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# THE MERCHANT COMMUNITY OF DUBLIN IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: A SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STUDY.

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THE MERCHANTS AVIZO.[1]

*When merchants trade proceeds in peace*
*And labours prosper well:*
*Then common-weales in wealth increase,*
*As now good proof can tell.*

*For when the merchants trade was free,*
*His ventures for to make:*
*Then every art in his degree*
*Some gains thereof did take.*

*The merchant made the clothier rich:*
*By venting of his cloth:*
*The clothier then sets many at work,*
*And helpeth every craft.*

*For first the spinner hereby live,*
*The weaver and the dyer,*
*By cloth, the shearmen also thrive,*
*When merchant is the buyer.*

*The landlord and the tenant sell,*
*By this means all their wool:*
*Their beef, their corn, they sell the more,*
*When merchants purse grow full.*

*The grocer with the vintner,*
*And mercer profit reap:*
*When spices, silks and wines come store,*
*By merchants ventures great.*

*The vitler and the husbandman,*
*And handicrafts each one:*
*Makes gains when merchants ships and goods*
*Do merrily come home.*

*The sailors herehence gets their skill,*
*To rule the stately ship,*
*And so become right worthy men,*
*For sea and land most fit.*

*Yea divers more the merchants trade,*
*Doth succour and relieve:*
*As bargeman, craneman, porter eke,*
*To him that cart doth drive.*

*Let no man then grudge merchants state,*
*Nor wish him any ill,*
*But pray to god or king to save,*
*And merchants state help still.*

---

[1] IB, *The Merchants Avizo,* (London, 1607).

## SUMMARY

This thesis investigates Dublin merchants in the early seventeenth century within the framework of economic, social and political changes that characterised the period. Although sources were hard to come by in some areas of research, by adopting a thematic approach it was possible to utilise the findings from a wide range of extant material and reconstruct the various strands that made Dublin and its merchant community stand out in early seventeenth-century Ireland. Chapter one provides an economic backdrop to the thesis and shows that in the first four decades of the seventeenth century Dublin emerged as the most affluent port in Ireland in a period that experienced unprecedented economic growth. Although the merchant community of Dublin was previously dismissed as insignificant, chapter two illustrates that Dublin merchants, the majority of whom were Catholic, permeated every area of public life in the city. They dominated city government and trade guilds, superintended Dublin port and regulated commodity prices, which not only gave them control of the city, but also gave them the means to increase their individual wealth. Chapter three examines the origins and where possible the religious affiliations of individual merchant families. It shows that they were a tight-knit community who had close kinship and marriage ties within their own community and with both Catholic and Protestant merchant and gentry families across their social spectrum. Chapters four and five illustrate the obvious affluence of many Dublin merchants in their business and financial transactions as well as in their speculation in the property market and subsequent accumulation of lands. Paradoxically, the improvement in the Irish economy was primarily achieved as a result of an increased efficiency in the collection of customs duties. This posed a threat to the wealth of individual merchants whose economic and political standing were also under serious threat from

infringements on their rights and privileges by the English administration. The reaction of Dublin merchants to progressively restrictive governmental policies, particularly after the arrival of Thomas Wentworth as lord deputy in 1633, is analysed in chapter six. Far from reversing the policies of previous lord deputies Wentworth's fiscal, land and economic policies underpinned earlier English encroachment on civic liberties. Most importantly, he actively promoted a Protestant and loyal city government. Conversely, Strafford's policies also posed a threat to the Protestant members of the civic elite and for a brief time Catholics and Protestants came together to protect their rights and privileges. Following his impeachment and subsequent execution in May 1641, the sectarian divide so actively promoted by Wentworth and his predecessors reached its fruition following the rebellion of 1641. After the rebellion of 1641, governmental policies, which always aimed to create a 'civilised' English and Protestant society in place of what was seen as a 'barbaric' Catholic one, finally completed what earlier governments had failed to: the exclusion of Catholics from power. Chapter seven examines the affects of the ensuing war on Dublin that particularly devastated its merchant community. Crucially, any shipping that existed in the city in the 1640s was exclusively in the hands of Protestant English or other foreign merchants who had close contact with members of the English administration. In its final analysis, this thesis shows that the expulsion of Catholics from the city and their removal from the civic administration meant that the merchant community who permeated and controlled all areas of economic and public life in the first three decades of the seventeenth century was essentially non-existent by 1647.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *Anal. Hib.* | *Analecta Hibernica.* |
| *Archiv. Hib.* | *Archivium Hibernicum* or *Irish historical record* (Catholic Record Society of Ireland, Maynooth, 1912- |
| *Cal. Carew MSS.* | *Calendar of the Carew manuscripts preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, 1515-74* (etc.) (6 vols, London, 1867-73). |
| *Cal. S. P. Dom.* | Calendar of state papers, domestic series, 1635-6 (etc.), (London, 1866 - ). |
| *Cal. S. P. Ire.* | Calendar of state papers relating to Ireland. 1625-32, (London, 1900 - ). |
| *CARD* | *Calendar of ancient records of Dublin,* ed. J.T. Gilbert and R.M. Gilbert, 19 vols (Dublin, 1899-1944). |
| Carte, *Ormond* | Thomas Carte, *History of the life of James, first duke of Ormonde* (2nd edn. 6 vols. Oxford, 1851). |
| *Civil Survey* | *The Civil Survey, A.D. 1654-56,* (ed. R. C. Simington) I.M.C. 10 vols, Dublin 1931-61). |
| *CJI* | *Journals of the House of Commons of the kingdom Ireland*, 20 vols (Dublin, 1796-1804) |
| C.R.O. | Cheshire Record Office, Chester. |
| Cumbria R.O. | Cumbria Records Office, Carlisle. |
| D.C.A. | Dublin City Library and Archive, Pearse Street, Dublin. |
| *D.H.R.* | *Dublin Historical Record* (Dublin, 1938 - ). |
| *E.H.R.* | *English Historical Review* (London, 1927- ). |
| *Econ. Hist. Rev.* | *Economic History Review* (London, 1927 - ). |
| *Egmont MSS* | *Reports on the manuscripts of the earl of Egmont* (H.M.C.., 2 vols., London, 1905-9). |
| Erlington Ball, *History of county of Dublin* | Francis Elrington Ball, *A History of the County of Dublin, the people, parishes and antiquities from the earliest times to the close of the eighteenth century,* (6 vols, Dublin, 1905) |
| G.O. | Genealogical Office, Kildare Street, Dublin. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers.* | D.R. Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial Papers of Christopher Lowther 1611-1644,* Surtees Society publication, (1973). |
| H.C.A. | High Court of Admiralty |
| *H.M.C. rep.* i [etc.] | *Historical Manuscripts Commission, first* [etc] *report* (London, 1870- ). |
| *Hist. Studies* | *Historical Studies: papers read before the Irish Conference of Historians* (1958 - ). |
| *I.H.S.* | *Irish Historical Studies: the joint journal of the Irish Historical Society and the Ulster Society for Irish Historical Studies* (Dublin, 1938 - ). |
| *Inquisitions post mortem* | *Inquisitionum in office rotulerum cancellarie Hiberniae assorvatarum reportorium: abridgements of inquisitions,* (2 vols. Dublin, 1826-9). |
| *Ir. Econ. & Soc. Hist.* | *Irish Economic and Social History: the journal of the Economic and Social History Society of Ireland* (Dublin and Belfast, 1974 - ). |
| *J.K.A.S.* | *Journal of the county Kildare Archaeological Society* (Dublin, 1891 - ). |
| *Liber munerum* | Lascelles, Rowley (ed.), *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae 1152 - 1827* (2 vols London, 1824-30), |
| *Lismore Papers* | *Lismore papers, by Richard Boyle, earl of Cork* [1566-1643] ed. A. B. Grosart (10 vols, London, 1886-8). |
| *Lords' jn. Ire.* | *Journal of the house of lords [of Ireland], 1634-1800,* (8 vols, Dublin, 1779-1800). |
| N.L.I. | National Library of Ireland. |
| N.M.M. | National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London |
| n.s. | New series; or, in dating, new style. |
| *Ormonde MSS* | *Report on the manuscripts of the duke of Ormonde,* N.S. (H.M.C., 8 vols, London 1902-1920). |
| *Past & Present* | *Past and Present ...* London, 1952- ). |
| Petty, *Econ. writings* | *The economic writings of Sir William Petty ...,* ed. C.H. Hull (2 vols, Cambridge, 1890). |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Petty Papers* | *The Petty papers: some unpublished writings of Sir William Petty,* ed. marquis of Lansdowne (2 vols, London, 1927). |
| Petty 'Political Anatomy' | William Petty, 'The political anatomy of Ireland [1672] in Petty, *Econ. writings,* i. |
| Petty, 'Treatise of Ire.', | William Petty, 'A treatise of Ireland, 1687' in Petty, *Econ. writings,* ii. |
| Prendergast, *Cromwellian settlement.* | J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian settlement of Ireland* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1870: reprint, 1922). |
| *R.I.A.* | Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. |
| *R.I.A. Proc.* | *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1836- |
| *R.S.A.I.* | Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin. |
| *R.S.A.I. Jn.* | *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (Dublin, 1850- ). |
| Sheffield C.L. | Sheffield City Libraries, Sheffield. |
| Steele, *Tudor and Stuart* | *R. Steele* (ed.), *Tudor and Stuart proclamations 1485-1714* (2 vols, Oxford, 1910). |
| WWM | Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments MSS in Sheffield City Libraries. |
| T.C.D. | Library of Trinity College, Dublin. |
| T.N.A. | The National Archives, London (formerly the P.R.O.) |
| *Wadding Papers* | *Wadding Papers*, 1614-38 ed. Brendan Jennings, (I.M.C. Dublin, 1953). |

## DATING AND SPELLING

Dates are given according to the old style (Julian) calendar used in Britain and Ireland in the period, but the year is taken as beginning on 1 January and not 25 March.

Modern spellings have been used as far as possible for places and personal names.

# INTRODUCTION

> An absolute and complete city or town cannot subsist of itself without six principal parts.... Firstly, it must have victuals to feed and nourish it and this is the proper task and duty of the husbandman and shepherd. Secondly, it must have arms and armour to defend it and offend its enemies and this is the proper task and duty of the soldiers. Thirdly, it must have wealth and riches as sinews for its employment in private and public affairs and this is the proper task and duty of the rich and eminent inhabitants of the city. Fourthly, it must have justice for criminals and civil causes to punish the bad and reward the good; and this is the proper task and duty of counsellors and senators of state. Fifthly, it must have religion and worship of God duly and reverently performed in it and this is the proper task and duty of the priesthood. Sixthly, to make it a complete, able and absolute city, it must have trade and arts, practiced therein, and this is the proper task and duty of the merchant and artificer that inhabit it.[1]

Written in the 1630s this commentary by Lewes Roberts, a well-travelled English merchant, asserted that these are the six parts required in a complete city 'as set down and expressed by some learned [men]' and as observed by him in his own travels.[2] In this account Roberts emphasised the role of the merchant in cities saying that aside from the worship and service to God 'which is the duty of divines and churchmen', that merchants and others who exercise trade or merchandising 'supply in a fair

[1] Lewes Roberts, *A merchants' map of commerce* (London, 1671), pp 10-11.
[2] Roberts was commissioned to compile his 'map of commerce' by the governors of The Company of English Merchants trading into the East Indies and The Company of Merchant venturers trading into the Levant Seas and took twenty years to complete. It was first published in 1653, but the preface is dated 1638.

measure all the other parts'.[3] He argued that merchants supplied the city with all manner of goods, arms and ammunition and that through customs, imports and such duties bring riches into the common purse and that by their 'wisdom, travel and experience abroad' the merchant was able 'to sit at the stern of the cities of government, punishing the vicious, rewarding the virtuous and herein he performs the part of senator and counsellors'.[4] Roberts maintained, however, that this role principally applied only to merchants, factors or others who merchandised abroad.[5] Although some merchants in early seventeenth-century Dublin did not strictly fit into the category of overseas trader or, to use the contemporary term, merchant-venturer, they nevertheless fulfilled all of the other criteria laid down by Roberts for bringing about the well-being of a city.

Through their trading activities, Dublin merchants provided the city with essential provisions necessary to feed and nourish the population and through customs, imports and other such duties they brought riches into the common purse. As citizens of Dublin they promised always to remain loyal to the king and to defend the city against enemy attacks. Moreover, many members of the merchant community were extremely wealthy, powerful individuals who sat at the stern of municipal government thus fulfilling the role of senators and counsellors. In fact, in the early seventeenth century, Dublin merchants permeated all areas of economic, social and political life in the city in a period that witnessed, on the one hand, an unprecedented economic and demographic growth but, on the other hand, unremitting encroachments on religion, rights and privileges that threatened the merchant community at its very core.

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[3] Roberts, *A merchants 'map of commerce,* pp 10-11.
[4] Ibid, p.11.
[5] Ibid.

Despite the fact that Dublin's enhanced social and political prominence, its rapid growth and its access to 'an unusually affluent and consumption-prone hinterland' has been highlighted in some general histories of the period, the vital and pivotal role that Dublin merchants played in the economic and social life of Irish society has not been the subject of any great study.[6] This is generally in keeping with the dearth of studies on the economy of Ireland as a whole. Raymond Gillespie's *Transformation of the Irish Economy 1500-1700* is the only general study of the seventeenth-century Irish economy since George O'Brien's 1919 publication.[7] Gillespie's much needed and insightful study assesses the changing nature of Irish society from one fragmented in economic, political and social terms to a more centralised system based on English laws and customs. He distinguishes between the Pale area and other regions, assesses difficulties with identifying borders between Gaelic and Anglicised areas and comments on the importance of links between these areas through trade and elite marriages. Taking political factors and regional variations into account he also discusses economic trends in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and examines how different forces for change, such as rapid growth in population, the redistribution of landed resources, the commercialisation of the economy, financial systems, legislation and physical environment operated and interacted.

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[6] Aidan Clarke, 'The Irish economy 1600-1660', in T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland,* iii: *Early modern Ireland, 1534-1691*, (Oxford, 1976), pp 168-86; R.A. Butlin, 'Irish towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in R.A. Butlin (ed.) *The development of the Irish Town (*London, 1977), p. 6; George O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 1919).

[7] O'Brien, *Economic History of Ireland*; Raymond Gillespie, *The transformation of the Irish economy 1500-1700* (Dundalk, 1991).

[7] Colm Lennon, *The lords of Dublin in the age of reformation* (Dublin, 1989), p. 206.

Contrary to the view put forward by Louis Cullen that the commercialisation of the Irish economy was an eighteenth-century phenomenon, both Raymond Gillespie and Donald Woodward have pointed out that it actually occurred by the early decades of the seventeenth century when the Irish economy witnessed a period of unprecedented and consistent growth.[8] This expansion of the Irish economy was particularly notable in Dublin where, at least up to 1641, the city emerged as the major port in the country. The impact of war on the Irish economy after 1641 is discussed in Gillespie's essay, 'The Irish economy at war, 1641-1652', which shows that the major cities, particularly Dublin, were devastated by the conflict and by governmental directives aimed at preventing the rebels from sourcing food supplies.[9] Two recent studies by Raymond Gillespie and Colm Lennon highlight the evolving socio-political environment and changes in the physical landscape of Dublin from the mid-sixteenth century to the eighteenth century and are of particular interest to this thesis.[10] Nevertheless although Dublin merchants in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries have received a lot of attention from social and economic historians, the vital and central role that Dublin and its merchant community played in the economic, social and political life of early seventeenth seventeenth-century Ireland has been either neglected or dismissed as insignificant.[11]

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[8] Louis Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin 1600-1900: character and heritage' in F.H.A. Aalen and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Dublin City and county: from prehistory to present* (Dublin, 1992), pp 251-277; Gillespie, *The transformation of the Irish economy*; Woodward, 'Irish Sea trades and shipping from the later middle ages to c.1660', in John Appleby *The Irish Sea, aspects of maritime history* (Belfast, 1989), pp 35-44.

[9] Raymond Gillespie, 'The Irish economy at war 1641-1652' in J. Ohlmeyer, *Ireland from independence to occupation* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 160-180.

[10] Colm Lennon, 'The changing face of Dublin 1550-1750', in Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Two Capitals, London and Dublin 1500-1840* (Oxford, 2001), pp 39-52; Raymond Gillespie, 'Dublin 1600-1700' in Peter Clark and Bernard Lepetit (eds), *Capital cities and their hinterlands* (Dublin, 2001), pp 84-104.

[11] Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin', p. 251; David Dickson, 'The place of Dublin in the eighteenth century Irish economy' in T.M. Devine and David Dickson, (eds),

One the one hand, it has been argued by Louis Cullen and, more recently, by Colm Lennon, that Dublin played a secondary role in the Irish economy in the early seventeenth century and that the ports of Drogheda Waterford, Limerick and Galway were the real emporia of British and continental traffic.[12] Professor Cullen has also contended that great merchant lineages are hard to detect and that Dublin merchants did not buy their way into broad acres in the hinterlands.[13] Conversely, Raymond Gillespie has argued that Dublin merchants used their cash surplus solely to speculate in land rather than advance loans or engage in further trade but states that a major factor in limiting economic change in the early seventeenth century was the non-existence of an adequate, well developed credit system to compensate for a shortage of capital.[14] These and other arguments will be addressed individually in the relevant chapters below where it is shown that Dublin was the major port in Ireland; that the city boasted an affluent merchant community who certainly speculated in the property market but who also invested in trade as well as being heavily involved in sophisticated webs of credit that existed in the period. They also played a vital role in governing of the city.

The importance of Dublin merchants' position in the municipal government is highlighted in two important works by Brendan Fitzpatrick and Colm Lennon.[15] These studies provide a wealth of information on the administrative structure within

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*Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850* (Edinburgh, 1983), pp 177-92; David Dickson, 'The demographic implications of Dublin's growth 1650-1850', in Richard Lawton and Robert Lee, (eds), *Urban population development in western Europe* (Liverpool, 1989), pp 178-89.

[12] Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin', pp 251, 265; Lennon, 'The changing face of Dublin 1550-1750' pp. 39-40.

[13] Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin, p. 251.

