure in July 1642. The Sea Adventure, examined in Chapter Three, comprised an amphibious attack on Royalist targets in Ireland and demonstrated that the Adventurers preferred a strategy of direct confrontation with King Charles I. They also used their best efforts to block Charles' attempts to bring about an early cessation of hostilities in Ireland. The remainder of this chapter charts how the leadership of the Adventurers dominated parliament's financial and military committees during the 1640s.

The focus of the thesis widens again in Chapter Four as the Adventurers applied their English war profits to colonial developments, commandeering the chartered foreign trading

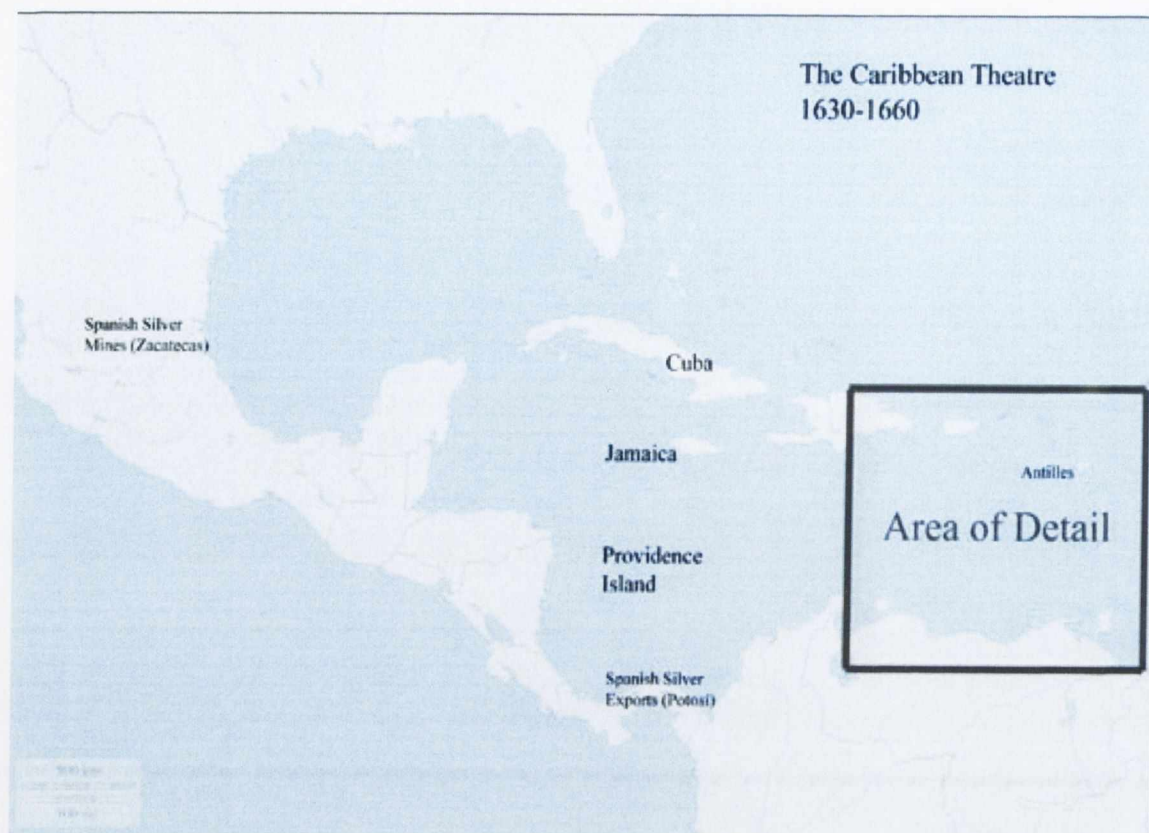
companies in the process. They retained their grip on parliamentary finances and targeted their colonial profits towards specific loans to finance the parliamentary army, which resulted in further trading concessions. The Adventurers navigated their way through the political upheavals in England, 1647-9, and although quietly opposed to the execution of Charles I, they nevertheless gained control over the Council of State's external trade policy. Leading Adventurers responsible for the sale of the church and royalist property, in addition to the personal property of the late King, ensured that they recovered all of the loans extended to the Commonwealth. Maurice Thompson and the treasurer for the Adventure for Irish Land, Thomas Andrews, undertook the financing of Cromwell's Irish campaign, 1649-50. By 1653, the Adventurers appeared to be in an unassailable position.

Chapter Five, the final chapter, opens with the Adventurers' breach with Oliver Cromwell over his intention to use most of the confiscated Irish land to settle debts due to the army in Ireland. This disagreement caused the dismissal of the Adventurers from all of the finance committees and other state positions. The departure of the Adventurers was marked by a steady decline in the Protectorate's finances and disasters in foreign policy that included the Western Design in the Caribbean and subsequent naval war with Spain. While the Adventurers doggedly defended their claims to Irish land from their committee room in London, they developed their contacts with royalist merchants through the East India Company. Maurice Thompson was appointed governor of the East India Company in 1658 and appointed a factor in Amsterdam to be close to the exiled Charles II. The chapter concludes with the identification of partners common to Thompson and General George Monck and the role of the Adventurers in contributing towards the restoration of Charles II.

This study of the Adventurers for Irish land highlights a cohesive network of merchants and financiers consistently engaged at the heart of parliament's revolt against Charles I. The goal of Maurice Thompson and his associates was profit, pure and simple, both from the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and the acquisition of those external trading companies subject to royal charter. Their interest in Ireland was entirely opportunistic, a means of securing money advanced to Parliament during the early stages of the English revolt. Their subsequent financing of Cromwell's conquest of Ireland was necessary to collect on their security. Despite their rift with Cromwell in 1653, the vast wealth they had accumulated by the 1650s allowed them to influence, and underwrite financially, the Restoration of Charles II. The Adventurers got a fortune, a pardon and Ireland.



Map 2.1: The Adventurers' interests in the North American Theatre, 1630-1660).



Map 2.2: The Adventurers' interests in the Caribbean and Antilles, 1630-1660.

Chapter Two

The Origins of the Adventurers and the Struggle for London

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the background of the leading Adventurers for Irish land in the decades prior to 1642. They were mainly involved in colonial trade, some as planters, some as shipping agents and many more as importers or exporters between the American colonies and the British Isles. The chapter will demonstrate how a small group of London merchants was closely involved in the development of the English Virginian and Caribbean colonies, how merchants based in Ireland formed an integral part of this activity and how a separate, Puritan colonial effort existed alongside these commercial ones. The emphasis of this section, however, is on commercial activity and not religious affiliation. The leading Adventurers for Irish land were drawn primarily from networks of London-based merchants trading between England, Ireland and the English colonies in North America and the Caribbean. These networks, built up between 1620 and 1640, emerged as a powerful force in London's politics at the outbreak of the city's rebellion against Charles I during the spring of 1642.

The development of Ireland as a source of labour and provisions for the American colonies is examined, as is the network of ship owners that emerged to manage this trade. Ireland and the American colonies were tied together from the outset in the minds of those interested in both regions, and Ireland was regarded as a convenient source of labour for the American colonies from their inception. As 'An Advice for Ireland' of 19 December 1607 observed:

In Ireland there are a certaine kinde of swordmen called Kerne: descended from Horsboyes, idle persons and unlawful propagation. They are base, apt to follow factions, and live always by the spoil, and will never be brought to another conformity there: but if they might be drawn from thence, and imployed to the planting of Virginia the country should be well freed...The number of these people in Ireland, I suppose will not exceed 7 or 8,000.⁷¹

⁷¹ British Library, Lansdowne Ms 156, A Volume containing a very large Collection of Treasury Papers (1432-1618), f. 261, 'An advise for Ireland'.

The Virginia colony got off to a slow start, despite being financially well supported with subscriptions to the Virginia Company, the colonial patentee, and the enthusiasm of its early settlers, including members of the gentry attracted to a life of adventure. The colony produced its first viable crop, tobacco, in 1617 and this caused a surge of migration to the colony of both investors and labourers. At the same time as the Virginia colony was becoming established the government in England was deciding what to do about Ireland, following the pacification of Ulster in 1603. The Lord Deputy of Ireland, Sir Arthur Chichester, opined that he would prefer to 'labor with his hands in the Plantation of Ulster than dance or play in that of Virginia'. From that time the English state embarked upon a policy of governing its Irish colony directly, leaving Virginia in the private hands of its entrepreneurial speculators.⁷² To a sober mind, the nascent colonies of Virginia and Bermuda could appear as little more than expensive kindergartens for young English peers, excited about the prospects for piracy and emulating the fame of Sir Walter Raleigh. The Treaty of London signed between England and Spain in August 1604, however, had called a halt to this activity. This treaty, which lasted until 1625, created a short period of peace during which colonial Virginia and Bermuda became better established.

Tobacco is a highly labour intensive crop that could not be serviced entirely with imported English labour. The interests of English colonial planters in Ireland and the Americas began to coalesce in the early 1620s as the requirement for an alternative source, Irish labour, intensified.⁷³ Although it faced no immediate threat from its Spanish competitors, the Virginia colony was nearly wiped out following a massacre of the colonists by the local Powhatan Indians in March 1622. The massacre of 1622 almost bankrupted the Virginia Company and left a space for new investors, in the shape of the Adventure for Necessary Supplies for Virginia, promoted in London on 4 July 1623.⁷⁴ A London merchant, Maurice Thompson, subscribed £70 to this fund, as part of a consortium of small investors, and he travelled to Virginia to manage the grant of land that this money had purchased.⁷⁵

⁷² Chichester is quoted in Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, p. 17. Bottigheimer supplies an extensive treatment of the development of plantation Ireland, pp. 1-29.

⁷³ Library of Virginia, Colonial Records Project, Survey Report No. 1106/291, No. 291 A Note of the shipping, Men and Provisions sent and provided for Virginia, by the Right Honourable, the earl of Southampton, and the Company, this year 1620...Two ships with 100 kine on board to sail from Ireland.

⁷⁴ Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, p. 245.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* This Adventure raised a total of £1,290. Thompson was only a minor investor but was interested in migrating to Virginia, probably on foot of his family connection. Most of

Thompson was already a significant importer of Virginia tobacco and membership of the consortium for the Adventure for Necessary Supplies required an income of at least £7,000 per year.⁷⁶ Early in 1624, he disembarked at Richmond, Virginia complaining of poor rations and a difficult crossing.⁷⁷ In addition to his own interests, Thompson was also acting as a factor for Edward Bennett, a more substantial London merchant, the Virginia Company's largest investor and the major shipper of tobacco from the colony.⁷⁸

Maurice Thompson was fortunate in his connections. His sister Mary was married to Captain William Tucker, the Virginia colony's Captain-General.⁷⁹ Tucker was a kinsman of John Bargrave, a major planter and agent for Sir Nathaniel Rich, one of the Virginia Company's leading critics.⁸⁰ Widely regarded in the colony as its saviour during the Powhatan uprising, in June 1623 Tucker had organised a peace conference between the Indians and the colonists in order to avoid another massacre. Observing that the Powhatans performed a tea ceremony at the start of such a conference, Tucker poisoned their tea and killed 200 Indian delegates.⁸¹ From 1623 until Tucker's final departure for England in 1640 the colony adopted Tucker's style of military rule and he served on the colony's Privy Council until 1629.

In another role, William Tucker was the factor in Virginia for Daniel Gookin, the business manager of Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, who had migrated to Virginia in 1621 but

the other investors, Rowland Truelove, William Feldgate, John Godson, etc., were involved in merchant shipping.

⁷⁶ Library of Virginia, Colonial Records Project, Survey Report No. 1106/291, No. 402 Petition of John Bargrave to the Lord Treasurer. Edward Bennett, with his two brothers, owned 1,500 acres of land in Virginia. Bennett was also deputy governor of the Merchant Adventurers in Delft in the 1620s. His son, Richard Bennett, took over the management of the Virginia Estate in 1625. It is unlikely that Thompson had the capital at this stage of his career to qualify as an investor in The Adventure for Necessary Supplies. He was more likely to have been acting as an agent for the Bennetts who sought to acquire some land outside of the control of the troubled Virginia Company. Edward Bennett was also an uncle of Henry Bennett, Lord Arlington, a major aggregator of Irish land after the Restoration of Charles II (Lothrop Withington, *Virginia Gleanings in England*, (Baltimore, 1980), p. 448).

⁷⁷ H.R. McIlwaine (ed.), *Minutes of the Colonial and General Court of Colonial Virginia 1622-1632, 1670-1676*, (Richmond, 1974), p. 54.

⁷⁸ MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, p. 123.

⁷⁹ Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, pp. 441-442.

⁸⁰ MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, p. 109. To Nathaniel Rich, and his cousin Robert Rich, earl of Warwick, Virginia was ideally suited for development into a provisioning stop for privateers in search of Spanish bullion consignments. He regarded plantations as distractions, diverting resources against a war with Spain.

⁸¹ MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, pp. 221-222.

returned frequently to Ireland and England.⁸² Daniel Gookin was an active transporter of servants, cattle and other supplies to Virginia and owned several hundred acres there.⁸³ Gookin's servants appear to have suffered a particularly high mortality rate as there were only seven men alive in June 1623 out of all of those he had shipped to Virginia before then.⁸⁴ While in England, Gookin made use of Boyle's contacts in Bristol to build ships of his own to service his colonial trade.⁸⁵ Gookin sent out at least one ship each year, delivering Irish and English servants and cattle on alternate years.⁸⁶ Richard Boyle's daughter, Hannah, also lived in Virginia, a tenant of the Tuckers and neighbour of the Thompsons in Elizabeth city.⁸⁷ Hannah Boyle had married Edward Hill, a London merchant, and the couple migrated to Virginia in 1622. Hill died two years later and his land in Virginia passed to his brother, Richard Hill, another London merchant who became a prominent Adventurer in Irish Land and close associate of a network of rapidly rising colonial merchants led by Maurice Thompson, Thomas Andrews and William Pennoyer.⁸⁸ Hannah later married Alexander Mountney, a substantial Virginia planter whose brother Richard Mountney was company secretary of the East India Company in the 1620s.⁸⁹ This early stage of colonial development, however, was largely financed by the existing merchant elite, drawn from the chartered trading companies. Lesser merchants such as Maurice Thompson had to transplant themselves in order to get a foothold in the colony. As a result of lack of interest or financial return, the company merchants evidently left the further development of the Atlantic colonies to this lesser class of merchants.

Quite distinct from the men who made their money predominantly from trade, a separate class of investors, undertakers who invested in the development of new landed estates,

⁸² McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Colonial and General Court*, p. 30.

⁸³ Gookin shipped regularly from Cork to Virginia. In August 1624 he invested £400 in building and fitting out his own vessel, the *Mary Providence of Cork*, to service this trade. See John C. Appleby (ed.), *Calendar of material relating to Ireland from the High Court of Admiralty Examinations 1536-1641* (Dublin, 1992), p. 152. Where Gookin got his money from is a puzzle. He worked for the earl of Cork, so that was his most likely source of funds although Richard Boyle never patented land in his own name in the Americas.

⁸⁴ Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, p. 229.

⁸⁵ Appleby, *High Court of Admiralty Examinations*, p. 152.

⁸⁶ Aubrey Gwynn, 'Documents Relating to the Irish in the West Indies', *Analecta Hibernia*, 4 (Oct., 1932), pp. 162-166.

⁸⁷ William Foster (ed.), *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the East Indies, 1612-1614*, (London, 1930), p. 262. Richard Mountney was a substantial investor in both the Adventure for Irish land and Additional Sea Adventure.

⁸⁸ MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, p. 387; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 164-5.

⁸⁹ K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company, The study of an early joint-stock company 1600-1640*, (London, 1965), p. 101.

entered the Virginia and Irish land markets in large number in the 1620s. It was common for English undertakers to have investments both in Ireland and Virginia at this time.⁹⁰ For example, an English planter in Ireland, Sir Edward Blaney of Monaghan, also exported servants to Virginia on a large scale. Blaney transported 153 men and 50 'maids and young woemen' in 1621, a valuable cargo worth 150 pounds of tobacco per person.⁹¹ Although Blaney made the first two voyages to Virginia himself, by 1624 he had contracted Maurice Thompson, who used his ship the *Hopewell*. On 15 July 1624 the now bankrupt Virginia Company was dissolved by Charles I and a Royal Commission was set up, reporting to the Privy Council, to manage the affairs of the colony.⁹² Thompson took advantage of the confusion to acquire with William Claiborne, a future key partner in his American activities, a large tract of land known as Blunt Point.⁹³ Thompson returned to England in 1626 leaving his brothers, George and William, newly shipped out at William Tucker's expense, to manage what was now one of Virginia's largest estates. All of this was taking place under the watchful eye of the Rich cousins, Sir Nathaniel Rich and Robert Rich, earl of Warwick. The earl of Warwick spent these years mainly at sea, managing the family interests in Bermuda and Virginia, but Nathaniel Rich spent much of the year 1622 in Ireland surveying the state of England's plantations. While in Ireland, he dabbled in a land investment and loaned £3,000 on the Dublin Staple to Hubert Dillon of Killenenan, County Westmeath, to purchase a 350 acre estate in County Longford.⁹⁴ By 1624, Robert Rich had

⁹⁰ Irish planters Humphrey Allen, Thomas Flowerdew, Sir Henry Pierce and Lt. Charles Pointz invested as did the families of William Barker, Robert Cartwright, Sir Robert Heiborne, Walter Hodges, Sir John Kingsmill, Sir George Mainwaring, Gabriel Throgmorton and Oliver St John. Landed interest in both Ireland and Virginia developed simultaneously in the 1620s although there are few records of direct trade between these colonies. For these comparisons see Victor Treadwell (ed.), *The Irish Commission of 1622:- an investigation of the Irish Administration 1615-22 and its consequences 1623-24*, (Dublin, 2006) and Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, both *passim*.

⁹¹ Frank E. Grizzard and D. Boyd Smith, *Jamestown Colony, a Political, Social and Cultural History*, (Santa Barbara, CA., 2007), p. 31.

⁹² 'America and West Indies: July 1624', in W. Noel Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, 1, 1574-1660, (London, 1860), pp. 63-69 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol1/pp63-69> [accessed 14 September 2015].

⁹³ Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, p. 557. The Blunt Point patentees included Sir Francis Wyatt, governor of the colony.

⁹⁴ Jane Ohlmeyer and Éamonn Ó Ciarda (eds.), *The Irish Statute Staple Books, 1596-1687*, (Dublin, 1998), pp. 139, 208; Treadwell, *Irish commission of 1622*, pp. 661, 659.

returned to London and was appointed to a Royal commission for 'settling the government of Virginia'.⁹⁵ This commission approved Thompson and Claiborne's land purchase.

Maurice Thompson had also access to the extended family of his in-laws. William Tucker was a cousin of Daniel Tucker, the commercial factor for the Virginia Company's first ever voyage, that of the *Nicholas* in February 1606.⁹⁶ Daniel Tucker lived in Virginia for some time prior to 1616 when he was appointed governor of the earl of Warwick's Bermuda colony. Thompson had, through the Tuckers, access to the upper levels of Virginia society and to the inner circle of Warwick's colonial agents. Back in London, he developed links with Nicholas Corsellis, a brewer and nascent financier of Dutch heritage and member of the Dutch reformed church in London, St Augustine's.⁹⁷ The Corsellis family were active investors in voyages of the English East India Company and through them Thompson had further familial connections with London's Puritan brethren and chartered merchant community. Nicholas Corsellis also had Irish interests, as he was named as a creditor to the estate of Richard Preston, earl of Desmond, who died in 1628.⁹⁸ It is a fine web, but the fragmentary surviving evidence indicates that a network emerged in the 1620s that connected the New English planters in Ireland and their counterparts in America with London's trade and finance. The Adventure for Irish land ultimately emerged around these associations.

In its early years the Virginia colony was a very small and tightly knit community. The population of the colony during Maurice Thompson's stay was tiny, growing from less than 1,000 people in 1619 to 1,277 in 1624 despite the influx of 5,000 new arrivals during this time.⁹⁹ The social structure of the colony was, by necessity, far less stratified than in England, enabling connections to be made that were simply not possible at home. A remarkable concentration of protagonists in the crisis of 1642 in England, or their relatives, passed through or lived in Virginia in the mid-1620s. The Virginia council who heard

⁹⁵ <http://www.historyofParliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/rich-nathaniel-1585-1636> [accessed 16/09/2015].

⁹⁶ David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (eds.), *The English New England Voyages 1602-1608*, (London, 1983), pp. 360-363. The voyage was unsuccessful and Tucker and his ship were arrested by a Spanish fleet and brought, inadvertently, to Bordeaux. The enterprising Daniel Tucker convinced the French authorities to arrest the Spanish vessels and return his ship to him along with some compensation seized from the Spanish.

⁹⁷ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 176.

⁹⁸ P. A. Penfold (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England Volume 46, 1630-1631*, (London 1964), pp. 386-7.

⁹⁹ Christopher Tomlins, *Freedom Bound: Law, Labour, and Civic Identity in Colonizing English America, 1580-1865*, (Cambridge, 2010), p. 25.

Thompson's complaint about his passage included Abraham Percy, brother of the future earl of Northumberland, the highest ranking peer on the Parliament side at the outbreak of the civil war, and George Sandys, the brother of Edwin Sandys who commanded Parliament's forces in Kent. Edward Bennett, Thompson's partner, was part of a consortium of merchant grandees attempting to win control of the Virginia Company over Warwick's faction immediately prior to the Company's dissolution.¹⁰⁰ Thompson's fortunate connections to both groups - in Virginia through William Tucker and in London with the Bennetts - left him in an ideal position to deal with all of the factions invested in the colony and allowed him access to the worlds of both the merchant and landed elites when he returned to England.¹⁰¹

It was in Virginia that Maurice Thompson designed the money-making machine that formed the basis of his first fortune. Following the establishment of tobacco as the principal export and cash crop, the colony began to import indentured labour on a large scale. The farm gate price of tobacco in the early 1620s was three shillings per pound, and a labourer could produce 250lb, or £37, 10s worth of tobacco per year. A labourer, who cost about £10 to ship would normally be expected to work for no pay for at least four years, with additional years added on to cover their upkeep, before being freed with a small grant of land on the edge of the colony. On paper, this was a very profitable enterprise but the high mortality rate - 50% in the first year and over 70% by the end of the fourth - required a constant supply of new servants. The normal lading for a supply ship to the American colonies was typically a cargo of manufactured goods and about 100 servants, so even the small migration of 5,000 people in the early 1620s required 50 voyages.¹⁰² The suppliers of servants were paid with newly patented Virginia land at a rate of 50 acres per delivered servant. There was no real incentive for the planters or the shippers to keep their servants alive for very long. Once a servant had achieved their freedom, there was a risk they would set up in competition with their former master. For the shippers, the faster the

¹⁰⁰ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 102.

¹⁰¹ The tiny Virginia colony in 1622 included a remarkable concentration of future investors in the Adventure for Irish Land, or their close kinsmen: John Rolfe, John Johnson, John Carter, Thomas Willoughby, Edward Hill and the kinsmen of John Arundel, Matthew Biggs, Thomas Cole, Roger Matthews, Henry Featherstone, Edward Brewster, Thomas Hutchins, William Hobson and Thomas May. It was also the home to the kinsmen of many names familiar to the parliamentary cause; Fleetwood, Fairfax and Waller. See Library of Congress, Jefferson Papers, Series 8 Virginia Papers 1606-1687, Volume 7, Virginia Company of London, Court Book 1619-22, Part A, ff. 104-105.

¹⁰² Russell R. Menard, 'The Tobacco Industry in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1617-1730: An Interpretation', *Research in Economic History*, 5 (1980), p. 157; Gemery, 'Emigration', p. 211; Davis, *Shipping Industry*, p. 198.

servants died, the quicker they needed to be replenished. In his will, written in October 1642 before leaving on a diplomatic mission to Ireland, William Tucker bequeathed 9,000 acres of land in Virginia, awarded for importing 180 servants.¹⁰³

In the second half of the 1620s migration into Virginia accelerated as the price paid to planters for tobacco plummeted, setting off a consumption boom for the addictive and now far cheaper commodity.¹⁰⁴ Tobacco became fashionable and was consumed at all levels of society in England and Ireland by the 1630s. The fall in price did not necessarily mean that the cultivation of tobacco was less profitable. Increases in productivity caused by larger plantations, the clearance of more fertile land, better plant husbandry and reduced shipping costs all contributed to the ability of the planters to produce tobacco more efficiently. The consumption of tobacco in England increased from 100,000 lb per year in 1620 to 28,000,000 lb per year in 1660.¹⁰⁵ Not all of this tobacco could be grown in Virginia and much was sourced from other English colonies in the Caribbean and from Dutch and Spanish merchants when they could offer the commodity at a good price.¹⁰⁶ From 1630 until at least 1636, Maurice Thompson, in partnership with another London merchant, Thomas Stone, held a contract to market the entire Virginia crop.¹⁰⁷ In order to ensure the partnership monopolised the colony's entire production, William Tucker was granted an additional contract to 'supervise' the Virginia crop.¹⁰⁸ Tucker also owned the colony's general stores and as the only source of money to supply the store was tobacco, the Thompson, Tucker and Stone consortium monopolised all of Virginia's import and export trade in the early 1630s. This trade was not limited to importing tobacco directly to London. By February 1631 George and Maurice Thompson were shipping thousands of

¹⁰³ Norma Tucker, *Colonial Virginians and Their Maryland Relatives*, (Baltimore, 1994), p. 17.

¹⁰⁴ Menard, 'Tobacco Industry', p. 157.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 158.

¹⁰⁶ Christian J. Koot, *Empire at the periphery: British colonists, Anglo-Dutch trade, and the development of the British Atlantic, 1621-1713*, (London, 2011), pp. 38-40.

¹⁰⁷ TNA PC 2/9 1633 May 1 – 1634 May 30, f. 27, 'A warrant as follows directed to Sir John Harvey KT, Governor in Virginia, the rest of the council and to all others whom it may concern'. Opposition to the monopoly was led by William and Thomas Willoughby whose own plantation was forced to sell their crop to Thompson. As tobacco was Virginia's only export, Thompson and Tucker also established a monopoly over all of the colony's imports.

¹⁰⁸ Tucker, *Colonial Virginians*, p. 13.

pounds of tobacco directly to England's Western harbours, as well as to Holland and to Ireland.¹⁰⁹

Maurice Thompson's next venture took him to Southampton where he chartered three ships and tasked them with purchasing 60 slaves in West Africa for transport to St Kitts in the Caribbean.¹¹⁰ St Kitts already had a large population of Catholic Irish indentured labourers who had been forcibly transplanted from Wexford by Sir Arthur Chichester to make way for incoming settlers English settlers.¹¹¹ Thompson was financing Thomas Combes in this adventure, an existing planter who had lost money on an earlier initial attempt to colonise St Kitts but was trying again. In 1629, the partnership secured a patent on the island for 1,000 acres in return for a loan provided to the financially troubled James Hay, earl of Carlisle. Hay had, also in 1629, acquired a royal patent for all of the western islands in the Caribbean for ten years.¹¹²

The partners were licensed to grow tobacco and James Hay secured the sole right to import goods into Ireland from the Caribbean in March 1630.¹¹³ Hay was developing his Caribbean interest alongside his Irish investments as he had already acquired lands in County Wicklow in 1628 in partnership with Sir John Wolverstone.¹¹⁴ The St Kitts venture brought Maurice Thompson once again into the world of Richard Boyle, earl of Cork and of Boyle's business connections. Phane Beecher, for example, was originally granted land in Cork by Elizabeth I in 1586 that was inherited by his eldest son, Henry.¹¹⁵ Henry Beecher built the town of Bandon and sold it on to Richard Boyle in 1618.¹¹⁶ A second son, Phane Beecher jnr, left Ireland for St Kitts in 1627 to establish a plantation financed

¹⁰⁹ Appleby, *High Court of Admiralty Examinations*, p. 197.

¹¹⁰ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 127.

¹¹¹ Aubrey Gwynn, 'Documents Relating to the Irish in the West Indies', *Analecta Hibernia*, 4 (Oct., 1932), p. 159. Chichester's distaste for the Americas did not apparently preclude him from selling Irish captives for transportation there.

¹¹² H. T. Barlow (ed.) *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guana 1623-67*, (London, 1925), p. 31.

¹¹³ James Morin (ed.), *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Ireland, Chancery, Charles I, I to VIII*, (London, 1863), p. 553.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 399.

¹¹⁵ Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster plantation: English migration to Southern Ireland, 1583-1641*, (Oxford, 1986), p. 253.

¹¹⁶ Andrew Hadfield, 'Gookin, Sir Vincent (d. 1638)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2004). [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11007>, accessed 15 Sept 2015]. Vincent Gookin, an uncle of Daniel, was originally a tenant of Beecher before the transfer to Boyle.

by New English settlers in Ireland.¹¹⁷ A cousin, Sir William Beecher became a secretary for the Privy Council of Charles I while Phane remained on St Kitts and eventually led a rebellion against Carlisle's proprietorship in 1642, before coming to terms with Carlisle's governor of his colonies, Sir Thomas Warner.¹¹⁸ Warner was originally appointed Governor of the Leeward Islands by Carlisle in 1629 and was financed by Maurice Thompson, William Pennoyer and Thomas Povey, all from London.¹¹⁹ Barbados was brought under Carlisle's control by Captain Charles Wolverstone, a kinsman of Sir John and employed by Carlisle for the purpose of ousting Sir William Courteen, a wealthy colonial developer who claimed he had 'discovered' the island.¹²⁰ The result of these rather fluid arrangements was that the Thompson/earl of Carlisle partnership enjoyed a near-monopoly over the tobacco trade between Ireland and England's American colonies during the early 1630s.

This trade brought the merchants into regular contact with Ireland, especially the Boyle family as Francis Boyle, the son of Richard and future first Viscount Shannon was the collector for customs for the port of Cork during these years.¹²¹ Nevis, an island close to St Kitts in the Caribbean Antilles, also had a large population of indentured Irish labourers in the 1620s. The Nevis colony was planted by a London-based cousin of the Thompson brothers, Edward Thompson.¹²² Nevis was attacked by the Spanish in 1628 and the Irish population was moved to the nearby island of Montserrat, which received further imports of servants from Galway.¹²³ Montserrat continued have an almost entirely Irish, and therefore, Catholic population throughout the mid-seventeenth century. The colony was governed by Captain Anthony Briskett, formerly a Wexford planter who had moved on in

¹¹⁷ Barlow, *Colonising expeditions*, pp. 4-5

¹¹⁸ J. H. Bennett, 'The English Caribbees in the Period of the Civil War, 1642-1646', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 24: 3 (Jul., 1967), pp. 359-377.

¹¹⁹ Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *The Antilles and the Spanish Main*, (New York, 1972), p. 130.

¹²⁰ Roy Schrieber, 'The First Carlisle, Sir James Hay, First Earl of Carlisle as Courtier, Diplomat and Entrepreneur, 1580-1636', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 74:7, (1984), pp. 1-202, p. 172. Courteen turned his attention to breaking into the India Trade, setting up in business with Gregory Clement, a regular partner of the Thompsons, John Foulke, a future leader in Parliamentary finance, and William Cloberry, a Virginia planter (Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 173). For a discussion on Courteen and his pretended proprietorship of Barbados see Gary Puckrein, 'Did Sir William Courteen Really Own Barbados', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 44: 2 (Spring, 1981), pp. 135-149,

¹²¹ Morin, *Calendar of the close and patent rolls*, p. 541.

¹²² Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 185.

¹²³ Natalie A. Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands 1630-1676*, (Cambridge, 2010), p. 1634.

the hope of richer rewards in the Caribbean, financed from Virginia by a consortium led by George Thompson.¹²⁴ Commencing in 1631, entire cargoes of Montserrat tobacco were sent by George Thompson to Virginia and these consignments shipped on by George and his brother Maurice to Cork.¹²⁵

The colonial grandees were evidently happy to let consortia of merchants manage their commercial affairs and transferred both the risk and much of the profits to them. They operated their colonial estates in the same conservative manner as their landed estates in England and Ireland, through the sale of grants of land and the collection of rent. The merchants, Daniel Gookin, William Tucker and Maurice Thompson managed the interests of the earls of Cork, Warwick and Carlisle respectively. As the colonial economies expanded, the contractors were fully aware of the profits to be made, but their masters were either unaware or disinterested in commerce, happy to keep collecting their rents. The planter and servant population of Barbados exploded from 1,800 in 1630 to 14,000 in 1640, a similar population to Virginia or Massachusetts. Barbados was the intended destination of 20% of emigrants from London to the colonies, drawn by the expanding tobacco and cotton plantations.¹²⁶ The most widely accepted estimate is that 40,000 people migrated to the British Atlantic colonies between 1630 and 1640, and half of these intended to travel to the Caribbean plantations.¹²⁷ The contractors' successes in colonial development gave them access to colonial patentees within the peerage. These peers, in turn, became dependent on the merchants' financial and logistical resources to project their own colonial ambitions.

The earl of Warwick's Bermuda plantation is illustrative of how these colonial patents were managed. Bermuda was a commercial enterprise without the altruistic element of the creation of Puritan enclaves that characterised some of Warwick's other colonial projects.¹²⁸ Warwick's Bermuda was a tobacco plantation that served as provisioning stop and privateer's station. The plantation was a commercial success and exported 70,000

¹²⁴ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 129.

¹²⁵ John C. Appleby (ed.), *High Court of Admiralty Examinations*, p. 152.

¹²⁶ Russell R. Menard, *Sweet Negotiations, Sugar, Slavery and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados*, (Charlottesville, VA., 2006), p. 25.

¹²⁷ Gemery, 'Emigration', p. 204.

¹²⁸ Although Virginia and Bermuda were primarily plantations, Warwick's New England colonies never made money, either through accident or design. The greater proportion of unfree labour in the southern colonies was the determining factor. The decision to make the northern colonies predominantly 'free', and the southern colonies 'unfree', had a permanent impact on the development of the American colonies.

pounds of tobacco in 1620, before the Virginia boom when tobacco was still a valuable commodity.¹²⁹ The initial adventurers recruited by Warwick in 1618 to develop his Bermuda patent included some of the key Adventurers in Irish land in 1642.¹³⁰ By 1642 the original adventurers in the colony had been bought out or supplanted by a new group of investors almost entirely comprised of the rising colonial tobacco merchants, all of whom also participated in the Adventurer for Irish land.¹³¹ The Bermuda investors, taken over twenty years, demonstrate the strong link between Warwick and the Adventurers. The development of the island was also significant in that it reflected Warwick's increased preoccupation with his duties at home and willingness to sub-contract his colonial projects to a small group of trusted merchants.

Warwick's other Caribbean project was Providence Island, now part of Columbia, in the eastern Gulf of Mexico. The Providence Island colony existed from 1630, when it was established as a Puritan colony, until 19 May 1641 when the Spanish navy destroyed it. In the intervening decade Providence Island had become little more than a privateering base attacking Spanish mercantile shipping, an unofficial war conducted against Spain by the company's promoters. Investors in the Providence Island company were led by the earl of Warwick, Henry Rich, earl of Holland, their cousin Sir Nathaniel Rich, Nathaniel Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele, Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, John Pym, Oliver St. John, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir Thomas Barrington, Richard Knightly, Sir William Waller, John Lord Roberts and William Jessop.¹³² Indeed, the company included most of the leaders of the

¹²⁹ Captain John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England & the Summer Isles, together with the true travels, adventures and observations, and a Sea Grammar*, (Glasgow, 1908), p. 384.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 369-372. The adventurers in the Bermuda Company in the 1630s included John Dike, Abraham Chamberlain, Robert Smith, Richard Rogers and Martin Bond, the father of Denis Bond MP. The Company Secretary was William Jessop.

¹³¹ TNA CO1/10, f. 10 'A Declaration of the Right Honourable Robert Earl of Warwick...Governour of the Company of London for the Plantation of the Summer Islands.' Adventurers in Bermuda by 1643 included Francis Allen, John Johnson, Gilbert Gerard, Richard Castell, Thomas Alcock, Elias Roberts, Maurice Thompson, Richard Hunt, Gabriel Barber and Richard Castell. Thomas Allen was treasurer of the company.

¹³² For a comprehensive narrative of the Providence Island colony see Kupperman, *Providence Island*. The company shareholders were: William Ball, Gabriel Barbour, Thomas Barnardiston, Sir Thomas Barrington, Godfrey Bosvile, MP, Sir Thomas Cheeke, MP, Henry Darley, MP, John Dyke, James Fiennes, MP, William Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele, MP, Gregory Gawsell. Sir Gilbert Gerard, MP, John Graunt, Lord Brooke, MP, John Gurdon, MP, Sir Edward Harwood, Richard Knightley, MP, John Michell, Edward Montague (Earl of Manchester), Sir Edmond Moundeford, MP, John Pym, MP, Henry Rich, MP, Sir Nathaniel Rich, MP, Robert Rich Earl of Warwick, MP, Lord Roberts, MP, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, MP, Oliver St. John, MP, Christopher Sherland MP, Thomas

Independent Parliamentary faction that emerged in 1642. On 25 February 1640 the Providence Island Company contracted with Maurice Thompson to manage the supply of the colony and awarded him a commission that included the right to attack Spanish shipping.¹³³ The contract was signed by Lord Brooke, Lord Saye and Sele, John Pym and Sir Benjamin Rudyard and recognised the naval resources at Thompson's disposal. Maurice Thompson had become an important figure within the world of the Puritan peers, not just as a merchant but as a projector of naval power. The Providence Island Company only promised to pay Thompson £80 for his services and he was expected to make his profits from piracy. The colony was strategically located between the two main centres of Spanish silver production, Zacatecas in Mexico and the vast motherlode of Potosí in Peru.¹³⁴ Famously, a privateer employed by the Dutch West India Company, Piet Heyn, captured the entire Spanish silver fleet in 1628, valued at 11.5 million guilders.¹³⁵ Maurice Thompson and his partners hoped to repeat this feat.

Bolstered by his gains from the servant trade, Maurice Thompson undertook some colonial projects of his own in the 1630s, independently of a noble patron. He attempted to develop an unofficial and unlicensed colony, Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay, in 1631.¹³⁶ It was a short-lived and contentious affair, but brought together a further group of merchants with interests in Ireland, Virginia, Canada and Scotland that became integrated with the Thompson's trading network. The Kent Island project was instigated by William Tucker and William Claiborne who served together on the Virginia council. They approached Thompson and William Cloberry, a colonial fur trader in London, with a view to establishing a fur, tobacco and provisioning centre on the island. Cloberry was a partner in the Newfoundland fur trade with Humfrey Slaney, a prominent London adventurer whose family had financed the Drapers Company proportion of the Londonderry plantation.¹³⁷

Symons, John Upton, MP, Sir William Waller, MP, William Woodcock, William Jessop (Sec.) (Kupperman, *Providence Island*, p. 1).

¹³³ TNA CO 124/2, Book of Entries of the Governor and Company of Adventurers for the Plantation of the Island of Providence, f. 155 Articles of Agreement...

¹³⁴ Richard L. Garner, 'Long-Term Silver Mining Trends in Spanish America: A Comparative Analysis of Peru and Mexico', *American Historical Review*, 93:4 (Oct. 1988), pp. 898-935 at pp. 899-901.

¹³⁵ For Heyn's haul complete haul, see Claes Janszoon Visscher, *Verovering van de Zilvervloot in de Baai van Matanzas door Admiraal Piet Heyn*, (Amsterdam, 1628).

¹³⁶ J. Herbert Claiborne, 'William Claiborne of Kent Island', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd series, 1 (April 1921), pp. 73-99.

¹³⁷ PRONI, D3632 *Drapers' Company Estate Archive*, Introductory leaflet, (Belfast, 2007), p. 6; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 103, 110. The Drapers' Company lands were

Cloberry also financed Sir William Alexander's colonisation project in Nova Scotia in 1628.¹³⁸ With Thompson's financial backing, Claiborne landed on the island in 1631 with a small group of settlers and built a trading post, but Claiborne was not in a position to issue grants of land. He had no grant himself, only a trading license issued by the governor of Virginia in 1627 and his burgeoning colony encroached on another territory, Maryland, granted to Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore by Charles I.¹³⁹ Kent Island became the centre of a protracted dispute between the Virginia and Maryland colonies, including naval engagements in the waters of Chesapeake Bay, until the island was finally confirmed to Calvert's possession in 1638.¹⁴⁰

This episode also marked the end of the corporate headright system of landownership in both colonies.¹⁴¹ Using headright, a merchant could claim that because he had transported servants to an unclaimed patch of land, it became his. All Claiborne had to do, therefore, was land servants on the island. Many of the old headright parcels and land awarded to patentees during the 1620s were completely deserted. Tracing the owners proved difficult and formal letters patent for land were issued by the Virginia Council from the mid-1630s. This reform brought security of title and precipitated a further rapid expansion of the colony. The largest of these new grants, indeed the largest colonial grant of land awarded prior to the English Revolution, was the Berkeley Hundred, now Charles City County,

let to Sir John Clotworthy in 1632 Slany also financed the Newfoundland Company in 1610 and William Cloberry was his son-in-law.

¹³⁸ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 185.

¹³⁹ Claiborne, 'William Claiborne', pp. 73-99; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 121-124. In 1632 the Catholic Calvert family was granted a charter by Charles I to establish a colony north of the Chesapeake, Maryland. Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, was a major land owner in Ireland whose father had participated in the plantations of counties Longford and Wexford during the reign of James I and lived in Wexford during the final years of his life. He had earlier established, and abandoned, a plantation in Newfoundland.

¹⁴⁰ Maurice Thompson had developed a pattern of forcing his way into colonial arenas that were granted to others. He was imprisoned for six months in 1632 for infringing on an Anglo-French treaty that defined the two nations' borders in Canada. Thompson had tried to secure the Canadian fur harvest, refused to apologise to the Privy Council or pay a fine, and was committed to the Marshalsea prison for his efforts. See TNA PC 2/42 Privy Council Registers, f. 75 'Touching on interlopers to Canada'.

¹⁴¹ Headrights were the quantity of land awarded to indentured labourers who had completed their service. They were also awarded to the suppliers of those servants, per head. The system allowed for those merchants prominent in the servant trade to acquire substantial landed estates.

Virginia, a plantation financed by the city of Gloucester and purchased by a Thompson led consortium in 1637.¹⁴²

The importance of Virginia patentees and settlers during this period of development in Virginia to the Adventure for Irish Land cannot be overstated. In addition to the merchants mentioned above, 30 Adventurers were previous emigrants to Virginia who returned to London prior to 1642.¹⁴³ For example, the leading Devonshire colonist and great supporter of the Adventure for Irish Land, John Upton, came home from Virginia in 1641.¹⁴⁴ The return of the colonists to England coincided with a renewed interest in Virginia's affairs by Charles I and the Privy Council. From July 1624, when the Virginia Company was dissolved, until August 1641 the colony was supervised by the Virginia Commission, comprised mainly of Merchant Adventurers who took a rather casual approach to their supervisory duties.¹⁴⁵ On 12 August 1641 the Virginia Commission was recast in order that '...the said colony to be regulated as well in ecclesiastical as temporal government'.¹⁴⁶ A new governor loyal to Charles, Sir William Berkeley, was appointed and Maurice Thompson's partner, William Claiborne, was replaced as secretary of the colony by another royalist, Richard Kemp.¹⁴⁷ These new arrangements, and a renewed interest in the colony at the royal court, threatened to disrupt the highly profitable business established by the independent tobacco merchants. The Puritan peers and their contractor/partners

¹⁴² Eric Gethin-Jones, *George Thorpe and the Berkeley Company, A Gloucestershire Enterprise in Virginia*, (Gloucester, 1982), p. 249. The purchasers were William Tucker, Maurice Thompson, George Thompson, William Harris, Thomas Deacon, James Stone, Cornelius Lloyd and Jeremiah Blackman. The main shareholder of the Berkeley Hundred in 1637 was Sir Baynham Throckmorton of Gloucester, a staunch Royalist. Indicative of the very small circle in which the colonial merchants operated, in 1645 Throckmorton sold his Gloucestershire estate to Thomas Gookin to avoid paying a Parliamentary fine. Thomas Gookin was a cousin both to Daniel Gookin, who owned land adjoining the Berkeley Hundred in Virginia and Vincent Gookin, one of the architects of the eventual settlement of the Adventure for Irish land.

¹⁴³ Nell Marion Nugent (ed.), *Cavaliers and Pioneers, Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and grants 1623-1800*, Vol. 1 (Richmond, VA., 1934), Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, all *passim*. John Baker, John Bancks, George Beck, John Blunt, Edward Brewster, James Campbell, Randolph Carter, Abraham Chamberlain, Thomas Cole, John Culpepper, John Dawes, George Farmer, Richard Farrington, John Fletcher, John Franklin, Richard Gardiner, Thomas Gouge, William Greenwell, Thomas Hampton, John Harper, John Harrington, John Harris, Hentry Hastings, Thomas Hodges, George Holman, John Merrick, William Morley, Edmund Peeres, George Preety, Richard Rogers, Richard, John and Edward Smith, Edward Staper and Richard Turner

¹⁴⁴ McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Colonial and General Court*, p. 474.

¹⁴⁵ Sainsbury, *State Papers Colonial*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 321

¹⁴⁷ MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, p. 439.

therefore suffered two serious blows in quick succession, the loss of their potentially lucrative privateering operation on Providence Island and their actually lucrative tobacco monopoly in Virginia.

A thousand miles to the north, a different type of English colony was taking shape on the shores of New England. The Charter of New England, then styled North Virginia, was originally granted in 1620 by James I to a consortium led by the Dukes of Lennox and Buckingham, the earls of Pembroke, Southampton and Warwick, and James Hamilton. The company seal was kept by Warwick and the company was backed by some of the leading merchants of London; Sir Robert Mansell, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Fernandino Gorges, Sir Francis Popham, Sir John Brooke, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir Nathaniel Rich and Sir Thomas Wroth. Shares with the 'Adventurers of the Northern Colony of Virginia' cost £10 each and entitled to the holders of those shares to land in the new colony, subject to it being surveyed within seven years.¹⁴⁸ There were 70 subscribers when the first colonists left England in the *Mayflower* on 6 September 1620 to found the Plymouth colony in Massachusetts Bay.¹⁴⁹ The expedition was led by Thomas Jones, another of the earl of Warwick's contractors.¹⁵⁰ The original list of the 70 subscribers to the Plymouth project has not survived, but a later list of the 42 shareholders remaining in 1626 does.¹⁵¹ In the context of the Adventure for Irish Land, the most significant investors in the *Mayflower* mission were the brothers Thomas and Richard Andrews. Thomas Andrews would later act as the treasurer for the Irish Adventure, responsible both for receiving and disbursing funds. The celebrated 'Mayflower Compact' of 1620, under which land under the control of the colony was distributed equally amongst the colonists, was unacceptable to the investors in London and the company was dissolved. The company's assets were taken over by the newly formed Massachusetts Bay Company with Richard Andrews at its head in London. The Plymouth planters were allowed to

¹⁴⁸ The 'Northern Colony' referred to was Massachusetts Bay, north of the New York area settlements already controlled by the Dutch

¹⁴⁹ The *Mayflower* was later owned by three prominent Adventurers in Irish land, John Dethwick, Richard Shute and Samuel Vassall (Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 192).

¹⁵⁰ Abel Ames, *The Mayflower and Her Log*, (Boston, 1907), pp. 66-7. In 1619 Jones fulfilled a contract to transport Irish cattle to the Virginia colony and later that year he undertook a privateering mission to the East Indies on Warwick's behalf. He was arrested off the Guinea coast, returned to London and imprisoned until Warwick secured his release.

¹⁵¹ Ames, *Mayflower*, p. 80.

purchase their land from the new company and these transactions were completed by 1643.¹⁵²

A second northern company, The New England Company, was launched in 1628. The earl of Warwick, again, was president of its governing council and £2,150 was adventured to fund its activities. The subscribers of the New England Company were dominated by Puritans led by Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey and John Venn. Hugh Peter was installed as company Minister and travelled to New England to preach. The subscribers, many of whom were to participate in the subsequent Adventure for Irish Land differed from the financial backers of earlier New England projects in that they were drawn from the middling class London merchants with a commitment to developing a religious colony, as opposed to one with an obvious route to profits. Of the 36 original investors, 13 (or their sons) became Adventurers for Irish land.¹⁵³ The original governor of the colony was John Winthrop, who had deep Irish connections. His uncle, also John Winthrop, settled in Kilcolman, County Cork, in 1596 and was a witness to the deed by which Richard Boyle was assigned Sir Walter Raleigh's estate in 1602.¹⁵⁴ In 1622, while Nathaniel Rich was also in residence, Winthrop visited Dublin to establish a plantation in Mountrath, county Laois, with Emmanuel Downing, father of the diplomat George Downing, and enrolled his son John Winthrop jr at Trinity College Dublin.¹⁵⁵ Emmanuel Downing was a partner in a fur trading project with Maurice Thompson and William Cloberry, as well as a brother-in-law of the Puritan minister, Hugh Peter.¹⁵⁶

The Earl of Warwick attempted to establish an additional Puritan colony under his personal supervision by creating the 'Warwick patent' in April 1632, pretending a claim to most of modern-day Connecticut. The 'patent', without any legal basis, enabled Warwick to make

¹⁵² Frances Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, p. 8. Andrews evidently found the Puritan colonists rather difficult to deal with, accusing them of conduct "unbecoming fairdealing men". It evidently took 17 years to recover the money from the Plymouth colonists.

¹⁵³ Bottighemer, *English Money and Irish Land*, pp. 175-195, Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, p. 20. These investors were: Thomas Adams, Andrew Arnold, Richard Davis, Edward Foorde, John Humfrey, Thomas Hutchins, Joseph Oldfield, Richard Perrie, Francis Webb, Simon Whetcombe and Richard Young,

¹⁵⁴ Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop, America's Forgotten Founding Father*, (Oxford, 2003), p. 98.

¹⁵⁵ Bremer, *John Winthrop*, pp. 139-140.

¹⁵⁶ Roger Downing, Gijs Rommelse and Uitgeverij Verloren, *A Fearful Gentleman: Sir George Downing in The Hague, 1658-1672*, (Hilversum 2011), p. 32.

grants of land directly to his closest associates.¹⁵⁷ As the investors in Warwick's scheme had much in common with the shareholders in the Providence Island company, it can be inferred that the contractors were also drawn from the same stock. The Trinity College Dublin educated John Winthrop Jr, Hugh Peter and Henry Vane Jr travelled together to Massachusetts as employees of Warwick's patentees with instructions to oust any Dutch settlers and to build fortifications.¹⁵⁸ Both Vane Jr and Winthrop Jr later became governors of the combined colonies in Massachusetts, while the lands of the Warwick 'patent' were absorbed into the Massachusetts Bay Company in March 1639 having failed to attract any settlers.

Although Warwick's plantation failed, he had introduced his Caribbean contractors into the New England arena where they promptly got to work. Maurice Thompson quickly moved into the New England servant trade and delivered 180 passengers on a single voyage in May 1638.¹⁵⁹ In May 1639, he set up a small fishing plantation at Cape Ann, Massachusetts, in partnership with John Winthrop Jr. and two additional partners, John Humphrey and William Pierce, both of whom were from London and became Adventurers in Irish land.¹⁶⁰ These partners were introduced initially by Hugh Peter, who had befriended Thompson while in London.¹⁶¹ Thompson, therefore, through his employment by Warwick and enterprises of his own, had developed an extraordinary web of connections throughout the Atlantic world by 1640. His incursion into New England was driven by his appetite for Spanish silver. Spain was a large consumer of Atlantic cod and, although the trade between the North Atlantic and Spain was well developed, it was highly fragmented and most European maritime powers sent fishing fleets to the region. These vessels, on the return leg to Europe, were frequently targeted by pirates from as far afield as North Africa and the journey was a perilous one. Thompson's fleet of heavily armed and

¹⁵⁷ Charles Hoadly, *The Warwick Patent*, (Hartford, 1902). 'Warwick' patentees included several Adventurers for Irish Land. Mathew Boynton, Arthur Haslerig and John Hampden each invested £1,000 in the project. As Massachusetts had yet to exhibit any sign of being a financial success these large investments can be considered as being partly altruistic in nature. The complete list of patentees were Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke, Lord Rich, Charles Fiennes, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, John Pym, John Hampden, John Humphrey, Herbert Pelham, Henry Lawrence, Henry Darley, Arthur Haslerig, Sir Matthew Boynton, Robert Barrington, Philip Nye and George Fenwick. The patentees were awarded grants along the Massachusetts River.

¹⁵⁸ Vane jr was the son of Sir Henry Vane, Privy Councillor and later Parliamentarian.

¹⁵⁹ Nathaniel Shurtleff, *Records of the governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, (5 vols, Boston, 1853), i, 274.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 256-8.

¹⁶¹ Bernard Bailyn, *New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century*, (Cambridge, MA, 1955), p. 83.

large ships was both safer and more efficient, with the additional attraction of payment for the cargoes of fish with bullion.

The Massachusetts Bay Company territory was centred on Boston to the south of the New England Company territory.¹⁶² Once again, the subscriptions were drawn entirely from the merchant class and £50 included an automatic entitlement to a grant of 200 acres of land. This was an important innovation in the context of the Adventure for Irish Land where money, and not headright, was also used as the basis for determining entitlements to land.¹⁶³ In economic terms, the New England colony proved unsuccessful yet it continued to attract colonists in search the religious freedom.¹⁶⁴ Colonists were also encouraged by the cooler climate that caused a far lower initial mortality rate than in the southern colonies. This outward migration continued until the late 1630s when the pattern reversed as Puritans, emboldened by events in their home country and the rise of their leaders to positions of influence, began to return home. This process reached a peak in 1641-2 when fourteen of the 114 university-trained men residing in New England left the colonies.¹⁶⁵ The simultaneous migration of both Virginians and New Englanders back to London, 1641-2, synthesised the commercial and religious groups into one. What both groups had in common was the ambitious colonial peer, the earl of Warwick, and his contractors.

The Thompson/Tucker/Warwick network existed all over the Atlantic world as far north as Maine. On 6 July 1631 Maurice Thompson delivered a party of ten colonists to Natascott, now the town of Hull, Massachusetts. The colonists had been sent out by the 'Company of Husbandmen', a group of investors based in London that included John Dyke, a close associate of the earl of Warwick, and John Crispe, a cousin of the Guinea merchant, Sir Nicholas Crispe.¹⁶⁶ As there was competition for land in Massachusetts, the colonists had

¹⁶² Massachusetts Bay Company investors who also invested in the Adventure for Irish Land were Thomas Andrews, Richard Andrews, William Arnold, John and William Ballard, Nathaniel Barnardiston, William Brereton, John and Thomas Bright, John Browne, Edward Cooke, Samuel Crowther, John Goodwin, William Hubbard, Thomas Hutchins, John Oldfield, Henry Rosewell, William Spurstowe, Charles Witchcote and John and Thomas Young.

¹⁶³ Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, p. 63

¹⁶⁴ New England was the destination for one half of registered travellers from London in 1635. See Alison Games, 'The English Atlantic World: A View from London', *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, 64 (Summer, 1997), pp. 46-72.

¹⁶⁵ Sachse, 'Migration', p. 260.

¹⁶⁶ George Folsom, *History of Saco and Biddeford, with notices of other Early Settlements, and of the Proprietary Governments in Maine, including the provinces of New Somersetshire and Lygonia*, (Saco, Maine, 1830), pp. 51-4. Dyke and Crispe became,

created a patent, known as the Plough Patent, and claimed a nominal 1,500 acres in Maine.¹⁶⁷ The adventure became bankrupt in 1634. Two years later a third Tucker cousin, Richard, purchased the patent in partnership with one George Cleaves and set themselves up as merchants supplying English manufactured goods to the New Englanders.¹⁶⁸ Unfortunately for the partners, in 1639 Sir Fernandino Gorges obtained a firm charter from Charles I for the entire province of Maine and refused to recognise Tucker and Cleaves' dubious patent.¹⁶⁹ Cleaves travelled back to England, rounded up the original investors from 1631 and arranged for the transfer of their interest to the Parliamentary MP, Sir Alexander Rigby. In 1643, with Warwick in control of Parliament's Commission for Plantations, Rigby procured a commission from the earl of Warwick confirming the original Plough patent and restoring the lands in Maine to Cleaves and Richard Tucker. Cleaves returned to Maine and delivered it to Tucker who presented it to the government of the Massachusetts Bay colony and sought to have the claims of both Gorges and Rigby rendered null and void, Rigby having fulfilled his function as far as Tucker was concerned. Richard Tucker was imprisoned for his 'abusive language' before the Massachusetts legislature but was released the next day and sent back to Maine. Cleaves and Tucker set themselves up as an independent colony until March 1645 when, at the brink of war between Maine and Massachusetts, the earl of Warwick stepped in and declared for Rigby thus preventing any further conflict. Rigby later become a Colonel in the Parliamentary army and on 1 July 1645 was on a committee to consider the propositions for the speedy relief of Ireland.¹⁷⁰ The Maine episode illustrates the tensions that had developed by the early 1640s as more colonies became economically sustainable. Warwick and his friends were attempting to control increasing amounts of territory using any means at their disposal, while the king attempted to push back, awarding patents to supporters of his own.

respectively, the largest and second-largest investors in the Adventures for Irish Land through their speculation in the Additional Sea Adventure.

¹⁶⁷ The *Plough* was the name of Thompson's ship that had transported them to New England.

¹⁶⁸ This account is drawn from McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Colonial and General Court*, p. 30; Bernard W. Sheehan, *Savagism and civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia* (1990) p 226.

¹⁶⁹ Sir Fernandino Gorges was the father of Dr Robert Gorges who, like John Winthrop Jr, served as Governor General of New England (1623-4) and was a graduate of Trinity College Dublin. Robert Gorges marries the daughter of Sir Arthur Loftus and served as Henry Cromwell's secretary during Cromwell's term as Lord Deputy of Ireland (Clarke, *Prelude to Restoration in Ireland*, p. 227).

¹⁷⁰ Edward Banks, *Colonel Alexander Rigby: A Sketch of His Career and Connection with Maine as Proprietor of the Plough Patent and President of the Province of Lygonia*, (Portland, Maine, 1885).

Developing in parallel with the Virginian and Caribbean colonies to the south, and using cod as its staple export, the Nova Scotia project attracted the interest of both English and Scottish planters with investments in Ulster and Connacht. The colonial project for Nova Scotia had a different character from those of New England or Virginia in that it was modelled closely on the Ulster plantation of 1609. Each adventurer for Nova Scotia was required to send out six skilled men, pay 2,000 marks to the King and 1,000 marks to Sir William Alexander, the principal patentee, in return for the honour of a Knight Baronet. For Alexander, this was a scheme to make some money quickly. He hoped to repeat the success of James I and VI who sold Ulster baronetcies to 215 English gentlemen for £225,000 in 1613.¹⁷¹ In 1642, the Adventure for Irish Land would offer a similar incentive of a baronetcy in return for a substantial investment. The creators of the Adventure for Irish Land thus attempted to include the most successful elements of England's major Atlantic colonies; the large subscriber base of the Virginia Company, the simple land for cash structure of Massachusetts Bay and the barony honour, borrowed from the Ulster Plantation and also used successfully in Nova Scotia.

The distinguishing commercial feature of the English Atlantic colonies is that there was no controlling monopoly company, in the mould of the English East India and Levant Companies or the Dutch West Indies Company. This created a space in which unlicensed merchants could operate, building up a huge trade shipping colonists and provisions to the Americas in return for tobacco, timber and other goods sold both in England and throughout Europe. In August 1641 John Pym had been asked by Parliament to explore the possibility of establishing such a company, but apart from a report recommending that the profits from such a company should be divided among the Providence Island Company shareholders he made no further progress on this issue.¹⁷² The creation of a new company would attract the merchant elite, the wealthy grandees in charge of the Levant and East India companies and the Merchant Adventurers who traded in Europe. These merchants, overwhelmingly supporters of the King, also had the financial capacity to challenge the Warwick/Tucker/Thompson combine. Despite the lack of a formally chartered company however, an oligopoly, an unofficial near monopoly with very few members, had been created under Warwick's supervision. The earl controlled, therefore, the resources of what

¹⁷¹ This account of the foundation of Nova Scotia and its comparison with Ulster is based on Alexander Fraser, *Nova Scotia, The Royal Charter of 1621 to William Alexander*, (Toronto, 1912), pp. 12-16. William Alexander, as noticed, was drawing finance from William Cloberry, Maurice Thompson's partner in the Kent Island project.

¹⁷² Adamson, *Noble Revolt*, p. 363. This recommendation is unsurprising as Pym held shares in the Providence Island Company.

was in fact a West India Company in all but name. Unknown to the rest of the merchant community outside of the close circle involved in the Providence Island Company, it had become a very powerful entity.

The network at the top of England's colonial enterprises; the peers, their favoured contractors and the larger investors in plantations and plantation companies, comprised a small and interconnected circle. Below them, but far more numerous, were the part-time ship owners, wholesalers and customers for colonial and other imported commodities. Throughout the 1630s most American exports were bartered for manufactured goods brought from England. The Atlantic shipping agents became both major suppliers to London and other markets and key customers for their finished goods. Ralph Davis has estimated that the English merchant fleet comprised 150,000 tons of merchant shipping in 1640.¹⁷³ It cost £2,000 to build a typical West Indian trader of 180 tons and £3,500 to build a tobacco ship of 240 tons. At an average cost of construction of £13 per ton, the merchant fleet represented £1,950,000 in capital. As the ships had an average life of 11 years the merchants were introducing capital of £200,000 per year, just to maintain their fleet. This figure dwarfs the 1637 estimate of Ship Money protestor, Sir Roger Twysden, who claimed that the navy could survive on £30,000 per year.¹⁷⁴ By 1642 the colonial, Levant and interloping merchants controlled a substantial navy and the nature of fractional ownership meant that they also forged close and frequently overlapping networks.¹⁷⁵ The colonial merchants did not confine their activities to the Atlantic, but were also engaged in markets across the globe and closer to home.

Some Atlantic merchants, led by William Cloberry, Maurice Thompson and Samuel Vassall, made strenuous attempts to break into the protected markets controlled by chartered companies. They focussed especially on the nascent West African slave business and also traded directly between their colonial plantations and European ports, previously the preserve of the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers, who monopolised England's exports to Europe. To challenge the chartered companies, the colonial merchants employed a number of strategies in addition to simply sending out unlicensed expeditions. One of the few commercial successes in New England was the mast trade organised by the London

¹⁷³ These figures are a summary of those presented in Davis, *Shipping Industry*, pp. 140-156.

¹⁷⁴ For naval expenditure in the 1630s see Andrew Thrush, 'Naval Expenditure and the Development of Ship Money' in Mark Charles Fissell (ed.), *War and Government in Britain, 1598-1650* (Manchester 1991), pp. 193-224.

¹⁷⁵ Davis, *Shipping Industry*, p. 17.

shipwright Nehemiah Bourne. New England was replete in very large trees suitable for the production of masts for tall ships. This commodity, almost extinct in England, was supplied from Baltic forests by the Eastland Company.¹⁷⁶ Bourne built some of the largest ships on the Atlantic to service this trade and successfully challenged the Eastland Company's monopoly with American timber. Prior to the Civil Wars, however, these successes were rare. Of more concern to the Atlantic merchants was the Guinea Company's inability to resist the rise of the Dutch West Indies Company. In January 1642 a Dutch West India Company fleet captured the Portuguese-controlled African city of Luanda, and with it the largest slave market in Africa.¹⁷⁷

Closer to home, Charles I had built up an impressive network of internal monopolies during the period of personal rule, from 1629 to 1640. Groups of patentees came to dominate specific areas of trade, particularly those once dominated by the livery companies from which the relevant consortia normally originated. In addition, as patents were normally awarded on a national basis, the patentees were no longer restricted geographically, as the London companies were for example, and could exercise their monopoly throughout the kingdom. The King's revenue from internal monopolies proved significant; wine brought in £30,000 pa, tobacco £13,050 per annum and soap £30,825 per annum. The more lucrative monopolies enticed Charles to become directly involved in trade and he offered to capitalise the pin-makers company with £10,000 when he renewed their charter in 1640. A small number of patents had been recalled in 1639, including monopolies on collecting fines or compounding with transgressors of the trade monopolies. The Atlantic merchants were not necessarily against this system. The Thompsons and the earl of Carlisle had gone to considerable lengths to create a monopoly over the tobacco trade into Ireland in the early 1630's, a monopoly acquired by Thomas Wentworth in 1637.¹⁷⁸ This was an unwelcome incursion by a Court favourite into the worlds of the earls of Cork and Carlisle. In 1641 drew to a close, the earl of Warwick and his associates suffered the loss of Providence Island. In tandem with the loss of Providence Island and the restructuring of the government of Virginia, Charles was also considering rationalising the multiple companies and claims to territory in New England under a single patentee, the

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 195.

¹⁷⁷ TNA SP84/157 State Papers Foreign, Holland, f. 156. According to this report, Spain was taking 15,000 slaves a year to South America, principally for labour in silver mines.

¹⁷⁸ J. P. Cooper, 'The Fortune of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 11: 2 (1958), pp. 227-248, (p. 244).

royal favourite Sir Fernandino Gorges.¹⁷⁹ This would have been a triple blow and all but wiped out the colonial merchants' control over their sphere of commercial interests, and reduced the relatively unnoticed profits flowing to the Puritan peers who licensed the merchants. The colonial merchants were used to their aristocratic patrons but were unaccustomed to dealing with the court of Charles I, where they had few friends and none in the upper hierarchy as relations with Charles and the Providence Island peers deteriorated. Their social disadvantages, which included their Puritanism and birth among 'the meaner sort of men', made it difficult for these merchants to break into the merchant elite despite their growing wealth and expertise in finance and colonial management. Perhaps there was no need to if the merchant elite could be simply swept away. This opportunity came not from the earl of Carlisle, the most important patentee in the Caribbean, but from the earl of Warwick, and his friends who controlled the trade in the region.

The Providence Island Company grandees, including the earls of Essex and Warwick, and Lords Saye and Sele and Brooke and Edward Montague, Lord Mandeville, submitted a petition of grievances to Charles I at York on 9 September 1640.¹⁸⁰ Written by two Providence Island Company members, John Pym and Oliver St John, the petition touched on religion and the difficulties of the Scottish war, but was specific in its criticism of monopolies and patents and sought the recall of Parliament. In London, a similar petition, circulated among the colonial merchants, was seen by the Privy Council, who ordered the Court of Aldermen to suppress it.¹⁸¹ Despite this opposition, Thomas Alford, Maurice Thompson and Richard Shute brought the petition from the merchants of London to

¹⁷⁹ Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Atlantic in the Age of Revolution, 1640-1661*, (London, 2007 edition), p. 17.

¹⁸⁰ John Rushworth, 'Historical Collections: 1640, August-September', in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 3, 1639-40* (London, 1721), pp. 1221-1286 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rushworth-papers/vol3/pp1221-1286> [accessed 17 September 2015]., The Petition of the Earl of Essex, Hertford, &c. to the King to call a Parliament.

¹⁸¹ John Rushworth, 'Historical Collections: 1640, August-September', in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 3, 1639-40* (London, 1721), pp. 1221-1286 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rushworth-papers/vol3/pp1221-1286> [accessed 17 September 2015]., Sept. 11. 1640. To stop the Londoners Petition to his Majesty.

Charles I at York.¹⁸² The merchants offered a loan of £50,000 to maintain the King's army in Scotland, conditional on the King's recall of Parliament. The selection of Alford, Thompson and Shute for a mission that could well have resulted in their arrest was significant. Maurice Thompson was the Providence Island Company's principal contractor and Shute his commercial factor in London, while the Alfords were significant Boston planters.¹⁸³ All had friends among the colonial peers and their agents in Parliament. The petition was the independent work of the merchants and not part of a political initiative by the court of Aldermen or the Common Council, who both condemned it.¹⁸⁴ It demonstrates that the Providence Island peers had access to a wide network of citizen merchants in London, capable of operating outside of the City's normal political structures, whom they could call upon to exert political pressure on the King. These merchants have much in common with Robert Brenner's 'New Merchants' although they appear to have been working under the direction of their noble masters, as opposed to fighting among themselves in a struggle for power within the City of London.

The merchants' petition episode demonstrates a new axis of power, centred on Warwick House and involving the Providence Island Company partners and contractors. Peers Warwick and Brook could persuade men like Maurice Thompson to risk their capital, ships and manpower on their behalf. These resources could be channelled through Parliament by Providence Island politicians such as John Pym and Thomas Barrington with the support of other MPs who were also in business with the Caribbean and Virginia merchants, or the New England colonists. This was the framework of political and financial resources that would underpin the Adventure for Irish Land. In addition to the peers, Maurice Thompson had friends at the royal court in York in September 1640. On 17 September the King was visited by Lewis Boyle, Lord Kinalmeaky and Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill bearing a gift of £1,000 from their father, the earl of Cork.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² TNA SP16/467 Letters and Papers, 1640, Sept 10-23, f.225 Sept. 19 1640. Note of a report that Alford, a linen draper, of Cheapside, Shewte, a merchant, and Maurice Thompson, merchant, went last Wednesday afternoon with the petition from the citizens of London ...

¹⁸³ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 313, Bailyn, *New England Merchants*, p. 36.

¹⁸⁴ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 314.

¹⁸⁵ Charlotte Fell Smith, *Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, (1625-1678), Her Family and Friends*, (London, 1901), p. 87. According to Lewis Boyle, Charles spent much of his time playing chess with William Fielding earl of Denbigh.

The merchants' petition required the recall of Parliament in order to address specific grievances relating to royal policy: ship money, patents and monopolies. The petition also called for the release of persons imprisoned for their opposition to these policies.¹⁸⁶ The merchants were part of a wider political campaign that resulted in the calling of the Long Parliament on 3 November 1640. On 9 November, MPs expelled 'all projectors, monopolisers, promoters or advisers of them'.¹⁸⁷ In London, the Court of Common Hall, the representative body of the City's liveried trade guilds, elected Sir Thomas Soames, Isaac Pennington, Samuel Vassall and Matthew Craddock as its representatives at Parliament.¹⁸⁸ Soames, Craddock and Pennington and Vassall were all members of the Levant Company, together with William Pennoyer, Humphrey Slaney and William Cloberry.¹⁸⁹ Venn was also an organiser of the Londoners' citizen petition brought to the King at York in 1640 and a member of the Massachusetts Bay Company.¹⁹⁰ In addition, the Venns were members of the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers.¹⁹¹ Samuel Vassall was Maurice Thompson's most important trading partner in Virginia and the West Indies in 1640 and worked frequently with Richard Bateson and Edward Wood, partners in Maurice Thompson's privateering expeditions to Providence Island.¹⁹² Samuel Vassall was named in the charter of the Massachusetts Company and his brother, William, lived in the colony. Matthew Craddock, a Eastland Company grandee, was the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony and jointly owned the merchant ship *Rebecca* with Maurice Thompson.¹⁹³ Craddock's daughter, Damaris, married Thomas Andrews, the

¹⁸⁶ John Rushworth, 'Historical Collections: 1640, August-September', in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 3, 1639-40* (London, 1721), pp. 1221-1286 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rushworth-papers/vol3/pp1221-1286> [accessed 17 September 2015], 'A Petition of the Londoners to the King to call a Parliament'. Of the leading Adventurers for Irish land, Stephen Estwick was imprisoned in 1640 for refusing to pay ship money and Samuel Vassall had already served a sentence for a similar offence. John Foulkes was imprisoned for refusing to pay Tonnage and Poundage and Richard Chambers was imprisoned for his part in circulating the merchant's petition: Pearl, *Puritan Revolution*, p. 314-328.

¹⁸⁷ Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court 1603-1643*, (Cambridge, 1979), p. 152.

¹⁸⁸ John Venn was elected to Parliament in 1641 following the death of Craddock.

¹⁸⁹ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p.81. Halstead was a treasurer for the Adventure for Irish land in 1642.

¹⁹⁰ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p.313, Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, pp. 60-62.

¹⁹¹ Wolf-Rudiger Baumann, *The Merchant Adventurers and the Continental Cloth Trade, 1560s-1620s*, (Florence, 1990), p. 158.

¹⁹² Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 135-7.

¹⁹³ Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, pp. 60-62; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 139. The Craddocks were also leading members of the Eastland Company, so it was probably the potential timber trade that drew them into New England.

Massachusetts Bay Company investor and treasurer of the subsequent Adventure for Irish land.¹⁹⁴ Isaac Pennington, another Levant Company merchant, was related to Craddock through his kinsman Robert Mainwaring, who was, in turn, a leading member of London's Common Council and a partner of Thomas Andrews in the Virginia provisioning trade.¹⁹⁵ At Parliamentary level, although three of the four London MPs had strong colonial interests, all four were also active members in established royal monopolies and none can be termed 'colonial merchants' in the sense of being primarily dependent on the Atlantic for their income.

Important though the national parliament was, London was governed on a day to day basis by its local representative institutions. The City of London was divided into 26 wards, each of which elected an alderman. An alderman had to be a member of one of the livery companies of the city and these companies held a monopoly over all aspects of the city's official trade. The longest serving alderman was normally elected mayor and the aldermanic court implemented the policies laid down by the common council. The alderman and the livery companies were, broadly speaking, royalist and in January 1642 opposed to the radical faction in Parliament. The Common Council included the members of the aldermanic court in addition to some 220 common councilmen elected by the freemen of each ward from candidates, usually selected at parish meetings. Although any common councillor could attend a meeting of the council, it was governed by a committee comprised of one councillor selected from each ward. As the court of Aldermen could veto the decisions of the Common Council, and as the aldermen were also all members of the Court of Common Hall, the Livery Companies had an effective veto over the decisions of the Common Council. This veto was exercised in December 1641 when the Common Council attempted to replace the longest serving alderman, the royalist Richard Gurney, who was a key supporter of recent increases in customs duties, with the radical London MP, Sir Isaac Pennington. In this instance, Sherriff George Clarke simply ignored the vote and brought Gurney's name to the aldermanic court for approval.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 139, Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, p. 133.

¹⁹⁵ MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, p. 473, Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 483. A branch of the Mainwaring family was established in Stillorgan, county Dublin.

¹⁹⁶ Melvin C. Wren, 'The Disputed Elections in London 1641' in *English Historical Review*, (1949), pp. 34-52; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp 319-321; Pearl, *Puritan Revolution*, pp. 50-65.

Robert Brenner has estimated that 40% of common councillors can be termed parliamentarian.¹⁹⁷ In contrast, the majority of freemen of the City who had elected four oppositionist MPs with connections to the colonial merchants, were parliamentary sympathisers by the end of 1641. The disparity between the overwhelming election of Independents to Parliament for London and their relative under-representation on the Common Council, is explained by geography. The colonial merchants were concentrated in the wards close to the River Thames, the wards of Billingsgate, Candlewick, Dowgate, Tower and Portsoken.¹⁹⁸ With the addition of the Puritan-dominated wards of Coleman Street and Broad Street, the Independents were still unable to achieve a majority on a council whose representation was drawn evenly from all wards. The London Independents, strong in Parliament, suffered from a democratic deficit on the Common Council and lacked the connections among the established merchant elite to dominate the Court of Aldermen.

Of all the colonial merchants, only Maurice Thompson was ranked among the merchant elite by 1641, on a par with the merchant grandees but without the cost of lending to the King, which he chose not to do.¹⁹⁹ The colonial merchants, who were by and large excluded from the City government in September 1640 and acted independently, had created an alternative political route to Parliament by December 1641, by-passing the City of London's established political institutions. Instead of needing to ask the Common Council or Alderman to petition Parliament with their grievances, they could go directly to their MP. By extension, the Providence Island Company peers and MPs were also now in control of this channel, dominated as it was by Puritan and colonial merchants. They were still one step away from controlling the city, however, as its military forces, the Trained Bands, could only be mobilised by the royalist Lord Mayor, Richard Gurney. The rebellion that broke out in Ireland on 23 October 1641 and a rash action on the part of Charles I on 4 January 1642 provided the opportunity.

¹⁹⁷ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 388.

¹⁹⁸ TNA SP16/453, ff. 116-165, May 1640, 'The names of persons who are conceived able to lend his Majesty money...'. The survey is organised by London ward and classifies potential lenders according to their wealth; the first class, the second class and so on. See also Adrian Johns, 'Coleman Street', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71:1 (March 2008), pp. 33-54.

¹⁹⁹ TNA SP16/453, f. 152. Maurice Thompson is the only merchant of the first class who was not a senior member of one of the chartered companies or involved in state finance. Many of his business partners, however, are to be found in the second and third classes.

Charles I was in Scotland when he was informed about the rebellion in Ireland. The King, hoping that Parliament could manage a response, 'recommended the care of those affairs' to Parliament on 2 November 1641.²⁰⁰ In so doing, he transferred his royal prerogative to deal with Ireland to Parliament. Money loaned for Ireland was under Parliamentary authority, and Parliament could decide how this money was spent. A joint committee was established comprised of 28 peers and 56 MPs to 'consider the state of the Irish affairs', and this committee became known as the Committee for Irish Affairs.²⁰¹ Parliament delegated much of the day-to-day management of the affairs of Ireland to it. The four London MPs joined this committee and much of its work, and reporting between the committee and the House of Commons, was managed by John Pym, the Providence Island Company member.

Parliament acted quickly to raise a loan of £50,000 in London to crush the rebellion in Ireland. On 2 November Thomas Barrington, a Providence Island Company man, was sent to the city to raise the money and John Pym, also of the Providence Island Company, formed a small subgroup of MPs, including John Clotworthy, an Ulster land consolidator, and Denzil Holles, a Leinster land owner, to manage this initial effort.²⁰² The London aldermen resisted, requiring explicit security from Parliament for their loan and also additional security for an existing loan of £50,000, made to the King in September 1640. The struggle within the City over the mayoralty also led to the refusal by any of the colonial merchants to loan money under the mayor's authority.²⁰³ This impasse was resolved by a group of peers, led by the earl of Pembroke, who agreed to secure the 1640 loan with bonds drawn on their personal estates. The colonial merchants, for their part, raised £20,000 in Spanish coin and loaned it directly to Sir Nicholas Loftus, vice treasurer

²⁰⁰ Patrick Little, 'The English Parliament and the Irish Constitution', pp. 108-9 in Micheal Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis – Ireland in the 1640s*, (Dublin, 2001).

²⁰¹ For the formation of this committee see Robert Armstrong, 'Ireland at Westminster' in Chris R. Kyle and Jason Peacy (eds.), *Parliament at Work – Parliamentary Committees, Political Power and Public Access in Early Modern England*, (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 80-81.

²⁰² 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 02 November 1641', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 301-303 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp301-303> [accessed 23 September 2015]. Clotworthy and Holles had plantation estates in counties Antrim and Wexford, respectively.

²⁰³ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 03 November 1641', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 303-305 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp303-305> [accessed 22 September 2015].

for wars in Ireland and a neighbour of Warwick in Holborn.²⁰⁴ George Henley and William Hawkrige offered to pay the £20,000 directly to Loftus, £6,000 immediately and the remainder once Loftus had procured a matching sum from the treasurers of Poll money.²⁰⁵ Henley was a major importer of tobacco while Hawkrige was an experienced captain who had formerly been master of one of Maurice Thompson's ships, the *Truelove*.²⁰⁶ Hawkrige was formerly employed transporting currency for the earl of Warwick and £20,000 in silver bullion was duly despatched to the royal garrison at Carrickfergus, County Antrim, on 23 November in shipping chartered from Maurice Thompson.²⁰⁷ Hawkrige's vessel was one of four armed merchantmen chartered from Maurice Thompson by Algernon Percy, Lord High Admiral on 20 November to supply English and Scottish forces intended for Ireland and to guard the Irish Sea.²⁰⁸ Maurice Thompson and the colonial merchants were, therefore, closely involved in England's response to the Irish revolt from its earliest phase.

²⁰⁴ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Third Report*, (London, 1872), p. 85; 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 03 November 1641', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 303-305 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp303-305> [accessed 22 September 2015]; 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 09 November 1641', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 308-309 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp308-309> [accessed 23 September 2015]. Nicholas Loftus was a brother of Sir Arthur Loftus of Rathfarnham, Dublin and a member of a prominent New English family.

²⁰⁵ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 11 November 1641', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 311-312 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp311-312> [accessed 23 September 2015].

²⁰⁶ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 183n; MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, p. 379; Elaine Murphy, *Ireland and the War at Sea*, (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 89. Henley was a brother of Sir Robert Henley, master of the King's Bench, who entered into a bond to guarantee the safe delivery of the money ('House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 22 November 1641', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), p. 322 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/p322> [accessed 22 September 2015]).

²⁰⁷ TNA SP16/1, Vol. 1 Letters and Papers, 1625 Mar 27-Apr, f. 135 The King to the Commissioners of Customs; SP 71/26 Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Barbary States, Tunis, 1622-1662, f. 5 Tunis: 'Petition of Capt. William Hawkrige for letters of marque against pirates of Algiers and Salé'. In 1626 Hawkrige transported coin for the earl of Warwick on an expedition to discover the Northwest Passage. The Adventurers in this voyage included Warwick, the Duke of Buckingham, Sir Thomas Smith, treasurer of the Virginia Company and Sir John Wolstenhome. See also: Parliamentary Archives HL/PO/JO/10/1/73, 23 November 1641, Order for the payment of £5,000 by the chamberlain of London to the merchants who undertook to transport £20,000 into Ireland.

²⁰⁸ Parliamentary Archives HL/PO/JO/10/1/73, 20 November 1641, Draft order of the Lords and Commons for the Lord High Admiral to prepare four ships for the service of Ireland.

Almost two months before the Irish rebellion, on 6 September 1641, the Earl of Warwick, John Pym and Sir Henry Mildmay had assumed responsibility for distributing all money to be paid monthly by the navy to sailors and suppliers. In addition, with the colonial merchant fleet in the Thames, getting ready for spring voyages and awaiting deployment for a mission to retake Providence Island from the Spanish, a huge amount of shipping was already under the effective control of the earl of Warwick and his agents.²⁰⁹ Parliament's initial response to the rebellion in Ireland soon became enmeshed in the struggle for political power within the city of London. Warwick House, with its control of the navy budget, the Brotherly Assistance loans and the Providence Island Company network of Puritan peers, MPs and merchants provided an alternative source of finance and organisation at this early stage of the conflict.²¹⁰ It allowed the colonial merchants and politicians to bypass the established city structures for raising government loans and to insert themselves at the centre of Irish affairs. Moreover, Maurice Thompson had a personal reason to send a ship to the coast of Antrim. Randall MacDonnell, earl of Antrim, owed his family money. In 1638, the earl of Antrim mortgaged his estate against future rents for £80,000 to a consortium of London merchants.²¹¹ These creditors included Maurice Thompson's brother-in-law, Abraham Corsellis, his brother and London-based business manager, Robert Thompson, a Virginia planter, Edward Basse, alongside an assortment of other colonial and city merchants. Antrim's estate needed to be preserved in order to service the loan, which drew the Thompsons into the conflict in Ireland at an early stage.