[14] Gillespie, 'Dublin 1600-1700', p. 94; *idem, The transformation of the Irish economy*, pp 53-4;

[15] Brendan Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin 1603-40' (Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1986); Lennon, *Lords of Dublin.*

the municipality of Dublin including the role of the corporation's personnel, the administration of the city's finances and specific functions of the corporation in relation to public works. Fitzpatrick's thesis includes an overview of the function of merchant and craft guilds, an analysis of political problems posed by the reform of the customs in 1603 and the internal regulation of trade. The second volume of Fitzpatrick's thesis is especially useful for this study of Dublin merchants. The author lists entries to the franchises between 1603 and 1640, gives a breakdown of franchise admissions by occupation and details leases granted by the corporation in the period. He also provides a list of individuals who held the position of aldermen from 1603 to 1640. This has been used as starting point and expanded on to provide an in-depth analysis of Dublin merchants' involvement in all strata of life in the city.[16]

Similarly Colm Lennon's seminal study *The Lords of Dublin in the age of Reformation 1550-1613* provides crucial insights into socio-political history of the period in question.[17] Like Fitzpatrick, he closely examines the inner workings of municipal government pointing out that over seventy per cent of the civic elite were merchants.[18] An invaluable aspect of Lennon's work for the purposes of this thesis is his appendix which provides comprehensive backgrounds of those who were elected to the bench of aldermen after 1550.[19] In this proposography the author conveniently arranges bibliographical data in nineteen categories which include citizenship, civic

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[16] I have continued this and appended a list of those who entered the freedom of the city from 1640 to 1660. However, as I analyse much of the information from the 1630s I have also appended the list of names from the 1620s and 1630s taken from Fitzpatrick's appendix as well as a breakdown of the number of people enfranchised in each year which is calculated from Fitzpatrick's and my own lists. See app. III 'Franchise Rolls 1640-1660' and app. III A 'Yearly franchise admissions'. I have also appended a list of individuals who held positions in civic government from 1620 to 1660. See app. II 'Civic Government 1620-1660'.

[17] Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid, pp 223-276.

offices held, religious affiliation, parents, siblings, spouse(s), business connections, property, leases etc. As the majority of these aldermen were merchants, this provided a useful starting point from which to compile information on the backgrounds of merchant families in this study. An important aspect of Lennon's study is that it gives useful insights into religious conflict between Dublin civic leaders and the royal administration up to 1613. As Lennon has shown the majority of the civic elite of the city were Catholic. Crucially, the author shows that attempts to enforce the Reformation in the city resulted in a militant rather than a confessional defence of Catholicism and that the lords of Dublin, who had always remained loyal to the crown, essentially fell from obedience by degrees through English policy making by 1613.[20]

Jacqueline Hill's study, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin Civic Politics and Irish Protestant Patriotism 1660-1840,* examines the continuity of 'Protestant' policy towards Dublin after 1660 that witnessed the rise of the Protestant class within the guild structure and civic government.[21] In this work Dr. Hill states that after Cromwell's re-conquest of Ireland steps were taken towards creating an exclusively Protestant body politic in Dublin which ensured the emergence of a predominantly Protestant civic administration and merchant class by 1660.[22] This thesis will go a long way towards filling the historical gap between 1613 when Lennon's study ends and 1660 when Hill's begins. It will show, however, that the process began some thirty years earlier and that the Protestantisation of Dublin society actually occurred by 1647.

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[20] Ibid, pp 165-205.
[21] Jacqueline Hill, *From patriots to unionists: Dublin civil politics and Irish Protestant patriotism, 1660-1840*, (Oxford, 1997).
[22] Ibid, pp 32-3.

Although there is little written on Dublin merchants some specific studies provide useful insights into commercial life in Dublin. John Appleby's 'The Fishing Ventures of Nicholas Weston of Dublin' discusses commercial contact between Ireland and Newfoundland in the closing decades of the sixteenth century and demonstrates a significant Dublin interest in early transatlantic voyaging and the dangers facing merchants at sea from privateers.[23] Of particular interest is the fact that Nicholas Weston, an ardent Protestant and strong supporter of the English administration in Ireland, used political connections to secure financing for his ventures to Newfoundland and subsequently became a major provider for troops and garrisons in Ireland during the nine-year war. Despite the failure of these ventures the Westons remained as one of the most influential merchant families throughout the period. The political connotation of Weston's activities provided impetus for similar research on the level of political connections between Dublin merchants and government officials.

One such merchant family, the Lowthers, who had close political connections with Ireland, is the subject of D.R. Hainsworth's 'Christopher Lowther's Canary Adventure' which provides useful insights into commercial life in Dublin in the 1630s.[24] As well as outlining opportunities open to wealthy, well-connected English families willing to invest in Ireland; it also discusses the difficulties they faced. The

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[23] J. Appleby, 'The fishing ventures of Nicholas Weston of Dublin' in *Dublin Historical Record (D.H.R.)* 34, no.4, (Sept. 1986), pp. 150-155; For a useful study of the problems of privateering, see J. Ohlmeyer, 'Irish Privateers during the civil war, 1642-50' in *The Mariner's Mirror,* lxxvi, (1990), pp. 119-33.

[24] Sir John's patron was Thomas Wentworth and his uncle Gerard Lowther (d. 1624) was a justice of the common pleas in Ireland. An uncle of Sir John's, Sir Lancelot, was an Irish baron of the exchequer. Sir John's illegitimate brother (also called Sir Gerard) was also baron of the exchequer and after 1633, chief justice of the common pleas. For Lowther family background see Colin Philips, 'The gentry in Cumberland and Westmoreland 1600-1665' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Lancaster, 1973); D.R. Hainsworth, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary adventure: a merchant venturer in Dublin 1632-3' in *Irish Economic and Social History,* ii, (1975), pp 22-34.

limitation on the Dublin market for English merchandise was a fundamental problem as, when denied cash from the sale of merchandise, money proved extremely difficult to procure. Hainsworth's study demonstrates the opportunities that fluctuations in the money-market offered to someone who could command public money such as the receipts held by the customs farmers, and the competition for this lucrative business between Dublin and Dutch merchants. It also shows that it was possible to overcome these problems if carefully selected goods were provided at the right time and in the right quantity, if adequate liquid reserves were set aside to ride out periods of cash scarcity, and that profitable trading could be assured if merchants were favoured by the Wentworth administration.

On the other side of the divide, a narrative spanning almost eight-hundred years of Seagrave family history provides an interesting and useful account of a Catholic merchant family.[25] According to this study the Seagraves, one of the most affluent merchant families of the period, were among the group of Old English Catholics to meet with Ulster insurgents in December 1641. They were actively involved in the confederate wars and had lands attainted during the Cromwellian years and restored in 1660. Although this volume is essentially a panegyric to the Seagraves, contains no bibliography and referencing is erratic and awkward, it gives valuable insights into the social, economic, political and cultural activities of a Dublin merchant family (including useful descriptions of places, people and property). An especially important part of this study is the meticulous genealogical charts supplied that show the level of intermarriage between the Seagraves and both Catholic and Protestant families within the merchant community and with the aristocracy throughout the period. This not only supplies a wealth of information on intermarriage

[25] C. Seagrave and T.V. Sadiler (eds), *The Seagrave family* (London, 1935).

connections, but also provides a model for similar genealogical examinations of other Dublin merchant families.

Studies of other urban centres and merchant communities in Ireland and England serve as useful models of inquiry and, given the dearth of writings on Dublin in the period, provide much information on commercial practices and trading activities in the Irish Sea region. Although shipping between Bristol and Ireland was almost exclusively with the more the south-eastern ports of Wexford and Waterford, studies by Patrick McGrath nevertheless illustrate similarities between Dublin and Bristol merchants' involvement in local politics and assess the nature of the relationship between merchants and the crown. He also shows that, like their Dublin counterparts, Bristol merchants faced ongoing dangers at sea from English, Irish and Turkish pirates.[26] Besides highlighting the variety of information available in the deposition books in relation to losses at sea, damages to cargo, shipwrecks, piracies, capture by the army and bills of lading, these works provide useful models of methodology which can be similarly applied to other relevant examinations such as the high court of the admiralty material and 1641 depositions in relation to Dublin merchants.

A number of studies by Donald Woodward are of particular interest to this thesis as they provide much valuable information on trade in the Irish Sea region in general and particularly on trading activity between Chester and Dublin.[27] Besides

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[26] Patrick McGrath, 'The Merchant Venturers and Bristol shipping in the early seventeenth century' in *Mariner's Mirror*, xxxvi, no. 1 (1950), pp 69-80; *idem*, 'Merchant Shipping in the seventeenth century: the evidence of the Bristol Deposition Books. Part I' in *Mariner's Mirror*, xl, no. 4 (1954) pp 282-93.

[27] D.M. Woodward, 'The overseas trade of Chester, 1600-1650' in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* cxxii, (1972), pp 25-42; *idem,* 'Irish Sea trades and shipping from the middle ages to c. 1660' in Michael McCaughan & John Appleby (eds), *The Irish sea: aspects of maritime history* (Belfast and Cultra, 1989) pp 35- 44.

being helpful for the information supplied on types of exports and imports, commodity prices and fluctuations in trade in relation to economic and political factors, these studies show that trade with Ireland was more important to Chester than trade with the continent and highlight Dublin merchants' control of this important trade route.

Jean Agnew's *Belfast City Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* examines the growth of Belfast as a centre for trade, analyses its social, religious and political landscape and, using a representative thirty-five merchant families, assesses their religious and commercial interests and the complex interaction between them and their considerable network of family and friends.[28] There are marked differences between the merchant communities in Dublin and Belfast particularly concerning religious friction which in Dublin was between Catholic and Protestant and in Belfast between Presbyterian (who were not required to take the oath of supremacy) and the established Church. Nevertheless, this study stands as an ideal model for an examination of the day-to-day activities of the Dublin merchant community.

A very underdeveloped area of economic history is an analysis of the social role that borrowing and lending played in the period. This has recently been the subject of intense scrutiny by Craig Muldrew who has illustrated the complex systems of credit which existed in England and has shown that borrowing and lending were a fundamental part of everyday life in the early seventeenth century.[29] Muldrew's work

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[28] Jean Agnew, *Belfast merchant families in the seventeenth century* (Belfast, 1996).
[29]Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The culture of credit and social relations in early modern England* (London, 1998), pp 34-39; *idem,* 'Interpreting the market: the ethics of credit and community relations in early modern England' in *Social History*, xviii, no. 2, (19), pp 163-183; *idem,* 'Credit and the courts: debt litigation in a seventeenth-century community' in *Economic History Review,* xlvi, 1 (1993), pp 23-38; *idem*, 'The culture of reconciliation: community and the settlement of economic disputes in early modern England' in *the Historical Journal,* xxxix, 4.

stands as an excellent model for a similar study of Dublin merchants' involvement in indebtedness in Irish society. Robert Brenner's outstanding study *Merchants and Revolution 1550-1653* interprets the complex evolution of commercial change and merchant political activity and assesses the critical process of alignment and realignment of London's merchant elite with the Crown and government within the framework of political conflict.[30] This innovative and stimulating work provides invaluable insights into commercial and political aspects of merchant life, imbues an understanding of attitudes of the crown and government in England towards economy, trade and merchants themselves. It has served as a stimulus for this study on Dublin merchants' involvement in city and national politics and their position within Irish society in general. These studies have provided a sound methodological backdrop from which to apply an assessment of Dublin merchants across the whole social and political spectrum in Ireland.

The objectives of this thesis are twofold. The first is to fill an obvious historiographical void and investigate the importance of Dublin and its merchant community in previously uncharted areas of early seventeenth-century urban Irish history. The second is to analyse the city and its merchant community within the broader framework of economic, social and political changes that characterised the period. Chapter one sets the economic background for this study and examines the Irish economy in the first four decades of the seventeenth century. It assesses Dublin as a trading centre, sketches the types and quantities of imports and exports and analyses Dublin's position in the Irish economy in relation to other major Irish ports.

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(1996), pp 915-942. Also see, Eric Kerridge, *Trade and banking in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1988).

[30] Robert Brenner, *Merchants and revolution, commercial change, political conflict, and London's overseas traders, 1550-1653* (London & New York, 2003); idem, The civil war politics of London's merchant community', *Past and Present*, lviii, (February 1973), pp. 53-107.

Chapter two questions how Dublin merchants fit into broader contemporary conceptions of what actually defined merchants. It examines the role they played in the governance of the city, its trade guilds and the regulation of the statute staple. From the first decade of the seventeenth century, but particularly from 1620, immigration swelled the city and an increasingly English, Protestant population poured into the capital. Using figures taken from an analysis of the freedom rolls and civic government membership appended to this thesis this chapter analyses the changing social make up of Dublin up to 1660.[31] In doing so it questions how the growing influx of new settlers impacted on the demographics of the city and its government and how these changes impacted on the merchant community itself. Chapter three investigates merchants as individuals. It looks at the origins and, where possible, the religious affiliations of Dublin merchant families. It analyses intermarriage patterns between merchant families in the city as well as with gentry landholding families and considers the level of integration of new settlers with the established merchant community of Dublin. It also discusses how the status of women, particularly widows, influenced the choice of marriage partners for Dublin merchants and their offspring.

The most significant aspect of socio-political change in the period was the transfer of lands from Gaelic Irish and Old English hands to New English, Protestant settlers. Chapter four examines the property holdings of Dublin merchants in the city, its hinterlands and beyond. It analyses the ways that lands were held and how changes in property rights in the period affected not just merchants as landholders, but also the wives and widows of Dublin merchants who were often forced to safeguard dowers, inheritance and property through legal channels. This chapter also examines how land

[31] See app. II, 'Civic government 1620-1660'; app. III, 'Franchise Rolls 1640-1660'; app. III A, 'Yearly franchise admissions 1620-1630'.

confiscations after the 1641 rebellion affected both Catholic and Protestant members of the Dublin merchant community. Chapter five focuses on the day-to-day business and pecuniary practices of Dublin merchants. It investigates commonplace business practices such as partnerships, factorage and commercial morality. It outlines the monetary system that existed in Ireland and questions how problems such as the shortage of coinage and fluctuations in the money market affected the commercial world of Dublin merchants. It also analyses the various instruments of credit which were widely in use in the period and examines the extent of borrowing and lending within the complex systems of finance that existed in the period. These five chapters illustrate that Dublin merchants were an affluent, powerful coterie who controlled every important aspect of public life in the city which allowed them to accumulate much personal wealth in a period of unprecedented economic growth. Paradoxically, the improvement in the Irish economy was primarily achieved as a result of an increased efficiency in the collection of customs duties which posed a threat to individual merchants, both Catholic and Protestant, whose economic and political standing were also under serious threat from continuous infringements on their religion, rights and privileges by the English administration.

Chapter six analyses the part that Dublin merchants played in the defence of their social, economic and political standing in the city and assesses the impact of ongoing political change and a growing Catholic/Protestant divide. It examines Catholic merchants' standing in civic government and discusses how progressively restrictive governmental policies increasingly threatened their positions in all areas of public life and as individuals. During Wentworth's tenure as lord deputy between the years 1633 and 1640 he underpinned earlier English encroachment on civic liberties through his fiscal, land and economic policies. Most importantly, he encouraged new

English settlers to the city and actively promoted a Protestant and loyal city government. Conversely, Strafford's policies also posed a threat to the Protestant members of the civic elite and for a brief time both Catholics and Protestants came together to protect their rights and privileges. Following his impeachment and subsequent execution in May 1641, the sectarian divide so actively promoted by Wentworth and his predecessors reached its fruition after the rebellion of 1641. Chapter seven examines the aftermath of rebellion. It assesses the impact of the ongoing wars on trade and investigates the process by which New Protestants increasingly took control of what little shipping did exist despite the effects of the war at sea. It also examines measures undertaken by both the civic government and the English administration that led to the expulsion of Catholics from the city, its government and from parliament. The conclusion will draw the different strands of these chapters together and sum up the various processes by which the city, its government and its merchant community evolved from one that was mainly Catholic in 1613 to one that was predominantly, if not exclusively, Protestant by 1647.

Finding sources relating to the diverse themes researched in this study proved challenging. Unfortunately, no records at all exist to provide an analysis of inland trade or shipping between Dublin and other Irish ports. Nevertheless available extant sources allow for an in-depth analysis of the merchant community of Dublin across the whole spectrum of society. The port books of England and Wales are of crucial importance to Irish economic history, particularly as none exist for Ireland apart from those relating to Ulster held in Leeds.[32] The port books provide crucial information relating to trade in the Irish Sea region including detailed descriptions of ships, the

[32] For a comprehensive description of the of the value and format of the port books see Donald Woodward, 'The port books of England and Wales', in *Maritime History,* iii, no. 2 (Sept. 1973), pp 147-165.

names and origin of merchants and the types of commodities imported into the various ports including their weights and values.[33] The port books, however, are not without their limitations. Many of the existing manuscripts such as those for Milford Haven were badly conserved and can no longer be consulted. Moreover, they do not provide accurate annual statistics and it is impossible to gauge fluctuations in trade or long term trends. This makes other sources such as administrative and governmental records and, albeit limited, trade and customs statistics even more important for an analysis of Dublin's position in relation to other Irish ports. For example, printed and calendared governmental reports, such as those given by Robert Coogan, the inspector for customs in Ireland, and the statistical analysis of revenues received by the customs farmers compiled by Donald Woodward have enabled a comprehensive picture of the Dublin economy to emerge.[34] The records of the High Court of the Admiralty, some of which are calendared, are particularly useful for this study.[35] The most important of

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[33] For examples of port books held in the National Archives in London see: Collector of new impositions overseas, Chester, 1634-5 (T.N.A., Chester port book, 1634-5, E 190/1335/4, fols 1-5v); collector of new impositions overseas, Liverpool, 1637-8 (T.N.A., Chester port book, 1637-8, E 190/1335/18, fols 1-7v); searchers overseas, Liverpool, 1640-1 (T.N.A., Chester port book, 1640-1, E 190/1336/11, fols a-30v); controller overseas, Liverpool, 1635-6 (T.N.A., Chester port book, 1635-6, E 190/1335/12, fols 1-34v); searcher overseas, Liverpool, 1637-8 (T.N.A., Chester port book, 1637-8, E 190/1335/16, fols 1-32v).

[34] *Cal. Carew MS, 1603-1624*, p. 174; Donald Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics, 1614-1641' in *Ir. Econ. Soc. Hist.*, xxvi (1999), pp 54-80.(Woodward's figures are taken from the papers of Sir Nathaniel Rich at Huntingdon (N.L.I. microfilm P. 8628); the papers of Lionel Cranfield, Maidstone U269/1/Hi5, 7; Sheffield City Libraries, WWM Str. p. 24-5 (174); the papers of Sir Arthur Ingram, Leeds MS TN/PO7/I/18; PRONI T2860/34).

[35] John Appleby (ed.), *A calendar of material relating to Ireland from the High Court of the Admiralty* (I.M.C., Dublin, 1992). For the history and operations of the Irish courts of admiralty prior to 1641 see John Appleby and Mary O'Dowd, 'The Irish admiralty: its organization and development, c.1570-1640', in *I.H.S.*, xxiv, no. 95 (May 1985), pp 299-326; Kevin Costello, The court of admiralty in Ireland, 1580-1877 (Ph.D., 2005, University College, Dublin), pp 1-16, 23-45.The HCA material is used extensively throughout a recent study of the wars at sea. See Elaine Murphy, "No affair before us of greater concern': the war at sea in Ireland, 1641-1649',

these are examinations taken in relation to ships and goods lost at sea due to piracy, adverse weather conditions or war.[36] These documents give useful and insightful information relating to shipping including the names of merchants and seamen, the ports of origin and destination, types of cargo and values of goods. They also illustrate that much shipping was carried out between Dublin and continental ports and, interestingly, often allude to business partnerships between Dublin and English or Dutch factors and merchants.[37]

Dublin merchants' involvement in civic affairs and their enrolments on the franchise rolls of the city are recorded in Sir John T. Gilbert's *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin.*[38] As many of the manuscripts relating to the corporation of Dublin were destroyed in the destruction of the Four Courts in 1922, Gilbert's nineteenth-century transcripts are crucial to any study of the city in the period. It should be noted however that the business of the general assembly placed emphasis upon petitions and decisions rather than on conditions or conflicts that produced them, practically all religious and political conflict is ignored and all debate is omitted from these records. These chronological records of corporation business conducted at the quarterly sessions include the names of those elected into civic positions of government as well as the names of those entered into the freedom of the city at each meeting. This has allowed for a thorough analysis of the changing make up of the free population of the city as well as the level of involvement of merchants in civic government.[39] The

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(unpublished Ph.D., thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2007). I would like to thank Elaine for bringing many of these documents to my attention.

[36] These examinations can be found in two series of files held in the National Archives in London see (T.N.A., examinations on commission, 1642-1653, HCA 13/ 58-63 13/245-252).

[37] See chapter five below.

[38] *CARD,* ed. J.T. Gilbert and R.M. Gilbert, 19 vols (Dublin, 1899-1944).

[39] See app. III 'Franchise Rolls 1640-1660' the franchise entries in Gilbert's records have been checked against the alphabetical listings compiled by Gertrude Thrift.

leases of Dublin corporation properties granted to individuals in the city are also listed in Gilbert's records.

A previously unexploited source for early seventeenth-century Dublin history is the expired leases file housed in Dublin City Archives. This is a collection of 1,560 deeds for properties leased by Dublin Corporation mainly in Dublin City but also in Rathberry County Cork; Lisboyne County Laois; Rathmacree County Wicklow; Taghaboe County Kildare and in Count Clare, County Carlow and County Louth.[40] Although some of these documents are fragile many are in good condition and they are generally very legible. They give detailed descriptions of the properties leased including location and land boundaries, and give the names, occupation and sometimes family backgrounds of the new lessee as well as the previous owner of the property. Dublin city council also leased out a number of services and privileges to private individuals such as the collection of city tolls and customs which are also included in these deeds. Not many of these leases are listed in Gilbert's records which strongly suggest that separate records were held at the time.

The Tholsell Court Records, also held at Dublin City Archives, are of major importance to this study. These are recorded pleas for debts claimed by the plaintiff from the defendant according to covenants made between them for indenture, but not put into effect at the Tholsell Court, for the years between October 1616 and September 1617, October 1629 and September 1630 and October 1637 and September 1638.[41] These records demonstrate that litigation for the recovery of debts was an

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'Register of Freemen 1576-1695' (D.C. A., MS MR 9). App. III A 'Yearly franchise admissions 1620-1639' is taken from Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin' app. 4.

[40] Expired Leases (D.C.A., MS EXP/)

[41] Tholsell Court: *Liber Querelorum* (Complaint Book), (1 Oct 1616-1617 C1/J/2/1; 1 Oct 1629-27 Sept 1630 CI/J/2/2,3; 1 Oct 1637-28 Sept 1638: CI/J/2/4) The Tholsell court records also include a Recognizance book for the period 1 October 1589 to 28

everyday occurrence in Dublin and gives fascinating insights into the level of indebtedness that prevailed across the social spectrum in the city in the period. They also include lists of the names of the aldermen, deputy aldermen and constables for specific areas in the city. Significantly, it was often the case that where debts remained unpaid the debtors' goods or homes were valuated by the court in order to secure the payment of even the smallest of debts. These records detail appraisements of the goods or homes of debtors and give unusually clear insights into the lives of individuals in the lower stratum of society who generally leave no records.

Manuscripts held in English archives also provide many insights into the commercial and business world of Dublin merchants. For example, the letter book of the mayor of Chester contains a number of letters between officials in Ireland and the mayor of Chester relating to piracy in the Irish Sea and regarding trade and other matters relating to Ireland.[42] The Chester Town Clerk Protested Bills, 1639-1665, were protests or complaints about bills of exchange, usually concerning money or goods due or given.[43] Interestingly, many of these complaints were made in Dublin and they provide evidence of the strong commercial links between Dublin and Chester. There are also copies of instruments of protest made before the clerk, by which masters of ships or merchants protested against damage and losses due to storms at sea or failure to observe the terms of charter-party or trade agreements. The book also contains copies of a number of certificates from the mayor that specified cargoes laded in the port of Chester, that the goods were English and belong in the

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September 1590, which recorded the name and station of person offering recognisance. Tholsell Court: Recognizance book 1589-90 (D.C.A., MS C1/J/3). Tholsell Court: *Liber Manucaptorum* (Bail Books) for 1651-2; 1693-4 and 1699-70 record bail granted in the Tholsell and includes the name, station and often the addresses of people concerned. Tholsell Court: Recognizance book 1589-90 (D.C.A., MS C1/J/4/1-3).

[42] City of Chester great letter book (C.R.O., MS ML/2/232).

[43] City of Chester Town Clerk Official Business: Protested Bills (C.R.O., MS TCB).

port of Chester. A small number of bonds and other obligations examined by the clerk are also entered.

As little known personal or business correspondence of individual Dublin merchants exist for the period, a good example of how commercial life in the city operated on a day-to-day basis is illustrated in the correspondence and other business documents of Christopher Lowther, an English merchant who operated in Dublin in the 1630s. D.R. Hainsworth has transcribed a series of letters written by Christopher from Dublin between 1632 and 1633 and again in the period 1639 to 1642.[44] An analysis of this letter book and other Lowther family records held at the Cumbria Records Office provides fascinating and useful insights into commercial practices such as factorage and other day-to-day pecuniary and business activities in the city.[45]

Finding sources relating to kinship and marriage has also proved challenging. Registers of baptisms, marriages and burials are practically non-existent for early seventeenth-century Ireland: what does exist is scanty and mostly relates to the later seventeenth century.[46] Such an analysis must rely mainly on extant genealogical data and family pedigrees. The principal manuscript sources are abstracts of wills,[47] visitations[48], funeral entries[49] and extracts from parish registers and family

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[44] Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial Papers*; idem, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary adventure' pp 22-34.

[45] Business transactions in Ireland, 1632-1635 (Cumbria Records Office, MS D/Lons/W1/8); Enquires about economic prospects and investments in Ireland, *c.*1620 (Cumbria Record Office, MS D/Lons/L1/1/6/1), transcribed in Hainsworth, *Commercial papers*, appendix A, pp 233-34. (This document, which is included with Christopher's letters, is undated but internal evidence dates it c.1620).

[46] James Mills (ed.), *The Registers of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin, 1619-1699*, D.A. Chart (ed.), *Marriage entries from the registers of the parishes of St. Andrew, At. Anne, St. Audoen & St. Bride 1632-1800* (Dublin 1913); Henry F. Berry (ed.), *The Registers of the church of St. Michan, Dublin 1636-1685* (Dublin 1907); Herbert Woods (ed.), *The register of St. Catherine, Dublin, 1636-1715* (Dublin, 1908).

[47] Abstracts of Wills proven in the Dublin Diocesan court, 1560-1710 (GO MS 290); Genealogical abstracts of prerogative wills, c. 1550-1800 (GO MS 223-6).

[48] Visitation books of Dublin, 1568-1620 (GO MS 47-48).

pedigrees.[50] Despite the obvious value of these sources they are not without their limitations. For example, the seventeen volumes of funeral entries provide a mine of information on seventeenth-century families but the records end abruptly at the outbreak of rebellion in 1641. While they were resumed eleven years after the war, entries are not as informative as before and many are very brief.[51] It can also be difficult to identify successfully isolated individuals or groups who are clearly related to one another as, quite often, precise connections remain tantalisingly elusive. More often than not, dates are not included in family genealogies and deductions must be made from intelligent guesswork based on information contained in other records.

For example, snippets of information contained in the 1641 Depositions as well as in Jon Crawford's recently published *Star Chamber Court in Ireland* and Geraldine Tallon's *Court of Claims*, provide vital information on family histories, particularly in relation to marriages and inheritance practices in Dublin merchant families.[52] These sources as well as other printed materials such as *The Irish Statute Staple Records* and *The Books of Survey and Distribution* are used for a number of other areas of research in this thesis including an analysis of lands held by merchants, an investigation of the level of indebtedness in the merchant community and examinations of cases brought before the courts for debts or protection of property

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[49] Funeral Entries of city and gentry families, 1587-1729, 17 vols (GO MS 64-79).
[50] Pedigrees of Anglo-Irish families compiled by Sir William Betham (GO MS 279); Extracts from christenings, marriages and burials in the seventeenth century (TCD MS 674, 851); Genealogical and family pedigrees (MSS 127, 128, 129
[51] See J. Barry, 'Guide to records of the Genealogical Office Dublin', *Anelecta Hibernica*, no. 26 (1970) pp 3-43.
[52] Geraldine Tallon (ed.), *Court of Claims submissions and evidence* (I.M.C. Dublin, 2006); Dublin depositions (TCD MS 809-10); Jon Crawford, *a star chamber court in Ireland: The court of castle chamber 1571-1641* (Dublin, 2005).

rights.[53] The statute staple records are particularly useful for this thesis. Of 4,000 individuals active on the staple sixty-two per cent of those who gave their occupation as merchant originated in Dublin.[54] This has contributed greatly to this study as it not only provided many of the names included in the list of merchants appended to this thesis, but also provides evidence of the wealth of many of the merchant community and is the most comprehensive source for demonstrating the level of indebtedness in Irish society.[55] Kevin McKenny's momentous database which lists the ownership of properties in 1641 and 1660 based on his study of *The Books of Survey and Distribution* and the *Civil Survey* comprises some 26,396 entries and is used here to show Dublin merchant landholdings outside the city.[56]

Printed and calendared governmental reports and administrative records such as *The Calendar of State Papers,* the Journals of the houses of Commons and Lords, and contemporary accounts form the basis for an investigation into the political world of Dublin merchants. Of particular use here is the correspondence of Wentworth. The original manuscripts of his correspondence as well as his administrative and personal papers are held on at Sheffield City Libraries.[57] A microfilm copy is also available at the National Library of Ireland but it should be noted that much material relating to Ireland is missing and that they are difficult to navigate as they are not paginated in the same format as the original microfilm held at Sheffield.[58] Extracts from the

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[53] Jane Ohlmeyer and Eamon Ó Ciardha (eds.), *The Irish statute staple books* (Dublin, 1998); Séamus Pender (ed.), *A Census of Ireland circa 1659, with supplementary material from the poll money ordinances (1660-61)* (I.M.C. Dublin, 1939).
[54] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha, *Irish statute staple books,* p. 5.
[55] See app. I, 'Merchant List'.
[56] I would like to thank Kevin McKenny for allowing me access to his database the publication of which is forthcoming.
[57] Sheffield City Libraries, 'Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments' (MS WWM Str. P).
[58] See (N.L.I. microfilm P. 231-3; P. 2850-4, P. 2892, 3585-9); To use the N.L.I. microfilm it is essential to use the listing and guide to the Sheffield microfilm

collection are easily accessible in the volumes published by William Knowler in the eighteenth century.[59]

The 1641 depositions, which are the sworn statements of dispossessed English Protestant settlers taken before the lords justices, privy council and chief officials of the English in the aftermath of the 1641 rebellion remain as one of the most important sources for 1640s.[60] These important documents not only recount the atrocities of war and events that led to their dispossession, but also provide much information on lands and properties held before 1641 as well as information on debts owed to individuals, which is particularly useful to this study. They are nevertheless indisputably biased and from the beginning have been used to support the views of Protestant apologists. For example, within five years of the 1641 rebellion, Sir John Temple published his history, *The Irish Rebellion.*[61] Temple's history propounded that the rebellion and the massacres of Protestants were pre-meditated, that the Old English politicians figured prominently at the planning stage and that the Catholic clergy had egged them on in order to recover Ireland for the pope's interest. Temple, being a government official, was in a position to draw upon the official correspondence of the Dublin government both immediately before and after the October rising. He mainly drew on material extracted from the depositions to support his views. There is little doubt that Temple also drew on the plethora of pamphlets and leaflets that abounded in the aftermath of

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collection: *Crown Servants, series one: The Papers of Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford, 1593-1641, from Sheffield City Libraries* (ed.) Dr. Julia Merritt.

[59] William Knowler, *TheeEarl of Strafford's letters and despatches* (2 vols. London 1739).

[60] Dublin depositions (TCD MS 809-10); For the use of the 1641 depositions see, Aidan Clarke, 'The 1641 depositions', in Peter Fox (ed.) *Treasures of the library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1986); Nicholas Canny, 'What really happened in 1641' Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from independence to occupation*; Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *The outbreak of the Irish rebellion of 1641* (Montreal, 1994).

[61] John Temple, *The Irish rebellion: or the history of the beginning and first progress of the general rebellion raised within the kingdom of Ireland upon the three and twentieth day of October 1641*, (London, 1646).

rebellion. These contemporary writings should be treated with caution. As Michael Mendle has shown, between November 1641 and January 1642, dozens of pamphlets were fabricated by London print-shops raising anti-popish hysteria and fear of Charles' deviousness.[62] Unsurprisingly, almost without exception these writings, which were supposedly penned by prominent political or military leaders or by observers reporting back to business or political acquaintances in London, expressed a clear Protestant bias. They were also prone to exaggeration. Nevertheless, these writings contain more than an element of truth and, when used with official documentation and other contemporary extant sources, are extremely valuable for any historian attempting to construct a comprehensive account of what happened in Dublin in the aftermath of the rebellion. They are particularly useful here as, even if they contain bias, inaccuracies and exaggerations, they impart important and insightful observations on the actual perceptions, feelings, fears, beliefs and reactions of the ordinary citizenry of Dublin in the aftermath of rebellion.

This examination of extant manuscript and printed material is by no means exhaustive. As recent studies have shown, Irish-continental trade was well established at the beginning of the early modern period and individual merchants or merchant families from Dublin, Waterford and Galway were active in the Iberian trade network for generations.[63] There is undoubtedly a plethora of materials in continental archives relating to Dublin's trade with European ports. Moreover, a comprehensive examination of parish records in English towns and cities may shed much light on the whereabouts of many who fled following the rebellion and subsequent land

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[62] Michael Mendle, 'De fact freedom, de facto authority: press and parliament, 1640-1643', *The Historical Journal*, lxxxiii, 2, (1995), pp 307-332.

[63] See the recent series of essays in David Dickson, Jan Parmentier and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Dublin, 2007) that examine Irish communities on the continent.

confiscations. Despite the limitations of some of the available material, this examination of secondary works, extant manuscripts and printed sources as well as contemporary writings such as Robert Lewes' *Mechant Map of Commerce*, a Bristol merchants' *Merchant's Auvizo* and other useful accounts of places, events and people, have presented the means to conduct a comprehensive analysis of Dublin and its merchant community between c.1613 and 1649.[64] In investigating the various aspects of previously unexplored areas of economic, social and political life in Dublin this thesis fills a major historiographical gap and provides a framework for similar studies of other urban and merchant communities in Ireland to help unravel the complexities of all areas of early seventeenth-century Irish history.

[64] Roberts, *A merchants' map of commerce*; I.B. merchant, *The merchants' Avizo* (London, 1607).

## CHAPTER 1.

## DUBLIN'S POSITION IN THE IRISH ECONOMY C.1600-1641.

> The county of Dublin … lyeth broad upon the sea … the whole county is Neptune's neighbour, no part there being twenty miles distant from the sea. …Dublin, a maritime town, is the mother of all Ireland having to it a haven passing well frequented for traffic and intercourse of merchants matchable with our London.[1]

This contemporary account of Dublin clearly depicts the city as a thriving, busy port comparable with the busiest economic centre in England. In 1611 the inspector for Irish customs, Robert Coogan,[2] reported that 'because the state of the whole kingdom is continually resident here, and the four terms are kept here, all the kingdom resorts hither, by which means the trade is far greater than in any other port'.[3] Dublin's importance in the wider economic sphere has traditionally been highlighted in general accounts of the Irish economy in the period.[4] Aidan Clarke has stressed Dublin's enhanced social and political prominence and its access to 'an unusually affluent and consumption-prone hinterland'.[5] Donald Woodward has clearly shown the importance of Dublin merchants' contribution to shipping in the Irish Sea region and has illustrated that Dublin's trade was more important to Chester merchants than their

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[1] G.N. *A geographical description of Ireland* (London, 1642), pp 14,17.
[2] Coogan was appointed the first surveyor-general of the customs in Ireland at a fee of £100 p.a. Lascelles, Rowley (ed.), *Liber Muneroum Publicorum Hiberniae 1152-1827* (2 vols. London, 1824-30), vol. 2, p. 137; Hugh Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland,* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1989), p. 162.
[3] *Cal. Carew MSS, 1602-1624*, pp 174-76.
[4] For a general account of the Irish economy in the seventeenth century see, Clarke, 'The Irish Economy 1600-1660', pp. 168-186. O'Brien, *The economy of Ireland*; Gillespie, *The transformation of the Irish economy. idem*, 'The Irish economy at war, 1641-1652' pp 160-180; idem, 'Dublin 1600-1700' in Clark and Lepitit (eds), *Capital cities and their hinterlands*, pp 84-104.
[5] Clarke, 'The Irish economy 1600-1660', p. 169.

continental traffic. According to his account, Irish traffic, the bulk of which was conducted by Dublin merchants, was the 'bread and butter' trade of Chester and remained far more important than trade with the continent and incomparably superior to the minor trades conducted with Scotland and the Isle of Man.[6] Yet, Dublin's economy and the role that the city's merchants played in the trading system in Ireland in the early seventeenth century has been greatly underplayed, or even ignored, in recent historiography relating to the city.

In Louis Cullen's article on the growth of Dublin from 1600 to 1900, Dublin's economic position for the whole of the seventeenth century is confined to less than one paragraph.[7] In this sparse account, Professor Cullen states that 'Dublin's expansion in the seventeenth century was still largely administrative and its role in the country's overseas trade was surprisingly slight'. Because of this he wrote, 'Ireland's European trade was largely in the hands of Galway and Waterford merchants ... even the trade across the Irish Sea had to be shared with Drogheda and many lesser ports'.[8] More recently, in his study of Dublin from 1550 to 1750, Colm Lennon confines his discussion of Dublin's economy to the sixteenth century and states that, 'Dublin's position was not superior to that of Drogheda ... in terms of its nexus of trade routes, while the ports of Waterford, Limerick and Galway on the south and west coasts were the real emporia of British and continental traffic'.[9] An examination of extant material shows, however, that this was clearly not the case.

This chapter will address the question of Dublin's position as a trading centre in the first four decades of the seventeenth century. It will outline obstacles to trade

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[6] Woodward, 'The overseas trade of Chester, 1600-1650', pp 32-42; idem, 'The port books of England and Wales', pp 147-165.
[7] Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin', pp 251-277.
[8] Ibid, p. 251.
[9] Lennon, 'The changing face of Dublin,' pp 39-40.

faced by Dublin merchants such as those posed by the sandbar at the mouth of the harbour and the plague of pirates who scoured the Irish Sea. It will also examine the types of commodities that were shipped through the port and, more importantly, will analyse the position of Dublin as a trading centre in relation to other Irish ports. In order to contextualise Dublin's economic position in the wider economic sphere, the chapter will firstly provide an outline of the economic situation in Ireland in the first four decades of the seventeenth century.