Alongside the loans accessed at this time, the Court of Common Hall raised £100,000 for the relief of Ireland in December 1641.²¹² This was collected in small sums on a street by street basis. Some of the individual contributions were quite large and included the colonial merchants Thomas Andrews, Stephen Estwick, Richard Turner, Richard Hunt, Simon

²⁰⁹ Adamson, *Noble Revolt*, p 363.

²¹⁰ The Brotherly Assistance loans were transacted through Warwick House to secure the disbandment of the Scots army deployed in England in accordance with the Treaty of London signed in August 1641. Control of Brotherly Assistance left Warwick as paymaster of both the Navy and a substantial Scots army.

²¹¹ Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/115, 4 February 1642: 'Petition of Alexander MacDonnell'. Antrim's loans were guaranteed by Archibald Stewart. I am grateful to Professor Jane Ohlmeyer for drawing my attention to the MacDonnell loan.

²¹² TNA SP16/493, ff. 65-78 'Book containing a general account of money paid in to the Chamber of London from Nov. 1641 to Dec. 1642 as loans, in accordance with orders of Parliament'; 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 03 December 1641', in *Journal of the House of Commons*, 2, 1640-1643 (London, 1802), pp. 330-332 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp330-332> [accessed 22 September 2015].

Warner and Dame Rebecca Rumney.²¹³ The largest single contributor was Sir Robert Bateman, a leader of the Levant Company who gave £1,000. At a national level, Parliament was unwilling, or unable, to commit funds directly to the Irish campaign out of normal taxation. By December 1641 the Irish campaign was already £50,000 in debt to its suppliers and Parliament had repayment obligations for additional outstanding loans of £500,000, including the £50,000 initially raised for Ireland but excluding the new loan for £100,000.²¹⁴ On 14 December Parliament voted to raise £400,000 in new subsidies to cover both its existing obligations and to finance the war in Ireland but this figure represents the upper limit that Parliament thought it could raise, not the actual sum required.²¹⁵ The subsidy, when passed, would still take a long time to collect and money could only be raised for an imminent Irish campaign by way of loans secured on the future proceeds of the subsidy. London was not an ideal place in which to arrange such a major funding effort in December 1641 and even the initial loan of £50,000 had not been raised by the end of December. Robert Bateman, a Levant Company grandee, contributed an additional £2,000 on 1 December 1641 to meet the cost of transporting an initial consignment of supplies from London to Chester and on to Ireland, and also to pay for Thompson's four ships.²¹⁶ As a condition of the loan, Bateman stipulated that his money could not be used for any other purpose, anticipating the diversion of money away from Ireland that became the norm.

²¹³ There are so few women who feature in the Adventure for Irish land that Dame Rebecca Rumney deserves notice. Dame Rebecca was the widow of Sir William Rumney, a member of the council of the Virginia Company in 1607 and sheriff of London. The Rumneys had invested in a fen drainage scheme in Norfolk organised by Sir Abraham Dawes, one of the customs farmers along with Sir Paul Pindar and Sir Nicholas Crisp. Dawes died in 1640 and Rebecca Rumney with her business partner John Doddington, a ship money protestor, sued unsuccessfully in Parliament for the sequestration of the Dawes estate. This suit was unsuccessful as Parliament owed the estate £20,000 and opted to protect itself from the estate's creditors. In 1640 Dame Rebecca gave the huge sum of £400 to Christs Hospital School, the preferred place for the education of colonial merchants, for the maintenance of ten children. See Samuel Bemiss, *The Three Charters of the Virginia Company of London*, (Richmond, VA., 1903), p. 23; CSPD, 10, p. 258; *Lords Journal*, 5, p. 376; *Commons Journal*, 2, p. 325; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge, 2008), p. 125.

²¹⁴ *Commons Journal*, 2, p. 337. The treasury contained £18,000 out of which a short term loan had been made of £12,000 to send Henley and Hawkrige on their way pending the collection of the £50,000.

²¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 343.

²¹⁶ TNA SP26/139 part 15, 'The accounts of Sir John Heyden', f. 150.

Parliament received multiple petitions from groups with a vested interest in Ireland, all expressing frustration with the delays in organising relief supplies, especially for Ulster. Eighteen English landowners resident in London petitioned the House of Commons on 21 December and blamed the spread of the rebellion on Parliament's indecision and lack of resources.²¹⁷ A second petition, signed by 110 London merchants and sent to the king but referred to the House of Lords claimed that 'a million of money' due to them from landowners and merchants in Ireland was at risk of being lost, and that this would have serious consequences for the prosperity of England's trade.²¹⁸ 105 of the petitioners are identifiable and out of these 55, half of the total, subscribed to the Adventure for Irish land the following March.²¹⁹ The petition was organised by Alderman John Towse, subsequently one of the treasurers of the Adventure and included Samuel Warner, a colonial trader and brother of Alderman John Warner, another of the four treasurers.²²⁰ The petition is an interesting profile of London merchants trading into Ireland at the outbreak of the rebellion of 1641 and provides evidence of how closely the Irish supply trade was integrated into the wider Atlantic colonial trading network.

Of the 100 identifiable merchants claiming to be trading into or supplying credit in Ireland, 39 had close personal or familial links with the Atlantic colonies, including some senior figures. Thomas Allen was treasurer of the earl of Warwick-led Bermuda Company and Herriot Washbourne was the brother of the secretary of the Massachusetts Bay Company.²²¹ Thomas Browne was an experienced Virginia planter and had only returned to England in 1639 after petitioning unsuccessfully against Maurice Thompson's tobacco monopoly, while William Davenport was the brother of New England Puritan luminary, John Davenport.²²² William Drinkwater supplied Irish beef directly to Barbados in January

²¹⁷ Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/74, 'Petition of divers Lords and gentlemen of Ireland, now in London, that steps may speedily be taken for the suppression of the rebellion'. The petitioners included Arthur Annesley, John Clotworthy, Thomas Cromwell, Henry Blaney, Francis Mounteney, Adam and Nicholas Loftus and Robert Parkhurst.

²¹⁸ Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/75, *Petition of divers citizens, merchants and others of London, trading into the realm of Ireland, pray for the speedy relief of Ireland*.

²¹⁹ As already noted by Lindley, the Adventure for Irish Land was factional. My interpretation of this figure is that half of the petitioners trading into Ireland were Royalist.

²²⁰ William Thompson, who had returned from Virginia in 1640 with George Thompson and William Tucker, married the daughter of Samuel Warner.

²²¹ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 155; Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, p. 64.

²²² MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, p. 165; Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, p. 62.

1641.²²³ Although colonial traders dominated this trade, investors in Ireland also included some with links to the big chartered companies. Edward Waterhouse, son of a former chancellor of the Irish exchequer, was secretary of the Virginia Company and had witnessed the massacre of 1622, as had Captain William Tucker, also in London in defence of his tobacco monopoly.²²⁴

The lack of a formal banking system in the 1640s meant that the ultimate owners of loans were often very different from the names recorded on them. Edward and John Ash loaned £4,160 to the King, by means of a bond to Secretary of State Henry Vane in May 1641. Vane next made this money available to Adam Loftus, vice-treasurer for Ireland, to be used for army pay.²²⁵ The bond was guaranteed by the earls of Cork and Bath, Lord Ranelagh, Adam Loftus, Robert King, John Clotworthy and Nicholas Barnewall. The bond was thus secured by men whose own principal security was Irish land. To complicate the transaction further, the Ash brothers were acting as intermediaries and the £4,160 was not advanced by them but by a consortium comprising senior financiers Henry Wallop, Thomas Soame, John Pennington and Nathaniel Rich. The role of the minor merchant, therefore, was often to broker a loan between a wealthy consortium with capital to invest and lend it to the state and to recruit a further consortium of guarantors for the state with good credit. The true owners of the 'million of money' claimed in the merchant's petition of 21 December are impossible to identify but are unlikely to be restricted to the signatories to the petition. The role of the merchant as independent financial broker was an important one in the context of the Adventure for Irish land and the Parliamentary finance committees that followed it. It was a trade learned from financing and insuring long distance voyages, the principal business of the colonial merchants.

As the Aldermen of London treated Charles to a lavish banquet on 25 November, the colonial and Puritan merchants were taking steps to take control of the Common Council,

²²³ Peter Wilson Coldham, *English Adventurers and Emigrants, 1609-1660*, (Baltimore MD, 1984), p. 217.

²²⁴ Returning from America, Edward Waterhouse established the Castlewaterhouse estate in County Fermanagh and married Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard Bateman, a brother of Robert and also a leading member of the Levant and East India Companies. Andrew Lyall, 'Waterhouse, Sir Edward (1535-1591)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28810>, accessed 23 Sept 2015]

²²⁵ Alexander Balloch Grosart (ed.), *The Lismore Papers*, (10 vols, London, 1886-8), ii, part 3, 175.

at elections due to take place on 21 December 1641.²²⁶ The men central to the Adventure for Irish land coalesced in the formation of the December 1641 Common Council and many of its members also had close links with the colonial merchants. As is always the case with elected bodies, the important members are the ones who attend the meetings, vote and lay down policy. Foremost among these were the future treasurers for the Adventure for Irish Land, John Towse and John Warner, together with James Bunce and Stephen Estwick who managed extensions of the Adventure in 1643.²²⁷ Of the 28 Common Councilmen elected, only two, the East India Company grandee Abraham Reynardson and the tobacco importer Randall Mainwaring, did not subscribe to the Adventure for Irish land. 24 of the 28 were also involved in the collection of money for Parliament by the end of 1642.²²⁸ The Adventure for Irish Land and the further financing of Parliament which followed it was primarily a Common Council undertaking.

Parliament continued in its efforts to supply troops and material from both Scottish and English sources and to circumvent the stalemate in the City. On 24 December it turned to the Merchant Adventurers to see if they would advance the balance of the £50,000 loan and were successful in securing the £30,000 left short by the colonial merchants.²²⁹ A condition of membership of the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers was a proscription on operating a retail shop in London. Consequently, the Merchant Adventurers conducted most of their trade in parallel to the mainstream Livery Companies based in the City, who

²²⁶ See Wren, 'Disputed Elections'; Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 373-374.

²²⁷ The attendances and members are compiled from London Metropolitan Archives, COL/CC/01/01/4 Minutes of the Common Council 1642-7, ff. 8v-18.

²²⁸ The members of the Common Council identified from the minutes and correlated against Wren's list of petitioners were: Thomas Atkins, William Barkley, Nicholas Baynton, Edward Bromfield, James Bunce, George Clarke, Stephen Estwick, John Foulke, Thomas Foote, John Gage, Thomas Gardiner, George Garrett, John Gayre, William Gibbs, Jacob Gerrard, Edward Hill, Randall Mainwaring, Alexander Normington, Francis Peck, Thomas Perkins, Abraham Reynardson, Owen Rowe, James Russell, John Towse, John Warner, John Wollaston and Nathaniel Wright.

²²⁹ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 24 December 1641', in *Journal of the House of Commons*: 2, 1640-1643 (London, 1802), pp. 355-357 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp355-357> [accessed 24 September 2015]. For a full account of Parliament's efforts to establish a military force for Ireland see Robert Armstrong, 'Long Parliament goes to war', pp. 74-80. Most of the activities of the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers, in existence since the 14th Century, concerned the funding of ships for the purchase and transportation of goods between the European Hanseatic ports and further afield, from the colonies and trading outposts of West Africa and South Asia. The Merchant Adventurers controlled a monopoly over the export of cloth, England's primary export. The members were normally also members of the companies with foreign trade monopolies, such as the East India, Levant and Muscovy companies.

nominated the Aldermen. They were similar to the colonial merchants in this regard, although the colonial merchants had no such formal arrangement. The central committee of the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers in 1641 were Henry Roe (Governor), Nathaniel Edwards, Thomas Smith, George Clarke, Laurence Halstead, Edward Misselden and Stephen Burton.²³⁰ Henry Roe was the nephew Sir Charles Roe, Member of Parliament for Cirencester, one of the leaders of the Virginia Plantation and formerly ambassador at large for Charles I. Edward Misselden was placed onto the Merchant Adventurers' committee by Charles I and charged with enforcing Laudian religious conformity in the Adventurers' factories in the Netherlands, factories that had been under the influence of Hugh Peter prior to Peter's departure to Warwick's colony in New England.²³¹ Nathaniel Edwards controlled the Greenland Company and its whale oil monopoly, a monopoly that had been infiltrated in the 1630s by ships funded by Maurice Thompson and others.²³² Stephen Burton, a minor Merchant Adventurer and not one of the grandees, was elected to London's Court of Common Council from 1638 to 1641 but was ejected in the December 1641 elections.²³³ Parliament had managed to raise some money, but not from the established senior City financiers. Both the colonial merchants and the Merchant Adventurers were primarily involved in maritime, not city, trade and it was these maritime trading networks that provided the bulk of Parliament's funds,

By the start of 1642, therefore, Parliament had discovered that it could raise large amounts money from some sources, on the condition that the money was used to suppress the rebellion in Ireland. On 2 January 1642, however, Charles issued an arrest warrant against five members of Parliament, John Pym, John Hampden, William Strode, Arthur Haslerigg and Denzil Holles, who were charged with plotting against the Queen. All five were involved in Puritan colonial endeavours. Pym was a member of the Providence Island Company and a partner in the Warwick Patent, the earl of Warwick's Puritan colonial project in New England.²³⁴ Hampden and Haslerigg were partners in the Warwick Patent adventure, while William Strode had inherited his father's share in the Dorchester

²³⁰ TNA SP16/442 f.243, 'Secretary Windebank to Sir Henry Roe, governor'

²³¹ Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court*, (Cambridge, 1979), p.136.

²³² TNA PC/2/42 f. 87 Acts of the Privy Council, 25 July 1632, Touching on Interlopers into Canada.

²³³ Wren, 'Disputed Elections', pp. 34-52.

²³⁴ The shareholders in the Warwick Patent were: The earl of Warwick, Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke, Lord Rich, Charles Fiennes, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, John Pym, John Hampden, John Humphrey, Herbert Pelham, Henry Lawrence, Henry Darley, Arthur Haselrig, Sir Matthew Boynton, Robert Barrington, Philip Nye and George Fenwick.

Company, a West Country based Puritan venture, also in New England.²³⁵ Holles was a shareholder in the Dorchester Company and had an estate in Ireland. An arrest warrant was also issued against Lord Mandeville, a Providence Island Company peer. An anonymous contemporary writer observed that the English revolt was 'shaped in Grays-Inne-Lane, where the undertakers for the Isle of Providence did meet and plot it', a reference to the junction of Grays Inn Lane and High Holborn in London, midway between Warwick House, Ely House and Brook House, the homes of Robert Rich, Adam Loftus and Robert Brooke respectively.²³⁶ The sequence of events, 4 January to 10 January 1642 confirm the assessment of this writer.

In the morning of 4 January Charles visited the Common Council at the Guild Hall and demanded that the Council see to the arrest of the MPs. As the Council would not agree to his request Charles went to Parliament with soldiers to arrest the MPs himself, but they had disappeared.²³⁷ Parliament went into recess but the Committee for Irish Affairs was allowed to continue sitting in London, away from Westminster and safely inside the walls of the city so as not to interrupt the despatch of forces to Ireland. Another group of MPs also formed an emergency Committee of Safety, although this was not established under any legislative authority.²³⁸ From 4 January until the recall of Parliament on 10 January, the Committee of Safety and the Committee for Irish Affairs were the only branches of Parliament functioning and assumed the authority of the parent body.

The Common Council had voted on 4 January that their forces should be mobilised in order to secure the safety of the city, and petitioned the King to release arms from the Tower for the militias.²³⁹ Parliament also requested the Common Council to elect a Committee of Safety of its own, responsible for deploying the City's militias. The Common Council's Committee of Safety was dominated by the newly elected colonial and

²³⁵ Haslerigg was married to the daughter of Lord Brooke, principal of the Providence Island Company and Saybrook colonies.

²³⁶ Anon, *A Letter from Mercurius Civicus to Mercurius Rusticus...*, (London, 1643), p. 3; John Ogilby, *The City of London*, (London, 1676), Map Sheet 6.

²³⁷ *Diurnal Occurences*, 3-10 January 1642.

²³⁸ Parliamentary Archives HL/PO/JO/10/1/114, 11 January 1642: Resolutions of the Lords and Commons for Irish Affairs. Annexed, 8 January 1642, 'Report from the sub-committee appointed to treat with the Committee of the Common Council'.

²³⁹ TNA SP16/488, f. 33, 5 January 1642. Minutes of proceedings at a Common Council of the City of London held this clay before Sir Richd. Gurney, Lord Mayor, Sir Thos. Gardiner, Recorder, &c.

Puritan merchants who would Adventure for Irish land in March.²⁴⁰ Using their powers to act for the interests of Ireland, on 5 January, the Committee for Irish Affairs authorised the sequestering of 1,000 muskets and 1,500 swords from the royal armoury in the Tower of London. These arms were to be provided to the troops assembling in London for transport to Ireland but once out of the Tower they found their way into the hands of the militias.²⁴¹ The troops in London destined for Ireland were placed under the command of Lord Edward Conway, who had been nominated for the Commons seat of Yarmouth by Lord Brooke, and John Clotworthy, nominated for the seat of Malden by the earl of Warwick. The fathers of Conway and Clotworthy had both invested heavily in the first Virginia colony of 1609 and they were neighbouring landowners in county Antrim. Conway's estates in Warwickshire were leased to Lord Brooke on a long-term basis and although he held the post of Lord Marshall of Ireland his poor military performance against the Scots in 1640 left him dependent on the support of the Providence Island peers for a command.²⁴²

Clotworthy had attempted to establish a plantation in New England contemporaneously with the development of the Warwick Patent. John Winthrop Jr had stayed with Clotworthy in Antrim over Christmas 1634 and they discussed New England at great length, agreeing that the future of the colony could be best secured with a 'transmission of yonge children' and an infusion of Clotworthy's sheep and cattle. Winthrop travelled on to London and he next heard from Clotworthy again by a coded letter dated 6 March 1635, the cipher of which was kept by the London goldsmith, Francis Allen. Clotworthy made good on his promise of cattle, sheep and children and asked for a ship to be sent to Ireland to collect them.²⁴³ Why this arrangement needed to be written in code is unclear, but Clotworthy signed off with the message 'those who are not strong in frinds had neede walk very streightly, for thers nothing falls to the ground'. A final coded communication from Clotworthy was received in April 1635 advising that the export of sheep and cattle had been banned so he would be unable, legally to provide very many, but encouraged

²⁴⁰ Pearl, *Puritan Revolution*, pp. 140-143. The Common Councillors appointed to manage the militia were Thomas Atkins, John Towse, John Warner, Sir John Wollaston, Randal Mainwaring, John Foulke, Stephen Estwicke, Owen Rowe, James Russell, Nathaniel Wright and William Berkley.

²⁴¹ Adamson, *Noble Revolt*, pp. 488-498.

²⁴² Daniel Starza Smith, *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 99-102. Smith quotes a contemporary rhyme: 'Here is no room for Conaway/ nor many more that run away'.

²⁴³ John Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers: Vol. III, 1631-1937*, (Boston, 1943), p. 193

Winthrop to keep him up to date with news from 'your nott ass yet polluted land'.²⁴⁴ Clotworthy attempted to export some children the following year, despatching 140 passengers from Carrickfergus to New England on 9 September in a locally built vessel, the *Eagle*. The mast broke in heavy seas shortly into the journey and the ship had to turn back, thus ending Sir John Clotworthy's American colonial adventure.²⁴⁵ Both Conway and Clotworthy were, nonetheless, clearly intertwined with the colonial circle centred on Warwick House.

On 8 January, Parliament's Committee of Safety authorised the Committee for Irish Affairs to make the necessary preparation for raising the Trained Bands, using the emergency in Ireland as its justification.

'For as much as the necessitie of providinge money and other supplies for the present releife of Ireland require the consideracon of both Houses of Parliament, and for as much as they cannot sit in safetie without strong and sufficient guard from the Citty of London and the adjacent partes. It is therefore ordered that it be referred to the consideracon of the Committee for Irish Affaires to consider of a way for securing of both houses by guard as aforesaid'.²⁴⁶

The Common Council reported back to the Committee for Irish Affairs, later on 8 January, with a range of measures concerning the raising and equipping of London's trained bands and the legal justification for doing so. The commission of the Lord Mayor to command the trained bands was declared to be illegal. Instead, the Common Council's Committee of Safety assented to the vote of the Committee for Irish Affairs to muster the Trained Bands, London's militia, under the authority of the Common Council, and this agreement was binding on Parliament as a whole when it was recalled.

The Committee for Irish Affairs drew its authority from the assumption that the rebellion in Ireland, if left unchecked, would quickly engulf England as well. Using the pretext that Ireland would fall were Parliament unprotected and unable to send military supplies, the Common Council's Committee of Safety announced that eight companies of the Trained

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 196.

²⁴⁵ W. D. Killeen (ed.), *A True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland by the Reverend Patrick Adair*, (Belfast, 1866), pp. 41-44.

²⁴⁶ Parliamentary Archives HL/PO/JO/10/1/114, 11 January 1642; Resolutions of the Lords and Commons for Irish Affairs. Annexed, 8 January 1642, Report from the sub-committee appointed to treat with the Committee of the Common Council.

Bands would be drawn together immediately, under the command of major-general Philip Skippon.²⁴⁷ Skippon's instructions included a provision that his orders would come from the Committee for Irish Affairs and he would not be subject to any counter command from another authority. The trained bands were armed initially by the Chamber of London, with weapons released from the Tower for Ireland. Finally, the Lord's Committee for Irish Affairs, its regular attendees from February onwards comprised almost exclusively of Providence Island peers, assented to these measures on 10 January on behalf of the full House that was also in recess. For procedural purposes, the Common Council had to appoint independent arbitrators and a specific militia committee to nominate the officers. The arbitrators chosen were three merchants who had been imprisoned alongside Samuel Vassall for refusing to pay the Forced Loan of 1626; Sir Nicholas Rainton, Sir John Gayre and Thomas Atkins.²⁴⁸ The new militia committee was entirely comprised of colonial merchants who were associates of Maurice Thompson.²⁴⁹

The trained bands were organised into six regiments, the most strategically important of which, the Red regiment, had responsibility for the area around the Tower of London and the docks, including the armoury in the Tower and the armed merchant fleet on the Thames.²⁵⁰ Two of the captains in the Red Regiment were William Tucker and William Thompson, which brought the guard over the Tower's arsenal, the Custom House and the headquarters of the Artillery Company firmly within the grasp of Warwick's closest agents.²⁵¹ Tucker and Thompson were well suited to their role as they had both considerable experiences of similar military posts in Virginia. Indeed, Tucker had risen to the rank of Captain-General of the militias in Virginia in 1635.²⁵² The senior captain in the

²⁴⁷ In 1642, Skippon was captain-general of the Artillery Company and Maurice Thompson an officer.

²⁴⁸ London Metropolitan Archives, COL/CC/01/01/4 Minutes of the Common Council 1642-7, f. 10v. Gayre was the father-in-law of George Henley, the merchant carrying supplies to Carrickfergus.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.* William Berkley, James Bunce, Thomas Foote, William Gibbs, Randall Mainwaring, Alexander Normington, Thomas Perkins, James Russell and Nathaniel Wright.

²⁵⁰ Richard Thrale, *The Names, Dignities and Places of all the Collonells...and ensigns of the City of London*, (London, 1642); Lawson Chase Nagel, 'The Militia of London', (PhD. Thesis, University of London, 1982), p. 51.

²⁵¹ Nagel, p. 98. Tower Hamlets also included the greatest concentration of gunsmiths and this regiment was trained on a daily basis from April 1642.

²⁵² Tucker, *Colonial Virginians*, p. 12.

Red Regiment, James Bunce, was also subsequently a major investor in both the Adventure for Irish Land and Additional Sea Adventure.²⁵³

Of the 30 officers of the trained bands ranked as captain or colonel, 22 became Adventurers for Irish Land in March 1642. The White trained band, responsible for the area around the main guild halls and the area to the North of the city that included Warwick House and Brooke House, was commanded entirely by leading future Adventurers for Irish Land.²⁵⁴ Robert Thompson, another brother of Maurice who had lived New England before returning to London, was Pennington's ensign in the White regiment. He had served, in common with many of the Adventurers returning from New England, on the militias over there.²⁵⁵ The 'Americans', returned emigrants from Virginia and New England, took a prominent role in this initial mobilisation of military force against the authority of the king. Two further regiments, the Blue and Orange were under the complete control of Adventurers. The Blue regiment was stationed along the Thames to the west of the area around the Tower controlled by the Red regiment, keeping access to the armed merchant shipping in the Thames firmly within the grip of the Adventurers.²⁵⁶ The Orange was based in the poorer area of the city around the Puritan parish of St Dunstons.²⁵⁷ The distribution of future Adventurers among the officer ranks of the trained bands demonstrates that they were also leaders within London's emerging military hierarchy. Although it was common for the sons of provincial gentry to acquire some military experience by joining Protestant armies in Europe fighting the Thirty Years War,

²⁵³ G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Baronetage*, Vol. III, 1649-1664, (Exeter, 1903), p. 24. James Bunce was the son of James Bunce, an MP in the 1620s and business associate of the Bennetts for whom Maurice Thompson had acted as an agent for during his stay in Virginia. <http://www.historyofParliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/bunce-james-1563-1632;>).

²⁵⁴ Isaac Pennington, Thomas Chamberlain, Thomas Player, Edmund Harvey and Christopher Whichcote.

²⁵⁵ Anon, *Roll of Members of the Military Company of Massachusetts: Now Called the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, with a Roster of the Commissioned Officers and Preachers, 1638-1894*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1895), p. 4. Robert Thompson served in New England with Francis Willoughby, William Rainsborough, Robert Long and Richard Davenport, among others.

²⁵⁶ In contrast with the senior officers, the trained bands included very few Adventurers in their lower officer ranks, and these were distributed in regiments like the Gold in which a minority of captains were Adventurers but included a majority of Adventurers among its Lieutenants, a lower rank. The Adventurer Lieutenants of the Gold regiment were John Fenton, Samuel Turner, William Hitchcote and Matthew Andrews. The Gold Regiment was commanded by an Adventurer, Sir John Wollaston, whose deputy was John Venn, London MP.

²⁵⁷ Nagel, 'The Militia of London', p. 55.

the military ties that bound London's merchant community were based around the Honourable Artillery Company. The Artillery Company, established in 1507, rebuilt itself between 1620 and 1642 after a period of decline and purchased the Artillery Gardens to the North of the city in 1641 to perform its exercises.²⁵⁸ These exercises comprised regular training, an annual parade and various meetings and sermons. The meeting house was near the Tower, in the stronghold of Maurice Thompson and William Tucker. The individual Adventurers for Irish Land who were members of the Artillery Company are too numerous to list here, although they are noted in Appendix A, but almost all of the leading Adventurers for Irish Land were members, as were the officers of the Trained Bands.²⁵⁹

As for the Committee for Irish Affairs that convened in London and requested the Common Council to mobilise its forces, although it was comprised of 56 members, the quorum for meetings was fourteen.²⁶⁰ Parliamentary committees often had a wide membership but the work of the committee was normally performed by a much smaller group with a direct interest in the outcome of the work of that committee. The MPs present on 8 January 1642 are unknown, but as a guide fourteen MPs were nominated to a subsequent Parliamentary group on 19 February 1642, the Commissioners for the Speeding and Dispatching of the Businesses for Ireland.²⁶¹ This commission, intended to advance negotiations for the Adventure for Irish Land, temporarily assumed the responsibilities originally assigned to the Committee for Irish Affairs in November 1641. Although there may be others, these fourteen MPs are the most likely group that convened in London on 4 January 1642 as their naming to the February committee indicates they were predisposed towards dealing with the Irish emergency. These MPs were Sir Richard Cave, Sir Robert Cooke, Oliver Cromwell, Sir Walter Erle, Sir John Evelyn, Sir Robert Harley, Denzil Holles, Nicholas Martin, Sir John Merrick, Sir Robert Parkhurst, John Pym, Robert Reynolds, Robert Wallop and Sir Henry Vane Jr. Of this group only one member, Sir Nicholas Cave, was a Royalist. The remainder emerged as supporters of Parliament in the

²⁵⁸ John Rees, 'Leveller Organisation and the Dynamic of the English Revolution', (PhD. thesis, Goldsmiths, University of London, 2014), pp. 60-62.

²⁵⁹ Members of the Artillery Company, organised by the date in which they joined, can be found in G. A. Raikes (ed.), *The Ancient Vellum Book of the Honourable Artillery Company, being the Roll of Members from 1611 to 1682*, (London, 1890), pp. 35-70.

²⁶⁰ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 02 November 1641', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 301-303 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp301-303> [accessed 28 September 2015].

²⁶¹ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 24 February 1642', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 450-454 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp450-454> [accessed 26 September 2015].

weeks that followed and were, for the most part, involved in many of the same colonial projects as the Providence Island peers and the merchants who had taken control of the Common Council in London. It is possible that the four London MPs were also present, as they had a right to attend meetings of the Committee for Irish Affairs, but this would have increased the dominance of MPs associated with the colonial merchants and the Providence Island peers.

Like John Pym, Sir Walter Erle was deeply involved in the Puritan peers' colonial ventures and served on the Council of Virginia from its establishment in 1621. Erle was also the leading investor in the Dorchester Company that established a colony at Cape Ann, Massachusetts in 1623.²⁶² Sir John Merrick, Sir Robert Harley, Sir Robert Cooke and Sir John Evelyn had also served on the board of the Virginia Company.²⁶³ Oliver Cromwell's brother, Henry, was an investor in the Virginia Company, as was Cromwell's father, while his cousin, Sir Oliver Cromwell, was also active in colonial trade as a Virginia patentee. Although there is no direct evidence that Oliver Cromwell was involved in any colonial plans, his attempt to emigrate to New England in 1634 coincided with attempts by Warwick and Lord Brooke to expand their 'Warwick Patent'.²⁶⁴ Nicholas Martin, the Exeter MP declared a traitor by the King had sold his Virginia plantation, Martin's Hundred Parish, to a consortium of London merchants in 1637.²⁶⁵ Sir Robert Parkhurst held a small estate in county Roscommon and also advanced credit on the Dublin Staple.²⁶⁶ Parkhurst's daughter, Damaris, was married to William Spurstowe, one of the leading lights of the Massachusetts Bay Company.²⁶⁷ John Parkhurst, Robert's brother, acquired

²⁶² The History of Parliament Online, http://www.historyofParliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/earle-walter-1586-1665#footnote36_4uqnh8k. Cape Ann was the site of Maurice Thompson's fishing station established in 1639.

²⁶³ Hening, *Statutes at large ... Virginia*, i, 80-98.

²⁶⁴ Anon 'The Acorn Club', *The Warwick Patent*, (Hartford, 1902), Warwick recruited investors for this scheme between 1632 and 1635 when it was included in John Winthrop Jr's governorship. The investors included John Pym, John Hamden, Arthur Haslerig, Charles Fiennes and Robert Barrington. Hugh Peter, Henry Vane jnr and Winthrop travelled to the plantation in 1635 sponsored by Rotterdam merchants, Anon 'The Acorn Club', *The Warwick Patent*, (Hartford, 1902), pp. 7-13.

²⁶⁵ Brenner, *Companies and Merchants*, p. 146; McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Colonial and General Court*, p. 114. The Martins were in business with the Stone brothers, partners of Thompson and Tucker, while they had their plantation. It was sold to Richard Quiney, John Sadler and Simon Turgis.

²⁶⁶ Robert C. Simington (ed.), *Books of Survey and Distribution, Roscommon*, (Dublin, 1949), pp. 89-92; Ohlmeyer, *Statute Staple*, p. 132.

²⁶⁷ Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, p. 155. Spurstowe was also a member of the Levant Company and director of the East India Company.

the late Lord Delaware's Virginia estate in 1622 at the same time as Maurice Thompson's consortium was arranging their Virginia adventure.²⁶⁸ Robert Wallop and Denzil Holles both had plantation estates in county Wexford. The Committee for Irish Affairs, the group that probably met in January 1642 and were certainly appointed in February, was therefore an overwhelmingly Puritan group with many links to both Irish and American colonial projects. Their colonial interests kept them in regular contact with the colonial merchants who now dominated the Common Council.

Parliament had stretched to the limit the rights they had received when the King had 'recommended the care of those affairs' in Ireland to them.²⁶⁹ The full houses of Parliament had in turn delegated powers to the Committee for Irish Affairs while Parliament was in recess. The Providence Island peers had succeeded, therefore, through the Committee for Irish Affairs, the Common Council and the Trained Bands, in effecting a revolution of sorts, using their client MPs and merchant contractors. This had been achieved largely at the expense of the Protestant population of Ireland who were, it was widely believed in London, suffering a wholesale slaughter at the hands of Irish Catholic rebels. The only military supplies despatched by Parliament was the consignment sent by Maurice Thompson to Carrickfergus in November 1641, and this partly because Robert Bateman had the foresight to restrict his loan to that purpose. A faction within Parliament had discovered that it could raise both money and arms for the defence of Protestant Ireland, sanctioned by the king and with the support of popular opinion. The next step was to determine how much could be raised.

²⁶⁸ MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, p. 535.

²⁶⁹ Patrick Little, 'The English Parliament and the Irish Constitution' in Micheal Ó Siochru (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s*, (Dublin, 2001), pp. 108-9.

Chapter Three

The Adventure for Irish Land

The Adventure for Irish Land was initially the brainchild of Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, communicated by letter to the earl of Warwick in January 1642. Boyle proposed the complete removal of Irish Catholics from Ireland, recommended a complete conquest and subsequent plantation with English settlers. In Boyle's words, 'if it would please his Majesty, with assent of Parliament, to cause an act to be passed there, to attain them all of high treason, and to confiscate their lands and estates to the crown, it would utterly dishearten them, and encourage the English to serve courageously against them in hope to be settled in the lands of them they shall kill or otherwise destroy'.²⁷⁰ Boyle and the earl of Warwick had become close, in their opposition to Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford and in 1638 Mary Boyle, Cork's daughter, had married Nathaniel Rich, Warwick's son.

Cork suggested to Warwick that he recruit the MPs John Hampden, John Pym and William Strode to present their initiative to the English Parliament, but this became problematic after the King attempted to arrest the MPs for treason on 4 January 1642. One element of Cork's plan had an attraction for Warwick and the rest of the Providence Island company men plotting in Warwick House. As the King had left London and his rift with parliament widened, it was unclear as to what authority parliament had to raise money. The exception was the necessity for raising money for Ireland, for which the king had already given his consent. The money raised in November, however, had required the peers to offer the security of their own estates and this approach was neither desirable nor inexhaustible. Irish land, however, was an excellent form of security and many of the colonial merchants and planters in Warwick's circle had interests in Ireland.

As the colonial and Puritan merchants in control of the Common Council were already providing money for Ireland, and as the senior city financiers were unlikely to do so as long as parliament was estranged from its king, Sir Thomas Barrington, MP and Providence Island Company member was duly despatched on 12 January 1641 from Warwick House to appear before the court of London's Common Council. Barrington proposed that the merchants of the city should procure a loan of £100,000 to be repaid with

²⁷⁰ Charlotte Fell Smith, *Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, (1625-1678), Her Family and Friends*, (London, 1901), p. 100.

land forfeited by the defeated rebels in Ireland.²⁷¹ The money would be used to pay the forces mustering in London for an Irish expedition. The ten-man court of Common Council included Jacob Gerrard, brother of another Providence Island Company member, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and George Clarke, Sherriff of London and a member of the committee of Merchant Adventurers of England.²⁷² Clarke was the son-in-law of Sir Robert Palmer who, along with Samuel Vassall, had refused to subscribe to the extra-parliamentary Forced Loan in 1627.²⁷³ Although a Royalist, Clarke was uniquely placed to create a consensus on how to fund an army for Ireland. In addition to sitting on the central committees of both the London Common Council and the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers, Clarke was, as sheriff, the returning officer for London's four members of Parliament. The committee of Common Council agreed to refer the proposal to its Committee of Safety, and to consult with the London Companies to consider how Barrington's proposal could fit with a strategy of securing the London Companies' interest in Londonderry.²⁷⁴ Having already witnessed arms authorised for Irish service diverted to the Trained Bands, Clarke and the Royalist Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Gurney, passed on the responsibility for a further expeditionary force for Ireland to a committee outside of their control.

While Barrington was making his presentation to the Common Council, John Pym and Nathaniel Fiennes were raising orders in Parliament for the Council to meet with them, to discuss new preparations for the defence of Ireland. A general warrant for the release of arms from the Tower of London for use in Ireland was issued, and to facilitate this, a further order was issued for the arrest of John Byron, the lieutenant of the tower, who was replaced by Phillip Skippon.²⁷⁵ The accusations against Pym and the other fugitive MPs were published on 12 January and distributed with news that both the French and Spanish

²⁷¹ London Metropolitan Archive, *Minutes of the Common Council*, Vol. 41, f.17.

²⁷² George Clarke was elected Sheriff of London for the year 1641, a post that required a provable personal fortune of at least £20,000. He was a director of the East India Company and a leading exporter of English cloth to the Netherlands and Germany. Clarke owned a large tract of land in Rhode Island and obtained the charter for the Rhode Island Company in 1643.

²⁷³ Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court*, (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 183-4.

²⁷⁴ Charles had restored the Londonderry Plantation to the London companies, with an amended charter, in November 1641, making the companies responsible for the defence of the colony. The Companies had a vested interest in participating in any scheme that could bring the Irish rebellion to an end.

²⁷⁵ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 12 January 1642', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 371-375 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp371-375> [accessed 1 December 2015].

fleets had arrived in Ireland with arms and reinforcements.²⁷⁶ The King's warrant, also issued on 12 January, authorised the removal of thousands of muskets, swords and other weapons from the armouries at London and Hull.²⁷⁷ A further loan of £20,000 from the Merchant Adventurers on 15 January, that would enable the purchase and transport of arms as well as providing payment for an expeditionary force, removed for the time being any financial concerns regarding the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland.²⁷⁸ The drafting of an additional act for a new loan from the City of London immediately began to ensure the constant supply of new funds.

The Common Council duly reported back to a conference of both houses of Parliament, organised by Pym on 25 January.²⁷⁹ The £100,000 loan from the City was refused, principally on the grounds that £50,000 had already been loaned in December 1641, but little progress had been made in sending over troops or supplies.²⁸⁰ The Council complained that their members were owed hundreds of thousands of pounds by creditors in Ireland and would have difficulty raising any further funds. They were convinced that the request for funds was a ruse by the King to draw money, men and arms out of London, to be used to attack a defenceless England. As evidence, the petition drew attention to the fact that no Catholics in England had been disarmed, that the Navy was making no effort to prevent the flow of arms and men from Catholic Europe into Ireland and that London's suburbs contained 'many thousands of unknown persons' ready to take up arms against Parliament. In Parliament, Pym presented two further petitions from Essex and Hertfordshire calling for the removal of Catholic peers from the House of Lords, and concluded with a fine speech concerning an international conspiracy of Catholic powers on the verge of conquering Ireland, and then England. England had been betrayed by a King who obstructed efforts to raise forces in England to send over to Ireland, or to restrict the

²⁷⁶ Anon, *Articles Against the Lord Mandeville, Mr John Pym, etc.* (London, 1642),.

²⁷⁷ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 15 January 1642', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 380-383 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp380-383> [accessed 1 December 2015].

²⁷⁸ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 17 January 1642', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 383-386 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp383-386> [accessed 1 December 2015].

²⁷⁹ Anon, *The Humble Petition and Answer of the Mayor, Alderman and the rest of the Common Council of the City of London*, (London, 1642).

²⁸⁰ TNA SP28/1/B, ff. 319-375; 425-438. Payment warrants show that loans from the City of London totalling £30,000 had been paid in two tranches of which £22,000 had been spent by 25 January. A further £2,000 was loaned directly from the Chamber of London to Lord Dungarvan. These funds were primarily used to pay and supply the regiments of Clotworthy and Conway in Ulster and to garrison and provision Duncannon fort.

movement of Irish subjects between the two kingdoms; a King who had in turn been betrayed by counsellors who were clearly mad.²⁸¹ Despite his best efforts, Charles, for his part, was frustrated by the slow pace of deliberations in London, which undermined his efforts to alleviate the suffering of his subjects in Ireland.²⁸²

John Clotworthy informed the House of Common on 4 February that the Irish rebels had raised £180,000 and were in the process of using that money to purchase arms in Dunkirk.²⁸³ John Pym recognised that the 56 member Committee for Irish Affairs was far too unwieldy to meet regularly and manage an emergency. He requested parliament to appoint a smaller parliamentary commission to manage day-to-day affairs, the sixteen-member 'Commission for Managing the Affairs of Ireland', mandated to 'establish true peace and religion in that country'.²⁸⁴ This commission was approved following Clotworthy's speech and its members were to be drawn from the Committee for Irish Affairs.²⁸⁵ While the membership of this commission was being considered, an alternative method for raising funds for Ireland was under consideration.

Recognising that smaller parliamentary commissions were a more efficient way of expediting resources for Ireland, Denzil Holles chaired an additional commission for 'raising and levying money for the defence of Ireland'. Holles met with the colonial merchants and on 11 February 1642 he delivered a petition to the House of Commons from 'certain Londoners offering to send forces to Ireland at their own expense', an offer that became the Adventure for Irish Land. The original sum offered by the 'Londoners', as reported by Holles, was £100,000, to be repaid in Irish land, and the Adventurers would nominate their own officers. The offer was identical to the scheme proposed by the earl of Cork to the earl of Warwick, and the 'certain Londoners' involved had been briefed by Warwick. The naming of officers was essential if the Adventurers were to retain control of their army, and a further demand, that the state would allow the Adventurers access to arms, was also agreed to by parliament.²⁸⁶ Pym held a meeting with the merchants on 14 February at the Inner Court of Wards, where the Adventurers, represented by William

²⁸¹ Anon, *The Humble Petition and Answer of the Mayor, Alderman and the rest of the Common Council*, p. 20.

²⁸² Robert Armstrong, *Protestant War: The 'British' of Ireland and the wars of the three Kingdoms*, (Manchester, 2005), pp. 51-57.

²⁸³ Wilson H. Courtney, Anne Steele and Vernon Snow (eds.), *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament, Vol. 1*, (New Haven, 1982), Moore p.274.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, D'Ewes p.266

²⁸⁵ *Ibid*, D'Ewes, p. 275.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid*, Gawdy, p. 353.

Withers, a linen-draper, councillor for Cheapside and Warwick's provisioning agent for Virginia and New England, provided further details for their proposal.²⁸⁷ The £100,000 offered was for the provision of 1,000 horse and 10,000 infantry and in return the adventurers expected to receive 800,000 acres. The Adventurers offered to double the existing crown rent, in order to make the proposal more agreeable to the king.²⁸⁸ The expected cost to the Adventurers in the initial proposal for the conquest of Ireland was a rate of 2s 6d per acre, half of the expected cost of a New England colonial venture in which investors were typically rewarded at a rate of 5s per acre.²⁸⁹ In the ensuing negotiations a further £250,000 was offered to maintain the army for each year that it was required. It was established that an investment of £500,000 would be required to send and maintain a force of 20,000 infantry for an entire campaign. 1,320,000 acres would be needed to repay such an investment, if needed, making the cost of land approximately 7s 12d per acre. This was a huge sum, far more than what was offered in the original proposal and beyond the means of the colonial merchants without help from the City establishment.

On 15 February 1642 the Earl of Warwick communicated the following summary of the proceedings to the Earl of Cork:

Here is a brave proposition made by some in the city of London, 1,000 people for £5,000 each to pay the 15,000 foot and 2,000 horse (English) and 10,000 foot and 700 horse (Scots), and 10,000 more troops for 1,000 acres for every £200 in Ulster, and 1,000 acres for every £400 in Munster out of the rebels land, and will plant it with Protestant tenants. Men have written £10,000 each and tomorrow it will be presented to both houses. Ordinance passed in Parliament for £35,000 victuals to be paid by the Lord Mayor of London, £5,000 for Londonderry, £5,000 for Youghal, £10,000 for Dublin and £15,000 for Carrickfergus. Lord Conway on his way tomorrow and John Clotworthy and Lord Lieutenant soon after.²⁹⁰

Denzil Holles had managed to arrange funds both from the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers, available immediately, and a far larger promise of funds from an unnamed group of London merchants, the emerging Adventurers for Irish Land, without needing to resort to special taxation to finance the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland. It was a

²⁸⁷ Coldham, *English Adventurers*, p. 12

²⁸⁸ Courtney, Steele and Snow, *Private journals I*, Moore, p. 369

²⁸⁹ Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, p. 87.

²⁹⁰ Grosart, *Lismore papers*, ii, part 3, 288.

remarkable fund-raising effort, performed without the committed support of the usual financial backers of Court and Parliament. Warwick envisioned that the Adventure would be financed by the merchant elite, those who could speculate the very substantial sum of £1,000 each, and not the multitude of lesser colonial and Puritan merchants who were the ultimate participants. Parliament had agreed proposals on 7 February 1642 for persons of modest means to contribute to the cause of Irish Protestantism, the 'Contribution for the Relief of the poor distressed subjects of Ireland', a church gate collection.²⁹¹ On 7 February Parliament had also approved the despatch of a 20,000 strong Scottish army to Ireland, financed with the 'Brotherly Assistance' loan managed from Warwick House, intended to settle the arrears of the Scottish army still in the north or England.²⁹² Brotherly Assistance had been raised in large amounts from financiers and peers, and Warwick assumed that the Adventure for Irish Land, with far better rates of return for investors, could attract interest from similar sources. It was Brotherly Assistance that had caused the Warwick House peers to seek money from outside their own circle. A major tranche of money, £50,000, was raised and sent in November 1641 and this was lent by the Peers and MPs struggling to design a response to the rebellion in Ireland.²⁹³

Irish land was undervalued in order to make the Adventure as attractive as possible. In 1641, Arthur Chichester owned one of the largest estates in Ireland. Periodically short of cash, his habit was to assign long leases on large tracts of land to chief tenants in return for an upfront fee and a low rent fixed for a long term. It fell to the chief tenant, effectively a middleman, to develop these parts of the estate and ensure a good return for themselves.²⁹⁴ By 1635 Mr Arthur Hill, Chichester's chief tenant in Carrickfergus, had planted English tenants from Cheshire and Lancashire onto this part of the estate - they were paying him six shillings per acre in rent per annum for good ploughing land. There is a wide discrepancy between the value placed on land in Ulster by the Adventurers, a mere four

²⁹¹ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 07 February 1642', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 415-419 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp415-419> [accessed 5 February 2016].

²⁹² *Ibid.* Walter Frost, Lord Brooke's business manager, was despatched from Brooke House in London to Chester, and took up the post of Commissary for the Scottish force.

²⁹³ For this loan see SP 28/1C, ff. 10-63. The peers who lent £500 included earls Bedford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristol and Holland with Lords Wharton, Paget, Brooke, Montague and Paulet. The MPs who lent £500 were John Pym, Sir Charles Wray, Sir John Hotham, William Cage, Henry Marten, Sir Walter Erle, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Harbottle Grimstone and Edward Hales.

²⁹⁴ Peter Roebuck, 'The Making of an Ulster Great Estate: The Chichesters, Barons of Belfast and Viscounts of Carrickfergus, 1599-1648', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 79 (1979), pp. 1-25.

shillings an acre for a freehold, and the reality at a local level. There is no doubt that many of the Adventurers hoped to profit directly from their investment in land, and several reports emphasised the quality of Catholic Irish land and how it could support many thousands of 'true hearted English'.²⁹⁵

The Committee for the Speeding and Despatching of the Business for Ireland, the core of the Committee for Irish Affairs, presented a draft of an agreement with the Adventurers to the House of Commons on 16 February, confirming that the average cost of land per acre was 7s 9d but doubling the amount of money to be raised to £1,000,000. This vast sum, that entitled the investors to a total of 2.5 million acres, would require the unconditional surrender of the rebels in Ireland. This point did not go unnoticed by Charles I. The King observed in his reply to parliament on 22 February 1642 that he did not have the time to 'examine whether this course may not retard the Reducing of that Kingdom, by exasperating the Rebels, and rendering them desperate of being received into Grace, if they shall return to their Obedience'.²⁹⁶ Ireland was to be used both as security and for repayment of all of parliament's financial obligations. Parliament was passing an ordinance confirming the Committee of Safety formed on 8 January as the Adventurers' proposals were being discussed and modified. Their intention was to place town and county militias across England under its overall command, as had already occurred in London. The parliamentary ordinance to establish the Committee of Safety for England and Wales, published on 5 March 1642, clearly identified the rebellion in Ireland as the likely cause for disturbances in England.²⁹⁷

The precedent that had been set on 8 January, when the London militia was called out to protect parliament so that it, in turn, could protect England from the Irish rebellion. This was later invoked to divert money subscribed to the Adventure for Irish Land to the parliamentary militias. While the Adventurers Act was passing through Parliament, the Ordinance to Establish a Committee of Safety was published on 5 March 1642, and of the ten MPs nominated to the committee, six were Adventurers: Nathaniel Fiennes, John Hampden, Henry Marten, John Merrick, John Pym and William Waller. The 24 February

²⁹⁵ Anon, *A True Diurnal or a continued Relation of Irish Occurrences, from the 12th of February to the 8th of March*, (London, 1642).

²⁹⁶ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 24 February 1642', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 450-454 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp450-454> [accessed 1 December 2015].

²⁹⁷ A&O, I, pp. 1-5. 'March 1642: An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, for the Safety and Defence of the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales'.

1642 Militia Ordinance also confirmed the arrangements made on 8 January between the Committee for Irish Affairs and London's Common Council. Sir John Wollaston, John Towse, John Warner and Philip Skippon were confirmed as Parliament's representatives to the London Committee of Safety. The Common Council nominees were Randolph Mainwaring, William Gibbs, John Fowke, James Bunce, Francis Peck, Samuel Warner, James Russell, Nathaniel Wright, William Berkley, Alexander Normington, Stephen Estwick and Owen Rowe. In order to circumvent any opposition to these arrangements in London, Parliament's Committee of Safety presented these arrangements to the Common Council when the mayor, the royalist Richard Gurney, was too ill to chair a meeting.²⁹⁸

Parliament, therefore, established Ireland as a pretext should it become necessary to divert Adventurer subscriptions to its own forces, while King Charles was deciding whether or not he would approve the Adventurers Act. Parliament dispatched Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, Sir Anthony Irby and Richard Boyle, Lord Dungarvan to Windsor to secure the King's signature.²⁹⁹ Lord Dungarvan was important to the process of persuading Charles to sign the Act, as the support of the Boyles could determine the success or failure of Charles' Irish policy. Pym maintained pressure on the King to sign, and informed Parliament on 28 February that the Adventurers had already raised £100,000 and were wondering who was to receive the money.³⁰⁰ The King replied to Parliament, also on 28 February, that he was not prepared to accept the militia proposals that were subsequently approved without his consent on 5 March.³⁰¹ The Militia Ordinance made it clear to Charles that Parliament no longer required his consent to the Adventurers Act. It could proceed without him and had raised a substantial amount of money in any case. The best he could hope for, by approving the act under the royal signature, was to assert his control over it at a later stage. By opposing it he would be seen as appeasing Catholic Ireland and forgiving the atrocities against Protestants widely reported in the popular press. The final version of the act, hereafter called The Adventurers' Act, was published without

²⁹⁸ Pearl, *Puritan Revolution*, pp. 147-155.

²⁹⁹ Vernon R. Snow and Anne Steele Young (ed.), *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament 7 March to 1 June 1642*, (Yale, 1987), p. 73. Sir Anthony Irby and Francis Lord Willoughby both joined the parliamentary cause, although Willoughby joined the Royalists in 1647. He was appointed Governor of Barbados by Charles II in May 1650 but yielded the island back to parliament in December 1651.

³⁰⁰ *Perfect Diurnal*, 28 February to 7 March (London, 1642), p. 3.

³⁰¹ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 28 February 1642', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 458-461 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp458-461> [accessed 5 February 2016].

any further reservations on 19 March 1642.³⁰² Parliament had also agreed on 28 February that debts incurred by soldiers performing military duties in Ireland could be repaid, if they wished, with Irish land confiscated from the rebels.³⁰³ These two actions spelled the end, in landowning terms, of Catholic Ireland.

The collection of the Adventurers' money was placed into the hands of four treasurers. Thomas Andrews was a rising London merchant and alderman who had invested in the Massachusetts Bay Company.³⁰⁴ John Towse had travelled to Virginia in the 1630s and was involved in the tobacco trade as a close business associate of the Thompsons.³⁰⁵ Towse was one of the Common Councillors who had heard Robert Barrington's original proposal for the Adventure for Irish land on 12 January. John Warner provided provisions to and imported from the Virginia tobacco plantations.³⁰⁶ He was the brother of Sir Thomas Warner, the governor of the Leeward Islands, who managed the Thompsons' interests there, and also of Samuel Warner, a tobacco merchant who was also William Thompson's father-in-law.³⁰⁷ The final treasurer, Laurence Halstead, had no involvement in the colonies, but was a member of the Committee of Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers in London. Halstead's presence would, it was hoped, widen the circle of potential investors to the wealthier, royalist, merchant grandees. Thomas Andrews and John Warner were not the original choices for treasurer. The two men that had been suggested were Robert Bateman and John Garrett, a royalist merchant.³⁰⁸ This arrangement would have left an even 50:50 split between parliamentarian and royalist treasurers but was rejected by the Court of Common Hall, which had been asked by the Lord Mayor to approve the project. The appointment of Andrews and Warner left Halstead as something of an outsider, a Merchant Adventurer with few connections with the colonial group. The

³⁰² *Statutes of the Realm, Vol. 5: 1628-8*, (London, 1819), pp. 168-172.

³⁰³ *Perfect Diurnal*, 28 February to 7 March, (London, 1642), p. 3; TNA SP 28/1D, ff. 350, 360, 428, 428, 431. The officers who had incurred the most expenses at this stage were Conway, Clotworthy, Lord Dungarvan and Lt. Col. George Monck.

³⁰⁴ Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, p. 133.

³⁰⁵ John Bennett Bodie (ed.) *The Seventeenth Century Records of Isle of Wight County, Virginia*, (Chicago, 1938), p. 153.

³⁰⁶ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 183.

³⁰⁷ Lucien C. Warner and Josephine Nichols, *The Descendants of Andrew Warner*, (New Haven, 1919), p. 8.

³⁰⁸ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 02 March 1642', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 463-466 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp463-466> [accessed 28 November 2015].

post of treasurer was an onerous undertaking and the treasurers involved attended the Guildhall for eight hours per day to receive the subscriptions.³⁰⁹

John Pym had been somewhat disingenuous concerning the Adventurers' readiness to pay in their money, as only £35,500 was received in March 1642 and a further £67,250 in April.³¹⁰ According to Bottigheimer's tabulations, there were over 1,000 subscribers to the original Adventure for Irish Land and the 37 investors who subscribed £1,000 or more comprised almost 20% of the total.³¹¹ The largest sum adventured for Irish land in 1642 - £10,000 by the Corporation of London - was invested on behalf of Christ's Hospital School at Newgate in London. Christ's Hospital school educated children of the Freemen of London for a career in commerce, placing them, whilst in their mid-teens, with merchants.³¹² The Corporation of London investment, however, was not a new Adventure but the transfer of a loan made to parliament for mustering soldiers for Ireland on 20 December 1641.³¹³ The second largest investor was the Corporation of Dartmouth on behalf of Dartmouth's merchants, many of whom had previous experience with the Dorchester Company and the West Country Virginia Company. The largest individual investor was Sir David Watkins with £6,000, the former cashier of the Virginia Company and the earl of Leicester's business manager.³¹⁴

There were two investors of £2,000 - the Custom House of London and Denis Bond, MP.

There is no record in State Papers of any investment by the Custom House, indicating that

³⁰⁹ Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/1/113, ff. 146-7.

³¹⁰ These figures are derived by adding up the receipts calendared in Mahaffy, *Adventurers*, *passim*.

³¹¹ The most convenient source for the total number of investors is Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, pp. 175-195. There is evidence of further Adventurers who are not recorded by Bottigheimer or in Mahaffy's Calendar or indeed are preserved in State Papers. For example, on 2 October 1642 George Fenwick, a London merchant who settled in New England in that year wrote to Sir Thomas Barrington recalling his Adventure for Irish Land that was entirely in Maurice Thompson's hands. Maurice Thompson was provisioning Warwick's Saybrook colony on credit and holding Adventures as security. This is presumably the source of Thompson's £350 Adventure. See *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 46 (Boston, 1892, p. 358.

³¹² William Trollope, *A History of the Royal Foundation of Christ's Hospital*, (London, 1834). During the Interregnum the school's focus changed to training children in mathematics and navigation, at it became a training academy for future captains of the navy and merchant fleets. The London Companies' trust was taken over by the merchant Erasmus Smith in 1662 and became part of the Erasmus Smith Trust which funded hundreds of smaller schools in Ireland as well as purchasing the Fagel Library for Trinity College Dublin in 1803.

³¹³ TNA SP 28/1D, f. 425.

³¹⁴ Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, p. 46.

the Adventure was also a transferred debt. Bond was formerly the president of the Dorchester Company and had lent his name to a pooled investment similar to that of the nearby town of Dartmouth. To complicate the matter further, Bond could not produce any receipts, indicating that the money was not paid into the treasurers, but was responsible for raising £2,000 for the fortification of Dorchester.³¹⁵ Three men apparently invested £1,500 or more. William Heveningham, MP, a Virginia planter who invested £1,600, was the brother-in-law of Sir Henry Wallop and was present at the trial of Charles I. There are receipts for Heveningham for £600, but no documents to support the remaining £1,000. Humphrey Mackworth, who invested £1,706, was MP for Shropshire and brother-in-law of William Waller, the parliamentary general. Other than Mackworth's own testimony, there is no evidence that he invested in the Adventure for Irish Land.³¹⁶ Charles Vaughan, who invested £1,630, was a nephew of Sir John Hawkins, one of the original Caribbean privateers who drove the development of the Bahama, St. Kitts and Leeward Island plantations in the 1620s. Vaughan became the county treasurer for the Parliamentary army in Devon in the summer of 1642. There are also no receipts on record for Vaughan, who claimed that they were lost during the siege of Exeter.³¹⁷

The next two investors, taken in descending order of the amounts apparently invested, were the remaining corporate investors; the Corporations of Taunton (£1,360) and Gloucester (£1,350). Both cities became important parliamentary enclaves in 1642, and there are no receipts for either, again apparently lost.³¹⁸ All of these West of England corporate Adventurers appear to have been settlements for other debts incurred during the English Civil Wars. Gilbert Millington (£1,275) was an undertaker on St Kitts, the site of Maurice Thompson's pioneering cotton plantation, which was dependent on African Slave labour until the arrival of Irish servants in the early 1630s.³¹⁹ Millington's son, Rowland went to St Kitts in 1635 to take over the management of the plantation. Gilbert Millington later signed Charles I's death warrant. Millington's Adventure was made on behalf of Samuel Burroughs, a business partner of the earl of Warwick.³²⁰ William Hawkins (£1250)

³¹⁵ Mahaffy, *Adventurers*, p. 234.

³¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 286.

³¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 116.

³¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 136.

³¹⁹ Thompson's cotton plantation was yet another source of friction between the colonial and East India merchants. Caribbean cotton was shipped directly to England for processing and weaving while finished Indian cotton was the most important part of the East India Company's trade by volume. See also Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton, A New History of Global Capitalism*, (New York, 2014), pp. 37-40.

³²⁰ Mahaffy, *Adventurers*, p. 136, Brenner, *Merchants and Adventurers*, p. 407.

was Maurice Thompson's brother-in-law and secretary both to the Committee of Adventurers and subsequently to Parliament's Committee for Irish Affairs. Hawkins settled in Blarney, County Cork, in 1649 and became commissary general of victuals in Ireland. In 1656 he attempted, unsuccessfully, to negotiate a large-scale transportation of Catholic Irish to Virginia.³²¹ Hawkins' investment is understated in Bottigheimer's list. A separate list of 'Those Adventurers who paid in their subscriptions in full' states that Hawkins invested £3,675.³²² The largest Adventures were, therefore, those of Sir David Watkins and William Hawkins, respectively the secretaries of the Adventurers' committee and Parliament's Committee for Irish Affairs in 1642.

Bottigheimer's list is not an accurate description of the money invested in the Adventure for Irish Land in the spring of 1642, but appears to be a composite list of all of the debts assigned against Irish Land, regardless of their original purpose. The list of subscribers who paid their subscriptions in full is an account of money actually paid in, and accurately reflects the community of investors who chose to support parliament in return for Irish Land in 1642. From this record it is clear that the Adventure for Irish Land was primarily supported by a group of merchants with close connections to the Atlantic plantations, and these investors took leading roles both in parliamentary finance and in the direction of parliament's Irish policy. The leading investors, with subscriptions of £1,000 or more, were Thomas Andrews, Samuel Avery, Thomas Barrington, Stephen Beale, John Brett, Gregory Clement, John Clotworthy, Thomas Giles, John Gunning, Sir Edward Hales, Robert Hales, William Hawkins, Rowland Hill, Edmund Lewin, William Methold, Isaac Pennington, Thomas Pury, Sir Robert Pye, Sir John Reynolds, Samuel Rolle, Thomas Soame, Maurice Thompson, William Thompson, Richard Waring, Samuel Warner, Sir David Watkins and Sir John Wollaston. Although some were MPs, all were merchants.

For smaller amounts, the lists of investors in Bottigheimer and the State Papers are similar, reflective of how additional 'gifts' of Irish land made to MPs were for larger amounts. The remainder of this analysis of Adventurers is drawn from Appendix A, a composite of the Adventurers who paid in their full subscriptions, a separate list of Adventurers who only paid in part of their instalments, and the remainder, drawn from Bottigheimer's list and the Calendar of State Papers that separates the subscribers from those who were awarded

³²¹ Peter Gaunt (ed.), *The Correspondence of Henry Cromwell*, (London, 2007), p. 323.

³²² TNA SP/302, unfol.

‘certificates’ or other instruments of entitlement.³²³ The middling Adventurers, 80 in number, who invested between £500 and £1,000, comprise a further 20% of the total, and follow a similar pattern. They are overwhelmingly Parliamentarians or Puritan merchants active in the Americas and Europe. Warwick’s colonial partners are present in large numbers, although there are some notable Royalist merchants listed as well.³²⁴ Sir Nicholas Crisp (£900) was a Commissioner for Customs and Maurice Thompson’s competitor in the quest for the fabled gold mines of Timbuktu. He was also Thompson’s counterpart in 1642 in providing finance for the Royalist, as opposed to Parliamentary, Navy.

The Adventurers intended to send a parliamentarian army to Ireland, and delaying the selection of officers was the only method remaining by which Royalists or Moderates could prevent it from taking the field. Charles I complained that three of the treasurers - Andrews, Towse and Warner - were screening subscribers and only taking subscriptions from men whom they considered to be reliable supporters of their cause.³²⁵ It was normal practise for the treasurers of loans and benefices to draw up their own lists of likely subscribers, and the Adventure for Irish Land did the same.³²⁶ Screening subscribers certainly made the later distribution of the Adventurers’ funds easier as denying participation by likely Royalists had the effect of keeping them away from the subsequent Adventurer’s committees, which had the power to decide how the money could be spent. Also, pre-selection would increase the chances of the full subscriptions being paid up.

³²³ This composite list of the Original Adventurers for Irish Land is drawn from four sources: TNA SP 63/302, a list of all Adventures paid in full (full); TNA SP 63/301, ff. 197-200, a list of all Adventures not paid in full (part); Mahaffy, *Adventurers* and the remainder from Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, Appendix A (cert). The names in Bottigheimer’s list were derived from state papers and from a list drawn up by John Prendergast, the source of which is now lost. The term ‘cert’ is reflective of the fact that these additional names were given certificates as a substitute for their missing receipts.

³²⁴ Examples of the cohort of investors in Irish land drawn from Warwick’s projects include: Gerald Gilbert, Richard Hunt, Cornelius Burges, Cornelius Holland and William Masham (all Bermuda Company); John Pym and Gerald Gilbert (Providence Island); William Brereton, Nathaniel Barnardiston, Thomas Andrews, Edward Cooke, Thomas Adams. Richard Crispe (Massachusetts Bay Company); John Pym (Warwick Patent); John Parker, John Brett, Peter Langley, George Butler, Richard Crispe, William Glanville, Thomas Gouge, Thomas Hampton, Thomas Hodges, Charles Lloyd, James Martin, William Masham and William Wade (all Virginia Patentees). Out of this group of Adventurers John Wollaston, John Towse, James Bunce and John Fowke were captains in the London Militia in January 1642.

³²⁵ BL Add MS 4782, p. 352.

³²⁶ Michael Braddick, *The Nerves of State: Taxation and the financing of the English state, 1558-1714*, (Manchester, 1996), pp. 84-89.

Although there were some royalists in March 1642 who were still under the impression that the purpose of the Adventure for Irish land was to alleviate the sufferings of Protestant Ireland, they quickly became aware that the money would not be used for this purpose. Royalist MPs, who paid their first quarter of subscription money by the 1 April 1642 deadline specified in the act, failed to make any further contribution by the 1 May deadline, which strongly suggests that the real purpose of the Adventure was apparent to all MPs by then.³²⁷ The majority of MPs who only subscribed an initial payment were Royalist: Sir John Colepeper, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Sir William Morley, Edward, Lord Littleton, John Browne, William Harrison and William Morley. One of the four treasurers, Laurence Halstead, who belonged to the established merchant community, also made no further payment after his original contribution. Halstead continued to sign receipts for contributions until July 1642, but took no further part in Parliamentary fundraising. He was not involved as treasurer in any of the fundraising bodies established by parliament following the Adventure.

The Virginia tobacco merchants comprised a major proportion of participants in the Adventure for Irish Land. Robert Brenner has identified 60 merchants who imported 10,000 lbs or more into London in a single year from 1627 to 1640.³²⁸ Half of these merchants participated in the Adventure for Irish Land.³²⁹ Imports of tobacco were worth £205,000 per year in 1642, and imports of Newfoundland fish a further £120,000.³³⁰ A petition in the autumn of 1641 by merchants involved in foreign trade that included many major subscribers to the Adventure for Irish Land underlines the increasing discontent of this group. Thomas Andrews, Thomas Frere, Thomas Chamberlain, William Lane, Henry Spurstowe and other Adventurers feature in a petition of over 80 merchants to the House of Lords, complaining of a foreign policy that had allowed English trade to fall into the hands

³²⁷ TNA SP 63/301, f. 197, 'A particular of all those person's names who did not pay in their original subscriptions'.

³²⁸ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 183n.

³²⁹ Thomas and William Allen, Margaret Barker, Edward Barton, John Bradley, Henry Brooke, Nicholas Corsellis, Edward and John Davies, Edward Harris, George Henley, James Jenkins, Samuel Matthews, Richard Perry, William Pierce, Elias Roberts, Israel Scarlet, George Smith, Thomas Stone, Robert Swinnerton, George, Maurice and William Thompson, Robert Tucker, John Turner, William Underwood, William Webb, John White and Robert Wilding.

³³⁰ Davis, *Shipping Industry*, pp. 189, 192.

of foreign merchants, and of how English merchants were being taxed heavily to promote this policy.³³¹

The smaller Adventures, reflecting the structure of the colonial merchant community, were dominated by ship owners. Merchants were often part-owners of the ships in which their goods were transported and most seventeenth century merchant shipping was owned by a number of merchants as fractional ownership spread the risk. The majority of ships were owned by between two and sixteen shareholders, one of which was normally the captain, who would also ship cargo on his own behalf to supplement his captain's wages. The East India Company was unique in owning its own ships and almost all other shipping was sourced by way of chartering and from consortia of ship-owners. The Trinity House Certificates provide a certain amount of information as to the identity of these networks of ship owners and their preferred partners.³³² Trinity House was established by Royal Charter in 1514, initially to provide pilotage on the River Thames but its responsibilities were extended to include the sale of ballast and maintain a register of new English vessels and their armaments. The certificates are for the first registration, and initial armament, of each vessel, and provide the name of the leading partner behind the ship's construction, some additional partners and, usually, the name of the shipbuilder and intended master for her first voyage. The limitations of the Trinity House Certificates are that they do not list all of the partners and they only provide detail for ships registered through Trinity House in London and not for any other port. It is not possible to trace the owners of the ship if it was subsequently sold. Even with these limitations, the certificates provide the names of 291 promoters and shareholders in merchant shipping between 1630 and 1638 and of these, 84 became investors in the Adventure for Irish Land in 1642.³³³

³³¹ Maurice F. Bond (ed.), *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, Volume 11 (New Series), *Addenda 1514-1714*, (London, 1962), pp. 299-300.

³³² TNA SP 16/17 Trinity House Certificates, 1630-1638, *passim*. The proportion of Trinity House registrants is actually higher than the 39% that these figures suggest as in some cases the certificates list all of the sibling partners. Alexander, Squire and Robert Bence are all listed as the owner of one ship in the certificates, but only Alexander's name is given in Bottigheimer's list, although the brothers subscribed jointly to their Adventure (Mahaffy, *Adventurers*, p. 231).

³³³ Samuel Aldersey, James Allen, Francis Ashe, William Ashwell, Thomas Babb, John Baker, Thomas Bannister, Matthew Barrett, William Bateman, Thomas Beale, Alexander Bence, William Blackwell, Thomas Browne, Humphrey Browne, John Browne, Robert Clement, Thomas Collins, Nicholas Crispe, Henry Croane, John Daniel, Thomas Davis, Joseph Day, John Dike, Jeremy Drury, John Ellis, George Farmer, William Farrington, John Fletcher, John Floyd, Thomas Foote, Robert Folliot, John Fowler, Thomas Freeman,

According to Bottigheimer, out of 1,533 Adventurers, the location of 1,331 could be determined, and out of these, 750 were from London.³³⁴ In addition, the Londoners provided approximately half of the money £170,000 collected. The ship-owners and their immediate siblings, as derived from the Trinity House Certificates, contributed approximately £40,000. The certificates, however, only list the lead partner(s) and if their known business associates are included, the proportion of money subscribed by the shipping group to the Adventure for Irish Land rises by a further £10,000 to comprise almost one third of the total sum subscribed.³³⁵ The fractional nature of ship owning is

William Goddard, Adam Graves, George Henley, John Harpur, James Harrington, Thomas Hawkins, John Hayward, George Henley, Richard Hill, James Hubland, James Humphrey, William Hunt, Thomas Hutchins, John Johnson, William Johns, John Juxon, William Knight, Edward Knightly, Richard Lambert, John Langham, William Lee, Richard Leigh, John Lucas, Thomas Mann, Thomas Masham, John Morrice, Robert Moyer, David Otger, Robert Page, Edmund Partridge, James Pickering, William Rainborrow, Edward Read, John Reynolds, Nicholas Roberts, Burow Saunders, John Severne, Thomas Skinner, Robert Smith, John Smith, Thomas Soame, Maurice Thompson, John Thompson, Edward Waller, William Waring, Edward Webb, William Webster, Robert Wheatley, William White, William Willoughby.

³³⁴ Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, p. 64; Mahaffy, *Adventurers* pp 234-5. This appears elsewhere as Mahaffy, *Adventurers* – would need a consistent form. Bottigheimer's aggregates for the total number of Adventurers are highly problematic as they are simplified in the cases of Adventurers, mainly MPs, who were subscribing as the head of consortia. The most extreme case is Denis Bond, the Dorchester MP who is listed by Bottigheimer as having subscribed £2,000. This investment was on behalf of 51 individual subscribers who do not feature in Bottigheimer's list.. It is more accurate, therefore, to compare proportions of money subscribed, as opposed to numbers of subscribers, in order to compare the relative importance of one group over another. The Dorchester list includes a strong representation of West Country merchants with family and trade connections in Virginia, the Bushrods, Goulds, Coles and Mahers.

³³⁵ The additional merchants are drawn mainly from Brenner's partnership tables presented in *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 184-193, excluding merchant MPs who are dealt with as a separate group in this text. Many of the leading Adventurers feature in these partnership tables, including Thomas Andrews, John Dethwick, Stephen Estwick, Martin Noel, William Pennoyer and the Thompsons. For a list of merchants involved in financing the English servant trade up to 1640 see *Virginia County Records*, Vol. VI, (New Jersey, 1909). William Barker, John Parrott, William Pierce, William Shippey, Thomas Willoughby, and the Stones all feature. A Dartmouth family, the Uptons, are important suppliers of servants from the West Country to Virginia. Arthur Upton was an original Adventurer in Irish land, although he does not feature in Bottigheimer's list as he was a subscriber to the City of Dartmouth's corporate Adventure. The Uptons became major Adventurers following the marriage of Ursula Upton to George Clarke, the largest purchaser of discounted Adventures in the 1650s. Clarke died in 1660 and Ursula Upton became the owner of large estates in Tipperary. For an abstract of the Adventurers' allocations of land following the Restoration see *Books of Survey and Distribution*;

crucial to understanding the course of the Adventure for Irish Land. To put it simply, all of the ship-owners knew each other. With up to sixteen fractional owners, and a total number of long distance ships that numbered in the low hundreds, the merchant shippers had extensive commercial ties, often reinforced by marriage.³³⁶ Merchant ships normally travelled in convoys, and trade patterns were well established. The tobacco fleets were normally scheduled to arrive in the colonies in April/May, at the end of the Caribbean dry season, and returned to England in July or August.³³⁷ The ships would then be chartered by new consortia for a shorter voyage to a European destination. A shipment of wine from the Canary Islands, for example, was usually required to arrive in London before Christmas.³³⁸ These fleet movements are significant as the normal pattern of Atlantic trade meant that there was an enormous concentration of armed merchant ships on the Thames in January and February. A survey from 1627, before the great build-up of ships that came with the boom in tobacco exports from the colonies, shows 78 armed merchantmen on the Thames or in the Thames Estuary carrying almost 1,800 pieces of ordnance between them.³³⁹ Most merchants were specialists with a developed network of contacts and factors, but all were used to the concept of investing together in specific voyages and projects, and to acting in concert when their interests were threatened.

Given the strong representation of colonial merchants and investors among the London based Adventurers, it is unsurprising that the second strongest area of support for the Adventure, the ports of the English West Country, follow a similar pattern. Adventures from Dorset, principally the port of Dartmouth, are drawn almost entirely from this group. Dartmouth was home to the Tuckers and was the port from which the Virginia adventurers' pioneering mission sailed in 1606.³⁴⁰ Although a deep involvement in the servant and tobacco trade should be expected, the Dorset Adventurers were drawn almost entirely from investors in the Puritan Dorchester Company, the failed colonial experiment in New England from the 1620s, established to 'provide religious instruction for the fishermen and

Twentieth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Appendix, *Enrolments of the Act of Settlement*.

³³⁶ For example, Thomas Andrews was the son-in-law of Matthew Craddock, one-time governor of Massachusetts and a major London based shipwright.

³³⁷ Davis, *Shipping Industry*, p. 143.

³³⁸ G. F. Steckley, 'The wine economy of Tenerife in the seventeenth century', *Economic Historical Review*, 2nd series, 33 (1980), pp. 335–50.

³³⁹ TNA SP 16/137, ff. 2-8.

³⁴⁰ Philip L. Barbour (ed.), *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter*, Vol. 1, (Cambridge, 1969), p. 322. The pioneers sailed into Cork harbour and stole the contents of two vessels at anchor to provision their journey.

others of our nation'.³⁴¹ Original Dorchester Company shareholders or their sons, who included most of the investors in the Corporation of Dartmouth's corporate subscription, invested over £5,000 in Irish land in 1642.³⁴²

Parliament had been managing Irish affairs with the unwieldy 56 MPs and 28 Peers nominated to the Committee for Irish Affairs, set up in response to the Irish Rebellion, and a proliferation of smaller commissions that dealt with individual financing initiatives. These were consolidated into a more manageable, and permanent, 'Commissioners and Council for the Government and Defence of Ireland', known as the Committee for Irish Affairs, which was established under the Great Seal on 4 April 1642 with Pym as chairman.³⁴³ Oliver Cromwell, Robert Reynolds, Henry Marten, Henry Vane, Walter Earle, Robert Parkhurst, Denzil Holles and John Merrick were retained and joined by Sir Robert Harley, Sir Robert Coke, Sir Richard Cave and Robert Wallop. Coke and Cave were royalists, and it is unsurprising that Charles agreed to their nomination to the Council. Wallop, like Holles, owned a substantial estate in Wexford and had a genuine landed interest in Ireland. Sir Robert Harley was a surprising inclusion as a zealous Puritan and opponent of Ship Money and the war in Scotland, although he was not an Adventurer for Irish land. He became famous for tearing down idolatrous images in Westminster Abbey with his own hands and was appointed Master of the Mint by Parliament in 1643.³⁴⁴ The number of peers was reduced to seven: Algernon Percy, earl of Northumberland, Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, Philip Herbert, earl of Pembroke, Henry Rich, earl of Holland, William Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele and Edward Montague, Lord Kimbolton and John Lord Roberts.³⁴⁵ When William Hawkins was appointed secretary to the Committee of Irish Affairs, the Adventurers placed a loan of £10,000 at its disposal.³⁴⁶ As a foretaste of

³⁴¹ Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, p. 13.

³⁴² Thomas Crossing, Dartmouth Corporation, James Gould, John Guy, Thomas Hussey, John Long, Richard Mallock, John Pitts, John Poole, Henry Smith and William and John Underwood.

³⁴³ Commissioners for Irish Affairs Minute Book in Snow, Coates and Young, *Private journals ... January to .. March*, pp. 403-468. See also, Robert Armstrong, 'Ireland at Westminster: The Long Parliament's Irish Committees, 1641-1647' in Chris R. Kyle and Jason Peacy (eds), *Parliament at Work: Parliamentary Committees, Political Power and Public Access in Early Modern England*, (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 80-81.

³⁴⁴ Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm in England 1640-1660*, (Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 2000), p. 52.

³⁴⁵ NLI MS 14305, f. 1, 'A Commission for Establishing a Councell for the Irish Affairs'. Roberts was married to Lucy Rich, a daughter of the earl of Warwick.

³⁴⁶ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 04 April 1642', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 509-511 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp509-511> [accessed 6 February 2016].

the relationship the Adventurers' leadership would have with Parliament, on the same day that the Committee for Irish Affairs first met, Parliament also discussed a reduction of the 'excessive rates' of customs levied on tobacco imports from the Caribbean.³⁴⁷ Robert Chambers, the last appointee to the Committee for Irish Affairs, was an auditor charged with ensuring that the money raised for Ireland was discharged as intended. Chambers had received employment for life from Charles I in January 1640 as auditor for the rents of the Londonderry plantation and had some experience with the management of an Irish plantation.³⁴⁸ William Hawkins would keep Maurice Thompson and the rest of the Adventurers' Committee apprised of any discussions at meetings of Parliament's Committee for Irish Affairs.

The ink was barely dry on the Adventurers Act when the money it could raise became less urgent. On 26 March Parliament approved a subsidy of £400,000 that the King had also agreed to sign, which gave parliament access to funds that would be collected across the country.³⁴⁹ Although much of this money had already been promised to creditors, Parliament also used the subsidy as security for a new loan of £100,000 for Ireland, negotiated with the City of London.³⁵⁰ A published list of MPs who had undertaken to subscribe money to the Adventure for Irish Land included a pledge from Buckinghamshire, arranged by John Hampden and John Goodwin, of a loan for £6,000 to be used for Ireland but secured against the subsidy.³⁵¹ Despite the cheap terms on offer, when faced with a choice of eventual payment in land or more certain payment in cash with interest, Buckinghamshire opted for the latter.³⁵² The point of difference was that money loaned against the subsidy was still under the control of Parliament and disbursed via the Committee of Irish Affairs, but money paid in to the Adventurers was outside the control

³⁴⁷ Parliamentary Archives, HL/ 113, ff. 150-152. The petition was delivered by Samuel Warner.

³⁴⁸ Need to add to abbreviations list. CSPI 1633-1647, p. 232, 'Docquet of the King's grant to Robert Chambers, Esq., for life of an office of Auditor of the Revenues of the late Co. Londonderry in Ireland'.

³⁴⁹ John Raithby (ed.), *Statutes of the Realm Volume 5, 1628-80*, (London, 1819), pp. 145-167, 'An act for the raising and levying of Moneys for the necessary defence and great affaires of the Kingdomes of England and Ireland and for the payment of debts undertaken by the Parliament'.

³⁵⁰ NLI MS 14305, p. 61.

³⁵¹ Anon, *The Names of Such members of the Commons House of Parliament, as have already subscribed in pursuance of the Act of Parliament, for the Speedy Reducing of the Rebels... 9 April* (London, 1642).

³⁵² TNA SP 28/1D, f. 503, Buckinghamshire's loan was diverted by Parliament on 3 May 1642 to pay Sir John Hotham's garrison at Hull.

of King or Parliament to be used, as they saw fit, by a committee of private merchants in control of their own army.

The Adventure was not well received in Royalist circles. Giorgio Giustinian, the ambassador of the Doge of Venice in England, observed succinctly in his weekly report of 28 February, 'The City of London has offered to undertake the task of reducing the (Irish) rebels and recover the kingdom completely on condition that all captures shall be possessed and enjoyed by the citizens. But the offer has not been accepted, as it did not seem desirable to increase the advantage of this great city'.³⁵³ The point of difference between City and Court is clear, but ultimately the lure of ready money, and the political disaster that would ensue from blocking an attempt to halt the slaughter of Protestants in Ireland, would prove too irresistible to the Court.

The colonial traders and Adventurers in Irish Land were active immediately in provisioning the army already in Ireland. William Pennoyer, a privateering partner of Maurice Thompson in the Caribbean in the 1630s, undertook to ship gunpowder and shot from Holland to Ireland in ships owned by Samuel Vassall, a founder of the Massachusetts Bay Company.³⁵⁴ Maurice Thompson's ship, the *Charity*, was commissioned to carry munitions to Carrickfergus Castle.³⁵⁵ Another of Thompson's armed merchant ships, the *Ruth*, was hired to deliver £6,000 in money on behalf of the earl of Cork, with which to pay the army in Munster.³⁵⁶ Benjamin Whetcombe, a New England trader whose family had invested in the Massachusetts Bay Company with Hugh Peter and Samuel Vassall, and whose brother was mayor of Dungarvan, undertook to provide biscuits, peas and cheese to the Munster forces to the value of £150. All of these goods appear to have been ordered on foot of the loan of £30,000 provided by the Merchant Adventurers to Parliament for the Irish campaign.³⁵⁷

It is important to note that the army contractors undertook the risk of ensuring that these goods were delivered safely, and would normally not expect to get paid until at least six months after delivery. Maurice Thompson lost one ship, *Blessing of London*, as early as

³⁵³ 'Venice: February 1642', in *Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, Volume 25, 1640-1642, ed. Allen B Hinds (London, 1924), pp. 286-298 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol25/pp286-298> [accessed 2 December 2015], 28 February 1642.

³⁵⁴ Snow, Coates and Young, *Private journals...January to March...*, p.423.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.422.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p.425.