Irish economic polices were traditionally formulated for the benefit of England without consideration to their effects in Ireland. Controls were in place by the late sixteenth century such as a prohibition on exports of Irish wool, restrictions on the export of corn when the price was more than ten pence a peck, and duties and penalties were payable on wool, flock, flax, linen yarn, woollen yarn, sheepfell, calfsfell, goatfell, deerfell, beef-tallow, wax and butter exports except under certain stringent conditions.[10] In 1326 certain towns in England and Ireland were declared staple towns which were established to regulate the trade of basic or staple goods such as wool and hides and to encourage foreign merchants to come and trade in the specified centres.[11] In Ireland, the original staple towns included Dublin, Waterford Cork and Drogheda and by the early seventeenth century incorporated Carrickfergus, Derry, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, New Ross, Sligo Wexford and Youghal. Evidence shows that the new towns were added specifically to expand control of the export of wool.

A recommendation from the House of Lords to Sir Henry Yelverton, the king's attorney general, on 29 March 1616 suggested that the markets in these towns be given the power to buy and transport 'all sorts of wool, etc. to London, Bristol,

[10] See O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland,* pp 58-9.
[11] Ibid, p. 128.

Chester, Barnstable, Liverpool and Milthrop'.[12] In a subsequent report to the House of Lords by a commission, headed by Sir Arthur Chichester, set up to investigate the best way to restrain the exportation of wool into 'foreign parts' it was decided that nine new staple towns be established and that these towns should have the same privileges as merchants of the staple in English cities and towns.[13] Effectively, only staple towns were allowed to export certain raw materials such as wool, hides, sheepskins, lead and tin and ordinances were introduced to facilitate the collection of the royal customs and to give encouragement to foreign merchants to come and trade. Merchants exporting staple goods were required to go to the nearest port and pay the customs due. Crucially, no one could trade in staple merchandise unless he had been a merchant for two years.[14]

According to George O'Brien, under Elizabeth I, the aim was to prevent Irish trade from interfering with or rivalling that of England and a 'systematic war waged against Irish trade which resulted in a complete stagnation of the Irish economy'.[15] Hugh Kearney rightly describes this as an overestimation of Ireland's ability to compete with England economically.[16] He says that the staple Irish exports of cattle, beef, hides, tallow and associated products did not compete with the staple export of England which was cloth, and that the reasons for prohibitive duties being placed on wool and other cloth products were part of Elizabeth's economic war against the

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[12] *Cal. Carew MSS 1615-25,* pp 327-28.
[13] Ibid, pp 333-34. It was also proposed to use the staple as a political tool. The report included a threat to the four 'ancient staple towns' that if any of them refused the reception of any of the king's subjects into their society, that the lord deputy would transfer the staple to four other towns as he saw fit.
[14] For a list of statutes enacted see W.G. Strickland, 'The ancient official seals of the city of Dublin', in Howard Clarke (ed.), *Medieval Dublin: the living city* (Dublin, 1990), p. 128.
[15] Ibid, p. 57.
[16] For Wentworth's policies in Ireland see Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland 1633-41.*

Spanish government in the Netherlands.[17] Raymond Gillespie has agreed with this view and argued further that the introduction of many elements of English commercial organisation, English styles of agriculture, at least in the more anglicised area of the pale, as well as strategies to encourage manufacture in Ireland so that processed goods rather than raw materials could be exported, saw an improvement in the economy as early as the late sixteenth century.[18]

In the early seventeenth century, it was in the interest of the English administration to ensure that the Irish economy prospered and thus make the crown less dependant on the English parliament for much needed subsidies. James I and VI instructed the lords justices to 'encourage it by every means'[19] while under Charles I, commissioners for trade, one for each province, were appointed to attend the Privy Council to advise on matters of trade and commerce.[20] In 1628 he granted that the monopolies for salt, *aquae vitae* and wine were oppressive and should be abolished.[21] George O'Brien has pointed out that as restraints on the export of certain commodities were imposed by the Irish parliament they could be repealed – subject to Poyning's Law – by the same body that created them.[22] Nevertheless, recommendations made by the commissioners, such as the relaxation of constraints on the export of wool and the calling in of licences to sell *aqua vitae*, wine and ale which 'proved beneficial only to

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[17] Ibid.
[18] Gillespie, *The transformation of the Irish economy,* p. 10.
[19] *CJI*, i, p. 67.
[20] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615-25*, pp 402, 412, 415, 426.
[21] Ibid, p. 331. George O'Brien misread this and said that the monopolies on these products were introduced in 1628. However, in answer to the request that the monopolies be abolished, the king replied that they were 'originally granted on lease to pay Lady Arabella's debts' and should have been abolished when this lease died out, but a reversionary lease had been granted. He ordered that the patentee 'shall take no more of his dues from it till the next meeting of Parliament'.
[22] O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland,* pp 57-59.

some private persons, and alehouses' were never adopted.[23] Moreover, in 1626, while England and Spain were at war, a six month prohibition on the export of sheep, cows, oxen, or swine 'or any other cattle to any port beyond the seas' was imposed because, it was said, 'stocks were being depleted, and the land going to waste' but in fact because it was believed that 'the exported cattle go to Spain'.[24] The following year, the king instructed the lord deputy to send to London those merchants whose ships left their ports 'laden with cows, barrel-beef, corn, tallow, leather, hides, butter and other commodities, the export of which is prohibited'.[25] Henceforth, he ordered, 'no ship with a cargo of any of these commodities shall be allowed to leave Ireland except she give assurance that she will land them in England'.[26] The lifting of restrictions on the export of corn and wheat and, more importantly, the removal of licensing controls on primary exports such as tallow, hide, fish and beef and port in cask were dealt with in the Graces in 1628, but as they were never enacted trade restrictions and other economic matters such as monopolies and licences remained a bone of contention between the Old English and the English administration up to 1641.[27]

In the 1630s Thomas Wentworth took a definite and clear-cut economic policy towards Ireland, which was always based on raising revenue to secure Ireland's financial independence and ensuring that the king was not dependant on the English parliament for financial subsidies.[28] During his tenure as lord deputy, Wentworth's policy was to encourage Irish trade and he began negotiations with the king of Spain

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[23] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32,* pp 330-38; O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland*, p. 60.
[24] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32,* p. 159.
[25] Ibid, p. 281.
[26] Ibid, p. 281.
[27] Articles 10 and 12. See Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland,* (Dublin, 1966, paperback edition 2000), p. 241.
[28] See Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland,* pp 140-5.

to victual the Spanish army with Irish provisions.[29] In an effort to encourage manufacturing in Ireland, he tried to establish a linen industry in Dublin. He also backed a petition in the House of Commons that ports should be freely opened for the export of all commodities, except wool and woolfells.[30] Furthermore, he strove to have restraints imposed on Irish tallow removed,[31] and when it was proposed to raise the book of rates in 1637, the lord deputy objected strongly stating that 'enhancing the rates should discourage the merchants and prejudice the commerce of the kingdom'.[32]

Wentworth failed to secure these economic concessions and his limited success in the development of the linen industry was at the expense of the woollen industry.[33] In fact, his efforts were probably little more than a sop to ensure a loyal following in the Irish parliament. Before he even arrived in Ireland he wrote in a letter to the king, 'we must not only endeavour to enrich them, but make sure still to hold them dependant upon the Crown and not able to subsist without us'.[34] This, he said, would be done by 'laying aside the manufacture of wools into cloth and by furnishing them in England'.[35] He then proposed to make the king the sole merchant of all salts in Ireland for 'thus shall they not only have their clothing, the improvement of all their native commodities (which are principally conserved by salt) and their victual itself from hence ... but a means found, I trust, much to advance your majesty's revenue upon salt and to improve your customs'.[36] Moreover, he actively encouraged the retention of licences for the export of wool saying that licences for the

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[29] Knowler, *Strafford's letters*, i, p. 93.
[30] *CJI*, i, p. 69.
[31] Knowler, *Strafford's letters*, i, pp 308, 380.
[32] Carte, *Ormond*, i, p. 169.
[33] See O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland*, p. 79; Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, pp 154-59.
[34] Knowler, *Strafford's letters*, ii, pp. 19-20.
[35] Ibid, p. 19.
[36] Ibid, p. 20.

transportation of wool to England was necessary 'for the bettering of his majesty's customs and because they have no means here to manufacture it themselves'.[37]

Wentworth's subsequent indiscriminate granting of export licences from the mid 1630s and his introduction of trade monopolies, particularly on tobacco imports, exacerbated an already volatile political crisis and added greatly to his political downfall.[38] Nevertheless, it was during his tenure as lord deputy that Irish customs revenue reached its peak, rising from £22,553 in 1632/33 to just under £60,000 in 1637/38, standing at just over £50,000 in 1640.[39] Indeed, in 1641 it was reported in the House of Commons by Sir George Radcliffe that in the seven years of Thomas Wentworth's rule, Irish trade doubled and exports exceeded imports by over one hundred per cent.[40] Quoting a recent survey he said that 'for every ton of shipping which was in the Irish ports there are now 100 tons'.[41] Three years earlier two extra coast defence ships were kitted out at the cost of £2,700 and the lords of the admiralty in London were told:

> You must not expect these ships to guard the Severn. It is impossible ... it must be remembered that in the days when ships guarded at once the Irish Channel and the Severn, Dublin was almost the only port which had to be protected; but now commerce is springing up in all the ports, and every haven has a harvest which would tempt a pirate, and profit the Customs.[42]

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[37] Knowler, *Strafford's letters,* i, p. 202.
[38] These are dealt with individually in chapter six. In 1638 Wentworth issued a proclamation prohibiting the importation of tobacco without licence. This was followed the following May by another proclamation saying that no one could sell tobacco wholesale from and after 1st May except for what would be made up in rolls and the same sealed with two seals which he would appoint. See chapter six below.
[39] See Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, fig. 5, p. 160; Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics 1614-1641', pp 54-80.
[40] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47,* p. 252.
[41] Ibid, p. 252.
[42] Ibid, p. 156.

An examination of extant material reveals that in this unprecedented period of economic growth, Dublin emerged as the busiest port in Ireland. This is despite the dual obstacles to trade faced by Dublin merchants: the obstruction caused by a sandbar at the mouth of the harbour and the very real threat from pirates who scoured the Irish Sea throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

According to Colm Lennon, Dublin was inferior to other Irish ports because Dublin merchants were susceptible to the huge problem of pirates at sea, and because the sand bar at the mouth of the Liffey proved a significant handicap as the wharfs and unloading facilities at the quayside were inaccessible to all but the lightest vessels. Accordingly, he says, 'ports such as Galway, Waterford and Limerick, which could accommodate ships of up to four hundred tons, were more viable ports of call for British and continental traffic'.[43] As Figure 1.1 illustrates, the mouth of the harbour at Dublin was clearly obstructed by a sandbar, or rather a series of sandbars, which was a hindrance as heavier ships were obliged to unload at the harbour entrance. According to Gerald Boate's description of the harbour in 1652, 'with an ordinary tide you cannot go to the quay of Dublin with a ship that draws five feet of water, but with a spring tide you may go up with ships that draw seven and eight feet. Those that go deeper cannot go nearer Dublin than the Ringsend – three miles from the bar and one from Dublin'.[44] Nevertheless, lighter ships could pass the bar in the bay to unload their cargos at the quayside. According to Boate, except for two places – one at the north-side at Clontarf, half way between Dublin and the bar, and the other at Poolbeg on the south side - it was possible to go dry-foot round about the ships which lie at anchor 'at the ebb of tide'. He said, 'it never falleth dry, but the ships

[43] Lennon, 'The changing face of Dublin', p. 40.
[44] Gerald Boate, *Ireland's natural history* (London, 1652) pp. 25-6.

which ride at an anchor remain ever afloat, because at low water you have nine or ten feet of water there'.[45]

Figure 1.1: Map of Dublin city and suburbs 1673.[46]



[45] Ibid, p. 25.

[46] 'The harbour of Dublin in Ireland 15 Nov 1673' (N.M.M., Darthmouth collection, MS P49/12). This map clearly shows the bar at the entrance to the harbour as well as the sandbanks at the mouth of the river Liffey.

In describing the River Liffey Boate said that it 'was the princess of the Irish rivers, not for her bigness but because ... with the help of the flood ships of fifty and threescore tons can make a shift to come out the Quay of Dublin'.[47] He said that when the tide is out it is impossible even for the smallest of boats to find enough water to go between Dublin and Ringsend. 'But in the city itself, where she is enclosed betwixt the quays on both sides, and from the bridge of Dublin until the bridge of Kilmanan [Kilmainham] and a little further ... great boats may go up on her at any time'.[48]

Figure 1.2: Map of Dublin from Kilmainham to Ringsend 1673. [49]




Moreover, mariners familiar with the waters in Dublin bay could clearly circumnavigate the sandbar. This is clearly illustrated when a ship from Spain laden with oranges, apples, sugar, Brazil wood and Brazil tobacco was discovered in distress at Arklow and brought in 'over the bar' in Dublin.[50] Indeed, by the 1630s, and probably earlier, serious efforts were made to eradicate the problem posed by the sandbar.

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[47] Boate, *Ireland's natural history,* pp. 64-5.
[48] Ibid, 65.
[49] 'The citty and suburbs of Dublin from Kilmainham to Rings-End, 15th November 1673', (N.M.M. Dartmouth collection, MS P49/11). The engineers Phillips and de Gomme (who is noted as part maker of the map) spent from April to November 1673 remodelling the defences of Dublin.
[50] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32*, pp 541-2.

In a statement made by representatives of Dublin Corporation in 1631 (in reply to a suit brought against them by Dutch merchants in the city who complained about the three-penny custom), they said that:

> they have made and kept the haven and port of the said city of Dublin safe and commodious for trade and traffic by erecting, maintaining and keeping of pearches, lights and beacons, and by continual cleansing and scouring of the said river, and making a channel fit for the receipt and passage of such ships and barques as should come into the said port, which before was very dangerous and hazardous, by reason of bars and shelves, to the merchants of other kingdoms which did resort hither for trade and traffic.[51]

Nine years earlier the then lord deputy assured the king that a convenient site was found on the Liffey at Dame Street for the erection of a customs house, crane and wharf and built as requested, and that all 'merchants, owners and masters of ships, barks and other vessels' were commanded that they 'load, land ship embark put aboard or on shore any wares, goods or merchandise whatsoever in any other haven, harbour, bay or creek within the port of Dublin but only in and at the newly erected crane and wharf in Dublin'.[52] In 1633 it was directed by the city council that no coals were to be discharged or put on shore at Rings End or any other place but at the 'Merchant or Wood Quay' within the city of Dublin.[53] Although the lord deputy's primary concern regarding the loading and unloading of cargo at the quay was the collection of duties at the new customs house at the site, the fact that larger ships

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[51] Suit with Dutch merchant in relation to right of Dublin municipality to levy duties on imports and exports, *CARD*, app. vii, pp. 550-2.
[52] Proclamation concerning the customs, cranage, etc. for Dublin, ibid, *CARD*, vi, p. 546.
[53] *CARD*, iii, p. 276.

could make their way up the river to unload their cargoes is a clear indication that the sandbar did not prove a considerable obstacle to shipping. There were, however, other difficulties to overcome in the harbour. According to Boate, another inconvenience caused by the bar was that ships had hardly any shelter from the winds, particularly from great south-west storms where 'the ships run a great hazard to be carried away from their anchors, and driven into the sea; which more than once hath come to pass, and particularly in the beginning of November 1637, when in one night ten or twelve barks had that misfortune befallen them, of the most part whereof never no News hath been heard since'.[54] The real threat posed by the sandbar, however, was that it made it easier for pirates or privateers to run aground ships that were unfamiliar with the bay.

The problem of pirates in the Irish Sea posed a very real threat to Dublin merchants in the period.[55] In June 1610 Sir Arthur Chichester called for a commission for 'adjudging and executing of pirates', complaining that 'the pirates upon this coast are so many and are become so bold that now they are come into this channel, and have lately robbed divers barks, both English and Scotch, and have killed some that have made resistance … they have bread a terror in all passengers'.[56] The following month, Chichester wrote to the mayor of Chester requesting him to 'victual a ship for the suppression of a pirate who hath lately robbed many both English and Scottish'.[57] This was probably the same ship referred to in a letter from Lord Nottingham to the

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[54] Ibid, p. 26.

[55] See John Appleby and Mary O'Dowd, 'The Irish admiralty', in *I.H.S.,* xxiv, no. 95 (May 1985), pp 299-326; John Appleby, 'Merchants and Mariners, Pirates and Privateers, and introductory survey of the records of the High Court of the Admiralty a a source for regional maritime history c.1500-1800 in Michael McCaughan and John Appleby (eds), *The Irish Sea: Aspects of Maritime History* (Belfast, 1989), pp 47-58.

[56] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1608-10*, p. 473; Also see R. Dudley Edwards (ed.) 'Letter-book of Sir Arthur Chichester 1612-1614' in *Anal. Hib.,* no. 8, (1938), pp 3-177 which is peppered with references to pirates around the coast of Ireland; Also see Appleby and O'Dowd, 'The Irish admiralty', p. 306.

[57] City of Chester great letter book, vol. 2 (C.R.O., MS ML/2/232).

mayor of Chester asking him to supply the *Lyons Whelp* with victuals for three months as the 'said ship is entirely destitute of food' and without the supplies 'she cannot perform the services she is commanded unto'.[58] The following November, the lords of the council wrote to the mayor of Chester charging him to receive into custody, 'two notable pirates [Coward and Barrett] lately taken in Ireland', an indication perhaps that the lords of the council were making efforts to alleviate the problem.[59] Despite the best efforts of the lord deputy and the council, and subsequent acts of parliament attempting to deal with the issue, the problem of piracy remained an ongoing one.

A prominent Dublin merchant, Richard Barry, was one of the two members for Dublin who sat on the committee for the subsequent bill which saw an act for the punishment of pirates passed in the Irish parliament in November 1614.[60] This act was similar to the English statue of 1536 which allowed for the trial by common law of pirates and robbers on the sea and in all havens and creeks where the admiralty had jurisdiction, by means of special commissions to consist of the admiral or his deputy and four other persons to be nominated by the Irish lord chancellor.[61] Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the defence of both the English and Irish coasts was controlled by the admiralty in London.[62] In 1570 a separate admiralty court was established in Ireland under the supervision of admiralty officials in England. Following the act in 1614 newly appointed officials such as marshal of the court and registrar of the court were drafted to assist Sir Adam Loftus, who was appointed lord high admiral in 1612, in enforcing the act and coping with the subsequent increase in

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[58] Ibid, ML/2/235.
[59] City of Chester great letter book, (C.R.O., MS ML/2/232).
[60] *CJI,* i, pp 12, 14, 18, 22; Fitzpatrick, 'Municipal corporation of Dublin', p. 56.
[61] 11, 12 & 13 Jas I, c. 2; Appleby and O'Dowd, 'The Irish admiralty', pp 299-326.
[62] See Appleby and O'Dowd, 'The Irish Admiralty, p. 306.

the business of the court.[63] Loftus was more successful than his predecessor in undermining the admiralty rights claimed by the city of Dublin under ancient charter, and during his term a general reorganisation and strengthening of the structure of the admiralty in Ireland occurred.[64] Nevertheless, the court of the admiralty in Dublin functioned only sporadically and though admirals were installed in Ireland, their function was to represent the lord high admiral of England and control and regulation remained with the admiralty in London and, consequently, orders sent from London often remained unexecuted.[65] It was probably for this reason that the piracy act clearly proved ineffective.

In May 1630 a complaint sent to England stated that 'the merchants are suffering greatly, for their foreign trade is stopped and their commerce with England cut off by pirates'.[66] Later the same month a further report complained that Dunkirkers infested the coasts and chased ships 'to the bar of Dublin'.[67] According to this account, a ship from Spain 'fired signals of distress' when discovered at Arklow. Clearly able to circumnavigate the sand bar in the harbour, a Dutch ship, hired temporarily to clear the port, brought the distressed ship 'over the bar' in the evening (probably at high tide).[68] In May 1632 the lords justices wrote to the Privy Council in London complaining that Biscayner pirates chased some vessels into the harbour, and were at the time anchored on the river itself.[69] 'This is an indignity' they wrote, 'and we are fitting out two barques to try and free the coast of her. It is a great mistake to have only English residents in command of the ships. If we were allowed to choose

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[63] Ibid, pp 305-6.
[64] Ibid, pp 308-31.
[65] Ibid, pp. 322-325.
[66] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1625-32*, pp. 536.
[67] Ibid, p. 542.
[68] Ibid, pp 541-2
[69] Ibid, p. 664.

captains from residents here it would be much better'.[70] Two months later a pirate named Nutt seized a cargo 'half a league from Howth' which resulted in losses of £3,000 by a group of Dublin merchants, including the mayor of the city.[71] The lords justices again wrote to London, enclosing a petition from the merchants, complaining that Nutt 'has spoiled ships in the openest manner, and knows we are helpless; he lies within sight of the port'.[72] They again complained of the 'inexpediency of giving Irish naval commands to persons resident in England,' adding that they 'hope soon to have orders to appoint commanders here ourselves'.[73]

In June 1633 a number of depositions taken in the High Court of the Admiralty in London describe the taking of a Dutch ship, the *Tomine of Hoorn* by what one eyewitness called a freebooter, and what others conceived as a 'Biscayner, a Dunkirker,' and others 'a pirate with people of all nations in her'.[74] According to these accounts, the *Tomine* anchored in the Bay of Dublin but when another 'Holland built ship showing the colours of Calis' came and anchored within a ship's length, the crew ran the ship aground. The other ship sailed after the *Tomine* and boarded her after the ships company went ashore to get help. When the company of the man of war failed to get the *Tomine* off at high tide they set her on fire. All of the ship burned except for about four hundred deals, four anchors, some ropes, the spritsail, the topmast and some yards. The ship and her lading of 8,200 deal boards were worth

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[70] Ibid, p. 664.
[71] The merchants were George Jones, Mayor, Christopher White, Lawrence Allen, Nicholas Mulligan, Francis Kerwin, Thomas Wetherbee and John Wetherbee. ibid, pp 671-2.
[72] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47,* pp 671-2.
[73] Ibid.
[74] John Appleby (ed.), *Calendar of material relation to Ireland from the High Court of the Admiralty Examinations*, nos. 912-915; H.C.A. 13/50 (1632-34), ff. 327-7v, 327v-8, 328v-9.

£1,600.[75] Just weeks after Wentworth's arrival in Dublin, two ships from the Netherlands suffered attacks in Dublin harbour in full sight of the king's ships. On 8 August a Biscayan man of war took a ship of Amsterdam of about 150 tons in Bullock Harbour. 'Certain Dublin merchants' told the examinant that the ship and her lading, 'afterwards carried away by the man of war, in sight of the king's ships of England' were worth £3,000 or thereabouts and that a few days before the same ships had brought over the lord deputy of Ireland, Lord Wentworth, and others.[76] The Amsterdam ship lay between the shore and the king's ship when she was taken and carried away.[77] Later the same month, an English ship of Weymouth whose captain's name was Payne took the *St. Jacob of Amsterdam* in Bullock Harbour, and the goods, salt, wines, and deal boards and other goods to the value of £300 were 'taken to the Isle of Man where some of her lading was sold'.[78]

Wentworth, who was himself a victim of piracy in 1633, quickly saw the detrimental effect which piracy potentially had on the customs yield and sought to eradicate the problem declaring in November that 'the channel between England and Ireland must be kept as her [sic] majesty's chief port and no hostilities must be allowed in it'.[79] In August 1634, Sir Richard Plumleigh, who headed the English patrol in the Irish Sea, reported to the commissioners of the admiralty in London that 'we have not lost 6*d.* by piracy this year'.[80] By September 1635 a report by the lord deputy to the lords of the admiralty in London stated that 'pirates are banished, trade

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[75] Ibid,. no. 915; H.C.A. 13/50 (1632-34), ff. 328v-9.
[76] Ibid; Appleby (ed.), *Calendar of material relation to Ireland from the High Court of the Admiralty Examinations,* no. 925. H.C.A. 13/50 (1632-34), ff. 399-399v.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Appleby (ed.), *Calendar of material relation to Ireland from the High Court of the Admiralty Examinations*, no. 925; H.C.A. 13/50 (1632-34), ff. 405-405v.
[79] Knowler, *Strafford's letters,* i, p. 90; *CSP, 1633-47*, pp. 13, 25-6; Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', p. 55.
[80] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 73.

is reviving,' but this was clearly done without conceding to the earlier lords justices wishes that ships could be manned by Irish personnel. He wrote 'I have sent Sir Richard Plumleigh home, as there are no pirates and his staying here only involves expense. He and Sir Beverley Newcomen have done good service this year, as last … I hope these two officers may be sent on again next year – and early, otherwise we shall be troubled with French privateers'.[81] The following June Wentworth reported that apart from fifty fishermen taken by some Turks that passed through the channel, the problem of piracy had ceased and that 'the exportation in that kingdom exceeds the importation, which shows that trade begins to prosper there'.[82]

The fact that such a large number of fishermen were taken by the Turks suggests that the complete eradication of piracy in the Irish Sea was probably an exaggeration. It is generally accepted nevertheless that the problem was largely taken in hand under Wentworth's administration.[83] Indeed, the only known documented incidence of piracy in Dublin Bay (at least until 1641) was in August 1635 when the *Fortune of Dublin* sailing from London was boarded by pirates and a small amount of goods belonging to a London draper were taken from some trunks aboard the ship.[84] This may have been a contributing factor in the rise in customs revenues during Wentworth's tenure as lord deputy. In fact, the level of trade in Irish ports actually began to escalate some twenty years earlier than Wentworth's alleged eradication of piracy.

Although Dublin and foreign merchants were clearly under threat from pirates they could, and did, claim compensation in the high court of the admiralty in London,

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[81] Ibid, p. 110.
[82] Ibid, p. 134.
[83] Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', p. 56.
[84] Appleby (ed.), *Calendar of material relation to Ireland from the High Court of the Admiralty Examinations,* nos. 1008-9; H.C.A. 13/52 (1635-37), ff. 278v-9v.

and it does not seem to have proved any great detriment to their trading activities. It seems, indeed, that neither the inconvenience of the bar in the harbour of Dublin nor piracy in the Irish Sea proved any great impediment to the trading activities of Dublin merchants, or their Dutch counterparts. As R.A. Butlin said, the existence of the bar in Dublin Bay and the threat from pirates was only a partial deterrent to Dublin's maritime trade as the size and quality of demand for imported goods of a very high quality generated by the presence of governor, council and a host of administrators and officials, was perhaps sufficient incentive for merchants to put their vessels at risk.[85] Significantly, an examination of extant sources clearly illustrates that as the level of trade increased throughout the country, Dublin not only emerges as the busiest port in Ireland in this period, but also, the city's share of shipping far surpassed that of any other port in Ireland.

According to the newly appointed inspector of customs, Robert Coogan, in 1611 the value of Dublin's trade revenue amounted to £100,000 per year, £20,000 of which was in exports and £80,000 in imports.[86] As Table 1.1 shows, this amounted to over forty-seven per cent of Irish trade which far exceeded the trade revenue for the other major ports in Ireland which, when added together, amount to only £111,000, slightly over half the total value for the whole county.

[85] Butlin, 'Irish towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', pp 61-100.
[86] *Cal. Carew MS 1603-1624,* pp 174-76.

Table 1.1: Ireland's trade revenue c.1611[87]

| | Total revenue (to nearest £) | % |
|---|---|---|
| Dublin | 100,000 | 47% |
| Drogheda | 20,000 | 9% |
| Wexford | 4,000 | 2% |
| New Ross | 2,000 | 1% |
| Waterford | 30,000 | 14% |
| Dungarven | 1,000 | 0% |
| Youghall | 3,000 | 1% |
| Cork | 20,000 | 9% |
| Kinsale | 1,000 | 0% |
| Limerick | 10,000 | 5% |
| Galway | 20,000 | 9% |
| Total | 211,000 | |

The next highest value recorded was at Waterford, which amounted to £30,000, or fourteen per cent, for both imports and exports, with values for Cork and Galway amounting to £20,000 or nine per cent each. It should be noted that these figures are based on the actual values of the goods imported or exported at the ports. Customs duty was calculated at five per cent of this value, or one shilling in the pound according to the book of rates.[88] As Table 1.2 shows, the customs revenue figures for Dublin for the years 1603-1608 amounted to £363, £340, £64, £278, £189 and £220 in each year respectively, which equates to total trade revenues of £1,815, £1,700, £320, £1,390, £945 and £1,100 for each given year. Remarkably, the total amount of trade revenue in Dublin for these six years came to less than ten per cent of the total for the one year accounted for by the inspector for customs, Robert Coogan, in 1611.

[87] Ibid.

[88] The annual total in these years averaged £725-13-2. The basic duty of poundage was five per cent of duty or 1*s.* in the £ according to the book of rates. Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, p. 161.

Table 1.2: Dublin's trade revenue 1603-1608.[89]

| Year | Customs revenue | Total Value |
|---|---|---|
| | £ | £ |
| 1603 | 363 | 1,815 |
| 1604 | 340 | 1,700 |
| 1605 | 64 | 320 |
| 1606 | 278 | 1,390 |
| 1607 | 189 | 945 |
| 1608 | 220 | 1,100 |
| | 1454 | 7,270 |

Coogan's report was based on his own findings which he made during his enquiries at these ports into the state of Irish customs and, by his own admission, are 'grounded upon uncertainties'.[90] He said, 'there has not been any orderly form taken in this kingdom to attain the true knowledge thereof as in England, by reason there were no officers to collect the customs, and therefore no books put into the exchequer' (which probably accounts for the remarkably low revenue figures given for the years 1603-1608).[91] Following his assessment of the ports, a customer, a comptroller of the great and small customs and a searcher were introduced in the main ports in Ireland.[92] From 1613 up until 1641, the Irish customs were farmed out to a succession of English syndicates, which over the years endeavoured to produce ever higher returns to the crown coffers.[93] Significantly, this not only led to an increased efficiency in the collection of customs duties, but also led to statistics being kept to

[89] *Cal. Carew MSS 1603-1624*, pp. 85-6.
[90] Ibid, pp 174-5.
[91] Ibid.
[92] A list of customs officers in the various ports in Ireland is given in 'Lodge's patentee officers, customers and collectors Eliz I – Geo. III', in Lascelles (ed.), *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae., i,* pt. 2, pp 146-156; Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, pp 161-2.
[93] Victor Treadwell, 'The establishment of the farm of the Irish customs 1603-13' in *E.H.R.,,* XCIII (1978), pp 580-602; idem, *Buckingham in Ireland,* pp. 28-45; Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics, 1614-1641', p. 54.

inform potential farmers of the state of their business.[94] An examination of these trade and customs statistics clearly illustrates that even if Coogan's figures were not completely accurate, they were certainly in keeping with the city's position in relation to other ports in Ireland between 1615 and 1641.[95]

As Table 1.3 shows, in 1615 customs revenue for the whole of Ireland stood at a little over £8,665. This rose to almost £12,500 in 1622/23 and stood at almost £16,000 by 1625. By 1632/3 Irish customs revenue had risen to over £22,000 and in the following year rose again to £25,844. In the six month period March to September 1634 to 1635, the last year that a breakdown of trade figures is available by port, Irish customs revenue stood at £18,937 – which equates to almost £38,000 for a full year.[96] In the three years from 1636/37 to 1640/41 Irish customs revenue receipts reached unprecedented levels of £57,387, £55,582 and £51,874 respectively.[97] Donald Woodward has pointed out that care must be taken in comparing figures from these three years with earlier figures as they most likely include duties on wine and tobacco, whereas earlier figures relate only to tonnage and poundage raised on the values laid down in the book of rates which the farmers were authorised to collect.[98]

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[94] Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics, 1614-1641' pp 54-80.
[95] The following analysis is based on my own calculations of the statistics presented in Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics, 1614-1641', pp. 54-80. Figures are taken from different sources and sometimes overlap but, as Woodward has pointed out, the sums are relatively close which is to be expected as statistics were compiled from the same sources originally.
[96] Ibid, pp 54-80.
[97] Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland,* p. 165; Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics, 1614-1641', p. 65.
[98] The figures for these years are supplied by Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland,* p. 165; for comment see Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics 1614-1641' pp. 54-5. For a comprehensive explanation of why imposts on wine were kept separate from other duties see Hugh Kearney, 'Irish wine trade 1614-15' in *I.H.S.* ix, (1955), pp 400-442.

Table 1.3: Irish trade revenue 1615-1635 to the nearest £. [99]

| Year | £ | | Year | £ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1615/16 | 8,665 | | L-M1627(6 months) | 8,451 |
| 1616/17 | 10,030 | | M1627-L1628 (6 months) | 5,453 |
| 1617/18 | 11,160 | | L-M1628 (6 months) | 6,696 |
| L1619-20 | 11,811 | | M1628-L1629 (6 months | 5,996 |
| L1620-1 | 12,460 | | L1629-30 | 14,844 |
| L1621-2 | 11,458 | | L1630-1 | 13,952 |
| L-M1623 (6 months) | 6,174 | | L1631-2 | 13,486 |
| M1623-1624 (6 months) | 7,377 | | L1632-3 | 22,553 |
| M1623-4 | 14,772 | | L-M 1633 | 13,625 |
| M1624-5 | 15,920 | | M 1633-34 | 12,219 |
| M1625-L1626 (6 months) | 8,151 | | M 1634-35 | 18,937 |
| L-M1626 | 10,207 | | 1637-8 | 57,387 |
| M1626-L1627 | 6,604 | | 1638-9 | 55,582 |
| | | | 1639-40 | 51,874 |
| | | | | |
| NB: Accounts run for a year or six months beginning at Ladyday (25 March or Michaelmas (29 September). | | | | |

It should be pointed out, indeed, that it is impossible to be completely accurate when presenting statistics such as these for the seventeenth century. As Donald Woodward has also noted, the accuracy of these customs statistics are questionable and certain factors must be taken into consideration including the maintenance of old merchant privileges in some of the ports, especially Dublin; a shortage of data relating to some commodities, especially wine which was not collected by the farmers; smuggling; incompetence by clerks and the operation of corrupt customs officials and agents.[100] It was clearly common practice in Dublin to bribe customs officials. In October 1632 Christopher Lowther wrote to his father saying that 'after above a week's working the matter of the custom house [I] got the goods entered at reasonable rates, under 20 nobles, but in gratuities they came in all with the customs about 10*l*, which if I had gone the common way 20*l* would not have excused'.[101] The level of

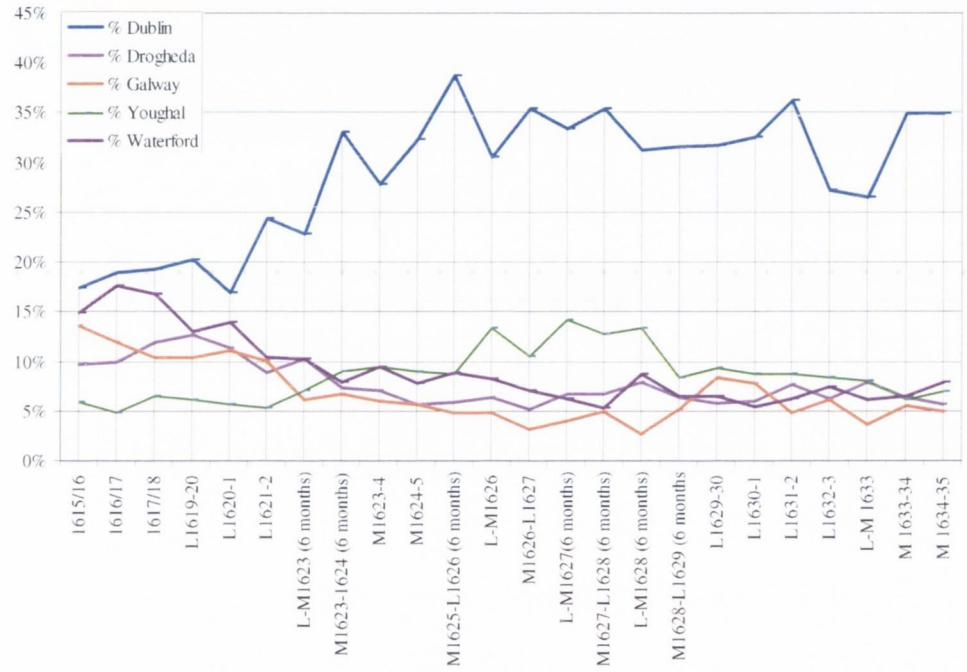
[99] These figures are taken from Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics, 1614-1641'pp, 54-80, his appendices. VIIIa, VIIIb, IXa, IXb, Xa, Xb, Xc but are rounded to the nearest £.

[100] Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics, 1614-1641' pp 54-5.

[101] 'Christopher Lowther to Sir. John Lowther', 7 Oct. 1632, Hanisworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 12.

collaboration between merchants and pirates is also a factor which should be considered. Crucially, all of these factors lead to an under-representation of the volume of Irish trade and should not distort overall trends particularly in relation to a comparison of performances by individual ports. Significantly, in such a comparison, Dublin not only emerges as the busiest port in Ireland but also, as Chart 1.1 clearly illustrates, its revenue increased dramatically, exceeding and continuing to outgrow that of any other port in Ireland in the period.

Chart 1.1. Percentage of revenue by port 1615-1635.[102]




It is evident that even at its lowest point Dublin's revenue was higher than any other Irish port. In 1615 Dublin's share of the customs revenue was £1,513 or seventeen per cent, just two per cent more than its nearest rival, Waterford, which took fifteen per cent of the revenue, followed by Galway at fourteen per cent, Drogheda at ten per cent and Youghal at six per cent. By 1622, Dublin's share was £11,458 or twenty-four per cent, with Galway and Waterford next at ten per cent each followed by

[102] This is based on the figures in Table 1.3.