³⁵⁷ TNA SP 28/1B, unfol., 27 April 1642. The loan was negotiated by Thomas Barrington, Isaac Pennington, William Spurstow and Humphrey Beddingfeld.

July 1642, taken near Wexford while on a voyage to Derry.³⁵⁸ Richard Turner, a tobacco importer and Bermuda Company member who had contributed £200 to the Adventure for Irish Land, was contracted to supply 10,000 coats and pairs of cotton stockings on 9 May 1642. The coats were to be delivered for 8 shillings, 6 pence each and the socks for 12 pence per pair, to a total value of £4,500.³⁵⁹ There were considerable profits to be made in supplying the army, despite the uncertainty of ever recouping any money from the Irish Adventure. John Brown, gun-founder of London, adventured £106 for Ireland and was awarded a contract for £1,041 worth of arms and ammunition.³⁶⁰ On 31 May 1642, Maurice Thompson was awarded a contract to supply £5,000 worth of wheat to the army in Ulster. Thomas Alcock and John Wollaston adventured £300 and £900 respectively and were awarded a contract to supply £1,375 worth of cloth to the army in Ireland.³⁶¹

On 16 June the Committee for Irish Affairs arranged with the London commissioners for the Scots army in the North of England to provide £34,000 for the Scots army to transport itself to Ulster.³⁶² This force was in addition to the 8,000 Scots soldiers already in Ulster under the pay of Parliament, using money raised from the Merchant Adventurers and secured on the £400,000 assessment.³⁶³ The June deal was brokered by Sir William Armyne, Nathaniel Fiennes, Sir Phillip Stapleton and Sir John Hampden. The money was to be paid out of the final instalment of £110,000 'brotherly assistance' managed through Warwick House, and was also guaranteed on the £400,000 assessment.³⁶⁴ This money was subscribed immediately by the peers who had retreated from investing in the Adventure, parliamentary merchants from further up the social order than the bulk of the Adventurers, and a small number of Royalist merchants.³⁶⁵ The peers were reluctant to

³⁵⁸ Murphy, *Ireland and the war at sea*, p. 98.

³⁵⁹ Snow, Coates and Young, *Private journals...January to March...*, p.443.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.452.

³⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.462.

³⁶² TNA SP 28/1B, f 559. Receivers of Brotherly Assistance loans included the earls of Essex and Bedford, John Pym and Sir Walter Earl.

³⁶³ *Perfect Diurnal*, 13-20 June 1642.

³⁶⁴ The payment was due by midsummer 1642. The treasurers for the brotherly Assistance were the earls of Bedford, Essex, Warwick, Holland, Stanford, Lord Wharton, Lord Mandeville, Lord Brooke, Henry Martin, Sir Thomas Barrington, Mr Capell, Sir Arthur Ingram, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir Robert Pye, Mr Henry Bellasis, Sir Walter Earle, Sir William Litton, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir Thomas Cheek, Sir John Strangways, Arthur Goodwin, John Hampden, Thomas Soame, Thomas Pennington. 'Charles I, 1640: *An Act for the Pacification between England and Scotland*,' in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80*, ed. John Raithby (s.l, 1819), pp. 120-128

³⁶⁵ TNA SP 28 Vol. 1C, f. 56. The peers were Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristol, Holland, Berkshire, Wharton, Paget, Brooke, Montague, Paulet,

place their money in the hands of commoners and they preferred it to be managed by Warwick House. The Adventurers had established their own committee, the Committee of Adventurers for Ireland that included neither peers nor MPs and only two aldermen.³⁶⁶

This committee met at Grocers Hall from March 1642 until the restoration of Charles II in June 1660. Its membership, after allowing for changes in financial circumstances and mortality, was remarkably consistent, especially in its early years. The Committee of Adventurers contributed many of the treasurers and leading administrators to the parliamentary financial and taxation committees that followed it. Although parliament's financial arrangements from 1642 to 1653 appear fragmented, the leaders of all of the financial committees met regularly at Grocers Hall, under the guise of the Adventurers for Irish Land. The committee, together with the main investors in the Adventure mentioned above, and its treasurers, controlled the majority of parliament's finances. The influence of the Adventurers on parliament's Irish policy was not born from their investment in Irish land, but from their position at the top of parliamentary finance.

Parliament approved a list of officers for the Adventurers' army on 17 June.³⁶⁷ By June, however, contributions to the Adventure for Irish Land had almost dried up and less than £9,000 was collected in the entire month. On 22 June Parliament made the surprising announcement that land was to be denominated in Irish rather than English acres, an increase of 60% in the amount of land to be awarded.³⁶⁸ This concession persuaded the London Companies to convert their £10,000 loan from a loan to be repaid by Parliament into an Adventure.³⁶⁹ The £10,000 loan was managed, in part, by Francis Kirby, Maurice Thompson's partner in the Cape Ann, Massachusetts, fishing project.³⁷⁰ The London Companies had arranged for an additional loan, £100,000 on 1 June 1642, to be disposed

Howard, Savill Dunsman, and Denzille Holles, John Pym, Sir Charles Wray, Sir John Hotham, William Cage, Humphrey Martin, Sir Dudley North, Sir Edward Aiscough, Sir John Culpepper, Sir Robert Crane, John Hambden, Sir Walter Erle, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir Thomas Withrington, Harbotle Grimstone, Henry Lord Gray of Ruthven, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir Edward Hale and Robert Crane.

³⁶⁶ 'House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 04 April 1642', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 509-511 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp509-511> [accessed 6 February 2016]; BL Add MS 4771, f3v.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁸ *Some Special Passages from Westminster, London, York, and other parts...20-28 June*, (London, 1642).

³⁶⁹ Mahaffy, *Adventurers*, p. 309.

³⁷⁰ TNA SP 63/285, f. 16, 'Power from the Committee appointed by the several companies of London for managing the affairs of Ireland'.

of by the Committee for Irish Affairs.³⁷¹ This money was raised from individual livery company members, according to their capacity. The loan, specifically for the relief of Ireland, was intended to be repaid within one year, with a proviso that the loan may be of indefinite duration bearing an interest rate of 8% per annum.³⁷² Each company was allocated a contribution, the largest contributions coming from the companies most likely to benefit from a relief effort of food and clothing. Consequently, although the Glaziers' Company was only committed to contributing £80, the Grocers contributed £9,000, the Haberdashers £5,500 and the Drapers £7,500. In effect, the London Companies were financing their own relief effort, selling their goods on credit into Ireland on the basis of an indefinite loan secured by an ordinance of Parliament, and military supplies began to flow from London to Londonderry as a result. The London loan was also used to keep the supply channel open to Dublin and to pay the earl of Leicester and his immediate entourage.³⁷³

This work towards financing a military intervention in Ireland occurred in conjunction with Parliament's financial preparations for a military engagement with the King. Charles had arranged finance from his own loyalists and from money raised in Holland, secured on the Crown Jewels. He had purchased a large quantity of military material in Holland which was transported to York, replacing the arsenals lost at Hull and in the Tower of London to parliament. Parliament had responded to Charles' initiative with the 9 June Ordinance for bringing in Plate, Money and Horses.³⁷⁴ This measure was a straightforward loan, to be supplied by citizens at an interest rate of 8%. Although contributions from London were to be paid directly to the London Committee of Safety for the use of the Trained Bands, contributions from the rest of England were vested with the treasurers appointed for this loan, three of whom were the same treasurers appointed to deal with the Adventure for Irish Land: Thomas Andrews, John Towse and Samuel Warner. The fourth treasurer, the leading Adventurer John Wollaston, was formerly Deputy Governor of the Irish Society, the company that managed the Londonderry plantation on behalf of the city's guilds and

³⁷¹ NLI MS 14305, p. 61.

³⁷² TNA SP46/443, ff. 79-82.

³⁷³ Snow, Coates and Young, *Private journals...January to March...*, p. 463; SP 28, vol. 1B, ff 546-601.

³⁷⁴ A&O, I, pp. 6-9, 'June 1642: Ordinance of both Houses, for bringing in Plate, Money, and Horses.'

was currently both colonel of the Gold Trained Band and member of the London Committee of Safety.³⁷⁵

The Adventurers published the muster for their army on 11 June, under the command of Philip Lord Wharton.³⁷⁶ The mustering of this force took place at the same time as the deal with the Scots was being brokered. Had the Adventurers' army been deployed to Munster, as intended, a larger and possibly decisive British force would have taken to the field in Ireland in the summer of 1642. As it was, although Parliament mustered considerable force, and over 10,000 English troops arrived in Ireland during the winter and spring of 1641-2, the Adventurers and the forces nominally under the command of the Lord Lieutenant were unable to effectively pool their resources. The Committee for Irish Affairs took four regiments into its pay on 12 April, commanded by William St. Leger, Viscount Cromwell, Michael Earnley and Sir Foulke Hunks.³⁷⁷ Half of the cost of raising these forces was met with a loan of £4,000, provided by the Adventurers, and these soldiers were mustered around London before some at least were despatched to Dublin.³⁷⁸ A frustrated earl of Leicester wrote to his sister-in-law, the Countess of Carlisle, in August 1642

‘The Parliament bids me to go presently, the King commands me to stay till he despatch me. The supplies of one, and the authority of the other, are equally necessary. I know not how to obtain them both, and am more likely to have neither; for now they are at such extremes... The one says, why should we give money and arms which may be employed against us and the other says why should I give power and authority which may be turned against me?’³⁷⁹

The Committee for Irish Affairs was now controlled by the parliamentarian faction, and from June 1642 until the end of the summer was attended by the earls of Northumberland and Holland, Lord Mandeville, Robert Cooke, Walter Earle, John Evelyn, Robert Harley, Henry Marten, John Pym, Robert Reynolds and Henry Vane.³⁸⁰ Moreover, Leicester could not expect any practical support from the Adventurers, who were insisting on retaining

³⁷⁵ Wollaston shared his militia post with John Venn, MP and Captain-General of the Artillery Company.

³⁷⁶ Anon, *A List of the Field-Officers chosen and appointed for the Irish Expedition, by the Committee at Guildhall...* (London, 1642).

³⁷⁷ TNA SP 28/1B, ff. 443-447.

³⁷⁸ *Perfect Diurnal*, p. 151.

³⁷⁹ R. W. Blencowe (ed.), *Sydney Papers, consisting of A Journal of the Earl of Leicester and Original Letters of Algernon Sydney* (London, 1825), p. xxi.

³⁸⁰ NLI MS 14305, p. 67.

control over the appointment of their own officers. In a final attempt to seize the initiative, Charles announced on 6 April that he would lead the expeditionary force to Ireland, an idea swiftly rebuffed by Parliament. This may have been his intention since 19 March, when he signed the Adventurers Act. If successful, he would have taken command of a substantial army and emptied the purses of his enemies. He was not and the Adventurer's force was not despatched to Ireland and continued training at the ground of the Artillery Company in London.³⁸¹

On 26 July, the House of Commons instructed the Adventurers to loan £32,000 to the earl of Leicester, to be used for settling the arrears of his soldiers still in England.³⁸²

Parliament's strategy for Ireland was to use the recent treaty between the English and Scottish parliaments to bring all of the Protestant forces in Ulster under the command of the Scottish army there and to bring its pay up to date.³⁸³ The Committee for Irish Affairs began winding down its affairs and paid off its major commissaries: Walter Frost for supplies sent to Dublin and William Dobbins of Bristol for supplies sent to Munster and Galway.³⁸⁴ As a final act an order was signed by the earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, with Oliver Cromwell, Denzil Holles, Robert Parkhurst, John Pym and Robert Reynolds for the release of £1,700 worth of artillery from the Tower of London for despatch to Dublin.³⁸⁵ Charles wrote to Parliament on 23 July and stressed that he would not permit any of the money raised under his authority to be diverted and used against him.³⁸⁶ Parliament's response, on 28 July, was for its Committee of Safety to request £100,000 from the treasurers of the Adventure for Irish Land. The request was signed by earls Bedford, Essex and Holland, Lord Saye and Sele, Denzel Holles, John Hampden, Philip Stapleton and William Waller.³⁸⁷ On 30 July 1642 Parliament ordered that £100,000 be taken from the Adventure for Irish Land and transferred to the Committee of Safety, responsible for the military affairs of London and also for Parliament's military affairs.³⁸⁸

³⁸¹ All of the leading Adventurers were members of the Artillery Company. Maurice Thompson was an elder and Phillip Skippon the Captain-General.

³⁸² NLI MSS 14305, p. 123.

³⁸³ *Ibid*, pp. 125-7. The money was raised by combining the loans secured on the £400,000 subsidy with the City of London's loan.

³⁸⁴ TNA SP 28/1B, ff. 674, 687.

³⁸⁵ TNA SP 28/1C, f. 156.

³⁸⁶ Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/130, 23 July 1642, The King's answer to the petition of parliament.

³⁸⁷ Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/130, 28 July 1642, Letter from the Committee for the defence of the kingdom, to the Committee for the Irish adventurers.

³⁸⁸ *The Answer of The House of Commons to His Majesties Message*, (London, 1642), p. 4. The transfer of the £100,000 was probably not a simple physical transportation of a chest

Luckily, Maurice Thompson had transferred £4,000 owed to him by the Adventure to a bond drawn on customs on 23 July.³⁸⁹ On 16 August, the Committee for Irish Affairs lost the authority to take payment decisions, without having them approved by a parliamentary sub-committee. The Committee was reduced to two meetings per month and attendance at Committee meetings also contracted, as members were drawn into the parliamentary war effort.

Parliament's reason for the transfer of funds was that much of the Adventure had been remitted in plate, which needed to be minted into coin before it could be used for military wages. Their idea was that the plate could be used as collateral for cash borrowings on the public faith, the cash used for purchasing military supplies and then repaid in coin before an expeditionary force was ready to depart for Ireland.³⁹⁰ In the event, the money was spent and still not repaid in June 1649, when the amount was ordered to be doubled from the proceeds from the sale of Dean and Chapter's Lands in a further effort to delay repayment.³⁹¹ The £100,000 ordered by Parliament was transferred from the treasurers of the Adventure for Irish Land to Richard Shute, treasurer of the Committee of Safety, and co-deliverer, with Maurice Thompson, of the Citizens of London's petition to Charles I at York in 1640.³⁹² The Committee of Safety immediately began construction of a munitions works and the assembling of a train or artillery on the Artillery Grounds. Under the direction of Robert Lord Brooke, £6,000 was spent in August 1642, constructing buildings and assembling and manufacturing the materials, tools and transport for a campaign.³⁹³

of money from one location to another. There is no evidence that such a physical transfer ever took place. The 'transfer' comprised a combination of payment warrants and credit instruments, some of which were paid by the treasurers of the Adventurers money, some were not. How much money was ever reallocated cannot be determined, but what is important is the perception among potential lenders and suppliers that Parliament had access to the Adventurers' treasury.

³⁸⁹ Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/130, 23 July 1642, Order for payment of £4,000 to Maurice Thompson.

³⁹⁰ *Answer of The House of Commons*, p. 5

³⁹¹ A&O, I, pp. 140-142, 'June 1649: An Act for Instructions for the Trustees Treasurer and Register-Accountant for the Sale of the Deans and Chapter Lands, for the admitting such as have moneys owing them by the Parliament, to double the same upon the Credit of the Lands of the Deans and Chapters.'.... '100000 l. of the money, advanced for the Purchase of Lands in Ireland'. The June 1649 Ordinance allowed an Adventurer to transfer their claim to English ecclesiastical land. How many did so is unknown, but could explain the purchase of some ecclesiastical land by Adventurers.

³⁹² CCAM, 1, p. 2. Maurice Thompson was treasurer for the Additional Sea Adventure and this money was kept separately.

³⁹³ TNA SP 28/13/2, 'August Anno: 1642, In London. An account of divers necessary provisions, materials and Instruments of war bought of several persons for the train of

These materials were supplied by London artisans of lesser means than the leaders of the Adventure, but who had, in many cases, subscribed small sums or were related to leaders. John Browne of London, for example, who contributed £100 to the Adventure for Irish Land, supplied food.³⁹⁴ Browne was an Associate of the Rosewell Patentees, a small Massachusetts plantation established in 1629.³⁹⁵ Thomas Bateman, a member of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and Edward Thompson, a cousin of Maurice, supplied artillery wagons.³⁹⁶ John Shuttleworth, whose brother Richard subscribed £300, supplied £216 worth of wagons; Richard Mitchell subscribed £25 and delivered £425 worth of pontoons.³⁹⁷ Stephen Estwick, who had subscribed £100, was entrusted with £500 to purchase supplies and horses for the town of Watford under the command of Sir John Merricke.³⁹⁸ Although many of the merchants among the Adventurers had been slow to come forward and supply material for the war in Ireland, they reacted quickly to prepare for war in England.

The early mobilisation of Parliamentary forces in the summer of 1642 was entirely dependent on money from the Irish Adventure. The month of July saw a remarkable surge in subscriptions to the Adventure and almost £110,000 was paid in. The Adventure for Irish Land provided all of the money for Parliament's initial mobilisation in August 1642.³⁹⁹ The English revolt was thereby secured on Irish land. For many subscribers, the Adventure contained an element of deniability. They had lent on good faith to support Protestant Ireland and the diversion of their funds was the responsibility of the Adventurers' committee, not of them. The money was distributed among officers mustering troops for parliament, including Arthur Goodwin, Oliver St John, William Fairfax, Henry Vane Jr, George Thompson, Francis Thompson, Oliver Cromwell and the Providence Island peers.⁴⁰⁰ The Adventurers and the army forged close links at the earliest stage of the English conflict which would be sustained. The largest payment during these

artillery under the command of his excellency the earl of Essex Lord General of the army employed for the defence of Protestant religion, the safety of His Majesty's person etc..'

³⁹⁴ *Ibid*, f. 4.

³⁹⁵ Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, p. 35. Browne was an ardent Puritan who went as far as objecting to the use of the Book of Common Prayer during the course of his voyage to New England.

³⁹⁶ TNA SP 28/131/2, ff. 8, 54.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid*, ff.53, 55. There are numerous other examples in this volume.

³⁹⁸ TNA SP 16/539/2, f. 180.

³⁹⁹ TNA SP 26/143/6, unfol., *August 1642, received...by order of the Committee for Defence of the Kingdom*.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 12-18.

early weeks, however, was not to officers but to the Adventurer Stephen Estwick, who provided £1,500 in uniforms for the soldiers.⁴⁰¹

The Parliamentary ordinance for bringing in money, plate and horses relied on the Adventurers for money and horses, the latter a resource of considerable value.⁴⁰² Lord Wharton, George Thompson and William Pennoyer all contributed £150 worth of horses by the end of the first week of June 1642.⁴⁰³ Maurice Thompson provided not only horses, but the cavalrymen as well. Smaller contributions, mainly provided by Adventurers, continued through the month of June but the process accelerated rapidly from 1 July onwards, when the Providence Island peers stepped in, as their strategy of using the colonial merchants as their proxies had become redundant. There was no longer any point in pretending that they were in some way removed from the proceedings. Henry Rich, earl of Holland, delivered 36 horses and riders worth £1,200 on 1 July; Lord Mandeville, twelve horses and riders worth £380; and the earl of Essex a further twenty horses and riders worth £560 - all on the same day.⁴⁰⁴ The sudden appearance of the peers in gathering materials for war galvanised both financial contributions to the Adventure for Irish Land and the donation of horses for use by the trained bands. The Adventure, which had all but ceased to receive contributions, had sprung back into life, but only when the Providence Island peers broke cover and began to contribute materials in preparation for war. There was another factor: the deadline for contributions was due to close, but the very low levels of contributions in May and June 1642 indicated that the July build-up towards civil war was the impetus for the increased contributions to the Adventure for Irish Land.

The Collectors for Plate and Money in August 1642 and the Adventurers for Irish Land who paid in subscriptions in July 1642 overlap to a considerable degree.⁴⁰⁵ Half of the 215 named collectors in London and the adjacent boroughs were also Adventurers. Map 3.2 shows the distribution of individuals who were both Adventurers and Collectors. This relationship also indicates where the concentration of opposition to Charles could be found within the city. Some areas such as Coleman Street Ward and Broad Street Ward were

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid*, pp. 12-16.

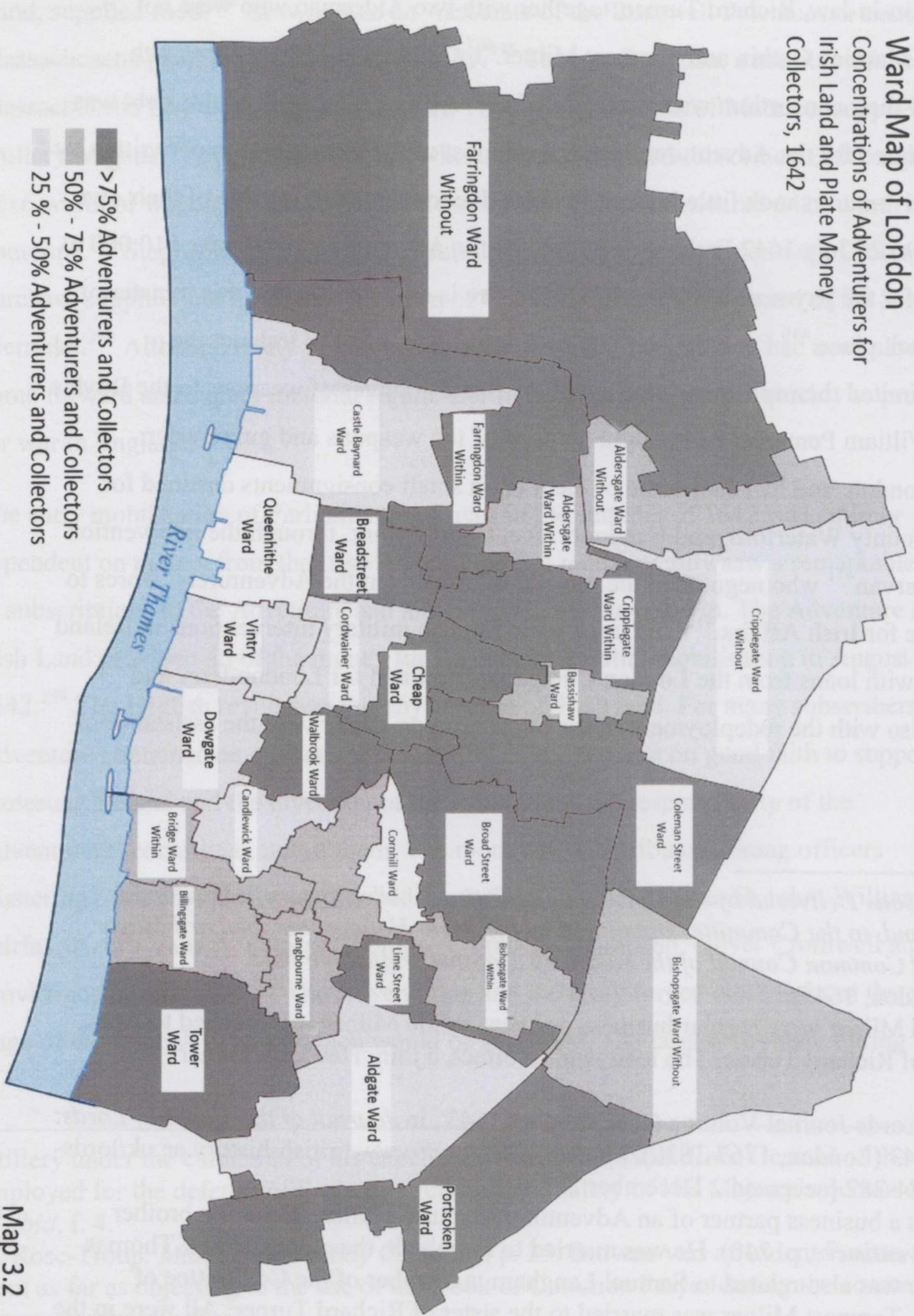
⁴⁰² A&O, I, pp. 6-9, 'June 1642: Ordinance of both Houses, for bringing in Plate, Money, and Horses.'. The names and amounts with subscribed in London under this Ordinance are all drawn from SP 28/131/3.

⁴⁰³ TNA SP 28/131/3, ff. 2-3.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid*, f. 8.

⁴⁰⁵ Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/10/1/131, 29 August 1642, List of collectors appointed in the several wards and parishes under the ordinance for raising money and plate in London.

established areas of Puritanism and opposition to Charles' church policy. The heavy concentrations of collectors in the port-dominated wards of Tower and Portsoken indicate the involvement of many of the collectors in maritime trade.



By September 1642, its money diverted to the parliamentary cause, the Adventure for Irish Land had been expended. Its treasury was empty and its forces, intended for Munster, had

been sent to join the main Parliamentary force at Edgehill.⁴⁰⁶ Those merchants left most exposed by the collapse of the Adventure belonged to a consortium led by the secretary of the Committee for Irish Affairs, William Hawkins and included Richard Wollaston and Wollaston's son-in-law, Richard Turner, together with two Alderman who were not Adventurers, Maurice Gethin and Tempest Milner.⁴⁰⁷ Gethin and Milner were cloth merchants and their consortium was owed £42,051.⁴⁰⁸ Although the bulk of this debt was for clothes ordered for the Adventurers' army, and most of the money was underwritten by Gethin, the Adventurers took little interest in debts due to merchants outside of their own consortia.⁴⁰⁹ On 26 July 1642 Parliament instructed the Adventurers to transfer £10,000 to Adam Loftus for the payment of contractors, but there is no evidence that this transfer of money ever took place.⁴¹⁰ Far from helping the English war effort in Ireland, the Adventurers limited themselves to some small loans and supplies of weapons to the Boyles in Munster. William Pennoyer had bought up most of the weapons and gunpowder available in London, and had sold some of them on in small consignments destined for Dungarvan, County Waterford, and Bandonbridge, County Cork, through the intervention of Lord Dungarvan⁴¹¹ who negotiated the transfer of arms from the Adventurers' stores to the Committee for Irish Affairs.⁴¹² The large scale English military interventions in Ireland were paid for with loans from the London Companies destined for Londonderry and Dublin, and also with the redeployment of the Scots army to Ulster with the assistance of

⁴⁰⁶ Anon, *Reasons Delivered by the Committee of Citizens, Adventurers in London for Lands in Ireland, to the Committee appointed by the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the said City... of their refusal to lend monies...* (London, 1645).

⁴⁰⁷ Gethin and Milner were regular business partners, while Milner was married to Anne, the daughter of Richard Turner. The loan was, in effect, a joint Hawkins/Turner undertaking.

⁴⁰⁸ 'House of Lords Journal Volume 6: 27 October 1643', in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 6, 1643* (London, 1767-1830), pp. 274-282 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol6/pp274-282> [accessed 2 December 2015].

⁴⁰⁹ Gethin was a business partner of an Adventurer, Samuel Turner, Richard's brother (Mahaffy, *Adventurers*, p. 240). He was married to Elizabeth, the elder sister of Thomas Juxon MP. He was also related to Samuel Langham, a member of the Committee of Adventurers (. Tempest Milner was married to the sister of Richard Turner. All were in the cloth trade, but the Turners were also importers of Virginia tobacco in the 1630s. Keith Lindley and David Scott (eds.), *The Journal of Thomas Juxon, 1644-1647*, (Cambridge, 1999), p. 2; MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, p. 705.

⁴¹⁰ TNA SP 28/1D, f. 726.

⁴¹¹ TNA SP 28/1B, ff. 477, 543.

⁴¹² NLI MS 14305, p. 33.

the earl of Warwick-controlled Brotherly Assistance fund.⁴¹³ The only other military intervention in Ireland in 1642, funded entirely by contributions under similar terms to the Adventure for Irish Land, was the Additional Sea Adventure, promoted by the Providence Island peers and contracted entirely to Maurice Thompson.

⁴¹³ House of Commons Journal Volume 2: 12 May 1641', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 2, 1640-1643* (London, 1802), pp. 143-145 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp143-145> [accessed 2 December 2015]. The Scots army was financed by Providence Island Company members Nathaniel Fiennes and John Hampden to be repaid as soon as the funds came in from the £400,000 subsidy.

Chapter Four

The Adventurers and State Finance

July 1642-January 1644

The Additional Sea Adventure of 1642 was the means by which the Adventurers introduced their naval power into the theatre of the wars of the Three Kingdoms. Using, once again, the emergency in Ireland, and further legislation passed by Parliament for unrelated purposes, the Sea Adventure was the point at which the colonial merchants demonstrated their readiness to use military force against supporters of King Charles I. The Sea Adventure was concentrated in far fewer hands than the Adventure for Irish land. It was managed by a single treasurer, Maurice Thompson, endorsed by the Providence Island peers, led by the earl of Warwick, and financed entirely by merchants closely associated with this network. The raising of the Sea Adventure between April and July 1642 directly coincided with the struggle between King and Parliament for control of the Navy, and created a third force in Irish waters, conveniently outside of the direct command of either side but with a clear allegiance to Parliament.

In this case, the emergency was provided by events in the city of Galway. On 9 March 1642, a group of Galway merchants seized a ship commanded by Captain George Clarke, with a consignment of arms intended for St Augustine's Fort outside the city.⁴¹⁴ A stand-off ensued between the city and the garrison of the fort, under the command of Captain Anthony Willoughby. Anthony was the son of Colonel Francis Willoughby, who had previously seen service as a colonel in Wentworth's army. As the city prepared to besiege the fort, Captain Willoughby set fire to its outer suburbs and fired shots over its walls. On 23 April a second supply ship, owned by Maurice Thompson and under the command of Captain Ashley, arrived with supplies and munitions for the fort.⁴¹⁵ Ashley successfully petitioned Ulick Burke, the Catholic earl of Clanricarde and the leading power in the region, to stabilise the situation. Through Clanricarde's efforts, peace was restored on 13 May, although tensions remained high.

⁴¹⁴ For a full account of this incident see: James Hardiman, *History of the Town and County of Galway*, (Dublin, 1820), pp. 109-118.

⁴¹⁵ Murphy, *Ireland and the war at sea*, p. 25.

Two major naval expeditions were planned by the earls of Essex and Warwick, to commence in the spring of 1642.⁴¹⁶ The first mission, with the overall goal of retaking Providence Island from the Spanish, was delegated to John Pym and the expected profits were to be divided between the Elector Palatine and the Providence Island Company. The second mission was delegated to the elders of Trinity House, the naval institute, and was intended to attack the Barbary pirates at their base in Algiers. This mission had most recently been discussed by Parliament on 9 February 1642, and three ships, intended for Algiers, were made available to Parliament for service in Irish waters.⁴¹⁷ The legal basis for issuing Parliamentary letters of marque for a privateering mission was provided by a vote in Parliament of 14 March 1642, declaring that as the king was unavailable 'due to ill counsel', Parliament could provide such assent.⁴¹⁸

On 30 May the proposal for raising forces for the Sea Adventure was presented to the House of Lords by Oliver Cromwell, as an addition to an Ordinance for Raising Volunteers for Ireland.⁴¹⁹ An Ordinance was passed in Parliament on 1 June 1642 for the 'raising of volunteers for additional forces by sea for Ireland, under the command of Lord Brooke'.⁴²⁰ The published ordinance authorising the Sea Adventure allowed for the fitting out of a fleet of twelve ships and six pinnaces, with one thousand horse and two thousand foot soldiers. The funding arrangement for the Sea Adventure was a significant departure from the Adventure for Irish Land. There was no requirement to pay cash into a central treasury, which would then be drawn upon to fund the mission. Instead, the Adventurers were to

⁴¹⁶ Adamson, *Noble Revolt*, p. 363.

⁴¹⁷ Anon, *The Diurnal Occurrences or The Heads of the proceedings in Parliament from the Seventh of February to the Fourteenth*, (London, 1642), p. 3. The Caribbean naval mission was not abandoned, but went ahead in the summer of 1642 with a smaller fleet. Commanded by Captain William Jackson the privateering mission to the Caribbean was funded by Warwick and Maurice Thompson. Sailing with Samuel Axe and William Rous, the old Providence Island hands left London in July 1642 in the *Charles*, *Valentine* and *Dolphin* and arrived in Barbados on 27 September. Warwick had purchased the earl of Carlisle's interest in Barbados in 1639 and was now the proprietor of that island. The privateering mission included a successful attack on Kingstown, Jamaica, a rehearsal for Cromwell's Western Design, and took three Spanish vessels as prizes that were sold in Virginia. See Vincent Harlow, *The Voyage of Captain William Jackson*, (London, 1923).

⁴¹⁸ John Bruce (ed.), *Notes of Proceedings in Long Parliament Temp Charles I by Sir Ralph Verney*, (London, 1884), p. 162.

⁴¹⁹ 'House of Lords Journal Volume 5: 30 May 1642', in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 5, 1642-1643* (London, 1767-1830), pp. 91-94 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol5/pp91-94> [accessed 14 November 2015], Message from the H. C. with an Order for raising Volunteers for Ireland.

⁴²⁰ Thomas Baker, *Some special passages from London, Westminster, York, Hull, Ireland and other partes*, (London, 1642), p.12.

provide ships and men at their own cost, and their adventure was to be reckoned 'at such rates and prices as have usually been allowed to other ships and seamen, ...and for such allowance for land soldiers as have formerly been accustomed in other expeditions'.⁴²¹

John Pym framed the mission of the Sea Adventurers in a speech to the House of Commons on 23 June. Pym produced a letter written by the Earl of Clanricarde at Portumna dated 18 May, which detailed the terms for the pacification of Galway City, and made it clear that Clanricarde had taken the city of Galway under his Majesty's protection with Willoughby's help.⁴²² Pym was particularly incensed that the practise of Catholicism would continue in the city, and he moved that the agreement with Clanricarde should not be allowed. Oliver Cromwell moved that the matter be referred to the Committee for Irish Affairs.

Unlike the Adventure for Irish Land, King Charles refused to sanction the Sea Adventure with a royal commission.⁴²³ The Sea Adventure thus marked a significant escalation in the powers which Parliament assumed onto itself. It authorised a navy to attack a dominion of Charles I and allowed that navy to bear the King's colours, despite Royal opposition.

Without a Royal commission, a privateering mission of this type required letters of marque from the Lord High Admiral, of which there were two, the earl of Northumberland, the king's Lord High Admiral, and the earl of Warwick, nominated by the House of Lords on 4 April 1642 but not formally appointed by means of a parliamentary ordinance until 1 July.⁴²⁴ The Sea Adventure sailed on 29 June, conveniently prior to Warwick's appointment and, therefore, strictly speaking, not under the command of Parliament should the mission have unforeseen consequences.⁴²⁵ In terms of English naval strength in June

⁴²¹ A&O, I, pp. 9-12, 'June 1642: The Ordinance for the Sea Adventure to Ireland.'

⁴²² Vernon R. Snow and Anne Steele Young (ed.), *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament 1 June to 17 September 1642*, (Yale, 1992), , pp. 119-120; NLI MSS 14305, unfol., pp. 89-90. Pym raised the issue of Galway at a meeting of the Committee for Irish Affairs on 21 June, who agreed that it should be raised in Parliament. The Committee sought the inclusion of the City of Galway in the forfeited lands to be made available to the Adventurers. This meeting was attended by earls Warwick, Essex, Pembroke and Holland, Lords Say and Brooke and John Pym and John Reynolds. The unnamed attendee was the secretary, William Hawkins, Maurice Thompson's brother-in-law.

⁴²³ Anon, *His Majesties Message to the House of Commons concerning an Order made by them for the borrowing of one hundred thousand pounds of the Adventurers Money for Ireland, together with the Answer of the House of Commons in Ireland Thereunto* (London, 1642), P. 4.

⁴²⁴ A&O, I, p. 12, 'July 1642: Ordinance for the Earl of Warwick to remain in his Command of the Fleet.'

⁴²⁵ Hugh Peter, *A True Relation of the Passages of God's Providence in a Voyage for Ireland...*, (London, 1642).

1642, the Sea Adventure was a substantial undertaking. The Committee for Irish Affairs reviewed the strength of the Navy on 13 June and found that it comprised 23 ships; four in the Irish Sea chartered from Maurice Thompson at the start of the year, an additional seventeen to guard the English coast, and a further two vessels, only chartered on 3 June, that had yet to be assigned any specific duties.⁴²⁶ The eleven ships assembled for the Sea Adventure were, by comparison, a sizeable force, crewed by the experienced sailors and privateers.

Robert Brenner has noted the close association between Maurice Thompson and the other Sea Adventurers, but not the importance of the Levant Company merchants who contributed most of the resources. The Additional Sea Adventure raised £42,906 in cash or in kind for its mission from 180 subscribers. Of these, 33 were associates of the Thompsons, with a colonial trading background, and they put up 30% of the money.⁴²⁷ The entire Sea Adventure fund was paid directly to Thompson, who managed the campaign.⁴²⁸ A second connection, with the Providence Island Company, places the Sea Adventure clearly within the walls of Warwick House.⁴²⁹ Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, the intended commander of the mission, was a leading grandee of the company. Lord Brooke became associated with Hugh Peter, the Sea Adventurers' chaplain, in his teenage years at The Hague during a Grand Tour in 1629.⁴³⁰ Hugh Peter's brother, Benjamin, was appointed Admiral for the Sea Adventure.⁴³¹ The land forces, under the control of Lord Brooke, who

⁴²⁶ NLI MS 14305, p. 81.

⁴²⁷ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 405-407.

⁴²⁸ CSPI 1660-[1670], p. 558 Documents relating to the case of William Barker and others. Copy of Petition of William Barker to the King.

⁴²⁹ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island*, pp. 181-7.

⁴³⁰ Francis J. Bremer and Tom Webster (eds.), *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America*, (Santa Barbara, 2006), p. 387. Peter, as noted earlier, was a travelling companion of Henry Vane jnr. during his stay in New England. Vane was, in 1642, a regular attendee at the Committee for Irish Affairs. Peter returned to England in 1640 was employed as an agent of the Council of Massachusetts Bay.

⁴³¹ TNA SP 63/488, f. 164. Benjamin Peter was captain of the *Speedwell* and a Levant Company captain. Thomas Rainsborough, also a Levant Company captain, was vice-admiral and captain of the *Zant Merchant*, one of two committee men to sail with the fleet; the other was William Thompson, captain of the *Goodhope* and Maurice Thompson's brother. The owners of the remaining 8 ships, The *George Bonaventure*, *Mary Bonaventure*, *Achilles*, *Hopewell*, *Pennington*, *Dolphin*, *Lily* and *Leghorne* demonstrate that the backers of the Sea Adventure were drawn from a very small circle. The *Lily* and the *Zant Merchant* were both owned by Thomas Rainsborough. The *Leghorne* was also a Levant ship. The *Goodhope* and *Hopewell* belonged to Maurice Thompson. The *Mary Bonaventure* was owned by Richard Swanley, an East India company captain and already hired for the Royal Navy, as was the *Lily*. The *Pennington* was owned by Isaac Pennington, also a Levant Company trader.

did not travel, were placed under the command of Alexander Forbes. For the second time, the first as treasurer for the Adventure for Irish Land, Brooke let his name go forward, but then withdrew. Forbes was a kinsman of John Forbes, a member of Hugh Peter's mission to establish a Congregationalist church in Delft in the 1630s.⁴³² The Forbes were investors in Newfoundland and Alexander Forbes also held a patent by inheritance to Castleforbes in county Longford, the only officer or committee member of the Sea Adventure to have any personal investment in Ireland.⁴³³ Forbes had been unemployed since 1641, and petitioned the House of Lords in August of that year for a military command offering to engage any enemies, wherever they might be found.⁴³⁴

As the Sea Adventure was organised by a private committee, outside of parliamentary control, its membership warrants examination. It included many future leaders of the parliamentary war effort, especially the navy. The committee was led by the Thompson brothers; Maurice, George and William. The other members were drawn from the Atlantic and Levant maritime networks. Sir Nicholas Crisp, of the Guinea Company and a pioneer of the English slave trade between West Africa and the Americas, was the only Royalist.⁴³⁵ The Crisp family subscribed £2,550 to the Sea Adventure, in addition to the £1,500 they had subscribed to the Adventure for Irish land. Thomas Chamberlain, a Virginia planter who was supported financially by his father, the Levant Company's Abraham Chamberlain, contributed £1,000.⁴³⁶ Thomas Chamberlain was married to Mary, the daughter of Philip Burlamachi, a key financier of Charles I and Crisp. The Chamberlains were also involved in the Guinea Company, along with a third Sea Adventurer, John Wood, a former apprentice of Humphrey Slany, Maurice Thompson's partner in financing the Kent Island colony in the 1630s. John Wood was the son of Edward Wood, a London grocer and ship owner, and was a contractor during the summer of 1639, shipping tobacco for the Chamberlains, from Virginia to London.⁴³⁷ These Sea Adventurers demonstrate that

⁴³² Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 405.

⁴³³ John Burke, *General Peerage...*, Vol 1, London 1833, p. 485; Treadwell, *Irish commission of 1622*, p. 657.

⁴³⁴ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourth report*, I, (London, 1874), p. 114, 'Petition of Alexander Lord Forbes'.

⁴³⁵ Nicholas Crisp was supported by Charles I in opposition to an attempt by Maurice Thompson to infiltrate the Guinea trade in 1638. Crisp left London in 1642 and joined the king at Oxford as a key financier to the Royalist cause. Maurice Thompson took over Crisp's office as London collector of customs in March 1643 and formed a new Guinea Company in 1647.

⁴³⁶ For Abraham Chamberlain's investments see K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company, The study of an early joint-stock company 1600-1640*, (London, 1965), p. 181.

⁴³⁷ Coldham, *English Adventurers*, p. 100.

although factions existed within the merchant community, this factionalism could be set aside if the business opportunity proved sufficiently compelling.

Thomas Rainsborough was the son of William Rainsborough, a senior Levant Company captain and master of Trinity House. William died suddenly on 12 February 1642 while waiting for Charles I to issue his consent for the Algiers expedition. In January 1641 the Trinity House elder brethren had promoted a sea adventure against Algiers, at a projected cost of £170,000. The remaining members of the Sea Adventurers' committee were all associated with Maurice Thompson's commercial activities in one way or another. Gregory Clement was a veteran of the East India Company (until being dismissed, in 1630, for illegal trading activities), a Member of Parliament and later a regicide.⁴³⁸ Clement was a long-time partner of Maurice Thompson, both in the tobacco trade and in privateering. In January 1637 Thompson and Clement lost a tobacco ship, the *Robert Bonaventure*, to Dunkirk privateers, with a cargo of 155,000 lbs. of tobacco, valued at £15,500.⁴³⁹ The partners were awarded a letter of marque in March 1637, for reprisals against Spanish shipping using their own armed merchantman, the *Discovery*.⁴⁴⁰ Thompson and Clement were regular partners in the tobacco and provisioning trade between London and North America immediately prior to 1642. William Pennoyer partnered with Clement and Maurice Thompson in capturing a Spanish ship in the West Indies, and bringing it in to Plymouth as a prize on 23 October 1641.⁴⁴¹ William Willoughby, an experienced captain trading with New England, was part-owner of the *Elizabeth of London* with Maurice Thompson. This armed merchantman, with 10 guns, was captured by the Spanish, with a huge cargo of tobacco, in August 1637 and was the immediate cause of the Providence Island privateering missions. The ship was ransomed but attacked again by Barbary pirates in the Bay of Penzance in the spring of 1640. She fought off her attackers on this occasion but the event demonstrates the ineffectiveness of Ship Money in aiding a navy to protect the merchant fleet.

⁴³⁸ J. T. Peacey, 'Clements, Gregory (bap. 1594, d. 1660)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5602>, accessed 7 Dec 2015].

⁴³⁹ TNA, SP 16/343 f.120.

⁴⁴⁰ TNA, SP 16/130 f. 34.

⁴⁴¹ House of Lords Journal Volume 4: 23 October 1641', in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 4, 1629-42* (London, 1767-1830), pp. 401-403 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol4/pp401-403> [accessed 14 November 2015], Clement etc. Petition.

Security of harbours along the south coast of Ireland was vital to the continuing transatlantic trade of the Sea Adventure investors, due to Ireland's role as a vital provisioning station as well as its importance as a tobacco market. The earl of Cork was one of the progenitors of the tobacco trade with Virginia, and complained of losing 1,000 marks whilst financing Sir Walter Raleigh's last voyage to Barbados in August 1617.⁴⁴² The Munster coast was as vulnerable as any to Barbary pirates, who attacked Cork harbour in 1637. This incident prompted the lord deputy, Thomas Wentworth, to propose a sea adventure to Algiers, funded from Ireland for a sum of £40,000, although no further action was taken.⁴⁴³ Wentworth, together with his close friend and deputy, Christopher Wandesford, had, in 1639, created and acquired the hugely profitable tobacco monopoly for Ireland.⁴⁴⁴ The license for this monopoly was originally purchased by Wentworth in 1633, in partnership with Sir Arthur Ingram and Sir Francis Annesley, Lord Mountnorris, for £7,000 per annum. Wentworth, however, appears to have bought or forced them out of the consortium. The deaths of both Wandesford in 1640 and Wentworth in 1641 created an opportunity for the colonial merchants to take over the Irish tobacco market, a return to the Thompson-led monopoly. Wentworth, using money secretly borrowed from the Irish exchequer, had built up a store of tobacco worth £46,000.⁴⁴⁵ At the time of his execution he owed £107,000 to various creditors, including his suppliers of tobacco.⁴⁴⁶ The tobacco store was in Kinsale and this is where the Sea Adventure made its first rendezvous in Ireland on 11 July 1642. Strategically, the Irish Confederates' privateering base at Wexford was the more obvious military target, but Wentworth's tobacco store was the more profitable one.

The remaining committee members were all involved in the tobacco business. Richard Waring was a London merchant who campaigned for the Providence Island Company to be awarded letters of marque for reprisals against Spanish shipping in the Caribbean. A London Common Councillor, Waring petitioned the House of Lords on 9 July 1642 to have Richard Gurney, the Royalist mayor of London, removed from office.⁴⁴⁷ Richard Shute was a long-time collaborator of Maurice Thompson, and was joint-owner of an

⁴⁴² Charles Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County of Cork*, Vol. I, (Dublin 1774), p. 120n.

⁴⁴³ Charles Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County of Cork*, Vol. II, (Dublin 1774), p. 113.

⁴⁴⁴ Cooper, 'Fortune of Thomas Wentworth', p. 231

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 245.

⁴⁴⁶ *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Fourth Report, Vol. 1, p. 79.

⁴⁴⁷ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 373.

armed merchantman, the *America*, with Gregory Clement.⁴⁴⁸ Richard Hill was another veteran of the Virginia tobacco trade in the 1630s, and had an interest in the Newfoundland fishing stations.⁴⁴⁹ The final member of the Sea Adventurers' committee was Samuel Moyer, another of Maurice Thompson's associates, another whose interests included trade with the Levant as well as Massachusetts.⁴⁵⁰ The committee men were not, however, the Sea Adventure's only financial backers, with additional merchants contributing huge sums.⁴⁵¹ Stephen Beale, who advanced £1,200 to the Sea Adventure, was one of three members of the same family who had made smaller investments in the Adventure for Irish land. Beale's father, William, was an investor in the 1609 Virginia Company, and his brother, Thomas, an East India Company merchant, fought briefly on the Royalist side before moving to Virginia in 1645.⁴⁵² John Bigg contributed £1,500. He was a cousin of Stephen Beale, who had lived for a short time in New England and whose family had a tobacco plantation near Charles City, Virginia.⁴⁵³ George Thompson, another brother of Maurice who later served as Navy Commissioner, had served as Lieutenant of Chamberlain's Creek, Virginia, during the 1620s.⁴⁵⁴ Thomas Cunningham, who adventured £1,800, was a Scottish Covenanter and progenitor of what would become one of Scotland's largest tobacco fortunes in the eighteenth century.⁴⁵⁵ John Dyke, the largest investor by far in the Sea Adventure, with an investment of in kind £5,200, was one of the earl of Warwick's longest standing business partners, and the first deputy governor of the Providence Island Company.⁴⁵⁶ Dyke transferred his share in the Providence Island Company to John Pym in 1636, enabling Pym to join the ranks of that company. Dyke was

⁴⁴⁸ Coldham, *English Adventurers*, p. 106.

⁴⁴⁹ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, 165n.

⁴⁵⁰ *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. 42 (Boston, 1964), p. 46; John Rowland Powell, *The Navy in the Civil War*, (Hamden, Conn., 1962), p. 200.

⁴⁵¹ These merchants' names are from Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, pp. 179-195, Appendix A, Column 2.

⁴⁵² McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Colonial and General Court*, p. 207; Henry Stevens, *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*, (London, 1967), p. 60.

⁴⁵³ Anon, *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 29, (Boston, 1875), p. 253.

⁴⁵⁴ McIlwaine, *Minutes of the Colonial and General Court*, p. 115.

⁴⁵⁵ Thomas Cunningham, *The Journal of Thomas Cunningham of Campvere, 1640-1654: With his Thrissels-banner and Explication Thereof*, (Edinburgh, 1928).

⁴⁵⁶ Arthur Percival Newton, *The Colonising Activities of the English Puritans*, (New Haven, 1914), p. 60.

also a warden of the Fishmongers Company, along with Isaac Pennington, who became Lord Mayor of London in 1643.⁴⁵⁷

Cunningham and Dyke contributed two ships, one of which, *The Lion*, had already been commissioned as one of the fifteen ships which comprised the Royal Navy.⁴⁵⁸ They did not provide any cash, as their ships were considered to be an adequate contribution.

Cunningham and Dyke's ships never saw service in Ireland, but were deployed off Plymouth in July 1642 to blockade the port.⁴⁵⁹ In January 1643 Cunningham attempted to sell his Sea Adventure investment to Dyke, after the Committee for Irish Affairs ruled that Cunningham and Dyke were not entitled to land, since their ships had not seen service in Ireland. Dyke never paid Cunningham and, giving up any hope of realising any Irish land for his investment, Cunningham gifted his adventure to Maurice Thompson in 1653.⁴⁶⁰

A small group of Sea Adventurers had previously invested in the Massachusetts Bay Company: Thomas Andrews, Thomas Barnardiston, John Bateman, Samuel Browne, George Clarke, George Clement, George Downing, Emmanuel Harvey, Thomas Hutchins and John Perry. These investments were probably made more for religious solidarity than for profit, but the amounts of money were quite small and probably reflect the personal fundraising efforts of Hugh Peter.⁴⁶¹ His account of the campaign in Ireland, printed and sent to 'a leading London merchant', claimed that 'If we had men and money here, I verily believe this Summer would be an end of this Rebellion'.⁴⁶² Most of what is known of the Sea Adventure is from Peter's account, although this was a work of propaganda. Peter describes 'an Irish rebel and an English Cavalier in words and activities we found as unlike as an egg is to an egg' and he added that the Irish rebels assured him that they were all acting in the King's name and that they would all lay down their arms if the King commanded them to do so. Peter's assertions cannot be taken at face value as he also wrote, with considerable exaggeration, that over one million English had been killed in the rebellion.⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁷ William Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London, Vol. II*, (London, 1836), p. 4.

⁴⁵⁸ TNA SP63/488, f. 164.

⁴⁵⁹ TNA SP63/622, f. 181v.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 182.

⁴⁶¹ Rose-Troup, *Massachusetts Bay Company*, pp. 132-162. George Downing, an important figure in the restoration of Charles II, joined Maurice Thompson's circle at this point.

⁴⁶² Hugh Peter, *A True Relation of the present state of Ireland*, (London, May 1642).

⁴⁶³ Hugh Peter, *Brief Observations concerning the Warre and The State of Ireland, both for the raising and laying the Rebellion* (an addendum to *True Relation*), (London, 1642), p. 1.

Peter's account is in general agreement with that of James Cleland, preserved in the 1641 Depositions.⁴⁶⁴ There are, however, considerable differences in emphasis, as Peter depicts a glorious procession through southern Ireland with many victories but makes no mention of any casualties suffered by the Sea Adventurers. In both accounts, the adventurers slaughtered 600 Irish men at Clonakilty on 16 July, but they lost 100 men of their own - a detail omitted by Peter. Both accounts record the attack on Timoleague, County Cork, on 20 July 1642. The castle was home to Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy, a Royalist serving in Galway at the behest of the Earl of Clanricarde. The castle had become a place of refuge for a terrified population sheltering from the Adventurers, who had embarked on a general rampage throughout the countryside, killing whatever people or livestock they could find. As Lady O'Shaughnessy refused to surrender her castle, and the Adventurers' field artillery proved unable to penetrate the walls, they burnt the town and abbey to the ground and made away with all the cattle and horses they could corral before proceeding on to Galway.⁴⁶⁵

The attack on Galway was ultimately a failure. When the flotilla arrived on 23 July the city raised the King's colours and refused to yield. Captain Anthony Willoughby went aboard the *Speedwell* to negotiate with Forbes on behalf of the earl of Clanricarde.⁴⁶⁶ As Willoughby and Clanricarde were friends, and there was no obvious conflict between the city and the fort, Forbes had lost his immediate premise for an attack on the city. News that the King's fleet, under the command of Lord Kettleby, which had already encountered the Sea Adventurers at Kinsale, had left that harbour and was on its way to intervene, caused Forbes to withdraw. The Sea Adventure returned to London. Despite the failure to make any significant impact on the suppression of the Irish rebellion, the voyage demonstrated the ability of the Adventurers to send an expeditionary force to Ireland had they chosen to do so. The situation at home, meanwhile, had changed considerably while their fleet was at sea.

⁴⁶⁴ TCD MSS. 840, The 1641 Depositions, ff. 47r-48v, *Account of the rising in Munster by James Cleland*.

⁴⁶⁵ The attack on Timoleague comprised one of the earliest actions by parliamentary forces against royalist sympathisers, albeit on Irish soil. As the attack took place one month before Charles raised his standard at Nottingham, and was part of an organised campaign. The Sea Adventure can be considered among the earliest engagements of the English Civil War.

⁴⁶⁶ Peter, *God's Providence in a Voyage for Ireland*, p.11.

In London, the Adventurers' main army appeared increasingly unlikely to depart, and alternative arrangements were facilitated by means of a Parliamentary Ordinance of 5 July for the raising of 5,000 men and 500 horses under the command of Philip Lord Wharton.⁴⁶⁷ A budget of £40,000 was approved for its despatch to Ireland, and this project was entrusted to Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer, although nothing came of it.⁴⁶⁸ The Adventurers maintained the appearance of concern for Protestant Ireland but took no practical measures. Thompson and Pennoyer, between 1642 and 1644, provided five additional ships for Irish service, funding the £6,000 cost themselves.⁴⁶⁹ The Sea Adventurers were rewarded with a renewed commission to patrol the Irish coast for the winter of 1642-3, and this cost was charged to the Adventurers for Irish Land. This second outing for the Sea Adventurers was the only significant force sent to Ireland using the funds of the original Adventure. Remaining under the command of Lord Forbes, the Sea Adventurers reverted to their regular trade and anchored in the Shannon estuary during the autumn of 1642, selling stolen tobacco and indigo to Protestants and Catholics alike.⁴⁷⁰ An 'egg was an egg' when it came to the tobacco business.

Most of the Adventurers' treasury had been diverted to the parliamentary war effort, which was bolstered by the recruitment of several Adventurers and their associates to the parliamentary army. On 25 July 1642, George Thompson was commissioned as a captain of horse in the Earl of Essex' army, and Thompson immediately appointed John Coish as his Lieutenant, and William Coish as quartermaster.⁴⁷¹ The Coish brothers were the sons of Richard Coish who adventured £200 in Irish land.⁴⁷² Fellow captains in this army who were Adventurers included Oliver Cromwell, John Allured, Thomas Hammond, Arthur Haslerig, Walter Earl, George Austin, Walter Long, Robert Pye and John Sanders. They served alongside Edwin Sandys, formerly of the Virginia Council, and his Lieutenant, John Cockayne, the son of William Cockayne, Royalist governor of the East India Company. An officer of the Providence Island Company, Sir Gilbert Gerard, was appointed treasurer of the army and Henry Vane Jr was retained as treasurer of the navy. Parliament's military spending was, therefore, under the control of the same merchant group that dominated the raising of its finance.

⁴⁶⁷ A&O, I, pp. 12-13, 'July 1642: Ordinance for raising 5000 Foot and 500 Horse for Ireland.'

⁴⁶⁸ TNA SP 16/539/1, f. 309.

⁴⁶⁹ TNA SP 16/539/2, f. 214.

⁴⁷⁰ TCD MSS 829, The 1641 Depositions, fols. 103r-104v.

⁴⁷¹ TNA SP 28/1/D, f. 142r.

⁴⁷² Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, p. 179.

Although the Adventurers were no longer in the business of sending an army to Ireland at their own expense, they sought to keep a tight grip over the supplies of material intended for those forces there loyal to Parliament. The six months from January to June 1642 saw the gradual takeover of the supply of all money to fight the rebellion in Ireland. In January 1642, orders for supplies and weapons were signed by the earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and passed to Nicholas Loftus, the Deputy Treasurer at Wars for Ireland, for payment.⁴⁷³ Although Loftus was retained as Treasurer, from February 1642 he worked through two factors: George Henly, a major tobacco importer and business associate of Maurice Thompson, and John Hawkrige, who was involved in the ship-brokering and colonial provisioning trades.⁴⁷⁴ From February until April 1642, the payment orders from parliament to Loftus were signed by Henry Elsing, as the orders were emanating from the Committee for Irish Affairs, and not from the Lord Lieutenancy.⁴⁷⁵ From April 1642 onwards the orders were signed by Sir David Watkins, the secretary of the Adventurers' Committee, and now also seconded onto Parliament's Committee for Irish Affairs.⁴⁷⁶ This change indicates that the full house decided to delegate responsibility for raising payments warrants to the Commissioners for Irish Affairs.

The Adventurers, however, had not given up on Ireland and began to explore further methods of raising finance from within their own circle. On 22 August 1642 a House of Commons order authorised the raising of a loan, at 8% interest, for one year, from mariners of the river Thames, for service in Ireland.⁴⁷⁷ The loan raised only a modest sum of £2,340 from 43 contributors, all of whom were connected with Trinity House. The mariners' loan can, therefore, be seen as a Trinity House fundraising drive, probably under the direction of Rainsborough and Maurice Thompson. There were significant contributions of £100 from William Batten, William Ewins, Nathaniel Goodlad, Brian Harrison, John Hemings, Jonas James, Richard Swanly, John Thompson and Anthony Turkin the Older. The remainder of the contributions were far smaller amounts. These investors were mainly

⁴⁷³ TNA SP 28/1A, f. 23.

⁴⁷⁴ TNA SP 28/1D, f. 19.

⁴⁷⁵ The payment orders were technically Parliamentary Ordinances. These had to be validated by Henry Elsing as secretary of the House of Commons.

⁴⁷⁶ Sir David Watkins was married to Honora Fleetwood and was the brother-in-law of Charles Fleetwood. He was well known in Adventurer circles as former treasurer of the Virginia Company, 1622-24. In this role, Watkins was responsible for issuing patents for land on behalf of the company.

⁴⁷⁷ TNA SP 46/443, ff. 83-87 'Money received from diverse mariners upon the River Thames, which they lent for the service of the realm of Ireland for one year at the rate of 8% per annum - according to the order of the commons house of parliament'.

part-owners of ships, ships' masters or masters' mates engaged in the Virginia tobacco trade. William Ewins owned a tobacco plantation in Virginia.⁴⁷⁸ Brian Harrison was yet another merchant mariner on the Virginia run, and William Batten had a trade in shipping indentured servants to the colony.⁴⁷⁹ Batten was appointed Surveyor General of the Navy by Charles I in 1638 and a Commissioner for Navy and Customs by the earl of Warwick in July 1642.⁴⁸⁰ Jonas James was a small-scale tobacco importer, but Richard Swanly was both a major shipper of tobacco and formerly an East India Company captain.⁴⁸¹ In the spring of 1643 Warwick appointed Swanly admiral of the Irish Guard, charged with preventing Irish soldiers crossing the sea to support Charles.⁴⁸² The Mariner's loan did not raise much in comparison with the Sea Adventure, as there were no prizes on offer or Irish land.

The Adventurers for Irish land decided to make a concerted attempt to win over the loyalty of the colonial authorities in Dublin, by joining a delegation from the English parliament, led by the MPs Robert Reynolds and John Goodwin. This expedition was originally planned by Sir Henry Mildmay, a treasurer for the church gate collection for distressed Irish Protestants, but he was commanded by Charles not to go.⁴⁸³ Reynolds was the Adventurers' principal liaison with Parliament and the army, while Goodwin was their liaison with the earl of Warwick and the Navy.⁴⁸⁴ Sir Adam Loftus, the vice-treasurer for Ireland had the closest connection in the Irish Parliament to the Adventurers, as his London-based kinsman, Nicholas Loftus, was the conduit through which money passed to fund the English parliament's military efforts in Ireland. This was not an especially close connection and left the Adventurers at a serious political disadvantage. The delegation arrived in Dublin on 2 November 1642 with £20,000 in cash, with the aim of exploring

⁴⁷⁸ Coldham, *English Adventurers*, p. 19.

⁴⁷⁹ <http://www.virtualjamestown.org/indentures>

⁴⁸⁰ Rif Winfield, *British Warships in the Age of Sail, 1603-1714: Design, Construction, Careers and Fate*, (Barnsley, 2009), introduction, p. xii.

⁴⁸¹ Coldham, *English Adventurers*, p. 78.

⁴⁸² Adrian Tinniswood, *The Rainborowes*, (London, 2013), p. 140.

⁴⁸³ Anon, *A perfect relation or summarie of all the declarations, messages, and answers, passages and proceedings between the Kings Majesty and both Houses of Parliament*, (London, 1642), p. 8. Mildmay married Anne Halliday in 1619, the daughter of William Halliday, governor of the East India Company. Mildmay was also a member of the New England Company and, in 1624, managed the Virginia Colony on behalf of the Privy Council when Maurice Thompson and his partners made their initial investment in a Virginia plantation.

⁴⁸⁴ BL Add MS 4771, f. 6.

how the Adventurers' fund could be put to best use.⁴⁸⁵ The Adventurers' Committee had added Captain William Tucker to the parliamentary delegation, to act as their observer, and on 8 October, the Committee for Irish Affairs raised his status to that of full participant.⁴⁸⁶ Although highly experienced in the areas of punitive military raids and dealing with insurrection, Tucker was an unusual choice as a diplomat. It is most likely that, with his renewed Sea Adventure fleet in Irish waters and further ships patrolling the Irish Sea, Maurice Thompson wanted his brother-in-law to collect intelligence as to how the Adventure could best be progressed. On 3 November, however, the conference between representatives of the English and Irish parliaments broke up after only one day, when news of the battle of Edgehill reached Dublin.⁴⁸⁷

Edgehill occurred on 23 October and it is highly unlikely that the English delegation was unaware of this event. The parliamentary forces at Edgehill were comprised primarily of Lord Wharton's regiment, raised and paid for by the Adventurers for service in Ireland, and also Essex's regiment, funded by the £100,000 loaned to Parliament by the Adventurers. The delegation to Dublin had been approved on 10 September, but there had been no particular urgency relating to its despatch until immediately prior to the battle of Edgehill.⁴⁸⁸ The stated objective of the delegation was to disburse some of the Adventurers' funds and to convince Protestant Ireland to accept payment for their service in Catholic Irish land under the same terms as the Adventurers. Its true purpose, however, reflected a new urgency in parliamentary strategic thinking, which sought to bring the Irish parliament into its fold, and to limit Charles's access to Irish troops. Following some initial discussions concerning a campaign to besiege Wexford, the Earl of Ormond insisted on an immediate recess to assess the situation.⁴⁸⁹ During this recess Tucker attempted to ingratiate himself with Dublin's merchant community by issuing £2,000 worth of bills of

⁴⁸⁵ John Gilbert, *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, Vol II 1641-43*, (Dublin, 1882), p. 171n; BL Add MS 4771, f. 47. Gilbert records that the delegation arrived in Dublin on 9 October 1642, but this is not possible as all three men were, on this date, engaged in London on Committee of Irish Affairs business. The most likely date of departure is 28 October, when Goodwin withdrew £10,000 in plate from the Tower, ostensibly to be brought to the army in Munster.

⁴⁸⁶ C.L. Falkiner, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormond preserved at Kilkenny Castle*, (London, 1903), p. 236; BL Add MS 4771, f. 11.

⁴⁸⁷ Gilbert, *History of the Irish Confederation*, ii, 171.

⁴⁸⁸ Mahaffy, *Adventurers*, introduction, p. xii.

⁴⁸⁹ Gilbert, *History of the Irish Confederation*, ii, 175.

exchange for goods supplied to Protestant forces in Ireland, which could be redeemed for cash by Edward Towse and Samuel Warner in London.⁴⁹⁰

The representatives of the two parliaments met again on 28 November, by which time the differences between the two had crystallised. The Adventurers insisted that their support for forces in Ireland was conditional on those same forces taking the Protestation Oath, to defend the 'true reformed Protestant religion as expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and popish innovations'.⁴⁹¹ On 10 December Sir Thomas Wharton, a brother of Lord Wharton, and Sir Thomas King came forward and undertook to exchange their pay for land, but the delegation, was otherwise unsuccessful.⁴⁹² The parliamentary delegation received its instructions from Maurice Thompson, who appeared to be directing negotiations from London.⁴⁹³ On 21 January 1643 the Lords Justices of Ireland ruled that the English parliamentarians' promise to secure the pay of soldiers on forfeited land was illegal and they voided the arrangements made on 10 December. Reynolds, Goodwin and Tucker began to worry that they would be arrested in Dublin on the King's order, and prepared to abandon their mission.⁴⁹⁴ Fearing that Charles I would bring the war in Ireland to an end without the surrender of the Irish and, in consequence, no Irish land to be distributed, the Adventurers stepped up their political campaign in London. Sir David Watkins and Richard Schute, purporting to be 'designers and managers of the public affairs of the city', delivered a merchant's petition to Parliament in December, opposing any cessation of hostilities with the King in England, fearful that such a cessation would be quickly arranged for Ireland also.⁴⁹⁵ The delegation was unable to receive further instructions from London, as the port of Dublin was blockaded with Royalist ships. When a commission from the king to the marquis of Ormond on 30 January

⁴⁹⁰ BL Add MS 4771, f. 178. With this arrangement, bills of exchange were issued by Maurice Thompson's brother-in-law to be redeemed by William Thompson's father-in-law.

⁴⁹¹ For an analysis of the Protestation Oath see Spraggon, 'Puritan iconoclasm', pp 40-47.

⁴⁹² BL Add MS 4771, f. 91.

⁴⁹³ Gilbert, *History of the Irish Confederation*, ii, 176.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 186.

⁴⁹⁵ Sir David Watkins, *A true copie of the remonstrance and petition, presented to the Honourable the House of Commons assembled in Parliament*, (London, 1642). Watkins was accompanied to parliament by Hugh Peter. The petition had been thrown out by the Common Council and was presented in a personal capacity by Watkins and Schute on behalf of 90 merchants. The Adventurers demonstrated that they were by far the most 'hawkish' faction and the Common Council organised a counter petition, in favour of opening peace negotiations, which attracted 5,000 signatures (Mr. Schute, *The true and original copy of the first petition which was delivered by Sir David Watkins*, (London, 1642), pp. 7-8).

authorised Ormond to negotiate for a cessation of hostilities with the Catholic Irish, the Adventurers' involvement in Irish politics was effectively over. Tucker, for his part, refused to hand over any of the Adventurers' money if there was a risk it would end up with the Catholic Confederates in Kilkenny.

On 3 February 1643 a letter arrived in Dublin from Charles I, ordering the Irish parliament to have no further dealings with the London delegation.⁴⁹⁶ An additional letter to Ormond on 12 February also revoked the delegation's observer status, and they were barred from the chamber of the Council of State.⁴⁹⁷ Additionally, the Irish Parliament, Lords Justice and Privy Council were to receive no further delegations from London. A petition from the delegation to the King on 24 February 1643, requesting him to encourage the Irish Parliament to accept the Adventurers' money and military assistance, was rejected, and the delegation was sent back to London.⁴⁹⁸ The Adventurers' money could not now be channelled through the Irish parliament. Nor, therefore, could the conquest of Ireland be funded by means of financing the Irish government and its army. The Parliamentary delegates in Dublin were probably unaware that in London, the Adventurers had run out of money. On 23 February 1643 the Adventurers' regular meeting in London was attended by Sir John Franklin, the treasurer for delinquent estates in Middlesex. He was there to present a claim from Tobias Norris, a Dublin merchant who was owed £3336.⁴⁹⁹ In order to save the credit of Parliament, it was agreed that Franklin would pay Norris out of money raised on English delinquent estates.

As previously noted, in July 1642 almost half of the wider group of London-based Adventurers also served as collectors of plate, money and horses. During the course of 1642, parliament sought to formalise its sources of finance by establishing financial committees: the leadership of the Adventurers was at the forefront of this effort. The Committee for Advance of Money was created on 26 November 1642, to receive loans secured on the public faith, to finance the parliamentary cause. Although the committee was formed on the instigation of the earls of Essex and Warwick, its affairs were

⁴⁹⁶ C.L. Falkiner, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Ormond preserved at Kilkenny Castle*, vol. II, (London, 1903), p. 287.

⁴⁹⁷ Gilbert, *History of the Irish Confederation*, ii, 196.

⁴⁹⁸ This was William Tucker's last involvement in Irish Affairs. He returned to London and was promoted to the rank of Colonel of the Trained Bands. He was killed at the first battle of Newbury on 20 September 1643 - shot in the head with a cannonball See John Barratt, *The First Battle of Newbury*, (Stroud, 2005), p. 108.

⁴⁹⁹ BL Add MS 4771, p. 195.

dominated by Adventurers for Irish Land.⁵⁰⁰ Money could be advanced on a voluntary or involuntary basis, and the expected contribution was 5% of real estate, or 20% of personal estate; effectively a tax on income.⁵⁰¹ Those who refused to lend would be compelled to pay. The physical collection of the money was contracted to London's Lord Mayor and Sheriffs; respectively the Adventurers Isaac Pennington, Thomas Andrews and John Langham. The Sheriffs, in turn, selected under-sheriffs for each ward who saw to the actual collection of the money and this level was again dominated by Adventurers.⁵⁰² The purpose of the Committee for Advance of Money was to determine who had already contributed to the parliamentary cause through such funds as the Adventure for Irish Land, and to exact payment from those who had not. The work of assessment and the power to enforce payment was devolved by parliament to a committee of citizens; John Foulkes, Thomas Soame, Samuel Vassall, John Venn, Maurice Thompson and Richard Waring. The treasurers were Sir John Wollaston and, once again, the former treasurers for the Adventure for Irish Land; Thomas Andrews, John Towse and John Warner.⁵⁰³ Despite all of these detailed preparations, the Committee for Advance of Money nonetheless failed to bring in the expected amounts.

The Ordinance for Advance of Money was the beginning of the Adventurers' Civil War in the theatre of commerce. A small number of royalist Adventurers and Levant Company merchants were prominent in financing the Additional Sea Adventure but leading merchants of both the East India Company and Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers had kept a low profile. On the night of 29 October 1642, fifty one leading Royalist merchants

⁵⁰⁰ CCAM, I, p. 1; *Journal of the House of Lords*, vol. 6, p. 269. The members of this committee included lords Brooke and Wharton, Walter Long, John Pym, William Spurstowe, William Strode and Samuel Vassall. The ever-present Henry Vane was also a member and the committee was completed by William Purefoy, a brother of Captain Thomas Purefoy, who had been a neighbour of the Thompsons in Elizabeth City. The collectors in London, sitting at the Guildhall were the Adventurers Richard Willett, Henry Coles, Thomas Stock and John Brett. Thomas Vincent, who was not an original Adventurer but became the largest owner of Adventures by 1653, also served as a treasurer on this committee.

⁵⁰¹ CCAM, I, p. 7.

⁵⁰² *Ibid*, pp. 1-2: Robert Sweet, Richard Willett, Hoogan Hovett, Christopher Nicholson, Thomas Leigh, Thomas Lenthall, Thomas Hutchins, Richard Smith, Robert Meade, William Farrington, Mark Hildesley, John Dethick, John Kendrick, Thomas Foote and Edward Vaughan.

⁵⁰³ A&O, I, pp. 38-40, 'November 1642: An Ordinance for the assessing of all such as have not contributed upon the Propositions of both Houses of Parliament, for the raising of Money, Plate, Horse, Horsemen, and Armes, for defence of the King, Kingdom and Parliament, or have not contributed proportionably to their Estates.'

of London were arrested, taken from their homes and disarmed.⁵⁰⁴ These merchants included Sir Henry Garraway, the governor of the Levant Company, who was replaced by Isaac Pennington in 1643.⁵⁰⁵ Sir George Whitmore, Lord Mayor in 1632 and William Acton, whose election as Lord Mayor was successfully opposed by the colonial merchants in 1640, were also held. Arrested members of the General Court of the East India Company included Sir William Middleton, John Cordell, receiver of fines for the Chamber of London, William Garway, a former East India Company factor, and Robert Abdy, the Company's Deputy Governor.⁵⁰⁶ Maurice Thompson's former business partners and rivals, the Stone brothers, were also rounded up.⁵⁰⁷ The suspected Royalist merchants were not held for long or injured, but were certainly intimidated and the Adventurers gained access to their commercial documents. Their combined assessments amounted to £318,000.⁵⁰⁸ Sir David Watkins was appointed as the arbiter for claims, with powers to decide if an assessment was fair and to imprison those who refused to pay.⁵⁰⁹ Subscriptions to the Adventure for Irish Land were offset against the assessment, meaning that the assessment of William Hawkins, for example, was reduced to zero and of Abraham Corsellis reduced from £400 to just £28.⁵¹⁰ Although Maurice Thompson and the citizens committee made assessments totalling £1.4 million from June 1643 to June 1644, the amount collected was only £260,000.⁵¹¹ Friends of the Adventurers received special treatment, and when Richard Boyle, 2nd earl of Cork, was assessed at £5,000 in 1644, with a further £5,000 in unpaid arrears, the entire amount was set aside due to his misfortunes.⁵¹² In London, the collection of assessments at local level was undertaken by Common Councillors.⁵¹³ In February 1645, Sir Arthur Forbes, the returned Sea Adventurer, was appointed 'Discoverer of Delinquents'

⁵⁰⁴ *Manuscripts of The House of Lords*, Vol. 11 (New Series), p. 357.

⁵⁰⁵ Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*, (Oxford, 1935), p. 52.

⁵⁰⁶ For Cordell see Lynn Boothman and Sir Richard Hyde Parker (eds.), *Savage Fortune: An Aristocratic Family in the Early Seventeenth Century*, (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 79.

⁵⁰⁷ Thomas Stone invested £300 in the Adventure for Irish Land and £200 in the Additional Sea Adventure. In 1638, Maurice Thompson imported 38,000 pounds of tobacco from St Kitts, compared with 32,000 for Thomas Stone. There is no obvious political reason for the arrest of the Stones, other than that they were among the very few colonial merchants who could challenge the dominance of the Thompsons. William Stone became governor of Maryland in 1648 and remained in that post until the restoration.

⁵⁰⁸ TNA SP 19/79 (unfol.), No. 26 'Persons returned to the Committee of Examinations in whose houses no distresses could be found to satisfy the sums on them assessed by the ordinance of 29 November 1642'.

⁵⁰⁹ CCAM, I, p. 365.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 17, 351.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid*, p. vii.

⁵¹² *Ibid*, p. 423.

⁵¹³ TNA SP 19/79 (unfol.), No. 29, 'Subscriptions of Common Council'.

in the provinces, a lucrative post with commissions of up to 50%.⁵¹⁴ By October 1645, Forbes' commissions were so great that he was paid with the lands of Dr John Warner, the Bishop of Rochester.⁵¹⁵

With the Royalist merchants and East India Company officers emasculated, the Adventurers moved to participate in the East India Company's planned General Voyage of 1643. The Company had already experienced some problems with Charles, particularly the King's approval of an independent voyage by Sir William Courteen to the Indies in the 1630s, in breach of the Company's monopoly. The East India Company petitioned parliament for a reinstatement of their monopoly in February 1642, which was granted.⁵¹⁶ Sir Nicholas Crispe and Sir Thomas Abdy were forced to sell their shares in the voyage and a host of Adventurers, including Thomas Andrews, William Allen, Gregory Clement, Thomas Chamberlain, Richard Hunt, Thomas Hutchins, John Langham, William Methwold, John Oldfield, John Towse and William Vincent invested in the hitherto closed trade.⁵¹⁷ Of this group, only William Methwold was an established East India Company member. This infiltration of the East India Company's General Voyage was the Adventurers' first major success in breaking the monopolies of the merchant grandees. Maurice Thompson did not invest in the General Voyage as he, with William Pennoyer, had taken over the India business from a bankrupt William Courteen, who fled to the Continent.⁵¹⁸ Taken together, the leadership of the Adventurers for Irish land had taken over the entire Indies trade by the end of the summer of 1642.

In January 1643 the treasurers of the Adventure for Irish Land - Andrews, Halstead, Towse and Warner - were replaced by Thomas Foote, John Kendrick, James Bunce and Samuel Avery, as their role was now one of management rather than collection.⁵¹⁹ The Committee of Adventurers continued to be dominated by the merchants who had emerged to take the lead in Parliamentary finance: Maurice Thompson, Sir David Watkins, John Dethwick, Richard Hill, Samuel Moyer and the book collector, George Thomason.⁵²⁰ The Adventurers' Committee met with the Committee for Irish Affairs to establish an ongoing

⁵¹⁴ CCAM, I, p. 40.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 264.

⁵¹⁶ Coates, 'Impact', p. 111.

⁵¹⁷ TNA SP 19/79 (unfold.), No. 113 'List of Adventurers in the General Voyage'.

⁵¹⁸ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 175.

⁵¹⁹ BL Add MS 4782, ff. 322. Laurence Halstead, the Merchant Adventurer, absconded with £1,000 from the treasury and travelled to Holland, ostensibly to purchase supplies, but did not return.

⁵²⁰ BL Add MS 4669A, f. 1r.

strategy for funding the war in Ireland, and calculated that the Adventure for Irish Land had received £215,000, out of which £143,000 had either been spent on Ireland or promised for payment.⁵²¹ The treasurers had paid out £78,000 and owed £37,000 to the William Hawkins/Maurice Gethin consortium. The balance of the money, £100,000, was loaned to parliament, although much of the resources that had been purchased were also consumed in England. Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer undertook to meet the cost of maintaining the flow of supplies to Ulster and Munster, and both men financed a supply ship to Carrickfergus. Pennoyer, meanwhile, supplied Youghal, the city of Cork, Frekes Castle and Bandonbridge with arms.⁵²² In a separate arrangement, the Committee for Irish Affairs negotiated £1,500 in credit from Maurice Thompson and George Henley for the supply of munitions to Athlone.⁵²³

Thompson and Pennoyer agreed to keep the supply lines to Ireland open, but only on the basis of 30 days credit. The outcome of the meeting between the Adventurers and the Committee for Irish Affairs was that a new Adventure would be required.⁵²⁴ In addition to meeting ongoing demands for funds to pay suppliers in London, the Committee for Adventurers was also under pressure from its Dublin mission to provide credible proof as to how it could meet the costs of an army in Dublin. The Dublin mission had no further funds and was reduced to settling creditors with bills of exchange drawn on the Adventurers in London, whose treasury was empty.⁵²⁵ Powerful merchants, such as Pennoyer with stocks of gunpowder, were able to have themselves moved up the preferment order for payment. Other merchants however, including Michael Casteel, the commissary for Carrickfergus, began to withdraw from supplying goods to Ireland.⁵²⁶

Bulstrode Whitelocke was assigned the task of drafting an ordinance for a new Adventure, which was published on 30 January.⁵²⁷ Whitelocke decided to offer investors a choice between repayment in Irish land, or repayment with interest; reflecting the diminishing chances of an imminent distribution of Irish land. Whitelocke also proposed that the national network of collection agents, established for the £400,000 subsidy in 1640, should

⁵²¹ BL Add MS 4771, ff. 125-6.

⁵²² *Ibid*, ff. 131-135.

⁵²³ NLI MS 14305, p. 193.

⁵²⁴ BL Add MS 4782, f. 136.

⁵²⁵ NLI MS14305, p. 197.

⁵²⁶ BL Add MS 4782, f. 184, 190.

⁵²⁷ A&O, I, pp. 70-73, 'January 1643: An Ordinance for New Loans and Contributions as well from the United Provinces, as from England and Wales, for the speedy relief of the miserable and distressed estate of the Protestants in the Kingdom of Ireland.'

be used to collect the contribution money for Ireland.⁵²⁸ On 7 February the Committee for Irish Affairs decided to publish 4,000 copies of a new ordinance for a loan or contribution for Ireland to be read out in churches, so that the public might be 'stirred up to lend and contribute to so good a work'.⁵²⁹ As bills of exchange continued to pile up in London, and the credit of parliament began, for the first time, to be questioned, the Adventurers moved to bring further sources of finance under their control.

A new group of treasurers was named for what was a new Adventure for Irish Land, comprising Sir Paul Pindar, Michael Casteel, Benjamin Goodwin, John Kendrick, William Pennoyer and Maurice Thompson. Three of the treasurers, Casteel, Pennoyer and Thompson, were involved in the provisioning trade to the English and Scottish armies in Ireland, and were also among the leading creditors of the Adventurers. Casteel was chiefly involved in provisioning Dublin through intermediaries in Chester. Pennoyer maintained supplies to the Boyle-related theatres of war in Munster and Thompson provided armed merchant shipping to cover the entire Irish coastline.⁵³⁰ Benjamin Goodwin was on Parliament's committee for Irish affairs and his brother, Robert, was in Dublin as part of the parliamentary delegation. Sir Paul Pindar was one of the wealthiest men in London - a customs farmer, Levant Company grandee and leading financier of Charles I.⁵³¹ Pindar reflected the belief among the Adventurers that they could still elicit the support of Charles for their new Adventure. He was owed vast sums by the king, including £18,000 for a precious stone - the 'Pindar Diamond'. Charles had pawned this in Holland, but it was now secured on the petty farm for customs on sugar, a commodity which brought him into the orbit of Maurice Thompson and other leading Adventurers. Pindar was no strict monopolist, and was as active as any of the Adventurers in trying to break into the licensed trade of others. For example, William Courteen's vessels for his Indies voyage, the *Bona Esperanza* and *Bona Adventura*, had been leased from Pindar. They were, however, seized in India by the Dutch East India Company early in 1643 at a cost, to Pindar, of £75,000.⁵³² As Thompson and Pennoyer had also invested in Courteen's doomed voyage, Pindar had little option other than remaining friends by joining in their Irish Adventure.

⁵²⁸ BL Add MSs 4782, f. 200. For the List of agents see *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 5, pp. 148-158.

⁵²⁹ BL Add MS, f. 162.

⁵³⁰ For examples see TNA SP/28/1B, ff. 397, 214, 477, 481, 599, 603 and 605.

⁵³¹ Robert Ashton, 'Pindar, Sir Paul (1565/6-1650)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22291>, accessed 5 June 2015].