Drogheda at nine per cent and Youghal at five per cent. In 1625 Dublin's portion of the revenue reached £8,151 in the six month period from September to March which accounted for an unprecedented thirty-nine per cent of Ireland's revenue. Its nearest rivals in this year were Waterford and Youghal at nine per cent each followed by Drogheda at six per cent and Galway at five per cent. From this point on, Dublin's share of the customs revenue remained between thirty and thirty-six per cent except for the years 1632 and1633 when it stood twenty-seven per cent of Irish customs revenue in both years but rose again to thirty-five per cent in each of the next two years. This drop in Dublin's percentage of the customs revenue coincided with a sudden rise in the customs yield following a revaluation of a range of commodities in the book of rates that year.[103] Nevertheless, even with this drop to twenty-seven per cent it's nearest rival, Youghal, accounted for a mere eight per cent of the total customs revenue. The most dramatic growth in the customs yield for Ireland were in the years 1637 to 1640 when the customs revenue for the country was £57,387, £55,582 and £51,874 in each year respectively, but no figures are extant for individual ports in these three years to allow for a comparative analysis.[104] Nevertheless, figures that are available clearly illustrate that in the early seventeenth century, Ireland experienced a period of unprecedented and consistent growth in its economy and more importantly, that Dublin unmistakably emerges as the major port in Ireland in the period. Significantly, an analysis of the types of commodities exported also demonstrates that, although Dublin's export trade was smaller than its import trade, the port's exports accounted for a significant share of the Irish market.

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[103] Woodward, 'Irish customs and trade statistics, 1614-1641' p. 56.
[104] The figures used for these three years by Donald Woodward are taken from Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland,* p. 165.

It is generally accepted that in the early seventeenth century, the staple export products of Ireland were mainly of a pastoral character – cattle, sheep, wool, hides, tallow and butter as well as fish. During the sixteenth century, the major Irish exports were fish, shipped in huge quantities from Wexford and the ports of south Munster, skins and hides, and linen yarn together with some timber and wool, and relatively small amounts of woollen cloth.[105] Donald Woodward's analysis of the port books of England and Wales illustrates the changes that occurred in the Irish economy in the first four decades of the seventeenth century, during what he called 'a massive and rapid commercialisation of the economy,' and clearly demonstrates that the export of wool and other sheep products, as well as the export of linen yarn, wool, timber and, most especially livestock, had grown substantially in the Irish economy by 1641.[106] The port books of England and Wales are, of course, one of the major sources for Irish economic history, particularly as none exist for Ireland apart from those relating to Ulster held in Leeds.[107] They provide crucial information relating to trade in the Irish Sea region including detailed descriptions of ships, the names and origin of merchants and the types of commodities imported into the various ports including their weights and values.[108] A complete analysis of the port books would be beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, it is clear from even a cursory examination that Irish merchants dominated the Irish Sea trade and, more importantly, that Dublin

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[105] Woodward, 'Irish Sea trades and shipping', pp 35-44.
[106] Ibid, pp 38-9.
[107] For a comprehensive description of the value and format of the port books see Woodward, 'The port books of England and Wales', pp 147-165.
[108] Collector of new impositions overseas, Chester, 1634-5 (T.N.A., Chester port book, 1634-5, E 190/1335/4, fols.1-5v); collector of new impositions overseas, Liverpool, 1637-8 (T.N.A., Chester port book, 1637-8, E 190/1335/18, fols. 1-7v); searchers overseas, Liverpool, 1640-1 (T.N.A., Chester port book, 1640-1, E 190/1336/11, fols. a-30v); controller overseas, Liverpool, 1635-6 (T.N.A., Chester port book, 1635-6, E 190/1335/12, fols. 1-34v); searcher overseas, Liverpool, 1637-8 (T.N.A., Chester port book, 1637-8, E 190/1335/16, fols. 1-32v).

merchant names dominate the listings in the port books of Chester and other English ports.[109] The port books do not, however, provide accurate annual statistics and it is impossible to gauge fluctuations in trade or long term trends with certainty. This makes other sources such as administrative and governmental records and the, albeit limited, trade and customs statistics even more important for an analysis of Dublin's position in relation to other Irish ports.

According to Robert Coogan's report in 1611, exports consisted of corn, hides, yarn, wool and fells, tallow, rugs etc.[110] In the report he complained that although the trade in Dublin was greater than in any other port, the exportation of goods was 'less than a fourth part less than the importation, viz., in corn, hides, yarn, wool and fells, tallow rugs, &c'.[111] Table 1.4 illustrates that between 1615 and 1622, Dublin's share of customs revenue raised on exports accounts for less than its imports.[112]

For example, in 1615/16 Dublin's percentage of customs revenue raised on its exports was just less than forty-eight per cent. In the same year both Wexford's and Kinsale's export revenue amounted to almost ninety-one per cent each, the lowest was Youghal at sixty-four per cent - sixteen per cent more than Dublin's percentage of export revenue.[113]

Table 1.4: Percentage share of revenue derived from exports by port 1615-1621. [114]

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[109] See Woodward, 'The overseas trade of Chester, 1600-1650', pp 32-42; idem, 'The Port books of England and Wales', p. 39; idem, 'Trades and shipping from later middle ages to c. 1660,' pp 35-44.
[110] *Cal. Carew MSS, 1603-1624*, p. 174.
[111] Ibid, p. 174.
[112] There is no breakdown of export figures by port after this year. See Woodward, 'Irish customs and trade statistics, 1614-1641', p. 59.
[113] Donald Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics, 1614-1641' pp 54-80.
[114] Woodward,'Irish customs and trade statistics, 1614-1641', p. 59.

| Year | Dublin | Wexford | New Ross | Waterford | Dungarven | Youghal | Cork | Kinsale | Limerick | Galway | Drogheda |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| M1615-16 | 46 | 91 | 75 | 66 | 74 | 64 | 74 | 90 | 79 | 83 | 79 |
| M 1616/17 | 66 | 89 | 57 | 68 | 74 | 61 | 74 | 83 | 80 | 79 | 82 |
| M1617/18 | 59 | | 69 | 64 | 74 | 64 | 71 | | 83 | 85 | 84 |
| M1618/19 | 62 | 90 | | 64 | 75 | 76 | 67 | 64 | 82 | 83 | 83 |
| M1619/20 | 54 | 94 | | 69 | | 73 | 65 | 68 | 79 | 84 | 85 |
| M1620/21 | 59 | 88 | 66 | 60 | 81 | 63 | 61 | 63 | 79 | 83 | 81 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | |
| AVERAGE | 58 | 90 | 67 | 65 | 76 | 67 | 68 | 74 | 81 | 83 | 82 |

Indeed, in this period, Dublin's export revenue averaged just under fifty-eight per cent of its total revenue while the average for Wexford was over ninety per cent, followed by Galway at almost eighty-three per cent and Limerick at just under eighty one per cent. A breakdown of commodities exported in the years 1616/17, 1626/27 and 1626 not only gives a clear view of regional specialisations but, more importantly, illustrates that even though Dublin had a lower percentage of exports in comparison to its imports than other ports, the amount of goods exported from the city was still significantly high in relation to other Irish ports.

As Table 1.5 shows, Dublin commanded a significant share of the market for the export of cows and oxen, accounting for forty-three per cent in 1616/17, followed by Youghal at thirty per cent with other ports only accounting for six per cent of the market.

Table 1.5: Cows & Oxen exports 1616-1626.[115]

[115] These tables are based on my own analysis of figures in Woodward, 'Irish custom and trade figures, 1614-1641', pp 54-80.

| Cows & Oxen | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1616/17 | Dublin | Total | % Dublin | Other ports | quantity | % |
| | 2,870 | 6656 | 43% | Youghal | 1998 | 30% |
| | | | | Drogheda | 417 | 6% |
| | | | | Lecale | 397 | 6% |
| | | | | Kinsale | 372 | 6% |
| | | | | | | |
| 1621/22 | | | | | | |
| | 773 | 4290 | 18% | Youghal | 1174 | 27% |
| | | | | Lecale/Clandeboy | 1063 | 25% |
| | | | | Antrim Coast | 540 | 13% |
| | | | | Carrickfergus | 464 | 11% |
| | | | | | | |
| 1626 | | | | | | |
| | 12,010 | 30,745 | 39% | Youghal | 8240 | 27% |
| | | | | Bangor | 4696 | 15% |
| | | | | Donaghadee | 2500 | 8% |
| | | | | Drogheda | 1166 | 4% |

In 1621/22 Dublin's share of the market in live cows and oxen fell to eighteen per cent, less than both Youghal, whose share stood at twenty-seven per cent and Lecale/Clandeboy in Ulster, which accounted for twenty-five per cent. By 1626 Dublin again topped the export ratings holding thirty-nine per cent of the market, twelve per cent more than its nearest rival Youghal, which held twenty seven per cent. Table 1.6 illustrates that Dublin's share of the beef export market was extremely low in both 1616/17 and 1621/22 standing at only two per cent and seven per cent respectively. Galway was the top exporter of beef in these two years holding thirty-two per cent of the export market in both years. By 1626 Dublin's export market in beef increased significantly to fifty-five per cent of the total exports in beef. Limerick was the next at nine per cent and Galway lost an incredible share of the market falling to a mere seven per cent of Irish exports that year.

Table 1.6: Beef exports 1616-1626[116]

[116] Ibid, pp 54-80.

| Beef (barrells | Dublin | Ireland | % Dublin | Other ports | | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1616/17 | | | | | | |
| | 83 | 3624 | 2% | Galway | 1175 | 32% |
| | | | | Cork | 774 | 21% |
| | | | | Kinsale | 420 | 12% |
| | | | | Derry | 344 | 9% |
| 1621/22 | | | | | | |
| | 144 | 2015 | 7% | Galway | 640 | 32% |
| | | | | Sligo | 414 | 21% |
| | | | | Drogheda | 264 | 13% |
| | | | | Cork | 150 | 7% |
| | | | | | | |
| 1626 | | | | | | |
| | 3660 | 6681 | 55% | Limerick | 593 | 9% |
| | | | | Galway | 440 | 7% |
| | | | | Kinsale | 279 | 4% |
| | | | | Youghal | 277 | 4% |
| | | | | | | |

These figures are even more remarkable when the actual amounts of goods exported are examined. For example, when Dublin held thirty per cent of the export market in cows and oxen in 1616/7, a total of 6,656 animals were exported from the whole of Ireland, 2,870 of which were from Dublin. In 1626 the total amount of animals exported increased incredibly to 30,745, 12,010 of which were from Dublin. Similarly, in 1616/7 and 1621/22, the total number of barrels of beef exported from the whole of Ireland was 3,624 and 2,015 in each year respectively. In 1626 when Dublin held fifty-five per cent of the market, 6,681 barrels of beef were exported from Ireland as a whole. In that year, Dublin exported 3,660 barrels, 2,485 barrels more than when Galway commanded thirty-two per cent of the trade in 1616/17.

Similarly Dublin increasingly dominated the monopoly on beef related products such as hides and tallow. As Table 1.7 shows, although Dublin's share of the exports in hides accounted for only twelve per cent of the market in 1616/16 - a smaller share than Waterford, Cork, Limerick or Galway - by 1621/22 the city's share

doubled to twenty-four per cent and increased by a further ten per cent to thirty-four per cent by 1626.

Table 1.7: Hide exports 1616-1626.[117]

| Hides | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1616/17 | | | | | | |
| Hides | 15,879 | 129,394 | 12% | Waterford | 24,107 | 19% |
| | | | | Cork | 19,306 | 15% |
| | | | | Limerick | 19,260 | 15% |
| | | | | Galway | 20,892 | 16% |
| | | | | | | |
| 1621/22 | | | | | | |
| | 35,423 | 146,123 | 24% | Galway | 29,434 | 20% |
| | | | | Drogheda | 16,098 | 11% |
| | | | | Limerick | 15,384 | 11% |
| | | | | Cork | 15,144 | 10% |
| | | | | | | |
| 1626 | | | | | | |
| | 28,606 | 83,150 | 34% | Galway | 12,041 | 14% |
| | | | | Cork | 10,535 | 13% |
| | | | | Waterford | 8,724 | 10% |
| | | | | Drogheda | 3,948 | 5% |

Similarly, as Table 1.8 illustrates, Dublin dominated the export market in tallow holding sixty-nine per cent in 1616/1617.

Table 1.8: Tallow exports 1616-1626.[118]

[117] Ibid, pp 54-80.
[118] Ibid, pp 54-80.

| Tallow (cwt | Dublin | Ireland | Dublin % | Other ports | quantity | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1616/17 | | | | | | |
| | 12,300 | 17,758 | 69% | Drogheda | 1149 | 6% |
| | | | | Waterford | 827 | 5% |
| | | | | Cork | 808 | 5% |
| | | | | Galway | 686 | 4% |
| | | | | | | |
| 1621/22 | | | | | | |
| | 334,500 | 992,001 | 34% | Drogheda | 221,400 | 22% |
| | | | | Cork | 99,000 | 10% |
| | | | | Waterford | 60,000 | 6% |
| | | | | Galway | 75,100 | 8% |
| | | | | | | |
| 1626 | | | | | | |
| | 5,555 | 10,684 | 52% | Drogheda | 936 | 9% |
| | | | | Kinsale | 869 | 8% |
| | | | | Youghal | 800 | 7% |
| | | | | Waterford | 800 | 7% |

Drogheda was next highest but held only six per cent of the market. In 1621/22 Dublin's share of the tallow market fell to thirty-four per cent, but was still twelve per cent higher than its nearest rival, Drogheda, which held twelve per cent of the market. By 1626, Dublin's share of the tallow market again increased, to fifty two per cent of the Irish market. Other products such as timber and pipe staves, which were the products of the wood industry centred mainly in Munster, were exclusively exported from Wexford. Although Drogheda led the export market in wool in 1616/17, the demand for wool by cloth manufacturers in Devon meant that the trade was mostly dominated by Munster ports particularly Youghal.[119] Dublin's share in the export of linen stood at twenty-two per cent in 1616/17, dropped to fifteen per cent in 1621/22 but increased to forty-four per cent by 1626. Moreover, as is illustrated in Table 1.9, Dublin's share of the market in wool rose from a mere eight per cent in 1616/17, to eighteen per cent in 1621/22 and increased again in 1626 to twenty-five per cent.

[119] See Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland,* p. 136.

Table 1.9: Wool exports 1616-1626.[120]

| Wool exports | Dublin | Ireland | % Dublin | | Quantity | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1616/17 | | | | | | |
| Wool | 2,744 | 32,625 | 8% | Drogheda | 8,654 | 27% |
| (stones @ 8lbs) | | | | Kinsale | 4,080 | 13% |
| | | | | Youghal | 4,378 | 13% |
| | | | | Waterford | 4,137 | 13% |
| | | | | | | |
| 1621/22 | | | | | | |
| | 3,359 | 18,942 | 18% | Youghal | 10,738 | 57% |
| | | | | Kinsale | 3,470 | 18% |
| | | | | Galway | 576 | 3% |
| | | | | New Ross | 494 | 3% |
| | | | | | | |
| 1626 | | | | | | |
| | 8,216 | 32,760 | 25% | Youghal | 15,716 | 48% |
| | | | | Kinsale | 1,969 | 6% |
| | | | | Galway | 1,830 | 6% |
| | | | | Carrickfergus | 500 | 2% |

It is notable that, unlike the export of almost every other product, the overall level of wool exports from Ireland as a whole remained stagnant in this period with 32,625 stone of wool exported in 1616/17, 18,942 in 1621/22 and 32,760 in 1626, which makes the growth in Dublin's export trade in the product all the more remarkable. It is significant that even where Dublin's share of the outgoing trade in some products was weak in the earlier part of the seventeenth century, by 1626 the city commanded the highest percentage, and numbers, in most major products exported from Ireland. It is clear, indeed, that although Dublin had more imports than exports, the city still commanded a significant share of the Irish overseas trade in the period.

The nature of Irish exports is commented on in the 1630s by Lewes Roberts, a prominent English merchant.[121] He said that

[120] Ibid, p. 136
[121] Roberts, *The merchants' map of commerce*, p. 285.

> the commodities the country doth afford for merchandise are these, first, the country abounds in cattle, each affords tallow and hides in great abundance, which is hence exported to Spain, France, and Italy. … Herrings are here also caught and accounted the best, as also Pilchards in August, September and October, and thence vented to Spain, France and into the Straights of Gibralter; here is also some butter, cheese, pipe-staves, calf-skins and other commodities of late days prohibited to be exported by the laws of the kingdom.[122]

Roberts's comment on the pastoral character of Irish commodities hardly comes as any surprise. What is perhaps surprising about this depiction is that according to Roberts, these goods were exported to Spain, France and Italy and no mention is made of trade with England which is traditionally seen as Dublin's main trading partner. Given the nature of available sources on this subject such as English port books or other manuscripts which are largely in English archives, it is unsurprising that much of what is written on the subject of Dublin's trade in the early seventeenth century is concentrated on commercial activities in the Irish Sea region, particularly in relation to trade with Chester.[123] In his study on Dublin and its hinterlands from 1600 to 1700, Raymond Gillespie has rightly stressed Dublin's value as a port of trade with England, particularly its north west.[124] He nevertheless describes the city's export market as a 'colonial export trade' saying that 'despite the fact that Dublin was mainly a trading port … much of its trade was carried on in foreign shipping'.[125] This strongly implies that Dublin's trading relations were solely with England and that the

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[122] Ibid. p. 285.
[123] Woodward, 'Irish trade and customs statistics 1614-1641' pp 54-80; idem, 'Irish Sea trades and shipping' pp 35-44; *idem*, 'The overseas trade of Chester, 1600-1650', pp 32-42; idem, 'The port books of England and Wales', p. 39; A. Longfield, *Anglo-Irish Trade in the sixteenth century* (London, 1929).
[124] Gillespie, 'Dublin, 1600-1700', p. 94.
[125] Ibid. p. 94.

city was little more than a stop-off point for foreign merchants trading with the continent. Anglo-Irish trade almost certainly accounted for the bulk of Dublin's traffic, it was not, however, exclusively so.

From the time of the middle-ages Dublin was clearly a lively, flourishing town with an active trade in all sorts of merchandise including cloth from England and Normandy, Flanders and Brabens, wood from Caen, Amiens and Vermand, and figs, dates and raisins from the orient.[126] At the beginning of the seventeenth century, merchants who traded on their own account used French vessels.[127] By the 1630s, according to Wentworth, 'all the trade within this channel, save that of coals, is wholly carried in Dutch bottoms'.[128] Hugh Kearney has pointed out that that this statement cannot be accepted without 'evidence in confirmation'.[129] He said that while there are signs that the Dutch merchants in Dublin were an important colony that the evidence of the wine lists casts doubt on this as the Dutch share in the wine trade was much smaller than would have been expected.[130] While general histories on the Irish economy have commented briefly on Ireland's trade with the continent,[131] apart from Hugh Kearny's examination of the Irish wine trade over fifty years ago, the whole question of Irish-continental trading networks was neglected until a recent upsurge in studies on archival holdings relating to Irish trade and mercantile

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[126] *CARD*, i, pp 15-16, 233

[127] See Fitzpatrick, 'Municipal corporation of Dublin', p. 55.