⁵³² Thomas Lister, *Life and Administration of Edward, First earl of Clarendon* (3 vols., London, 1837-8), ii, 237.

Whitelocke's collection structure had several weaknesses. The leading Adventurers comprised a small circle of lesser merchants known to be opponents of the king, but the loan and contribution for Ireland had to be collected by county committees with which Thompson, Pennoyer and Casteel had no existing relationship apart from some merchants in the western ports. Subscriptions for the new loan were slow to come in. Although the Adventurers were given the remainder of cash from the Relief for Poor Protestants in Ireland from 1642, requests for the payment for goods sent to Ireland, and for soldiers' pay, continued to be bounced between the Committee for Adventurers and parliament.⁵³³ Relations between the Adventurers and the commissaries for Ireland worsened, as William Pennoyer was moved to the front of the payment queue, and Michael Casteel and Anthony Kirle withheld further supplies until some payments were made.⁵³⁴

5,000 printed copies of the ordinance for the contribution for Ireland were finally distributed to the counties in March 1643, but the agents sent from London were not associated with any of the leading Adventurers.⁵³⁵ The distribution of the ordinance did create enough confidence, albeit temporarily, for merchants to resume military supplies to Ireland on foot of letters of credit drawn against the forthcoming contributions. Although £14,000 was collected in London, however, no money came in from the provinces.⁵³⁶ By the middle of 1643 parliament controlled only the south-eastern counties of England, as well as a swathe of territory through the midlands, to the Lancashire coast, and some important western ports. The king's assent to the new bill was not forthcoming, and

⁵³³ BL Add MS 4782, ff. 197-217.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid*, ff. 184, 232, 227. The army in Ireland was supplied by an assortment of commissaries who managed the supply of food, clothing and armaments on a regional basis. Some commissaries were based in England, for example Walter Frost in Chester, and they purchased and collected supplies for shipment to Ireland. Some, for example John Davies in Carrickfergus, were based in Ireland and either received these consolidated shipments or arranged purchase of their own from local, English or Scottish contractors. Military supply contracts were highly lucrative and there was considerable competition between the commissaries, and their circles of suppliers, to acquire the largest share of contracts.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid*, ff. 243-5. The agents were William Jennings, Henry Parker, Robert Bishop, Richard Fitzgarrat, Hugh Adlington, Richard Loake, Anthony Sexbie, John Salmon, Christopher Dobson, Thomas Beale, John Traighton, William Hale, Hugh Roberts, William Franklin, Thomas Price, James Meddon, Christopher Hill, Thomas Rooke, Gilbert Whitehead, Thomas Meade, Humfrey Norton, Owen Thomas and Jenkin Price.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid*, ff. 260-307. George Thompson went from door to door in London persuading people to contribute, but church wardens in London - responsible for collections in their areas - refused to hand over their collections and lists of contributors. Other collections made locally by members of the Adventurers core group, for example the Assessments, were more successful.

parliament's agents were subjected to arrest for attempting to bring copies of the printed ordinance into royalist areas.⁵³⁷ As the ordinance was to be distributed by the church, but the money collected by a committee, further complications arose as some churchmen, for example the Dean of Winchester, refused to publish the ordinance. The mayor of Newport in south Wales collected the money but refused to hand it over to parliament.⁵³⁸ Benjamin Goodwin, who had financed £500 of £2,300 worth of supplies from his own pocket, was obliged to travel to Canterbury to collect the contribution money for repayment.⁵³⁹ In mid-May 1643 Charles sent a letter to parliament, from Oxford, outlining his objections to the new Adventure. The king wanted guarantees that no further funds would be diverted to parliament's forces in England, and that parliament would return the money, which it had already sequestered, to the original Irish adventure. He raised a particular objection to the continuance of the treasurers, Andrews, Towse and Warner, as these individuals were now engaged in orchestrating most of parliament's military fundraising.⁵⁴⁰ Charles was unaware, however, that the treasurers for the new ordinance were in fact Thompson and Pennoyer, whose ships had been rampaging around the Irish coast since the previous July. Had he known this, he may not have troubled himself to reply at all.⁵⁴¹ As it was, parliament did not dignify the king with a response, but the Committee for Irish Affairs claimed that parliament was owed £50,000 in arrears from the Irish campaigns, not the other way around. The January 1643 Loan and Contribution for Ireland duly collapsed, with little to show for it other than the shipping activities of Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer, who would ensure that they got paid out of the contribution money secured by George Thompson in London.

As the Thompson/Pennoyer partnership had proved itself unable to raise funds outside of its immediate circle of colonial merchants and ship-owners, parliament turned for help to the treasurers of the Adventure for Irish land, Samuel Avery, James Bunce, Thomas Foote

⁵³⁷ *Ibid*, f. 332.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid*, f. 298.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid*, ff. 339-340.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid*, ff. 347-348.

⁵⁴¹ The regime in Oxford issued a summons for Thompson and his partners to appear at Oxford, to answer piracy charges relating to a Spanish vessel seized in 1641. The Admiralty judge at Oxford was Richard Zouche, whose brother, John, had moved to Virginia in 1632 to develop an ironworks which failed, with the loss of £1,200 for Zouche and his partners. In 1623 John Zouche was awarded a license to transport 100 servants to his Virginia plantation. This was awarded under the auspices of the Virginia Company and Zouche was possibly a partner in Maurice Thompson's Virginia adventure, organised the same year. See MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, pp. 777-779; *Commons Journal*, vol. 3, p. 170.

and John Kendrick.⁵⁴² A fourth Adventure was launched, with accompanying declarations which made the terms on offer to potential Adventurers even more generous.⁵⁴³ Parliament was getting increasingly desperate for funds for its Irish campaign, as MPs became creditors, holding warrants for repayment from Nicholas Loftus, which could not be converted back into cash.⁵⁴⁴ Existing Adventurers could opt to pay in an additional 25%, on top of the value of their initial Adventure of 1642, and receive twice their initial allocation of land. Adventurers who wished to contribute more than this sum would see their entire Adventure converted from English statute acres to Irish plantation acres - an increase in area of 60% - in addition to a doubling of the rate of land allowed under the new ordinance. Pre-empting any peace agreement between the King and the Irish rebels, the ordinance also laid claim to the land of anyone involved in rebellion, regardless of whether or not they had been pardoned by the king. The cities of Galway, Limerick, Waterford and Wexford, with their liberties, were included in a separate arrangement, with a fixed price assigned to each city, for purchase by an individual Adventurer or a consortium.⁵⁴⁵ Finally, the new Adventurers could select the province in which they wished their land to be drawn. The amount raised, however, proved disappointing, to say the least. Gregory Clement contributed £600; Maurice, George and William Thompson between them, contributed £600. There was little additional interest as a quick return, the pre-requisite for an adventure of any kind, appeared unlikely.

Although their plans for the conquest of Ireland were unravelling, the Adventurers tightened their grip further on parliamentary finance as 1642 drew to a close. The Committee for Advance of Money comprised, in effect, a tax on the assets of merchants who were not part of their network. The purpose of this tax was to collect any money stored in London that had not been loaned voluntarily, either to the Adventure for Irish land or the subsequent collection for plate money and horses. The next step was to seize control of an existing source of state revenue and, on 12 January 1643, the Adventurers

⁵⁴² Foote and Kendrick were now aldermen, and Bunce was sheriff of London - a position which allowed him to instruct the trained bands to enforce payment.

⁵⁴³ A&O, I, pp. 192-197, 'July 1643: An Ordinance for the encouragement of Adventurers, to make new Subscriptions for Towns, Cities, and Lands in Ireland.'

⁵⁴⁴ For example, John Goodwin, Robert Reynolds and John Clotworthy were driven increasingly to accept warrants from the commissaries John Davies and George Wood while Thomas Hazlerigg, the London merchant brother of Arthur Hazlerigg MP, extended an additional £400 in credit to Wood for supplies purchased in London (SP 16, vol. 539 part 2, ff. 30-33).

⁵⁴⁵ Limerick and Waterford were for sale for £30,000 each, Galway £25,000 and Wexford £7,000.

John Foulke, Thomas Andrews, Stephen Estwick, Maurice Thompson, William Allen, and John Russell formed a consortium with Richard Berkeley and John Chambers to become the Commissioners for Customs.⁵⁴⁶ As customs commissioners, and not farmers, the new consortium would receive a commission of 3% from all future customs collected in London. They did not have to make an up-front payment based on expected customs receipts, but instead granted a loan to parliament of £20,000 in return for the franchise. The customs commissioners moved first to halve the customs on tobacco, greatly increasing their profits as importers but reducing the amount of taxation available to parliament. Control of customs also afforded the Adventurers an opportunity to reward their friends with lucrative posts as collectors. For example, Edward Watkins, a brother of Sir David, became Searcher for the Port of London. The job involved searching ships and seizing any undeclared merchandise. The Searcher retained 50% of the value of any goods seized.⁵⁴⁷ The Adventurers had a deep, vested interest in the control of customs as it was they who were England's leading importers. Any reduction in customs, as had already been achieved for Virginia tobacco, would yield larger profits for the importers, assuming the wholesale price at the port remained the same. This would, of course, reduce the amount of revenue for Parliament, that needed to be replaced.

In order to raise the large amounts of money necessary to field a parliamentary army, the Adventurers imported into England the Dutch system of indirect taxation, the Excise. This was a tax on retail sales to be collected locally, and applied to home-produced as well as imported goods.⁵⁴⁸ The excise was intended to pay the army, while customs revenue was reserved for the navy.⁵⁴⁹ Excise was charged on domestic commodities, greatly reducing the reliance on taxation based on commodities imported by the colonial merchants. The excise commissioners were John Towse (an original treasurer for the Adventure), Thomas

⁵⁴⁶ *Mercurius Aulicus*, 15-21 January (London, 1643), p. 6. Berkeley had sold his Virginia Estate to the Thompson/Tucker consortium in 1637; Chambers was a Levant merchant developing trade with William Pennoyer.

⁵⁴⁷ CCAM, I, p. 17.

⁵⁴⁸ By the 1640s, Excise accounted for one third of Dutch State revenue. For the Dutch case see Oscar Gelderblom (ed.), *The Political Economy of the Dutch Republic*, (Farnham, 2009).

⁵⁴⁹ A&O, I, pp. 202-214, 'July 1643: An Ordinance for the speedy Rising and Levying of Moneys, set by way of Charge or new Impost, on the several Commodities mentioned in the Schedule hereunto annexed; As well for the better securing of Trade, as for the maintenance of the Forces raised for the Defence of the King and Parliament, both by Sea and Land, as for and towards the Payment of the Debts of the Common-wealth, for which the Publique Faith is, or shall be given.'. In a concession to the colonial merchants' re-export trade, excise was not levied on imports that were to be exported within three months.

Foot and John Kendrick, (the new treasurers for the Adventure), John Langham (the brother of Adventurer Samuel Langham and Sheriff of London in 1643) and the Adventurer John Lamott, along with merchants Edward Claxton, Thomas Culme and Symon Edmonds.⁵⁵⁰ The excise commissioners were paid fees of 2.5% of all money collected. Although radical in appearance the Excise had a similar function to the replacement of the customs farmers with commissioners. A tax on the retail price of goods has an inflationary effect, increasing the price of the taxed commodity to the consumer. The portion of the retail price must be remitted to the government by the retailer. In the case of the excise of 1643, however, the tax was replacing the monopoly system of the Stuarts, which, by restricting competition, had a similar effect on retail prices.⁵⁵¹ The excise, therefore, probably had a neutral effect on prices as the monopoly system broke down, but centralised yet more power into the hands of the financial committees. Conversely, by attacking monopolies, parliament had reduced its own powers of patronage and transferred these to the committees. The Commissioners had wide powers, including imprisonment for noncompliance, but the money could only be spent on foot of an order of both Houses of Parliament. The excise was levied on as many commodities as feasible, although the most important early sources of revenue were imported cloth, groceries and domestic beer.

In November 1643, Parliament decided on a less confrontational approach than that offered by the Committee for Advance of Money and established the Committee for Compounding that offered those assessed an opportunity to negotiate a settlement with the commissioners. It sat at Goldsmith's Hall and became the most important instrument of military finance during the English civil wars. The treasurers were the Adventurers, Michael Herring and Richard Waring. Waring was also a member of the Sea Adventurers'

⁵⁵⁰ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 379, Langham and Edmonds had been involved in both the official Levant Company trade and the unofficial Levant trade with William Pennoyer in the 1630s. The Culmes were undertakers in county Cavan during the Ulster Plantation, and Arthur Culme rose to Lieutenant Colonel in the parliamentary army in Ireland in 1648. See also TNA SP 16/539/4 f.181.

⁵⁵¹ The case of soap is illustrative. Charles became a shareholder in a soap-making monopoly, and imposed a price maintenance order in 1636 to maintain his own dividend on soap production, of £4 per ton. The monopoly supplanted the London soap-makers, along with those in other centres of production, leading to the imprisonment of soap-makers and merchants who refused to pay a levy to the monopoly. One of the imprisoned soap-makers was Richard Rogers, who became an Adventurer for Irish Land and financed the contributions of several other Adventurers. Harold Matthews, *Proceedings, Minutes and Enrolments of the Company of Soapmakers 1562-1642*, (Bristol, 1940), pp. 3-8; TNA, SP 63, vol. 299 f. 211.

Committee while Herring was a member of the Committee of Adventurers for Irish Land. The Committee for Compounding was supervised by a parliamentary committee, again dominated by Adventurers: John Ashe, Denis Bond, John Browne, John Clotworthy, William Ellis, William Gerard, Robert Goodwin, John Gurdon, Arthur Haslerig, John Holland, Robert Reynolds, Oliver St John and William Spurstowe. The only member of the Committee for Compounding who was not an Adventurer for Irish Land was Henry Vane and he was present on the Committee only to ensure that the Navy received a reasonable share of the proceeds.⁵⁵² The idea of the compounding arrangement was that once an assessment had been agreed and paid, the payee would be safe from any further assessment by the Committee for Advance of Money. The assessments were made by Sir David Watkins, Jerome Alexander, Richard Shute, William Thompson and Samuel Moyer. William Thompson was also assigned to the Committee for Scottish Affairs at Goldsmiths Hall, a point of contact to ensure the payment of the Scottish army in Ireland.⁵⁵³

Any person who compounded but did not then pay was considered to be a delinquent, and their property could be sold at public auction unless the amount due from their assessment had been raised. The critical difference between making a payment through Advance of Money, as opposed to through Compounding, was that contributions to the former were interest-bearing loans to parliament, albeit with only a vague promise of repayment. Compounders, in contrast, although they could negotiate to pay less, would never see their money again. Compounders and delinquents, however, could hold out hope of redress when Charles returned to London, whereas, in this scenario, loans made exclusively to Parliament were unlikely to ever be repaid. The Adventure for Irish Land, therefore, was unique in 1642-3 as a source of parliamentary finance, in that it was also guaranteed by a royal signature.

The various parliamentary funding schemes had many personnel in common, and parliament allowed debt to be moved from one fund to another. In addition, if a debt could not be immediately repaid, it could be converted into an annuity for life.⁵⁵⁴ The Adventurers, with their colonial experience, were well used to alternative forms of

⁵⁵² J. R. Powell, and E. K. Timings, (eds.), *Admiralty Documents relating to the Civil War*, (London, 1963), p. 40. The Navy Commission had been appointed in November 1642, and comprised Vane and Giles Green, with the Adventurers Alexander and Squire Bence, Richard Crandley, John Morris, John Rolle and Samuel Vassall. The other members of the Navy Commission - William Batten, Phineas Pett and John Tweedy - spent most of their time at sea, so the Navy was effectively run by the Adventurers.

⁵⁵³ CCAM, I, pp. 1-8.

⁵⁵⁴ D'Maris Coffman, 'New Jerusalem', p. 1426.

currency; primarily tobacco, as a physical currency, but also the widespread use of bills of exchange drawn on one another which had the characteristics of a form of paper money. Commercial paper and government paper have much in common, the most important characteristic being trust that the paper will hold its purchasing power. The innovative use of paper by the Adventurers gave the parliamentarians the purchasing power necessary to create a fiscal state, which could then challenge the real wealth of the king. The regular meeting of the Adventurers for Irish Land at Grocers Hall was the point of contact between the treasurers of all of these financial committees, as at least one treasurer from each committee also sat on the Adventurers' committee. The treasurers of Customs, Excise, Advance of Money and Compounding all issued paper in return for real money loaned to parliament. This paper, which normally bore a rate of interest, was to be redeemed for the real money collected by the various committees at some point in the future.

As parliament could move this paper around at will, and as long as its creditors believed that one day they would be repaid (or had little choice in the matter), the ability of paper to multiply, and to guarantee far more than the currency currently available, created a purchasing power which greatly exceeded the resources of the individual Adventurers. Maurice Thompson and his friends may have become wealthy with their tobacco and servant business, along with occasional raids on the Guinea coast, but they had nowhere near the wealth of the either the royalist merchants or landowning peers.⁵⁵⁵ The use of paper as a substitute for real wealth placed the Parliamentary financiers on more equal terms with their Royalist counterparts, as Parliament purchased supplies with paper promissory notes. This innovative use of paper is normally credited to eighteenth century American revolutionary armies, but, by 1643 the Adventurers were demonstrably operating a similar paper system, which had evolved from merchants' bills of exchange.⁵⁵⁶ The idea of the bill of exchange was not a new one, and the instrument was widely used by Italian merchants in the fourteenth century. A Dutch innovation, the Exchange Bank of Amsterdam, founded in 1609, added much needed liquidity to the Dutch financial system, and created a general market for bills of exchange which was enthusiastically embraced by merchants. The English colonial merchants, with very close commercial and familial ties to the Dutch financial markets, had now established an exchange in all but name, using the

⁵⁵⁵ For a list of London merchants, ranked by wealth or 'ability to lend' see TNA SP 16/453, ff. 116-165. Of the leading Adventurers, only Maurice Thompson and Sir David Watkins were ranked as 'first class'.

⁵⁵⁶ John Kenneth Galbraith, *Money, Whence It Came, Where It Went*, (London, 1995), pp. 45-62.

credit of the English Parliament which was at their disposal. Perhaps without realising it, they had created a primitive form of central bank.

The Dutch were invited to subscribe to the original Adventure for Irish Land, although no subscriptions were forthcoming.⁵⁵⁷ The 30 January 1643 ordinance also included an invitation for the Dutch to invest but, again, to no avail. Parliament returned to the issue of obtaining supplies in the Dutch Republic for use in Ireland with the publication on 29 July of an ordinance appointing Maurice Thompson, Thompson's brother-in-law and member of the English East India Company, Nicholas Corsellis, and two Dutch merchants living in London (Derrick Hoast and Adam Laurence) to travel there to raise funds.⁵⁵⁸ The Dutch Adventure was an admission by parliament that they had 'not been able to afford to the Protestants in Ireland such supplies as was necessary for them' but it successfully raised £31,000, which was spent on supplies.⁵⁵⁹ This Adventure also created a substantial Dutch interest in the colonisation of Ireland, as the amount invested represented over 10% of the total Adventure for Irish Land. The Dutch collection agents provide further insight into the international world of the Adventurers, and the many ways in which they were linked. Of the four named agents, two, Bouden Courteen and Jeronimo Asheman, were in Middelburgh, in Zeeland province. Asheman was involved with the Adventurers for Lewis, a Dutch fishing colony established on the Isle of Lewis in the Hebrides in the 1620s. He was also associated with the Dunkirk privateers, the scourge of the English merchant navy and a crucial supply source for the Irish Confederates. Bouden Courteen had inherited part of the English family's colonial business following the death of Sir William Courteen in 1636. He had become a director of the Dutch West India Company, with colonial interests in the Caribbean adjacent to the islands dominated by the Thompsons and their associates.⁵⁶⁰ Maurice Thompson, Nicholas Corsellis, Hoast and Lawrence were all

⁵⁵⁷ Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, p. 51.

⁵⁵⁸ A&O, I, pp. 220-221, 'July 1643: Ordinance appointing Commissioners to receive Subscriptions in Holland for Ireland.'. Hoast was a potential lender of 'the best sort' in 1641, one of the wealthiest men in London.

⁵⁵⁹ Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English affairs...*, (London, 1732), p. 329. For an account of the collection of these supplies see Ole Peter Grell, 'Godly Charity or Political Aid? Irish Protestants and International Calvinism, 1641-1645', *Historical Journal* 39, (1996), pp. 743-753.

⁵⁶⁰ Allan A. MacInnes and Arthur H. Williamson, *Shaping the Stewart World 1603-1714-The Atlantic Connection* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 245-255. There was a pronounced Scottish influence in the population and governance of the Dutch Leeward Islands, similar to the Irish influence in the Leeward Islands, controlled by England. The presence of Dutch ships in Cork, buying servants, indicates that Cork was as important to the Dutch Caribbean

involved in William Courteen's East Indian project in the 1630s, financed by Paul Pindar.⁵⁶¹ Thompson and the Anglo-Dutch merchants, with their feet firmly under the Courteen table, had not joined with the other leading Adventurers in their intrusion of the English East India Company in 1643.

The original Dutch coloniser of St Eustatius and Tobago was Pieter van Corsellis, from a branch of the Corsellis family which had remained in Middelburgh. Corsellis arrived in Tobago in 1635 and established a colony on the island, before moving it to St Eustatius a few months later. This colony was a success, and St Eustatius began shipping tobacco to Flushing, now Vlissingen, by 1637, before making the shift to sugar production in the 1640s. Both islands were included in Carlisle's general grant of the Leeward Islands, a grant ignored by the Dutch. Despite the conflicting claims of the English and Dutch, all of the Leeward Islands were managed by the combined Corsellis/Thompson families, who operated with a degree of independence from their colonial patentees.⁵⁶² Like the Providence Island Company, the Dutch West India Company derived most of its revenues from privateering, and was less interested in growing and shipping tobacco.⁵⁶³

The two remaining Dutch collectors, William Watson and Jonas Abbells, resided in Amsterdam and were associated with the English Reformed Church there, through Hugh Peter.⁵⁶⁴ Abbells had lived in London during the 1610s, and pioneered the trade in Spanish tobacco from Trinidad to London, before viable crops were produced in the English colonies.⁵⁶⁵ The Dutch Adventure for Protestant Ireland was grounded in a plea for religious solidarity. The general Assembly of Divines at Westminster delivered a special petition to both houses of parliament on 4 August 1643, praying for the success of the mission, with the plea that 'In the past four months the papists have killed 154,000

merchants as a provisioning stop and source of indentured labour, as it was to the Londoners.

⁵⁶¹ Grell, 'Godly Charity or Political Aid?', p. 748.

⁵⁶² Cornelius Ch. Gosling, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and the Wild Coast*, (Gainsville, FL., 1972), pp. 262-265.

⁵⁶³ Abraham Corsellis, the father of Nicholas, was a member of a consortium of merchants, who loaned money to Randal Mac Donnell, Marquis of Antrim in the 1630s. This debt was partly redeemed with income from the sale of the King's goods in the 1650s (Jane Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms*, (Cambridge, 2001), p. 252).

⁵⁶⁴ Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism, a history of the English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (Leiden, 1982), pp. 6, 67.

⁵⁶⁵ K. R. Andrews, 'The English Tobacco Trade in Trinidad and Guiana 1590-1677' in K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny and P. E. H. Hair (eds.), *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650*, (Liverpool, 1978), pp. 124-150.

Irishmen. Imagine what they did in the previous seventeen months'.⁵⁶⁶ A further ordinance of 5 October allowed the four English treasurers of the Dutch Adventure to negotiate for funds individually, and Maurice Thompson left the three Anglo-Dutch commissioners to arrange the supplies of aid for Ireland and set about conducting some business of his own.⁵⁶⁷ The supplies were collected in Amsterdam by Watson and Abbells, and arrived at Duncannon, County Wexford, in January 1644.⁵⁶⁸ The work of the commissioners was not helped by the simultaneous presence of Hugh Peter in Amsterdam, who was attempting to purchase arms for the English parliament, despite an embargo by the Dutch States General.⁵⁶⁹ To many Dutch administrators, the collection for Ireland was yet another attempt to raise arms for England, using the Irish rebellion as the excuse.

Maurice Thompson's business in Amsterdam concerned the purchase of a sugar mill, as he and his partners had decided to establish a sugar plantation on Barbados.⁵⁷⁰ The Dutch, led by the West India Company, had, in 1630, taken control of the Portuguese sugar-producing colony of Pernambuco in Brazil and, with it, the technology which enabled the establishment of integrated plantations. These plantations both grew and refined the crops. The most direct access to this technology was through the Dutch colonial adventurers, who had returned to Holland from the Caribbean, most notably Pieter van Corsellis.⁵⁷¹ As with so many of the Adventurers' activities, cheap Irish land was a good way to open the doors of Dutch merchants, who may have been otherwise reluctant to allow English merchants

⁵⁶⁶ Chad van Dixhoorn (ed.) *The Minutes and papers of the Westminster Assembly 1643-52*, (5 vols, Oxford, 2012), iv, 15.

⁵⁶⁷ *Lords journal*, vi., 244.

⁵⁶⁸ TNA SP 16/539/3, f 184. A further consignment was despatched by Watson via the Kentish Downs and assigned to John Davies for delivery to Carrickfergus (BL Add MS 6749A, ff. 10-11v).

⁵⁶⁹ Grell, 'Godly Charity or Political Aid?', p. 748; TNA SP84/157, f. 180.

⁵⁷⁰ *House of Lords Journal*, Vol. 9, p. 50. The Adventurers and merchants concerned are: Thomas Andrews, Maurice Thompson, William Pennoyer, Martin Noell, Richard Bateson, Jeremy Blackman, Nicholas Butler, Richard Chambers, James and Thomas Cooke, Michael Davison, Thomas Frere, Elias Roberts, George Pasfield, Thomas Walker, John Webster and John Vincent.

⁵⁷¹ Evidence of the cultivation of sugar in Barbados around 1643 is through the first use of sugar as a currency on the island which began in 1644, and became the sole commodity used as a currency by 1649. The doubling of Barbadian land prices between 1638 and 1642 suggest that the investors could see the potential for the island. The population of Barbados surpassed that of Virginia throughout the 1640s (Menard, *Sweet negotiations*, pp. 18-27).

access to their technology and trade.⁵⁷² Maurice Thompson's Dutch connections always came to the fore at critical moments from 1643 until the restoration of Charles II in 1660.

Although the Adventurers were rooted in maritime trade, and especially trade with the Americas, the Adventure for Irish Land was also a Puritan undertaking with links to Calvinist churches in London. In June 1643 Parliament summoned an Assembly of Divines. This, subsequently, became the Assembly of Westminster, and sat until April 1653. It had responsibility for the reformation of the Protestant church and all of the Puritan peers of the Providence Island Company were represented there, along with Edward Lord Conway, who have led the parliamentary expedition to Ulster, and Philip Lord Wharton, the intended commander of the Adventurers' army. A significant number of Divines from London and the Home Counties, two thirds of the total, were Adventurers for Irish Land, including Cornelius Burgess, Jeremiah Burroughs, Richard Byfield, Calybut Downing, Thomas Hodges, Stephen Marshall, John Maynard, Obadiah Sedgwick and Thomas Young.⁵⁷³ Complementing the Adventurers on the Westminster Assembly was William Gouch, a Puritan pastor and activist in London, who organised collections for Calvinist exiles from the Palatinate and also adventured £100 for Ireland.⁵⁷⁴ In 1632 Maurice Thompson had sent money to Calvinist exiles in Germany via St Augustine's, the Dutch reformed church in London.⁵⁷⁵ This was a dangerous action to take in public, considering his recent imprisonment by the Privy Council over his illegal incursion into Canada. Nicholas Corsellis was Deacon of St Augustine's, rising to Elder in 1647, and Nathaniel Shute, the brother of Richard, its pastor.⁵⁷⁶

On 12 September 1643 Parliament passed an Ordinance prohibiting the transport of any person from Ireland to England, with the exception of merchants carrying a license to

⁵⁷² Maurice Thomson was frequently in Holland, and, apparently, enjoyed very good relations with the Dutch authorities. He travelled to Rotterdam and purchased a frigate for Warwick's fleet in February 1643 (Commons Journal 24 Feb 1643). During his December visit, on behalf of the Adventurers, he had a Royalist ship laden with ammunition, the *George*, stopped at Rotterdam, until parliament could procure an ordinance purporting the ship to be theirs (TNA SP 16/539/2, f. 109).

⁵⁷³ Van Dixhoorn, *Minutes and papers* iv, 170-175.

⁵⁷⁴ Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ, a Calvinist network in Reformation Europe*, (Cambridge, 2011), p. 183.

⁵⁷⁵ Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, p. 221.

⁵⁷⁶ Ole Peter Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in early Stuart London: The Dutch Church at Austin Friars 1603-42*, (London, 1989), pp. 260-262.

travel recorded in the Committee of Adventurers' 'Private Book'.⁵⁷⁷ A further call for loans of £14,000 to finance the London militias was made the same day. The Royalist armies, however, bolstered by an influx of troops from Ireland, could not be defeated using London's resources alone. These resources were being diluted, as merchants with Royalist sympathies would no longer endure rough treatment at Parliament's hands. Parliament's response was an alliance with the Scottish Covenanters, and the signing, on 25 September, of the Solemn League and Covenant, the purpose of which was to provide Parliament with access to Scottish troops to use against Royalist troops in the North of England.⁵⁷⁸ These troops would have to be paid, so Parliament formed a special committee which summoned the leading Adventurers to discuss a loan of £100,000.⁵⁷⁹ These Adventurers, now central to Parliament's hopes for a military victory, included Maurice Thompson, John Oldfield, Richard Shute, Christopher Pack, Michael Herring, Richard Waring, John Bateman and Sir David Watkins. They agreed to provide £50,000 within six days, securing a commitment, by the Scots, to be in England by the middle of November.⁵⁸⁰ The only merchant on the committee to fund the Scottish army who was not an Adventurer for Irish Land was Sir William Alexander, formerly Secretary of State for Scottish affairs. He was also involved in Maurice Thompson's Kent Island project, with a view to using it as a provisioning station for his Newfoundland fur enterprises.⁵⁸¹ It was suggested that the Scottish forces would be paid, in part, in Irish land at the same rates as the Adventurers.⁵⁸² Expenditure on the Scots' engagements in England dwarfed the money spent in Ireland. Direct Scots' expenditure in Ireland was minimal, amounting to less than £35,000 between 1639 and 1651, compared with the £1.1 million spent on entering England (1644-1647), or the £600,000 spent on the Bishops' Wars (1639-1640). The English Parliament sent £1.25

⁵⁷⁷ *Mercurius Civicus*, p. 124 (London, 1643); BL Add MS 4771, p. 192; Carte MSS 195, f. 173. Crispe attempted to have a debt for £2,195 for the hire of his ship, the *Good Hope*, for the Additional Sea Adventure written into the Act of Explanation in 1664.

⁵⁷⁸ *Mercurius Civicus*, p. 143, (London, 1643).

⁵⁷⁹ Parliamentary Archives HL/PO/JO/10/1/130, 29 July 1642.

⁵⁸⁰ Bond, p. 358. John Oldfield was a kinsman of Maurice Thompson as Oldfield's son, William, had married Thompson's daughter, Mary, in 1641. The parliamentary committee was very similar in composition to the various committees for Ireland, John Ash, Denis Bond, John Clotworthy, Gilbert Gerard, John Goodwin, Arthur Haslerig, John Holland, William Spurstowe and Henry Vane.

⁵⁸¹ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 123.

⁵⁸² David Stevenson, *Scottish Covenanters and the Irish Confederates*, (Belfast, 1981), p. 144.

million to Scotland (1639-1651), a figure which comprised half of all Scottish government income.⁵⁸³

Parliament published what were alleged to be Charles I's terms for a peace treaty with the Irish rebels on 30 September, which foreshadowed serious financial losses for the Adventurers in Irish land.⁵⁸⁴ Opposition to a cessation in Ireland was largely driven by the Adventurers, who appointed a special subcommittee to petition against it, using Robert Reynolds as their spokesman in Parliament.⁵⁸⁵ Although Parliament did not support a settlement in Ireland, the cessation between royalists and confederates was nonetheless a crushing blow. An intelligence letter, sent on 14 October 1643 by Sir Edward Nicholas in London to Colonel Henry Hastings in the King's entourage, included the observation that '...the rebels at London are extremely dejected, all their last hope being with their blessed brethren the Scots. They have lately sent away a ship to New England laden with 300 chests to the value of at least a million of money, as it is thought. I hope they will not stay long after them'.⁵⁸⁶

The introduction of the Scottish Army into the Civil War in England, and the potential for their service to be repaid in Irish land, resulted in the merging of the Adventurers' Committee and Parliament's Committee for Irish Affairs.⁵⁸⁷ In addition to giving the Adventurers a direct role in formulating parliament's policy for Ireland, this arrangement enabled the Adventurers to raise further funds for the conquest of Ireland on the public faith. Given that their treasurers also acted as treasurers for all of the important sources of parliamentary funding, and that their committee-men were also represented on all of the committees which decided how any money raised could be spent, the Adventurers could protect their investment and ensure that no further funds needed to be secured against Irish land. From this point forward the conquest of Ireland would be paid for with money secured on English assets.

As 1643 drew to a close and the chances of a quick conquest of Ireland receded, the Adventurers returned to their colonial interests and sought to bring the American colonies

⁵⁸³ These figures for Scottish expenditure are from Laura A. M. Stewart, 'Fiscal evolution and state formation in mid seventeenth-century Scotland', *Historical Research*, 74:225 (August, 2011), pp. 443-469.

⁵⁸⁴ *Mercurius Civicus*, p. 147-8, (London, 1643).

⁵⁸⁵ *Journals of the House of Lords*, Vol. 6, p. 202. The sub-committee was led by Sir David Watkins and Michael Herring.

⁵⁸⁶ Francis Bickley (ed.), *Report on the Manuscripts of the late Reginald Rawdon Hastings*, (London, 1930), ii, 106.

⁵⁸⁷ BL MSSADD 4769A, f. 3v.

under parliamentary control. Following a lobbying campaign by the Adventurers, on 2 November 1643 Parliament confirmed the earl of Warwick as Governor in Chief and Lord High Admiral over all of the American colonies.⁵⁸⁸ A Commission for the Colonies was established, which bore a remarkable resemblance to the Committee for Irish Affairs of January 1642. It comprised the MPs Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Arthur Haslerig, Benjamin Rudyard, John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, Denis Bond, Miles Corbett, Cornelius Holland, William Spurstowe, Samuel Vassal, John Rolle and Henry Vane. In addition to Warwick, the peers on the commission included the earls of Pembroke and Manchester, and Lords Saye and Sele and Roberts, all of whom had been connected with the Providence Island Company; and Lord Wharton, who had been in command of the Adventurers' army. The commissioners had the power to appoint each colonial governor, although this power was exercised with some difficulty, until a naval expedition, financed by Maurice Thompson, forced the colonies to accept the jurisdiction of the commission in 1651.

Central to the Adventurers' financial concerns at the end of 1643 was the rise to pre-eminence of Barbados as the engine of future profits in the Atlantic world. A small number of Adventurers had been quietly developing their plantations on the island, and were ready to switch production from the established crops of cotton, indigo and tobacco to the far more profitable and labour intensive sugar. This change in production generated ongoing supply and policy challenges for both the planters and policy-makers. It would also, however, provide the enormous profits necessary to maintain both the parliamentary and colonial projects. Although the financial returns from the Virginian tobacco monopoly in the 1630s were impressive, the returns from Barbadian sugar in the 1640s would be spectacular. The substantially Thompson-managed colonies of Montserrat and St Kitts had placed themselves under the protection of James Ley, earl of Marlborough, who was appointed Admiral of the Royalist fleet at Dartmouth.⁵⁸⁹ The earl of Carlisle's overall patent to the Caribbean was, due to his support for the King, in the process of being sequestered by Parliament, and additional proceedings were underway in the court of Chancery for the collection of the first earl's debts, owing since his death in 1636. The governorship of Barbados had been assumed by Phillip Bell, formerly a governor of

⁵⁸⁸ A&O, I, pp. 331-333, 'November 1643: Ordinance for the Government of the Plantations in the West Indies'.

⁵⁸⁹ Sarah Barber, *The Disputatious Caribbean – The West Indies in the Seventeenth Century*, (Basingstoke, 2014), pp. 70-74. The Leys and James Hay, earl of Carlisle had originally been business partners in the early development of the Caribbean colonies, although Carlisle managed to assert a sole, if disputed, proprietorship. Ley established a short-lived colony on St Croix, Virgin Islands, in the 1640s.

Providence Island. Despite the apparent neutrality of the island in terms of the English civil war, Barbados was firmly under the control of Warwick and his agents and the initial project to convert the island from cotton and tobacco to sugar was led by Thomas Andrews, Martin Noell, William Pennoyer and Maurice Thompson. The development of the sugar industry required the introduction of technology developed by the Dutch.

The Adventurers, encouraged by the prospect of Dutch finance, decided to strike out on their own in pursuit of the conquest of Ireland. In December 1643 the Adventurers circulated leaflets among the Protestant armies in Ulster, opposing the cessation, and encouraging soldiers to take the Solemn League and Covenant.⁵⁹⁰ On 4 January 1644 the Adventurers' committee in London published a new policy for Ireland, rejecting the cessation, and undertaking to pay any soldier who took the oath, with £10,000 made available immediately for that purpose. New shoes and clothing would be provided, at the Adventurers' expense, as a reward to any soldier who opposed the cessation. These supplies were to be provided by the Dutch.⁵⁹¹ This critical decision, to maintain the war in Ireland, despite a cessation agreed by the King, was taken by the Committee for Irish Affairs, following its merger with the Committee of Adventurers on 27 November 1643.⁵⁹² Although the merged committee included the 24 MPs, named by Parliament to the Committee of Irish Affairs, alongside an additional twenty merchants on the Committee of Adventurers, the decisions were taken by the following core group of twelve members: John Goodwin, John Clotworthy, John Reynolds, John Vaughan, Maurice Thompson, George Thompson, William Hawkins, Gregory Clement, Thomas Ayers, Henry Featherstone, Richard Floyd and Richard Leader.⁵⁹³ The meetings of the old parliamentary committee had shrunk in size following the cessation, and were only attended by a small group of MPs; John Clotworthy, John Goodwin, William Masham, Robert Pye, William Allanson and Cornelius Holland, with others attending sporadically.⁵⁹⁴ The Committee of Adventurers, on the other hand, comprised the giants of parliamentary finance, who could raise loans for Ireland, secured on any of the funds within their control. As part of their

⁵⁹⁰ C.L. Falkiner, *Ormonde*, II, p. 340.

⁵⁹¹ BL Add MS 4769A, f.4.

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*, f. 2.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, f. 4v. Ayers, Clement, Featherstone, Floyd, Leader and the Thompsons were all members of significant Virginia planter families in the 1620s (MacCartney, *passim*). Floyd was formerly High Sheriff of Providence Island in the 1630s and Captain Gov *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, ernor of Association Island (Tortuga) where he pioneered the English use of male and female African slaves for land-clearance projects. See also Kupperman, *Providence Island*, p. 167.

⁵⁹⁴ TNA SP 16/539/2, ff. 13-20.

efforts to oppose the cessation in Ulster, the Adventurers began, in the late autumn of 1643, channelling large sums into the province, even though there had been no new subscriptions to the Adventure since the previous July.⁵⁹⁵ The large debt outstanding to the William Hawkins/Richard Turner consortium was transferred to the Committee for Sequestrations on 26 October, with a long repayment schedule of £1,000 per month.⁵⁹⁶ The Adventure for Irish Land, therefore, was transformed into an Adventure for English land, as repayment was now dependent on the sequestration of the estates of Catholics and royalists in England to finance the arrears and forthcoming expenditure for parliament's campaign in Ireland.

The Adventurers proposed, by way of a petition delivered to parliament on 9 January 1644, a new plantation of Ulster, intended to 'support the forces there that oppose the cessation'.⁵⁹⁷ Commissioners were to be sent to the nine counties of Ulster and County Louth to identify all landowners who had been in rebellion, or had committed treason against Parliament. The forfeited lands would be surveyed and divided between the Adventurers and the parliament of Scotland, with the Adventurers' Committee responsible for deciding which of their number would be awarded lands. The Ulster Adventure would be opened for new subscribers, and existing Adventurers could top-up their subscriptions, to ensure they received large estates. Finally, all church land would be seized, and clergy replaced by nominees of the Adventurers and Committee for Scottish Affairs in London. To placate the Irish Society, owner of the Londonderry Plantation on behalf of the London Companies, an additional fund was proposed, managed by the Company of Salters, which would allow the London Companies to extend their plantation lands in Derry at the Adventurers' rates.⁵⁹⁸

An advantage for the Adventurers with their new scheme was that it encroached on the military supplies business of John Clotworthy and his agent and commissary general for Ulster, John Davies. Clotworthy had recommended Davies for the post of commissary for Carrickfergus, responsible for the purchase of all supplies for the Scots and Protestant Irish

⁵⁹⁵ NLI MS 14305, ff. 234-7.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 238.

⁵⁹⁷ BL Add MS 4769A, ff. 6-10.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 14; TNA SP 16/539/2, f. 9 The London Companies had contributed to the defence of Derry with loans in 1642-43. They were, perhaps, somewhat aggrieved that £620 had been paid to the Adventurer -and now Customs Commissioner -Francis Allen, for a jewel sent to the earl of Ormond for his 'faithful service against the rebels'.

armies in Ulster, the Derry plantation excepted.⁵⁹⁹ Davies was highly competent, and had worked well both with the Adventurers and Nicholas Loftus in London for the procurement of supplies for English forces, and also with Scottish merchants, obtaining supplies for the Scots forces in Ulster.⁶⁰⁰ According to the Adventurers, Davies had brought in supplies worth £160,000 between December 1642 and October 1644 and had made a profit, at the army's expense, of at least £15,000 plus a commission of £9,600.⁶⁰¹ Clotworthy and Davies were also making money at the delivery side, charging soldiers for food at local rates, and accepting payment in vouchers for future rents from their commanders. The Adventurers would later claim that Davies' profiteering was the reason why the forces in Ulster never advanced beyond their own territories.⁶⁰² To separate the two sides, parliament ordered that money owed by Davies to Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer be transferred to the treasurers for the Adventure for payment.⁶⁰³ For the time being, Thompson's Dutch contributors were keeping Carrickfergus adequately supplied, and in May 1644 the Dutch delivered £1,000 in silver, with substantial quantities of food and clothing, to the garrison.⁶⁰⁴ The Dutch intervention allowed some breathing space for parliament to deal with the Adventurers' demands.

It became clear that the Adventurers had over-reached themselves and had begun to irritate their friends in parliament. Thomas Barrington and William Heveningham were recalled from Essex and Norfolk respectively, where they had been collecting money raised for Ireland on the subsidy of January 1643, and tasked with disciplining the Adventurers.⁶⁰⁵ Stephen Estwick, for example, had been paid £4,000 by the army treasurer, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, for clothes supplied to the Essex regiment on its formation in 1642. These had, however, simply been removed by Estwick from the Adventurers' stores in London and he had been paid for the same goods twice, by Gerrard and the Adventurers.⁶⁰⁶ Most of the money collected for the January 1643 contribution for Ireland, problematic as the

⁵⁹⁹ TNA SP 28/1B, ff. 358, 360.

⁶⁰⁰ TNA SP 28/139, ff. 13-14.; 1C, f. 603; 1D, f. 128. In a single month, July 1642, Davies brought in six cargoes of supplies to Carrickfergus.

⁶⁰¹ Anon, *The State of the Irish Affairs for the Honourable members of the Houses of Parliament as they lye represented before them, from the Committee of Adventurers in London for lands in Ireland sitting at Grocer's Hall for that service*, (London, 1645), p. 3.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁰³ TNA SP 16/539/2, ff. 106-110.

⁶⁰⁴ TNA SP 21/21, f. 7.

⁶⁰⁵ BL Add MS 4769A, f.9.

⁶⁰⁶ TNA SP 16/491, f. 274.

collection was, had not been disbursed by the treasurers.⁶⁰⁷ The treasurers had projects of their own and Sir Paul Pindar had devoted considerable resources to smuggling gold up the river Thames to Charles at Oxford.⁶⁰⁸ Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer were in the process of assembling an £80,000 fund for a project in India, initiated by the despatch of 140 colonists to the east African island of Assada, early in 1645.⁶⁰⁹ A stay was put on the payment of £3,000 to Thompson and Pennoyer, for ships chartered from them for use in Ireland.⁶¹⁰ A committee of enquiry was ordered, chaired by Edward Montagu, earl of Manchester, who was married to the earl of Warwick's daughter, and Maurice Thompson was invited to join the investigation.⁶¹¹ The investigation found that four under-collectors, William Hale, John Broughton, William Jennings and Thomas Fossan, employed by the treasurers, had been diverting funds for their own use and were imprisoned. The money due to Maurice Thompson was cleared for immediate payment out of the Adventurers' funds, and Davies was placed behind him in the payment queue.⁶¹² Thompson remained on the joint committee for Irish Affairs, but was frequently the only non-MP in attendance. Irish affairs were taken up by a core group, comprising Robert Reynolds, Benjamin Goodwin, John Clotworthy, Thomas Barrington and William Massam.⁶¹³ John Goodwin assumed responsibility for communications with the Dutch. They, however, would deal only with Maurice Thompson and withdrew from the Dutch adventure.⁶¹⁴ The Dutch merchants appear to have been gambling, having contributed a large sum in 1643, after the cessation of arms in Ireland became known, while continuing to supply the King with weapons.

The earl of Manchester's enquiry rumbled on, and agents were despatched to the county collectors, in search of the missing contributions, supposedly made under the January 1643 ordinance. Meanwhile, it became apparent that the materials, purchased by the Adventurers, had been released from their stores to all-comers and that a number of Adventurers had supplied the same goods twice.⁶¹⁵ The Adventurers' stores were kept by

⁶⁰⁷ BL Add MS 4769A, f.19.

⁶⁰⁸ <http://www.oxforddnb.com/index/101022291/Paul-Pindar>.

⁶⁰⁹ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 175.

⁶¹⁰ TNA SP 16/539/2, f. 214. Pennoyer and Thompson used this outstanding payment warrant as security to finance their contributions towards the Sea Adventure.

⁶¹¹ BL Add MS 4769A, f.20. The other investigators were John Clotworthy, John Browne, Thomas Erle and Maurice Thompson's friends - John Goodwin and Robert Reynolds.

⁶¹² *Ibid*, f.22.

⁶¹³ *Ibid*, ff.31-39

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid*, f.33.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid*, f.44.

Sir David Watkins, who ignored repeated summons to appear before the committee for Irish Affairs, until a warrant for his arrest was issued by parliament.⁶¹⁶ Parliament seized the stores, and once any weapons had been removed by James Bunce, for the use of the London militias, all that remained were a few bags of old clothes, which were distributed to Irish Protestant refugees in London.⁶¹⁷ The treasurers for the original Adventure-Thomas Andrews, John Towse and John Warner - escaped unscathed but took no further role in the distribution of the stores. The failure of the January 1643 subsidy, for which Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer were treasurers, had been caused primarily by the corruption of collection agents in the provinces. Of the other major funds for Ireland, the London Companies' loan, the Sea Adventure and the Dutch Adventure, all had been correctly spent and allocated. The accounts of John Davies were inspected by Sir Thomas Trevor, chief baron of the Exchequer, and found to be in order. The money due to Davies, therefore, was secured against the next contributions for Ireland, 'which may become available'; a small consolation.⁶¹⁸

There were to be no further Adventures for Irish Land, and the primary source of funds, for the conquest of Ireland was from sequestered and confiscated Catholic and Royalist estates in England. Although individual Adventurers would continue to arrange loans for Ireland, the Committee of Adventurers in Grocers Hall withdrew from playing an active role in Irish affairs until the financial build-up to Cromwell's campaign in 1649. As the army in Ireland was no longer financed independently of the armies in England and Scotland, the Committee for Irish Affairs was dissolved, and its responsibilities absorbed, on 18 February 1644, into the Committee for Both Kingdoms sitting at Derby House.⁶¹⁹

The Adventurers had learned that Parliament would not tolerate excessive meddling in its business and that their incursion into an important parliamentary committee, the Committee for Irish Affairs, proved unwelcome. The cessation in Ireland of 1643 dealt a crushing blow to their hopes of a quick return on their original investment, and their

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid*, f.46.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid*, ff. 38-40, 49.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid*, f.51.

⁶¹⁹ NLI MSS 14305, f. 244. LJ, VI, p. 265. For an account of the establishment of the Committee for Both Kingdoms see John Adamson, 'The Triumph of Oligarchy' in Chris R. Kyle and Jason Peacy (eds.), *Parliament at Work – Parliamentary Committees, Political Power and Public Access in Early Modern England*, (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 101-128. The Committee for Both Kingdoms reserved the right to summon a committee of Adventurers to discuss Irish affairs. This measure was proposed by Sir Thomas Barrington 23 May 1644 and supported in the House of Lords by the earls of Essex, Warwick, Northumberland and Manchester.

attempts to transport their own forces into Ireland had ended in failure. In England, however, among the parliamentary finance committees of Westminster, their involvement strengthened to a remarkable degree. It was this sustained influence at the heart of government which would eventually lead to the reassertion of their claims for Irish land. Rebuffed by John Clotworthy and the political Presbyterians in parliament, the Adventurers decided to throw in their lot with the rising military commanders they had supported in the summer of 1642. They had no interest in seeing the English Civil War come to an end as this would also mean the end of military supply contracts. Consequently, the Adventurers and the parliamentary Independents had common cause, if different goals.

Chapter Five

The Adventurers and the Commonwealth 1645-53

Although the Adventurers withheld funds for Ireland during 1645 as the row with Clotworthy ran its course they stepped in when asked to provide immediate finance for the army of Sir Thomas Fairfax in March of that year.⁶²⁰ The Adventurers Thomas Adams, John Allen, Thomas Andrews, Abraham Chamberlain, John Dethick, John Warner and Sir John Wollaston were appointed treasurers at war and instructed to raise £80,000 immediately from their sources in the City. As ever, there were strong American connections among the members of this consortium. Thomas Adams and Thomas Andrews were Adventurers in the Massachusetts Bay Company and Abraham Chamberlain and Sir Thomas Fairfax both had relations in Virginia in the 1620s.⁶²¹ The money was raised quickly in London from a pool of merchants dominated by Adventurers in Irish land.⁶²² All of the leading Adventurers were involved in this loan. The treasurers contributed £3,000 each and individuals such as Francis Ashe, James Bunce, Stephen Estwick, John Kendrick, Thomas Noel, Richard Schute, Maurice Thompson and David Watkins, several hundred pounds each. The Adventurers Francis Allen and George Witham, Aldermen of London, also advanced £3,000.

An interesting contributor was Ellis Crispe, whose father was Sir Nicholas Crispe, the former Sea Adventurer but by 1645 a leading financier to Charles I.⁶²³ The Crispe family's politics were complicated but the presence of Ellis in the Adventurers' circle provided a channel of communication between the Adventurers and the Royalist merchants still in control of both the East India and Guinea companies.⁶²⁴ The Adventurers kept the supply of goods for which they were providing funds within their own small circle. Clothes were

⁶²⁰ A&O, I, pp. 656-660, 'March 1645: An Ordinance for securing of the Eighty Thousand pounds advanced by and under the eight Treasurers hereafter named, and for a further provision for the Raising and Maintaining of the Forces under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax.'

⁶²¹ MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, pp. 195, 228. William Fairfax was killed during the Powhatan massacre of 1622 while Francis Chamberlain lived in Elizabeth City, 1621-25, at the same time that the Tuckers and Thompsons were also resident there.

⁶²² The particulars for this loan comprise TNA SP 28/350/ 5.

⁶²³ TNA SP 28/350/ 5, f. 16.

⁶²⁴ Leo Culleton, 'Virginia Gleanings in England', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 26:3 (July, 1918), p. 270. Nicholas Crispe and Sir David Watkins were long-time friends and were the executors of the will of Sir Thomas Smith, governor of both the Virginia and East India Companies.

provided by Estwick, Gethin and Milner. The Adventurers Thomas Player, Laurence Bromfield and John Browne supplied swords and gunpowder.⁶²⁵

The March 1645 loan financed Parliament's forces for the battle of Naseby, the final major battle of the first English Civil War. Parliament's forces were commanded by Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell and Phillip Skippon who had been supported by the Adventurers since the reform of the London militia in 1642. The financing of Naseby marked a turning point for the Adventurers, cementing relationships that lasted until the establishment of the Protectorate in 1653. From this point onwards, their interests were promoted aggressively by the grantees of the New Model Army and their supporters in Parliament and the Adventurers, in return, provided Cromwell in particular with the financial means to pursue his campaigns. As an example of this new alignment of commercial policy, on 12 April 1645 a consortium of Yarmouth merchants was given permission to infringe on the Muscovy Company's monopoly on whale oil.⁶²⁶ As Muscovy fell outside the remit of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, the commercial license was issued by the Committee of the Navy.⁶²⁷ The resulting competition weakened the Muscovy Company to the extent that in November 1645 it was taken over by Richard Snelling, a brother of George Snelling, one of Maurice Thompson's partners in the Virginia tobacco trade in the early 1640s.⁶²⁸ A diplomatic mission sent to London in November 1645 by Tsar Alexei to renew the Muscovy Company's charter was informed that any future trade would be conducted by London merchants.⁶²⁹

Similarly, a combination of commercial and diplomatic pressure was brought to bear to transfer control of the Levant Company to Adventurers. In 1643, Charles I had moved the base of operations of the Levant, Muscovy and East India companies to Bristol, essentially to keep the customs on these imported goods out of the hands of the Parliamentarians.⁶³⁰

This arrangement had several disadvantages for the companies. Only the East India

⁶²⁵ Ian Gentles, *The New Model Army in England, Ireland and Scotland, 1645-1653*, (Oxford, 1992), p. 42.

⁶²⁶ TNA SP 46/96, f4. The Merchants backing this venture were led by Maurice Thompson, the Bateman brothers, William Cockaine jnr, Samuel Moyer, Henry Spurstowe and Nathaniel Wright.

⁶²⁷ *Ibid.* The committee comprised John Rolle, Alexander and Squire Bence, Thomas Bell, Giles Greene, William Allenson and Thomas Soame.

⁶²⁸ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 139; Geraldine M. Phipps, 'The Russian Embassy to London 1645-46 and the Abrogation of the Muscovy Company Charter', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 68: 2 (Apr., 1990), pp. 257-276 at p. 262.

⁶²⁹ Phipps, 'Russian embassy', p. 268.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

Company owned ships and these had been pressed into Charles' navy. The other companies chartered their vessels for each voyage but the vast majority of large, well-armed merchantmen were owned by the consortia of London merchants central to Parliament's early fund-raising efforts.⁶³¹ The financial backers of the companies were also primarily based in London, while the supporters of the King suffered the sequestration of their estates, thus losing the ability to finance their trade. As was the case with the Muscovy Company, from 1642 London merchants sent out their own ships to the Mediterranean irrespective of the Levant Company monopoly. By 1645, the Levant Company was under the control of Isaac Pennington and William Cockayne Jr, (respectively Governor and Deputy Governor), and Parliament despatched a new ambassador, Sir Thomas Bendish, to Istanbul to serve the interests of the reconstituted company.⁶³² The active members of the General Court of the company included Richard Bateman, Thomas Hodges, Richard Middleton, Samuel Moyer and William Vincent, along with Samuel Spurstowe after 1647. The Levant and Muscovy companies, therefore, were increasingly financed by these individuals.⁶³³

The Adventurers' assault on the East India Company had begun in 1642. The second company chartered by Charles I to trade with the Indies, Sir William Courteen's Association, was purchased from his widow by Maurice Thompson late in 1643 following the disastrous losses suffered by William Courteen Jr's ships to Dutch East India Company aggression.⁶³⁴ Using a strategy that bore a striking resemblance to the Providence Island project a decade earlier, Maurice Thompson and his partners sent out a group of 140 planters under the command of John Smart to colonise the island of Nosy Be, north of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean.⁶³⁵ The project, originally announced by the Adventurer John Bond, was financed by Thomas Andrews, John Dethwick, Robert Hunt and William Pennoyer with Maurice Thompson. Courteen Jr was happy to lend his name to the project while the others put up the money. For its own voyage, the East India Company was

⁶³¹ TNA/SP 115/159, 'Levant Company Account Books, 1642-1651'.

⁶³² Brenner, *Companies and Merchants*, pp. 372-378; SP 105/111, ff. 133, 135, 212. Bendish had been imprisoned for Royalism in 1643 but released and found his way back into favour.

⁶³³ TNA/SP 105/150, ff. 99, 104-105, 167.

⁶³⁴ Edward Graves, *A brief narrative and deduction of the several remarkable cases of Sir William Courten, and Sir Paul Pyndar, Knights, and William Courten late of London esquire...*, (London, 1666), p. 4.

⁶³⁵ Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, *The East India Company and the British Empire in the Far East*, (Oxford, 1945), p. 200. Nosy Be was known in seventeenth century England as Assada.

obliged to charter two ships, the *Antelope* and the *Greyhound*, from the Adventurers.⁶³⁶ By 1645 the East India Company was losing money on its fourth joint stock and the royalist faction of its General Court was in no position to oppose the Nosy Be colony.⁶³⁷ Although this initial effort at colonisation was unsuccessful as the indigenous Malagasy were not as easily conquered as the Amerindians of the Caribbean, the door was now open for further trading voyages organised by the Adventurers, and led next by William Pennoyer.⁶³⁸ Despite the failure of their Nosy Be colony, the expedition returned a tenfold profit to its investors as the return trip to the Indies yielded a rich cargo of spices and saltpeter.⁶³⁹ Maurice Thompson next began buying up shares in the East India Company itself, beginning with those of Endymion Porter, the Queen's favourite, in May 1645. In order to obtain permission to set out in 1645, the Company agreed to pay a fine to support Parliament's army in Ireland.⁶⁴⁰ A new General Court was elected in July 1645 and a new committee appointed that included John Cordwell, Parliament's gunpowder-maker, the Bateman brothers, Rowland Wilson, Thomas Mann, Thomas Hodges and Thomas Andrews.⁶⁴¹ In the immediate aftermath of Naseby, therefore, the Adventurers had effectively taken over the three big chartered trading companies.

As for the Merchant Adventurers of England, John Kendrick became Governor by April 1645.⁶⁴² Kendrick was a familiar in the Thompson circle through his membership of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars.⁶⁴³ He was also a director of collections for Calvinist refugees from the Palatinate in the 1630s.⁶⁴⁴ With this experience, Kendrick was appointed in 1643 as a collector in Middlesex for the Relief of Poor Protestants of Ireland, a

⁶³⁶ W. Noel. Sainsbury, *Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1644-1649*, (Oxford, 1912), pp. xii, 301. The ships were owned by Gregory Clement, Maurice Thompson and John Wood.

⁶³⁷ Coates, 'Impact', pp. 182-186.

⁶³⁸ For a more complete account of the colonisation of Nosy Be, see Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion*, (Oxford, 2008), pp. 181-218.

⁶³⁹ Graves, *Brief narrative*, p. 4

⁶⁴⁰ Sainsbury, *East India Company 1644-1649*, p. 84. After Naseby, it was sensible for Royalist merchants to sell what they could to the Adventurers for the best price they could get. Their alternative was the Committee for Compounding and sale by the candle of their assets.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁶⁴² George Burton Hotchkiss (ed.), *A Treatise of Commerce by John Wheeler*, (Clark, N.J., 2004), p. 104.

⁶⁴³ Grell, *Dutch Calvinists*, p. 179. The Corsellis family were also members of this congregation.

⁶⁴⁴ Grell, *Brethren in Christ*, p. 148.

responsibility he shared with Sir Paul Pindar.⁶⁴⁵ Unusually for an Adventurer for Irish land, Kendrick was already part of the merchant elite but enthusiastically joined in Parliament's early fund-raising efforts. In July 1643 he was treasurer with Samuel Warner for a further collection in London of plate, money and horses. Kendrick, Samuel Avery, James Bunce and Thomas Foote were treasurers for the Ordinance of October 1645 to borrow £30,000 for Ireland, with Kendrick a collector for Middlesex. As was so often the case with money raised for Ireland, the treasurers were obliged to re-direct the cargo they assembled for Munster to supply parliamentary forces in Plymouth and Lyme Regis.⁶⁴⁶ Although a relative outsider in a group dominated by former tobacco men and Atlantic colonists, Kendrick's place at the heart of the Adventurers' circle meant that this group, dominating as it did the Atlantic trades as well, was in almost complete control of all of England's foreign trade in the months immediately following Naseby. The Adventurers also dominated all of Parliament's important finance committees and the huge expenditure of the Parliamentary navy. The takeover was completed with astonishing speed.

The October 1645 loan was the last major funding proved by an Adventurer-led group for the military conquest of Ireland until the spring of 1648. Military funds for Ireland, 1646-1647, were consequently piecemeal, secured on either the excise or from various committees dealing with the sequestration of Royalist assets. Much of the business of the Committee for Irish Affairs during this period was handled by John Clotworthy, John Goodwin, John and Robert Reynolds, Sir John Temple and, until his departure for Ireland, Robert Sidney Lord Lisle, son of the earl of Leicester.⁶⁴⁷ The following table summarises the flow of funds from England into Ireland, much of it destined for Ulster to maintain the Scots army in the province.

⁶⁴⁵ TNA SP 16/497, ff. 81-84. Kendrick collected a respectable £110 and his efforts brought him into contact with the colonial merchants he may not have known otherwise. Although Sir Thomas Barrington donated £5, the Batemans were only able to donate sixpence.

⁶⁴⁶ TNA SP 16/503, f. 24.

⁶⁴⁷ For the general proceedings of the Committee for Irish Affairs during this period see BL Add MS 4769A and TNA SP21/27-8, Committee for Irish Affairs, 1647-8. For the perspective from Ireland see Micheál Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland: 1642-1649*, (Dublin, 1999), pp. 87-176.

Table 5.1

Military Finance for Ireland 1645-7⁶⁴⁸

Date	Lender	Amount (£)	Security
6 August 1645	John Parker	2,000	Excise
6 August 1645	Maximilliam Bard	2,000	Excise
6 August 1645	Thomas Browne	2,000	Excise
	John Ash, lent to Lord		
5 May 1646	Inchiquin	6,000	Excise
	Thomas Foote, John		
26 June 1646	Kendricke and others	25,043	Excise
	Thomas Andrews for the		
26 June 1646	Adventurers, sent in cash	10,000	Adventurers
28 November 1646	Waring and Herring	2,000	Committee for Compounding
14 January 1647	Waring and Herring	1,000	Committee for Compounding
19 January 1647	William Lane	400	Delinquent's Estates
21 January 1647	Waring and Herring	100	Committee for Compounding
25 January 1647	Thomas Andrews	30,000	Committee for Compounding
27 Feb. 1647	Consortium (unnamed)	50,000	Excise
13 March 1647	Waring and Herring	15,000	Committee for Compounding
16 March 1647	Waring and Herring	152	Committee for Compounding
	Waring and Herring for		
	Ordinance for £35,877		
26 March 1647	for Dublin	6,600	Committee for Compounding

⁶⁴⁸ TNA SP 28/202, ff. 331-6, Account of all such monies received by Nicholas Loftus, Treasurer of Wars for Ireland for the service of that kingdom.

26 March 1647	Waring and Herring	5,707	Committee for Compounding
30 March 1647	Waring and Herring Committee at	135	Committee for Compounding
7 April 1647	Haberdashers Hall	500	Malignants Estates
27 April 1647	Waring and Herring	5,000	Committee for Compounding
15 May 1647	Waring and Herring	1,760	Committee for Compounding
17 May 1647	Waring and Herring	1,504	Committee for Compounding
22 May 1647	James Bunce	5763	Delinquent's Estates
1 June 1647	James Bunce	12,765	Delinquent's Estates
16 June 1647	James Bunce	10,000	Delinquent's Estates
24 June 1647	George Almery	1,971	Excise
6 July 1647	Waring and Herring	2,000	Committee for Compounding
14 July 1647	Waring and Herring	8,000	Committee for Compounding
16 July 1647	James Bunce Denis Gawden, John Cheston and Thomas	7,230	Delinquent's Estates
22 July 1647	Rodbert	23,038	Excise
24 July 1647	James Bunce	27,382	Delinquent's Estates
28 December 1647	Committee at Haberdashers Hall Committee at	200	Malignant's Estates
6 January 1648	Haberdashers Hall Thomas Andrews for the	200	Malignant's Estates
18 January 1648	Adventurers ⁶⁴⁹	2,700	
Total		296,150	

⁶⁴⁹ This is the last payment made from the Adventurers account and from this point the Committee for Adventurers at Grocers Hall was solely concerned with the allocation of land.

An ordinance was published in October 1646 to raise £200,000 for 'the present service of the state', intended both to resolve the constant under-supply of funds for Ireland and replenish the strained finances of the parliamentary regime. The loan was secured on both the excise and the sale of bishops' land, but only the payment of interest was promised, with no definite date for repayment of the capital sum. In addition, lenders who already had sums outstanding on the public faith could transfer those loans to the supposedly better security of both excise and bishop's land.⁶⁵⁰ Financially stretched by the end of the first Civil War, London's merchant community was preoccupied with paying off and disbanding the parliamentary army. David Watkins and John Oldfield were added to the committee at Goldsmith's hall in March 1646 but only one loan of £10,000 for Ireland was secured on English sequestered estates in June 1646.⁶⁵¹ A further loan of £10,000 advance in November had to be personally guaranteed by Watkins, William Hawkins and Oldfield.⁶⁵² The £200,000 loan had a dual purpose, however. Although it was ostensibly raised to send forces to Ireland, much of the money was used to draw the frustrated English army away from the city of London.⁶⁵³

London had not paid any assessments towards the upkeep of the parliamentary army since early in 1646 and had called for its disbandment in December of that year. As the army advanced towards the city in search of its arrears of pay, the £200,000 was swiftly raised from 11-20 May 1647. The loan was secured on the sale of bishops' lands in England and marks a watershed in the financing of wars in Ireland. Any person who contributed to the new loan could transfer a similar amount from any outstanding loan for Irish service, back to the original loan taken out in December 1641, onto the security of income from bishops' land and the excise.⁶⁵⁴ The treasurers for the £200,000 loan were John Wollaston, James

⁶⁵⁰ A&O, I, p. 884, 'October 1646: An Ordinance for securing of all those that shall advance the Two hundred thousand pounds for the service of the State.'

⁶⁵¹ CCAM, I, p. 40.

⁶⁵² John Oldfield was the father of William Oldfield who married, in turn, Mary Thompson, the daughter of Maurice and following Mary's death at a young age, Anne Hawkins, the daughter of William. See:

<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/oldfield-%28Oldfield%29-william-1623-64>.

⁶⁵³ For an account of the occupation of London by the army see Ian Gentles, 'The Struggle for London in the Second Civil War', *Historical Journal*, 26 (1983), pp. 277-305.

⁶⁵⁴ A&O, I, pp. 928-935, 'May 1647: An Ordinance for securing of all those that advance 200,000l. for the service of this Kingdom and of the Kingdom of Ireland.'. The named loans which could be transferred were the original loan of £50,000 from 1641, the £40,000

Bunce, Laurence Bromfield and Richard Glyde. These men were solely responsible for collecting in the money and passing it on to Thomas Andrews, the treasurer for the forces in England to be sent to Ireland, or Nicholas Loftus, the treasurer for the forces already there. The important figures, therefore, were the men assigned to pay the money back, the treasurers for the sequestration of bishop's lands and for the excise, who were acting as guarantors. The passage of the ordinance through parliament had not been a smooth one, as the lenders sought additional security from the committee of compounding at Goldsmiths Hall, but this was refused. The negotiations for the loan in parliament were also interrupted by the comings and goings of Oliver Cromwell and other army officers seeking clarity about their arrears and the reappointment of the London militia.⁶⁵⁵

At Common Council, where the loan was approved, there is evidence of a push against the Independents and their Adventurer committee-men by the Presbyterian faction. Isaac Pennington, John Foulke, John Warner, John Kendrick, Rowland Wilson and Stephen Estwick were removed from the militia committee and James Bunce, John Langham, Sir John Wollaston and William Gibbs appointed in their place. Stephen Estwick was forcibly ejected from the Common Council meeting before it voted on the loan.⁶⁵⁶ Wollaston, Bunce, Glyde and Bromfield were also treasurers for sequestered bishops' lands along with a mixed group that included leading Adventurers: Francis Ash, Samuel Avery, Stephen Estwick, John Foulke, Thomas Noel and Christopher Pack.⁶⁵⁷ The treasurers for bishops' lands had taken these lands into a form of trusteeship whereby they and their heirs became the legal owners but with an obligation to forward all rents and proceeds from sales to Goldsmith's Hall after deducting a commission of 2%. The sales were handled by a separate subcommittee, this one dominated by Adventurers although reporting to the Trustees who had to agree to each transaction.⁶⁵⁸ Sales were rare until 1648, as the trustees

raised for the Scots army in November 1642, the £40,000 raised in the provinces by Maurice Thompson in April 1643 and the £23,000 raised from the mariners of London in May 1643. None of this money had been repaid.

⁶⁵⁵ Lindley and Scott, *Journal of Thomas Juxon*, pp. 156-158.

⁶⁵⁶ Gentles, *The Struggle for London*. P. 283; Lindley and Scott, *Journal of Thomas Juxon*, p. 157.

⁶⁵⁷ A&O, I, pp. 887-904, 'November 1646: An Ordinance for the setting of the Lands of all the Bishops in the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, for the Service of the Commonwealth, with the Instructions and Names of all the Contractors and Trustees, for the speedy execution of the same.'

⁶⁵⁸ Francis Eagle and Edward Younge, *A Collection of the Reports of Cases, the Statutes and Ecclesiastical Laws relating to Tithes*, vol. iv, (London, 1826), pp. 110-114. The agents were William Roberts, Thomas Viner, Richard Turner, James Russell, William Methold, Thomas Eyres, Robert Fenwick, Timothy Middleton and Edward Cressey.

had no incentive to diminish their newly acquired estates and the power that went with them. The physical money from the proceeds of bishops' lands was not handled by the trustees or the agents, but by the receivers, the Adventurers William Gibbs, Francis Ash and Thomas Noel. Colonel Robert Mainwaring was awarded a £200 per annum post to become accountant for the sales and John Foulke was appointed comptroller to keep the treasurers in check.

The £200,000 loan for Ireland was, therefore, a Presbyterian undertaking, notable for the reluctance of any of the leading Adventurers to contribute to it.⁶⁵⁹ Maurice, George and Robert Thompson contributed a token £146 each and Isaac Pennington a derisory £136. Stephen Estwick and the Noels made no contribution at all. The Adventurers who made large contributions can be assigned to the Presbyterian faction, for example George Almerly who found £614 to contribute towards the loan.⁶⁶⁰ The largest single contributor was Lady Anne Moulson, widow of leading a Merchant Adventurer and assistant for the Londonderry Plantation, Sir Thomas Moulson, who contributed £3,041, one of the largest individual contributions by an English merchant to the military conquest of Ireland.⁶⁶¹ The £200,000 loan for Ireland was not repaid and the debts were doubled and transferred to the excise by an ordinance of May 1647, together with sundry debts from elsewhere.⁶⁶² From June 1648 any unpaid balance from the loan could be used as a credit against the purchase of bishops' lands, the purchase price for which was to be determined by the commissioners. The £200,000 loan for Ireland was, therefore, ultimately exchangeable for lands in England.⁶⁶³ This loan, and an additional loan for £150,000 raised for the army in May 1647, also not supported by the Adventurers, reflected the ascendancy of the Presbyterian faction in parliament and the use of their own sympathetic merchants. From the evidence of subscribers and creditors' lists it is clear that each faction had its own group of funders. In the case of the Independents in parliament it was, to a large degree, the

⁶⁵⁹ The complete list of contributors to the £200,000 loan for Ireland is preserved in TNA SP 28/350/2A.

⁶⁶⁰ TNA SP 63/283, f. 329; TNA SP28/350/2A, f. 23. Holland was excluded in Pride's Purge.

⁶⁶¹ CCAM, I, p. 780. Lady Anne Moulson is remembered by her maiden name, Anne Ratcliffe, for her donation of £100 to Harvard College in 1643 and its women's college was named Ratcliffe College (1879) in her memory. She had also loaned £600 towards the 1644 loan of £20,000 for the Scottish army and her nephew was the army treasurer, Sir Gilbert Gerrard.

⁶⁶² 'House of Commons Journal Volume 8: 29 December 1660', in *Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 8, 1660-1667* (London, 1802), pp. 234-244 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol8/pp234-244> [accessed 4 December 2015], pp. 238-240.

⁶⁶³ Parliamentary Archives, HO/PO/JO/10/1/264, f. 43.

Adventurers and in the case of the Presbyterians it was a different group comprising Merchant Adventurers and the established merchant elite.

By the middle of 1647 the Adventurers were busy elsewhere. The Dutch West India Company went bankrupt in 1646, brought down by extending too much credit to Portuguese merchants in the Caribbean. The company had established a lucrative and large-scale trade in African slaves, centred on Curacao. Unlike the English, the Dutch colonies had never been peopled with servants from the home provinces, as there was never an excess indigenous population available. Although there is some evidence that the Dutch purchased Irish servants for their colonies, they relied heavily on Amerindian and, later, African slaves. In addition to the slave trade, the Dutch had absorbed sugar processing techniques from the Portuguese as their colonies changed hands along the northern coast of South America and this expertise had found its way to Barbados by 1646.⁶⁶⁴ Maurice Thompson was at the head of a consortium that had built a major sugar works on Barbados in the middle of 1646 and applied to the House of Lords for permission to transport 100 oxen from Virginia to Barbados in October of that year.⁶⁶⁵ An ordinance of parliament in January 1646 freed merchants from customs and other duties for three years on goods being transported to the Americas for the development of the colonies. This ordinance also lifted any restriction on the number of servants that could be transported to the colonies but in an effort to regulate the trade stipulated that 'neither force be used to take up any such servants, nor any Apprentises entised to desert their Masters, nor any Children under age admitted without express consent of their Parents'.⁶⁶⁶ Finally, as a precursor to the Navigation Ordinance of 1651, the January 1647 ordinance stipulated that all colonial produce must be transported from the colonies in English shipping, in an attempt to make inroads into Dutch domination of the carrying trade.

In addition to the carrying trade, the Dutch also dominated the trade in African slaves and sold 23,000 slaves for almost seven million guilders through their market at Pernambuco (now Recife, Brazil) between 1636 and 1645.⁶⁶⁷ It suited the Dutch slave traders, therefore, following their move to Curacao, to assist in the development of slave dominated sugar

⁶⁶⁴ Peter Emmer, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy 1580-1880 – Trade, Slavery and Emancipation*, (Farnham, 1998), pp. 70-96.

⁶⁶⁵ LJ, IX, pp. 491-3. Does this need to go to the abbreviations list?

⁶⁶⁶ A&O, I, pp. 912-913, 'January 1647: An Ordinance for encouragement of Adventurers to the several Plantations of Virginia, Bermudas, Barbados, and other places of America.'.

⁶⁶⁷ C. Ch. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast*, (Assen, NL., 1985), p. 350.

plantations in the Antilles owned by their religious brethren, who would hopefully be more reliable trading partners than the Spanish and Portuguese. African slaves had been bought from Curacao to St Kitts in 1639, as the island was developed commercially following Warwick's purchase of its patent from the earl of Pembroke two years earlier.⁶⁶⁸ The January 1647 ordinance had the dual purpose of aiding the English Adventurers in the development of their colonies by permitting the free export of material and labour, but also in limiting the dominance of the Dutch in the labour and shipping markets. As the sugar boom continued into the late 1640s, led by the Adventurers and their associates in Zeeland who had been invited into the Adventure for Irish land in 1643, the increasing importance of the colonies to the financial stability of the English parliament would lead to two naval expeditions and a royalist revolt.

Following the introduction of Dutch sugar processing technology to the island, the value of Barbadian land doubled every year from 1643 until the mid-1650s.⁶⁶⁹ The Adventurers, led by Thomas Andrews, Maurice Thompson, William Pennoyer and Richard Bateson had been buying up land in small lots throughout the 1640s, leading to a temporary spike in land prices in 1647 when £27,000 was spent on Barbadian land.⁶⁷⁰ This expansion occurred between the two English Civil Wars, when Parliament preferred Presbyterian merchants as a source of finance to prosecute its war in Ireland. This left a space for the Adventurers to pursue their other interests both with cash, not necessary to finance military campaigns at home for the time being, and shipping, freed from guarding the Irish Sea.

Two events conspired to entice the Adventurers back into Irish affairs. The first was the return of their patron, the earl of Warwick, appointed by the Committee for Both Kingdoms in May 1647 to a commission to disband the army.⁶⁷¹ The second was the departure of the earl of Ormond from Ireland, enticed to leave Dublin in June 1647 with the promise of a £3,000 gift loaned to parliament by James Bunce for this purpose.⁶⁷² Ormond had already arranged for £10,000 in bills of exchange owed to him to be presented at Goldsmith's Hall for cash. He was allowed to transport 5,500 men to the continent and a

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p 352.

⁶⁶⁹ Hilary MacDonald Beckles, 'White Labour in Black Slave Plantation Society and Economy: A case Study of Indentured Labour in Seventeenth Century Barbados', (PhD. Thesis, University of Hull, 1980), p. 19.

⁶⁷⁰ Menard, *Sweet Negotiations*, p. 53.

⁶⁷¹ TNA SP 28/27, f. 33, Derby House to the earl of Warwick, Lord Delawarr, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, etc.

⁶⁷² CCAM, I, p. 69.

further gift of £2,800 in cash was ready to be collected by him in Holland on his arrival.⁶⁷³ A general meeting of the Adventurers for Irish land was called in London for 1 December 1647 and an appeal read out in London's churches for further subscriptions.⁶⁷⁴ The London news sheets published a report of Inchiquin's latest victory at the battle of Knocknanaus, County Cork, immediately in advance of the meeting.⁶⁷⁵ The intention of this meeting was to determine which Adventurers had not paid their subscriptions in full in 1642 or had subscribed to the doubling ordinance of 1643. It was hoped that these arrears could be collected and that new Adventurers could also be attracted, with the money intended for Lord Inchiquin.⁶⁷⁶ There was, however, little apparent enthusiasm for further subscriptions and the list of Adventurers, requested by Derby House, had still not been provided by Thomas Andrews by March 1648.⁶⁷⁷ Practically no money had been raised in England for the forces loyal to Parliament in Ireland following the departure of Ormond and an exasperated Lord Inchiquin, who had sent numerous unanswered requests to Derby House for money and supplies during the winter of 1647-8, finally declared for the king on 3 April 1648.⁶⁷⁸

The failure of this Adventure was not due to a shortage of money, but to the reluctance of existing Adventurers to share the spoils and their wish to have complete control over the process of supplying the military effort in Ireland. In desperation, on 27 March 1648 the Committee for Both Kingdoms negotiated the largest provisioning contract of the Civil War era, £83,000, with 10 Adventurers and their established partners in Irish provisioning; Maurice Thompson, Thomas Andrews, Stephen Estwick, Maurice Gethin, Tempest Milner, Thomas Player, Thomas Smith, Richard Shute and Thomas Vincent.⁶⁷⁹ Supplies of goods and cash were sent simultaneously to Dublin, Kinsale, Carrickfergus and Carlingford and the money was to be repaid from the proceeds of a £20,000 per month assessment for Ireland, published on 16 February 1648.⁶⁸⁰ The treasurers for the assessment were Thomas

⁶⁷³ TNA SP 28/27, ff 44-45v, 'To the Commissioners at Dublin'.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid*, f. 72 Notice from Derby House to the Lord Mayor of London.

⁶⁷⁵ Anon, *Perfect occurrences of every dayes journall in Parliament*, Thomason/81:E.520[10], 26th November-3rd December 1647.

⁶⁷⁶ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 30th November-7th December 1647, Thomason/66:E.419[12].

⁶⁷⁷ TNA SP 28/27, f. 91v; Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, p. 111.

⁶⁷⁸ Ó' Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, p. 172.

⁶⁷⁹ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, pp. 528-9; NAI MFS 42/4 John Lodge, *Records of the Rolls*, Vol. 6 Charles I to 1648, pp. 397-8. Thomas Vincent was the secretary at Goldsmiths Hall and purchased the Monaghan estate of Lord Edward Blaney in September 1648 for £4,800, the first Adventurer from the merchant community to become a significant Irish landowner.

⁶⁸⁰ TNA SP 16/539, part 4, f. 159 Schedule of goods to be supplied.

Andrews and Maurice Thompson. In the meantime, the contractors were to supply the money and provisions at their own cost but at an interest rate of 8%. The return of the earl of Warwick and Oliver Cromwell to Derby House resolved the issue of a commissary for Ireland, which had been a major source of confrontation between the Adventurers and other merchant factions since 1642.⁶⁸¹ On 7 April 1648 William Dobbins was appointed commissary for all of the goods supplied by the contractors into any part of Ireland, supplanting the John Clotworthy and John Davies partnership in Carrickfergus.⁶⁸² Clotworthy had been absent from parliament since August 1647, having fled to Holland when expelled with ten other members for opposing the army's occupation of London. The Adventurers' method in obtaining control over military supplies for Ireland was similar to that employed in strengthening their grip in the Caribbean. Rather than confronting their adversaries and risking political or financial capital, they preferred to wait for their opponents to falter and then move into that space. This process was completed by 12 June 1648 when William Hawkins, formerly secretary of the Committee of Adventurers and Maurice Thompson's brother-in-law, was appointed commissary-general of victuals for Ireland.⁶⁸³ Plans to raise the subsidy and repay the contractors proceeded immediately and collection instructions were issued to county commissioners repeatedly during May and June 1648 but the process was interrupted by the outbreak of the Second Civil War in England and then abandoned.⁶⁸⁴ The treasurers had received no money at all from the assessment by July 1648.⁶⁸⁵

On 17 June the Committee for Both Kingdoms had appointed a special group to report to the earl of Warwick and devise a strategy to secure the return of the ships that had revolted to the Royalist cause.⁶⁸⁶ This special group decided that three of the four merchants sent to

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, f. 161, 'Instructions to Adam Loftus'. Warwick had stepped down from his command as Lord Admiral under the self-denying ordinance in April 1645.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*, f. 164, Order from the Committee for Irish Affairs. The order was signed by Walter Frost, formerly the commissary for Munster but installed as secretary of the committee at Derby House by 1648.

⁶⁸³ TNA SP 28/27, f. 124v, Derby House to William Hawkins.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 123v From Derby House to London, Worcester, Devon, Derby, Cambridge, Warwick, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Dorset and Surrey. For an overview of the second Civil War see Robert Ashton, *Counter Revolution: The Second Civil War and its Origins, 1646-8*, (London, 1994).

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 128, 'To the Lord Mayor and the rest of the Commissioners for the Irish Assessment'.

⁶⁸⁶ TNA SP 28/9 f. 129 (7), Rushworth, *Historical Collections* 7, p. 757; CJ, III, p. 363; LJ, X, pp 135-154. Williams' house was used by Thomas Fairfax as his base during the army's occupation of London in 1647 and was the reception house for ambassadors from the States General. The accounts of the Dutch contribution to the parliamentary cause in

Holland in 1643 to propose the Dutch adventure for Ireland, Maurice Thompson, Nicholas Corsellis, Derek Hoast along with the Navy Victualler, Captain John Limbery, would travel to Holland and negotiate with the mutineers.⁶⁸⁷ None of the four were naval officers or members of the admiralty committees, possibly essential given the level of distrust between the two sides, although Limbery, as victualler, could hold out some promises for food and arrears of pay. Maurice Thompson's mission was ostensibly to negotiate directly with the revolted ships and to secure their return to Warwick's command but there was a further party to the negotiation. Prince Charles, the future Charles II, had assumed command of the Royalist fleet and announced that he was prepared to ransom recently captured merchantmen in return for £20,000 from the merchants of London.⁶⁸⁸ Prince Charles sent his ransom demand to the Common Council, assuming that the council had more rapid access to cash than parliament.⁶⁸⁹ Charles had had assumed a title, 'King of the Seas', and the capture of parliamentary merchant shipping was central to his strategy of selling ships and cargo to the Dutch to raise money.⁶⁹⁰ The 29 June appeal by the Common Council for a negotiated treaty between King and Parliament, supported by a separate petition to parliament from 'well-affected seamen, merchants and masters of ships' was part of this negotiation.⁶⁹¹ The merchants' mission had no effect on the navy, yet set an important precedent. The Adventurers, led by Maurice Thompson, were prepared to negotiate directly with the Royalist faction to protect their assets. On the surface the Adventurers appeared as central to the Independent party, as financiers and equippers of the New Model Army. These links did not rule out negotiating with their patron's opponents where trade interests were concerned.

Although the details of the second English Civil war do not concern this narrative, there are clear parallels between the outbreak of the second Civil War around London and the outbreak of the first one that concern the Adventurers. The earl of Warwick was back in a position of command as Lord Admiral, and ever-present at Derby House. Phillip Skippon,

Ireland were presented to the House of Lords on 22 March 1647. This fundraising afforded Maurice Thompson and his partners an open passport to travel between England and the Netherlands, 1643-6, essential for maintaining their business with the colonies.

⁶⁸⁷ TNA SP 28/9 f. 181, 21 June 1647, report to both houses; Coldham, *English Adventurers*, p. 99 The Limberys were involved in the St Kitts tobacco trade in 1640.

⁶⁸⁸ Sean Kelsey, 'King of the Sea: The Prince of Wales and the Stuart Monarchy, 1648-1649', *History*, 92: 308 (October 2007) pp. 428-448 at p. 441.

⁶⁸⁹ *The Parliament-kite, or, The tell-tale bird*, 3rd-10th August 1648, (London, 1648), pp. 1-2.

⁶⁹⁰ *Mercurius Elencticus*, 2nd-9th August 1648; Thomason/73:E.457[30].

⁶⁹¹ LJ, X, pp. 352-353, Petitions from Trinity House and 'Masters of ships, maariners and others' for a negotiated treaty with the King.

again, commanded the army in London and was despatched to Kent to quell the rebellion in the southeast.⁶⁹² In May 1648 Maurice Thompson was authorised by Derby House to take command of all the ferryboats on the Thames in London, Kent and Essex to prevent the opponents of parliament from approaching the city.⁶⁹³ George Thompson and the Adventurer, George Snelling, both the MPs for Southwark, were appointed military commanders for the borough.⁶⁹⁴ Events in England had intervened again to prevent the despatch of funds to Ireland and part of the expected proceeds of the £20,000 per month subsidy was allocated to the delegation of merchants to Holland in September 1648.⁶⁹⁵ The Adventurers appear to have been content to wait for their money as they reasserted some control over policy toward Ireland. Much of the material was sent to Dublin by Maurice Thompson, Thomas Andrews and Stephen Estwick, arming the capital at the expense of both Munster and Ulster, while John Clotworthy was either unwilling or unable to attend meetings at Derby House.⁶⁹⁶ Unsurprisingly, events in London interrupted any further prosecution of parliament's war in Ireland, but more resources had been concentrated in Dublin for the winter of 1648-9 with the Adventurers' friends and clients in the army.⁶⁹⁷ Parliament included the city of Dublin, together with Cork, Kinsale, Youghal and Drogheda, in a new Adventure for Irish land, published in June 1648, to repay £50,000 loaned to parliament since January 1647 and secured against the estates of Francis Lord Cottington.⁶⁹⁸ Although the London-based receivers, William Hawkins and an Anglo-Dutch merchant, Gabriel Beck, were drawn from the Adventurers' inner circle, the New English parliamentarians in Ireland were also allowed, for the first time, to participate.⁶⁹⁹ The finance was arranged by Sir David Watkins and the providers included the usual

⁶⁹² Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, pp. 106-8. Skippon was selected as field marshal for Ireland in 1647 but had not taken up the post. The supply contract negotiated with Maurice Thompson and his partners in 1648 was intended to supply Skippon's Irish campaign.

⁶⁹³ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 529.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid* p. 530.

⁶⁹⁵ TNA SP 21/28 (unfoliated), 5 September 1648, instructions to Thompson and Andrews.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 19 October 1648, instructions to Thompson and Andrews.

⁶⁹⁷ See David Underdown, *Pride's Purge, Politics in the Puritan Revolution*, (Oxford, 1971), esp. pp. 'The Purge', 143-173 and Appendix A: 'Members of Parliament, December 1648-January 1649', pp. 361-398.

⁶⁹⁸ A&O, I, pp. 1147-1166, 'June 1648: An Ordinance for the explaining and enlarging of an Ordinance made the 13th January 1647. for raising 50,000l. for the speedy relief of Ireland, and reducing the Rebels there.'

⁶⁹⁹ Sir William Parsons, Sir Gerald Lowther, Sir Robert Meredith, Sir Robert King, Sir James Barry, Sir Paul Davies, Fenton Parsons. The rents raised from the Cottington estate were lower than expected, as part of the estate had been given to Hugh Peter as a gift, and part to Oliver Cromwell.

leading Adventurers: Thomas Andrews, William Hawkins, Richard Hill, William Pennoyer, Thomas Smith and Thomas Vincent. The effect of this urban Adventure, however, had the opposite effect to raising money for Ireland. It drew money out of Ireland to repay the Adventurers in England by enticing Irish merchants to make loans secured on urban properties.⁷⁰⁰

On 16 January 1649, with the trial of the King about to get underway, Maurice Thompson and his closest associates were appointed to a committee of enquiry into financial wrong doings in customs, the Navy, the Navy Commissioners and Trinity House.⁷⁰¹ What little opposition there was to the King's trial among the colonial merchant community had been organised by Trinity House, which published a petition to parliament on 21 June 1648 calling for a negotiated personal treaty with the King.⁷⁰² Although the loyalty of the Navy was the overriding concern, the new committee of enquiry also afforded the Adventurers an opportunity to keep away from the trial, along with the earl of Warwick who left London for its duration.⁷⁰³ The following day, to ensure the security of the City of London, a new militia committee was constituted, once again dominated by Adventurers for Irish

⁷⁰⁰ For these investors see National Archives of Ireland, QRO/4/3/32, Survey of Waterford City; QRO/4/3/33, Survey of Limerick City, QRO/4/3/3, Survey of Galway City; Oxford University, Rawlinson MS B 508, Survey of Dublin City.

⁷⁰¹ A&O, I, pp. 1257-1260, 'January 1649: An Act touching the Regulating of the Officers of the Navy and Customs.'; Andrews, *Ships, Money and Politics*, pp. 200-202. The commissioners were Jonathan Andrews, Thomas Andrews, William Berkeley, Stephen Estwick, Richard Hill, Richard Hutchinson, John Langley, Samuel Moyer, Samuel and William Pennoyer, James Russell, Maurice and Robert Thompson and William Willoughby.

⁷⁰² British Library, Thomason Tracts 1251, f. 1. The petition was passed by a vote, 90 for and 12 against. The purpose of the petition in June was to convince Charles Stuart that the Trinity House mariners were well intentioned towards him in the hope that he would reduce the ransom for the merchant ships he had seized.

⁷⁰³ CJ, VI, pp. 149-150; John Barratt, *Cromwell's War at Sea*, (Barnsley, 2009), pp. 7-9; Andrews, *Ships, Money and Politics*, p. 201. The committee of inquiry also afforded the opportunity for these Adventurers to purge both the Commissioners of the Navy and Trinity House. By February 1649 the Elder Brethren of Trinity House comprised Adventurers Maurice Thompson, Thomas Smith and Samuel Moyer with the notable addition of Richard Deane, a veteran of Naseby who was killed during the Dutch War. Thomas Smith, William Willoughby and Robert Thompson were added to the Committee of the Navy at the expense of William Batten and Samuel Vassal. In the months immediately following the execution of Charles I, three of the Thompson brothers had effective control of the Navy while the fourth, William, was on a voyage to India closing in on the business of the East India Company. To assist them with their naval reorganisation, the money raised from the sale of Irish cities in 1648 was transferred to the navy commissioners.

land but with the notable absence of both the Thompsons and Pennoyers.⁷⁰⁴ Thomas Andrews, Stephen Estwick and Samuel Moyer were appointed to both the navy commission and the militia committee and although Andrews, a commissioner at the King's trial, did not sign the King's death warrant, he was present when the sentence was passed. Out of the 59 regicides and additional 19 commissioners at the King's trial who refused to sign the King's death warrant, only nineteen were Adventurers for Irish land.⁷⁰⁵ Of these, eleven Adventurers signed and eight refused to do so. Of the eleven who signed, none were from the Adventurers' leadership, while most of those who declined to sign, led by Thomas Andrews, were major subscribers to the Adventure in 1642. Although the Adventurers were central to events at the outbreak of the Civil Wars, the Regicide was clearly a step too far for most. Their most influential patron in the army, Sir Thomas Fairfax, also refused to sign the King's death warrant. Their navy patron, the earl of Warwick, opposed the execution of the King and allowed his commission of Lord High Admiral to be revoked in February 1649.

The execution of the King presented the Adventurers with both challenges and opportunities. The arrival of Prince Rupert with a fleet of Royalist ships at Kinsale, County Cork at the end of January 1649 posed an immediate threat to transatlantic traffic. In March 1649, learning of the regicide, Governor George Berkeley in Virginia invited Charles II to travel to the relative safety of the colony and to rule his dominions from there.⁷⁰⁶ As the Caribbean colonies were now devoted almost entirely to sugar production, Virginia had become the only source of English tobacco. Royalist Virginia made this commodity available to Dutch shipping for general sale in Europe, diverting profits both to the Dutch and to the royalist cause. In May, Charles signalled his intention to borrow

⁷⁰⁴ A&O, I, pp. 1261-1262, 'Januarii 1649: An Act of the Commons Assembled in Parliament, For the setting of the Militia (of the City) of London, and Liberties thereof.'. The militia committee was dominated by Adventurers and merchants closely associated with the supply of the English army in Ireland: Francis Allen, Thomas Andrews, Gregory Clement, John Dethwick, Stephen Estwick, Tempest Milner, Samuel Moyer and Thomas Noel.

⁷⁰⁵ The Adventurers who signed the death warrant were John Allured, John Barkstead, John Blackiston, Gregory Clement, Miles Corbett, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Marten, Gilbert Millington, Henry Smith, Robert Tichborne and Edward Whalley. The Adventurers present at the trial but did not sign the death warrant were Thomas Andrews, James Harrington, Edward Harvey, William Heveningham, John Lisle, William Mounson, Isaac Pennington and Gilbert Pickering.

⁷⁰⁶ Percy Scott Flippin, *The Royal Government in Virginia 1624-1775*, (London, 1919), p. 105.

£20,000 from the Dutch, and to travel to Ireland.⁷⁰⁷ Parliament responded by announcing that Oliver Cromwell would be given the command of an army for the invasion of Ireland.⁷⁰⁸ The Adventurers were now required to devote their resources to the re-conquest of Ireland, with the prospect of finally acquiring enormous estates.

The perennial difficulties faced by the Committee of Both Kingdoms in their attempts to supply their forces had taught them that the conquest of Ireland could not be attempted without adequate supplies of currency to pay for weapons, gunpowder and food, as well as wages for the soldiers. On 14 April 1649 parliament advised the Council of State that a large consignment of gold bullion had been made available to them from a ship recently arrived from West Africa belonging to the Guinea Company.⁷⁰⁹ The Guinea Company was still theoretically owned by Nicholas Crispe but was now run by Maurice Thompson, John Wood, Rowland Wilson and Thomas Walter, while its shipping was contracted from Samuel Vassall.⁷¹⁰ Thompson and his partners made a gift of £10,000 in gold to the Council of State in return for free trading privileges in the Gambia. The implosion of the Dutch West India Company provided the space for the Adventurers to establish their Caribbean sugar plantations and also allowed them to gain a foothold in the West African slave trade. The main source of income for the Dutch had been the supply of African slaves to Spanish and Portuguese colonies in South America, a trade that Thompson, Wilson and the Noels were happy to move into.

Anxious to establish a reliable supply of gunpowder and to maintain a reasonable income through custom duties to pay for the navy, the Council of State acted to facilitate the merger of the two main factions competing for the East India trade in August 1649. The two factions could not have been more amenable to a merger as the Second General Voyage was led by Maurice Thompson and the East India Company was represented by Thomas Andrews.⁷¹¹ On 17 August the entire incoming cargo of saltpeter belonging to the

⁷⁰⁷ Micheál Ó Siochrú, *God's Executioner, Oliver Cromwell and the Conquest of Ireland*, London, 2008), p. 67.

⁷⁰⁸ Eamon Darcy, *The Irish Rebellion and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms*, (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 136. Cromwell was not the Adventurers first choice. Earlier in 1649 they had proposed their old friend, Philip Skippon, for command of the English army in Ireland.

⁷⁰⁹ TNA CO/ 1/ 10, f. 23.

⁷¹⁰ R. Porter, 'The Crispe Family and the African Trade in the Seventeenth Century', *The Journal of African History*, 9:1 (1968), p. 68; TNA CO1/10, f. 29.

⁷¹¹ Sainsbury, *East India Company*, p. 342. The owners of the second general voyage were William Barkley, Samuel Moyer, Maurice Thomson, Roger Vivian, Nathan Wright, William Vincent, Captain William Ryder, Captain Jeremy Black-man, and Aaron Baker, the Joint Stock by William Cockayne, William Methwold, William Ashwell, Rowland

Second General Voyage, freighted in Maurice Thompson's vessel, the *Ruth*, and commanded by William Thompson, was placed at the disposal of the Commonwealth.⁷¹² Cromwell was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on 22 June and in this capacity the Council of State wrote to him on 24 July advising him that seven East India Company ships had arrived from the East Indies, securing the supply of gunpowder for at least another year.⁷¹³ To secure the supply, William Pennoyer was allocated the enormous sum of £150,000 on the Irish excise.⁷¹⁴ Although the saltpeter comprised, by volume, only 3% of the incoming East India cargo, the profit margin obtained by Pennoyer for his consortium was 300%.⁷¹⁵ With such a profit margin, the Adventurers could afford to wait for payment. The Indian saltpeter was a critical component in Cromwell's arsenal as from this point he could use his muskets and siege artillery with abandon. The saltpeter transaction also signified the strategic importance of the East India Company saltpeter channel and that control of the supply and the Company was better put into the hands of the Adventurers rather than the consortium of former Royalist merchants who made up the majority of the Company's shareholders.

The formal merger of the English East Company and the Maurice Thompson-controlled Courteen Association occurred in January 1650 and the new company was given a renewed monopoly, by parliament, over East Asian trade.⁷¹⁶ Although many royalist merchants had returned to London following the execution of Charles I, and the existing East India Company officers, William Cockayne, William Methwold and John Massingberd, retained their senior posts of President, Deputy-president and Treasurer respectively, the company was now clearly under the control of the Adventurers Thomas Andrews, Samuel Moyer, Thomas Smith and Maurice Thompson.⁷¹⁷ Thompson arranged for the East India Company to purchase supplies of hardwood from the Guinea Company,

Wilson, Gilbert More wood, Thomas Jennings, Gilbert Keate, James Mann, and Thomas Andrews.

⁷¹² *Ibid* p. 343. The owners of the cargo were John Robinson, Nicholas Corsellis, William Pennoyer, Thomas Hall, Robert Thompson, Samuel Pennoyer, William Harris, Richard Batson, Michael Davison, William Thomson, John Woods, Martin Noell, Cornelius Mounteney, James Houbolon, John Casier, Adam Laurence, Hugh Norris, William Boone, Thomas Harris, and Ahasuerus Regemont.

⁷¹³ *Ibid*, p. 335.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid* p. 350.

⁷¹⁵ Ronald Findlay and Kevin H. O'Rourke, 'Commodity Market Integration, 1500-2000' in Michael D. Burdo (ed.), *Globalisation in Historical Perspective*, (Chicago, 2003), p. 21.

⁷¹⁶ Scott, *Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies*, ii, 245.

⁷¹⁷ BL IOR/B/25 Court Minutes of the East India Company, f. 33.

which he also controlled, to construct a new fleet.⁷¹⁸ The introduction of the Adventurers' shipping expertise had a galvanising effect on the company and it grew from one third of the size of the Dutch East India Company in 1650 to one half of the size by 1660.⁷¹⁹ The company was organised into departments that oversaw shipping, the management of the Asian factories and the sale of the imported merchandise. Thomas Andrews, Samuel Moyer and Andrew Riccard were responsible for managing the sale of saltpeter.⁷²⁰ An ongoing effect of the rise of the East India Company under the Adventurers' leadership was that its success required an increased supply of silver, necessary for the purchase of Asian cargoes.

Responsibility for converting the saltpeter into gunpowder rested with the Committee for Powder Match and Bullet, comprised of the Adventurers Samuel Vassall, Robert Pye, John Rolle, Walter Erle, Alexander Bence and Thomas Pury.⁷²¹ The remaining member was Giles Greene, a Dorchester merchant involved in smuggling beaver pelts from New England in the 1620s, and in the abortive Dorchester Company colony at Cape Ann in New England in the early 1630s that was subsequently taken over by Maurice Thompson.⁷²² The secretary of the committee was Joseph Hutchinson, a brother of the Adventurer Richard Hutchinson. The saltpeter was sent to three gunpowder manufacturers, Robert Cordwell, John Beresford and Daniel Judd who despatched 1,000 barrels of powder to the Irish expedition.⁷²³

The Council of State ultimately committed £535,000 to Cromwell's conquest of Ireland, in addition to money secured on Irish revenues and spoils plundered in Ireland during the course of the campaign.⁷²⁴ The entire apparatus of state finance was committed to the success of the campaign and key figures from the Adventure for Irish land were at the centre of this financing effort. The principal sources of finance were the loan for £50,000

⁷¹⁸ *Ibid*, f. 33.

⁷¹⁹ Niels Steensgard, 'The Growth and Composition of the Long-Distance Trade of England and the Dutch Republic before 1750' in James D. Tracey (ed.), *The Rise of Merchant Empires*, (Cambridge, 1990), pp 102-52 at p. 110.

⁷²⁰ BL IOR/B/25 Court Minutes of the East India Company, f. 33v.

⁷²¹ TNA SP 28/350/3, f. 3.

⁷²² <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/greene-giles-1596-1656>; accessed 21/08/2015.

⁷²³ TNA SP 26/29, ff. 115-116.

⁷²⁴ LJ, VI, p. 15. To place this figure in context, Parliament's entire naval expenditure from January 1643 to May 1645 was £641,000 and £450,000 of this money came from customs. The Irish campaign was a huge undertaking, particularly as it was compressed into a relatively short time-span.

arranged by Sir David Watkins in 1648, secured against specific sequestered English estates; the £20,000 per month subsidy administered by Thomas Andrews and Maurice Thompson to be collected across England; proceeds from the sale of Dean and Chapters lands managed by Stephen Estwick, William Hobson and Thomas Noel; money loaned against the security of additional sequestered estates arranged by Richard Waring and Michael Herring and money raised against a further £150,000 loan charged against the English excise under the chairmanship of George Thompson.⁷²⁵

These financial arrangements were not created specifically for Cromwell's campaign but were pre-existing measures that had either not been implemented at all or were unsuccessful prior to 1649. The £20,000 per month subsidy for Ireland was created by a parliamentary ordinance on 16 February 1647 but the treasurers had not been appointed until 3 April 1648.⁷²⁶ The collection of this money did not begin until August 1649, but the initial response was promising with £2,500 coming in from Norfolk alone by the end of September and similar amounts from Essex, Kent and Hertfordshire.⁷²⁷ Overall, the assessments came in consistently until March 1650 and a respectable £108,500 was raised from a target of £120,000, with £87,000 of that paid directly to Cromwell's campaign.⁷²⁸ Of the remainder, £5,000 was paid to Sir Edward Hill for the maintenance of his forces in Ulster, £445 to Thomas Andrews and Maurice Thompson for their handling fees, £150 to Maurice Thompson, Edward Willoughby and William Pennoyer for transporting supplies and the four agents for the Dutch Adventure of 1643 were finally paid in cash.⁷²⁹ One notable debt charged on the assessment was not paid. John Clotworthy had his accounts approved by Parliament on 6 September 1648 and £2,000 charged against the assessment.⁷³⁰ This left Clotworthy in the uncomfortable position of having to ask Thomas Andrews and Maurice Thompson, his most persistent critics, for the money. Clotworthy was back in Parliament two days later looking for a specific ordinance compelling

⁷²⁵ TNA SP 21/29, ff. 34, 81; Coffman, *Excise*, p. 1435. The most active members of the English excise in 1649 were George Thompson, Richard Aldworth, Gregory Clement, Edmund Harvey, Robert Brewster and Luke Hodges.

⁷²⁶ TNA SP 28/350/7, f. 1.

⁷²⁷ TNA SP 28/350/7, f. 2-6. For a complete list of county collectors see *Journals of the House of Lords*, Vol. 10, pp. 49-55.

⁷²⁸ TNA SP 28/350/7, f. 30.

⁷²⁹ TNA SP 28/350/7, f. 31. The four agents were Maurice Thompson, Nicholas Corsellis, Derek Hoast and Adam Laurence.

⁷³⁰ CJ, VI, pp. 8-9.

Andrews and Thompson to pay him but the result of this petition was an order instructing that the assessment be used for Cromwell's Irish campaign alone.⁷³¹

The raising and disposal of the £20,000 subsidy demonstrates the level of control Cromwell asserted over his sources of finance, as this was the first major subsidy for Ireland used directly for an Irish campaign. It also indicates how grateful the Adventurers were for their East India Company monopoly. The subsidy was financed in advance by Maurice Thompson, Thomas Andrews and Stephen Estwick and their interest charge of £4,859 was approved by Sir John Wollaston in December 1649. Taking the fees and interest together the contactors took a comfortable 5%. Unusually, and perhaps to ensure the money could not be diverted, the subsidy was not managed from one of the livery halls or a room at parliament, but from the home of Thomas Andrews. The contractors also made use of an extensive network of London merchants who accepted bills of exchange from the regional collectors and then paid in the relevant subsidy in cash to the collectors, taking away the cost and risk of transporting cash from the provinces into London.⁷³²

However practical this arrangement may have been, it left the treasurers open to criticism that these methods led to unnecessary costs to the state and to profiteering. Writing in 1653, Thomas Fauntleroy accused the treasurers of the excise of long-term pilferage by advancing loans with interest but leaving the repayment of those loans until as late as possible, thereby maximising their fees.⁷³³ If the £20,000 subsidy was collected efficiently, an interest bill of almost £5,000 could have been avoided. Michael Braddick has identified a similar practise among excise commissioners in Norwich in 1663 where the collector loaned the excise money to a third party, presumably with interest, and the transaction was only discovered when the borrower was unable to repay the money in time for the commissioner to make his return.⁷³⁴ A £50,000 loan arranged by Sir David Watkins and secured on a portfolio of sequestered estates provides ample evidence of these practices.⁷³⁵ The money was advanced to David Watkins by William Hawkins, who was to be repaid from the proceeds of these sequestrations. Hawkins was awarded £3,075 in interest for this

⁷³¹ *Ibid*, pp. 10-16.

⁷³² TNA SP 28/350/7, *passim*.

⁷³³ Thomas Fauntleroy, *Lux in Tenebris or, A Clavis to the Treasury on Broad Street*, (London, 1653), p. 11.

⁷³⁴ Michael Braddick, *Parliamentary Taxation in Seventeenth Century England- Local Administration and Response* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 207.

⁷³⁵ The full particulars of this loan are in TNA SP 25/125.

loan, presumably raised in turn from his brother-in-law, Maurice Thompson.⁷³⁶ The accounts reveal that the collectors would typically retain up to half of the rent for their 'charges' and that rents were routinely allowed to fall into arrears.⁷³⁷ The management of the loan reveals a large cohort of merchants and managers all making large profits from the administration of sequestered estates. To counter this criticism, it should be stated that the English Commonwealth never defaulted despite the financial strains of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms while the Adventurers were in charge of its finance committees. The same cannot be said for France, which defaulted on its sovereign debt three times during the same period, or Spain, which defaulted once.

The treasurers of the Dean and Chapter lands were so awash with cash that on 3 October 1649 Parliament appointed a small committee of merchants, all Adventurers, to organise the repayment of the 1642 donation of plate, money and horses out of the money at Weavers Hall or for double the value in church land.⁷³⁸ This repayment reflected a confidence amongst the treasurers that they would have little difficulty raising the full amount required to support Cromwell's campaign in Ireland and the continued disbandment of forces in England. The treasurers for the Sale of Forfeited Lands and Estates at Goldsmiths Hall estimated their forthcoming receipts at £213,000 and promised to begin transferring money to the Committee of the Navy and to take over the loans made by the treasurers at Weavers Hall to finance Cromwell's army.⁷³⁹

The treasurers for the sale of Forfeited Lands and Estates were Francis Allen, Thomas Andrews, John Dethicke and Sir John Wollaston.⁷⁴⁰ A series of acts were passed by parliament from 21 July 1651 to 18 November 1652 allocating £1,000,500 to the proceeds from these sales. As treasurer for the army, Sir John Wollaston received £150,000 of this money and, as navy treasurer, Richard Hutchinson received a further £262,000.⁷⁴¹ John Massingberd accepted £20,000 on behalf of the East India Company for saltpeter.⁷⁴² The exchequer received £39,000 for general expenditure, and there were many other small payments, but, out of the £619,976 collected, £56,427 was paid out to 'surveyors, clerks

⁷³⁶ TNA SP 25/125, f. 192, 'memorandum'.

⁷³⁷ TNA SP 25/125, f.87 provides an example. This volume of State Papers is a detailed record of the management of these sequestered estates.

⁷³⁸ CJ, VI, pp. 301-2. The Adventurers were George Cooper, Maurice Gethin, William Hiccocks and Sylvanus Taylor.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*, 311-312.

⁷⁴⁰ TNA E164/60, f. 1.

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*, f. 3.

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*, f. 4.

and messengers' of the committee.⁷⁴³ The Adventurers were practising patronage on a grand scale.

Retaining William Dobbins as commissary for the army in London, the Adventurers installed William Hawkins as commissary for the armies in Ireland and he travelled to Ireland with Cromwell. The former commissary, Walter Frost, was promoted to the position of Secretary to the Council of State with a gratuity of £2,000.⁷⁴⁴ Maurice Thompson, Thomas Andrews and Stephen Estwick acted as the primary contractors for supplies for the Irish campaign and purchased £41,000 worth of food, clothes and small weapons in London in August 1649.⁷⁴⁵ The contractors also acted as financiers and lent £20,000 in cash, as part of the £100,000 brought by Cromwell to pay his soldiers.⁷⁴⁶ Maurice Thompson presented a further bill for £1,240 for freight charges for goods to be shipped from England to Ireland and all of these consignments arrived on time.⁷⁴⁷ In addition to supplies, the Thompson circle also arranged the shipping for Cromwell's invasion fleet and a contract for £2,500, charged on Dean and Chapter Land, was awarded to Robert Thompson, William Willoughby, Thomas Smith and John Holland.⁷⁴⁸ Their reward for these services were continued concessions, and in April 1649 a consortium of Adventurers including Maurice and Robert Thompson, Thomas Smith, John Holland, John Dethwick and John Upton were appointed Commissioners for the Sale of Prize goods.⁷⁴⁹ The Adventurers' circle, therefore, bolstered with sugar money, asserted a tightening grip over parliamentary military finance. A large proportion of the County commissioners for Compounding were drawn from the friends and family members of the leading Adventurers, appointed in the months following the execution of Charles I. On 5 January

⁷⁴³ *Ibid*, f. 85.

⁷⁴⁴ TNA SP 21/26, f. 142. This was also paid by the treasurers for the sale of Forfeited Lands and Estates (TNA E164/60, f. 85).

⁷⁴⁵ TNA SP 46/95, f. 164. The Adventurers Elias Palmer and Thomas Sprigg were subcontracted to manage the warehousing and despatch of this material.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid*, f. 228. The interest charged was £1,082.

⁷⁴⁷ TNA SP 46/ 95, f. 224.

⁷⁴⁸ TNA SP 21/ 29, f. 43.

⁷⁴⁹ A&O, II, pp. 75-78, 'April 1649: An Act for appointing Commissioners for Sale of Prize goods.'. Upton invested the enormous sum of £7,500 in fee-farms in 1650 (SP 26, Vol. 1, ff 62-63). John Upton's daughter, Ursula, married George Clarke who became the second largest aggregator of Adventures after David Watkins. This Clarke, not to be confused with the eponymous Sheriff of London in 1642, was the son of John Clarke, an associate of William Tucker. John Clarke was a ship's pilot who initially worked for the Virginia Company, was later the pilot for the *Mayflower* on the Plymouth Pilgrim expedition and transported cattle from Cork to Virginia for Daniel Gookin. He died in Virginia in 1623 and his children were sent back to England.

1649 Francis Allen and Samuel Moyer were appointed to farm all of the compositions by delinquents in the City of London, highlighting the increasing cash pile at the Adventurers' disposal.⁷⁵⁰ By 1650 the county commissioners included William Watkins, brother of Sir David, William Thompson, brother of Maurice, Thomas Shute, son of Richard, John Peck, brother of Francis and Thomas Bateman, brother of John to name but a few.⁷⁵¹

Rewards from Cromwell to the Adventurers who had financed the conquest of Ireland continued to flow. On 20 September 1650, following the death of John Towse, John Langham and John Kendrick were replaced as excise commissioners and a new commission was formed comprising Maurice Thompson, Thomas Foote, George Snelling, Thomas Bulstrode, William Parker and Richard Downes.⁷⁵² The commissioners were rewarded at a rate of 3% of all excise collected. When the Adventurers seized control of customs in 1643 their main argument had been that farming was an inefficient means of raising revenue and that the new customs commissioners would operate on the basis of their percentage commission only. The excise commissioners of 1650 resurrected farming, in addition to raising their commission from 2% to 3%, reflective, again, of sugar profits. The reality was that Maurice Thompson and his partners lacked the cash to finance customs in 1643, but this was not the case by 1650. The September ordinance allowed the commissioners to farm any branch of the excise, by locality or commodity, to their friends, holding out the prospect of a tidy profit for the sub-commissioners but guaranteeing an immediate commission of 3% to Thompson, Foote and their immediate associates, as the farmers were required to advance the full year's agreed excise for their farms. The Excise Commissioners, without having to finance this office directly, could expect to earn £12,000 per year from this enterprise.⁷⁵³

The Adventurers spent some of their profits on Crown, Church and Royalist estates, as well as the purchase of fee-farm rents, a financial instrument whereby the investor purchased the future rent of an estate for a fixed upfront payment in the hope on making a profit over the term of the farm. In 1649 Thomas Andrews invested the enormous sum of

⁷⁵⁰ CCC, p. 136.

⁷⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 172. John Bateman was also invited onto the central committee of the East India Company in 1652.

⁷⁵² A&O, II, pp. 422-423, 'September 1650: An Act for appointing Commissioners for the Excise.'. William Parker's brother, John, was a minister and key figure in the local government of Barbados during the 1640s and 1650s. See Larry Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados 1627-1660* (Oxford, 2003), p. 25.

⁷⁵³ To put this amount into contemporary perspective, the earl of Ormond valued his estate in 1660 at £8,000 pa and the earl of Cork £12,000 pa.

£10,759 in a church estate in Kent and a portfolio of fee-farms. Thomas Boone, a Devon merchant who had originally invested £600 in the Irish Adventure and had more recently joined with Andrews, Pennoyer and Maurice Thompson in their 1647 East India adventure, invested £7,274 in fee-farms alone.⁷⁵⁴ Richard Clutterbuck and Stephen Estwick both purchased Church estates in Kent for £4,892 and £3,012 respectively. William Heveningham purchased a church estate for £4,161 in Cumbria while Richard Hunt, another partner in the 1647 East India adventure, purchased a church estate in Norfolk for £4,576. John Kendrick spent £3,300 for an estate in London, as did Robert Parkhurst with an investment of £7,280. Maurice Thompson kept out of the English plundered land market, although his brother Robert and son John both invested heavily.⁷⁵⁵ William Pennoyer had a single small investment of £170, but even this was purchased through an agent.⁷⁵⁶

The big merchants, Maurice Thompson and David Watkins in particular, profited by means of financial instruments developed around the land sales, but avoided purchasing the estates directly. Ordinances for the sale of sequestered estates were accompanied by a call for loans against future proceeds from these sales. The Ordinance to sell Dean and Chapter lands of 27 June 1649 was accompanied by a call for a loan of £300,000 at 8% interest to be repaid out of future sales, and £350,000 was ordered to be borrowed against the future proceeds of sales of Crown and Church lands on 25 June.⁷⁵⁷ By the 1650s David Watkins was effectively acting as a private banker to the earl of Warwick.⁷⁵⁸ Warwick's ships, and those provided by a cohort built around the investors in the Additional Sea Adventure, were contracted by Navy Commissioners George Thompson and Henry Vane Jnr. Such transactions required sophisticated financing, as these loans could be outstanding for a considerable length of time.⁷⁵⁹ The primary source of all of this finance had become the burgeoning slave economy of the West Indies.

⁷⁵⁴ TNA SP 26/1, f. 62.

⁷⁵⁵ TNA SP 28/288, f. 113, TNA SP 26/, f. 7.

⁷⁵⁶ TNA SP 26/1, f. 87. The fee-farm was purchased by Jeffry White on Pennoyer's behalf.

⁷⁵⁷ A&O, II, pp. 155-156a, 'June 1649: An Act for Encouragement of Purchasers of Deans and Chapters Lands.'

⁷⁵⁸ BL Add MS 46190, f. 40.

⁷⁵⁹ A&O, II, pp. 140-142. 'June 1649: An Act for Instructions for the Trustees Treasurer and Register-Accountant for the Sale of the Deans and Chapter Lands, for the admitting such as have moneys owing them by the Parliament, to double the same upon the Credit of the Lands of the Deans and Chapters.' Two of the original loans advanced for the suppression of the Irish rebellion in 1642, the £100,000 borrowed from the City of London and the £100,000 borrowed from the Adventurers, were still outstanding in 1649.

The African slave population of Barbados had increased from a few hundred people in 1640 to 12,800 in 1650, while the European population on the island increased from 14,000 to 23,000.⁷⁶⁰ Between 1650 and 1660 the European population actually fell to 19,000, while the African population increased to 27,100. The European population of St Kitts remained stable at 12,000 and that of Nevis increased from 3,000 to 12,000 between 1640 and 1650, reflecting the Cromwellian transport of Irish and Scottish prisoners of war in 1650. Consequently the African population of the smaller Leeward Islands grew more slowly from 2,500 in 1650 to 6,400 in 1660.⁷⁶¹ The concentration of people in Barbados reflected how labour intensive the early sugar industry was and how successful it had become since pioneered by Thomas Andrews, Martin Noell and Maurice Thompson in the 1640s. Just as he had secured a near monopoly on the two-way trade of British servants for Virginia tobacco in the 1630s, Thompson built up a dominant position in the triangular trade of Caribbean sugar, made with African slave labour and shipped to Europe. Thompson's partners in his Gambian slaving expeditions, initially his long-standing partner Samuel Vassall, then the Noells and finally Nicholas Crisp, reflect a change in the dynamic at the upper level of London's merchant community in the early 1650s.⁷⁶² Nicholas Crisp, recognising a lost cause, compounded for his estates in 1647, moved back to London and was followed by many other royalist merchants after the execution of Charles I.⁷⁶³

This alliance of parliamentarian and former royalist merchants created a powerful new dynamic within the city. The Adventurers applied continuous pressure on the Council of State to further secure their burgeoning empires. Samuel Vassall, on behalf of one group of merchants, sought the annulment of the old, Crispe controlled Guinea Company's charter to trade in West Africa, claiming that the existing company had never made any significant investment in Africa, but had made a gift to Charles I of £10,000 instead.⁷⁶⁴ Vassall also proposed a new settlement at what is now Port Elizabeth in South Africa.⁷⁶⁵ A further Assada Company fleet was despatched to India in 1650, led by the *Assada Merchant* under

⁷⁶⁰ Barry Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean*, (Baltimore, MD., 1984), pp. 417-421; Gemery, 'Emigration', p. 211.

⁷⁶¹ The Leeward Islands comprise St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat and the Virgin Islands.

⁷⁶² John C. Appleby, 'English Settlement During War and Peace' in Robert L. Paquette and Sidney L. Engerman (Eds.), *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion* (Gainesville, 1996), pp. 86-104.

⁷⁶³ CCAM, III, p. 57.

⁷⁶⁴ TNA CO 1/11, f. 29.

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 29v.

the command of Captain Richard Swanley, the former Sea Adventurer.⁷⁶⁶ Leadership of the Levant Company passed into the hands of William Pennoyer, Martin Noell and John Foulke, with the last of the old Royalist promoters excised from the company's ranks.⁷⁶⁷ All of this activity was happening in the East as the Adventurers picked off what was left of the old chartered trading companies. In the Western colonies, however, opposition was brewing.

In 1649, while the Adventurers concentrated on Cromwell's Irish campaign, Charles II made a huge grant of land in Virginia, the Northern Neck, to Ralph, Lord Hopton, Henry Jermyn, earl of St Albans, John, Lord Culpeper and Sir Dudley Wyatt.⁷⁶⁸ The five million acre grant was equivalent in size to the existing Virginia colony and immediately attracted royalist sympathisers from Virginia, Maryland and New England. The new colony was intended as a tobacco plantation, with the quit rent payable in that easily transportable commodity. The execution of King Charles resulted in an outpouring of sympathy in the American colonies for the royalist cause. Royalists who had 'lately slid abroad from the hand of justice' were welcome to settle in Barbados, if they could pay a composition of 100 pounds of tobacco for each acre on which they wished to settle.⁷⁶⁹ In April 1650, the Barbadian Council declared that it was extending the umbrella of its government over the 'lesser islands', including the smaller sugar producing colonies in the Antilles.⁷⁷⁰ During the summer of 1650, Barbados began to construct fortifications to protect it against Parliamentary attack and on 17 October the colony recognised Charles II's 'right to the dominion of this Island and the rights of the Right Honourable earl of Carlisle'.⁷⁷¹ These measures presented the Adventurers with the greatest challenge they had faced so far. By offering their allegiance to Charles II, the colonies were in effect opening up all of their trade to the Dutch. The re-instatement of the Carlisle patent provided a legal means by which the new Barbadian planters could occupy the plantations currently held by the Adventurers and acquired at enormous expense during the mid-1640s. Barbados was the key source of revenue for the Adventurers, providing the profits that enabled them to finance Cromwell's Irish campaign, as well as their expansions in the East. The loss of

⁷⁶⁶ William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1646-1650*, (Oxford, 1914), p. 329.

⁷⁶⁷ TNA SP 71/25, f. 9.

⁷⁶⁸ Anon, 'The Northern Neck of Virginia', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 6: 4 (April 1898), pp. 222-226. The territory was inherited by Thomas Fairfax, 6th Lord Fairfax, following a marriage between Fairfax and a Culpepper.

⁷⁶⁹ TNA CO 1/11, f. 40.

⁷⁷⁰ *Ibid*, f. 26-27.

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid*, ff. 32, 60-61.

Barbados could cause their entire commercial edifice to collapse. The sugar plantation owners in London, led by William Pennoyer, launched a vigorous petitioning campaign and offered ships to mount a campaign against the islands.⁷⁷² Pennoyer's petition also made reference to the number of recently arrived 'incenderies' on Barbados. Perhaps the transportation by Cromwell of royalist troops from Ireland to the colony in 1649 had not been such a good idea. By 3 April 1650, most of the Adventurers' estates in Barbados had been sequestered by the Royalist government.⁷⁷³

The Northern Neck grant triggered a renewed interest by the council of State in the colonies and Benjamin Worsley was employed to prepare a list of all Virginian grants of land made up to the execution of Charles I.⁷⁷⁴ A committee comprising William Allen, Maurice Thompson, William Pennoyer and Worsley was established on 28 December to recommend a course of action that would secure Virginia and Maryland for parliament. This committee was formalised as the Council of Trade in 1650, with the Navy commissioner and former Governor of Massachusetts, Henry Vane as president and Worsley as secretary.⁷⁷⁵ Worsley's association with the Adventurers began back in October 1642 when, acting as agent for Richard FitzGerald on behalf of the Lord Justices of Ireland, he successfully lobbied for supplies of medicine to be sent to Dublin by the Adventurers' committee.⁷⁷⁶ Worsley was awarded a license by an unpublished Ordinance of Parliament in 1646 to manufacture saltpeter in England, in an effort to reduce the cost of importing from France.⁷⁷⁷ This enterprise became unnecessary following Thompson and Pennoyer's successful mission to India in 1647 to assure a constant supply.⁷⁷⁸ The Council of Trade included veterans of the London trained bands and plate money collections of 1642, John Foulke and Richard Waring. A conspicuous addition to the colonial merchant's

⁷⁷² *Ibid*, f. 62.

⁷⁷³ *Ibid*, f. 84.

⁷⁷⁴ Sainsbury, *State Papers Colonial*, p. 331.

⁷⁷⁵ James E. Farnell, 'The Navigation Act of 1651, the First Dutch War, and the London Merchant Community' *Economic History Review*, New Series, 16: 3 (1964), pp. 439-454 at p. 441.

⁷⁷⁶ BL Add MS 4771, f. 25. Worsley reported the supplier, Richard Clay, to the committee for over-charging and had Clay's accounts audited and his payments suspended.

⁷⁷⁷ Michael Hunter, Antonio Clericuzio and Laurence M. Principe (eds.), *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle*, 6 vols, (London, 2001), vol. 1, 42-44.

⁷⁷⁸ CMEIC, p. 81.

group was William Methold, now a partner of the Adventurers in the East India Company.⁷⁷⁹

The task of Maurice Thompson's Council of Trade as it met in 1650 was to formulate a new trade policy for the Commonwealth. The Common Council, the main representative body for London's merchants, preferred a policy of making London a free port.⁷⁸⁰ Their idea was to open up London to vessels of all nations, and to make goods for re-export free of the usual import duties and customs. This idea was quickly blocked by Pennoyer, who inserted himself onto the Common Council committee to influence its decisions on Thompson's behalf. Pennoyer appears to have performed most of the political work in London to pave the way for the Navigation Act, while Thompson concentrated on the policy itself. The centrepiece of the Navigation Act that emerged from the Committee of Trade in 1651 was a ban on all non-English shipping interacting with the colonies. This idea had been around for a while. In August 1633, Captain William Tucker petitioned the King for such an arrangement and singled out the Dutch for criticism.⁷⁸¹ The Navigation Act of 1651 was really about ejecting the Royalists and Dutch from the colonies, by force if necessary. If all Barbadian sugar had to be exported on the Adventurers' ships, it became less significant where the sympathies of the colony's Governor lay. The Navigation Act, published by Parliament in October 1651, enshrined in legislation for the first time that 'no goods shall be imported from Asia, Africa or America, but in English ships'.⁷⁸² In addition to the export restrictions applied to the colonies, all colonial produce destined for Ireland and Scotland also had to be carried in English shipping. The only concession was to the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers, allowed to import goods carried across Europe by land into English ports in small foreign vessels. The Navigation Act, the cornerstone of English imperial policy for the next century, was a complete victory for the Adventurers.

In October 1651, the Navigation Act was only a piece of paper and would have to be imposed on the colonies. Parliament had banned all trade with the American colonies in October 1650 and the only exceptions were merchants who were awarded a specific

⁷⁷⁹ Chaudhuri, *English East India Company*, pp. 40, 81, 224, Methold, who subscribed £700 to the Adventure for Irish land, and £400 to the Sea Adventure, was the East India Company's representative in Surat, 1633-38. The link was probably William Hawkins, whose father commanded the early voyages to Surat in the 1600s. William Hawkins Snr was financed by Sir William Rumney.

⁷⁸⁰ Farnell, 'Navigation Act', p. 448.

⁷⁸¹ Tucker, *Colonial Virginians*, p. 14.

⁷⁸² A&O, II, pp. 559-562, 'October 1651: An Act for increase of Shipping, and Encouragement of the Navigation of this Nation.'

license from the Council of State.⁷⁸³ The policy was intended to starve the colonies into submission, a strategy alluded to in a statement from the Bermuda Assembly, signed by Henry Tucker in January 1652, promising the island's future allegiance to Parliament.⁷⁸⁴ The re-conquest of the colonies was entrusted to the Navy and the Navy Commissioners.⁷⁸⁵ The Navy despatched two fleets; the main fleet under the command of George Ayscue and Edward Thompson targeted Barbados and the second fleet, under Robert Bemiss and Edward Courtis, sailed to Virginia.⁷⁸⁶ Both squadrons reached their destinations in December 1651. These attacks were coordinated with two further fleets. The English Navy, under General Robert Blake, was keeping the Royalist fleet under Prince Rupert busy off the coasts of Portuguese West Africa and preventing it from interfering with the Caribbean mission. A fourth fleet was sent out in December 1651 by Maurice Thompson, Samuel Vassall and Rowland Wilson, now in control of the Guinea Company, on a major slaving venture to West Africa.⁷⁸⁷ This was an astonishing feat of coordination. The Guinea venture was clearly intended to re-populate Barbados with African slaves once the Royalist rebels had been cleared from the colony.⁷⁸⁸ Although the slaving fleet was destroyed by Prince Rupert at the mouth of the Gambia River, Barbados quickly surrendered to Ayscue's fleet.⁷⁸⁹ The entire cost of the mission was met by the capture of the island's sugar stock, amounting 158,000 pounds of sugar.⁷⁹⁰ The naval expeditions to the Caribbean and Virginia also marked a complete reversal of naval policy from that of the pre-Civil Wars era. Until 1651, the colonial planters, merchants and chartered naval companies had been expected to manage their own naval affairs and send out their own vessels, under letters of marque, to affect reprisals when necessary. The 1651 fleet, the intention of which was to secure private assets in Virginia and the Caribbean, was paid for

⁷⁸³ A&O, II, pp. 425-429, 'October 1650: An Act for prohibiting Trade with the Barbadoes, Virginia, Bermuda and Antego.'

⁷⁸⁴ TNA CO 1/11, f. 100.

⁷⁸⁵ Samuel Rawson Gardiner (ed.), *Letters and papers relating to the First Dutch War 1652-54*, (6 vols, London, 1899-1930), i, 54. The Navy Commissioners were Robert Thompson, John Holland, the tobacco merchants, Thomas Smith, now of the East India Company, Peter Pett, Parliament's principal ship-builder, Richard Hutchinson and Robert Mounson.

⁷⁸⁶ Gardiner, *First Dutch war*, i, 61; TNA CO 1/10, f. 107.

⁷⁸⁷ Elizabeth Dennan (ed.), *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, (Washington, D.C., 1930), p. 133.

⁷⁸⁸ Many of the Royalist colonists were moved to the ostensibly Dutch colony of Berbice, now in Guyana on the Northern coast of South America.

⁷⁸⁹ Dennan, *Documents ... of the Slave Trade*, p. 134

⁷⁹⁰ TNA CO 1/10, f. 158.

with public funds, in this case the proceeds from sequestered estates. Parliament, initially financed by the colonial merchants, was now subsidising them.

Although denied his slaves in the Gambia, the arrival of the second fleet in Virginia provided Maurice Thompson with a happy outcome. Bemiss' fleet was acting under the instructions of three commissioners appointed by the Council of State. These commissioners were William Claiborne, Maurice Thompson's former partner in the Kent Island project, Thomas Stegge, his former factor, and Richard Bennett, with whom the Thompsons had a long association.⁷⁹¹ Virginia surrendered without a fight and on 12 March 1652, Bennett was appointed Governor of the colony and Claiborne, Secretary of State. The Virginia colonists were aware that they were being forced into a government of 'a company of Merchants'.⁷⁹² In this case, articles of peace agreed between Bennett and the colonists were designed to continue business as usual.⁷⁹³ The Book of Common Prayer was tolerated, any Dutch cargoes that had already been purchased were allowed to be taken away and any committed royalists were granted leave to travel to England with one year to dispose of their estates. The royalist Governor, William Berkeley, was allowed to return to England unlike Francis Willoughby, the Barbadian governor who was marooned in South America.⁷⁹⁴ By 1652, Virginia and Barbados were very different colonies. Virginia was far less dependent on unfree labour, with 6,000 servants and 2,000 African slaves in a total population of 40,000.⁷⁹⁵ Mortality had reduced considerably, and deaths among newly arrived immigrants were rare. To its new owners, Virginia was to continue as before, producing tobacco and selling it to a very small group of well-connected Adventurers.

By the end of 1652 the Adventurers, led by Maurice Thompson, Thomas Andrews and William Pennoyer, with a small circle of investors and partners, had achieved a virtual monopoly over England's colonial production and were in control of the Eastern trade as well. Their remaining challenge was to curtail the aggression of Dutch commercial shipping. Despite their close personal and commercial ties to Dutch merchants, the

⁷⁹¹ Lois Green Carr, *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, (Williamsburg, 1988), P. 82.

⁷⁹² Lothrop Withington, 'Surrender of Virginia to the Parliamentary Commissioners', *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (July, 1903), pp. 32-41, p. 33.

⁷⁹³ The Articles of Surrender of Virginia to Parliament were first published in Hening, *Statutes at large ... Virginia*, i, 363-365.

⁷⁹⁴ Berkeley also insisted on being allowed to visit Charles II in Europe to apologise in person for surrendering the colony.

⁷⁹⁵ Albert Bushnell Hart, (ed.), *American History told by Contemporaries*, Vol. I, (London, 1897), p. 239.

Adventurers, through their control of the Navy Commissioners, enlisted the Navy to fight the First Dutch War, 1652-54. The Navy, heavily reinforced with the Adventurers' armed merchantmen and assisted by a storm that disabled the Dutch fleet, won a number of victories to secure the monopoly over colonial trade for the Adventurers. The First Dutch War was a particularly profitable one for the Adventurers' leadership, as Rowland Wilson and Richard Hill were appointed commissioners for the sale of Dutch prizes in December 1652.⁷⁹⁶ The Adventurers had their pick of, and could name their price for, the dozens of ships captured by the Navy during the war. This was now a total victory, with the Dutch Navy defeated, their merchant fleet emasculated and their best surviving ships in the Adventurers' hands.

By supporting Generals Cromwell and Fairfax, and in the wake of their military success, the Adventurers had achieved leadership in most areas of the Commonwealth's administrative structures. In addition to the financial and trade committees detailed above, Thomas Noell was in charge of the mint, adding control of coin to the Adventurers' pre-eminence in paper-based credit.⁷⁹⁷ The committees appointed by Parliament on 2 December 1652 to sit for a further twelve months were comprised primarily of Adventurers for Irish land or their close supporters.⁷⁹⁸ George Thompson, John Goodwin, William Purefoy and Arthur Haslerig sat on the Committee for the Ordnance with overall control over military procurement. The Committee for Ireland and Scotland included Thompson, Goodwin and Purefoy with Henry Vane, Denis Bond, Oliver Cromwell and the London goldsmith, Francis Allein. The Committees of the Admiralty and Trade and Plantation were almost entirely composed of Adventurers for Irish Land.

Regarding the Adventure for Irish land itself, the Act for Settling Ireland of 12 August 1652 sought to establish terms for concluding the conflict there and provided for the confiscation of both Old English and Irish estates.⁷⁹⁹ Parliament, its finances bolstered by the success of the sale of crown, church and delinquent lands in England, resolved that the forfeited estates were 'reserved for the use and benefit of the ...Commonwealth', and there was no mention of the Adventurers in the text. According to one pamphlet, although the Adventurers were entitled to begin the process of drawing lots for their land, their claims

⁷⁹⁶ CSPD, 1652-3, p. 21.

⁷⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁷⁹⁹ A&O, II, pp. 598-603, 'August 1652: An Act for the Settling of Ireland.'

should not take precedence over those of soldiers already in Ireland.⁸⁰⁰ There was little sympathy for the Adventurers' claims, as their army had never been sent to Ireland and the country had been conquered at public expense. Nevertheless, the author recognised that the state needed to deal with the Adventurers 'circumspectly'.⁸⁰¹ The Act for Settling Ireland was immediately followed by a further act, on 25 August, ordering the calculation of army arrears of pay and stipulating that all such arrears for service performed in England, Ireland or Scotland, could be satisfied with Irish land.⁸⁰² This was a very open-ended arrangement, as there was no way to estimate the amount of land that might be required to satisfy army claims until the process was complete. Although Rowland Wilson, Maurice Thompson's partner in the Gambian slave trade, was appointed as a commissioner for settling army claims, there was no mention of the Adventurers in this piece of legislation either. The Adventurers were expected to wait behind the army, as their claims were to be determined in advance of an Adventurers' lottery.

A delegation of officers arrived in Westminster from Ireland in December 1652 to register claims from the army in Ireland.⁸⁰³ Despite their dominance of parliamentary committee rooms, the Adventurers were unable to prevent parliament agreeing to proposals presented to it by these representatives of the army, for a large-scale seizure of Irish land to settle arrears of army pay.⁸⁰⁴ Ten counties in Ireland were set aside for both soldiers and Adventurers, restricting the potential scope of the Adventurers' lottery and excluding all urban property from their settlement. Furthermore, although it was possible for the army, if their claims were too great to be met by the contents of ten counties, to be awarded land elsewhere, the Adventurers were restricted to the named counties only. Maurice Thompson, William Pennoyer, Robert Thompson, Thomas Smith and Gregory Clement immediately petitioned parliament opposing these proposals, supported by no less a figure than the earl of Warwick. Successful petition or not, these were measures passed by a slender authority. Although there is no surviving attendance figure for parliament on 4 January 1653, when the measures were voted on, votes recorded on 7 and 13 January list

⁸⁰⁰ Anon, *The Present Posture and Condition of Ireland*, (London, 1652), p. 17.

⁸⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸⁰² A&O, II, pp. 603-612, 'August 1652: An Act for stating and determining the Accompts of such Officers and Soldiers as are or have been employed in the Service of this Commonwealth in Ireland.'

⁸⁰³ John Cunningham, *Conquest and Land in Ireland: The Transplantation to Connaught, 1649-1680*, (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 33.

⁸⁰⁴ CJ, VII, pp. 242-243, *Irish Army and Adventurers*

just 39 and 40 members in attendance respectively. This parliament, therefore, bore little resemblance to the one that the Adventurers had organised to support in January 1642.

Chapter Six

Restoration

In a bitter dispute over the nature of the Irish land settlement, the Adventurers withdrew almost completely from financial committees during the Cromwellian Protectorate 1653-1660. In stark contrast to their close involvement in the financial affairs of the Long Parliament and the Commonwealth, they devoted their collective energies to expanding and consolidating their grip over England's external trade and to securing their claims to Irish land. To do this, they charted a difficult course between engagement and withdrawal, and secured the appointment of members of their circle to key government posts. Their focus turned to trade and away from the needs of the State. In contrast to the events of 1642-3, when the Adventurers acquired power as agents of their patrons among the peerage and parliament, by the late 1650s, the leading Adventurers were acting as patrons to agents of their own. By the end of the Protectorate period, however, the dramatic surge in international trade they had engineered was endangered by the bellicose foreign policies of the State and the Adventurers decided to support any initiative that could secure their interests. In a dramatic shift of allegiance, the Adventurers facilitated the return to London and Restoration of the exiled monarch, Charles II.

By 20 April 1653, the day Oliver Cromwell dissolved the Rump Parliament, the Adventurers for Irish land were in almost complete control of the financial machinery of state, not only in London but in the county committees as well. This financial machinery, however, had become highly corrupt and was failing to supply sufficient revenue. The formerly crucial Committee for Compounding that collected fines, rentals and settlements from former Royalists and recusants was now receiving only a trickle of money from its collection agents in the provinces.⁸⁰⁵ The Council of State formed two committees on 7 May, mainly comprised of army officers, to examine the accounts of the nation and particularly those of the Derby House Committee for Scottish and Irish affairs.⁸⁰⁶ Lieutenant Colonel Kelsay, who was examining the excise, reported back to the Council of State on 14 May that the Excise Commissioners 'have likewise considered selling and disposing of the lands in Ireland'.⁸⁰⁷ The excise farm comprised a consortium of merchants led by Maurice Thompson. The entire debt secured on the excise could, therefore, become

⁸⁰⁵ CCAM, I, p. 312.

⁸⁰⁶ C.H. Firth, *The Clarke papers*, (4 vols, London 1891-1901), iii, 4.

⁸⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 5.

debt secured on Irish land, strengthening the Adventurers' negotiating position against the army. The Adventurers also personally held sundry debts for military supplies sent to Ireland that were, as yet, unpaid but could also be offset against Irish land sales. If the sale of Church and Crown land in England were anything to go by, an Irish land settlement performed on this basis would have ensured huge estates and profits for any of the merchants who could provide the necessary money to be admitted to the scheme.

Cromwell had deposed the Council of State on the same day as the dissolution of parliament, and the Irish land settlement was taken up by an interim council chosen by the army.⁸⁰⁸ A committee was set up by the interim Council of State on 17 May 1653, chaired by John Lambert, to draw up 'instructions' for 'disposing of the forfeited lands in Ireland' and to 'frame them so as may be for the best advantage of the service'.⁸⁰⁹ The following day, and to avoid hearing complaints from the Adventurers, the interim Council of State appointed John Thurloe as a gate-keeper, to receive and reply to petitions and give a summary of these transactions to the councillors.⁸¹⁰ The Adventurers were informed that they would eventually get a meeting with Lambert, but only after he had assessed the claims of both the army and of the army commissaries.⁸¹¹ In frustration, the Adventurers decided to go over the head of the interim Council of State and to confront the council of army officers directly. Thomas Andrews and Stephen Estwick delivered a petition to the army officers on 20 May.⁸¹² Estwick delivered a short speech demanding the restoration of Parliament and new elections according to 'the ancient fundamental laws of the nation'.⁸¹³ The Adventurers made it clear that they would not offer a military government any financial support and that they regarded Cromwell as a usurper. The petition was signed by five aldermen: Sir John Wollaston, Thomas Andrews, Thomas Foot, John Kendrick and Stephen Estwick, and 31 common councillors, including Maurice Thompson, William Pennoyer, Richard Waring, Michael Herring, Thomas Allen, Thomas Stone and Tempest

⁸⁰⁸ Peter Gaunt, 'The Councils of the Protectorate: from December 1653 to September 1658', (PhD Thesis, University of Exeter, 1983), p. 28. Lambert was appointed lord deputy of Ireland in January 1652, but did not take up the post in opposition to the Rump Parliament's Irish policies. He accompanied Cromwell to the Council of State for its dissolution.

⁸⁰⁹ TNA SP25/69, f. 86. The other members of the committee were Colonel Robert Bennett, Colonel Philip Jones, Henry Scobell and John Thurloe 'or any three of them'.

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 96.

⁸¹¹ *Ibid.*, f. 115.

⁸¹² British Library, Thomason Tracts, E697/18, f. 107. 'Anon, To his Excellency Oliver Cromwell'.

⁸¹³ Firth, *The Clarke Papers*, iii, 6.

Milner. Acting alone and without instructions from the peerage, a merchants' revolt had occurred, directed against Cromwell and the council of army officers. The Adventurers could see that Cromwell was determined to loosen their grip, manifested in the first place over the committees of Parliament and secondly by their tightly interwoven network of financial committees. In almost complete control over England's foreign trade, and with it any new supply of specie, the petition was a revolt of the treasurers. It is highly likely that the Adventurers expected Cromwell to back down when faced with their untitled front, reinstate some form of Parliament and with it the military spending committees over which they could continue to assert control. They had, however, miscalculated badly.

Everybody associated with the petition was immediately dismissed from public office, or resigned.⁸¹⁴ George Thompson, who had not signed the petition but was clearly associated with it, was expelled as both Navy Commissioner and Commissioner of Customs. Francis Allen and Denis Bond were removed from the Committee for Inspection of the Treasuries. Maurice Thompson and Thomas Foote resigned as Excise Commissioners, and the money they had advanced to the excise was withheld from repayment.⁸¹⁵ Michael Herring and Richard Waring ceased to be Commissioners for Compounding and Stephen Estwick and Thomas Noell were dismissed from their posts as treasurers for the Sale of Dean's and Chapter's Lands.⁸¹⁶ Richard Waring and Thomas Vincent lost their posts at Goldsmith's Hall and Thomas Andrews, John Wollaston, John Dethwick and Francis Allen were all dismissed as contractors for the sale of ecclesiastical land.⁸¹⁷ Another Commissioner of the Navy, Henry Vane Jnr, who was not an Adventurer in Irish Land but was closely associated with the leading Adventurers from his time as Governor of Massachusetts Bay, escaped from London into the countryside.

On 21 May, as the news that the Adventurers had been dismissed from all of their government posts was circulated, the Council of State demanded the papers of the Bermuda Company, licensed a new group of merchants, unconnected to the Adventurers, to establish a sugar works in Barbados, and set aside the provision in the Navigation Act

⁸¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6; Bernard Alsop; '*A Perfect Account of Intelligence...22-29 June*', (London, 1653).

⁸¹⁵ CSPD, 1652-53, pp. 437, 392; Coffman, *Excise*, p. 138.

⁸¹⁶ TNA SP 25/87, f. 51. The appointment for the sale of Dean and Chapter lands was made on 12 May 1649 and the lands valued at £300,000.

⁸¹⁷ A&O, ii, 176.

that all colonial exports be restricted to English shipping.⁸¹⁸ By this last action the Council of State made it clear that while they intended to wrest control of colonial production from the Adventurers, they would not be able to do so without resorting to using foreign ships. For their part, the Adventurers continued to circulate their petition in London, seeking further signatures.⁸¹⁹ The appointment of the Sea Adventurer and Maurice Thompson's partner in his early East Indies ventures, Samuel Moyer, to the Council of State on 24 May helped to defuse the situation and the petition disappeared.⁸²⁰ Moyer had not signed the Adventurers' petition. Thomas Smith, dismissed as a Commissioner of the Navy on 21 May, was reinstated on 27 May, another sign that tempers were cooling.⁸²¹ Moyer brokered a deal with the Adventurers that afternoon. He had established that the mint, run by Thomas Noel, had fallen idle and that there was no money available to pay warrants presented by army officers at Goldsmiths Hall. He arranged for an immediate loan of sufficient cash - the army was claiming £30,000 in arrears - to ensure that the army's pay bill could be met and officers were invited to present their warrants for payment.⁸²² The Adventurers had bought their way out of their deep disagreement with Cromwell, and on 1 June the Council of State announced that, with regard to Ireland, 'every Adventurer may receive satisfaction by lot where his dividend of land shall be'.⁸²³ The Adventurers, nevertheless, would still have to deal with the army on equal terms and would not get to choose where their lands would be located.

The Council of State appointed a committee headed by William Webster and Elias Roberts, both London merchants, to design the Adventurers' land settlement.⁸²⁴ Neither man was a major investor in Irish land, although Roberts had invested in fee farm rents there in the late 1640s. Roberts bought up a bundle of smaller adventures between 1653 and 1658 in and around Waterford City, including a £50 debenture owned by Maurice Thompson, that sold on at a 50% discount.⁸²⁵ Webster was an old business partner of Maurice Thompson, and the pair jointly owned an armed merchantman, the *Merchant's Hope*, in the late 1630s.⁸²⁶ As it was a private committee, and not a public post from which

⁸¹⁸ TNA SP25/69, ff. 122, 124, 126.

⁸¹⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 135.

⁸²⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 148.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, f. 155.

⁸²² *Ibid.*, f. 158, 159.

⁸²³ *Ibid.*, f. 178.

⁸²⁴ TNA SP 63/301, f. 153.

⁸²⁵ TNA SP 63/292, f. 177.

⁸²⁶ TNA SP16/264, f. 30.

they could be dismissed, Maurice Thompson, Robert Thompson, William Pennoyer and other leading Adventurers continued meetings of their own representative committee at Grocers Hall.⁸²⁷ Webster and Roberts determined that the lottery for land would take place at Grocers Hall on 20 July 1653 and the Adventurers were invited to consolidate their investments into larger holdings in advance of the lottery. A simple formula was proposed, with land to the value of £110,000 to be drawn in Munster, £205,000 in Leinster and £45,000 in Ulster.⁸²⁸ No land was reserved for the Adventurers in Connacht, indicating that the entire province to be was reserved for the transplantation of Catholic Irish landowners. As the value of land allocated, £360,000, was considerably higher than the amount invested, it is likely that the loan arranged by Samuel Moyer to instigate the Adventurers' settlement was added to the total.⁸²⁹ The land settlement, however, came at a cost and the Council of State confirmed the suspension of the navigation Act later that afternoon.⁸³⁰ The Adventurers' Irish land settlement was thus a creation of the interim Council of State that met in the weeks between Cromwell's dissolution of the Rump and the first meeting of the Nominated Parliament, on 4 July 1653. This Parliament included only six leading Adventurers out of a total of 140 members, and one of those Adventurers was Oliver Cromwell.

Maurice Thompson and Pennoyer managed to secure the appointment of Benjamin Worseley as Surveyor General of Ireland later in 1653.⁸³¹ Maurice Thompson had a further man in place for determining claims on Irish land in Walter Frost, treasurer of the Trustees for Ireland, the committee responsible for managing the loans for Ireland secured on the public faith.⁸³² The leading Adventurers also had to tidy up some of the more complex financial instruments and shared ownership arrangements used to finance the purchase of Adventures by MPs in 1642. In 1652, small Adventures for Irish Land were changing hands for less than 50% of their face value and larger Adventures were traded for very little more. For example, Richard Shute sold his £500 Adventure to the merchant John

⁸²⁷ Robert Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth: being a selection of documents relating to the government of Ireland from 1651-9* (2 vols, Dublin 1913), ii, 465, Lord Deputy and Council to Mr Maurice Thomson, Mr Pennoyer, Mr Robert Thomson and others.

⁸²⁸ TNA SP25/69, ff. 179-180.

⁸²⁹ Bottigheimer's estimate is that £312,883 was subscribed under the Adventurers Acts, see *English Money and Irish Land*, p. 73.

⁸³⁰ TNA SP25/69, f. 190.

⁸³¹ Farnell, 'Navigation Act', p. 441.

⁸³² CCAM, I, p. 187.

Mossy who was aggregating similar mid-size Adventures for presumably similar sums.

⁸³³ The trade in Adventures peaked early in 1653 as Thomas Vincent, the secretary at Goldsmith's Hall purchased a large number of Adventures of all sizes and became the leading Adventurer. There were better bargains to be had outside of London. For example, Nicholas Poynter of Norwich purchased an Adventure with a face value of £600, owned by a consortium of four Norwich merchants, for a mere £100.⁸³⁴ This market for Irish land reflected the disorderly recent market in Crown Lands in England, purchased mainly by army officers for arrears of pay for English military service. Soldiers had recently exchanged £497,000 worth of debentures for Crown land.⁸³⁵ The Crown lands had been purchased with debentures on a non-competitive basis, meaning that there was normally only one officer competing for an estate. The nominal value of the land was disregarded and it was simply divided up among the officers. The task of identifying Crown land was left to army captains, including George Thompson, in exchange for a bounty.⁸³⁶ There was no effort to create a market of standard value for the Crown lands. In Ireland by contrast, all attempts to oblige soldiers to accept their pay in land or to exchange their arrears for land had used the Irish Adventure rates to establish a value. The two groups, soldiers and Adventurers, pressed their claims in parallel and the Adventurers were left to organise their own settlement out of the lands allocated to them by their own committee, appointed in September 1653.⁸³⁷

The Adventurers' committee reflected how the merchant leadership had divided in May 1653. Thomas Andrews, William Pennoyer and Maurice Thompson were members, as was Sir David Watkins, the former secretary to both the Adventurers' and Parliament's Committees for Irish Affairs. They were joined by Michael Herring, former treasurer of the Committee for Compounding, Thomas Vincent, former secretary of Goldsmiths Hall, Samuel Avery, Governor of the Merchant Adventurers of England, Richard Waring, the former treasurer at Goldsmith's Hall, Thomas Foot, the former Excise commissioner and the ubiquitous John Clotworthy, always anxious to protect his investments in Ulster. Notable absentees from the committee were the trio of Stephen Estwick, Thomas Noel and

⁸³³ Mahaffy, *Adventurers*, p. 59.

⁸³⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 135-7.

⁸³⁵ Sidney Madge, *Domesday of Crown Lands: A Study of the Legislation, Surveys, and Sales of Royal Estates Under the Commonwealth*, (London, 1938), p. 223. Cromwell, Fleetwood, Fairfax, Ireton and Whalley, among others, dominated this group.

⁸³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 224.

⁸³⁷ TNA SP 66/B, f. 26, *Copy of Award of certain Commissioners who are empowered to make Regulations in regard to allotments in different Baronies in Ireland*.

William Hobson, perhaps because they were formerly the treasurers for the sale of Dean and Chapter's lands, a market most of the leading Adventurers had kept away from. In addition, the Noels continued to be leading suppliers of finance to the Protectorate. Nevertheless, Estwick and Noel were, by 1654, key partners with Andrews, Pennoyer and the Thompsons in the Caribbean sugar plantations.⁸³⁸ At this stage, the Adventurers had clearly decided to keep these merchants at arm's length, despite their rise to prominence.

The September 1654 lottery was far from random. Just as they might when financing a voyage, the Adventurers organised themselves into consortia and nominated an agent to draw lots for all of them.⁸³⁹ Lots were already drawn allocating baronies to Adventures and these lots had already been exchanged and traded between the Adventurers in considerable numbers. It was the purpose of the 1654 lottery to determine where in each barony the Adventurers' lot would translate into land. The gatherings at Grocers Hall London in September 1654 were a remarkable spectacle. The ranks of the Adventurers were no longer the MPs, independent merchants and part-time ship owners of 1642, but leading financiers with burgeoning global interests, as well as the proprietors of large, former Crown and Church estates. This cohort included some of England's leading privateers, sequesterers of royalist property and veterans of the bloodiest battles of the civil wars.

Agents appointed by the Adventurers collected the debentures for their clients and arranged them into a barony from which the individual allocations would be determined. The leading Adventurers were, therefore, able to determine that their lots would be adjacent to one another, or to the estate of a potential purchaser, and thus facilitate the aggregation of larger estates. Consequently, John Clotworthy's Adventure was conveniently drawn in Massareene barony, county Antrim, adjacent to his existing land. Maurice Thompson also drew in Massareene, facilitating the transfer of his land to Clotworthy. Adventurers with an active interest in Irish land tended to draw for those who saw their Adventures as investments. Thomas Vincent, who had already purchased land in Ireland, drew for Maurice Thompson and other merchants. William Jessop, who was the earl of Warwick's long standing business manager in London, drew for many of the excluded MPs, including Alexander Pym and the Barringtons.⁸⁴⁰ Each allocation of land

⁸³⁸ TNA SP 16/539/3 f. 184; TNA SP 25/101 f. 167.

⁸³⁹ This account of the 1654 lottery is drawn from BL Add MS 2648, Barrington Papers, Vol VIII, ff. 229-235.

⁸⁴⁰ *Ibid*, f. 229.

was recorded by George Almery, one of the original Adventurers, at his office in Old Jewry and registration cost a half penny in the pound. The surviving record is, therefore, the record of these registrations and not of the results of the lottery.⁸⁴¹ The registrations and references to the Adventurers' agents are reflective of the associations between Adventurers and Irish land investments, not a reflection of chance.

Ongoing tensions between the Adventurers and the army resulted in legislation to create a formal structure on which to settle their differences. An army committee for settling claims for soldiers' arrears with Irish land was established by the Nominated Parliament through the provisions of 'An Act for the Speedy and Effectual Satisfaction of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland...' but with the addition of '...and of the Arrears of the Soldiery There', on 26 September 1653.⁸⁴² The new act called for a committee of trustees to be established, headed by Sir Hardress Waller, and comprising Col. Daniel Abbott, Col. Thomas Sadlier, Major Anthony Morgan, Vincent Gookin, William Petty and Myles Symner, a mathematician from Trinity College Dublin.⁸⁴³ Most of the work of the committee was undertaken initially by Gookin, Petty and Symner, until Gookin's election to the Parliament of 1654 and his removal to London.⁸⁴⁴ The Committee for Settling Claims was thus taken away from Worseley's office and placed in the hands of a separate commission controlled by the army.⁸⁴⁵

⁸⁴¹ TNA SP 46/130, State Papers Domestic: Supplementary, ff. 64-66, List of receipts from 'adventurers'.

⁸⁴² BL Add MS 35102, f. 8.

⁸⁴³ *Ibid.*, f. 9. In addition to his military position, Hardress Waller was a major landowner in Tipperary and a chief tenant of the earl of Ormond, whose lands he would have hoped to have first choice over. He was a cousin of William Waller, the Parliamentary general, former Virginia colonist and member of the Providence Island Company. After the Down Survey was completed, William Petty married Hardress Waller's daughter. Miles Symner served as a major in Daniel Abbott's dragoon regiment in Ireland and also clearly belonged to the army faction. See Peter Gaunt (ed.), *The Correspondence of Henry Cromwell*, (London, 2007), p. 362n.

⁸⁴⁴ The work of this committee can be traced through minutes preserved in BL Add MS 35102 and correspondence preserved in the Library of the Oireachtas, MS 11D. The deliberations of this committee are only relevant to a discussion of the Irish land settlement in the context of soldiers' claims as the Adventurers' claims continued to be dealt with in London. The establishment of the committee is detailed here to illustrate the political shift in 1653 away from the normally dominant Adventurer interest in favour of the interests of the army.

⁸⁴⁵ Petty dismissed Worseley's survey as inaccurate and this has become the prevailing opinion in the historiography of the Cromwellian land surveys. The surveys were quite dissimilar in that Worseley followed the procedure used for the surveys of Crown Lands in England, 1651-3, in which each forfeited estate was measured separately using existing

Vincent Gookin was an Irish landowner and his brother, Samuel Gookin was already involved in the distribution of forfeited lands in England.⁸⁴⁶ Both were cousins of Daniel Gookin Jr., whose father was a Virginia planter and business manager for the earl of Cork. Daniel Gookin Jr was in England from 1651-3 and an associate of the regicides, General Edward Whaley and Colonel James Goffe, with whom he fled to New England in 1660 prior to the return of Charles II. The Gookins' primary interest in England was securing settlers or servants for the colonies in both Virginia and New England. Vincent Gookin was thus connected to both the colonial merchant interest and the regicide faction within parliament. In addition to his salary as Surveyor General and Commissioner for Irish Lands, he was making a reasonable sum as the farmer of rents for the town of Youghal.⁸⁴⁷ Petty claimed that Worseley was Gookins' election campaign manager after losing his own bid to be nominated for the seat of Kinsale and Bandon in 1654.⁸⁴⁸ This seat was under the patronage of Broghill and Richard Boyle, earl of Cork and the intervention of William Hawkins, the leading Adventurer, brother-in-law of Maurice Thompson, and now resident in Cork, derailed Petty's attempt.⁸⁴⁹ In fact, the Adventurers made continual attempts to undermine Petty; a letter from Broghill to Lord Cork on 23 January 1659 quotes Hawkins referring to Petty as 'a liar, a thief and a knave'.⁸⁵⁰ Hawkins held considerable influence as a leading Adventurer willing to spend large sums of money to ascend into the ranks of the New English landowning class and as an advisor to Henry Cromwell.⁸⁵¹

The appointment of William Petty, in December 1654 to conduct a new survey of forfeited lands was a major setback for the Adventurers. They continued to employ two surveyors of their own, Captain Robert Newcomen and William Perkinson, to survey the Adventurer

surveys were possible and the areas totted up. Petty made an original survey of both the forfeited lands and the surrounding areas.

⁸⁴⁶ TNA SP 28/380/8, The Drury House Trustees for Sale of Delinquent Lands.

⁸⁴⁷ Toby Barnard, 'Lord Broghill, Vincent Gookin and the Cork Elections of 1659' in *The English Historical Review*, 88: 347 (Apr., 1973), pp. 352-365, p. 362.

⁸⁴⁸ Barnard, 'Gookin..', p. 351; Robert Boyle, *Correspondence*, ii, 56; Barnard, *Improving Ireland?*

⁸⁴⁹ As Sheriff of Cork, Hawkins had responsibility for shipping Irish captives to the Caribbean through the port of Cork. His agent in Cork, who sold servants at the quayside, was Thomas Gookin, yet another cousin of Vincent.

⁸⁵⁰ Barnard, 'Gookin..', p. 364.

⁸⁵¹ Hawkins offered a marriage portion of £4,000 to Lord Barrymore for the hand of his daughter. He was in contact with his friends in New England regarding the prospective settlement of American colonists in Galway in 1658.

allotments, but the official surveying work was undertaken by Petty.⁸⁵² Worseley's survey, the Civil Survey, when compared with Petty's Down Survey, is remarkably similar in terms of land measurement and the identification of owners. Parts of the Down Survey are clearly copied from both Worseley's survey and from the earlier Strafford Survey, 1636-8.⁸⁵³ It was essential, however, to undermine the Adventurers' surveyors and have an army surveyor in place both to measure land and to adjudicate on claims. Worseley had his defenders: on 3 June 1657 Lady Ranelagh requested Robert Boyle to lobby Broghill on Worseley's behalf and maintain him in his post as Surveyor General.⁸⁵⁴ An ordinance of 9 June, however, gave Petty the right to re-survey the Adventurers' allotments.⁸⁵⁵ The suspicion was that the Adventurers under-declared the land they had measured. As a compromise, both Worseley's and Petty's surveys were ordered to be housed in the High Court of Exchequer ensuring that neither man had custody of all of the survey material.

In Barbados, the Thompsons continued with a trade they knew well. William Hawkins was responsible for the collection of Irish captives for transport to Barbados through the port of Cork. In Barbados, this business was managed by Captain Edward Thompson, the son of Robert Thompson and by Richard Hawkins, William's son.⁸⁵⁶ Irish servants were sold on the island for £10-£13, half of the cost of African slaves at the Dutch slave market at Pernambuco, the largest source of unfree labour.⁸⁵⁷ The Adventurers continued to ship large quantities of sugar from their plantations but, due to the suspension of the Navigation Act, the Dutch returned quickly to dominate the carrying trade once again. The Dutch West India Company was re-capitalised by the Dutch East India Company in 1649 and reasserted its control over the African slave trade to Spanish America and the Caribbean. Sephardic Jewish sugar planters, uprooted from Portuguese Brazil in 1654, were invited to settle in Barbados and develop the sugar industry using the African labour they were familiar with.⁸⁵⁸ In Dutch hands, most Barbadian sugar then made its way to the sugar

⁸⁵² Prendergast, *Cromwellian settlement*, p. 240.

⁸⁵³ The sole surviving complete parish map from the Strafford Survey of Ballingarry parish, Tipperary, is in the Library of King's Inns, Dublin. In terms of information the map is almost identical to the Down Survey equivalent in the National Archives of Ireland. It is not possible, using seventeenth century surveying instruments, to achieve identical results for separate surveys over an area of 4,000 acres at a scale of 40 perches to one inch.

⁸⁵⁴ *Boyle correspondence*, i, 216.

⁸⁵⁵ A&O, II, pp. 1100-1110, 'June 1657: An Act for the assuring, confirming, and settling of Lands and Estates in Ireland.'

⁸⁵⁶ TNA PRO 31/17/43, 'Minutes of the Council of Barbados 1654-1658', f. 43.

⁸⁵⁷ Beckles, 'White Labour in Black Slave Plantation Society', pp. 147-8.

⁸⁵⁸ Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, (Williamsburg, 1972), pp. 77-108.

refineries of Amsterdam, not London. Although the Council of State intended that Dutch shipping would be a simple replacement for Adventurer-owned vessels, instead of shipping Virginia tobacco to London, the Dutch simply shipped it to New York, still under their control, and from there to a European port of their choice.⁸⁵⁹ Suspending the Navigation Act had two consequences for England; it reduced both customs and currency receipts from colonial production and reinvigorated the Dutch merchant navy almost immediately after the first Anglo-Dutch war had ended.

Due to casualties, the final battle of the Dutch War in 1653 at Texel was commanded by George Monck, General at Sea. At the outbreak of the Irish rebellion in October 1641, Monck was a Royalist colonel under James Butler, Duke of Ormond and commanded Irish soldiers brought over to fight in England by Charles I. After a period of imprisonment, he fought in both Ireland and Scotland for Cromwell, who appointed him governor of Scotland following his return from Texel. Monck was a first cousin of Thomas Smith, the Adventurer and long-standing partner of Maurice Thompson. The war was formally ended with the Treaty of Westminster on 5 April 1654, negotiated by William Thompson and three others at Skinners Hall in London. England's main concession was admitting the Dutch to free trade with the colonies, not really a concession at all as the Council of State had set the Navigation Act aside the previous May. In return, the Dutch agreed to exclude Charles II from their territories. William Thompson's main role in the negotiations, however, was to secure massive reparations for damages caused by the Dutch East India Company to English shipping since 1621.⁸⁶⁰ The leadership of the Adventurers, those closest to Maurice Thompson, had acquired both the Courteen franchise and, in 1653, the residual rights to the East India Company voyages of the 1620s and 1630s, including any possible reparations. William Thompson claimed £48,900 for damage to East India Company shipping, £50,000 for the loss of their Jakarta factory, £20,000 for stock, and sundry other items making a total of £195,000. A further £10,000 was added for the Courteen Association losses. After protracted negotiations, the Dutch agreed to compound for these losses on 7 August 1654 and compensation was paid through trustees: Thomas Andrews, Thomas Kerridge, John Oldfield, Thomas Burnell, Anthony Bateman and John

⁸⁵⁹ For a more detailed account of these Dutch trade activities see Jan de Vries, 'The Netherlands in the New World, the legacy of European fiscal, monetary and trading institutions for New World development from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth centuries', in Michael D. Bordo and Roberto Cortés-Conde (eds.), *Transferring Wealth and Power from the Old to New World*, (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 100-139.