[128] Knowler, *Strafford's Letters,* i, p. 106. Fitzpatrick, 'Municipal corporation of Dublin' p. 55; Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, p. 134.

[129] Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland,* p. 134.

[130] Ibid, p. 134.

[131] Clarke, 'The Irish economy 1600-1660', pp, 168-186. O'Brien, *The economy of Ireland*; Gillespie, *The transformation of the Irish economy 1500-1700;* Kearney, 'The Irish wine trade, 1614-15' pp 400-42; For a general overview of Irish continental trade see Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, pp 130-37; Karin Schuller, 'Irish-Iberian Trade from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries' in David Dickson, Jan Parmentier and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 175-95.

communities across Europe.[132] Karin Schüller's recent work, in particular, illustrates that Irish-Iberian trade was well established at the beginning of the early modern period, and that individual merchants or merchant families from Dublin, Waterford and Galway were active in the Iberian trade network for generations.[133] Moreover, some Dublin merchants were clearly heavily involved in continental trade.

In October 1632 when Christopher Lowther attempted to set up a business relationship with a Dublin merchant, John Bamber, he wrote to his father, Sir John Lowther that 'his [Bamber's] trading is for England, France or Spain, [and] is now sending two for France'.[134] Moreover, Lowther also wrote about the trading activities of Dutch merchants in the city. On 29 September 1632 he wrote to his partner and agent in Belfast, Rowland Jackson, that 'Burr [Christian Bor] Quoyman & Foukes [?] send a ship for the Canaries with wheat which next Saturday will be laden out'.[135] He also wrote that Christian Bor and 'some partners' were lading a ship with kilne dried corn for the Canaries. The ship had arrived from the Canaries ten days earlier with sixty pipes of 'sack' and took away 1,000 barrels of wheat as well as peas, beans, salt, port, tongues and candles. A Spanish ship had freighted wheat to Dunkirk during September, and in October two ships were loading wheat which was, according to Christopher in a letter to his uncle Robert, sometimes said to be for either for London

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[132] See the recent series of essays in Dickson, Parmentier and Ohlmeyer (eds), *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Dublin, 2007).

[133] Schuller, 'Irish Iberian trade from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries', pp. 175-95.

[134] Christopher Lowther to his father Sir John Lowther, 7 Oct. 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 8. See chapter five below for discussion of factorage and business relationships.

[135] Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 37; Hainsworth, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary Adventure', p. 25.

or Dunkirk, but which was sometimes said to be for Flanders or Germany, but which he himself thought was destined for Spain.[136]

Significantly, Lowther's insights into Dublin merchants' involvement in continental trade were written over a period of around four or five weeks. Although the bulk of Dublin's trade was seemingly carried out within the Irish Sea Region, the level of activity in such a short space of time suggests that Dublin merchants and their Dutch counterparts were heavily involved in continental traffic. It can be concluded indeed, that contrary to the view put forward by Louis Cullen that the commercialisation of the Irish economy was an eighteenth century phenomena, this commercialisation, as Donald Woodward and Raymond Gillespie have both pointed out, actually occurred in the first four decades of the seventeenth century when the Irish economy witnessed a period of unprecedented and consistent growth.[137] Despite obvious obstacles to trade presented by the sandbar in the harbour and the threat from pirates in the bay, Dublin unequivocally emerges as the major port in Ireland in the period. Even though Dublin's export market was weaker than its import market, its share of trade revenue in the first four decades of the seventeenth century was far superior to that of any other trading centre and, significantly, continued to outgrow and exceeded that of any other port in Ireland throughout the period under review. Such a strong economic performance suggests that a great deal of Dublin merchant's affluence lay in their economic activities and, contrary to expressed opinions, that they were not afraid to invest in further trade. Crucially, privileges and trade monopolies were protected by city and trade guild charters. The following chapter will show how Dublin merchants permeated every strata of life in the city and

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[136] Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 7.
[137] See Woodward, 'Irish Sea trades and shipping' p. 38; Gillespie, *The transformation of the Irish economy'*.

effectively ran municipal government and trade guilds which not only gave them the means to protect their privileges, but also allowed them to accumulate individual wealth and status.

## CHAPTER 2

## DEFINING MERCHANTS: DUBLIN AND ITS MERCHANT COMMUNITY C.1620-1660.

> He that had but a Barrel of salt, and a bar or two of iron in his shop, is called a merchant. … there be shopkeepers in Dublin, that all the wares they are able to show, are not worth a poor English peddlers pack, and yet they be called merchants.[1]

This comment written in 1610 by Barnaby Rich, a retired soldier living in Dublin, is similar to that of other seventeenth-century commentators who remarked upon or criticized the phenomenon of retailers calling themselves merchants. In 1632 Christopher Lowther wrote to his uncle Robert saying that, 'you say there be those that sell by wholesale, but I know none yet who do not retail, but indeed some there be who use to sell part by wholesale … but in cloth and stuff, I know none'.[2] Fifty years later, Richard Lawrence, in his capacity as an official on the council of trade in Ireland, scathingly attacked the tradition of retailers and traders calling themselves merchants saying that the practice degraded the reputation of merchants, remarking that it was an impediment to trade and one of the reasons for the underdevelopment of the Irish economy.[3] He said:

> Every peddling shopkeeper and pettifogger is styled a merchant; that Ireland breeds merchants as beggars do lice… For though clothiers,

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[1] Barnaby Rich, *A new description of Ireland, wherein is described the disposition of the Irish whereunto they are inclined* (London, 1610), p. 69.

[2] 'Christopher Lowther to Robert Lowther', 11 Nov. 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 23.

[3] Richard Lawrence, *The interest of Ireland in its trade and wealth stated* (London, 1682), pp 8-9. Lawrence was appointed to the newly formed council of trade in 1664. In this capacity, he was active in schemes to improve the textile industries and agriculture. In particular, he determined the potential of Ireland to support a successful linen manufacture.

> drapers, mercers, milliners, ironmongers, grocers, haberdashers & c. may be worshipful rank and principal citizens, yet they are not merchants; for none are properly merchants but the adventurers at sea; from whence the most ancient corporation of merchants in London was styled the company of Merchant Adventurers.[4]

As a result, he said, 'that honourable calling is of so low repute, that few gentlemen, much less noblemen, will put their sons apprentice to a merchant'.[5] Almost a century later defining merchants was clearly still an ongoing debate but it was recognised, at least by one commentator, that the term was seen differently in Ireland than it was in England. In 1726, Daniel Dafoe wrote that while in England the word merchant is understood to mean those who are concerned with overseas trade, that even in the north of Britain as well as in Ireland 'shopkeepers, who we here call tradesmen, are all called merchants; nay even the very peddlers are called travelling merchants'.[6] Indeed, the fact that Christopher Lowther remarked on not knowing any merchants who were not retailers evidently did not impede on his relations with Dublin merchants either in his financial dealings or in his overseas trading ventures.[7] In fact, Dublin's position as the most prominent economic centre in Ireland in the first three decades of the seventeenth century strongly suggests that the overlap between merchants and retailers did not have any detrimental effect on trade.

The vital and central role that Dublin played in the Irish economy gave the merchant community the means to accumulate wealth which in turn elevated their social and political status. Dublin merchants dominated all areas of public life in the

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[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English tradesman, in familiar letters: directing him in all the several parts and progressions of trade.* (London, 1726, 2nd ed. 1727), p. 2.
[7] See chapters one and five.

early seventeenth century. Members of the merchant community controlled city government and trade guilds, superintended Dublin port and regulated commodity prices, which not only gave them control of the city, but also gave them the means to increase their individual wealth. Of course, not all merchants in early seventeenth century Dublin fit these criteria. Many were small merchant-retailers or tradesmen of little means who left little or no record of their existence. As Jean Agnew has pointed out in her study of Belfast merchants, 'families are usually documented in direct proportion to their economic and social achievements', and those who remained in the lowest stratum seldom left records.[8] Likewise, in his seminal study of the aldermanic elite of Dublin, Colm Lennon said that with a few exceptions, only those elected to the board of aldermen had their personal or professional papers recorded in contemporary documentation and that only fleeting glimpses are afforded to the ordinary inhabitants of Dublin who rarely merit attention.[9] Indeed, records for even the most prominent merchants in the period are difficult to access for the period. Nevertheless, enough evidence exists to provide an analysis of Dublin merchants from even the lowest stratum of society which is crucial in establishing an overview of the merchant body as a whole.

In the early seventeenth century the increasing centralisation of government and administration, along with a remarkable change in social and political relations within Ireland saw Dublin emerge as the political capital of Ireland. Immigration swelled the city and as an increasingly English, Protestant population poured into the capital the character of citizenship took on a completely new dimension and the municipal government of the city faced unprecedented changes at its very core. It is within this context of social and demographic change that this chapter will analyse the

[8] Agnew, *Belfast merchant families in the seventeenth century*, p. xviii.
[9] Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* p. 10.

merchant community of Dublin between c1620 and 1660. It will discuss contemporary usage of the term 'merchant' and attempt to define it in its seventeenth-century context. It will investigate the social make up of the city and examine how merchants fit into the various social strata that comprised the citizenry of Dublin. It will also analyse the growth of the city and examine the impact that demographic and social changes had on its merchant community between the years 1620 and 1660.

Evidence shows that many individuals who are noted as merchants in contemporary records were minor merchants who had little in the way of riches. It is demonstrated below that merchants from every stratum of society commonly sought unpaid debts by bringing suits against their debtors in the Tholsell court.[10] It was often the case that where debts remained unpaid the debtors' goods or homes were valued by the court in order to secure the payment of even the smallest of debts.[11] These valuations or 'praisements' were undertaken by the sword-bearer and marshal of the city. For instance, on 26 May 1630, the goods of a Dublin merchant, Bartholomew Ball, appraised at the request of Arlenter Usher included 'one white bowl of Irish shwist [possibly silver] weight 10oz 3 quarters at 3*s*. 6*d*. an ounce and one gilt tankard without cover weight 12oz at 4*s* 6*d* an ounce, a total sum of £4 13*s*-1*d*'.[12] The appraisement value on these goods amounted to a mere 4*s* 9*d*. On 13 October 1637 Edmond Ball requested the appraisement of the goods of two Dublin merchants, Roland Wetherby and Christopher White.[13] The 'parcels' valued contained white and coloured thread, reams of white paper, tailors shears, swathes of cloth and cloaks, and amounted to a total valuation of £6 *5s* 1*d*, the appraisement value was a

[10] See chapter five below.
[11] Tholsell Court: Complaint Book, 1 Oct. 1616-1617 (D.C.A., MS C1/J/2/1); Complaints book, 1 Oct. 1629-27 Oct. 1630 (D.C.A., C1/J/2/2); Complaints Book. 1 Oct. 1637-28 Sept. 1638 (D.C.A., C1/J/4).
[12] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/115, p. 113.
[13] Ibid, C1/J/2/4/199, p. 258.

mere 6*s*. 3*d*. Other items valued included household goods, 'worn' clothing and even 'one small black nag past about six years old and mellimouthed' valued at £3 sterling which belonged to John White, the appraisement value of which was a meagre three shillings.[14] These appraisements targeted specific goods to recoup a particular debt and did not actually reflect the wealth of some of these merchants. Nevertheless, it is evident that many of Dublin's mercantile community were minor merchants who were not great overseas traders that, for example, dominated London's export trade where only those who exported one hundred or more cloths were listed in the records as merchant-venturers.[15]

The dominance of London's trade by the Company of Merchant Adventurers and the increasingly flourishing Levant and East India companies was challenged by lesser merchants outside of these groupings. For example, in 1645 it was argued by Thomas Johnson and other London merchants that companies or corporations (including towns) 'where many men are incorporated or arrogated into one body solely to protect their own trade only enrich themselves and their society and essentially amounts to nothing more than a monopoly'.[16] According to this writer, there was nothing as destructive to any kingdom or commonwealth as monopolies. He said 'the fellowship and charter of them that term themselves merchant-adventurers is a monopoly of this kind and is repugnant to the law of nature, the law of nations and the positive law of the land'.[17] It is difficult indeed to define accurately the term 'merchant' in its seventeenth-century context. In the early modern period in England the title merchant was usually given to someone who exclusively dealt in overseas

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[14] Ibid, C1/J/2/4/215, p. 268.
[15] Robert Brenner, 'The civil war politics of London's merchant community', *Past and Present*, lviii, (February 1973), pp. 53-107, p. 54, n. 16.
[16] Thomas Johnson, *A discourse consisting of motives for the enlargement and freedom of trade* (London, 1645), p. 8.
[17] Ibid.

trade.[18] According to 'an order defining a merchant' (an ordinance of the Guild of Merchant Adventurers in York), a merchant was someone 'of some good conynance not less than three years traded at home and abroad beyond the seas merchant-like'.[19] The term 'merchant venturer,' which became common from the early sixteenth century, initially applied to members of the Company of the Merchant Adventurers of England at a time when its members had ceased to be adventurers and were settling down to a well-ordered trade in an established market.[20] In 1552, the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers was established by merchants who sought to protect their trading rights against wealthier retailers who did not want to give up retailing but who were determined not to be excluded from foreign trade. Merchant venturers argued that 'if rich retailers ... were allowed to trade abroad, they would ruin the poorer members of their own crafts who would be unable to compete with them, and that they would destroy the 'mere' merchants who had no one else to sell to only retailers'.[21] The merchant guilds of Bristol and Chester excluded retailers, but in York the drapers and tailors belonged to one guild and even the wealthiest merchants kept shops.[22] Keith Wrightson has rightly summed up the mercantile and entrepreneurial elite of English towns as 'men of mixed enterprise, who primarily represented

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[18] For some discussion on both contemporary usage and recent research on the topic see Perry Gauci, *The politics of trade: the overseas merchant in state & society 1660-1720* (Oxford and New York, 2001); Also see Richard Britnell, 'The mercantile system in the time of Thomas Mun', in *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vi, no. 4 (Dec. 1993), pp 359-376.

[19] Maud Sellers (ed.), *The acts and ordinances of the Eastland Company,* (London, 1906), p. 3.

[20] Patrick Mc Grath, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol: A history of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol from its origin to the present day* (Bristol, 1975), pp 1-23.

[21] Ibid, pp. 2-3.

[22] Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal Corporation of Dublin', p. 49.

wholesale trade but combined it with one or more of a number of other interests'.[23] In seventeenth-century Dublin there is no evidence in the records of any conflict between merchants and retailers. No distinction was made between the merchant as shop-keeper and the merchant as overseas trader: there were artisans in Dublin who retailed in commodities that they did not manufacture and the merchant guild included drapers, tailors and other tradesmen amongst its membership. As Brendan Fitzpatrick has pointed out, the term merchant would appear to include all who bought and sold but did not manufacture.[24] This does not mean, however, that the Dublin merchant community was insignificant as has been argued by some social and economic historians.[25]

As appendix one shows, over five hundred and fifty merchants existed in Dublin in the early-seventeenth century.[26] Many of these merchants were obviously little more than retailers who dabbled in trade and clearly belong in the lower end of the social spectrum or who dominated particular retail areas. For example, it was shown in the previous chapter that Dublin merchants controlled the bulk of Chester's sea trade throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[27] Donald Woodworth has suggested that it is possible that this was because English merchants were preoccupied with the more lucrative continental trades.[28] To a large extent, this is probably true. It is entirely plausible to suggest, however, that Dublin merchants dominated this trade route because Chester's merchant community was significantly

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[23] Keith Wrightson, *Earthly necessities, economic lives in early modern Britain*, New Haven and London, 2000), p. 38.
[24] Ibid, p. 49.
[25] Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin 1600-1900', p 25; Gillespie, 'Dublin 1600-1700', pp 84-104, p. 84; Lennon, 'The changing face of Dublin, pp 39-52.
[26] See app. I, 'merchant list'.
[27] Woodward, 'The overseas trade of Chester, 1600-1650', pp 32-42; idem, 'The port books of England and Wales', p. 39.
[28] Woodward, 'The port books of England and Wales', p. 39.

smaller than Dublin's. In the twenty years between 1620 and 1640, two hundred and ninety five merchants (eighteen per cent of total admissions) were admitted to the freedom of Dublin.[29] Significantly, in the fifty year period between 1600 and 1650, only thirty-eight merchants (less than quarter of a per cent of total admissions) were entered to the freedom of Chester. The highest number entered in any one year was six, and in most years no merchants at all were admitted.[30] Yet, although Dublin merchants dominated Chester's trade, between 1610 and 1641 only eight Dublin merchants were involved in the livestock trade between Dublin and Chester. Significantly, a group of butchers handled a substantial proportion of the trade. In 1639, two butchers from Chester and four from Dublin handled thirty five per cent of the cattle and thirty four per cent of the sheep trade. Two years later, they controlled forty six per cent of cattle and twenty two per cent of sheep.[31] This suggests that trading activity, in some commodities at least, was not always exclusive to the merchant community and that retailers could hold a significant share of the market. It is evident, however, that many of Dublin merchants were significantly wealthy.

The fact that between March 1599 and December 1600 the city provided the crown with a loan of almost £60,000 sterling, £12,000 of which was claimed by a group of Dublin merchants, is an indication of the affluence of some Dublin merchants.[32] The wealth of many Dublin merchants is particularly evidenced in their

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[29] See below.

[30] This is based on my own calculations of numbers entered in the freedom rolls of Chester which are printed in J.H.E. Bennet, 'The roll of the freemen of the City of Chester, part 1, 1392-1700', *Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,* li (1906), pp 81-133.

[31] Woodward, 'The overseas trade of Chester, 1600-1650', pp 508-9; Bennet, 'The Roll of the freemen of the City of Chester, part 1, 1392-1700'.

[32] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1600-1,* p. 114. Richard Barry, 1,114*l;* John Cusack, 1,300*l*; Robert Kennedy, 1,711*l*; Thomas Carroll, 1,320*l*; Richard Brice, 2,346*l*; Thomas Bird, 600*l*; John Horesh, 234*l*; Nicholas Daniell, 120*l*; Nicholas Carmick, 1,000*l*; Mr. Curtain,

level of financial activities on the statute staple and other webs of credit that existed in the period.[33] Moreover, many were from well-established merchant families who were significantly wealthy landowners who essentially controlled the municipal government of the city.[34] Between 1621 and 1636 a number of well known merchant families who supplied office holders to the city had more than two family members entered into the franchise of Dublin having completed their apprenticeships as merchants or as sons of freemen.[35] Significantly others who are not recorded as holding any civic office also had more than two family members enter the franchises after completing their apprenticeships or as sons of freemen in the same period.[36] Indeed, some of these families had four or more members enfranchised in the same period.[37] Of these, two James Archbolds were enfranchised in January 1623 and January 1636; two Redmond Archbolds, in October 1626 and April 1626; three Richard Barnewalls in January 1620, July 1625 and January 1629 and two Patrick Bellews, in July 1627 and January 1634. It is evident that a number of Dublin merchant families carried the trade through their lineage and that it was not confined to one branch of the same family. As with any social or economic study of this period, however, the absence of sufficient evidence or statistics creates obvious difficulties in attempting to compile a complete picture of the Dublin merchant community. Nevertheless, an examination of the franchise rolls of Dublin makes it possible to

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403*l*; Mr. Bancks, 100*l*; John Beggs, 300*l*; George Chambers, 500*l;* Philip Moyle, 195*l*; Patrick Conley, 400*l*; Mr. Boothby, 100*l.*

[33] See chapter five below for a full discussion of the level of indebtedness in the city.