⁸⁶⁰ The Treaty of Westminster negotiations are preserved in detail in TNA SP 84/160-1.

Dyke. With some irony, the Dutch East India Company provided much of the finance for the expansion of their English counterparts. Also to the English Company's advantage was that the reparations could be kept in Amsterdam until required, away from possible arbitrary taxes or a forced loan to the Protectorate.⁸⁶¹

By 1654, the Adventurers had very little money tied up in state finance. As an immediate consequence to the argument between the Adventurers and Cromwell and their dismissal from state positions, Parliament ordered a survey to be made of all outstanding loans secured on the public faith.⁸⁶² The survey tabulated 1225 individual debts outstanding from before the Council of State was appointed in February 1649, and a further 300 loans made since its foundation.⁸⁶³ Parliament's sales of royal, church and royalist assets had enabled the repayment of much debt and, as the Adventurers were the treasurers for these transactions, their friends had been at the front of the queue for repayment. With the exception of the excise, that was farmed on the Dutch model, most of the outstanding amounts were very small, £100 or less. All of the larger outstanding amounts were owed to royalists. For example, Sir Edward Hales was owed £1,300, Thomas Egerton, earl of Bridgewater was owed £1,000 and John Bennett £740. The largest amount owed, £2,662, was to Sir George Whitmore, Lord Mayor of London in 1631 and a strong supporter of Charles I who died, unpaid, in December 1654. There is no evidence of any large sums outstanding to the Adventurers from Cromwell's Irish campaigns or the Anglo-Dutch war, parliament's largest military expenses.

⁸⁶¹ A reinterpretation of the origins of the first Anglo Dutch War is beyond the scope of this paper. The resulting treaty, however, indicates that an important aspect to this war was a continuation of Cromwell's strategy to remove the Stuart threat. Cromwell's Irish campaign was intended to eliminate the Stuart military threat from Ireland and the effect of the Dutch war was to eliminate the naval one. Cromwell's strategic goals coincided with the Adventurers' monetary aspirations. In Ireland, there was £300,000 worth of land to be liquidated and a similar sum negotiated in reparations from the Dutch.

⁸⁶² TNA SP25/69, f. 102.

⁸⁶³ For the Council of State see Sean Kelsey, 'The Foundation of the Council of State', in Kyle and Peacy (eds), *Parliament at Work*, pp. 129-148. The survey of outstanding loans is preserved as TNA SP 19/59, (unfoliated), 'An account of such persons to whom the publicke faith is committed...'

The Cromwellian Protectorate, between the dissolution of the Barebones Parliament in December 1653 and the sitting of the First Protectorate Parliament in September 1654, made some efforts to bring the Adventurers back into their fold, although not to the extent of appointing them to positions of financial responsibility. Their advocate was probably Philip Skippon, appointed major-general for London and Middlesex by Cromwell in 1655 and close to the Protector. In June 1654, a remodelled English High Court of Justice was established to hear trials for treason and a core of Adventurers for Irish land was reappointed as Justices of the High Court.⁸⁶⁴ The appointment of, among others, Thomas Allen, Thomas Andrews, Stephen Estwick, George Langham, Maurice Thompson, Richard Schute and John Stone to the bench gave the Adventurers a working majority of the thirteen member court, with which to dispense justice on the Protector's behalf. One of the Justices' powers was to commute death sentences to transportation to the colonies, opening up a new source of free labour for their sugar plantations.

In August 1654, the Adventurers were given a role in reforming the church. 'An Ordinance for ejecting Scandalous, Ignorant and insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters' sought to further embed the Puritan project.⁸⁶⁵ The leadership of the Adventurers in London was entrusted with the task of remodelling the religious life of the capital, and the commissioners included Thomas Andrews, Stephen Estwick, Phillip Skippon and both Maurice and William Thompson. An important addition to their group was Sir Thomas Viner, a goldsmith and supplier of bullion to the state. The inclusion of Viner, who could not be left out as he was Lord Mayor of London in 1654, is a further sign that the leading merchants had become less factional and could sit on committees together when it suited their interests. Most of the county commissions included a strong cohort of Adventurers. This new, civic-minded Adventurer was a departure from the almost exclusively trade-orientated merchant of previous years and reflects the elevation of the Adventurers into the upper level of civic society.

These attempts at making friends were capped by a major financial concession in favour of the Adventurers' Irish land settlement, 'An Ordinance for the Further Encouragement of

⁸⁶⁴ A&O, II, pp. 917-918, 'June 1654: An Ordinance for Establishing a High Court of Justice.'. The appointments were originally made in 1650, but had lapsed after May 1653.

⁸⁶⁵ A&O, II, pp. 968-990, 'August 1654: An Ordinance for ejecting Scandalous, Ignorant and insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters.'.

the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland...’ of June 1654.⁸⁶⁶ Total taxation in Ireland was capped at £10,000 per month for two years with small increases over the following two years. The Adventurers could take up possession of lands free from Quit Rent for five years and were to enjoy a free trade zone with England for seven years to promote the economic development of their estates. The valuable land of county Kildare, so far excluded from the land settlement, was made available to settle any outstanding claims with a provision that 23 October 1654 was the last day on which new claims would be accepted. These were extraordinarily generous concessions. The Adventurers were allocated 710,000 acres of land, and at an average quit rent of three pence per acre. As ever, concessions made to the Adventurers meant that the state needed money, and in this case it required finance for the Western Design, the Council of State’s grand strategy for conquering Spain’s Caribbean colonies and intercepting the treasure fleets travelling from Spanish Central America.⁸⁶⁷ The attraction for the Adventurers was the sheer physical size of Spain’s possessions. Jamaica was larger than all of the English sugar islands combined, and sugar was the most profitable of all of the Adventurers’ business concerns. There was an important Irish dimension to the Western Design, and one that affected the Transplantation to Connacht. The development of the largest Spanish island colony, Hispaniola, would require an enormous influx of labour.⁸⁶⁸

The Council of State originally envisaged a migration of labour from the northern American colonies to their Caribbean conquests but as this became increasingly unlikely, Ireland emerged as the most attractive source for indentured labour on a large scale.⁸⁶⁹ In the meantime, 2,000 servants taken by Colonel Robert Venables from Barbados for military service were killed, resulting in a labour shortage on the sugar plantations. The only English conquest was Jamaica, and as a compromise solution of sorts, the new colony was initially peopled with a transfer of servants from the predominantly Irish colony of Nevis, developed by George Thompson in the 1630s.

From every perspective, the Western Design was a disaster. The fleet was provisioned in the summer of 1654 by Maurice Thompson, whose partners on this occasion were Andrew

⁸⁶⁶ A&O, II, pp. 924-929, 'June 1654: An Ordinance for the Further Encouragement of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, and of the Soldiers and other Planters there.'

⁸⁶⁷ For an analysis of the motivations behind the Western Design see Carla Gardina Pestana, 'English Character and the Fiasco of the Western Design' in *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 3:1, (Spring 2005), pp. 1-31.

⁸⁶⁸ The island of Hispaniola comprises the modern countries of Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

⁸⁶⁹ CSPD, 1652-1653, pp. 205-8.

Riccard, John Limbery, William Williams, Martin Noel, Thomas Aldersey and William Vincent. Thomas Noel, Edward Thompson, Thomas Hawkins and John Roberts were put forward as Commissioners for the project and the partners also proposed names for future governors of Barbados, Nevis, St Kitts, Monserrat and Antigua.⁸⁷⁰ The commander of the naval expedition was Sir William Penn, who was paid for his labours with Irish land, while Robert Venables, a veteran of Cromwell's campaign in Ireland, commanded the land forces. Both were imprisoned on their return to England and Jamaica, with its reinforced naval base of Port Royal, became a new Providence Island, a pirate's refuge used to harass Spanish shipping. All these activities triggered a new war with Spain that included a significant success in the capture of the the port of Dunkirk in June 1658, but resulted in huge losses elsewhere.⁸⁷¹

Amid these naval endeavours, most significant in the long run was the deepening relationship between the Adventurers and their former royalist rivals. The Adventurers had continued their takeover of the East India Company and by November 1652, Maurice Thompson, Thomas Andrews, Samuel Moyer and Thomas Smith were managing the company's accounts. Moyer's main task was to present petitions to the Council of State on the Company's behalf including one, signed by Smith, Moyer and William Cockayne, seeking to prohibit any private voyages by English merchants to the Indies.⁸⁷² On 18 May 1653, the eve of the Adventurers' confrontation with Cromwell, the Royalist Sir Jacob Garrard had been added to the Court of the Company. There was little to distinguish the Company with how it had operated prior to the Civil War, apart from the addition of Adventurers to its governing bodies. It still maintained its monopoly, and lobbied aggressively to preserve it. After May 1653, the saltpeter trade was managed by Samuel Moyer, and the Adventurers with their new royalist friends managed the remainder of the company.⁸⁷³ A similar process had taken place within the Levant Company, controlled by William Pennoyer, John Foulke and Richard Chambers by 1656.⁸⁷⁴ These Adventurers ran the company alongside such royalist luminaries as Sir John Wylde, Nicholas Sandys and George Smith, the son of Sir Thomas Smith.

⁸⁷⁰ Thomas Birch (ed.), *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, (7 vols, London, 1742), ii, 542. Riccard was, in 1654, treasurer of the East India Company while Limbery had been a major supplier to the navy prior to 1653.

⁸⁷¹ For a further account see Barratt, *Cromwell's Wars at Sea*.

⁸⁷² BL IOR B/25, f. 175.

⁸⁷³ *Ibid*, f. 261-2.

⁸⁷⁴ TNA SP 71/125, f. 9.

One of the few substantial accounts written by merchants about their ambitions and the structure of their commercial empires is contained in a petition written by Richard Baker, and presented to parliament in 1659.⁸⁷⁵ In an echo of the merchant's petition to parliament in December 1641, when they claimed that they had £1 million at risk in Ireland, the merchants claimed that they had lost £800,000, impounded in Spain as soon as news of the seizure of Jamaica reached King Philip IV. The Adventurers had established a highly complex global trading network, of which Spain comprised a central component. The English merchants exported English cloth and re-exported Newfoundland fish to Spain and were paid in Spanish silver.⁸⁷⁶ This silver was the key to purchasing valuable commodities in India and the East Indies, imported from there back to England, and also to the rest of Europe, resulting in the final profits that accrued from this lengthy series of transactions.⁸⁷⁷ English goods were also exchanged for Spanish tobacco, as England was no longer self-sufficient in that commodity following the switch to sugar production in the Caribbean.⁸⁷⁸ The Spanish war disrupted this pattern. French merchants became the leading suppliers of fish to Spain and owing to a Spanish embargo on English cloth, English wool of far lower value was shipped to Holland for manufacture and re-export to Spain. Dutch shipping once again dominated the Caribbean and the East Indies.⁸⁷⁹

English cloth was also central to the slave trade. One African person on the Gold Coast could be purchased for approximately two bales of perpetuanos, a type of hard woollen

⁸⁷⁵ Richard Baker, *The marchants humble petition and remonstrance to his late Highnesse, with an accompt of the losses of their shipping, and estates, since the war with Spain. And how as well themselves as strangers have strengthned and enriched both the enemy, and the Hollanders, by the secret trade for the dominions of Spain. And how the national English stock suffers thereby, and by many other trades: as is made out by several demonstrations. ... Of the inquisition; and of the death of the English agent, Mr. Askham: and the prosecution of the murtherers. A general remedy proposed for the restauration of the trade. All most humbly submitted to his Highness, and the most honorable Houses of Parliments consideration*, (London, 1659); Mahaffy, *Adventurers*, p. 124. The Baker family financed the Adventure of £600 paid in by John Crewe, an MP for Northamptonshire.

⁸⁷⁶ A&O, II, pp. 1099-1100, 'An Act for giving Licence for Transporting of Fish in Forein bottoms.' In June 1657, in order to prevent the economic collapse of Newfoundland and New England, parliament was forced to permit the transport of fish in foreign vessels, in contravention of its own Navigation Act. There were not enough English ships left to maintain the trade.

⁸⁷⁷ Baker, *Marchants Petition*, p. 2.

⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

cloth.⁸⁸⁰ This quantity of cloth was manufactured in England for £9, 10s in 1659, approximately half the price a slave could be sold for in the colonies.⁸⁸¹ Demand was so high that 31,364 African slaves were imported into Barbados in the 1650s, in response to the labour demands of the sugar boom.⁸⁸² This formed a second circular trade, of English cloth for African slaves who made Barbadian sugar for the European markets. The quantity of sugar produced in Barbados doubled from 3,750 tons in 1651 to 7,787 tons in 1655.⁸⁸³ The 'farm gate' price for sugar in Barbados in the mid-1650s was approximately twenty shillings per hundredweight, or £20 per ton, making a total of £155,740 paid to the Barbadian planters annually in manufactured goods, slaves or money. This trade was almost entirely in the hands of the leadership of the Adventure for Irish land.⁸⁸⁴ The carrying trade was valued by the merchants at £500,000 per year and provided employment for thousands of men. The merchant marine also furnished experienced seamen to parliament's navy. Lack of shipping and the lifting of the Navigation act had allowed the Dutch, once again, to dominate the carrying trade from Virginia and the Caribbean colonies to Europe. In addition to costing the merchants business, these measures were also costing the English state its customs.⁸⁸⁵ In this context, the Adventure for Irish land appears as a relatively minor component of a far larger business empire.

The Adventurers, in fact, had big plans for Ireland. Ireland had many advantages in terms of a temperate climate, a large population and the price of land, which at the Adventurers estimate of four shillings per acre was a mere one tenth of the cost of land in England. The Adventurers sought to convert Ireland into a great centre for raw materials, to supply cheap wool and flax into England, where artisans would convert it into the cloth, the foundation of England's international trade. Cheap Irish wool would give England a huge competitive advantage in the international market. Large numbers of English tradesmen, desperate for work, had moved to Holland during the Anglo-Spanish war to circumvent the Spanish ban on cloth of English manufacture. The merchants could witness the effects of mass skilled emigration at home and demanded the recall of the tradesmen. Skilled manufacturing

⁸⁸⁰ Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to America Diaspora*, (London, 2007), pp. 64-67.

⁸⁸¹ Baker, *Marchants Petition*, p. 5

⁸⁸² Menard, *Sweet Negotiations*, p. 47.

⁸⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁴ LJ, IX, pp. 49-54. Thomas Andrewes, Elias Roberts, Maurice Thompson, Jeremy Blackman, Thomas Frere, Richard Bateson, William Pennoyer, Lawrence Chambers, Martin Noell, Nicholas Butler, Thomas Cooke and John Vincent.

⁸⁸⁵ Baker, *Marchants Petition*, p. 5.

would stay in England and Ireland would produce the raw commodities, the classic imperial economic structure. Recalling how their last period of extended prosperity had been due to the agreement between Kings James I and Phillip III, the merchants challenged parliament to bring about an immediate peace with Spain.⁸⁸⁶

Thanks to Dutch reparations and the successful development of it's business since 1654, the English East India Company was one of the few organisations that were replete with cash in 1659. Maurice Thompson had kept a relatively low profile since the rift of May 1653, quietly acquiring Adventures in Irish land and building up his slave business and the East India Company. He had not neglected his Irish interests and, on 18 August 1659, guaranteed the debts of Sir William Balfour, who served with George Thompson at Edgehill in 1643, and enabled Balfour's acquisition of a large estate in county Down.⁸⁸⁷ Thompson assigned further lands, part of his allocation in county Antrim, to Hugh Lord Hamilton.⁸⁸⁸ Thompson's friend, Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, was appointed president of the council of state in Edinburgh in 1655 and Thompson petitioned Cromwell to ensure that money that had been loaned to Broghill, personally, would be repaid instead in Irish land. Broghill and Monck together engineered the return of a number of amenable MPs to represent Scotland in the Westminster parliament of 1656. First among these was George Downing, the son of Emmanuel Downing, Maurice Thompson's partner in the Cape Ann fishery in Massachusetts.⁸⁸⁹ The second New Englander elected was Stephen Winthrop, the son of John Winthrop Jr, also a partner in the St Ann fishery.⁸⁹⁰ Monck's most trusted subordinate, and a kinsman, was John Cloberry, a nephew of Oliver Cloberry, Maurice Thompson's partner in the Kent Island project. Cloberry was also engaged to the daughter of Nathaniel Wyche, of the East India Company.⁸⁹¹

⁸⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 16.

⁸⁸⁷ Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D1939/15/8/11.

⁸⁸⁸ *Idem*, D1939/15/4/1.

⁸⁸⁹ Paul J. Pinckney, 'The Scottish Representation in the Cromwellian Parliament of 1656', *Scottish Historical Review*, 46:2(Oct., 1967), pp. 95-114 at p. 102.

⁸⁹⁰ Pinckney, 'Scottish representation', p. 104. The final partner in St Ann, John Limbery, was actively engaged in a campaign to have the Irish Society's patent for Londonderry renewed by the protectorate.

⁸⁹¹ <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/cloberry-john-1625-88>.

By 1659, Maurice Thompson was Governor of the East India Company and was joined on the Court of Committee by his closest partner, William Pennoyer.⁸⁹² Other members of the Court included Thomas Smith, Monck's cousin, Samuel Moyer, William Cockayne, William Vincent and Edward Wood. The company treasurer was Andrew Riccard, and, in July 1659, Riccard deposited £16,000 into a scriveners bank operated by Robert Clayton, much of which found its way into accounts opened in the names of Monck and Thomas Fairfax.⁸⁹³ Money continued to flow into Monck's account, much of which was loaned to Fairfax to meet his military obligations. After Monck arrived in London in January 1660, his account in Clayton's bank was used to receive payments from the Chamber of London, again used to pay his officers. In 1659, Robert Clayton married Martha Trott, the daughter of a Bermuda Company trader, Perient Trott, from whom he received shares in the Bermuda Company and became yet another business partner of Maurice Thompson.⁸⁹⁴

Monck and Fairfax were in no doubt as to the political leanings of the Adventurers. In February 1659, when parliament was debating an 'act for recognising his highness the Lord Protector and disclaiming the title of Charles Stuart', Samuel Moyer presented a petition to parliament on the Adventurers' behalf, protesting against tyranny and calling for free elections.⁸⁹⁵ State finances, in stark contrast to the successful expansion of the exchequer during the Adventurers' period of management, were in a disastrous state. The large standing army in Ireland and enormous cost of maintaining the naval war with Spain, set against no further revenue from the sale of royalist estates, left the Protectorate with an accumulated debt of £2.5 million in April 1659. This debt was expected to grow at a rate of £383,000 per year.⁸⁹⁶ With little hope of collecting their arrears of pay under the Protectorate, the army Council of Officers restored the old Rump parliament on 5 May and Richard Cromwell abdicated on 25 May 1659. Also restored, to some degree, were the Adventurers, who acted quickly both to take revenge on their enemies and to try to bring

⁸⁹² BL IOR B/25, f. 334.

⁸⁹³ Frank T. Melton, *Sir Robert Clayton and the Origins of English Deposit Banking: 1658-1685*, (Cambridge, 1986), pp 58-59. A scriveners' bank was a simple form of deposit banking, used for making deposits and withdrawals, but also for transfers of money between members of the bank. Clayton's commercial interest in Ireland concerned an iron mine that he operated in Enniscorthy, County Wexford. His partners included Sir Thomas Abdy and Thomas Barrington (NLI Ms. 325).

⁸⁹⁴ Melton, *Sir Robert Clayton*, p. 69n. Trott had purchased his Bermuda shares from the estate of the earl of Warwick.

⁸⁹⁵ Patrick Little and David L. Smith, *Parliaments and Politics during the Cromwellian Protectorate*, (Cambridge, 2007), p. 159; Firth, *The Clarke Papers*, iii, 181.

⁸⁹⁶ CJ, VII, 627-631.

some order to state finances. George Thompson returned to a reformed Council of State, along with Henry Vane, with executive responsibility for all armed forces, trade, colonies and taxation.⁸⁹⁷ Vane and George Thompson also took up their old posts as Navy Commissioners, with instructions to set the navy to the task of convoying English merchant ships, in an effort to reduce losses to the Spanish.⁸⁹⁸ Samuel Moyer was assigned the task of sequestering the property of Sir Martin Noell and his partners, who had failed to provide the money promised under the terms of their excise farm.⁸⁹⁹ Hood-winked by the Dutch and ostracised by the Adventurers, the Noel-led consortium never had the financial resources to operate the excise farm successfully.

The Down Survey and the commission to settle the Adventurers' claims were incomplete when the Protectorate was overthrown and the Rump parliament recalled on 7 May 1659. A reconstituted parliamentary committee for Irish Affairs, led by Arthur Haslerigg, Henry Vane and General Fleetwood recalled Hardress Waller to London and appointed Colonel John Hewson to Commander in Chief of the army in Ireland. Benjamin Worsley was appointed Commissary General in charge of all Irish military supplies.⁹⁰⁰ The Adventurers' claims for Irish land was far from secure as the original allocations had been made according to instructions made by the interim Council of State in 1653. The receipts from 1642 were under an authority 'according to certain Propositions made for the speedy reducing of the Rebels of Ireland, and confirmed by the assent of his Majesty, and of the Lords and Commons in Ireland'.⁹⁰¹ Lands allocated according to subscriptions received under the Doubling Ordinance of July 1643 were solely guaranteed by Parliament, and even then 'according to the tenor and effect' of the relevant Ordinances. Subscriptions made to the Additional Sea Adventure, lacking both a Royal commission and a parliamentary ordinance appointing a treasurer, had no secure legal foundation. None of the important pieces of legislation determining the Adventurers' claims to Irish land had been enacted by a parliament, only between parliaments, by the Council of State. In abjuring the Protectorate, the Adventurers had placed their land settlement in doubt. It provided an additional reason, and bargaining counter, for the Adventurers to seriously

⁸⁹⁷ A&O, II, pp. 1272-1276, 'May 1659: An Act for Constituting a Councell of State.'

⁸⁹⁸ A&O, II, pp. 1277-1282, 'May 1659: An Act for Constituting Commissioners for Ordering and Managing the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy.'

⁸⁹⁹ A&O, II, pp. 1342-1343, 'August, 1659: An Act appointing Commissioners for Sequestrations.'

⁹⁰⁰ TNA SP 25/129, f. 5.

⁹⁰¹ For a convenient sequence of these different forms of receipts see TNA SP 63/290, ff. 64-69.

contemplate helping to engineer the restoration of Charles II. The Adventure for Irish land carried at least the signature of his father.

On 14 July 1659 the Adventurers took control of all of London's militias. Maurice Thompson, Thomas Chamberlain, William Hobson, Francis Reynolds, Benjamin Andrews and John Brookhaven formed the core of the militia committee for Tower Hamlets.⁹⁰² The Southwark Militia, on the south side of the Thames, came under the control of George Thompson, Nathaniel Rich, Maurice Craddock, James Child and William Hickock and the leadership of the Middlesex Militia comprised Robert Thompson, Francis Allen, William Baker, Chaloner Shute and Charles Fleetwood.⁹⁰³ William Thompson sat on the militia committee for Westminster alongside some of the Adventurer MPs. The overall commissioners for London's militias, the Committee of Safety, comprised William Pennoyer, Thomas Andrews, Thomas Foote, Stephen Dethwick, Francis Allen, William Thompson, Thomas Vincent, Richard Bateman and William Harrington.⁹⁰⁴ The Adventurers for Irish land, therefore, were in control of the defence of London. On 3 November, General John Lambert began his march north to intercept the forces of George Monck, on their way to London. The Adventurers, acting under the authority of Thomas Allen, who had replaced Thomas Andrews as Lord Mayor after Andrews' death the previous July, organised to prevent any dissent from the Court of Aldermen or the Common Council. Political leadership on London's representative councils was provided by William Pennoyer, John Dethwick, Robert Bateman and Richard Waring.⁹⁰⁵ A letter was sent to Monck on 29 December 1659, in the name of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, formally renouncing the protectorate and inviting the general to approach the city.⁹⁰⁶ Monck's formal invitation to London was, therefore, the work of the

⁹⁰² A&O, II, p. 312, 'December 1649: An Act for an Assessment for six Moneths, from the Five and twentieth of December, 1649, for maintenance of the Forces raised by Authority of Parliament for the Service of England and Ireland, at the rate of Ninety thousand pounds per mensem for the first three Moneths, and at the rate of Three score thousand pounds for the last three Moneths.'

⁹⁰³ A&O, II, p. 1328, 'July, 1659: An Act for settling The Militia in England and Wales.'

⁹⁰⁴ A&O, II, pp. 1293-1298, 'July 1659: An Act for Settling the Militia for the City of London, and Liberties thereof.'

⁹⁰⁵ Anon, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Committee of the Militia of London, concerning a letter, in part resolved to be sent to General Monck, and the Officers under his command in Scotland*, (London, 1659).

⁹⁰⁶ Thomas Sadler, *A True Copy of the Letter sent from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council...*, (London, 1659).

Adventurers, as parliament's formal invitation was not approved and despatched to the general until 6 January 1660.⁹⁰⁷

The English merchants claimed to have lost 1,800 ships during the war with Spain, although this was not entirely one-way traffic as England recorded the capture of 550 prize ships.⁹⁰⁸ The Adventurers' gloom was compounded by several deaths at the top of their leadership pyramid, particularly the earl of Warwick in March 1658 and Thomas Andrews in August 1659. By then, however, the Adventurers no longer required noble patrons. William Jessop, the former Providence Island Company's secretary, was one of the clerks for the Council of State in March 1660 and John Thompson, Maurice's son, appointed joint Secretary of State in March 1660.⁹⁰⁹ George Thompson was also in frequent attendance as a member of the Council of State of which Arthur Annesley, John Thompson's future father-in-law, was president. Martin Noell, as farmer of the excise for inland commodities, was directly responsible for financing the navy under General Edward Montague and also for the payment of the Commonwealth's ambassadors.⁹¹⁰ Noell had abandoned the excise farm but was still a creditor of the state for these payments, amounting to £7,250. Repayment agreements stretched out to several months as the Council of State found funds increasingly difficult to come by. The largest of these agreements was for £20,000 payable to George Monck on 21 March 1660 and delayed at least until the following September.⁹¹¹ This payment had already been delayed since the previous August, intended to tide Monck over until the Scottish assessment could be collected.⁹¹² The collection of this tax was problematic due to a shortage of currency.⁹¹³ Scotland was also feeling the effects of England's war with Spain.

The declaration of Breda, issued from exile by Charles II, although containing no specific mention of Ireland in the text, included a willingness to look favourably on soldiers who

⁹⁰⁷ CJ, VII, p. 804.

⁹⁰⁸ Maurice Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate*, (London, 1972 edition), pp. 145, 172.

⁹⁰⁹ TNA SP 25/108 Letter Books 3 March to 26 May 1660, f. 11, 45 Working under Jessop and John Rushworth until 28 March 1660, when there was a change of personnel, was Samuel Hartlib, the intellectual patron of William Petty and Benjamin Worsley.

⁹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 53.

⁹¹¹ *Ibid.*, f. 15.

⁹¹² F. M. S. McDonald, 'The Timing of General George Monck's March into England, 1 January 1660', *English Historical Review*, 105:415 (Apr., 1990), pp. 363-376, at p. 367.

⁹¹³ Pinckney, 'Scottish representation', p. 98.

had accepted payment in forfeited land.⁹¹⁴ This at least opened the door to negotiating with the king for the settlement of the Adventurers' claims. The Adventurers were in an advantageous position regarding sequestered private estates, Church land and Crown land in England. For reasons either of strategy or distaste, the Adventurers had kept out of the Crown Land sales and the largest purchaser of Church land, Thomas Andrews, who invested £10,000, was dead. Most of the Adventurers land purchases had been in the form of fee-farms, a financial instrument that involved buying future rent at a discount and making a profit, over time, on the difference. Almost all of the fee-farm purchases were ten years old and in need of renewal in any case. The profit had been made. The owner of the fee-farm was not the free-holder so the question of forfeited title did not arise. General Monck was in a similar position to the Adventurers as he was also not a purchaser of Crown or church lands but had been granted lands in Ireland worth £4,000 per annum.⁹¹⁵ In this area, the interests of leadership of the both the Adventurers and the army coincided. The Common Council elected for London in December 1659 included no purchasers of Crown or Church Lands, although nineteen of the 24 Alderman of London had such holdings.⁹¹⁶ Maurice, William and Robert Thompson had kept out of the forfeited land market in England, while George Thompson had a mere £1,100 invested in Southwark. Stephen Estwick and John Foulke had each invested £3,000 but could probably afford to lose the residual value once the rents had been offset. Although a £3,000 loss was a fortune to a Common Councillor, it was a manageable sum for a giant of international trade. The Adventurers could afford to be generous with regard to English land.

The Adventurers were in a similarly advantageous position with regard to State debt. They had disengaged from providing state finance to the Protectorate and 'openly refused' a request by Cromwell for a loan in March 1658.⁹¹⁷ Samuel Vassall, owed £20,000 by the State, was made bankrupt in 1656, was imprisoned, where he was joined by Samuel Avery.⁹¹⁸ Thomas Viner, Thomas Foote, John Dethwick and Christopher Pack made small loans that were quickly repaid. The Adventurers could not expect Charles II to honour the debts of the Protectorate, but some were owed significant sums by the Long Parliament,

⁹¹⁴ LJ, XI, pp. 6-9.

⁹¹⁵ John Habbakuk, 'Presidential Address: The Land Settlement and the Restoration of Charles II', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 28 (1978), pp. 201-222 at pp. 201-2.

⁹¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 205.

⁹¹⁷ Ashley, *Commercial Policy*, p. 99.

⁹¹⁸ *Ibid* p. 101.

outstanding since 1647.⁹¹⁹ Samuel Langham, John Dethicke, David Watkins, Michael Herring and Benjamin Whetcombe were each owed up to £4,000. In addition, £76,000 was outstanding to suppliers of the navy. These are small sums given that the overall debt of the Protectorate was £2.5 million.⁹²⁰ As was the case with English sequestered land, the Adventurers, should they have to negotiate with the king, could afford to be equally generous in terms of public debt. Whoever the £2.5 million was owed to, very little of it was owed to them.

In any case, the Adventurers had to make a deal, and quickly, as international trade, already in a perilous state was about to take a turn for the worse. To maintain their supply of silver, essential for what remained of the East India trade, the Adventurers were dependent on Dutch shipping. This arrangement was convenient for Dutch merchants, but the outcome of the first Dutch War had not left the two nations as friends. England's sole major ally in Europe was France, whose ruler, Louis XIV, was about to enter into a marriage with Maria Theresa of Spain. France and Spain reached agreement with the Treaty of the Pyrenees, on 7 November 1659. England's only other friend, Portugal, was already at war with both Spain and Holland.⁹²¹ The loss of their French ally, and with it French naval protection, would in all probability result in the end of the Adventurers global trading empire. Their American colonies would come under attack from all sides; from Spain and the Dutch in the Caribbean and from France and the Dutch in New England. For the Adventurers, this was a nightmare scenario over which they had no influence at all. The Bourbon and Hapsburg courts were far removed from Grocer's Hall and the meeting rooms at Trinity House. For the Adventurers, the key to saving their global trade empires was none other than the exiled king, Charles II, who they had so far refused to recognise.

The Adventurers desperately needed to end hostilities between England and her neighbours, a strategy that required the restoration of Charles II to his kingdom, but how was this to be achieved? Maurice Thompson had met Charles II and negotiated the ransom of English merchant shipping from him in 1648. William Thompson also had diplomatic contacts in the Dutch Republic, a legacy of his involvement in negotiating the Treaty of

⁹¹⁹ A tabulation of the Long Parliament's outstanding debts to merchants at the Restoration is presented in CJ, XIII, pp. 234-244.

⁹²⁰ Ashley, *Commercial Policy*, p. 107.

⁹²¹ For this outline, I have relied upon Keith Feiling, *British Foreign Policy 1660-1672*, (London, 1968), pp. 28-34. The Franco-Spanish treaty of 1659 negated a treaty of 23 March 1657 between England and France against Spain, their common enemy.

London in 1654. The key English diplomatic figure in The Hague in 1660, however, was George Downing, the Council of State's envoy to Holland, who reported to John Thurloe but whose budget was managed by William Jessop and John Thompson. Although George Downing's many duties in The Hague included the maintenance of a ban on Charles II visiting Holland, he did not object to Charles' move from Brussels to Breda in March 1660, and by April was referring to Charles in correspondence as 'the king'.⁹²² Prior to Charles' move from Breda, James, marquis of Ormond, arranged for Downing to be received by Charles, where the diplomat was knighted by his soon-to-be-king.⁹²³ George Downing enjoyed a classic Adventurer pedigree connected, via his father, to both the New England and Virginia merchants of the 1630s, who were now trying to facilitate the restoration of their king in order to save their commercial empires.

On 1 May 1660 the Common Council of London was presented with Charles II's Declaration from Breda and ordered the City's guilds to procure a gift of £10,000 for the king.⁹²⁴ On the same day, the House of Commons resolved that £50,000 should be raised and presented to Charles on his return with further £50,000 to be raised to satisfy the army.⁹²⁵ There was no opposition at all to the gift, and no delay in raising the money. On 3 May, the Common Council proposed a delegation comprising of Thomas Adams, William Wilde, Sir John Robinson, William Bateman, Theophilus Biddolph, Thomas Vincent and William Bludworth to present the £10,000 gift to Charles.⁹²⁶ This delegation, however, also included representatives of the Adventurers and by 5 May the delegation had swollen to 22 members.⁹²⁷ Charles was also moving quickly and on 9 May *The Parliamentary Intelligencer* reported that a truce had been achieved between English and Spanish forces at Dunkirk.⁹²⁸

At risk of being upstaged by the Londoners, Parliament decided that delegations from both the Lords and the Commons would also travel to The Hague with the money. With

⁹²² Roger Downing, Gijs Rommelse and Uitgeverij Verloren, *A Fearful Gentleman: Sir George Downing in The Hague, 1658-1672*, (Hilversum 2011), p. 72.

⁹²³ *Ibid* p. 73.

⁹²⁴ Carolyn A. Edie, "'For The Honour and Welfare of the City': London's Gift to Charles II on His Coming Into The Kingdom, May 1660' in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 50: 2 (Spring, 1987), pp. 119-131.

⁹²⁵ Giles Dury (ed.), *The Parliamentary Intelligencer* (London 1659-60), p. 292.

⁹²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 299.

⁹²⁷ *Ibid* p. 304.

⁹²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 318.

continued echoes of 1642, the five Lords included Robert Greville, fourth Lord Brooke and Charles Rich, fourth earl of Warwick, as well as Denzell Holles with twelve additional MPs.⁹²⁹ Accompanied by these delegates from parliament, the 22 man strong delegation from the City of London arrived in The Hague on 14 May. Ten of its members were Adventurers for Irish land; Richard Bateman, Theophilus Biddolph, Richard Ford, William Bateman, Thomas Chamberlin, Samuel Langham, Richard Brown, William Thompson, Sir Nicholas Crispe and Thomas Vincent. Thomas Vincent had emerged from the trade in Adventurers' debentures as the largest investor in Irish land. He was a close business partner of Maurice Thompson and they had jointly established a successful ironworks in Braintree, Massachusetts.⁹³⁰ A second sub-group, comprising Thomas Adams, Abraham Reynardson, Thomas Bludworth and Sir James Bunce with Samuel Langham, had been excluded from their aldermanry following the execution of Charles I in 1649.⁹³¹ Alderman Anthony Bateman was a brother of William Bateman.

The remaining five members; William Wilde, Sir John Robinson, Alderman John Frederick, Alderman William Wade, John Lewis and Colonel Bromfield were Royalist or Presbyterian leaders in the city of London. Bromfield, for example, was a former Recorder of London, imprisoned in 1649.⁹³² As ever, several ties bound the members of the delegation. John Lewis was married to Sarah Foote, daughter of Maurice Thompson's business partner, Thomas Foote. John Robinson's association with Maurice Thompson and the Adventurers began in August 1649 when he joined with the Thompsons, Nicholas Corsellis, the Pennoyer brothers, Martin Noell and others in sponsoring a factory at Assada, north of Madagascar, to service their interloping trade in the East Indies.⁹³³ This partnership was eventually merged by Oliver Cromwell with the 'official' East India Company bringing the established Royalist traders, including Nicholas Crispe, into Thompson's fold.⁹³⁴ William Thompson, the Batemans, Biddulph, Chamberlin and Robinson all sat on London's Committee of Safety, alongside Thomas Foote.⁹³⁵

⁹²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 306.

⁹³⁰ Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, p. 404.

⁹³¹ Abraham Reynardson was a member of both the Levant and East India companies.

⁹³² Rushworth, *Historical Collections* II, p. 1125.

⁹³³ Sainsbury, *East India Company*, p. 97.

⁹³⁴ Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy*, p. 87.

⁹³⁵ Firth, *Clarke Papers* iv, 118.

Knighthoods were conferred on all members of the City delegation not already in possession of one and Charles II duly arrived in Dover on 25 May 1660. Parliament had begun the process of drafting an act of general pardon, in accordance with the principles set out by Charles' Breda declaration, on 9 May.⁹³⁶ The Council of State was winding up its affairs. The final piece of correspondence of the Council of State, the last act of the Interregnum, was signed by Annesley and George Thompson on 26 May 1660, promising money advanced by John Frederick and Thomas Rich to pay for the table and household of Charles II upon his arrival in London.⁹³⁷ George Thompson and his friends evidently knew what was transpiring at The Hague and what conditions would be imposed by Charles II. As his final act as a parliamentarian, and the final warrant of the Interregnum, George Thompson ordered that Hugh Peter be brought in chains to London.⁹³⁸ Charles II's declaration concerning Ireland was issued on 1 June and provided for 'the effectual Settling and Confirming of all and every the Estates of Adventurers'.⁹³⁹ The Adventurers, denounced by his father for financing the Parliamentary forces at Edgehill, were to be rewarded. Clearly, the lobby sent to the Hague as part of the London delegation had been successful and the Thompson family involvement with John, secretary to the Council of State, William, in the Hague mission and Maurice with the wealth of his global business empire, were involved in every important step of this process. On 6 June summonses were issued for the arrest of all Regicides while, on 9 June, Charles II signed Maurice Thompson's personal pardon 'for anything done between 10 November 1640 to date' and guaranteed the 'restitution of all lands, tenements, goods and chattels'.⁹⁴⁰ Almost everybody else had to wait until 29 August when parliament passed 'An act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion' on the same day as it passed 'An Act for the speedy Provision of Money, for disbanding and paying off the Forces of this Kingdom, both by Land and Sea'.⁹⁴¹

⁹³⁶ CJ, VIII, pp. 18-20.

⁹³⁷ TNA SP 25/108 Letter Books 3 March to 26 May 1660, f. 91; Thomas Rich was a Gloucester merchant and unrelated to the earl of Warwick. He was involved in both the Levant and East India companies, and was married to the daughter of William Cockayne.

⁹³⁸ TNA SP 25/116 Passes and Warrants 25 February 1660 to 26 May 1660, f. 20. The Council of State began issuing arrest warrants for Regicides, for those whom Charles II might find most objectionable, on 16 April when the arrest was ordered of Charles Whalley and Edward Goffe, who later turned up in New England. Arthur Annesley signed the final warrant, for the arrest of Gregory Clement, on 25 May (ff. 4, 22).

⁹³⁹ Clarke, *Prelude to Restoration*, p. 306.

⁹⁴⁰ TNA SP 29/83, f. 103.

⁹⁴¹ LJ, XI, pp. 146-148.

The Act of Oblivion could not have been more tailor-made to the Adventurers' interests.⁹⁴² The subject of Article XLV (Exception of Bonds in His Majesty's Name before May 1642 for Securities of Receivers), Nicholas Crispe got his money back from the customs farm. Article XLVIII restored all lands to the King and Church but left the purchasers of any sequestered or confiscated private lands in the hands of their purchasers. This provision left most of the Adventurers, who had acquired such lands cheaply during the war years, in legal possession of their new estates. Finally, Article XXV excluded from pardon anybody included within the scope of the Adventurers Act. The Adventurers were duly awarded their Irish lands in full on foot of the Acts of Settlement (1662) and Explanation (1665). With the exception of the small number of Adventurer Regicides, whose lands were awarded to the Duke of York, future King James II, and allowing for a small number of transfers due to sales or inheritance, the vast majority of leading Adventurers progressed from their recorded allotments in 1658 to Letters Patent.⁹⁴³ On 29 December 1660, Parliament agreed to honour all of the public debts outstanding from the Long Parliament until 1647, all of the debts outstanding for supplies made to the Navy, but to exclude £95,000 of outstanding public debt incurred between 1652 and February 1660.⁹⁴⁴ None of this money was owed to the Adventurers. In September 1660, Charles II ended the war with Spain and confirmed the Navigation Act of 1651.

⁹⁴² 'Charles II, 1660: An Act of Free and Generall Pardon Indemnity and Oblivion.', in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80*, ed. John Raithby (London, 1819), pp. 226-234 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp226-234> [accessed 26 November 2015].

⁹⁴³ The Letters Patent issued under the Act of Settlement are enumerated in *Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records XXV*, 1882.

⁹⁴⁴ CJ, VIII, pp. 234-244.

Conclusion

Between 1663 and 1669, England exported £2 million worth of manufactured goods through the Port of London.⁹⁴⁵ 63% of this total was exported to West Africa, America and the East Indies. The city also re-exported almost £1 million worth of commodities that originated in these markets. From humble beginnings in the 1620s, through to the 1640s when England's exports were still dominated by domestically produced cloth intended for European markets, this represented a revolutionary change. This revolution was brought about by a group of merchants who originally coalesced in March 1642 as the Adventurers for Irish Land. The Adventurers had earlier developed their commercial networks in England's American and Caribbean colonies. This tight and interwoven grouping of peers, parliamentarians and merchants, not identified before, dominated English parliamentary finances throughout the 1640s and early 1650s. Following the restoration of Charles II in 1660, the survivors or their immediate descendants, along with those who had joined in the 1650s, became the dominant faction on the Board of Trade. England's commercial policy developed thereafter along imperial lines and was the Adventurers' greatest legacy.

The financial system created by the Adventurers depended on a regular supply of silver for minting into coin. This coin was essential, both for military expenditure and to finance the East Indies trade that ensured large profits. The primary sources of silver were the Spanish mines of Central America and Peru, and the Adventurers developed three legal methods for its acquisition - the supply of North Atlantic fish to Spain, of Caribbean sugar to the Dutch Republic and of African Slaves to the Americas - in addition to the more opportunistic method of piracy. The circulation of silver provided the fiscal framework for the Atlantic world and much of the Adventurers' trade was built upon this foundation. The Adventurers' control over the silver supply was the underlying source of their influence and tiny island of Barbados became the focal point that gave their financial system its liquidity. In fact, silver was so necessary for funding the English state that the Protectorate, unsuccessfully, fought its last war for it.

The colonial silver in the Adventurers' hands provided the means by which Parliament and its supporters among the nobility initially equipped and paid their armies. It only took a matter of months for the Junta among the peerage, led by the earl of Warwick, their clients

⁹⁴⁵ Ralph Davis, 'English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700', *Economic History Review*, Second Series, 7:2, (1954), pp. 150-166, at pp. 154-160.

in the House of Commons and the merchants in their employ to learn how to use the outbreak of the Irish rebellion to their advantage. All of the evidence indicates that key actions against Charles I were directed from Warwick House, enlisting the middling merchants who were previously employed by the peers as contractors for their colonial projects. In the first instance, the defence of Ireland became the excuse for removing the King from London in January 1642. The Adventure for Irish Land was the next part of this process. Taken in isolation, the Adventure can be interpreted as a colonial endeavour. The pattern of income and expenditure, particularly the timing of subscriptions, reveals that the Adventure for Irish land was the primary phase of parliamentary militarisation and the bulk of the Adventurers' resources were applied to raising forces to use against the king. The Irish excuse was used again to circumvent a ban on military supplies imposed by the Dutch and, most significantly, to oppose Charles' cessation of hostilities in Ireland of 1643. If the Adventurers had wanted a quick return on their investment, as adventurers normally did, their army would have been despatched to Ireland to seize the land. It was not and the Adventure for Irish Land, in fact, represented a key episode of the English Civil War, not of the Irish revolt. This research has established that the Adventure was not a cause of the English Civil War, but acted as a crucial accelerator.

The Adventurers used their own commercial networks in London, normally within the umbrella of the Common Council, to establish a broad based apparatus for taxation and sequestration. Their principal method was to introduce Dutch financial innovations and apply them to state finance. These methodologies included the excise, which accounted for one third of Dutch state revenue by 1640 but was new to England in 1643, and the integration of the parliamentary financial committees under their control into an early form of exchange bank on the Amsterdam model. The parliamentary cause was financed initially with silver bullion that had found its way into London, circumventing the Mint, and was in the hands of the Adventurers. This bullion was used to securitise both further cash loans, provided by the Adventurers at interest, as well as military supplies. Suppliers were provided with payment warrants securing their debts, again with interest, against future expected receipts from taxation. These payment warrants became instruments of exchange, and thus paper money was created. The paper money was sound as long as the holders of the warrants were confident that they could be redeemed for coin of the realm within agreed terms or on demand. Because the owners of plate bullion, the holders of payment warrants and the treasurers of parliament's taxation committees were the same men this system, initially at least, proved easy to maintain. The genesis of a proto-fiscal

state are to be found here, as the purchasing power of the initial plate bullion deposits was multiplied by circulating instruments of credit that enabled Parliament to raise armies without resorting to punitive taxation.

As the war economy expanded beyond the means of the core group of Adventurers to underwrite it, two further innovations increased Parliament's money supply and fuelled the expansion of further credit. The sequestration of opponents' assets, and their sale at bargain rates, encouraged further flows of hoarded plate into the central treasury committees. The excise increased the circulation of minted coin and brought it back into state coffers, settling outstanding warrants and stimulating the creation of more. A third Dutch innovation, the integrated sugar mill introduced in Barbados in 1643, greatly increased the money supply in the hands of the Adventurers. The sale of royalist, church and, finally, the king's own lands repeated the initial success of the Adventure for Irish land by monetising the landed assets of Parliament's enemies. This central treasury and state-backed system of credit developed irrespective of whether it was intentional or not on the part of the Adventurers. Its success can be measured by the fact that the Protectorate was £2 million in debt at its fall in 1660, credit generated within the fiscal system developed by the Adventurers. Such was the level of confidence in the 'Public Faith', but the demand for money, chiefly in the form of military expenditure, greatly exceeded the supply. The system, such as it was, collapsed due to the simultaneous withdrawal of the Adventurers' supply of colonial silver in the mid-1650s and the completion of the process of royalist asset sales at the same time. In these circumstances, there was insufficient money to maintain the credit-worthiness of the Protectorate.

Although there were 1,300 Adventurers, one, Maurice Thompson, was pre-eminent. He was highly skilled as a financier and logistician. More importantly, he also appears to have been a particularly gifted political opportunist and navigated his own course from royal government, through Parliament, Commonwealth, Protectorate and back to royal government again. Aided by his immediate and extended family, his good relations with the earl of Warwick, with Oliver Cromwell and, finally, with Charles II appear to have been reciprocal. All trusted and rewarded him. Unfortunately, Maurice Thompson has left no diaries, opinions or recollections, so it is difficult to establish the bearing of his moral compass. Indeed, he may not have had one. Thompson embraced English and Irish indentured labour, and then African slavery, with unparalleled enthusiasm and this was the primary source of his wealth. His many roles in state finance yielded further riches through financial processes that could have been, but were not, handled more efficiently. Maurice

Thompson, his family and friends had no difficulty in promoting a war with Protestant Holland in 1652. Prizes and reparations took priority over religion or friendships. Despite this, the execution of Charles I was a step too far and Thompson, in common with the vast majority of Adventurers, distanced themselves from it. A dispute over their Irish land entitlements accruing from the Adventure precipitated the Adventurers' departure from state finance in 1653 and their posture thereafter was one of opposition to the Protectorate, finally manifested in their support for the Restoration of the monarchy.

Self-interest resulted in the Adventurers inviting the invasion of London by Monck's Scottish army in January 1660 and a subsequent mission to The Hague to entice Charles II to return to London. The wider network of leading Adventurers ensured both the security of the city and the financial resources necessary to secure the king's return. The motive for this intervention was the damaging trade and foreign policies pursued by the Cromwellian Protectorate. Much of England's colonial production had been abandoned to Dutch carriers and a hostile France and Spain threatened the Adventurers with expulsion from both their colonial possessions and their Asian trading networks. Charles II accomplished what the Protectorate could not, re-establishing a peace at sea and modelling trade policy in the Adventurers' interest. These gains required the execution, exile or imprisonment of some of the Adventurers' former allies. This was an acceptable price to pay, a financial not a moral calculation. For Charles II, Ireland was the price to be paid for support of the Adventurers and for England's future wealth. These were imperial, not colonial, objectives and England's colonial phase in Ireland's history thus came to an abrupt conclusion. Ireland's status changed from being a laboratory for England's colonial ambitions to becoming part of a wider empire. As Caribbean land was too valuable for the production of food for its densely concentrated labour force, Ireland became the primary source of provisions for England's rapidly expanding Atlantic empire.

This study set out to identify the Adventurers for Irish land and to reconcile their unwavering support for the parliamentary cause with the settlement of their claims by the restored monarch, Charles II. It has revealed, instead, how the actions of an extraordinary group of skilled and innovative individuals, less than twenty in number, developed and maintained a stable system of state finance in highly challenging times. They profited enormously from their efforts and left behind them both an early form of a centralised English fiscal state and the framework upon which England's overseas empire was built. By so doing, they pre-empted a similar importation of Dutch trade and banking practise that followed the Glorious Revolution of 1688 by half a century. In the twentieth century,

the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, stated that there were no winners in war, and all were losers.⁹⁴⁶ Maurice Thompson and the Adventurers would have disagreed.

⁹⁴⁶ Anon, “‘Avoidance of War’: Mr Chamberlain on his ‘Prime Duty’”, *The Times*, (London, 4 July 1938).

Appendix 1

The Original Adventurers for Irish Land

This composite list of the Original Adventurers for Irish Land is drawn from four sources: TNA SP 63/302, a list of all Adventures paid in full; TNA SP 63/301, ff. 197-200, a list of all Adventures not paid in full; *Calendar of State Papers, Adventurers for Land* and the remainder from Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land*, Appendix A. The names in Bottigheimer's list, not drawn from the first three sources, were derived from list drawn up by John Prendergast, the source of which is now lost. The term 'cert' is reflective of the fact that these additional names were not recorded in the original compilation of paid up Adventures, and many could not produce receipts. They relied instead on a 'certificate' from Thomas Andrews, the only surviving treasurer in 1653, to confirm their claims. There are clearly issues surrounding the authenticity of these certificates as many were awarded to leading figures, such as Oliver Cromwell, whose Adventures might reasonably be expected to have been recorded in a more formal manner. Some of these certificates may well be debts transferred from other securities, the creditors preferring Irish land to nebulous offers of repayment. Others may just have been gifts to persons of influence, an attempt to encourage the rapid plantation of Ireland intended in 1653.

The following list gives the name of each Adventurer in bold type, followed by their place of residence in 1642 (where known), and the amount Adventured. The information that follows concerns each Adventurers' membership of parliamentary financial committees or local collections, together with any involvement in the key commercial enterprises promoted by the Adventurers' leadership. Family connections between the leading Adventurers are also stated.

Thomas Abdy, London, Financier, £500, Paid in July 1643 for Ordinance concerning soldier's pay. Married at the time to Mary Corsellis, Daughter of Lucas and cousin of Nicholas. Married daughter of Nicholas Soame in 1647. Son of Anthony Abdy d. 1640 and brother of Sir Robert Abdy.

Humphrey Abdy, London, Financier, £500, Auditor for accounts of the Virginia Company 1619; Established Iron Works in Enniscorthy, county Wexford, 1659, in partnership with Martin Noel. NLI MSS 325; William Stith, *History of the First Settlement of Virginia*, (Williamsburg, 1747), p. 274.

Thomas Adams, London, Draper, £600, Investor Massachusetts Bay Company, 1628; Artillery Company 1639; Alderman, Portsoken, 1639-41, Billingsgate, 1641-6, Cornhill, 1646-9, 1660-8; Colonel Blue Regiment 1642-c 1645; EIC General Voyage 1643; Treasurer £80,000 loan for Fairfax 1645; President St. Thomas' Hospital 1643-50, 1660-8; Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646; London Militia 1647; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Governor Irish Society 1662-8; Master Drapers 1640-1. Died February 24, 1668. No record of Adventure in State Papers.

Robert & Nathaniel Adams, £100.

William Adams, London, Cheap, Haberdasher, £200, Common Council 1643; Relief of the Poor, London 1647; Assessments, London 1648; Alderman, Cheap, 1649, Auditor 1659-60. Died August 16, 1661.

Nathaniel Adams, £100.

Thomas Alcock, London, Haberdasher, £300, Artillery Company 1635.

William Alcock Jnr, London, Canon Street, Merchant Tailor, £25.

Margaret Aldersey, Kent, Merchant, £60, Widow of Samuel Aldersey, investor in the Massachusetts Bay Company 1628.

John Alderton, £25.

John Alford, £50, Artillery Company 1630; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

William Allanson, London, Chaplain, £150, Brother of Richard Allen of Devon. Chaplain to lord Digby in London 1638-?, later a Puritan minister in Bristol.

William Allanson, York, Draper, £300, Knighted by Charles I 1633; MP for York Long Parliament; Lord Mayor of York 1640, Collector of £400,000 subsidy; Died 1656.

Tobias Allein, Devizes, Wiltshire, Gentleman, £80, Father of Joseph Allein, a Puritan divine and cousin of Francis.

Francis Allen, Surrey, Lambeth, Goldsmith, £700, Commissioner Customs 1643-5; Alderman, Farringdon Without, 1649-52; Councillor of State 1651, 1652-3; M.P. Cockermouth 1645-53; Collector Plate Money July 1642; Commissioner Customs 1643-5; Treasurer £80,000 loan for Fairfax 1645; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Treasurer at War 1647; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Treasurer, Forfeited Estates 1651; Prime Warden Goldsmiths 1650-1; Treasurer for Delinquent lands 1652; Derby House Committee 1652-3; Commissioner for Trade and Plantations 1652-3; EIC Shareholder 1657; Died September 6, 1658. Advanced £700 to Adventure in July 1642 in partnership with John Barkstead, John Coltman, Nicholas Bond, Christopher Towse and John Witham. The other partners assigned their shares to Allen in 1653.

Thomas Allen, London, Grocer, £300, Assessments, London 1648; High Court Justice 1650, 1653; Commissioner for Excise 1653.

John Allen, £100.

Richard Allen, Devon, Ditchet, Clerk, later Puritan divine, £200, Dorchester Company 1624; Commissioner for Somerset for Ejecting scandalous ingorant and insufficient Ministers and schoolmaster 1654-?

William Allen, London, Grocer, £550, Bermuda Company investor, Loaned £20 to parliament July 1642 (NA, SP16/492, p. 239); Advance Money collector 1642; EIC General Voyage 1643; Alderman, Langbourn, 1650-1, Died 1651.

Richard Allott, London, Haberdasher, £50.

John Allwood, Dorset, £25.

George Almery, London, Gentleman, £800, Adventure paid in for John Holland; Committee of Adventurers 1654.

William Almond, London, Pewterer, £25.

Edward Alston, London, Physician, £200, Adventure paid in for John Holland.

Joseph Alston, London, Merchant, £200, Adventure paid in for John Holland; Married Elizabeth Thompson, daughter of Maurice Thompson; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649.

Pennyus Alston, London, Grocer, £50.

John Amys, London, £200, Artillery Company 1636.

Nathaniel Anderson, Middlesex, Clothier, £125.

Nathaniel Andrews, London, £200, Investor Massachusetts Bay Company 1628; Artillery Company 1628;

Thomas Andrews, London, Leatherseller, £3537, Investor Massachusetts Bay Company 1628; Plymouth Company 1628-38; Artillery Company 1630; EIC General Voyage 1643; Alderman, Tower, 1642-9, Aldgate, 1649-59; Loaned £100 Brotherly Assistance 1641; Treasurer Adventure for Irish Land 1642; Commissioner for Assessments 1642; Treasurer Advance of Money 1643-; Commissioner for Prize Goods 1643; Commissioner Customs 1643-5; Accounts for the Whole Kingdom 1644; Treasurer, Treasurer £80,000 loan for Fairfax 1645; Treasurer for Arrears 1645; Treasurer Assessment for Ireland 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Treasurer at War 1647; Treasurers £20,000 per month for Ireland 1648; Assessments, London 1648; Forfeited Estates 1651; Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; High Court Justice 1650, 1653; Treasurer for Delinquent lands 1652; Committee of Adventurers 1654; Knighted (by the Protector) November 14, 1657; President St. Thomas' Hospital 1650-9; Committee E.I.C. 1643-59 (Deputy Governor 1657-9, Governor 1659); Master Leathersellers 1638-9. Died (buried August 20) 1659; adm. August 20, 1659.

Richard Andrews, London, Cripplegate, Girdler, £40, Collector Plate Money July 1642.

Matthew Andrews, London, Grocer, £50.

Edward Annesley, London, Portsoken, Armourer, £1400, Collector Plate Money July 1642.

Hannah Anthony, £110.

Edmond Anthony, £200,

Stephen Archbold, £50.

Francis Archer, London, Haberdasher, £25, EIC Shareholder 1657.

George Arnold, London, Farringdon, Girdler, £200, Collector Plate Money July 1642.

William and John Arnold, £100, Artillery Company 1635.

John and William Arundel, Middlesex, £100.

Henry Arundel, Middlesex, £150.

Edward Ash, London, Draper, £400, Drapers Company 1624; Artillery Company 1626; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Militia Committee (Kent), 1648; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649.

Francis Ash, London, Goldsmith, £250, Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646; Alderman Bridge, 1648; Auditor 1644-6; Assessments, London 1648; Prime Warden Goldsmiths 1649-50. EIC Shareholder 1657; Died 1660.

John Ash, Somerset, Taunton, Gentleman, £50, Collector, Somerset 1643; Commissioner for Plantations 1646; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Commissioner for Trade 1650.

John Ashley, London, Portsoken, Fishmonger, £100, Virginia Company, Collector Plate Money July 1642.

Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Shaftsbury, Gentleman, £600, MP; Council of State 1653.

Michael Ashton, Dorset, £15.

Richard Ashurst, London, Draper, £100.

William Ashwell, London, Grocer, £400, EIC General Voyage 1643; Alderman, Aldersgate, 1643-4; Treasurer St. Bartholomew's Hospital 1643; Committee E.I.C. 1638-47, 1648-51, 1652-3, 1654-5. Died November, 1675.

Raphe Aston, London, Yeoman, £50, Artillery Company 1625.

Benjamin Athuis, £50.

William Atkins, Southampton, £50.

Peter Atkins, Devon, £25.

Edward Austen, London, Fishmonger, £500.

Henry Austin, London, Fishmonger, £600, Artillery Company 1620.

Samuel Avery, London, Merchant Taylor, £4800, Treasurer, Doubling Ordinance (Irish Land) 1643; Ransom of Algiers Captives 1645; Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; London Militia 1647; Alderman, Cripplegate, 1645-7, Relief of the Poor, London 1647; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Alderman Bassishaw, 1647-53; M.P. London 1654-5; Commissioner for Prize Goods 1643; Commissioner Customs 1645-9; Committee of Adventurers 1654; Master Merchant Taylors 1645-6.

John Aynell, Devon, £20.

Thomas Ayres, London, £200, Patentee Piscataqua, New Hampshire, 1631; Fee-farm Trustee 1647; High Court Justice 1650,1653; Committee of Adventurers 1654.

Edward Ayscough, Lincoln, Gentleman, £150, Customs inspector for Tobacco 1635, Compounder for those caught smuggling or growing tobacco; Investigator of alum farmers 1640; MP.

William Babb, London, Fishmonger, £50.

Michael Babington, London, £200.

Abraham Babington, London, Draper, £500, Common Council 1641.

Thomas Babington, Leicestershire, £100, County Association 1642; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Thomas Bailey, Wiltshire, £150, Militia Committee Wiltshire, 1648.

Katherine Baker, Buckinghamshire, £80.

William Baker, London, Merchant Tailor, £150, Alderman, Farringdon Without, 1649.

John Baker, London, Weaver, £100, Artillery Company 1628.

William Balam, London, Lincolns Inn, Lawyer, £50, Partner of Valentine Figg.

William Ball, London, £200, Assessments, London 1648.

Elizabeth Ball, £100.

George Ball, London, Merchant, £200.

John Ballard, London, Silkweaver, £200, Artillery Company 1640.

William Ballard, London, Yeoman, £200, Providence Island Company 1632.

Patrick Banford, London, Merchant Tailor, £100, Artillery Company 1635; Assessments, London 1648.

John Bankes, London, Grocer, £100, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Gabriel Barber, Hertfordshire, Gentleman, £200, Treasurer, Somers Island Company, Providence Island Company 1631, Feoffee for Improvements.

Surgeons Barber, London, Barber Surgeon, £50, Guild.

Maximilliam Bard, Southwark, £200, Artillery Company 1642; Collector Plate Money July 1642; £5,000 loan relief of Munster 1645; Paymaster of soldiers 1647; High Court Justice 1650,1653.

Symon Bardolf, Surrey, Merchant, £300.

Robert Barfoote, London, Leatherseller, £50, Artillery Company 1641.

George Barker, Surrey, £200.

John Barker, Warwickshire, Gentleman, £1200, Alderman of Warwick.

Humphry Barker, Bristol, £1000, Massachusetts Bay Company 1630.

William Barker, London, Merchant, £200, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Edward Barkham, London, Gentleman, £600, Trustee of king's goods 1649.

John Barkstead, London, Goldsmith, £100, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Francis and James Barlow, £20.

Richard Barnard, Sussex, Draper, £200, Artillery Company 1623.

Nathaniel Barnardiston, Suffolk, Gentleman, £700, Assessments Suffolk 1643; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Thomas Barnardiston, London, Gentleman, £322, Artillery Company 1622; Collector Plate Money July 1642; Assessments Essex 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Assessments, London 1648; Africa Company 1649; Committee of Adventurers 1654.

Josias Barnes, Middlesex St James Clerkenwell, Lawyer, £400, Collector Plate Money July 1642.

Robert Barrett, London, Haberdasher, £50, Artillery Company 1637; Drew land in County Waterford that he sold to John Nettles of Youghal in 1654 (advent. Cal. P. 92).

Thomas Barrett, £100, Artillery Company 1627.

Thomas Barrington, Colchester, Gentleman, £1200, MP Colchester; Providence Island Company 1631.

Bernard Bartlett, Merchant, £80.

John Bartlett, Clothworker, £30.

William Bartlett, London, £10, Assessments, London 1648.

William Barton, London, Stationer, £300.

Thomas Barwick, London, Grocer, £100.

William Bassett, Kent, Mariner, £1030, Plymouth, New England colonist 1621.

John Bate, London, Bridge Within, Merchant Tailor, £200, Collector Plate Money July 1642

John Bateman, London, Gentleman, £100, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Richard Bateson, Middlesex Sepulchres without the Bares, £100, Collector Plate Money July 1642; Assessments, London 1648.

Corporation of Bath, Bath, £25.

John Bayliff, Somerset, £10.

Thomas Beadle, London, Tallow Chandler, £100.

Thomas Beale, London, Mariner, £100, Captain of the Great Lewis 1644. Not an Adventurer as money was assigned in lieu of debt owed for a shipment of coal to Duncannon, see Mahaffy, *Adventurers*, p. 369).

Stephen Beale, London, Bridge Within, Leatherseller, £1300, Artillery Company 1642; Collector Plate Money July 1642.

Richard Beale, Kent, Captain, £337, Sequestrations, Kent 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Robert Beard, Exeter, £200, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Richard Beaumont, London, Apothecary, £58.

Gabriel Beck, London, Lawyer, £300, Parliamentary Committee for Gloucester 1646 (Gl CC., D340a/C1). The equivalent of a planning officer in London, 1656-7; Commissioner £50,000 for Ireland 1648. See *Diary of Thomas Burton*, p. 25n

Henry Bedingfield, London, Grocer, £200, Royalist, estates forfeited in 1651

Anthony Bedingfield, London, Mercer, £180, MP for Duncich 1640-52; Alderman Langbourn, 1650; Master Mercers 1651. Died 1652.

William Beeke, London, Gracechurch Street, Merchant Tailor, £625, Artillery Company 1642; Common Council 1643; Commissioner for arrears 1645; Court of the Company of Merchant Tailors 1657; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Richard Beighton, London, Sadler, £50.

Anthony Belfield, Hertfordshire, £180.

Angelo Bell, £50.

Foulke Bellers, Warwickshire, £25, 'Doctor of Arms'. TNASP63/301/193.

Alexander Bence, London, Grocer, £600, Navy Commissioner 1642; £120,000 per month 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Alderman Walbrook 1653, Master, Trinity House 1659.

Thomas Bendish, Essex, Gentleman, £400, Royalist; Imprisoned 1642-3; Confined to London until 1646; later ambassador to Istanbul 1647; Levant Company.

James Bengoe, London, Merchant, £25.

Gabriell Benion, London, Tallow Chandler, £100.

John Bennett, London, Deptford, Mariner, £60, Master Trinity House, 1636; Assessments, London 1648.

Richard Benning, £200.

William Bentley, London, Mariner, £200.

Richard Bernard, London, Gentleman, £200.

John Berry, London, Carpenter, £50, Artillery Company 1641.

Sarah Best, Surrey, Kingston, £35.

William Betsworth, Sussex, Blacksmith, £50.

William Bewley, London, Draper, £100, Artillery Company 1635.

Thomas Bewley, London, Draper, £100, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Christopher Biddle, London, Shoemaker, £25.

Theophilus Biddolph, London, Grocer, £100, EIC Shareholder 1657; Committee of Safety 1659.

Adoniram Bifield, London, Clothworker, £50.

Anna Bigge, London, £200.

Samuel Bigge, Stratford, Mariner, £7.

Thomas Bigges, London, Clothworker, £200.

Joseph Biggs, Clothworker, £50.

Thomas Birch, Manchester, Gentleman, £200, MP. Colonel in parliamentary army. Of Birch Hall, Manchester and Governor of Liverpool, 1645-8; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Militia committee Lincolnshire, 1648.

John Bird, London, £10, Artillery Company 1633.

Theophilus Birkenhead, London, Actor, £100.

John Biscoe, Westminster, St Margaret, Apothecary, £125, Collector for Plate Money 1642. Vestryman for St Margarets Church Westminster, popular with independent MPs, and in charge of the parish accounts 1630s. See J. F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community* (Manchester, 2005), p. 341).

Ephriam Bishop, Surrey, Merchant, £20.

William Bixby, London, Salter, £100, Artillery Company 1634; Church Elder, St Laurence Jewry 1645.

William Blackburn, London, Leatherseller, £62.

John Blackstone, Durham, Gentleman, £750, Son of William Blackston, the first settle of Rhode Island; MP; Sequestrations Durham 1643; County committee for Assessments, 1643; County committee, Assessment for transporting forces to Ireland, 1647; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Northern Association, 1645.

John Blackwell, Durham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Gentleman, £500, Artillery Company 1642; £200,000 loan for Ireland 1647; Deputy Treasurer of War, Ireland 1653; Committee of Adventurers 1654; Lands set out for supposed Adventure of £2,350, Blackwell to choose between Dublin, Kildare and Cork.

Joseph and Jonathan Blackwell, London, £468, Artillery Company 1645.

Nicholas Blague, London, Merchant, £50.

Emmanuel Blake, London, Mercer, £30, EIC Shareholder 1657.

George Blake, London, £12, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Joanne Bland, £200.

Emmanuel Blatt, London, £66.

James Blatt, London, Merchant Tailor, £200, Artillery Company 1642.

John Blinhorne, £50.

Joshua Bluikerne, £150.

Overington Blunden, London, Soldier, £70.

Gerrard Boate, London, Physician, £410.

Thomas Boggess, London, Billingsgate, Currier, £50, Artillery Company 1635; Collector Plate Money July 1642.

William Boggis, Suffolk, Gentleman, £50,

Denis Bond, Dorset, Dorchester, Gentleman, £2000, MP Dorchester; Dorchester Company 1624; Did not subscribe his own money but arranged a subscription in trust for the 'well affected' of Devon, many of whom were also prominent in the Dorchester Company; Assesments Devon 1643; Government of the West Indies 1643; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Committee of the Admiralty 1648; Derby House Committee 1652-3; Committee of the Admiralty 1652-3; Commissioner for Trade and Plantations 1652-3.

Nicholas Bond, London, Gentleman, £100, Fee-farm Trustee 1647; Auditor of army accounts 1648.

Margaret Bonner, London, Bridge Within, £50, Nicholas Bonner was Collector Plate Money, 1642.

Thomas Boone, Devon, Gentleman, £600, MP; West Indies, Bahamas committees. 'The lawyers of the house - Mr Holles, Col. Thompson, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Greene, Mr. Clarke etc'; Commissioner for Trade 1650.

John Borlase, Buckinghamshire, Gentleman, £200, Lord Justice of Ireland 1643-44.

William Bosseville, London, Lawyer, £400, Artillery Company 1642; Fee-farm Trustee 1647.

William Boulton, London, Merchant Tailor, £100.

Everard Boulton, London, Barber Surgeon, £25, Artillery Company 1642.

Nathaniel Bourhier, Sussex, Singleton, £4.

Henry Box, London, Grocer, £400, Alderman, Bridge, 1650.

Henry Boyce, London, Tallow Chandler, £100.

John Boyce, Kent, £100.

Matthew Boynton, Buckinhamshire, Uxbridge, Hedgeley House, Gentleman, £1000, MP recruited in 1645; Planned to emigrate to the Saybrook colony in Massachusetts in 1635, a project of lords Say and Sele and lord Brooke, but was prevented from doing so by the commissioners for plantations, Commissioner for assessment (E. Riding 1643-d.), levying and sequestration money, N. Riding 1643, Northern Assoc. Yorks. 1645-6; His son Matthew inherited the Adventure, declared for the Royalists and was killed in 1651.

Edward Boynton, £450.

James Boynton, £150.

Mark Bradley, London, Scrivener, £100.

George Bradley, London, Stationer, £100, Artiller Company 1635; Collector for Plate Money 1642.

Elizabeth Bradshaw, £50.

Joseph Brand, London, Saddler, £200.

Matthew Brand, Surrey, Gentleman, £600, Collector for Plate Money 1642; Assessments Surrey 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

John Brimblecombe, Devon, Mariner, £50.

William Brereton, Cheshire, Handforth, Gentleman, £900, MP; Author of 'Travels of Sir William Brereton in Ireland 1635'; New England land patentee 1630s, Responsible for shipping troops to Ireland from Chester 1642; Parliamentarian commander Cheshire.

Thomas Bretland, Dorset, £100.

John Brett, London, St Benet Gracechurch (warde);, Merchant Tailor, £1000, Artillery Company 1635; Son-in-law of Randall Mainwaring; Entered colonial trade in 1640s and patented land in New England after the Restoration; Commissioner for Sale of goods by the candle, 1643.

Christopher Brewer, Somerset, £3.

Edward Brewster, London, Stationer, £133.

James Brickdell, London, £10.

John Bridges, London, Gentleman, £300, Artillery Company 1635; Brother of William Bridges, Divine. 'To the worhipful Maurice Thompson, George Thompson, William Thompson (Sherriff of London), Robert Thompson, Sir John Wittewrong, William Ofield, Samuel Champnes, Elias Roberts and William Hawkins. Honoured and beloved in our Lord Jesus, It is not of want of respect that I crowd your names together...but God hath made you one, though branched into several habitations'. Dedication to *'The Great Gospel Mystery of the Saints' comfort and Holiness preached at Stepney*, (London, 1647).

John Bridgoe, Edson, £175.

Miles Briggs, London, Merchant Tailor, £125, Artillery Company 1628.

Thomas Briggs, London, Mercer, £200.

John Bright, Yorkshire, £600, Assessments Yorkshire 1643.

Thomas Bright, Suffolk, Gentleman, £200.

Thomas Brightwell, London, Bowyer, £791, Collector for Plate Money 1642; Common Council 1643; Church Elder, St Giles Cripplegate 1645; Commissioner for arrears 1645; Committee of Adventurers 1654; Associate of Thompson; Committee of Citizens to seize Gunpowder appointed by parliament, 1642: Richard Waring, Thomas Foote, Thomas Brightwell, Samuel Langham, Samuel Hartnett, George Foxcroft, Thomas Stock, Richard Hunt, William Thompson, John Lane, Thomas Browne, John Greensmith, Edward Bolton.

Laurence Brinley, London, Merchant, £250, Church Elder, Mary Magdalene Milk Street, 1645.

Nicholas Brinley, London, Merchant, £262.

Laurence Bringley, London, Gentleman, £100, Collector for Plate Money 1642; Accounts for the Whole Kingdom 1644; Commissioner for Compounding 1647.

Thomas Briscoe, London, Upholder, £50.

Henry Bristoe, Retford, £50, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

John Brocket, London, Clothworker, £100.

Nicholas Broking, London, Mercer, £200.

Laurence Bromfield, London, Leatherseller, £125, Master Leathersellers 1625-6; Artillery Company 1632; Son of Alderman Edward Bromfield, Walbrook, 1637-42, Governor Irish Society 1637-8; Colonel Trained Bands 1638-42; Collector for Plate Money 1642; Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646; London Militia 1647; £200,000 loan for Ireland 1647; Committee of Adventurers 1654; Master Leathersellers 1625-6; Prime Warden Fishmongers 1636.

William Bromwich, London, £125, Relief of the Poor, London 1647.

Nicholas Brooking, Exeter, Gentleman, £200, Militia 1659.

Richard Broomer, London, £25.

Thomas Browker, Kent, Sundridge, Gentleman, £200.

Richard Browne, London, Woodmonger, £600, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Alderman, Langbourn, 1648-9, EIC Shareholder 1657; 1660-9; Cromwell's ambassador to Paris, 1658, Knighted May 29, 1660; created Baronet July, 1660; M.P. Wycombe 1645-8, 1660; London 1656-3, 1659, 1660-1, Ludgershall 1661-9; Colonel Orange Regiment 1660-9; President Bethlem and Bridewell 1660-9 (fn. 46); Commissioner Appeals 1662-9. Died September 24, 1669.

Samuel Browne, Bedford, Cutler, £50, Sequestrations, Bedford 1643.

George Browne, Dorset, Frampton, Barrister, £25, Brother of John Browne of Frampton

John Browne, Dorset, Frampton, Barrister, £100, Dorchester Company 1624; Appointed Justice of the Peace for Dorset 1638; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Appointed as a judge for the trial of Charles I December 1648 but did not sit.

John Browne, London, Gunfounder, £150, Collector for Plate Money 1642; Artillery Company 1640; Gunfounder and inventor of the Drake Cannon; Appointed the King's gunfounder in 1640; Imprisoned by Parliament 1645; Died 1652. He was owed £1,842 by Parliament in 1642. After Naseby, some captured documents suggested he was also a key supplier to the King. See Stephen Bull, *'The Furie of the Ordnance': Artillery in the Civil Wars* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 70-71).

John Browne, London, Lawyer, £450, MP; Clerk of Parliament 1643; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Humphrey Browne, London, Girdler, £305, Collector for Plate Money 1642.

Thomas Browne, London, Lawyer, £50, Collector for Plate Money 1642; £5,000 loan relief of Munster 1645; Assessments, London 1648; Son of John Browne of Frampton.

Samuel and Daniel Brustoe, Sussex, Yeoman, £133.

Thomas Bull, £200.

George Buller, Cornwall, Gentleman, £600, Assessments 1643; Loan for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Assessment £20,000 per month for Ireland 1648; Militia 1659.

James Bunce, London, leatherseller, £1000, Artillery Company 1627; Alderman, Bread Street, 1642-9, 1660; Commissioner London Militia 1642; Treasurer, Doubling Ordinance (Irish Land) 1643; Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646; £200,000 loan for Ireland 1647; Knighted May, 1660; created Baronet 1660 but never passed his patent; President Honourable Artillery Company 1645; London Militia 1647; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Master Leathersellers 1643-4. Died December 13, 1670. Certificate from Thomas Andrews 1654 for £1,000 doubled to £2,000. Adventure acquired by William Hawkins in July 1654 in Laois and Offaly, who then assigned it to Thomas Vincent. Brother-in-law Alderman John Langham.

Cornelius Burges, London, Divine, £700.

James Burgis, Somerset, £5.

Thomas Burkit, London, £100, Collector for Plate Money 1642.

John Burlace, Buckinghamshire, £25.

Symon Burton, London, Stationer, £50.

Edward Bushell, London, Merchant, £400, Navy Commissioner 1659.

Thomas Bye, London, Tallow Chandler, £25, Artillery Company 1660, father John Bye 1627;EIC Shareholder 1657.

James Cambell, London, Ironmonger, £300, MP.

Ann Cammock, Surrey, Kingston, £25.

Nathaniel Campfield, London, Farringdon Without, Mariner, £100, Artillery Company 1628; Collector for Plate Money 1642; Common Council 1643; London Militia 1647; Assessments, London 1648; Collector in London for £120,000 per month ordinance of November 1650; Son Thomas Campfield settled in New Haven, Conneticut, 1648.

John Carlton, London, Brewer, £50.

Edward Carter, London, Grocer, £200, Collector for Plate Money 1642; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649.

John Carter, London, Leatherseller, £50.

Ralph Carter, London, £25.

Nicholas Carwithin, Essex, £150.

Joseph Caryll, London, Clothworker, £100, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Thomas Caryll, London, Gentleman, £600.

William Case, London, Mariner, £300, Elder of Trinity House, 1636.

Richard Casteel, London, Merchant, £120, Supplier of goods to John Davies in Carrickfergus, TNA SP16/531/1f211.

John Catlin, Hertfordshire, Yeoman, £25.

James Caulier, London, Merchant, £200.

Richard Cave, Somerset, £3.

Abraham Chamberlain, London, Merchant, £300, Collector for Plate Money 1642; Treasurer £80,000 loan for Fairfax 1645; Relief of the Poor, London 1647; Assessments, London 1648.

Thomas Chamberlain, London, Merchant, £300, Artiller Company 1623; Commissioner Sea Adventure 1642; Commissioner for Assessments 1642; EIC Shareholder 1657; Committee of Safety 1659.

Humphrey Chambers, Somerset, £3.

Richard Chandler, London, Haberdasher, £100.

Humphrey Chaveney, Leicestershire, £100.

Francis Cheny, Buckinghamshire, £600.

James Cheswick, York, £250.

Thomas Chewning, London, Silkweaver, £120.

Raphe Child, London, £50, Collector for Plate Money 1642.

John Child, Surrey, Kingston, £5, Artillery Company 1642; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Roger Chillingworth, London, Fishmonger, £50.

Richard Clapp, Devon, Yeoman, £200.

James Clark, Middlesex, Staines, Mercer, £50.

Ralph Clarke, Dorset, £275.

James Clarke, London, Bishopsgate, £200, Artillery Company 1638.

John Clarke, London, £400, New England Company, father of George Clark, husband of Ursula Upton and aggregator of Adventures; EIC Shareholder 1657.

George Clarke, London, Grocer, £250, Artillery Company 1622; Alderman, Bridge, 1641-8, Knighted December 3, 1641; Collector for Plate Money 1642; EIC General Voyage 1643; Auditor 1635-7; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Relief of the Poor, London 1647; President St. Bartholomew's Hospital 1646-9; Committee E.I.C. 1640-4; Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646; Assessments, London 1648; Died c January 30, 1649.

James Clarke, £100.

Samuel Clarke, Warwickshire, £25.

Roger Clay, London, Factor, £100, Collector for Plate Money 1642.

John Claydon, London, Sheep Lane, Gentleman, £350.

George Cleare, London, Tallow Chandler, £10, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Gregory Clement, London, Gentleman, £2600, MP, Regicide, Dismissed from the East India Company 1630 for illegal trading practices but successful trader to New England in 1630s; Commissioner Sea Adventure 1642; EIC General Voyage 1643; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Resident of Waterford in 1659.

John Clotworthy, Antrim, Gentleman, £1000, Commissioner for Plantations 1646; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Committee of Adventurers 1654.

Richard Clutterbuck, London, Mercer, £900, Assessments, London 1648; Alderman, Vintry, 1650; Merchant Adventurer; Committee E.I.C. 1655-7; Master Mercers 1650. Died 1670.

John Cock, London, £100, Collector for Plate Money 1642; Assessments, London 1648.

Thomas Cock, London, £100, Committee of Safety 1659.

James Cocks, London, £50.

Richard Cocks, London, £50, Collector for Plate Money 1642.

Humphrey Cogan, Devon, Merchant, £100.

Elisha and Mary Coish, London, Silkweaver, £300.

Henry Colborne, London, £275, Assessments, London 1648; Committee of Adventurers 1654.

Osmond Colchester, London, Merchant, £31, Purchased 600 acres of land in Norfolk County, Virginia, 1640, with Walter Michell. Vendor Jonathan Langworth. (Alice Granberry Walter, Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, Court Records 1637-1653, p. 75 (Baltimore, 1994), p.75).

Henry Coles, London, £50, Assessments, London 1648.

Thomas Coles, London, Merchant Tailor, £375, Artillery Company 1627; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Assessments, London 1648.

Peter Coles, London, £12, Artillery Company 1641.

Richard Collett, London, Haberdasher, £100.

Francis Collins, London, £215, Assessments 1643; Assessments, London 1648.

Joseph Collyer, London, Grocer, £50, Collector Subsidy Southwark 1643; EIC Shareholder 1657.

John Coltman, London, Haberdasher, £100.

Thomas Comb, Devon, Merchant, £100.

Anna Connock, Surrey, £50.

Cornelius Cooke, London, Vintner, £100, Assessments Surrey 1643; £120,000 per month 1645.

Edward Cooke, London, Langbourne, Apothecary, £675, Common Council 1643; EIC General Voyage 1643.

Thomas Cooke, London, Grocer, £300.

John Cooke, £100, Artillery Company 1644; EIC Shareholder 1657.

John Coomb, Devon, Broadwick, £37.

Samuel Cooper, London, Fishmonger, £50.

William Cooper, London, Haberdasher, £100.

James Cope, £100.

Thomas Corbett, London, £125, Artillery Company 1641; Collector for Plate Money 1642.

Thomas Corne, London, £200, Artillery Company 1624.

John Cornish, Dunkirton, £12.

John Coulson, York, Merchant, £200.

Clement Coxon, London, Tallow Chandler, £50.

Simon Cressey, London, Girdler, £5.

Mary Creswick, York, £20.

Arthur Crew, London, £100.

John Crew, Northampton, £600, Assessments Northampton 1643.

Randall Crew, Northampton, £80.

Nicholas Crispe, London, Salter, £900, MP Winchelsea; Member, Salters' Co. 1619, master 1640-1; member, Artillery Co. 1621; Merchant Adventurer; member, Barbary Co., Guinea Co. 1631; capt. of militia ft. London by 1632-?42, common councilman by 1640-1; j.p. Mdx. by 1641-2, EIC General Voyage 1643; July 1660-d., Cornw. 1644-6; commr. of array, London 1642; Jt. farmer of customs 1638-40; commr. for customs Sept. 1660-2, trade Nov. 1660-d., plantations Dec. 1660-d.; gent. of privy chamber 1664-d.; jt.-farmer of alum works 1665- d., Col. of horse (royalist) 1643-5. (died 1666).

Richard Crispe, London, Merchant, £600, Guinea Company.

Henry Croame, London, £50.

Oliver Cromwell, Huntington, Gentleman, £300, County Association 1642; Sequestrations Cambridgeshire 1643; Malignants 1643; Government of the West Indies 1643; Collector, Fairfax' Army 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Council of State 1649; Derby House Committee 1652-3; Commissioner for Trade and Plantations 1652-3; Lord Protector 1653-8.

Charles Croke, Buckinghamshire, Clothworker, £225,

Richard Crossing, Exeter, Gentleman, £200, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Mayor of Exeter 1647;

Thomas Crossing, Exeter, Gentleman, £100,

Robert Crowley, London, Whitechapel, Haberdasher, £200, Militia, Tower Hamlets 1648;

Samuel Crowther, London, Merchat Tailor, £100,

Richard Cullen, London, £25.

Richard Culmer, Kent, Sundridge, Clothworker, £200.

John Culpepper, Leeds, Gentleman, £150, MP; Royalist; Granted five million acres in Virginia by Charles II in 1649.

John Curl, £50.

Custom House, London, Corporate, £2000.

Samuel Dabbs, London, Grocer, £85.

Thomas Dacres, Hertfordshire, Gentleman, £600, MP for Hertfordshire. Dacres loaned two sums, £500 and £100 to Loftus in March 1642 that appears to have been placed onto the Adventurers books. Had loaned the money in interim to Arthur Capel, now a delinquent. Committee of Adventurers 1654; Surrendered his Adventure and had £250 charged on the excise in 1660 (CJ, Vol. 8, p. 181; LJ, vol. 10, p. 217; hparlonline, Dacres).

William Daniel, London, St Saviours, Goldsmith, £100, Collector Advance of Money, 1643.

Richard Darmolly, £350.

Burgesses of Dartmouth, Devon, Dartmouth, Corporate, £2397.

Francis Dashwood, London, Bishopsgate, Sadlier, £150, Son of Edmund Daswood, Dorchester Company 1624; Collector for Plate Money 1642; Alderman of London 1658, Levant Company and Merchant Adventurer, daughter married Fulke Greville, 5th Baron Brooke. (HPO).

Henry Davenport, Westminster, £25, Massachusetts Bay Company.

William Davey, £150.

Thomas Davis, £75, EIC Shareholder 1657.

John Davis, London, Billingsgate, Chandler, £6, Collector of Plate Money 1642; Common Council 1643;

Richard Dawes, London, Pewterer, £300.

Robert Dawes, Exeter, Merchant, £300, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Henry Day, London, Mercer, £200, Artillery Company 1642; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Nathaniel Deards, London, Merchant Tailor, £50.

Peter Delanoy, London, Dyer, £100, Collector of Plate Money 1642; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Charles Delanoy, London, Tallow Chandler, £100, Collector of Plate Money 1642; EIC 1643; Ransom of Algiers Captives 1645; Drew land in County Waterford that he sold to John Nettles of Youghal in 1654 (advent. Cal. P. 92), EIC Shareholder 1657.

Phillip Deline, Kent, Sundridge, Clothworker, £200.

Sylvester Dennis, London, Dyer, £160.

Giles Dent, London, Salter, £200, Assessments, London 1648.

John Dethick, London, Lime Street, Mercer, £200, Artillery Company 1645; Collector of Plate Money 1642; Committee for Advance of Money 1642; Treasurer £80,000 loan for Fairfax 1645; Treasurer at War 1647; Assessments, London 1648; Alderman, Queenhithe, 1648; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Treasurer, Forfeited Estates 1651; Commissioner for Prize Goods 1649; Treasurer for Delinquent lands 1652; EIC Shareholder 1657; Knighted (by the Protector) September 15, 1656, (by the King) April 13, 1661. Died March 31, 1671.

Henry Diflin, London, Merchant Tailor, £37.

William Dike, London, Ironmonger, £100.

Ezekial Dingley, London, Salter, £60, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Miles Ditton, London, £100.

John Dodd, London, Dowgate, Salter, £200, Advance Money Collector 1643.

George Dover, London, Apothecary, £125.

Daniell Dover, Norfolk, £200.

Calibute Downing, London, Clothworker, £100, Rector of Ickford in Buckinghamshire; pastor of Lord Roberts, 1642; Assembly of Divines 1643, Died 1644.

William Drake, Amersham, Gentleman, £100, MP for Amersham, Bucks, 1641; Artillery Company 1641; Travelled during Civil Wars.

Roger Drake, London, Doctor, £250, Customs commissioner, 1643-7.

Francis Drake, Amersham, Gentleman, £600, MP for Amersham, Bucks; Col. of ft. (parliamentary) 1642-4; Assessments, Surrey 1643; £120,000 per month 1645; commr. for assessment, Devon 1643-9, 1657, Aug. 1660-d., sequestrations 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; sheriff 1645-6; j.p. 1647-57, Mar. 1660- d.; commr. for militia 1648, Mar. 1660; Married to the daughter of John Pym in 1641 with £2,500 dowry.

Matthew Draper, London, Merchant, £50.

Symon Dring, London, Ironmonger, £100, £60,000 loan for army 1643.

Robert Dring, London, Ironmonger, £100.

Anthony Dring, London, Merchant Tailor, £25, Collector, Advance of Money, Lime Street 1642; Assessments 1643.

John Dryden, Northamptonshire, Canons Ashby, Gentleman, £600, MP Northamptonshire.

John Ducane, London, Merchant, £100, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Francis Duke, £200.

David Dupree, London, Merchant, £300.

Peter Duquesne, London, Merchant, £200.

John Dyke, Southampton, Gentleman, £10, Bermuda Company; Providence Island Company; Warwick patent; Invested £5,200 in Sea Adventure although ships supplied we only used in English waters.

Samuel Eames, London, Factor, £100.

Edward East, London, Watchmaker, £100.

John Eaton, London, Merchant Tailor, £50.

Samuel Edlin, Middlesex, Staines, Gentleman, £100.

John Edward, London, Tailor, £40, EIC 1643; Committee of Safety 1659.

Robert Elie, London, Mercer, £100

Samuel Elliott, London, Merchant, £200, Accounts for the Whole Kingdom 1644.

Widow Elliston, Exeter, £600.

John Emes, Warwickshire, Alcester, £25.

Daniell Enderby, Middlesex, Staines, Tanner, £100.

Walter Erle, Dorset, Poole, JP and MP, £300, MP for Dorset; Virginia Company shareholder 1620; Member of the Council for New England 1621; Dorchester Company 1624; Underwrote the borrowing of £15,000 with Denis Bond and John Browne to fortify Dorchester against the King 1642. Fled Royalist forces 1643. Lt. of Ordnance 1644-5, 1647-8; commr. for Admiralty 1645-8, propositions for relief of Ireland 1645, exclusion from sacrament 1646; bishops' lands 1646; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Henry Errleston, £150.

Stephen Estwick, London, Bridge Within, Girdler, £100, Artillery Company 1642; Collector of Plate Money 1642; Common Council 1643; Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646; Assessments, London 1648; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649; High Court Justice 1650,1653; Alderman, Dowgate, 1650-2, Bridge, 1652-7; Commissioner Customs 1643-5, 1649-(?) 57. Died December 15, 1657. Richard Evans, Exeter, Gentleman, £400, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647;

John Evans, Surrey, Physician, £50.

Elizabeth Evelyn, Surrey, Kingston, £100, Sold to Luke Fawne in 1649 for £25.

John Evelyn, Surrey, Deptford, Gentleman, £600, Heir to the royal gunpowder monopoly; secret royalist; Assessments Surrey 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; travelled in Europe during the Civil wars and returned to England 1652; EIC Shareholder 1657.

George Ewer, London, Fishmonger, £50.

Mayor and Bailiffs Exeter, Exeter, £20.

Thomas Eyres, London, £200, Patentee Piscataqua, New Hampshire, 1631.

Henry Faldo, London, Haberdasher, £100.

George Farmer, London, Lawyer, £600, Virginia Compan 1609.

Richard Farmer, London, £100, Virginia Company 1609.

William Farringdon, London, Portsoken, £250, Collector of Plate Money 1642; Committee for Advance of Money 1642.

Caldwell Farringdon, London, Merchant, £200, Artillery Company 1629; East India Company 1643.

John Farthing, London, Cordwainer, £62.

John Farwell, Buckinghamshire, Hoxton, Gentleman, £100.

Luke Fawne, London, Bookseller in St Pauls Churchyard at the sign of the Parrot., Stationer, £150, Sold to William Shippey, London, Weaver in 1653.

Henry Featherstone, London, Stationer, £1200, Major plantations in Virginia and Ireland; Ellis Featherstone £60,000 loan for army 1643.

John Fenton, London, Lt. Col., £100, Artillery Company 1635; Assessments, London 1648; EIC Shareholder 1657.

William Fewster, Surrey, £150.

John Fielder, Exeter, Gentleman, £50, Committee of the Admiralty 1652-3.

William and John Fielder, Exeter, Gentleman, £200.

Nathaniel Fiennes, Lincoln, Gentleman, £300, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Valentine Figg, London, Clothworker, £100.

William Fiske, Suffolk, Gentleman, £200.

John Fiske, Suffolk, Gentleman, £100.

Edward Fletcher, London, £100.

William Fletcher, London, Clothworker, £100, Collector of Plate Money 1642.

John Fletcher, London, Upholsterer, £110, Artillery Company 1641.

Richard Floyd, London, Girdler, £575, Assessments, London 1648; Greenland Company, 1652.

Charles Floyd, London, Gentleman, £600.

Thomas Foote, London, Bridge, Grocer, £700, Collector of Plate Money 1642; Committee for Advance of Money 1642; Common Council 1643; Alderman, Broad Street, 1643-8, Coleman Street, 1648-60; Treasurer, Doubling Ordinance (Irish Land) 1643; Commissioner for Excise 1650-63; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Knighted (by the Protector) December 5, 1657; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Committee of Adventurers 1654; EIC Shareholder 1657; Committee of Safety 1659; created Baronet November, 1660; Councillor of State 1660; M.P. London 1654-5, 1656-8; Commissioner Excise 1643-(?) 55; President St. Bartholomew's Hospital 1649-61; Committee E.I.C. 1657-9; Governor Irish Society 1657-60. Died October 12, 1687.

Richard Ford, London, Mercer, £100, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Francis Ford, Somerset, £6.

Isaac Foster, London, Grocer, £62.

Christopher Foster, London, £200, EIC Shareholder 1657.

John Foulke, London, £600, Commissioner London Militia 1642; Commissioner Customs 1643-5; Artillery Company 1645; Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646; Alderman, Committed to the Fleet prison by the committee for taking the accounts of the kingdom, 1645; £200,000 loan for Ireland 1647; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Relief of the Poor, London 1647; MP 1647 and opposed East India Company monopoly in Parliament (BL add mss 48168, ff. 66b-72b); Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Commissioner for Trade 1650; Committee of Adventurers 1654; Committee of Safety 1659.

John Fountain, Devonshire, Gentleman, £300, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Thomas Fountain, Buckinghamshire, £200, County committee 1644.

John Fowler, London, Clothworker, £200, Collector of Plate Money 1642.

Robert Fowler, Devon, Axminster, £60.

Charles Fox, London, Leatherseller, £50.

Phillip Foxwell, £100.

John Francis, Somerset, Combe Florey, Gentleman, £25, A neighbour of the Breretons, also of Combe Flory.

John Franklin, London, Dollis Hill, Gentleman, £300, MP; J.p. Mdx. 1625-42; 2 commr. knighthood fines, Mdx. 1630, 3 oyer and terminer, Mdx. 1636-at least 1645, London 1644, 4 charitable uses, Kent 1637-at least 1639; Collector, coat and conduct money, Mdx. 1640-7; commr. assessment, Mdx. 1641, 8 1643-4, Mdx. and Westminster 1645-d. Sequestration of delinquents, Mdx. 1643, levying money 1643-4, maintenance of army, 1644, New Model ordinance 1645.

Thomas Freemans, £300.

John French, £200, Artillery Company 1622.

Tobias Frere, Norfolk, Gentleman, £1000, Commissioner for Assessments 1644; High Court of Justice 1650.

Francis Frith, £200.

Thomas Gallilee, London, £60.

Samuel Gardiner, Worcestershire, £250.

Robert Gardiner, London, £200, EIC 1643.

Robert Garland, London, Mercant, £500, Company for promoting the Gospel in new England, 1649.

Richard Garnall, Warwickshire, Alcester, £25.

Robert Garner, London, Merchant, £200.

Gilbert Garrard, London, Gentleman, £600, MP, Providence Island Company 1630; Treasurer of the Army 1642-; Commission to regulate Colonies with Cromwell, Vassall, Pym, Spurstowe etc, 1643; Assessments Middlesex 1643; Commissioner for Compounding 1647.

Jacob Garrard, London, Salter, £600, Alderman Bishpsgate, 1637-40, Candlewick, 1640-8; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Knighted December 3, 1641: created Baronet August, 1662; Committee E.I.C. 1641-2, 1643-4, 1615-6, 1647-56. Died 1666.

John Garth, £100.

Joseph Gastrell, Minister, £7.

John Gastrell, £12.

George Gearing, Grocer, £75.

Richard Gibbes, Buckinghamshire, £200, Assessments, London 1648; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649.

Christopher Gibbes, £100.

William Gibbs, London, Goldsmith, £250, Artillery Company 1636; Alderman, Farringdon Without, 1642-9, Commissioner London Militia 1642; Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646; London Militia 1647; £200,000 loan for Ireland 1647; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Relief of the Poor, London 1647; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; M.P. Suffolk 1654-5, 1656-8; Prime Warden Goldsmiths 1643-4, Stockholder of Dorchester Company 1629. Died c May, 1689.

Thomas Gibbs, Somerset, Bath, £25, Artillery Company 1635; Payment on behalf of the Corporation of Bath.

Samuel Giles, Sussex, Clothworker, £50.

Thomas Giles, London/Salem, £1000, Planter in Salem, Massachusetts (J. A. Vinton, *The Giles Memorial*, (Boston, 1864), pp. 101-2).

Alexander Gill, Lurgan, Armagh, Gentleman, £6, In 1653, Gill provided an eye-witness account of the destruction of Lurgan in November 1641 (1641 Depositions, TCD MSS 836, f 209r).

Richard Gippes, Aldeburgh, Gentleman, £200, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

George Gippes, £100.

Michael Gitting, London, Merchant Tailor, £100.

Edward Gittings, London, Plasterer, £100.

John Glanville, Plymouth, Barrister, £600, MP, Royalist.

Corporation of Gloucester, Gloucester, £1350.

Christopher Goade, London, Clothworker, £100.

William Goddard, London, Shipwright, £100, Assessments, London 1648.

Jonathan Goddard, London, Shipwright, £100.

Joseph Godfrey, London, £25.

Henry Godsen, Surrey, Merchant, £100.

Ellis Good, London, Horner, £100.

John Goodman, Leicestershire, £50, County Association 1642; Assessments Leicester 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

John Goodwin, London, Clothworker, £100, Artillery Company 1642; Collector of Plate Money 1642; Assessments Surrey 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Alderman, Dowgate, 1650-2, Bridge, 1652-7; Commissioner Customs 1643-5, 1649-(?) 57; Commissioner for the Ordnance 1652-3; Derby House Committee 1652-3; Died December 15, 1657.

Benjamin Goodwin, London, Gentleman, £300, Bermuda Company investor; Treasurer Loan and Contribution for Ireland Jan. 1643.

Robert Goodwin, London, Gentleman, £150, Bermuda Company investor; £120,000 per month 1645; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Arthur Goodwin, Buckinghamshire, Gentleman, £400, MP for Buckinghamshire Sequestrations Buckinghamshire 1643.

James Goswell, London, Barber Surgeon, £50, Assessments 1643.

William Gouch, £100.

Isaac Gould, London, Draper, £150.

James Gould, Exeter, Gentleman, £200, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Thomas Gower, London, Lawyer, £600, Collector of Plate Money 1642; Artillery Company 1642; London Militia 1647; Committee of Adventurers 1654; EIC Shareholder 1657; Colonel Orange Regiment 1658.

Nathaniel Grannow, London, Merchant Tailor, £25.

Henry Grantham, London, Draper, £60, Collector of Plate Money 1642.

Sarah Grantham, London, £62, Married to William Grantham Artillery Company 1621.

Samuel Graunt, London, Draper, £750, Collector of Plate Money 1642.

William Graves, London, Blacksmith, £100.

Richard Graves, London, Gentleman, £200, High Court Justice 1650.

William Greenhill, London, Farringdon Within, Clothworker, £100, Artillery Company 1620; Collector of Plate Money 1642; Common Council 1643; Treasurer, Wounded Soldiers 1643; Searcher for Excise 1647; Collection for Distressed Protestants of Ireland 1647; Assessments, London 1648.

John Greensmith, Merchant Tailor, £300, Artillery Company 1641; £60,000 loan for army 1643; Commissioner for sequestrations 1659.

Robert Greenwell, London, Grocer, £50.

George Gregson, London, Clothworker, £50, Collector, Advance of Money, Dowgate 1642.

William Gregson, London, Merchant Tailor, £100.

John Grocer, London, Butcher, £100, Artillery Company 1640.

Hugh Grove, Suffolk, £100, Collector of Plate Money 1642.

Henry Gulson, London, Painter Stainer, £100.

John Gunning, Bristol, Gentleman, £1000, Alderman of Bristol; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

William Gunston, London, Factor, £100.

John Gurdon, Ipswich, Gentleman, £1000, MP; Providence Island Company 1630.

Nicholas Guy, £200.

Sir Edward Hales, Kent, Gentleman, £1200, MP for Queenborough, Kent. Parliamentarian and married to Deborah Harlekenden. Defeated Edwin Sandys for a Parliamentary seat. Local committees of sequestration and assessment 1643; EIC 1643.

Robert Hales, Kent, Gentleman, £1200, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Goodfry Hall, £50.

George Hall, £250.

Laurence Halstead, London, Draper, £150, Treasurer Adventure for Irish Land 1642; Merchant Adventurer London Committee 1641.

Thomas Hammond, £300.

John Hampden, Buckinghamshire, £1000, MP, Gentleman, .

Richard Hampden, £31.

Henry Hampson, London, Merchant Tailor, £200.

Thomas Hampson, London, Gentleman, £600, Artillery Company 1645.

Anthony Hanna, Surrey, Kingston, £25.

Alice and William Harding, London, Gentleman, £1000, Brother of Robert Harding, New England radical.

Robert Hardnett, London, Limehouse, Apothecary, £200.

Heneage Harford, £25.

Martin Harlakenden, Essex, £200, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Nathaniel Harold, £50.

John Harpur, London, Fishmonger, £250, Assessments, London 1648; Alderman, Vintry, 1650; Prime Warden Fishmongers 1654. Died March, 1667.

John Harrington, London, £200, Colonel Trained bands Westminster 1643

Jane, Lady Harrington, Upton, Northampton-shire, Gentleman, £50.

James Harrington, Upton, Northampton-shire, £25, Council of State 1649; Derby House Committee 1652-3.

William Harrington, Upton, Northampton-shire, £25, EIC Shareholder 1657.

John Harris, London, £100, Assessments, London 1648; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Thomas Harris, London, St Saviors, Merchant, £100, £60,000 loan for army 1643; Common Council 1643; Assessments, London 1648.

Edmund Harrison, London, £250, Committee of Adventurers 1654; EIC Shareholder 1657.

William Harrison, Lancaster, £100, EIC Shareholder 1657.

John Harrison, Lancaster, £300, MP (Royalist) for Lancaster; EIC Shareholder 1657.

William Harrison, Nottingham, Financier, £150, MP (Royalist); Accompanied Charles to Nottingham for raising of the standard August 1642; Died 1643.

Samuel Harsnett, London, £25, Artillery Company 1629; Collector of Plate Money 1642.

John Harte, £100, Artillery Company 1622.

Edmund Harvey, London, Draper, £200, Artillery Company 1641; Collector of Plate Money 1642; Alderman, Dowgate, 1650, Farringdon Without, 1653; M.P. Great Bodwin 1646-53, Middlesex 1654-5; Commissioner Customs 1649-55. Died June 25, 1673.

Henry Hastings, London, £100, Speedy raising of Monay', 1643;.

John Hatt, London, Gentleman, £600.

Thomas Hatton, London, Sixth Clerks Office, £10, EIC Shareholder 1657.

William Hawes, London, £525, Artillery Company 1620; Common Council 1643.

William Hawkins, London, Clerk, £3675, Married to Anna Thompson, sister of Maurice, George and Robert. Secretary, Committee of Adventurers for Land 1642-8, Collector of Plate Money 1642; Collector, Fairfax' Army 1645; Commissioner, £50,000 for Ireland 1648; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Commisary General Ireland 1649-51; Committee of Adventurers 1654; High Sherriff of Cork 1653-1660.

Henry Hawks, London, Tallow Chandler, £62.

Grave Heathcot, Culthorp, £32.

George Henley, London, Castle Baynard, Tobacco Merchant, £300, Collector, supplies for Ireland 1642; Common Council 1643.

William Henman, London, Merchant Tailor, £150.

Phillip Herbert, London, Westminster, Peer, £600, earle of Pembroke and Montgomery; He was a member of council for the Virginia Company in 1612, and was one of the incorporators of the North-West Passage Company (26 July 1612), and of Guiana, South America, 19 May 1626. He became a member of the East India Company in 1614 (Alexander Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, 1890, ii. 920). On 2 Feb. 1627-8 he received a grant of certain islands between 8 and 13 degrees of north latitude, called Trinidad, Tobago, Barbadoes, and Fonseca, with all the islets within ten leagues of their shores, on condition that a rent of a wedge of gold weighing a pound should be paid to the king or his heirs when he or they 'came into those parts' (Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1627-8, p. 573). Montgomery's rights were soon disputed by James Hay, earl of Carlisle, who sent out ships to take possession of Barbadoes in 1629.

William Heveningham, £600, Assessments Suffolk 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Council of State 1649.

Francis Heyden, £87.

William Hiccocks, London, St Johns, Brewer, £500, £60,000 loan for army 1643; Assessments, London 1648; Committee of Adventurers 1654.

Henry Hickman, £450, Artillery Company 1627.

Edmund Higate, £25.

Richard Higgins, £62.

Mark Hildesley, London, Coleman Street, Vintner, £100, Artillery Company 1626; Committee for Advance of Money 1642; Alderman, Bread Street, 1649-51, Commissioner Customs 1649 (?); Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Commissioner for Prize Goods 1649; Master Vintners 1650. High Court Justice 1650,1653; Tower Hamlets militia 1659; Died 1660.

Rowland Hill, London, Cordwainer, £100.

William Hill, London, Draper, £50.

Roger Hill, Somerset, Taunton, Gentleman, £200, Collector, Somerset 1643; Commissioner for Compounding 1647.

Richard Hill, London, Merchant, £450, Artillery Company 1639; Commissioner Sea Adventure 1642; Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649; Commissioner Sale of Dutch Prizes 1652-3.

Rowland Hill, Salop, Gentleman, £1000, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1645.

John Hind, £25, Artillery Company 1645.

Thomas Hippiisley, Somerset, Ston Easton, Gentleman, £25, Treasurer, Somerset 1643.

Richard Hippiisley, Somerset, Ston Easton, Gentleman, £6.

Edward Hippiisley, Somerset, Ston Easton, Gentleman, £6.

John Hippiisley, Somerset, Ston Easton, Gentleman, £25, Assessments, Somerset 1643; Collector (London) £90,000 per month subsidy 1649.

David Hoare, Westminster, £31.

James Hobland, Southwark, St Olaves, Dyer, £250, Captain, Trained Bands Southwark, 1643.

William Hobson, Southwark, Grocer, £125, Captain, Trained Bands Southwark, 1643; Common Council 1643; Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646.

Thomas Hodges, London, St Saviors, Merchant, £600, £60,000 loan for army 1643; Accounts for the Whole Kingdom 1644; Ransom of Algiers Captives 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Richard Hodylow, London, Barber Surgeon, £50.

John Holland, Southwark, Gentleman, £450, Navy Commissioner 1642; Commissioner for Prize Goods 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649; Commissioner for Prize Goods 1649; Navy Commissioner 1652-3.

Cornelius Holland, London, Gentleman, £600, MP for Windsor in place of Sir Thomas Roe; Government of the West Indies 1643; Council of State 1649.

John Honnor, London, Gentleman, £750, Collector, Westminster Subsidy 1643.

Edward Honywood, London, Farringdon, Ironmonger, £125, Common Council 1643; Assessments, London 1648.

John Houghton, London, Fishmonger, £10.

Robert Houghton, Southwark, Brewer, £25, £120,000 per month 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Hoogan Hovell, London, Broad Street, Grocer, £200, Artillery Company 1635; Committee for Advance of Money 1642; Commissioner for arrears 1645; Assessments, London 1648; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649.

Thomas How, Exeter, £600.

Nicholas Howard, £50.

John Hoxton, London, Shipwright, £100.

Thomas Hoyle, York, Gentleman, £450, MP.

James Hubland, Southwark, Distiller, £650, Colonel Trained Bands, Southwark 1643; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Thomas Hudson, Southwark, Skinner, £100, Artillery Company 1622; Lieutenant Colonel Trained Bands, Southwark 1643; £120,000 per month 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

George Hudson, London, Haberdasher, £100.

George Hughes, London, Grocer, £100.

Richard Hull, London, £200.

John Humphrey, London, Embroiderer, £50, Trustee of king's goods 1649.

Nathaniel Humphreys, London, Ironmonger, £100, Artillery Company 1642.

Richard Hunt, London, Merchant, £600, Common Council 1643; Assada Company 1646; EIC 1643;

John Hurst, London, Cook, £225, Artillery Company 1638; Trustee Fee-Farms 1650.

Thomas Hussey, London, Grocer, £433, Alderman Vintry, 1645, Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; M.P. Whitchurch 1645-53, Andover 1656-7, Died 1657.

Thomas Hutchins, London, Bishopsgate, Mercer, £100, Massachusetts Bay Company; Committee for Advance of Money 1642; EIC 1643; Accounts for the Whole Kingdom 1644.

Richard Hutchinson, London, Ironmonger, £150, Artillery Company 1622; Treasurer, Wounded Soldiers 1643; Searcher for Excise 1647; Collection for Distressed Protestants of Ireland 1647; Assessments, London 1648; Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649; Navy Commissioner 1652-3; Committee of Adventurers 1654; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Samuel Hylands, London, Distiller, £12.

Richard Irons, London, £250, Assessments, London 1648.

Thomas Irons, London, £60.

Nicholas Isaack, London, £100.

Thomas Ivatt, Devon, Combe Martin, £337.

Alexander Jackson, London, £100.

Abraham Jackson, London, Goldsmith, £300.

Thomas Jackson, London, Pewterer, £100.

John Jeffryes, London, Haberdasher, £100, Artillery Company 1642; Son of Alderman Robert Jeffereys, Cordwainer 1629.

Moses Jenkins, London, Gentleman, £200.

William Jenner, London, Draper, £200,.

Christopher Jenner, London, Merchant, £200, Artillery Company 1629; £60,000 loan for army 1643.

William Jephson, Mallow, Gentleman, £75, Married to daughter of Sir Thomas Norreys and became landowner in Mallow; MP for Stockbridge; Parliamentarian; Commissioner for Hampshire 1644, Lt. Gov. Portsmouth 1645; Joined Cromwell's Irish campaign and elected for Cork in Protectorate parliament of 1654.

William Jesson, Leicestershire, Merchant Tailor, £137, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Thomas Johnson, London, Merchant, £150, Artillery Company 1620.

John Johnson, Warwickshire, Alcester, £25, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Owen Jones, London, Pewterer, £100.

Thomas Jonnor, £50.

John Juryn, London, Merchant, £500, Assessments, London 1648.

Abraham Juryn, London, Merchant, £200, Artillery Company 1642.

Arthur Juxon, London, Walbrooke, Salter, £200, Common Council 1643.

Thomas Juxon, London, Merchant Tailor, £100, Artillery Company 1637; £60,000 loan for army 1643; EIC Shareholder 1657.

William Kendall, London, Breadstreet, Merchant Tailor, £300, Common Council 1643; London Militia 1647; Relief of the Poor, London 1647.

James Kendall, London, Merchant, £50.

Thomas Kendall, London, Merchant, £12.

John Kendrick, London, Grocer, £700, Committee for Advance of Money 1642; Common Council 1643; Treasurer Loan and Contribution for Ireland Jan. 1643; Treasurer, Doubling Ordinance (Irish Land) 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Alderman, Langbourn, 1643-8, Broad Street, 1648-61; Commissioner Excise 1643-50; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Commissioner for Excise 1650-53; Died c February, 1661.

Edmund Kidderminster, London, Gentleman, £100.

John Kilby, Hertfordshire, Yeoman, £50,.

John King, London, £275, Artillery Company 1640; Assessments, London 1648; Militia, Tower Hamlets 1648.

Thomas King, Hertfordshire, Clothworker, £100.

Nathaniel King, Hertfordshire, Clothworker, £25.

Benjamin King, Hertfordshire, Clothworker, £25.

Philip Kingston, London, Stationer, £108, Artillery Company 1621;.

John Knight, London, Scrivener, £312.

Thomas Knight, Oxford, Gentleman, £200, Artillery Company 1620; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

William Knightley, Surrey, Kingston, £12.

James Knowle, Surrey, Kingston, £15.

Thomas Lamb, London, Woodmonger, £50.

Robert Lambell, London, Grocer, £300, Artillery Company 1641.

William Lambert, London, Woodmonger, £100.

Roger Lambert, London, Grocer, £100.

William Lane, Sussex, Gentleman, £600.

John Lane, London, Grocer, £633, Artillery Company 1635;.

Samuel Langham, London, Portsoken, Grocer, £700, Brother of Alderman John Langham; Common Council 1643; M.P. London 1654-5; Southwark 1660-1; Committee E.I.C. 1626-7, 1628-42; Treasurer Levant Company 1632-4 (Court Assistants 1621-32, 1634-8, elected Governor 1654); Died May 13 1671.

John Langley, London, Fishmonger, £700, Artillery Company 1639; Accounts for the Whole Kingdom 1644; Assessments, London 1648; Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Alderman, Langbourn, 1649-50; Commissioner for Prize Goods 1649; M.P. London 1653; High Court Justice 1650, 1653 Commissioner Admiralty and Navy 1652; Deputy-Governor Levant Company 1671-2 (Court Assistants 1643-8, 1649-50, 1664-71, 1672-3); Committee E.I.C. 1650-2, 1653-5, 1656-7; Prime Warden Fishmongers 1652.

Richard Lasingby, London, Haberdasher, £100, Artillery Company 1627.

Thomas Later, London; Southwark, £100, Collector, Advance of Money 1643.

John Lee, London, Salter, £175.

Thomas Lenthall, London, Billingsgate, Gentleman, £200, Committee for Advance of Money 1642; Common Councillor 1642-1651; Committee for Church Government 1644; Commissioner for arrears 1645; Committee for borrowed arms 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Assessments, London 1648; EIC Shareholder 1657.

John Leverett, Surrey, Mercer, £100, EIC Shareholder 1657.

William Levitt, London, Woodmonger, £25, Artillery Company 1641.

James Levitt, Surrey, Kingston, £5.

Robert Lewellin, London, Salter, £25.

Edmund Lewin, London, Merchant Tailor, £1200.

Thomas Lincoln, Norfolk, £100.

John Ling, London, Gentleman, £600, East India Company agent at Surat 1633-35.

Joseph Ling, London, Stationer, £100, Henry and John Ling lived at Flowerdew Hundred, 1623 (VI, p. 465); Nicholas Ling joined the Artillery Company in 1628.

Christopher Lippiatt, Wiltshire, £50.

Richard Litler, London, Apothecary, £100.

Edward Littleton, Staffordshire, Gentleman, £450, MP, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

David Loader, London, Merchant, £200.

Richard Loader, London, Merchant, £16.

Richard Lobb, £250.

Nicholas Lockyer, London, Clothworker, £125.

Walter Long, Whaddon, Wiltshire, Gentleman, £300, MP for Wiltshire; Committee for Advance of Money 1642; Sequestrations Essex 1643; Wounded at Edgehill; Removed from parliament 1647 and exiled in France with John Clotworthy.

William Long, Cornwall, Stratton, £25, Treasurer, Somerset 1643.

James Lordell, London, Mercer, £100, Artillery Company 1642.

Richard Loton, London, Brewer, £100, Militia, Tower Hamlets 1648.

Christopher Love, London, Clothworker, £100.

John Lovering, Exeter, Gentleman, £600.

William Lowe, Herefordshire, Cleric, £100, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Edward Lucas, Norfolk, £50.

John Lucas, London, Pewterer, £150, Artillery Company 1621.

Samuel Lynne, London, Carpenter, £100.

Thomas Lyon, Hertfordshire, £50.

Thomas Maberly, London, Weaver, £150.

George Magott, London, Pewterer, £50.

Thomas Mann, London, £300, Artillery Company 1620; EIC 1643.

Elizabeth Mann, London, £30.

James Mann, London, Dowgate, £100, Common Council 1643; EIC 1643.

John Mansell, £100.

John Marriot, London, Merchant Tailor, £150, Artillery Company 1629.

Thomas Marriott, Wapping, Mariner, £150.

William Marshall, London, Mariner, £50, Artillery Company 1624.

James Martin, London, Cornhill, Fishmonger, £100, Common Council 1643; Assessments, London 1648.

Henry Martin, Berkshire, Gentleman, £300, MP; Regicide; Creditor of earl of Warwick for £2,400 in August 1641; Sequestrations, Bedford 1643; Council of State 1649.

John Martyn, Nottingham, Gentleman, £200, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

William Masham, Essex, Gentleman, £600, Assessments, Essex 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Council of State 1649.

Robert Massey, Surrey, Kingston, £20.

Blacksmiths Company and Thomas Master, London, Blacksmith, £23, Artillery Company 1635.

Richard Master, London, Blacksmith, £300.

Robert Maulthus, Berkshire, Draper, £100.

Thomas May, London, Walbrook, Cordwainer, £50, Common Council 1643.

John Mayne, Exeter, Merchant, £100.

John Maynard, London, Draper, £300, Cousin of George Henly, assistant to Nicholas Loftus.

Thomas Mead, London, Merchant, £600, EIC 1643.

Robert Meade, London, Walbrook, Mercer, £475, Artillery Company 1624; Committee for Advance of Money 1642; Common Council 1643; Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Assessments, London 1648.

Christopher Meredith, London, Walbrook, Stationer, £200, Artillery Company 1635; Common Council 1643.

William Methold, London, Skinner, £1700, Artillery Company 1628; Alderman, Cripplegate, 1647; Treasurer Excise 1643-(?); Committee E.I.C. 1640-53 (Deputy-Governor 1643-53); Commissioner for Prize Goods 1643; Accounts for the Whole Kingdom 1644; Ransom of Algiers Captives 1645; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Commissioner for Trade 1650; Nephew of William Methold, chief baron of the Irish Exchequer. Joined East India Company 1615 and rose to become factor at Surat. Negotiated merger of EIC with Thompson's Assada Company. Resident at Surat 1652-3; Died 5 March 1653.

Gabriell Miles, London, Mercer, £800, Moved to amsterdam in 1651 and sold Adventure to Samuel Avery.

Abraham Miles, £133.

Thomas Mills, London, Skinner, £50, Artillery Company 1620.

William Molins, London, Inn Keeper, £350, Assessments, London 1648.

Priscilla Moncke, Exeter, Widow, £100, Walter Moncke Artillery Company 1640.

Mithnell Monsey, £50.

William Montague, London, Whitebaker, £31,.

Samuel Moody, Suffolk, Bury St Edmunds, £400.

L Moore, Devon, Yeoman, £25.

Dorothy Moore, Dublin, £150.

Anthony Morgan, London, Linen Draper, £200.

Harbert Morley, £600, Sussex, Gentleman.

William Morley, Sussex, Gentleman, £300, MP; Derby House Committee 1652-3; Committee of the Admiralty 1652-3.

Richard Morrall, London, Aldgate, Goldsmith, £100, Common Council 1643; Relief of the Poor, London 1647; Assessments, London 1648.

Edmond Moundeford, Norfolk, Gentleman, £300, MP Norfolk; Providence Island Company 1630.

Cornelius Mountney, London, Haberdasher, £100, Artillery Company 1642.

Richard Mountney, London, Merchant, £312, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Samuel Moyer, London, Merchant, £375, Artillery Company 1638; Commissioner Sea Adventure 1642; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Militia, Tower Hamlets 1648; Assessments, London 1648; Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; High Court Justice 1650,1653; Commissioner for Compounding 1653; EIC Shareholder 1657; Probate Judge 1659; Commissioner for sequestrations 1659.

Phillip Musgrave, Devon, Tanner, £20.

William Munday, London, Merchant, £25.

Joseph Murdock, London, Silkweaver, £100.

William Musgrave, Devon, Tanner, £20.

William Nettle, Devon, £100.

Hugh Nettleship, London, Salter, £200, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Francis Newman, London, Haberdasher, £150.

Christopher Nicholas, London, Castle Baynard, Dyer, £25, Committee for Advance of Money 1642.

Isaack Nicholas, London, Castle Baynard, Dyer, £200.

Christopher Nicholson, London, £25.

John Nobbes, London, Bowyer, £62.

Robert Norman, Hackney, Gentleman, £100.

Hugh Norris, London, Merchant, £200, Assessments, London 1648; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Richard North, Cornwall, Stratton, £5.

John Northcott, Devonshire, Gentleman, £225, MP; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

William Official, Great Yarmouth, Merchant, £600.

Stephen Offley, London, Merchant, £50.

John Oldfield, London, Fishmonger, £200, Common Council 1643; EIC 1643; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Relief of the Poor, London 1647; Alderman, Farringdon Without, 1649, Committee E.I.C. 1652-7. Died 1657; Son married to daughter of Maurice Thompson.

Samuel Oldfield, Surrey, Kingston, Gentleman, £250, MP; Artillery Company 1617; EIC 1618; Assessments Lincoln 1643; killed 1643.

Richard Onslow, Surrey, Gentleman, £400, MP for Surrey and owner of the Queen's Arms Tavern, Holborn, convenient to Warwick House. Commanded a Surrey regiment for Parliament and dominated the county committees (HPO).

Thomas Orchard, London, Pewterer, £100.

Nicholas Orton, London, Clothworker, £375.

Abraham Otgar, London, Merchant, £750.

Edward Overing, London, Salter, £200, EIC 1643.

Nathaniel Overton, London, Stationer, £25.

John Owen, London, Grocer, £500, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Thomas Owen, Exeter, £50.

Mathew Ower, London, Grocer, £100.

Edward Owner, Great Yarmouth, Gentleman, £600, Adventure of behalf of town of Great Yarmouth.

John Packer, London, Gentleman, £600, Clerk of the Privy seal and a colleague of David Watkins and William Hawkins. Acquired great wealth but mainly in royalist areas, lost during the Civil War. In his will, 1645, he stipulated that his Adventure was to be invested in raising Irish children as Protestants; Collector, Fairfax' Army 1645.

Edmund Page, London, Haberdasher, £500, EIC 1643.

Thomas Page, Dartmouth, Merchant, £100.

Nicholas Painter, Bristol, Merchant, £50.

Thomas Pargiter, London, Grocer, £100, EIC Shareholder 1657.

John and Charles Parker, London, Drapers, £200.

Phillip Parker, London, Skinner, £600, Adventured for John Dethick.

John Parker of St Mary, London, Haberdasher, £700, £5,000 loan relief of Munster 1645.

John Parker, London, Haberdasher, £50.

Edward Parkes, London, Farringdon, Merchant Tailor, £100, Advance Money Collector, Farringdon 1643; Assessments, London 1648; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649.

William Parkett, London, Gentleman, £500, Artillery Company 1642.

Robert Parkhurst, Surrey, Gentleman, £500, Committee for Irish Affairs 1641; Commissioner for speeding and Despatching the Business for Ireland, 1642; Assessments and sequestrations (Surrey) 1643; Brother-in-law of William Spurstowe, a New England planter, and the Craddocks.

John Parkhurst, Kent, Margate, £7.

Christopher Parr, London, Merchant, £100.

John Parrott, London, Silkweaver, £200.

Fenton Parsons, London, Merchant Tailor, £90, Artillery Company 1640; Commissioner £50,000 for Ireland 1648.

Henry Parsons, Devon, Merchant, £300.

Robert Parsons, London, Weaver, £50.

Edward Partridge, Kent, Gentleman, £300.

John Partridge, London, Haberdasher, £200.

Edward Pattison, Devon, £30.

Roger Payne, Somerset, £3.

William Peacock, London, Painter Stainer, £100.

William Peake, London, Cordwainer, £100, Artillery Company 1635; EIC Shareholder 1657.

William Peasley, London, Saddler, £30, Loaned £5 to parliament, July 1642 TNA, SP16/492, p. 239.

Francis Peck, London, Clothworker, £75, Commissioner London Militia 1642.

William Peckett, Kent, Margate, Gentleman, £200.

Mathew Pedder, Kent, Margate, £100.

Michael Pendleton, London, Grocer, £100.

Isaac Pennington, London, Fishmonger, £1000, Treasurer Advance of Money 1643-; Alderman, Bridge Without, 1639-57, Councillor of State 1649-51, 1651-2; M.P. London 1640-53, 1659-60; Colonel White Regiment 1642; Commissioner for Assessments 1642; £120,000 per month 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Lieutenant Tower 1642-5; Governor Levant Company 1644-54; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Council of State 1649; Prime Warden Fishmongers 1640. Died December 17, 1661.

Samuel Pennoyer, London, Clothworker, £450, Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649; Levant Company 1654; Emigrated to New England.

William Pennoyer, London, Clothworker, £150, Commissioner Sea Adventure 1642; Treasurer Loan and Contribution for Ireland Jan. 1643; Militia, Tower Hamlets 1648; Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649; High Court Justice 1650, 1653; Committee of Adventurers 1654.

John Perry, London, Silkweaver, £750.

Henry Pettit, London, Merchant Tailor, £200.

Thomas Peyton, Kent, Gentleman, £400, MP, Royalist.

Jasper Pheasant, Dublin, Clergy, £100, Ordained Deacon at Dublin. 1 March 1640, Appointed Dean of Killaloe, 1661.

Stephen Pheasant, London, Lawyer, £200.

Thomas Phillips, London, Clothworker, £40.

Gilbert Pickering, Northampton, Gentleman, £600, Present at trial of Charles I but did not sign warrant and was pardoned; Assessments Northampton 1643; Derby House Committee 1652-3; Council of State 1657-60.

Thomas Pindar, Exeter, £100.

Samuel Pinn, London, Carpenter, £100.

William Pither, London, Draper, £100.

Thomas Player, London, Haberdasher, £200, Assessments, London 1648.

George Plucknett, London, Scrivener, £100.

Edmund Poares, Bedford, £100.

John Polen, London, Baker, £300.

John Poole, Dorset, Gentleman, £103, From Poole in Dorset, one time trustee of Lismore Castle and cousin of significant Jamestown plantation family See David Edwards, *British Sources for Irish History*, p. 188; *Lismore Papers*, VI, pp. 564-5).

Benjamin Potter, London, Farringdon Without, Soapmaker, £50, Common Council 1643.

Francis Popham, Somerset, Gentleman, £750, MP, member Virginia Company, New England Company; Treasurer, Somerset 1643.

John Potts, London, Gentleman, £800, MP for Norfolk and substantial London landowner with property in Holborn, St Pancras and Bishopsgate. Friendly with Lord Wharton and commissioner for excise 1645-8, among other posts. A Virginia Company investor, his brother, Richard Potts, was clerk of the council and travelled to Jamestown in 1608. Married the daughter of Sir John Willoughby.

John Pordage, London, Physician, £100.

Richard Porter, Hertfordshire, Gentleman, £600.

Benjamin Potter, London, Sadler, £50.

Henry Poulstead, London, Gentleman, £450, EIC 1643.

Henry Jr Poulstead, London, Gentleman, £120.

John Poulter, London, Yeoman, £70.

John Poulstead, London, Gentleman, £600.

William Prestley, Hertfordshire, £146, Artillery Company 1641; Assessments 1643.

Robert Prior, London, Gentleman, £675.

William Priaulx, Sussex, Clothworker, £50.

George Price, Esher, Surrey, £225, County sheriff of Surrey. Arrested October 1642 for refusing to raise money for parliament (John Gurney, *Brave Community - The Digger Movement in the English Revolution*, (Manchester, 207), p. 32).

Henry Proctor, London, Weaver, £100.

Peregrine Pritty, London, £200, Assessments, London 1648.

Amherst Puller, Hertfordshire, Cleric, £200.

Thomas Pury, Gloucester, Gentleman, £1323, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Thomas Pydrock, Westminster, Gentleman, £100.

Robert Pye, Westminster, Gentleman, £1000, MP Berkshire; Capt. of horse (parliamentary) 1642, col. 1644-7; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Commr. for militia, Berks. 1648, ?Mar. 1660; j.p. 1651-83, 1689-d.; capt. of militia horse Apr. 1660.

Edmond Pyle, Dartmouth, Merchant, £100.

John Pym, Westminster, Gentleman, £600, MP Tavistock; Providence Island Company 1634; Committee for Irish Affairs 1642; Treasurer, Somerset 1643; Government of the West Indies 1643; Died 1643.

Henry Pytt, Bristol, Soapmaker, £300.

Richard Quiny, London, Grocer, £100, Richard Quiny, John Sadler and Richard Turgis were tobacco importers. Turgis was a partner in the Kent Island project; £60,000 loan for army 1643.

Thomas Rainborrow, London, Merchant, £100, Commissioner Sea Adventure 1642.

William Rainborrow, London, Mariner, £100, Master Trinity House, 1636.

John Ralph, London, £207.

William Rand, London, Gentleman, £200, Partner of William Spurstowe.

Tobias Randolph, Radcliff, Gentleman, £75, Master of Radcliff School.

Anthony Ratcliffe, Buckinghamshire, Gentleman, £300, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Hugh Ratcliffe, London, Haberdasher, £62, Artillery Company 1635; Assessments, London 1648.

Peter Ratcliffe, Devon, Yeoman, £20.

William Rathband, London, Clothworker, £100.

John Raymant, London, Baker, £300, Assessments, Essex 1643.

Samuel Read, Exeter, Doctor, £12.

John Read, London, Carpenter, £50, Advance Money collector, Southwark 1642.

John Redferne, Surrey, Kingston, £7.

Godfry Reeve, London, Baker, £100.

Ahasuerus Regemorter, London, Doctor, £400, Artillery Company 1638; Published treatise on rickets; personal physician to Oliver Cromwell.

William Rendall, London, Merchant, £300.

John Reinolds, Sussex, £25.

William Reynolds, London, Merchant, £200, Artillery Company 1635; Common Council 1643.

John Reynolds, Wiltshire, Gentleman, £1800, MP, Commissary General 1642; Committee for Irish Affairs 1642-8.

Thomas Rich, London, Vintner, £100, Artillery Company 1642; EIC 1643; Ransom of Algiers Captives 1645; Alderman, Bridge, 1650, Created Baronet March. 1661; M.P. Reading 1660; Sheriff Berks 1657; Committee E.I.C 1642-3, 1648-54. Died October 15, 1667. Created Sir Thomas Rich of Sunning (Berks.) 1660, Levant Company merchant; MP for Reading and Gloucester. Married Elizabeth Cockayne. Daughter married Sir Robert Gayer.

Richard Richardson, London, Haberdasher, £31, Artillery Company 1641.

Thomas Richardson, London, Scrivener, £100, Auditor of army accounts 1648.

Samuel Richardson, Westminster, Gentleman, £125, Artillery Company 1641; EIC Shareholder 1657.

William Ridges, London, Silkweaver, £120.

William Risbey, London, Draper, £100, Artillery Company 1641.

Henry Roach, Cornwall, £25.

Elias Roberts, London, Cornhill, Haberdasher, £325.

Edward Robins, London, £100, Artillery Company 1635.

Robert Robins, Somerset, £300.

John Roberts, London, Cornhill, Haberdasher, £300, Common Council 1643.

Thomas Roe, London, Girdler, £50.

Thomas Rodbeard, London, Fishmonger, £100.

Thomas Rogers, Exeter, £25.

Francis Rogers, Surrey, £100.

William Rogers, London, £50.

Richard Rogers, London, Grocer, £275, Artillery Company 1641; £60,000 loan for army 1643.

Humphrey Rogers, Warwickshire, Birmingham, £25.

Robert Rolins, London, Merchant, £300, Virginia tobacco merchant.

John Rolfe, London, Goldsmith, £68, Father formerly governor of Virginia and husband of Pocahontas.

Samuel Rolle, Devon, Gentleman, £1000, Rolle used Plymouth as a privateering base in the 1620s and 1630s. The family supplied the first group of settlers (Richard Rolle) to settle the Berkeley Hundred, Virginia. Family was slain during the Indian uprising of 1622. Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Died in 1647.

John Rolle, London, Goldsmith, £500, Goods seized by Charles I in 1628 over refusal to pay tonnage and poundage; Navy Commissioner 1642; Government of the West Indies 1643.

Thomas Rose, London, Tallow Chandler, £50, Artillery Company 1635.

Michael Rothwell, London, Stationer, £50.

John Rothwell, London, Stationer, £50.

Robert Rouleston, London, Merchant Tailor, £100.

John Russell, Sussex, Yeoman, £250.

James Russell, London, Draper, £50, Commissioner Customs 1643-5; Relief of the Poor, London 1647; Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649.

Francis Russell, London, Butcher, £64.

Matthias Rutton, London, Cleric, £200.

John Sadler, London, Merchant, £450, £60,000 loan for army 1643; Probate Judge 1659.

Richard Salloway, London, Grocer, £1000, Artillery Company 1642; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Commissioner for Trade 1650; Brother of Humphrey Salloway, MP; Brother in law of Richard Waring, treasurer for compounding.

Peter Sainthill, Devon, Dartwick, £225.

Henry Salmon, Cornwall, Stratton, £5.

Laurence Sanders, London, Factor, £100.

Christopher Samford, Somerset, £100, Treasurer, Somerset 1643.

Edward Sanderson, Yorkshire, Tanner, £250.

John Sandon, London, Cordwainer, £50.

Jasper Sargent, Dublin, Merchant, £25.

John Savell, Exeter, Merchant, £75.

Richard Saville, Exeter, £100.

Nathaniel, John and Elizabeth Scarlet, London, Basketmakers, £200.

Israel Scarlett, London, Biscuitmaker, £100.

Henry Scobell, London, Lawyer, £200, Clerk of Parliament.

Richard Schute, London, Merchant, £200, Commissioner Sea Adventure 1642; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; High Court Justice 1650,1653; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Edward Scot, Kent, Gentleman, £400, MP for Kent in 1626, died 1646. Married Mary Aldersey in 1639. Commissioner for sequestration, assessment, etc 1643, Associated with Edwin Sandys of the Virginia Company, organised Kentish petition of 1642 (HPO).

John Seagor, Exeter, £150.

William Seagor, Exeter, £50.

William Seale, Exeter, £25.

Roger Seares, London, £100.

Christopher Searle, Dorchester, £180.

George Seignour, London, Tower, Lord of the Tower, £37.

Stephen Sedgwick, London, Brewer, £100.

John Sewdon, Exeter, £25.

Mary Shakespeare, London, £100.

Sampson Sheaf, London, Mercer, £100.

William Shepherd, London, Grocer, £50, Assessments, London 1648.

William and John Sheppard, London, Grocer, £150.

Richard Sherbrooke, London, Merchant Tailor, £375, EIC Shareholder 1657.

William Sherlock, £200.

Richard Shingler, London, Draper, £100, Artillery Company 1641.

William Shippey, London, Cheap, Weaver, £275, Common Council 1643.

John Short, London, Grocer, £150, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Thomas Shute, Somerset, Kilmersdon, Gentleman, £5.

Richard Shuttleworth, Lancashire, Gentleman, £450, MP; Assessments Lancaster 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Augustin Skinner, Kent, Gentleman, £100, MP.

Philip Skippon, London, Soldier, £50, Captain General Artillery Company 1641; Captain General London Trained Bands 1642; Commissioner London Militia 1642; Governor of Bristol 1645; London Militia 1647; Lt. of York 1647; Lt-Gen. Horse (Ireland) 1647; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland (Devonshire)1647; Council of State 1649.

Ithiell Smart, London, Clerk, £100.

Richard and John Smith, London, Queenhithe, Plasterer, £20, Artillery Company 1639; Committee for Advance of Money 1642.

Edward Smith, London, Sadler, £125.

Roger Smith, Leicester, Draper, £375, Council of State, Virginia Company 1621; Leicester merchant, father of Erasmus Smith. Exporter of cloth to Holland in 1643 (LJ6, p. 131); Collector, Fairfax' Army 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Thomas Smith, Southwark, Gentleman, £100, Major Virginia tobacco merchant; Artillery Company 1637; Secretary of the Admiralty 1642; Collector of Prize Ships 1643-4; Common Council 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Commissioner for Prize Goods 1649; Navy Commissioner 1652-3; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Robert and Richard Smith, Essex, Gentleman, £600, Artillery Company 1641; EIC 1643; Sequestrations Essex 1643; Collector, Fairfax' Army 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Katherin Smith, £100.

Henry Smith, Leicester, Grocer, £200, Collector, Fairfax' Army 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Henry and Richard Smith, Leicester, Grocer, £100.

Robert Smith, London, Draper, £675, Artillery Company 1641; Alderman, Bridge, 1650-1, Knighted August 25, 1660; created Baronet March, 1665; Committee E.I.C. 1652-3; Master Drapers 1651-2. Died June 12, 1669.

Francis Smith, Greenwich, £50.

Joseph Smyth, London, Haberdasher, £100, Artillery Company 1641.

Simon Smyth, London, Dowgate, Tallow Chandler, £100, Advance Money collector 1643; EIC Shareholder 1657.

James Smyth, London, Salter, £200.

Gregory Snell, London, Goldsmith, £325, Artillery Company 1642; EIC Shareholder 1657.

George Snelling, Southwark, St Olaves, Distiller, £100, Captain Southwark Trained Band 1643; £120,000 per month 1645; Commissioner for Plantations 1646; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Commissioner for Excise 1650-63.

John Snelling, London, Pewterer, £100.

John Snow, London, Cannon Street, Haberdasher, £100, Artillery Company 1641.

Thomas Soame, London, Grocer, £1000, MP and Alderman, Farringdon Without, 1635-9, Vintry, 1639-41, Cheap, 1641-9, 1660-7; Knighted December 3, 1641; M.P. London 1640-8, 1660; Colonel Trained Bands 1638-42; President Honourable Artillery Company 1639-45; Commissioner for Assessments 1642; Treasurer Advance of Money 1643-8; Subsidy for £120,000 per month 1645; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Court Assistants Levant Company 1616-7; Committee E.I.C. 1640-3, EIC 1643; 1649-50; Master Grocers 1644-5. Died January 1, 1671; adm. January 17, 1671.

John Sparrow, Suffolk, Rede, Merchant, £50, Fee-farm Trustee 1647; High Court Justice 1650, 1653; Probate Judge 1659.

Phillip Sparrow, Suffolk, Rede, Merchant, £50.

John Speller, Exeter, £50.

Michael Spenser, York, £150.

William Springal, Sussex, £300, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Edmund Springal, Sussex, £20.

Arthur Squibb, Southwark, £100, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Sequestrations Surrey 1648; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Commissioner for sequestrations 1659.

Oliver St John, Bedfordshire, Gentleman, £300, MP Totnes; Providence Island Company 1630, Solicitor General 1641; Envoy to the Hague 1651.

Roger Stackhouse, London, Merchant Tailor, £40.

Robert Stanton, London, Clothworker, £375, Artillery Company 1642.

Edmond Stanton, London, Clothworker, £200.

John Stanton, London, Clothworker, £100, Artillery Company 1641.

Richard Starkey, Gravesend, Gentleman, £75.

Thomas Steane, London, Wax Chandler, £100, Assessments, London 1648.

George Steedman, Cornwall, Stratton, £12.

John Stevenfort, London, £50, Artillery Company 1641.

Thomas Stint, Surrey, Kingston, £20.

Thomas Stock, London, Grocer, £200, Sale of goods by the candle, 1643; Assessments, London 1648; EIC Shareholder 1657.

John Stocker, Somerset, £12.

Christopher Stone, London, Brewer, £100.

Samuel Stone, London, Brewer, £50.

Edward Storey, London, Ironmonger, £50, Artillery Company 1635; EIC Shareholder 1657.

James Storey, London, Cripplegate, Merchant, £25, Common Council 1643.

Nicholas Stoughton, Woking, Gentleman, £50.

Thomas Stratton, Bolton, £100.

William Strickland, Boynton, Gentleman, £600, MP for Boynton and parliamentarian. Grandson of Sebastian Cabot's lieutenant of the same name who introduced the turkey to England. John and Edward Strickland settled in New England in the 1630s (John Farmer, *Gen. Reg 1st families in New England*, p. 279); Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Anthony Stringer, London, St Clement Dane, Gentleman, £150.

Thomas Stubbins, London, Merchant, £200.

Joshua Sturmy, Surrey, £40.

Christopher Sturning, £20.

John Swann, Kent, Clothworker, £50.

Tallow Chandlers, London, £68, Company.

John Taylor, London, Merchant, £75, Artillery Company 1635; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Thomas Taylor, London, Merchant, £75, Artillery Company 1640.

Edward Taylor, Oxford, William Street, Merchant, £100.

Thomas Temple, Buckinghamshire, Gentleman, £450, Brother in law of William Fiennes.

Robert Terry, London, Draper, £50.

John Thewar, Hertfordshire, £25.

Edward Thomas, London, Merchant, £100.

Robert Thomas, Surrey, Kingston, Merchant, £25.

William Thompson, London, Aldgate, Merchant, £50, Artillery Company 1642; Commissioner Sea Adventure 1642; Common Council 1643; £60,000 loan for army 1643; Alderman 1654; EIC Shareholder 1657.

George Thompson, Southwark, Merchant, £1150, MP for Southwark; Militia Commader Virginia 1636; earl of Essex life guard 1642; Colonel, parliamentary army; Navy Commissioner 1645-1653; 1659-60; MP 1645-3; Council of State 1652-3, 1659-60; Parliamentary committees for trade, plantations and foreign affairs 1652-3; Admiralty Commissioner 1659-60; committee for intelligence 1659-60.

Maurice Thompson, London, Worcester House, Bishopsgate Street., Merchant, £1300, Commissioner for Barbados 1640; Treasurer, Additional Sea Adventure 1642; Collector for Plate, Money and Horses 1642; Committe of Citizen Adventurers of London 1642-4; Commissioner for Assessments 1642; Treasurer Loan and Contribution for Ireland Jan. 1643; Bermuda Company 1643; Customs Commissioner 1643-5; Commissioner for Prize Goods 1643; Commissioner for Contributions from Holland 1643; Guinea Company 1648; Militia, Tower Hamlets 1648; Treasurers, £20,000 per month for Ireland 1648; Commissioner for Prize Goods 1649; Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649; Assada Company 1649; Commissioner for Trade 1650; East India Company 1650; Commissioner for Excise 1650-53; Greenland Company 1653; High Court Justice 1650,1653; Committee of Adventurers 1654; Governor EIC 1657-1659; Tower Hamlets militia 1659.

William Thornbery, London, Gentleman, £150, Artillery Company 1635; Commissioner for Compounding 1647.

George Thoroughgood, London, Brownchurch, Gentleman, £150, EIC Shareholder 1657.

Richard Thrale, London, Stationer, £133.

Thomas Thrale, London, Stationer, £75.

Trottman Throgmorton, London, Merchant, £250.

Robert Tichborne, London, Skinner, £200, Artillery Company 1635; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Commissioner for Prize Goods 1649; Alderman, Farringdon Within, 1649-60; Knighted (by the Protector) December 15, 1656; styled 'Lord Tichborne' (as a member of the 'Other House') 1657-60; Councillor of State 1653; Committee of Safety 1659; M.P. London 1653; Lieutenant Tower 1647; Commissioner Customs 1649-(?); EIC Shareholder 1657; Committee E.I.C. 1657-9; Colonel Yellow Regiment 1658; President Honourable Artillery Company 1658-60.

Grace Tiffen, Surrey, Kingston, £75.

John Tillett, London, Salter, £100.

Thomas Tooley, London, Merchant, £450.

John Towse, London, Grocer, £700, Alderman, Cripplegate, 1640-5, Treasurer Adventure for Irish Land; Commissioner London Militia 1642; Commissioner for Assessments 1642; Treasurer Advance of Money 1643-; Commissioner Excise 1643-50; Colonel Orange Regiment 1642-5. Died May 28, 1645.

John Trenchard, Dorset, Gentleman, £450, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647;

Ralph Tripplett, London, Stationer, £320.

Abraham Tuffnell, London, Gentleman, £200.

Josias Tunbridge, Exeter, £100.

Robert Turbridge, Middlesex, £300.

Thomas Turgis, London, Grocer, £200, Alderman, Vintry, 1650, Died (buried March 11) 1651.

John Turlington, £120.

William Turlington, London, Bishopsgate, Merchant, £50, Common Council 1643.

Richard Turner, London, Cordwainers, Merchant, £200, Artillery Company 1639; Common Council, 1643; London Militia 1647; Assessments, London 1648; Newfoundland Company 1653; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Edward Turner, London, £200, Artillery Company 1642.

Ralph Turtle, London, Fishmonger, £75.

Richard Tyler, London, Salter, £200.

John Tymmo, Cornwall, £200.

Edward Underwood, London, £100, Artillery Company 1635.

Samuel Vassall, London, Gentleman, £300, MP; Navy Commissioner 1642; Commissioner for Assessments 1642; Government of the West Indies 1643; £120,000 per month 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

Joseph Vaughan, London, Goldsmith, £100, Artillery Company 1631.

Edward Vaughan, London, Farringdon, £300, Committee for Advance of Money 1642; Assessments, London 1648.

William and George Vaughan, London, Goldsmiths, £400.

Richard Viner, London, Goldsmith, £500, Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; London Militia 1647.

Richard Vernon, London, Pewterer, £100.

Thomas Vincent, London, Leatherseller, £1375, Artillery Company 1635; Commissioner Sea Adventure 1642; Sale of goods by the candle, 1643; Committee of Adventurers 1654; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Thomas Viner, London, Goldsmith, £200, Alderman, Billingsgate, 1646-51, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Relief of the Poor, London 1647; Langbourn, 1651-60; EIC Shareholder 1657; Knighted (by the Protector) February 8, 1654 (by the King) August 1, 1660; created Baronet June, 1661; President Christ's Hospital 1658-60; Prime Warden Goldsmiths 1645-6. Died May 11, 1665.

William Viner, London, Goldsmith, £100.

Richard Wade, London, Merchant, £100.

Anthony and John Wagstaff, Harland, £25.

Ellin Wagstaff, Swathwick, £32.

Edmond Wagstaff, Cullow, £32.

Joseph Wagstaff, Warwickshire, Harbury, Sargeant Major, £50, Mercenary soldier, selected as a major for Wharton's army in 1642 but never sent to Ireland and served in Essex' army instead. Taken prisoner, switched sides and knighted by the King in 1644. Led the Penruddock Rebellion of 1655, escaped and was repaid with proceeds from the King's goods in 1662 (DNB).

Daniel Waldoe, London, Cheap, Clothworker, £600, Common Council 1643; Assessments, London 1648.

William Waller, London, Soldier, £1000, Sergeant Major General Gloucester 1643.

Moses Waller, London, Merchant, £200.

Patience Waller, London, £112.

Thomas Walmesley, Buckinghamshire, Gentleman, £100.

Thomas Walter, London, Merchant, £100, Spanish trade 1630s; Artillery Company 1639; Guinea Company 1640.

William Walwin, London, Vintry, Butcher, £100, Committee for Advance of Money 1642.

John Wardell, London, Grocer, £150.

Richard Waring, London, Grocer, £1150, Commissioner for Assessments 1642; Common Council 1643; Treasurer for Compounding 1643-53; Assessments, London 1648; Alderman, Cheap, 1649; Committee of Adventurers 1654; Assistant Levant Company 1653-4; EIC Shareholder 1657.

John Warner, London, St Stephen's Walbrook, Grocer, £380, Alderman, Queenhithe, 1640-8, Treasurer Adventure for Irish Land 1642; Commissioner London Militia 1642; Commissioner for Assessments 1642; Treasurer Advance of Money 1643-; £60,000 loan for army 1643; £120,000 per month 1645; Treasurer £80,000 loan for Fairfax 1645; Treasurer for Arrears 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Relief of the Poor, London 1647; Treasurer at War 1647; Colonel Green Regiment 1642-c 1645. Died October 27, 1648.

Samuel Warner, London, Grocer, £1500, Commissioner London Militia 1642; £60,000 loan for army 1643; Alderman, Coleman Street, 1643-5.

Thomas Waterhouse, London, Fishmonger, £125.

Francis Waterhouse, London, Fishmonger, £15, Relief of the Poor, London 1647; Assessments, London 1648.

David Watkins, London, Gentleman, £6000, Cashier of the Virginia Company and responsible for issuing land patents, 1621-1624; Secretary to the Committee for Irish Affairs 1642-8; Commissioner for Compounding 1647; Postmaster 1653; Committee of Adventurers 1654; Married to Honora Fleetwood and uncle of Charles Fleetwood, appointed lord deputy of Ireland 1654, who was in turn the son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell. Executor of the will of Sir Thomas Smith, governor of Virginia and later of the East India Company, with Sir Nicholas Crispe. Brother of Edward Watkins, searcher of the Port of London 1642.

Samuel Wattson, London, Apothecary, £20.

George Waxley, £50.

Francis Webb, London, Dyer, £12, Artillery Company 1629; Assessments, London 1648.

James Webster, Dorset, £100,.

Thomas Webster, Middlesex, Inn Keeper, £62.

William Webster, London, Merchant, £100, Artillery Company 1642.

Obediah Weekes, Surrey, Gentleman, £100.

Thomas Wenman, Oxford, Gentleman, £600, MP for Oxford and second lord Wenman. Attempted to negotiate peace with Charles I at Oxford in 1643.

Edward Weston, London, Merchant, £100, Artillery Company 1639.

Henry Weston, London, Merchant, £200, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Militia, Tower Hamlets 1648; Commissioner for Prize Goods 1649.

John Weston, London, Merchant, £200.

Thomas Whalley, Chester, Merchant, £100.

Henry Whalley, Chester, Merchant, £450.

Sir Thomas and Dame Wharton, York, Gentleman, £200,.

John Wheatly, London, Soapmaker, £25, Artillery Company 1641; Collector Advance of Money 1642.

Benjamin Whetcombe, London, Merchant, £500, Brother of Tristram Whetcombe, Kinsale merchant and contractor for parliamentary navy in Ireland, and Simon Whetcomb, Dorchester merchant and investor in the Massachusetts Bay Company.

Richard Whichcott, Lincoln, Merchant, £100, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

William Whichcott, London, Merchant, £150.

John White, London, Merchant, £600, Fee-farm Trustee 1647; Militia, Tower Hamlets 1648; EIC Shareholder 1657.

William White, London, Merchant, £50.

Elinor and Sarah White, London, £50.

Stephen White, London, Langbourne, Grocer, £600, Common Council 1643; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Edward White, London, Mercer, £50.

Bartholomew White, London, Merchant, £300.

Robert Whitehall, Buckinghamshire, Clothier, £100.

Bulstrode Whitelocke, Buckinghamshire, Gentleman, £100, Sequestrations Buckingham 1643; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Council of State 1649; Derby House Committee 1652-3; Commissioner for Trade and Plantations 1652-3.

Francis Whitston, London, £75.

Henry Whittaker, London, Merchant, £200.

Henry Whittingham, London, Merchant, £250, EIC Shareholder 1657;

Thomas Wicks, London, Clothworker, £50, Drew land in County Waterford that he sold to John Nettles of Youghal in 1654 (advent. Cal. P. 92).

Richard Wilcox, London, Haberdasher, £50, Auditor army accounts 1648.

Robert Wilcox, Warwickshire, £25.

John Wilde, London, Lawyer, £200, Sergeant of Law, commissioner of the Common Seal, 1642, to replace the King's Great Seal.

Richard Willett, London, Cordwainers, Merchant Tailor, £200, Committee for Advance of Money 1642; Common Council 1643; Sale of goods by the candle, 1643.

Samuel Williams, London, Haberdasher, £62.

Nicholas Williams, London, Haberdasher, £100.

William Willoughby, London, Gentleman, £37, Commissioner Sea Adventure 1642; Militia, Tower Hamlets 1648; Commissioner for Navy and Customs 1649;.

Francis Willoughby, London, Ratcliffe, Mariner, £200, Captain Tower Hamlets Trained Band 1643; Navy Commissioner 1652-3.

Rowland Wilson, London, Vintner, £100, Guinea Company 1640; Ransom of Algiers Captives 1645; Alderman, Bridge, 1648-50, Councillor of State 1649-50; M.P. Calne 1646-50; Colonel Orange Regiment 1645-50; Assessments, London 1648; Council of State 1649; Collector £90,000 per month subsidy 1649; Commissioner Sale of Dutch Prizes 1652-3.

Richard Wilson, London, Grocer, £200, Artillery Company 1639; £60,000 loan for army 1643.

Richard Winwood, Buckinghamshire, Gentleman, £300, MP.

George Witham, London, Leatherseller, £400, Accounts for the Whole Kingdom 1644; Treasurer £80,000 loan for Fairfax 1645; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Alderman Coleman Street, 1645-8, Master Leathersellers 1646-7; Treasurer at War 1647; Trustee of king's goods 1649; EIC Shareholder 1657.

William Withers, London, Linen Draper, £200, Provisioning agent, New England and Virginia.

Edward Witham, London, Leatherseller, £220.

John Wollaston, London, Goldsmith, £1150, Granted the Province of New Hampshire, 1635 (sold); Alderman, Farringdon Without, 1639-42, Dowgate, 1642-4, Aldersgate, 1644-7, Bridge Without, 1657-8; Knighted December 3, 1641; Deputy-Governor Irish Society 1633-4, 1636-7; Colonel Trained Bands 1641, Yellow Regiment 1642-c 1645; Commissioner London Militia 1642; Commissioner for Assessments 1642; £120,000 per month 1645; Treasurer £80,000 loan for Fairfax 1645; Trustee for Bishops' Lands 1646; London Militia 1647; Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647; Treasurer at War 1647; Assessments, London 1648; President Bethlem and Bridewell 1642-9; President Christ's Hospital 1649-58; Treasurer, Forfeited Estates 1651; Treasurer for Delinquent lands 1652; Prime Warden Goldsmiths 1639-40. Died April 26, 1658.

Francis Wolley, London, Haberdasher, £200.

Joshua Wolnory, £125.

Edward Wood, London, Grocer, £675.

John Wood, London, Merchant, £850, Artillery Company 1640; Collector Advance of Money 1642; Assessments 1643; Committee of Adventurers 1654; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Thomas Wood, London, Langbourne, Merchant Tailor, £25, Artillery Company 1641; £60,000 loan for army 1643.

William Woodhead, York, £230,.

William Woodhouse, Hertfordshire, £100.

Abraham Woodruff, London, Wapping, £50, Artillery Company 1635; Captain Tower Hamlets Trained Band 1643.

Emanuel Woodward, London, Gentleman, £600.

Fulke Wormelayton, London, Whitechapel, Distiller and Baker, £50, Militia, Tower Hamlets 1648.

Zachariah Worth, London, Haberdasher, £100.

George Wynn, London, Mercer, £160, Alderman, Vintry 1650, Created Baronet December, 1660; Sheriff Lincolnshire 1657-8; Master Mercers 1652. Died July 18, 1667.

John Yates, Sussex, £100, Subsidy for Fairfax and Ireland 1647.

James Yates, Herfordshire, Clothier, £200.

John Young, London, Draper, £100, Commissioner for Compounding 1647; EIC Shareholder 1657.

Appendix Two

The Adventurers' land settlement in Ireland

A manuscript preserved in the National Archives of Ireland comprises an abstract from the Down Survey of all of the land allocated to the Adventurers, with a note assigned to each townland indicating the lot number drawn in 1653.⁹⁴⁷ From this it is possible to trace, with reasonable accuracy, the progression of ownership from the award of Adventurers certificates by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation through to the position when the Books of Survey and Distribution were compiled in the 1670s.⁹⁴⁸ In general terms, many of the transactions are between members of the merchant community, especially between London based merchants and those living in Dublin. In this way, the Adventure facilitated the emergence of some Irish merchants as substantial landowners. The most primary reason for divergence from the Cromwellian settlement, however, was change forced by successful petitions to the King or the Court of Claims.

A brief examination of each county provides a guide to the events that followed the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. In Antrim, much of the land allocated to the Adventurers, in the baronies of Belfast, Carrickfergus, Dunluce and Massareene, belonged to Randall MacDonnell earl of Antrim. As MacDonnell managed to hold on to his estates, his land was not forfeited and the Adventurers claims were transferred elsewhere. Martin Noel did acquire a large tract of Antrim's estate, but this was in the context of a financial arrangement under which he purchased all of MacDonnell's debts at a discount, and the earl also transferred to Noel part of his estate as additional security. In this manner, the Barbadian sugar money had entered the Irish land market. The only Adventurer to gain from forfeitures in Massareene was Sir John Clotworthy, who had managed to secure lottery receipts for forfeited land adjoining his property.

In county Armagh, the Adventurers were allocated land in the baronies of Armagh, Oneallan and Tiranny. The situation in Armagh barony was that it was almost entirely owned by the Archbishopric of Armagh. Land owned by any branch of the Protestant church was subjected to forfeiture by the Cromwellians but this was overturned at the

⁹⁴⁷ NAI QRO 2A-12-51, An Abstract of Forfeited Lands.

⁹⁴⁸ This information is derived from the Down Survey of Ireland database, transcribed from the Quit Rent Office Books of Survey and Distribution at the National Archives of Ireland.

Restoration. Consequently, all of the Adventurers who were allocated land in Armagh parish had to be accommodated elsewhere. Similarly, in Oneallan most of the land allocated to Adventurers was in the parish of Armagh and owned by the church. In Tiranny there were 10,000 acres to distribute, out of which 8,000 came into the possession of Maurice Thompson. Thompson sold all of this land to Sir Hans Hamilton, the local land aggregator, who also purchased the remaining allocations from John Shepherd, Thomas Bladen and John Blague.⁹⁴⁹

In neighbouring county Down, where the Adventurers were allocated lots in the baronies of Ards, Lecale and Upper Evagh, the land settlement was also dominated by transactions between the senior Adventurers and big local landowners. The largest of these senior Adventurers was William Hawkins who received the manor of Rathfriland.⁹⁵⁰ In the barony of Ards, however, Hawkins sold his allocations to the local landowner, William Mountgomery, as did Henry Whalley, the Chester merchant and purchaser of Adventures in the 1650s. Hawkins and Whalley probably acted in concert. They would have been familiar from the days of Oliver Cromwell's Irish campaign, when Hawkins was commissary-general and the Whalleys supplied considerable quantities of food and clothing through Chester. In the barony of Lecale, the Batemans sold to the Dublin merchant Daniel Hutchinson, a key factor of Maurice Thompson and William Pennoyer in the 1640s. Two Adventurers, Robert Hammond and William Barker, retained significant investments in Upper Evagh, and Barker also invested in the East India Company. Neither Adventurer made a lasting mark on the county.

4,000 acres were allocated to twelve Adventurers in county Kilkenny, although Kilkenny was not one of the ten counties originally reserved for them. All were politically well

⁹⁴⁹ The details of Hans (Hance) Hamilton's subsequent bankruptcy in 1727 indicate the he was formerly a Scottish mercenary soldier who was financed by merchants from Dublin to aggregate this estate. Hamilton appears repeatedly in the Books of Survey and Distribution although his role appears to have been as a trustee for a consortium of merchants rather than as a landowner in his own right. He fled to Holland to escape imprisonment in 1707 and lived there in an 'indigent condition' for the last twenty years of his life (*Statutes at Large, Ireland*, Vol. V, 1721-1731, (Dublin, 1765), pp 305-6). His baronetcy, awarded due to the size of the Armagh landholding, was extinguished after his death and the dissolution of the estate. He does not appear to be related to the Ulster plantation Hamiltons in neighbouring county Down.

⁹⁵⁰ E. D. Atkinson, *Dromore, an Ulster Diocese*, (Dublin, 1911), pp. 2-3. Hawkins settled his son Robert on the estate who married the daughter of a neighbouring land owner and Cromwellian soldier, John Magill. The Hawkins became part of the land owning class in the county.

connected and included Philip lord Wharton, his wife Jane, William Jessop, the earl of Warwick's business manager and Sir Nathaniel Fiennes. Only Jessop retained a small allocation of 166 acres by 1670 as the remainder had passed to the duke of Ormond, restored to his estates by Charles II.

County Laois was already a Plantation county and suffered additional large scale forfeitures to the Adventurers, who were allocated the baronies of Cullinagh, Maryborough, Portneinch, Slewmargin, Stradbally and Tinehinch. The distribution of the Adventurers allocations in Laois shows no evidence of aggregation by the senior Adventurers and this implies that there was a genuine attempt to effect a further plantation in Laois. The Adventurers committee appointed in August 1654 for resolving differences between Adventurers had wide powers to allocate lots as they saw fit.⁹⁵¹ The widespread plantation intended by the Adventurers in Laois indicates that the aggregation of Adventures was driven as much by policy as by opportunism and that they had decided to concentrate their plantation in the midlands. The Laois Adventurers were led by the Dublin alderman, John Preston, who purchased Sir David Watkin's allocation in Cullinagh. The allocations of Arthur and Samuel Barnardiston were settled by Thomas Barnardiston, who also happened to be on the committee for settling Adventurers claims. Robert Westenra acquired 1,000 acres in Cullinagh in 1654 and settled there.⁹⁵² The last of the senior Adventurers in Cullinagh, Thomas Juxon, saw his allocation become part of the estate of Thomas Coote, following the marriage of Coote to Juxon's daughter. The Juxons, thereby, also entered into the world of the New English planter class. In Portneinch barony there was a further sale by Watkins to John Preston, this time for 1,666 acres. The majority of the land, however, was purchased by Henry Bennett, lord Arlington. This purchase also exhibits the fingerprints of Maurice Thompson, as Henry Bennet was a nephew of the Virginia planter Edward Bennet, the Virginia Company's largest investor and Maurice

⁹⁵¹ A&O, II, pp. 942-943, 'July 1654: An Ordinance appointing a Committee of the Adventurers for Lands in Ireland, for determining differences among the said Adventurers.'. The Adventurers appointed to this committee were Sir Thomas Dacres, Sir John Clotworthy, Alderman Thomas Andrews, Alderman John Fowke, Alderman Samuel Avery, Thomas Ayres, John Blackwell Sr., William Webb, William Hawkins, Charles Lloyd, George Almory, Thomas Barnardiston, John Greensmith, Lawrence Bromfield, Thomas Brightwell, Deputy Hutchinson, Michael Herring, Alexander Jones, John Wood, Thomas Strane, Sir David Watkins, Alexander Bence, Thomas Gower, William Penoyer, Henry Colborne, William Hickocks, Thomas Vincent, Alderman Foot, James Russell, Alderman Waring, Maurice Thompson, Francis Ashe, John Moyser, John Holland, Edmond Harrison, and Ambrose Moore.

⁹⁵² Mahaffy, *Adventurers*, p. 59.

Thompson's original partner in his tobacco plantation in the 1620s.⁹⁵³ Slewmarginie was already controlled by the Cootes, but the Adventurers George Almory, Charles Lloyd and James Merrick all made efforts to settle on their estates. In Maryborough, half of the Adventurers land was owned by David Watkins, and a further quarter by James Sheffield, a London merchant. Sheffield sold his Adventure to Martin Noell and Watkins divided his between John Preston and John Shapcote, the Devon MP who was a commissioner for fraudulent debentures in Dublin 1656-9. Shapcote lived in Dublin from 1661. The Corporation of Gloucester's Adventure was also followed by an attempted plantation by the English West Country town and the individual Adventures of its citizens were managed centrally by Gloucester Corporation.

The baronies allocated to Adventurers in county Limerick were Connello, Counagh, Kenry and Poblebrian. Connello appears as the barony of choice for the senior Adventurers, in this instance dominated by Dame Anne Crispe, the widow of Nicholas, Benjamin Andrews, a son of Thomas, James Tucker, the son of William, Stephen Estwick, Richard Hunt, Charles Lloyd, Robert Parkhurst and William Thompson. Crispe, Hunt and William Thompson were the main aggregators among the Adventurers prior to 1670 but local landowners Andrew Brandon and Arthur Ormesby were also very active purchasers in Connello. Most of the barony of Counagh was swept up by Hugh Montgomery, earl Mountalexander or allocated to the Duke of York. In Kenry the land was again divided between Hugh Montgomery and the Duke of York, joined on this occasion by Erasmus Smith, the London merchant who had established a trust in 1657 to acquire Irish land for Protestant free schools. Poblebrian, where the Duke of York acquired considerable acreage, is the only barony in Limerick where individual Adventurers attempted to develop substantial estates. These Adventurers included Samuel Barnardiston, George Peacock, Richard Sweete and William White.

In county Meath, where the Adventurers were allocated the baronies of Deece, Lune, Morgallion, Navan, Skreene and Slane, reflecting the higher value of the land in comparison with other parts of the country and its strategic significance close to Dublin. In this case, the Adventurers settlement was a transient affair. The leading patentees in Deece were Erasmus Smith, the Duke of York and Thomas Coote, who acquired 2,000 acres

⁹⁵³ MacCartney, *Virginia Immigrants and Adventurers*, pp. 125-126. Another cousin, Richard Bennett, was appointed Governor of Virginia, effectively by Thompson when the colony declared for the Commonwealth in 1651.

transferred from the Juxons. Thomas Hodges and William Lane, both original Adventurers and tobacco merchants of long standing, assembled parcels in excess of 1,000 acres that made them eligible for baronetcies under the terms of the Adventurers Act. The barony of Lune was almost entirely in the possession of the Thompson family in 1670, with William Thompson having acquired 4,000 acres and Robert Thompson, Maurice's son, a further thousand. Robert was married to the daughter of Arthur Annesley, a scion of New English landed society. Annesley bought up Adventures in his own name in the barony of Navan, where the Barnardistons and Cootes also established themselves. Of the senior Adventurers in the barony of Skreene, David Watkins sold 3,000 acres to Sir Richard Brown who added 1,000 acres of his own to become the largest landowner in the barony.⁹⁵⁴ Richard Brown was an MP for London and a key figure in arranging the City's loan of £100,000 to encourage the return of Charles II. He headed the king's procession through the city on his return. The largest tract to change hands in Skreene was the 8,000 acres awarded to the City of London, half of their loan for £10,000 charged to the Adventure in 1642. Half was sold to the Catholic earl of Fingal and half to Joseph Deane, the son of Captain William Deane, governor of Barbados in the 1620s and an active planter on that island. In the barony of Morgallion, the smaller Adventurers were more successful in establishing themselves. Thomas Bligh, James Watson, John Nazy, Thomas Piddock, Arthur Squibb, Gabriel Barber and John Fleming had all retained their lands into the 1670s, although none had ever joined the leading circle of Adventurers. They were, for the most part, investors who had bought Adventures in the 1650s and had a good idea of the value of the lands they were purchasing. Finally, in the barony of Slane, 3,000 acres was purchased from Adventurers by the Catholic lord Slane, Sir John Barrington patented 2,000 acres, Sir William Masham 1,000 and Sir Gilbert Gerrard and further 1,000 acres. The 1,000 acres allocated to Alexander Pym, the son of John Pym, was transferred to the Duke of York along with a further 1,000 acres allocated to William Waller, the parliamentary general.

In the King's county (Offaly), the Adventurers were awarded the baronies of Ballybrit, Eglish, Garrycastle and Geashill and the pattern of land transfers is very straightforward in Ballybrit and Geashill as almost all of the land came into the possession of Daniel Hutchinson, who purchased a bloc of Adventures assembled by Thomas Vincent. In the barony of Garrycastle, a Decree of Innocence awarded to a Catholic landowner, Terence Coghlane, resulted in the transferral of most of the Adventurers claims elsewhere. The

⁹⁵⁴ <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/browne-richard-i-1669>.

largest Adventure in Garrycastle was owned by Gregory Clement, awarded to the Duke of York following Clement's execution for regicide. The only large estate established by an Adventurer in the barony was the 2,200 acre tract secured by John and Samuel Rolle, the Cornwall and Devon MPs who were among the largest landowners in their own counties.⁹⁵⁵ The record for the barony of Eglish in the Books of Survey and Distribution is too fragmented to allow for a meaningful analysis of how the Adventurers settled their affairs, but as one of the lots drawn was 1,257 acres awarded to Oliver Cromwell, it can be assumed that this tract, at least, was awarded to the Duke of York.

In terms of acreage, the largest half county awarded to the Adventurers was Tipperary, in which they were assigned the baronies of Clanwilliam, Eliogurty, Iffa and Offa, Ikerrin, Ileagh and Middlethird. The physical size of Tipperary made it possible for a considerable number of Adventurers to assemble parcels in excess of 1,000, the threshold for creating an Irish baronetcy. They were led by Erasmus Smith, who created an 8,000 acre estate in Clanwilliam, a barony that was also settled by Ursula Upton, the widow of George Clarke and daughter of John Upton, the Virginia planter from Dorset. Clanwilliam also became the home of London merchants Jonathan Ashe, Thomas Gower and Alexander Popham. Following the Restoration, the largest landowner in Eliogurty was Catholic, Nicholas Purcell, a relation of the duke of Ormond, restored to his estate by Charles II. The Adventurers settling large estates in Eliogurty included Richard Rogers, who purchased the allotment of Michael Herring, Edward Austin, who bought up allotments in the 1650s and William Barker, an alderman of London. James Butler, duke of Ormond, acquired 1,000 acres from Adventurers to consolidate his own estates in the area. Ormond acquired further lands in the barony of Iffa and Offa, and 5,000 acres was confirmed to William Bulkeley, whose uncle, Thomas Bulkeley was created Viscount of Cashel by Charles I at Oxford in 1643.⁹⁵⁶ Most of this barony, however, became home to a cohort of former Sea Adventurers led by Alexander Bence with 3,500 acres, Francis Bigg, Richard Hutchinson, John Kendrick, William Brereton, Thomas Abdy and Thomas Gower. The financier, Martin Noell, acquired the 2,666 acre parcel assembled by Humphrey Towne. Noell acquired a further 4,000 acres in Ikerrin from the Blackwells and became the largest

⁹⁵⁵ The Rolles established an estate in Laois and became very active lenders on the Dublin staple, committing over £5,000 in the 1660s-1670s (Ohlmeyer, *Statute Staple*, p. 140).

⁹⁵⁶ F.W. Chapman, *The Bulkeley Family*, (Hartford, 1875), p. 14. The family home of the Bulkeleys was Beaumaris Castle in Wales and the family had a number of Irish connections, principally positions in the church. The Bulkeleys were also related to the Davenports of New England Puritan fame and a branch of the family had also settled there.

landowner in that barony. His Adventurer neighbours in this barony were Roger Drake, Thomas Lenthall and Katherine Boate, the widow of Gerard Boate, Oliver Cromwell's propagandist during his Irish campaign. In the small barony of Ileagh, Martin Noell again held sway with a further 2,500 acres but the large barony of Middlethird saw a host of new Adventurer estates. John Clotworthy acquires 3,000 acres controlled by the Corporation of Exeter and Richard Clutterbuck, George Evelyn, Nicholas Everard, Boyle Maynard, Ursula Upton and William Everard all assembled estates of approximately 2,000 acres. The duke of Ormond and Francis Annesley also bought their way into Middlethird and the duke of York was granted the lands of the Puritan divine, Cornelius Burges.

The Adventurers' settlement in county Waterford was piecemeal. Alone among the New English planter community, Richard Boyle, the second earl of Cork, decided against an influx of interloping Londoners and bought up the Adventures close to his territories in the barony of Coshmore and Coshbride. William Gibbs, an MP for Suffolk, goldsmith and former stockholder in the Dorchester Company, was the only Adventurer to acquire a large estate in the barony. Likewise, the barony of Decies, also in control of the Boyles, saw only one new Adventurer estate, that of the London alderman Richard Warren. Much of the forfeited land in Decies was restored to its Catholic owners, the Fitzgeralds, the Nugents and the Walshs. The Liberties of Waterford were allocated to a strong cast of leading Adventurers including Thomas Andrews, Gregory Clement, Thomas Gower, William Webb, Samuel Barnardiston, Samuel Avery, Elias Roberts and Thomas Juxon. Sadly, the relevant part of the Books of Survey and Distribution is missing for this barony so the retention of lands by the Adventurers cannot be attested to. The 1659 Census, however, records Gregory Clements as being in residence there, so it is possible that Clements resided in Waterford until he was back to London to stand trial for regicide.⁹⁵⁷

In the final county to be allocated to the Adventurers, Westmeath, the settlement pattern was one of consolidation. The recovery by Thomas Dillon 4th Viscount of Costello and Gallen of his family's ancient estate in the barony of Kilkenny West squeezed out all of the senior Adventurers with the exception of the Whartons. In the small barony of Demifoore, a parcel of 5,000 acres belonging to the London Companies was purchased by Thomas Piggott, a Somerset merchant. In Fertullagh, estates of more than 1,000 acres were assembled by Maurice Berkeley and Nathaniel Micklethwaite, but the barony was too

⁹⁵⁷ Seamus Pender, (ed.) *A Census of Ireland Circa 1659: With Essential Materials From the Poll Money Ordinances 1660-1661*, (Dublin, 2002), p. 349.

small to support the creation of a large number of large estates. The barony of Moyashell became a stronghold of the Thompsons and Crispes. Ellis Crispe, Nicholas' son, assembled a 1,791 acre estate and John Thompson, Maurice's son, an estate of 1,916 acres. Sir John Witteronge, whose son was married to Maurice Thompson's daughter, secured a further 1,000 acres. Finally, in the barony of Rathconrath, the 60 small Adventures originally purchased by the citizens of Dartmouth were gathered up by two major Dartmouth merchants with established networks in Virginia, John Upton and Walter Iago.

This survey of the land transactions of the Adventurers in the baronies originally assigned to them omits the many smaller parcels that individual Adventurers did keep in their possession through to the 1670s and the land acquired by Adventurers in other baronies, but the overall characteristics of the Adventurers sustained presence in the Irish land market is sufficiently evident from this sample. In general terms, the Adventurers continued on with a process that had begun in 1653 when the county lots were first drawn. The leading Adventurers who consolidated estates in the mid-1650s continued to do so after the Restoration. Most prominent were the Thompsons and the Noels, who undoubtedly saw Ireland as a good source for cheap labour and agricultural commodities. Land transactions between Adventurers in the late 1650s are comparatively few. In 1657, Benjamin Worsley exchanged land in Kilkenny for the estate granted in Meath to Abel Warren for a consideration of £1,000.⁹⁵⁸ Worsley leased the Meath estate to James Stopford, a Dublin merchant, in July 1658.⁹⁵⁹ Some Adventurers appeared to have been more amenable to doing business with Dublin's merchant community than with New English landowners, and the interest in Ireland that gained the most from the Adventurers eagerness to sell in the 1660s were merchants such as Daniel Hutchinson. Hutchinson and Thomas Vincent had gone into business together in 1656.⁹⁶⁰ Vincent, in addition to his interest in the Blaney estate in Monaghan had acquired Adventures that entitled him to nearly 30,000 acres of land. Other Adventurers made arrangements with Dublin merchants, for example the Adventurer Michael Babington sold his land in Westmeath John Gay, but these transactions are few and far-between.⁹⁶¹ Partly because of land in their assigned baronies becoming unavailable, but also because the land was cheap, some Adventurers bought large tracts of land in other parts of Ireland. Maurice Thompson acquired 1,000

⁹⁵⁸ NAI, John Lodge, *Records of the Rolls*, Vol. VI, ff. 455-6.

⁹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, ff. 463.

⁹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, ff. 418.

⁹⁶¹ NAI, John Lodge, *Records of the Rolls*, Vol. VI, ff. 476.

acres around Cong, county Mayo, in addition to the county Galway estate of Roger O'Shaugnessy, the Catholic gentleman whose castle had been destroyed by Thompson's Sea Adventurers in 1642, the Adventurers first armed attack against Royalist forces.

The following table is a composite, comprising a complete transcription of National Archives of Ireland, 2A-12-34, Lands awarded to Adventurers in 1658, together with a list of lands awarded according to TNA SP/300, ff. 137-175. The additional names from SP/300 are in italics. In combination, they give a complete account of the intended land settlement planned for the Adventurers by the Cromwellian land settlement. To effect the land settlement, the commissioners divided each barony into quarters and lots were drawn within each. The table follows the same arrangement, with the county, barony, quarter and lot given (were recorded), followed by the name of the Adventurer, the amount of money paid in pounds sterling and, finally, the area of land awarded in Irish acres.

County	Barony	Quarter	Lot No.	Adventure First Name	Adventurer Surname	Money Paid	Irish Acres
Antrim	Belfast	SW 3		Benjamin	Heathcott	100	500
Antrim	Belfast	SW 3		Joseph	Heathcott	50	250
Antrim	Belfast	SW 3		Thomas	Macumber	50	250
Antrim	Belfast	SW 3		Richard	Wood	100	500
Antrim	Belfast	SE 2		John	Alwood	12.5	67.5
Antrim	Belfast	SE 2		Jonathan	Ash	12.5	67.5
Antrim	Belfast	SE 2		Thomas	Brittland	100	500
Antrim	Belfast	SE 2		Paul	Fletcher	100	500
Antrim	Belfast	SE 2		Samuel	Langworth	810	50
Antrim	Belfast	NW 4		Nicholas	Parry	50	250
Antrim	Belfast	NW 4		William	Pitcher	100	500
Antrim	Belfast	NW 4		John	Steele	50	250
Antrim	Belfast	NW 4		John	Sturdy	25	125
Antrim	Belfast	NE 1		John	Alwood	12.5	67.5
Antrim	Belfast	NE 1		Jonathan	Ash	12.5	67.5
Antrim	Belfast	NE 1		Ralph	Clark	200	1000
Antrim	Belfast	NE 1		Andrew	King	10	50
Antrim	Carrickfergus	S 2		Thomas	Popios	33	166
Antrim	Carrickfergus	N 1		Charles	Farwell	100	500
Antrim	Carrickfergus			Henry	Delawne	100	500
Antrim	Dunluce	SW 3	n 1	John	Hawes	650	3250
Antrim	Dunluce	SW 3	n 2	John	Brookhoren	800	4000
Antrim	Dunluce	SW 3	n 3	Samuel	Cooper	50	250
Antrim	Dunluce	SW 3	n 3	John	Fisher	150	750

Antrim	Dunluce	SW 3	n 3	John	Lucas	50	250
Antrim	Dunluce	SW 3	n 3	Nathaniell	Overton	62	312
Antrim	Dunluce	SW 3	n 3	William	Peckett	200	1000
Antrim	Dunluce	SW 3	n 3	Thomas	Tipping	200	1000
Antrim	Dunluce	SE 2		Charles	Doe	1134	5676
Antrim	Dunluce	NW 4	1	John	Mossyer	800	3888
Antrim	Dunluce	NW 4	1	John	Wood	125	625
Antrim	Dunluce	NW 4	2	James	Edwards	1100	5117
Antrim	Dunluce	NW 4	2	John	Gay	25	77
Antrim	Dunluce	NW 4	2	William	Robins	25	77
Antrim	Massareene	SW 3	1	Henry	Austin	220	
Antrim	Massareene	SW 3	2	John	Tirrell	300	1500
Antrim	Massareene	SW 3	3	John	West	200	1000
Antrim	Massareene	SE3	1	John	Clotworthy		
Antrim	Massareene	SE3	2	Henry	Austin	308	1077
Antrim	Massareene	NW 4	1	Edward	Highgate	25	125
Antrim	Massareene	NW 4	2	George	Hughes	100	500
Antrim	Massareene	NW 4	3	Hanna	King	25	125
Antrim	Massareene	NW 4	4	Edward	Mosley	600	3000
Antrim	Massareene	NE1		John	Clotworthy		
Armagh	Armagh	SW 3		Edward	Lewin	322	1616
Armagh	Armagh	SW 3		James	Smith	200	1000
Armagh	Armagh	SE 2		Richard	Bettsworth	50	250
Armagh	Armagh	SE 2		William	Burton	310	1550
Armagh	Armagh	SE 2		John	Perry	100	500
Armagh	Armagh	SE 2		John	Perry	72	362
Armagh	Armagh	SE 2		Ralph	Triplett	310	1550
Armagh	Armagh	NW 4		John	Povey	877	4387
Armagh	Armagh	NE 1		Edward	Lewin	877	4386
Armagh	Oneallan	SW 3		Thomas	Owen	75	327
Armagh	Oneallan	SW 3		Francis	Russell	54	270
Armagh	Oneallan	SW 3		Erasmus	Smith	200	1000
Armagh	Oneallan	SE 2		Henry	Hampson	400	2000
Armagh	Oneallan	SE 2		Thomas	Hampson	600	3000
Armagh	Oneallan	NW 4		Francis	Bellew	100	500
Armagh	Oneallan	NW 4		Francis	Bellew	50	250
Armagh	Oneallan	NW 4		Richard	Farmir	100	500
Armagh	Oneallan	NW 4		Thomas	King	100	500
Armagh	Oneallan	NW 4		Christopher	Lippiate	50	250
Armagh	Oneallan	NW 4		Nathaniel	Micklethwaite		
Armagh	Oneallan	NW 4		Nathaniel	Micklethwaite		
Armagh	Oneallan	NW 4		Edward	Sutton	75	375
Armagh	Oneallan	NW 4		Benjamin	Wade	50	250
Armagh	Oneallan	NW 4		Richard	Wade	50	250
Armagh	Oneallan	NW 4		George	Warple	50	250

Armagh	Oneallan	NE 1	1	Francis	Cole	62	312
Armagh	Oneallan	NE 1	2	Francis	Barlow	62	192
Armagh	Oneallan	NE 1	3	Simon	Dring	100	500
Armagh	Oneallan	NE 1	4	Robert	Scargill	62	192
Armagh	Oneallan	NE 1	5	Thomas	Swift	40	200
Armagh	Oneallan	NE 1	6	Anne	Crosswick	62	192
Armagh	Oneallan	NE 1	7	John	Cock	100	500
Armagh	Oneallan	NE 1	8	William	Collins	162	812
Armagh	Oneallan	NE 1	9	John	Godfory	100	500
Armagh	Oneallan	NE 1	10	Edward	Sanderson	62	192
Armagh	Tiranny	SW3		<i>Maurice</i>	<i>Thompson</i>	537	2687
Armagh	Tiranny	SE2		<i>Maurice</i>	<i>Thompson</i>	537	2687
Armagh	Tiranny	NW 4	n1	John	Shepherd	150	750
Armagh	Tiranny	NW 4	n2	Thomas	Bladen	100	500
Armagh	Tiranny	NW 4	s2	John	Blague	50	154
Armagh	Tiranny	NW 4		<i>Maurice</i>	<i>Thompson</i>	287	437
Armagh	Tiranny	NE1		<i>Maurice</i>	<i>Thompson</i>	537	2687
Down	Ards	S mid 3		William	Hawkins	1200	6000
Down	Ards	S 2		William	Hawkins	558	2793
Down	Ards	N mid 2		Erasmus	Smith	1150	5750
Down	Ards	N 1	1	Thomas	Russell	200	617
Down	Ards	N 1	2	Robert	Barrow	250	1250
Down	Ards	N 1		Henry	Whalley	1200	6000
Down	Lecale	SW 3		Edward	Bushell	400	2000
Down	Lecale	SW 3		John	Coulson	200	1000
Down	Lecale	SE 2	1	<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Barwick</i>	100	
Down	Lecale	SE 2	1	<i>Edmond</i>	<i>Kidderminster</i>		
Down	Lecale	SE 2	1	<i>George</i>	<i>Hudson</i>	100	
Down	Lecale	SE 2	1	<i>Nathaniel</i>	<i>Humphries</i>	100	
Down	Lecale	SE 2	1	<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Walters</i>	100	
Down	Lecale	SE 2	1	<i>John</i>	<i>Jeffries</i>	100	
Down	Lecale	SE 2	1	Thomas	Barwick	300	1500
Down	Lecale	SE 2	2	Henry, Sir	Titchbourne	100	500
Down	Lecale	SE 2	3	Robert	Hamond	60	300
Down	Lecale	NW 4		<i>Tobias</i>	<i>Freere</i>	200	
Down	Lecale	NW 4		<i>John</i>	<i>Coulson</i>	200	
Down	Lecale	NW 4		<i>Edward</i>	<i>Bushell</i>	400	
Down	Lecale	NE 1	1	Robert	Hamond	140	700
Down	Lecale	NE 1	2	William	Burman	100	500
Down	Lecale	NE 1	3	Anne	Bateman	600	3000
Down	Upper Evagh	SW 3	NW 4	Michael	Ashton	20	61
Down	Upper Evagh	SW 3	NW 4	Joseph	Biscot	250	1250
Down	Upper Evagh	SW 3	NW 4	Thomas	Thynn	25	125
Down	Upper Evagh	SW 3	NW 4	Edmond	Wagstaff	40	123
Down	Upper Evagh	SW 3	NW 4	Mary	Wood	50	250

Down	Upper Evagh	SW 3	se 2	Thomas	Brokes	200	617
Down	Upper Evagh	SW 3	SW 3	Elizabeth	Fowster	150	750
Down	Upper Evagh	SW 3	SW 3	Wiliam	Greenhill	100	500
Down	Upper Evagh	SW 3	SW 3	William	Hawkins	145	724
Down	Upper Evagh	SE4		Thomas	Browker	200	
Down	Upper Evagh	SE1		William	Barker	200	
Down	Upper Evagh	SE 2		William	Hawkins	1580	7550
Down	Upper Evagh	NW 4		William	Hawkins	1580	7550
Down	Upper Evagh	NE1		William	Barker	400	
Down	Upper Evagh	NE 1		William	Hawkins	1580	7550
Down	Upper Evagh	NE 1		William	Hawkins	44	228
Kilkenny				Thomas	Hammond	100	166
Kilkenny				Edward	Woodward	600	1000
Kilkenny				Jane, Dame	Wharton	646	1077
Kilkenny				Lord	Wharton	100	166
Kilkenny				Francis	Drake	300	617
Kilkenny				Elizabeth	Hammond	300	51
Kilkenny				John	Hampden	31	310
Kilkenny				William	Jessop	310	166
Kilkenny				John	Temple	100	750
Kilkenny				William	Baker	450	250
Kilkenny				George	Farmer	600	617
Kilkenny				Nathaniel	Fiennes	600	1000
Laois	Cullinagh	SW 3		Valentine	Fige	100	166
Laois	Cullinagh	SW 3		John	Hoxton	100	102
Laois	Cullinagh	SW 3		Thomas	Johnson	150	250
Laois	Cullinagh	SW 3		Mathew	Pitt	50	83
Laois	Cullinagh	SW 3		Thomas	Purvis	50	83
Laois	Cullinagh	SW 3		Edmond	Spring	50	83
Laois	Cullinagh	SW 3		David, Sir	Watkins	1000	1666
Laois	Cullinagh	SE 2	1	Arthur	Barnardiston	600	1000
Laois	Cullinagh	SE 2	2	James	Pollyne	300	500
Laois	Cullinagh	SE 2	3	John	Noseworthy	50	83
Laois	Cullinagh	SE 2	4	Dorothy	Watson	50	83
Laois	Cullinagh	SE 2	5	Thomas	Vincent	500	833
Laois	Cullinagh	NW 4		Samuel	Barnardiston		
Laois	Cullinagh	NW 4		Carpenters	Company	73	122
Laois	Cullinagh	NW 4		William	Davie	150	250
Laois	Cullinagh	NW 4		William	Davie	50	83
Laois	Cullinagh	NW 4		Daniell	Dover	300	500
Laois	Cullinagh	NW 4		John	Knight	200	333
Laois	Cullinagh	NW 4		John	Knight	50	83
Laois	Cullinagh	NW 4		Lucy	Roch	25	41
Laois	Cullinagh	NW 4		Rebecca	Turlington	25	41
Laois	Cullinagh	NW 4		Robert	Westenra	240	401

Laois	Cullinagh	NW 4		Thomas	White	300	500
Laois	Cullinagh	NE 1		Thomas	Juxon	750	1250
Laois	Cullinagh	NE 1		Thomas	Juxon	75	77
Laois	Cullinagh	NE 1		Robert	Westenra	628	1046
Laois	Lismagh Parish	SM 3		John	Hurst	480	800
Laois	Lismagh Parish	NM 2		Edward	Smith	248	414
Laois	Lismagh Parish	N N 4		Edward	Smith	351	585
Laois	Lismagh Parish	N N 1		Hugh	Nettleship	450	750
Laois	Lismagh Parish			Overington	Blundell	125	208
Laois	Lismagh Parish			Elizabeth	Bradshaw	50	83
Laois	Lismagh Parish			William	Woodhead	230	383
Laois	Lismagh Parish			John	Young	10	16
Laois	Maryborough	SW 3	1	Jeremiah	Hearne	300	500
Laois	Maryborough	SW 3	2	<i>Miles</i>	<i>Corbett</i>	150	217
Laois	Maryborough	SW 3	2	Peter and Christopher	Barrett	325	414
Laois	Maryborough	SW 3	2	Mountford	Brampton	100	102
Laois	Maryborough	SW 3	2	Mountford	Flower	100	102
Laois	Maryborough	SW 3	2	Richard	Harmon	100	102
Laois	Maryborough	SW 3	3	Edward, Sir	Barkham	600	1000
Laois	Maryborough	SE 2	1	David, Sir	Watkins	1600	2666
Laois	Maryborough	SE 2	2	Poriam and Theodore	Poole	200	333
Laois	Maryborough	NW 4	1	David, Sir	Watkins	1600	2666
Laois	Maryborough	NW 4	2	Benedict Johnathan and	Barefoote	100	166
Laois	Maryborough	NW 4	3	Elizabeth	Scarlett	100	102
Laois	Maryborough	NE 1	1	James	Sheffield	1750	2916
Laois	Maryborough	NE 1	2	John	Weekes	50	83
Laois	Portnehinch	SW3	1	<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Vincent</i>	300	500
Laois	Portnehinch	SW3	2	<i>William</i>	<i>Earton</i>	62	104
Laois	Portnehinch	SW3	3	<i>Sampson</i>	<i>Sheafe</i>	100	166
Laois	Portnehinch	SW3	4	<i>Humphrey</i>	<i>Long</i>	5	5
Laois	Portnehinch	SW3	6	<i>Michael</i>	<i>Spencer</i>	150	154
Laois	Portnehinch	SW3		<i>David</i>	<i>Watkins</i>	1000	1666
Laois	Portnehinch	SW3		<i>Valentine</i>	<i>Fig</i>	100	166
Laois	Portnehinch	SW3		<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Johnson</i>	150	250
Laois	Portnehinch	SW3		<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Parris</i>	50	83
Laois	Portnehinch	SW3		<i>John</i>	<i>Hopton</i>	100	102
Laois	Portnehinch	SW3		<i>Edmond</i>	<i>Spring</i>	50	83
Laois	Portnehinch	SW3		<i>Mathew</i>	<i>Pitt</i>	50	83
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	NE 1	<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Vincent</i>	50	51
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	NE 1	<i>Robert</i>	<i>Beale</i>	5	5
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	NE 1	<i>William</i>	<i>Davis</i>	10	10
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	NE 1	<i>William</i>	<i>Bewley</i>	100	166

Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	NE 1	John	Beale	10	10
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	NE 1	Joan	Biddle	25	41
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	NW 4	Thomas	Bewley	200	333
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	SE 2	George	Strange	50	51
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	SE 2	William	Leggett	166	333
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	SE 2	Richard	Bromer	25	
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	SE 2	William	Miller	25	
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	SW 3	William	Munday	25	41
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	SW 3	John	Hobson	25	41
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	SW 3	John	Martin	100	166
Laois	Portnehinch	SE 3	SW 3	Henry	Bristow	50	83
Laois	Portnehinch	NW4		Thomas	Vincent	800	1333
Laois	Portnehinch	NW4		Thomas	White	300	500
Laois	Portnehinch	NW4		Daniel	Dover	300	500
Laois	Portnehinch	NW4		John	Knight	200	333
Laois	Portnehinch	NW4		William	Davey	150	250
Laois	Portnehinch	NW4		William	Davey	100	166
Laois	Portnehinch	NW4		Samuel	Barnardiston		
Laois	Portnehinch	NW4		Carpenters	Company	73	122
Laois	Portnehinch	NW4		Lucy	North	25	41
Laois	Portnehinch	NW4		Robert	Western	240	401
Laois	Portnehinch	NW4		Rebecca	Turlington	25	41
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	NE 1	John	Baynard	200	333
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	NE 2	Margaret	Bennett	60	100
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	NW 4	James	Pordage	100	
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	NW 4	Miles	Corbett	100	166
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	Anthony	Austin	3	5
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	Anthony	Dennis	40	41
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	John	Dike	10	10
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	John	Ellis	10	10
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	William	Greening	5	5
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	Robert	Gibbs	7	6
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	John	Heard	20	20
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	Johnathan	Honner	26	27
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	William	Johns	20	10
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	John	Richards	20	20
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	George	Juxon	6	6
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	John	Thomas	20	20
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 2	Thomas	Wadland	30	30
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 3	Thomas	Vincent	200	333
Laois	Portnehinch	NE 1	SW 3	Elizabeth	Bingley	60	100
Laois	Slewmargie	SE 2	1	George	Arnold	200	333
Laois	Slewmargie	SE 2	2	John	Dethick	200	333
Laois	Slewmargie	SE 2	2	Elizabeth	Parker	100	166
Laois	Slewmargie	SE 2	2	Robert, Sir	Titchbourne	200	333

Laois	Slewmarginie	SE 2	3	Richard	Heydon	125	208
Laois	Slewmarginie	SE 2	4	John	Champneill	100	166
Laois	Slewmarginie	SE 2	4	Judith	Constantine	150	247
Laois	Slewmarginie	SE 2	4	Charles	Lloyd	900	1500
Laois	Slewmarginie	SE 2	4	Christopher	Merrick	200	333
Laois	Slewmarginie	NE 1	1	Robert	Gardner	87	145
Laois	Slewmarginie	NE 1	1	Patient	Wellows	87	145
Laois	Slewmarginie	NE 1	2	Francis	Ellis	62	104
Laois	Slewmarginie	NE 1	3	George	Almery Featherston e	1300	2166
Laois	Slewmarginie	NE 1	3	Heneage		1200	2000
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Sarah	Brockett Chillingwor th	50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Richard		50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Thomas	Snowdon	100	166
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Elizabeth	Delmoy	200	333
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Silvester	Denis	200	333
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Peter	Durane	200	333
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Isaak	Foster	125	208
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Margaret	Glasscock	50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Christopher	Gray	20	33
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Christopher	Lorlos	470	732
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Samuell	Lynn	75	125
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Mary	Read	75	125
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		John	Rustley	100	166
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		John	Sandon	50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		William	Searle	20	33
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		<i>Jeremiah</i>	<i>Pughley</i>	100	166
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		<i>William</i>	<i>Slade</i>	50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		John	Shellwell	10	16
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Henry	Standish	50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Francis	Tyton	78	130
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Thomas	Underhill	78	130
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Gamaliell	Voyne	50	51
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Hester	Wharton	25	41
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		William	Whitaker	50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Ellin and Sarah	White	50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Dorothy	Yeats	100	166
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		Thomas	Young	250	416
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		<i>Margaret</i>	<i>Glasscock</i>	50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NW 4		<i>Isaac</i>	<i>Foster</i>	125	208
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3	1	William	Hickocks	602	1004
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3	2	Godferry	Poole	50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3	3	Gabriell	Benyon	225	375
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3	4	Benjamin	Collier	125	208

Laois	Stradbally	NW 3	5	Mary	Clark	25	41.5
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3	5	Elizabeth	Colier	25	41.5
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3	6	Peter	Delaney	100	166
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3		Robert	Barefoot	25	41
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3		John	Hamilton	50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3		Henry	Hawkes	125	208
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3		Peter	Houblon	450	750
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3		Peter	Houblon	200	333
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3		George	Meggot	50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3		Sarah	Mercer	100	166
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3		John	Nobbs	156	260
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3		John	Reynolds	25	41
Laois	Stradbally	NW 3		John	Williams	250	250
Laois	Stradbally	NE 2	1	Anthony	Springate	200	205
Laois	Stradbally	NE 2	2	Anthony	Stringer	200	205
Laois	Stradbally	NE 2	3	Charles	Vaughan	2130	3530
Laois	Stradbally	NE 1	1	William	Field	50	83
Laois	Stradbally	NE 1	1	Corporation	Gloucester	1275	2124
Laois	Stradbally	NE 1	1	Thomas	Ingle	25	41
Laois	Stradbally	NE 1	2	John	Hales	400	666
Laois	Stradbally	NE 1	2	John	Hales	350	583
Laois	Stradbally	NE 1	3	Tobias	Winkfeild	40	66
Laois	Stradbally	NE 1	4	Richard	Evans	400	666
Laois	Tinehinch	SW 3		William	Strode	750	1250
Laois	Tinehinch	SE 2		John	Wood	773	1296
Laois	Tinehinch	NW 4		John	Merrick	100	166
Laois	Tinehinch	NW 4		William	Strode	550	919
Laois	Tinehinch	NW 4		William	Woodhouse	120	200
Laois	Tinehinch	NE 1	1	Henry	Whiteacre	200	333
Laois	Tinehinch	NE 1	2	William	Offeild	250	416
Laois	Tinehinch	NE 1	3	Robert	Hamon	300	500
Limerick	Connello	SW 3	n1	Benjamin	Andrews	2450	5444
Limerick	Connello	SW 3	s2	William	Shippey	770	1722
Limerick	Connello	SW 3	s3	Robert	Parkhurst	600	1333
Limerick	Connello	SW 3		John	Gardner	50	111
Limerick	Connello	SW 3		Adam	Gaskell	50	111
Limerick	Connello	SW 3		Anne	Savell	50	111
Limerick	Connello	SW 3		John	Savell	75	166
Limerick	Connello	SW 3		Stephen	White	600	1333
Limerick	Connello	SE 2	n 1	Stephen	Estwick	800	1777
Limerick	Connello	SE 2	s 1	Samuell	Autey	1550	2764
Limerick	Connello	SE 2		Francis	Bigg	200	444
Limerick	Connello	SE 2		James	Houblon	900	2000
Limerick	Connello	SE 2		James	Cordwell	50	111
Limerick	Connello	SE 2		Charles	Lloyd	1000	2222

Limerick	Connello	SE 2		Thomas	Pargiter	100	222
Limerick	Connello	SE 2		James	Tucker	300	666
Limerick	Connello	NW 4	nw 4	Nicholas	Crispe	720	1600
Limerick	Connello	NW 4	se 2	Thomas	Lyon	50	111
Limerick	Connello	NW 4	sw 3	Richard	Hunt	1250	2777
Limerick	Connello	NW 4		John	Barrett	200	444
Limerick	Connello	NW 4		Richard	Hunt	130	288
Limerick	Connello	NW 4		Nicholas	Larkier	250	555
Limerick	Connello	NW 4		Robert	Glover	200	444
Limerick	Connello	NW 4		Gilbert	Marshall	2625	5833
Limerick	Connello	NW 4		Nicholas	Crispe	181	402
Limerick	Connello	NW 4		Robert	Norman	200	444
Limerick	Connello	NW 4		Robert	Parsons	50	68
Limerick	Connello	NW 4		John	Spiller	50	111
Limerick	Connello	NE 1	nw 4	John	Jurin	100	222
Limerick	Connello	NE 1	se 2	John	Bridges	1300	2888
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		Thomas	Boone	600	1333
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		John	Bridges	500	1111
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		Robert	Dawes	300	666
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		Elizabeth	Durant	15	20
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		John	Field	50	111
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		William	Hampton	100	222
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		Isaac	Jurin	100	222
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		John	Jurin	650	1444
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		John	King	75	166
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		Thomas	Lattimer	62	138
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		Henry	Poole	50	111
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		Henry	Ridgely	100	222
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		William	Symner	50	111
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		William	Thompson	50	111
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		Josias	Tonbridge	100	222
Limerick	Connello	NE 1		James	Webster	100	222
Limerick	Counaugh	SW 3	1	Giles	Harding	950	
Limerick	Counaugh	SW 3	2	John	Barrett	300	666
Limerick	Counaugh	SE 2		Thomas	Harding	970	2150
Limerick	Counaugh	SE 2		William	Harding	280	622
Limerick	Counaugh	NW 4	2	Robert	Barrett	100	137
Limerick	Counaugh	NW 4	2	Edmond	Harrison	600	1333
Limerick	Counaugh	NW 4	2	Edmond	Scott	200	274
Limerick	Counaugh	NW 4	2	Robert	Scott	200	274
Limerick	Counaugh	NW 4	3	Edmond	Blake	30	66
Limerick	Counaugh	NE 1	1	Henry	Poulstead	1000	2222
Limerick	Counaugh	NE 1	2	Edward	Hill	175	388
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		William	Baglethole	5	6
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		William	Bartlett	20	27

Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		William	Bassett	300	411
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Richard	Bury	80	177
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Richard	Bury	25	65.5
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Elizabeth	Calcott	5	6
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Samuel	Johns	10	13
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		David	Langdon	10	13
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Walter	Laurence	13	18
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Anthony	Moore	20	27
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Nicholas	Oliver	10	13
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Phillip	Palmer	5	6
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Samuell	Purdon	20	27
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		William	Shebber	26	36
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Susan	Shirley	25	34
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Anne	Small	5	6
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Martin	Hollman	10	13
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		John	Stephenson	10	13
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		John	Emory	10	13
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Phillip	Veale	5	6
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Thomas	Walter	5	6
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		John	Whitway	25	65.5
Limerick	Kenry	SW 3		Thomas	Wren	5	6
Limerick	Kenry	SE 2		Richard	Bury	325	722
Limerick	Kenry	SE 2		John	Whitway	325	722
Limerick	Kenry	NW 4		Richard	Bury	325	722
Limerick	Kenry	NW 4		John	Whitway	325	722
Limerick	Kenry	NE 1		Richard	Bury	325	722
Limerick	Kenry	NE 1		John	Whitway	325	722
Limerick	Poblebrian	SW 3	1	William	Harriman	100	137
Limerick	Poblebrian	SW 3	2	William	Atkins	50	63
Limerick	Poblebrian	SW 3	3	Nathaniel	Manton	542	1032
Limerick	Poblebrian	SW 3	4	John	Bond	50	111
Limerick	Poblebrian	SE 2	1	Nathaniell	Manton	180	135
Limerick	Poblebrian	SE 2	2	Mary	Fowler	60	133
Limerick	Poblebrian	SE 2	3	George	Peacock	600	823
Limerick	Poblebrian	NW 4	1	Christopher	Knight	10	13
Limerick	Poblebrian	NW 4	2	Mathew	Owen	100	137
Limerick	Poblebrian	NW 4	3	Mary	Shelbey	50	111
Limerick	Poblebrian	NW 4	4	John	Lumbard	50	13
Limerick	Poblebrian	NW 4	5	Ralph	Harmon	100	137
Limerick	Poblebrian	NW 4	5	Christopher	Packe	100	137
Limerick	Poblebrian	NW 4	5	Richard	Sweete	200	444
Limerick	Poblebrian	NW 4	5	Richard	Sweete	50	68
Limerick	Poblebrian	NW 4	6	Arthur	Munday	20	27
Limerick	Poblebrian	NW 4	7	William	Syms	20	27
Limerick	Poblebrian	NW 4		Ruth	Newberry	25	55.5

Limerick	Poblebrian	NE 1	1	Richard	White	133	296
Limerick	Poblebrian	NE 1	2	Nicholas	Bagboare	133	296
Limerick	Poblebrian	NE 1	3	Nicholas	Osborne	133	296
Limerick	Poblebrian	NE 1	4	William	Deane	10	13
Limerick	Poblebrian	NE 1	5	Richard	Scott	250	555
Limerick	Poblebrian	NE 1	6	Thomas	Deane	20	27
Meath	Deece	SW 3	1	Herbert	Morley	600	617
Meath	Deece	SW 3	2	Richard	Masters	300	308
Meath	Deece	SW 3	3	John	Russell	250	416
Meath	Deece	SW 3	4	William	Lane	600	1000
Meath	Deece	SW 3	5	Richard	Barnard	200	333
Meath	Deece	SW 3	6	Gulielma Maria	Springgate	300	338
Meath	Deece	SE 2	1	Miles	Briggs	125	208
Meath	Deece	SE 2	1	Thomas	Briggs	200	205
Meath	Deece	SE 2	1	Samuell	Eliott	200	333
Meath	Deece	SE 2	1	Thomas	Hodges	600	1000
Meath	Deece	SE 2	2	John	Garth	100	166
Meath	Deece	SE 2	2	John	Partridge	200	333
Meath	Deece	SE 2	2	Thomas	Waterhouse Micklethwaite		
Meath	Deece	SE 2	3	Nathaniell		700	1071
Meath	Deece	NW 4	NE 1	Edmund	Austin	100	166
Meath	Deece	NW 4	NE 1	Thomas	Juxon	25	41
Meath	Deece	NW 4	NE 1	John	Proctor	100	166
Meath	Deece	NW 4	NE 1	Edward	Staunton	300	500
Meath	Deece	NW 4	NW 4	Thomas	Ballard	25	25
Meath	Deece	NW 4	NW 4	Barnaby	Meares	100	166
Meath	Deece	NW 4	NW 4	Barnaby	Meares	30	30
Meath	Deece	NW 4	NW 4	Thomas, Sir	Wharton	400	666
Meath	Deece	NW 4	SE 2	Richard	Turner	250	416
Meath	Deece	NW 4	SE 2	Thomas	Turner	300	500
Meath	Deece	NW 4	SE 2	Thomas, Sir	Wharton	20	20
Meath	Deece	NW 4	SW 3	Richard	Turner	400	666
Meath	Deece	NW 4	SW 3	Thomas	Turner	200	333
Meath	Deece	NE 1	1	John	Juxon	200	333
Meath	Deece	NE 1	2	Wiliam	Wagstaff	312	520
Meath	Deece	NE 1	3	Thomas and Arthur	Juxon	200	333
Meath	Deece	NE 1	5	Matthew	Bigg	300	500
Meath	Deece	NE 1	6	Thomas	Juxon	1450	1749
Meath	Lune	SW 3	1	Thomas	Cooke	300	500
Meath	Lune	SW 3	1	Josias	Hunt	450	750
Meath	Lune	SW 3	2	Nicholas	Brandon	45	75
Meath	Lune	SW 3	2	James	Kendall	50	83
Meath	Lune	SW 3	2	Lady	Lucas	400	666

Meath	Lune	SW 3	2	Francis	Willoughby	200	333
Meath	Lune	SW 3	3	Samuell	Warner	777	1295
Meath	Lune	SE 2		Henry	Parsons	100	166
Meath	Lune	SE 2		Samuell	Warner	2223	3705
Meath	Lune	NW 4	1	William	Bunston	25	41
Meath	Lune	NW 4	1	Richard	Culmore	250	416
Meath	Lune	NW 4	1	Robert	Gardner	200	333
Meath	Lune	NW 4	1	Henry, Sir	Titchburne	50	51
Meath	Lune	NW 4	1	Henry, Sir	Titchburne	50	83
Meath	Lune	NW 4	1	John	Pye	200	333
Meath	Lune	NW 4	2	Francis	Bigg	166	166
Meath	Lune	NW 4	2	Francis	Bigg	10	10
Meath	Lune	NW 4	2	John	Kilby	50	83
Meath	Lune	NW 4	2	John	Kingston	150	250
Meath	Lune	NW 4	2	James	Knowles	12	13
Meath	Lune	NW 4	3	Richard	Beamount	100	166
Meath	Lune	NW 4	3	Isaac	Gold	400	666
Meath	Lune	NW 4	3	William	Marshall	25	41
Meath	Lune	NW 4		Thomas	Stratton	100	126
Meath	Lune	NW 4		Thomas	Towley	450	750
Meath	Lune	NW 4		John	Yard	10	16
Meath	Lune	NW 4		Mathias	Yard	50	83
Meath	Lune	NE 1		James	Lovett	45	46
					Moulesworth		
Meath	Lune	NE 1		Robert		600	1000
Meath	Lune	NE 1		Charles	Potts	600	617
Meath	Lune			George	Clarke	680	
Meath	Lune			Thomas	Vincent	300	
Meath	Lune			Thomas	Lovett	10	10
					Moulesworth		
Meath	Morgallion	SW 3	E 1	Robert		600	1000
Meath	Morgallion	SW 3	W 2	Samuel	Dabbs	70	116
Meath	Morgallion	SW 3		John	Bligh	600	1000
Meath	Morgallion	SW 3		Henry	Hartford	25	25
Meath	Morgallion	SW 3		Benjamin	King	25	25
Meath	Morgallion	SW 3		Henry	Roach	50	83
Meath	Morgallion	SW 3		Thomas	Watson	100	166
Meath	Morgallion	SE 2	1	David	Hoare	62	104
Meath	Morgallion	SE 2	1	Francis	Duke	200	333
Meath	Morgallion	SE 2	1	Samuell	Morris	125	208
Meath	Morgallion	SE 2	1	Arthur	Squibb	300	372
Meath	Morgallion	SE 2	2	Thomas	Piddock	800	1333
Meath	Morgallion	SE 2	3	Richard	Graves	200	333
Meath	Morgallion	SE 2	3	John	Bentley	200	205
Meath	Morgallion	SE 2	3	Francis	Rogers	100	102
Meath	Morgallion	SE 2	3	Abraham	Tuffnaile	200	205

Meath	Morgallion	NW 4	1	Ambrose	Moore	800	1333
Meath	Morgallion	NW 4	1	John	Nazy	400	666
Meath	Morgallion	NW 4	2	Joseph	Brand	200	333
Meath	Morgallion	NW 4		Thomas	Clark	100	166
Meath	Morgallion	NW 4		Jonathan	Goddard	100	166
Meath	Morgallion	NW 4		John	Gregory Moules- worth	200	333
Meath	Morgallion	NW 4		Robert		300	500
Meath	Morgallion	NW 4		Francis	Thompson	100	102
Meath	Morgallion	NE 1		Gabriel	Barber	100	166
Meath	Morgallion	NE 1		John and Joseph	Barber	100	166
Meath	Morgallion	NE 1		Ralph	Minor	200	333
Meath	Morgallion	NE 1		Elijah	Palmer	612	1020
Meath	Morgallion	NE 1		Isaak	Puller	200	333
Meath	Morgallion	NE 1		Anne	Webb	625	1041
Meath	Morgallion	NE 1		Richard	Willett	625	1041
Meath	Morgallion			<i>George</i>	<i>Clarke</i>	650	
Meath	Morgallion			<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Watson</i>	100	
Meath	Navan	SW 3	1	John	Tillett	100	166
Meath	Navan	SW 3	2	<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Pinnant</i>	1000	
Meath	Navan	SW 3	3	Robert	Seymour	200	333
Meath	Navan	SE 2	1	William, Major	Cadogan	400	411
Meath	Navan	SE 2	2	Richard	Castle Wain- wright	120	200
Meath	Navan	SE 2	3	John		1700	2833
Meath	Navan	SE 2	4	Thomas	Juxon	200	333
Meath	Navan	SE 2	5	Alexander	Juxson	100	266
Meath	Navan	NW 4	1	Lady	Harrington	150	154
Meath	Navan	NW 4	2	Thomas and John	Taylor	150	250
Meath	Navan	NW 4	3	John	Parker	575	958
Meath	Navan	NW 4	4	Thomas	Poires	30	30
Meath	Navan	NW 4	5	Henry	Burton	100	166
Meath	Navan	NW 4	6	Ann	Ballard	200	333
Meath	Navan	NW 4	7	John	French	600	1000
Meath	Navan	NW 4	8	Daniel	Hutchin-son	500	705
Meath	Navan	NW 4	9	Thomas	Cook	200	333
Meath	Navan	NW 4		<i>William</i>	<i>Gunny</i>	200	333
Meath	Navan	NW 4		<i>John</i>	<i>Lawson</i>	20	33
Meath	Navan	NW 4		<i>William</i>	<i>Tibbs</i>	40	66
Meath	Navan	NE 4	5	Clement	Spilman	30	50
Meath	Navan	NE 4	6	Ambrose	Moore	400	666
Meath	Navan	NE 1	1	Clement	Spilman Barnardis- ton	200	333
Meath	Navan	NE 1	2	Thomas		500	833

Meath	Navan	NE 1	3	Thomas	Pinnant	1300	
Meath	Navan	NE 1	4	Phillip	Tandy	150	250
Meath	Navan			<i>William</i>	<i>Tibbs</i>	10	33
Meath	Skreene	SW 3		Richard, Sir	Brown	600	1000
Meath	Skreene	SW 3		David, Sir	Watkins	1800	3000
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	NE 1	Charles	Ffox	50	83
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	NE 1	Thomas	Babington	100	126
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	NE 1	Henry	Beadle	160	250
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	NE 1	George	Ewer	50	83
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	NE 1	Richard	Higgins	125	208
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	NE 2	Daniell	Cantlin	25	41
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	NE 2	James	Fisher	25	41
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	NE 2	John	Osborne	100	166
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	NE 2	Clement	Spilman	128	213
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	NE 2	Clement	Spilman	100	166
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	NE 3	William	Lawson	100	166
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	NE 4	Edward	White	50	83
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	SW3	Angelo	Bell	50	51
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	SW3	John	Browne-john	100	166
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	SW3	Samuel	Edlin	200	166
Meath	Skreene	SW 2	SW3	Matthew	Randolph	300	500
Meath	Skreene	SW 2		Francis	Archer	383	500
Meath	Skreene	SW 2		Richard	Bates	100	166
Meath	Skreene	SW 2		<i>George</i>	<i>Clarke</i>	262	
Meath	Skreene	NW 4		Companies	London	2500	4166
Meath	Skreene	NE 1		Companies	London	2500	4166
Meath	Slane	SW 3	1	John, Sir	Barrington	1200	2000
Meath	Slane	SW 3	2	William, Sir	Masham	600	1000
Meath	Slane	SW 3	3	Wiliam and John	Arnold	100	166
Meath	Slane	SE 2	1	<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Pinnant</i>	600	
Meath	Slane	SE 2	2	Thomas	Field	600	1000
Meath	Slane	SE 2	3	Nathaniel	Micklethwaite	1200	2000
Meath	Slane	NW 4	1	John	Gold	262	436
Meath	Slane	NW 4	2	Thomas	Field	40	41
Meath	Slane	NW 4	3	Mattias and Mary	Child	100	166
Meath	Slane	NW 4	4	William	Ball	200	333
Meath	Slane	NW 4	5	Richard	Culmer	250	416
Meath	Slane	NW 4	6	Francis	Bolton	50	83
Meath	Slane	NW 4	7	John	Weale	373	511
Meath	Slane	NW 4	8	Edward	Turner	200	333
Meath	Slane	NW 4	9	Alexander	Pym	600	1000
Meath	Slane	NE 1	1	George	Bridge-stock	450	750

Meath	Slane	NE 1	2	Richard	Ashurst	100	166
Meath	Slane	NE 1	3	Thomas, Sir	Wharton	200	333
Meath	Slane	NE 1	4	William, Sir	Waller	1000	1029
Meath	Slane	NE 1	5	Gilbert, Sir	Gerrard	600	1000
Offaly	Ballybrit	SW 3	1	Robert	Reynolds	1800	3000
Offaly	Ballybrit	SW 3	1	Lord	Lisle	1800	3000
Offaly	Ballybrit	SW 3	2	Francis	Collins	412	687
Offaly	Ballybrit	SW 3	2	John	Clarke	1000	1666
Offaly	Ballybrit	SW 3	4	John and Henry	Honner	1500	2499
Offaly	Ballybrit	SE 2	1	John	Holland	1600	2666
Offaly	Ballybrit	SE 2	2	<i>Nathaniel</i>	<i>Andrews</i>	200	333
Offaly	Ballybrit	SE 2	3	<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Vincent</i>	125	208
Offaly	Ballybrit	SE 2	4	<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Vincent</i>	1800	3000
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	1	John	Rawlinson	100	166
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	1	Richard	Short	62	104
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	2	Edward	Wood	675	1125
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	2	Roger	Smith	675	1125
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	3	Charles	Cheney	600	617
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	4	Samuel	Pennoyer	450	750
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	5	Charles	Harris	600	1000
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	5	Richard, Ald.	Tigh	600	617
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	6	William	Loup	200	333
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	7	John	Sweetson Wood-house	50	83
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	8	William		100	166
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	9	Charles	Fleetwood	300	500
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4	10	Thomas	Walmsley	100	166
Offaly	Ballybrit	NW 4		<i>Stephen</i>	<i>Estwick</i>	1500	
Offaly	Ballybrit	NE 1		Richard, Alderman	Tigh	450	750
Offaly	Ballybrit	NE 1		<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Vincent</i>	2800	4666
Offaly	Eglisli	SW 3	1	Edward	Anthony	100	166
Offaly	Eglisli	SW 3	2	Anthony	Harrington	500	833
Offaly	Eglisli	SW 3	2	Calldwell	Harrington	500	833
Offaly	Eglisli	SW 3	2	Thomas	Stubbins	500	833
Offaly	Eglisli	SW 3	3	Christopher	Tibbs	50	83
Offaly	Eglisli	SW 3	4	John	Harrison	450	766
Offaly	Eglisli	SW 3	5	Richard	Chandler	100	166
Offaly	Eglisli	SW 3	5	George	Plunkett	100	166
Offaly	Eglisli	SE 2	1	Samuell	Dobbs	100	102
Offaly	Eglisli	SE 2	2	Richard	Bury	200	205
Offaly	Eglisli	SE 2	3	John	Wood	850	1416
Offaly	Eglisli	SE 2	4	Simon	Clark	300	500
Offaly	Eglisli	SE 2	5	George	Townsend	650	1083

Offaly	Eglish	SE 2		5	John	Wright	50	83
Offaly	Eglish	SE 2		6	John	Green-smith	300	500
Offaly	Eglish	NW 4			Nicholas	Brooking	145	149
Offaly	Eglish	NW 4			Thomas	Birch	200	333
Offaly	Eglish	NW 4			Richard	Cary	200	
Offaly	Eglish	NW 4			Christopher, jnr	Clark	75	77
Offaly	Eglish	NW 4			John, Sir	Draydon	600	1000
Offaly	Eglish	NW 4			Mary	Fillingham	50	83
Offaly	Eglish	NW 4			William	Godard	100	102
Offaly	Eglish	NW 4			Joseph	Mordock	100	166
Offaly	Eglish	NW 4			Michael	Pendleton	100	166
Offaly	Eglish	NW 4			Lord	Protector	850	1257
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		John	Anell	60	100
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		William	Atkins	10	10
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		John	Baylis	10	10
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		John	Boyle	10	10
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		William	Flaxx	50	83
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		Francis	Fryer	15	15
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		Elizabeth	Fay	100	102
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		Hugh	Lattimer	125	208
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		Anne	Paige	20	33
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		John	Parker	25	
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		Martin	Parris	10	16
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		Thomas	Poynting-ton	50	51
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		John	Rowe	20	20
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		Peter	Sweete	10	10
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 1		John	Seward	50	51
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 2		John	Cobb	125	208
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	ne 2		Richard	Potter	600	1000
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	SE 4		Nicholas	Brocking	200	333
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	SE 4		Christopher	Clarke	360	336
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	SE 4		Joseph	Clarke	50	51
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	SE 4		Robert	Trescott	85	87
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	SW 3		Charles	Hopping	100	166
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	SW 3		Francis	Lippincott	100	166
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	SW 3		James	Marshall	400	666
Offaly	Eglish	NE 1	SW 3		Roger	Summer	30	30
Offaly	Garrycastle	S M 3		1	William	Botterell	50	83
Offaly	Garrycastle	S M 3			Gregory	Clement	3000	
Offaly	Garrycastle	S 4		1	John	Pye	1000	1666
Offaly	Garrycastle	S 4		3	Mary	Fountaine	210	350
Offaly	Garrycastle	N M 2		1	John	Sweeting	400	666
Offaly	Garrycastle	N M 2		2	Humphrey	Mack-worth	1700	1749

Offaly	Garrycastle	N M 2	3	John	Marriott	225	327
Offaly	Garrycastle	N M 2	4	William	Heaveningham	600	1000
Offaly	Garrycastle	N M 2	5	Samuel	Cox	100	166
Offaly	Garrycastle	N M 2	6	John	Blinckhorne	50	83
Offaly	Garrycastle	N 1	1	John	Rolle	450	750
Offaly	Garrycastle	N 1	1	Samuell	Rolle	1000	1666
Offaly	Garrycastle	N 1	2	Phillip	Parker	600	1000
Offaly	Garrycastle	N 1	2	Thomas, Lord	Wenman	600	617
Offaly	Garrycastle	N 1	3	Henry	Harwell	100	166
Offaly	Garrycastle	N 1	3	John	Sadler	100	166
Offaly	Garrycastle	N 1	4	Richard	Quiney Woolnough	200	333
Offaly	Geashill	SW 3	3	Joshua	nough	250	416
Offaly	Geashill	SE 2	2	Solomon	Gibbs	100	166
Offaly	Geashill	SE 2	2	John	Gookin	106	109
Offaly	Geashill	NW 4	4	Margaret	Boach	50	83
Offaly	Geashill	NW 4	4	Rebecca	Carter	50	83
Offaly	Geashill	NW 4	4	Thomas	Goodyear	20	33
Offaly	Geashill	NW 4	4	John	Guy	100	166
Offaly	Geashill	NW 4	4	Edmund	Seyman	20	33
Offaly	Geashill	NW 4	4	John	Poulter	50	83
Offaly	Geashill	NW 4	4	Anne	Tolleboye	75	125
Offaly	Geashill	NE1		George	Clarke	250	416
Offaly	Geashill			Thomas	Loaver	10	33
Offaly	Upper Ossory	NW 4		William	May	14	14
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SW 3	e 1	Samuell	Blackwell	238	358
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SW 3	e 1	Rawley	Clapham	70	41
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SW 3	e 1	Roger	Larringbye	100	222
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SW 3	e 1	John	Mansell	250	555
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SW 3	e 1	Amos	Webster	50	68
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SW 3	e 1	Hezekiah	Woodward	100	137
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SW 3	sw 3	James	Bland	200	444
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SW 3	sw 4	Richard, Sir	Onslow	400	548
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SW 3	w 2	Erasmus	Smith	300	666
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	NE 4	Joseph	Jacques	750	1666
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	NE 4	Richard	Symons	100	222
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	SE 2	William	Almond	25	55
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	SE 2	Henry	Box	400	888
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	SE 2	Thomas	Briscoe	100	222
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	SE 2	Joseph	Ling	100	222
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	SE 2	John	Offield	500	1111
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	SE 2	John	Player	25	55
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	SE 2	Perigrine	Pritty	200	444
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	SE 2	Joseph	Rutharne	250	550

Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	SE 2	Zachariah	Worth	100	222
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	SW 3	John	Raymount	300	666
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	SE 2	SW 3	Daniell	Waldoe	600	1333
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	NW 4	e 1	Erasmus	Smith	1345	2988
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	NE 1	NE 1	Richard	Allen	200	444
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	NE 1	NE 1	Samuel	Brewster	600	133
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	NE 1	NE 1	John	Curtice	40	44
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	NE 1	NE 1	Elizabeth	Francis	50	68
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	NE 1	NE 1	Thomas	Gower	62	138
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	NE 1	NW 4	Alexander	Popham	1000	1371
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	NE 1	SE 2	Theophilus	Bidolph	100	222
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	NE 1	SE 2	Theophilus	Birkinhead	100	222
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	NE 1	SE 2	Thomas	Gower	600	1333
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	NE 1	SW 3	Richard	Hill	250	555
Tipperary	Clanwilliam	NE 1	SW 3	Thomas	Stock	600	1833
Tipperary	Clanwilliam			Nathaniel	Lacy	200	444
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SW 3	e 1	Roger	Lambert	300	581
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SW 3	e 1	William	Lambert	100	222
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SW 3	e 2	Samuell	Ball	125	277
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SW 3	e 2	Robert	Kircombe	50	111
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SW 3	e 2	John	Turlington	120	266
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SW 3	e 3	Joshua	Norcott	100	137
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SW 3	e 3	James	Phillips	200	444
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SW 3	e 3	William	Tillyslye	100	222
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SW 3	w 2	Edward	Austin	1000	2222
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SE 2	1	Michell	Herring	900	2000
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SE 2	1	John	Trelawne	150	333
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SE 2	2	Benjamin	Atkins	50	111
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SE 2	2	Peter	Atkins	25	34
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SE 2	2	Mary	Shakespeare		
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SE 2	2	John	Soame	300	666
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SE 2	2	Robert	Trelawne	450	1000
Tipperary	Eliogurty	SE 2	2	John	Using-peare	75	166
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NW 4	ne 1	William	Allen	550	1222
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NW 4	ne 1	Nicholas	Howard	100	222
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NW 4	No 3	Thomas	Baker	50	68
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NW 4	No 3	James	Hales	100	222
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NW 4	No 3	John	Hunter	100	222
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NW 4	No 3	William	Sprimsheare	50	111
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NW 4	No 3	Boris	Underwood	50	111
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NW 4	No 3	William, Alderman	Underwood	350	777
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NW 4	se 2	Richard	Rogers	650	1444
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NW 4	se 2	George	Underwood	100	222

Tipperary	Eliogurty	NW 4		John	Hawes	700	888
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NW 4		Martin	Noell	1040	2311
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NE 1	1	Andrew	Broughton	100	222
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NE 1	1	John	Lake	200	444
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NE 1	1	James	Matthews	100	222
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NE 1	1	Thomas	Matthews	150	333
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NE 1	1	William	Shraves	300	411
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NE 1	1	John	Temple	200	274
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NE 1	2	Edward	Barker	600	1333
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NE 1	2	Grace	Heatcott	25	34
Tipperary	Eliogurty	NE 1	2	Thomas	Kerridge	400	888
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W mid 3	1	Alexander, Alderman	Bence	1250	2777
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W mid 3	2	George, Alderman	Witham	750	1666
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W mid 3	3	Richard	Hutchin-son	760	1466
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W mid 3	4	Tobias	Barnardiston		
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W mid 3	5	John, Alderman	Kendrick	700	1555
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W 4	1	Thomas	Abdy	361	802
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W 4	1	Robert	Hamon	143	319
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W 4	2	William, Sir	Brereton	1200	1646
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W 4	4	Gilbert	Lambell	625	1388
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W 4	5	Lady	Ingram	1000	1371
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W 4	6	Humphrey	Towne	1200	2666
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W 4	7	John	Seed	200	444
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W 4		Francis	Bigg	100	222
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W 4		Richard	Kittlibutter	25	34
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	W 4		William	Tibbs	1102	2418
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	e mid 2	Giles	Moore	25	34
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	e mid 2	Humphrey	Towne	600	1333
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	e mid 2	Corporation	Yarmouth	600	1333
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	n 2	William, Colonel Bartholome w	Bosseville	400	888
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	s 4		White	300	666
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	s mid	John	Clay	60	133
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	s mid	Thomas	Combe	20	27
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	s mid	John	Fisher	25	55
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	s mid	William	Musgrave	20	27
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	s mid	Simon	Rumoney	115	225
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	W 4	Anthony	Belfield	180	400
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	W 4	Samuel	Clark	300	666
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	W 4	Robert	Pice	100	222
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	W 4	John	Pitts	100	222
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	W 4	Peter	Ratcliff	25	55

Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	W 4	Joshua	Turney	40	88
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	W mid 3	Humphrey	Bedding- field	200	444
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	W mid 3	Peter	Chaveney	100	137
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	W mid 3	Charles	Cooke	225	500
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	W mid 3	Francis	Finch	200	444
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	W mid 3	Phillip	Musgrave	20	44
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	W mid 3	John	Seagoe	200	444
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	EN 1	3	Robert	Whitehall	100	222
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	e 1	William	Almond	100	222
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	e 1	John	Amos	66	91
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	e 1	Ephriam	Bishop	20	27
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	e 1	James	Blatt	133	182
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	e 1	Richard	Haddilow	50	111
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	e 1	Henry	Langham	340	755
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	e 1	Roger	Soame	100	222
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	e 1	Thomas	Valentine	100	222
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	e 1	John	Wheatly	225	277
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	mid 2	Charles	Alcock	500	1111
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	mid 2	John	Boyse	100	222
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	mid 2	Elizabeth	Cooke	100	222
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	mid 2	Richard	Newtowne	300	666
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	n 4	Simon	Ash	100	222
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	n 4	Lawrence	Peacock	50	111
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	n 4	William	Richard-son	50	111
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	n 4	William	Rogers	50	111
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	n 4	Hierome	Sankey	200	444
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	n 4	Francis	Wooley	166	370
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	w mid 3	Thomas	Chowning	245	544
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	w mid 3	Thomas	Jackson	100	222
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	w mid 3	Hugh	Radcliffe	650	1444
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa	E Mid 2	w mid 3	Hierome	Sankey Kettle- butler	50	111
Tipperary	Iffa and Offa			Richard		25	34
Tipperary	Ikerrin	SW 3		Simon	Middleton	1200	2666
Tipperary	Ikerrin	SW 3		Anthony	Ratcliffe	300	666
Tipperary	Ikerrin	SE 2	1	John, Alderman	Foulke	600	1333
Tipperary	Ikerrin	SE 2	1	Mary	Hubbert	50	222
Tipperary	Ikerrin	SE 2	2	Roger, Doctor	Drake	500	1111
Tipperary	Ikerrin	SE 2	2	William	Heather	125	277

Tipperary	Ikerrin	SE 2	3	William	Thornbury	200	444
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NW 4	ne 1	Thomas	Baley	150	333
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NW 4	se 2	Gerrald	Boate	468	847
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NW 4	sw 3	Simon	Crossay	10	22
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NW 4	sw 4	Katherine	Boate	156	282
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NW 4		Oliver	Brumshell	20	44
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NW 4		Henry	Day	350	777
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NW 4		Henry	Goddsdon	100	222
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NW 4		William	Heather	100	222
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NW 4		Robert	Malthus	100	333
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NW 4		William, Alderman	Rigo	150	205
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NW 4		Robert	Wallis	125	277
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NW 4		Thomas	Woodcock	100	222
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NE 1		John, Jnr	Blackwell	1350	2914
Tipperary	Ikerrin	NE 1		John, Snr	Blackwell	300	666
Tipperary	Ikerrin			Henry	Day	225	777
Tipperary	Ileagh	SW 3		Joseph	Blackwell	337	750
Tipperary	Ileagh	SW 3		Richard	Broughton	272	606
Tipperary	Ileagh	SE 2		Robert	Crawley	250	555
Tipperary	Ileagh	SE 2		Richard	Tyler	250	555
Tipperary	Ileagh	NW 4	1	George	Starshires	200	444
Tipperary	Ileagh	NW 4	2	Thomas	Daniell	100	222
Tipperary	Ileagh	NW 4	3	Elizabeth and Sarah	Swinnock	250	555
Tipperary	Ileagh	NW 4	4	John	Mossyer	100	137
Tipperary	Ileagh	NW 4	5	James	Flesher	200	444
Tipperary	Ileagh	NW 4	6	Thomas	Guy	200	444
Tipperary	Ileagh	NE 1		Richard	Broughton	545	1213
Tipperary	Middlethird	SW 3	1	Nicholas	Bond Clutter- buck	100	222
Tipperary	Middlethird	SW 3	1	Richard		900	2000
Tipperary	Middlethird	SW 3	1	Abigail	Lord	100	222
Tipperary	Middlethird	SW 3	1	George	Smith	350	777
Tipperary	Middlethird	SW 3	2	Elias	Roberts	1400	3111
Tipperary	Middlethird	SE 2	ne 1	Thomas	Eyres	200	444
Tipperary	Middlethird	SE 2	ne 1	William	Watts	500	1111
Tipperary	Middlethird	SE 2	se 2	William	Webster	300	666
Tipperary	Middlethird	SE 2	sw3	John	Hatt	600	1333
Tipperary	Middlethird	SE 2		Robert and Mary	Garland	750	1666
Tipperary	Middlethird	SE 2		James	Grates	400	718
Tipperary	Middlethird	SE 2		Thomas	Moore	150	333
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	1	Samuell	Northcott	50	68
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	2	Thomas	Denis	50	68
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	3	Mary	Page	50	111

Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	3	Anne	Shepcote	50	111
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	4	Thomas	Wallis	50	111
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	5	John	Short	225	500
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	5	Sarah	Short	150	333
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	6	Richard	Staper	750	1666
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	7	Thomas	Moore	300	411
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	8	Nathaniell	Witham	200	444
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	9	Rowland	Kill	250	555
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	10	William	Squire	100	222
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	11	Mathias	Rutton	200	444
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	12	Joshua	Calebspeare		
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	13	Ahaseur- eous	Regemont	100	222
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	13	William	Ridges	120	226
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	14	Cornelious	Burges	700	1555
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	14	Mary	Davit	600	1333
Tipperary	Middlethird	NW 4	14	Richard	Such	520	1155
Tipperary	Middlethird	NE 1	1	William	Watts	300	666
Tipperary	Middlethird	NE 1	1	William	Watts	100	222
Tipperary	Middlethird	NE 1	2	Francis	Allen	400	888
Tipperary	Middlethird	NE 1	3	Robert	Eldred	100	222
Tipperary	Middlethird	NE 1	4	Henry	Elinston	25	55
Tipperary	Middlethird	NE 1	5	Corporation	Exeter	1883	2583
Tipperary	Middlethird			Cornelious	Burges	700	1555
Tipperary	Middlethird			Richard	Salway	1000	2222
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	1	Thomas	Lincoln	100	222
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	2	Miles	Birkett	100	222
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	3	Hugh	Grove	100	222
Waterford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	4	Richard	Minerall	100	222
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	5	Thomas	Roe	50	111
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	6	John	Fiske	300	666
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	7	Henry	Smith	200	444
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	8	John	Sparrow	50	111
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	9	Phillip	Sparrow	50	111
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	10	Thomas	Fisk	200	444
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	11	Samuel	Watson	50	111
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	12	John	Lucas	100	222
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SW 3	13	James	Russell	100	222
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SE 2	1	John	Clarke	400	888

Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SE 2	2	John	Brought	600	1333
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SE 2	3	Samuell	Woody	400	888
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	SE 2	4	John	Grocer	100	222
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NW 4		John	Buncle	100	222
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NW 4		Cornelious	Holland	300	666
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NW 4		John	Lane	433	764
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NW 4		John	Let	25	55
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NW 4		Gunter	Morrell	100	222
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NW 4		Edward	Story	50	111
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NW 4		William, Sir	Strickland	600	823
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NE 1	E 1	Robert	Child	50	111
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NE 1	E 1	Francis	Clark	100	222
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NE 1	E 1	Daniell	Edenenderby		
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NE 1	E 1	Lady	Mainard	250	555
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NE 1	E 1	John	Nettles	200	444
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NE 1	E 1	Obediah	Weekes	100	222
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NE 1	W 2	Joseph	Carroll	100	222
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NE 1	W 2	William	Gibbs	500	1111
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NE 1	W 2	Thomas	James	25	55
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NE 1	W 2	Thomas	Phillips	40	71
Water-ford	Coshmore and Coshbride	NE 1	W 2	Thomas	Rosse	50	111
Water-ford	Decies	SW 3	1	Robert	Robins	400	633
Water-ford	Decies	SW 3	2	Thomas	Brightwell	1583	3518
Water-ford	Decies	SW 3	3	John	Maine	230	511
Water-ford	Decies	SW 3	4	Simon	Burton	50	111
Water-ford	Decies	SW 3	5	John	Lovering	600	1333
Water-ford	Decies	SW 3	6	Dorothy	Winston	28	62
Water-ford	Decies	SW 3	6	Elizabeth	Winston	28	62
Water-ford	Decies	SW 3	6	John	Winston	85	190
Water-ford	Decies	SW 3	6	Richard	Winston	28	62
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	NW 4	Nathaniell	Adams	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	NW 4	Stephen	Archbold	50	111
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	NW 4	Thomas	Banister	50	111
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	NW 4	William	Blackburrow		
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	NW 4	Henry	Cole	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	NW 4	Richard	Irons	25	55

Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	NW 4	Thomas	Irons	60	133
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	NW 4	John	Lee	250	555
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	NW 4	William	Ruthband	50	111
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	NW 4	William	Seale	25	55
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	SE 2	Robert	Board	200	444
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	SE 2	Ellis	Good	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	SE 2	William	Mullins	450	1000
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	SW 3	Richard	Lotton	381	814.5
Water-ford	Decies	SE 2	SW 3	Thomas	Walley	381	814.5
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NE 1	Christopher	Alderman	20	27
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NE 1	Richard	Beale	337	750
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NE 1	George and Samuel	Hall	250	555
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NE 1	Edward	Smith	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NE 1	John and Richard	Smith	20	44
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NW 4	Joseph	Bigg	50	111
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NW 4	Robert	Coleby	225	308
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NW 4	Clement	Coxon	50	111
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NW 4	John	Humphrey	50	111
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NW 4	Thomas	Orchard	150	337
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NW 4	Edward	Pike	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NW 4	William	Rubb	50	111
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NW 4	Edward	Thomas	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	NW 4	Samuell	Wilkins	125	277
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	SE 2	Richard	Crisp	600	1333
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	SE 2	Owen	Jones	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	SE 2	John	Mansell	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	SW 3	James	Alford	50	111
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	SW 3	William	Nottly	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	SW 3	Samuell	Penny	20	44
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	SW 3	John, Sir	Poole	83	184
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	SW 3	Christopher	Sandyford	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NW 4	SW 3	Henry	West	200	444
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	E 1	Richard	Warren	2000	4444
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	NE 1	John	Allen	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	NE 1	Anne	Carney	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	NE 1	Richard	Dawes	300	666
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	NE 1	John	King	150	333
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	NE 1	Joseph	Smith	100	137
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	NE 1	John	Wells	28	63
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	W 2	Mark	Bradley	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	W 2	Widdow	Bradley	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	W 2	Mary	Brale	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	W 2	William	Cooper	100	222

Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	W 2	William	Sherlock	100	222
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	W 2	William	Shippy	450	1000
Water-ford	Decies	NE 1	W 2	William	Weston	100	222
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		1	Thomas, Colonel	Gower	283	
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		2	Overington	Blundell	20	
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		3	Mr	Barnardiston		
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		4	William, Colonel	Webb	50	
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		5	<i>Gregory</i>	<i>Clement</i>		
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		6	Richard	Thrale	109	
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		7	Elias	Roberts	250	
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		8	Richard	Drewrie	20	35
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		8	Edward, Alderman	Smith	56	
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		9	Samuel, Alderman	Avery	25	
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		10	<i>Thomas</i>	<i>Andrews</i>		
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		11	Thomas	Juxon	20	
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		12	George, Alderman	Witham	25	
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		13	Richard	Staper	20	
Water-ford	Waterford City Near		14	Jereme	Alexander	50	
Water-ford	Waterford Liberties	W 4		William	Low	100	137
Water-ford	Waterford Liberties	W 4		Edward	Piner	100	222
Water-ford	Waterford Liberties	W 4		Itheill	Smart	100	222
Water-ford	Waterford Liberties	W 4		Thomas	Smith	100	222
Water-ford	Waterford Liberties	W 4		John	Yeats	100	222
Water-ford	Waterford Liberties	E M 3		Thomas	Hussey	433	764

Water-ford	Waterford Liberties	E M 2		Mary	Butler	600	1333
Water-ford	Waterford Liberties	E 1		John	Harrington	200	444
Water-ford	Waterford Liberties	E 1		Elias	Roberts	350	777
Westmeath	Demifoore	SW 3	3	Companies	London	1705	2841
Westmeath	Demifoore	SE 2	2	Companies	London	1590	2650
Westmeath	Demifoore	NW 4	1	George	Dover	250	416
Westmeath	Demifoore	NW 4	2	Gabriel	Berke	600	1000
Westmeath	Demifoore	NW 4	3	Thomas	Hussey	200	333
Westmeath	Demifoore	NW 4	4	Peter	Prince	150	250
Westmeath	Demifoore	NW 4	5	Thomas	Lenthall	200	333
Westmeath	Demifoore	NW 4	6	John	Loame	20	20
Westmeath	Demifoore	NW 4		James	Clark	200	333
Westmeath	Demifoore	NW 4		John	Claydon	200	333
Westmeath	Demifoore	NE 1	1	Companies	London	1705	2841
Westmeath	Furtullagh	SW 3	1	William	Methold	195	325
Westmeath	Furtullagh	SW 3	2	Sarah	Inworth	50	83
Westmeath	Furtullagh	SW 3	3	William	Methold Illingsworth	100	166
Westmeath	Furtullagh	SW 3	4	Thomas		60	100
Westmeath	Furtullagh	SW 3	5	William	Methold	500	833
Westmeath	Furtullagh	SE 2	1	Robert	Boyce	50	83
Westmeath	Furtullagh	SE 2	1	Thomas	Smith	25	41
Westmeath	Furtullagh	SE 2	2	Michael	Babington	200	333
Westmeath	Furtullagh	SE 2	3	Henry	Sprig	25	25
Westmeath	Furtullagh	NW 4	1	Lawrence	Bingley	450	750
Westmeath	Furtullagh	NW 4	2	William	Official	225	374
Westmeath	Furtullagh	NW 4	3	John	Lock	300	500
Westmeath	Furtullagh	NE 1		William	Methold	905	1508
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		Matthew	Brand	200	205.7
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		Francis	Drake	200	205.7
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		Nathaniel	Feinnes	300	1000
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		Robert and Benjamin	Goodwin	1050	1750
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		Elizabeth	Hammond	200	205.7
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		Thomas	Hammond	100	166
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		Richard	Hampdon	31	51
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		William	Hussey	100	166
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		William	Jessop	310	318
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		Henry	Pitts	300	1000
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		John	Temple	100	166
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		Thomas	Temple	450	750
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		Jane, Dame	Wharton	646	1077
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		Jane, Dame	Wharton	100	166

Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 2		Edward	Woodward	600	1000
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 1	1	Elisha	Coish	600	1000
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 1	2	Richard	Shuttleworth	600	617
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 1	3	William	Needham	750	1250
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 1	4	Lord	Lisle	600	1000
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 1	5	William	Stone	100	166
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 1	6	John	Searle	20	33
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 1	7	Robert	Hales	1200	2000
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 1	8	Benjamin	Flesher	500	833
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 1	9	Richard	Cossings	250	389.5
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 1	9	John	Martin	250	389.5
Westmeath	Kilkenny West	N 1	11	Nathaniell	Markes	500	833
Westmeath	Moyashell	SW 3	1	Moses	Jenkins	200	333
Westmeath	Moyashell	SW 3	2	William	Cove	50	83
Westmeath	Moyashell	SW 3	3	John	Thompson	1150	1916
Westmeath	Moyashell	SE 2	1	John	Buckland	50	51
Westmeath	Moyashell	SE 2	1	John	Rolfe	137	229
Westmeath	Moyashell	SE 2	2	Nicholas	Field	25	41
Westmeath	Moyashell	SE 2	2	John	Fleming	10	10
Westmeath	Moyashell	SE 2	3	Edward	East	100	166
Westmeath	Moyashell	SE 2	4	Ellis	Crispe	1075	1791
Westmeath	Moyashell	NW 4	1	William	Henman	150	250
Westmeath	Moyashell	NW 4	2	Richard	Sherbrook	300	500
Westmeath	Moyashell	NW 4	3	Norton	Westenra	300	308
Westmeath	Moyashell	NW 4	4	William	Hickocks	350	583
Westmeath	Moyashell	NW 4	5	Thomas	Cooke	300	500
Westmeath	Moyashell	NW 4	6	Giles	Harding	20	33
Westmeath	Moyashell	NW 4	7	William	Cunnen	200	333
Westmeath	Moyashell	NE 1	1	William	Buxton	350	583
Westmeath	Moyashell	NE 1	1	Francis	Parsons	90	124
Westmeath	Moyashell	NE 1	1	Thomas	Swift	350	583
Westmeath	Moyashell	NE 1	2	John, Sir	Witte- ronge	600	1000
Westmeath	Rathconrath	W 2	1	Roger	Nicholls	50	83
Westmeath	Rathconrath	W 2	2	Henry	Henly	100	102
Westmeath	Rathconrath	W 2	4	Richard	Shelbury	50	83
Westmeath	Rathconrath	W 2	5	Joshua	Shepherd	25	41
Westmeath	Rathconrath	W 2	6	Arthur	Rudle	300	500
Westmeath	Rathconrath	W 2	7	Katherine	Baker	80	133
Westmeath	Rathconrath	W 2	8	Arthur	Rudle	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	W 2	9	Moses	Wall	200	333
Westmeath	Rathconrath	W 2	10	William	Woodman	25	41
Westmeath	Rathconrath	W 2	11	John	Sowdon	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	W 2	12	Richard	Tigh	425	708
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SW 3	1	Henry	Arndell	150	250

Westmeath	Rathconrath	SW 3	2	William	Guston	100	166
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SW 3	3	Towne	Taunton	1360	1399
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SW 3	4	Richard	Walcott	600	1000
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SW 3	5	Arthur	Rudle Whet- combe	50	83
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SW 3	6	Benjamin		500	833
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SW 3	7	Francis	Aldersey	20	33
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SW 3	8	Anthont	Morgan	200	333
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SW 3	9	Joseph	Browne	75	125
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SW 3	10	Bulstrode	Whitelock	400	666
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		John	Barnes	12	13
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		John	Armidth	14	14
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Robert	Barnes	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		William	Barnes	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Walter	Bird	9	9
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Thomas	Boone Browne- john	6	6
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		John		6	10
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Lucy	Carie	26	27
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		William	Cary	132	220
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		William	Clarke	66	6
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Benjamin	Clolund	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Joseph	Cubitt	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Mary	Davis	4	4
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		William	Fabian	6	10
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Anthony	Fletcher	6	10
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Anthony	Follett	9	9
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Richard	Forwood	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Thomas	Halsroce	50	51
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Anthony	Hawford Hollings- wood	27	44
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		John		25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Edmond	Housewill	4	4
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Phillipa	Hoyle	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Samuell	Irish	12	20
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Robert	Iagoe	6	10
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Walter	Iagoe	50	83
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Walter	Iagoe	6	6
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Stephen	Knowling	25	41
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Tristran	Lane	12	13
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Blanch	Langdon	12	13
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		George	Lee	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Thomas	Lidstone	6	6
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Walter	Mansfield	5	6
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Joane	Matthews	12	20
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Robert	Mayne	6	6
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Elizabeth	Morris	27	44

Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Dorothy	Mudd	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Benshoba	New-comen	62	104
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Barbary	Parker	12	20
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Henry	Penny	6	6
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Tomasin	Pererois	6	10
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		John	Plumleigh	100	102
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Commandan t	Pullmer	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		John	Rich	4	4
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Nicholas	Rope	100	102
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Arthur	Rudlo	12	13
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Ephraim	Scott	4	4
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Roger	Sparke	12	13
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Edward	Spurrway	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Gilbert	Staplehill	12	13
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Robert	Stonman	9	9
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		William	Taylor	6	10
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Arthur	Upton	100	166
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Francis	Urving	100	166
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Simon	Voysey	100	102
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Benedict	Watts	7	4
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Christopher	Wheeler	12	20
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Lawrence	Wheeler	25	25
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Robert	Wood	6	6
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Emannuell	Wooly	12	13
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		William	Wotten	9	9
Westmeath	Rathconrath	SE 2		Joshua	Sheppard	25	41
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	NW 1	John	Gunning	1000	1666
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	NW 4	Burgesses	Dartmouth	53	54
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	NW 4	Godfrey and John	Hall	50	83
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	NW 4	Francis	Hill	150	242
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	NW 4	Mary	Melhnish	150	242
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	NW 4	Lawrence	Sanders	150	242
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	NW 4	Samuel	Stone	50	83
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	NW 4	Henry, Sir	Titchburne	37	38
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	NW 4	Bernard	Trillett	150	242
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	SW 2	Francis	Bellows	250	352
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	SW 2	William	Hill	200	333
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	SW 3	John	Henly	300	500
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	SW 3	John	Maynard	300	500
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	SW 3	Edward	Oland	61	110
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NW 4	SW 3	Giles	Simpson	61	110
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NE 1	NE 1	Margarett	Aldersey	210	349
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NE 1	NE 1	Richard	Floyd	300	500
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NE 1	NE 1	Edward	Witham	220	326

Westmeath	Rathconrath	NE 1	NE 4	Lady	Armyne	350	583
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NE 1	NE 4	Richard	Lobb	250	416
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NE 1	NE 4	Christopher	Whitchcott	100	166
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NE 1	SE 2	William	Hobson	250	416
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NE 1	SE 2	Tobias	Randolph	100	102
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NE 1	SE 2	Daniell	Waldoe	300	500
Westmeath	Rathconrath	NE 1	SW 3	Richard	Floyd	750	1250

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