[34] For family backgrounds, see chapter three below.

[35]These include the Arthurs, Balls, Barnewalls, Begges, Bennetts, Brices [Bysse], Cusacks, Duffs, Goughs, Kennedys, Mapas, Nugents, Plunketts, Sherlocks, Stanleys, and Whites. See app. I and II, 'Merchant list' and 'Civic government list 1620-1660'.

[36] Such as the Archbolds, Baths, Bretts, Cookes, Dillons, Dowds, Doynes, Fitzsimons, Fyans, Gernons, Hoares, Jordans, Moores, Osbornes, Plunketts, Purcells, Westons, and Younges

[37] Archbolds, Barnewalls, Bellews, Dillons, Jordans, Moores, Nugents, Stanleys, Walshes and Whites

assemble a sketch of the standing of even the lowest stratum of the merchant community in the city.[38]

The first requirement of citizenship of Dublin was possession of the city franchise.[39] To become a freeman of the city, it was usually necessary to be born within the city boundaries or 'franchise'. In the seventeenth century the franchise stretched from St. Kevin's Gate to Donnybrook and to the sea at Clarad (Poolbeg) on the eastern boundary, through St. Patrick's to Kilmainham in the west and around the north of the city to Grangegorman and on to the Tolka River at Ballybough.[40] The Dublin City Assembly granted franchise admissions quarterly: at Christmas, Easter, Midsummer and Michaelmas. Membership, as recorded on the rolls, was based on five main categories: by special grace; on completion of apprenticeship; as a son or daughter of a citizen; on the payment of fine, and through marriage to a citizen.[41] Entry to the franchise of the city meant that citizens had particular duties such as the payment of municipal tolls, levies and taxes, participation in civic musters, watches and assemblies, and compliance with the vast range of corporation byelaws governing almost every aspect of city life. In return, freemen of the city had the right to own property and the right to plead at law as one individual. More importantly, entry to the

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[38] The following analysis of the make up of the merchant community is based on my own findings extracted from *CARD*, ii, iii, iv; Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', ii, app. 4.

[39] Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* chapters 1 & 2; Dudley Edwards, 'The beginning of municipal government in Dublin', in *D.H.R.* 1 (1938-9), pp 2-10; J.J. Webb, *Municipal government in Ireland, mediaeval and modern* (Dublin, 1918). Colm Lennon & James Murray (eds.), *The Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1469-1512* (Dublin 1998); City Archivist, 'Freedom of the City' in *D.H.R.* liii, no. 1 (Spring 2000).

[40] Lennox Barrow, 'The Franchises of Dublin' in *Dublin Historical Journal*, xxxvi, no. 2 (March 1983), pp 68-80.

[41] In the later seventeenth century a sixth method, 'by act of parliament' was introduced to 'encourage Protestant strangers to settle in Ireland'; Henry Berry, 'The Records of the Dublin gild of merchants known as the gild of Holy Trinity 1438-1671', in *R.I.A. Proc.*, xxx, Section C (1911-13), p. 58. City Archivist, 'Freedom of the City'.

franchise meant that citizens were entitled to a range of significant economic privileges including the exclusive right to trade freely within the liberty of the city or franchises of the town and, significantly, the right to custom-free trade with Chester.[42]

To become a freeman of the city it was also necessary to be a member of one of the trade guilds of Dublin. The largest and most powerful of these guilds was the 'merchant' or trinity guild of Dublin. Admittance to the guild of merchants was subject to severe restrictions. A fine of £40 was payable for admission to the guild unless the person was entitled to their franchise by birth, marriage or apprenticeship. An act (1560) prevented anyone from entering the fraternity unless they had served seven years apprenticeship to a 'brother', no apprenticeship was to be less than seven years and all apprentices were to be sons of freemen.[43] Moreover, all guild members were obliged to apply for the municipal franchise in order to operate within the city limits. Dublin merchants dominated the guild, and those who served as masters and wardens were also prominent members of the civic administration.[44] This ensured their interest in the economic success of the city and, more importantly, effectively gave the board of aldermen and the merchant guild control of trade within the franchise of the city. Entry to the franchise and to the merchant guild meant that citizens were entitled to a range of significant economic privileges including the exclusive right to trade freely within the liberty of the city or franchises of the town to the exclusion of others.

Up until the late sixteenth century, a series of enactments in the statutes of the trinity guild protected the trading privileges of Dublin merchants from 'foreigners,'

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[42] Charter 24 Eliz. 1582, *CARD,* i. pp. 36-7. This was one of the privileges of the city targeted by the English administration in the early seventeenth century. See chapter six below.
[43] Berry, 'The records of the Dublin gild of merchants', p. 67.
[44] Ibid, p. 67.

including Englishmen.[45] An act dating back to 1460 prevented English merchants residing in the city from admission to the franchise, which motivated the English merchants into founding a fraternity of their own. However, the council passed another act to the effect that any freeman sworn into this English guild should lose his franchise and incur a fine.[46] Many of these restrictions were rescinded by the end of the sixteenth century but as one of the prerequisites to becoming a freeman of the city was membership of a guild, it clearly made it difficult for foreigners or strangers to infringe on the economic or social position of Dublin merchants. Nevertheless, the level of participation of Dutch merchants in trade in the city in the early seventeenth century suggests that foreign merchants operated freely in the economic life of the city, notwithstanding the fact that they were subject to a tax of three pence in the pound that Dublin merchants did not have to pay.[47] It is difficult, however, to evaluate exactly the percentage of foreign or non-national merchants in the city in the period. Very few identifiable Dutch names appear on the freedom rolls. The first instance of Dutch nationals being included in the freedom rolls of Dublin is in 1638 when Peter Vanhoven, a goldsmith and Robert Desmineere, a merchant, both entered the franchises. The following year James Vanderberg, a goldsmith as well as two Dutch merchants, Theodore Schout and John Vanhaut became freemen of the city.[48] English names are more easily identifiable and it is clear from an examination of the franchise

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[45] Charters and documents of the guild of Holy Trinity or Merchant's Guild 1438-1824 (D.C.A., Gilbert MS 78, 79, ff. 62, 69-70); Berry, 'The records of the Dublin gild of merchants', pp 53-4.

[46] Berry, 'The records of the Dublin gild of merchants', p. 53.

[47] Foreign merchants were subject to a charge of three pence in the pound sterling on the value of all merchandize imported and exported. In 1631 the Dutch merchants in Dublin led by Christian Bor brought a suit against the city and refused to pay the custom. The municipal council sought redress through the Court of Exchequer at Dublin and obtained a decree there. This decision was upheld at London, after an appeal to the king and council against it. The full transcript of this long drawn out suit is appended to *CARD,* iii pp, 550-576

[48] See app. III A, 'Yearly franchise admissions 1620-1639'.

rolls that from the 1620s but more specifically from the mid 1630s, the character of the citizenship of Dublin was taking on a whole new dimension.

The most important event in Irish social and economic history in this period was the arrival *en masse* of settlers from England and Scotland. Dublin as a leading centre for trade and the axis of administrative power attracted many of these settlers, and this largely accounts for the growth of the population in Dublin up to 1641. In 1600, the population of Dublin numbered approximately 10,000 to 15,000 people, around the same size as some British provincial towns such as York, Norwich or Bristol, but significantly smaller than Edinburgh or London.[49] Within sixty years, the population had increased to around 40,000, almost three times the population of these towns.[50] In 1686 one contemporary placed Dublin in the top twelve European cities and a year later Sir William Petty compared it favourably with Paris, London, Amsterdam, Venice and Rome and declared it be 'far in advance of any English provincial town'.[51] By 1700 Dublin was considered the second city of the empire when its population numbered approximately 60,000.[52] As Raymond Gillespie has shown, although the population of the city grew by a staggering 1.1 per cent per

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[49] Keith Wrightson has said that only 5.25 per cent of the population of England, Wales and Scotland lived in towns of more than 5,000 and a further 2.5 per cent lived in towns of more than 2,000 and that demographically these societies were overwhelmingly rural. According to Louis Cullen, Dublin was significantly smaller than Edinburgh, Bristol, Norwich, York, and London which seems in keeping with other studies on demographic growth in the period. See Wrightson, *Earthly necessities, economic lives in early modern Britain,* p. 34; Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin' p 251; Gillespie, 'Dublin 1600-1700', p. 84; Lennon, 'The changing face of Dublin', p. 40. It should be noted that the population within the walls of Dublin was probably around 3,800: the rest of the population comprised those living in the suburbs of the city. See Andrews, 'The oldest map in Dublin', *RIA Proc.* i, 33, sect. C, (1983) pp. 205-37 p. 207; Joseph Brady and Angret Simms (eds), *Dublin through space and time* (Dublin, 2001), p. 56.

[50] Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin', p. 251; Gillespie, 'Dublin 1600-1700,' p. 84.

[51] W. Petty, *The Economic writings of Sir William Petty*, (ed.) C.H. Hull, (Cambridge, 1899), ii, pp 225-6.

[52] Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin', p. 251; Gillespie, 'Dublin 1600-1700,' p. 84.

annum between 1700 and 1800, the population increased by 1.5 per cent annually in the seventeenth century, which outshone even London's demographic growth, which stood at one per cent per annum.[53] Historians have linked this phenomenal growth to the development of international trade, the expansion of city-states and the emergence of the modern state in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[54] The root of this demographic growth, in fact, lay in the changing nature of Irish society in the early part of the seventeenth century. Table 2.1 shows that the influx of new settlers into the city in the early seventeenth century meant that entries to the franchise grew steadily up until 1640.

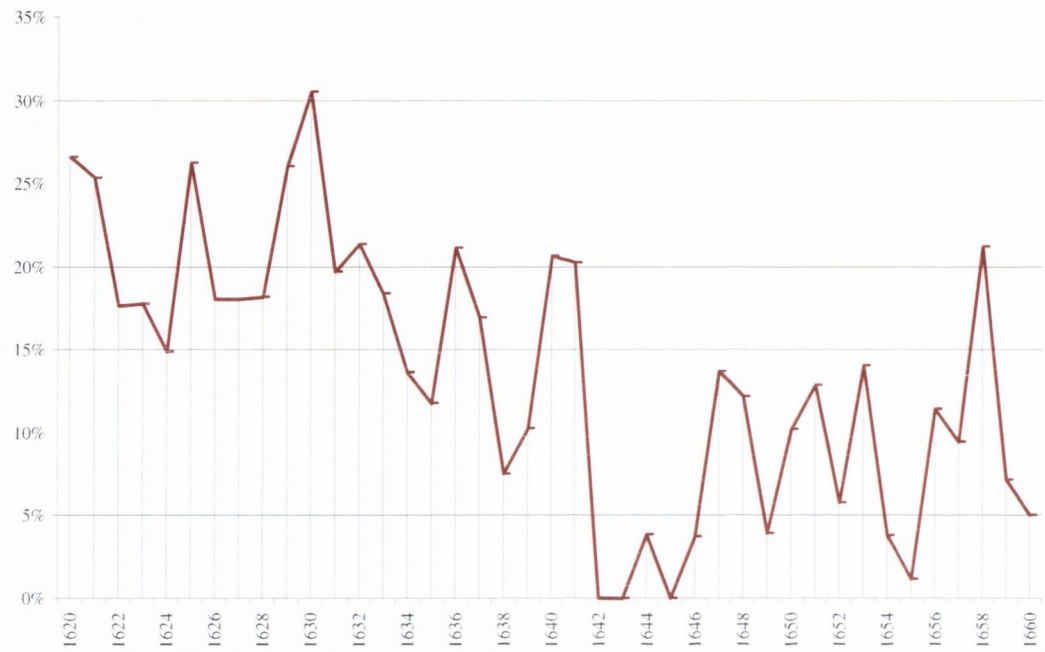
Table 2.1 - Franchise Admissions 1620-1640.[55]

| Year | Merchants | Other | Total | % Merchants | % Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1620 | 17 | 47 | 64 | 27% | 73% |
| 1621 | 19 | 56 | 75 | 25% | 75% |
| 1622 | 9 | 42 | 51 | 18% | 82% |
| 1623 | 8 | 37 | 45 | 18% | 82% |
| 1624 | 11 | 63 | 74 | 15% | 85% |
| 1625 | 16 | 45 | 61 | 26% | 74% |
| 1626 | 13 | 59 | 72 | 18% | 82% |
| 1627 | 11 | 50 | 61 | 18% | 82% |
| 1628 | 14 | 63 | 77 | 18% | 82% |
| 1629 | 19 | 54 | 73 | 26% | 74% |
| 1630 | 25 | 57 | 82 | 30% | 70% |
| 1631 | 15 | 61 | 76 | 20% | 80% |
| 1632 | 22 | 81 | 103 | 21% | 79% |
| 1633 | 14 | 62 | 76 | 18% | 82% |
| 1634 | 12 | 76 | 88 | 14% | 86% |
| 1635 | 12 | 90 | 102 | 12% | 88% |
| 1636 | 18 | 67 | 85 | 21% | 79% |
| 1637 | 9 | 44 | 53 | 17% | 83% |
| 1638 | 17 | 209 | 226 | 8% | 92% |
| 1639 | 14 | 122 | 136 | 10% | 90% |
| 1640 | 19 | 73 | 92 | 21% | 79% |

[53] Gillespie, 'Dublin 1600-1700', p. 84.
[54] Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin', p. 250; Dickson, 'The place of Dublin in the eighteenth century', pp 177-92; idem, 'The demographic implications of Dublin's growth', pp. 178-89;
[55] These statistics are based on my own findings from an analysis of app. III 'Franchise Rolls 1640-1660' and III A 'Yearly franchise admissions 1620-1639'.

In 1620 sixty-four people were enfranchised to the city, seventeen (twenty-seven per cent) of whom were merchants. Chart 2.1 shows that merchant admissions peaked in 1630: of eighty-two new citizens twenty-five (thirty per cent) were merchants.

Chart 2.1: Percentage of merchant admissions to the franchise 1620-1660.[56]




The percentage of merchant admissions declined after1630. In 1632, one hundred and three people were enfranchised, twenty-two (twenty-one per cent) were merchants. An unprecedented 226 people were enfranchised to the city in 1638. In 1638 total admissions more than trebled when an unprecedented two hundred and twenty-six people became freemen. The majority of these were new settlers and, for the first time, Dutch nationals were included on the rolls. This trend continued in 1639 and 1640 when one hundred and thirty-six and ninety-two people were enfranchised in each year respectively. Of those admitted to the franchises in 1638 only seventeen (eight per cent) of these were merchants.

[56] Ibid.

Unsurprisingly, admissions dropped drastically from 1642 to 1646 inclusively when a total of only 111 people were enrolled. In 1647 fifty-one people, almost double the amount enrolled the previous year, were admitted to the franchises. Significantly, more than two thirds of the admissions in that year were in October, four months after Ormond surrendered the city to parliament.[57] The following year admissions to the franchise more than doubled when 115 people were enrolled and, following a slight drop to seventy-three in 1649, was followed by another sharp rise in the following two years when 108 and 155 people were admitted. It is noticeable that throughout the turbulent 1640s merchant admissions hit an all time low and often fell below five per cent. In light of the disastrous economic effects of war it is unsurprising that in the years, 1642, 1643 and 1645 no merchants at all became freemen of the city. Although merchant admissions rose in the late 1640s it was 1658 before the percentage of merchant admissions rose significantly when they accounted for twenty-one per cent of entries to the city franchises. Nevertheless new merchant enrolments did not reach the levels of the 1620s or 1630s when the percentages were often above fifteen per cent and sometimes accounted for between twenty–five and thirty per cent.

Chart 2.2 demonstrates that the actual number of merchants enfranchised to the city seems quite low when compared to the total number of admissions throughout this period. Nevertheless they still had a higher number of admissions that any other single trade.[58] The seemingly low comparative number had more to do with the swelling population and the increase in new tradesmen to cater for the growing population than a rapid decline in the number of merchants entering the franchises.

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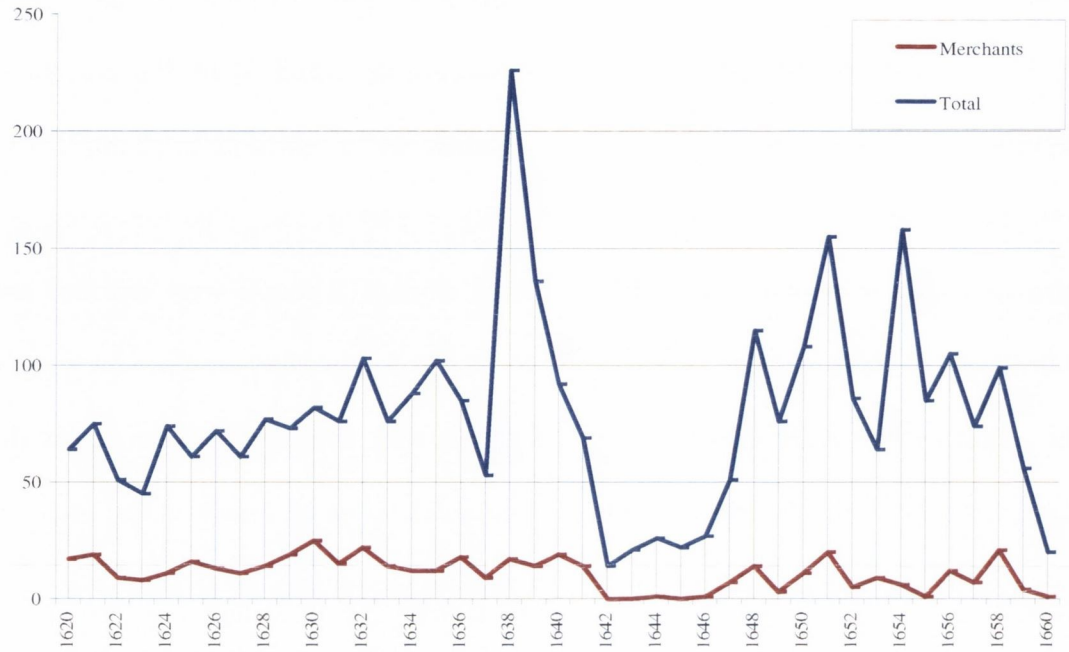
[57] See chapter seven below.
[58] See Fitzpatrick, 'the municipal corporation of Dublin', ii, app.3.

Chart 2.2: Total numbers of admissions to the franchise 1620-1660.




The most significant aspect of an analysis of merchant admissions in these years, however, is that it shows the changing character of the merchant community of Dublin from the 1630s onwards.

From the mid 1630s Old English Catholic merchants were increasingly replaced by New English or foreign names on the freedom rolls of the city. This phenomenon continued and indeed escalated throughout the 1640s and 1650s. In the 1620s and 1630s merchants almost exclusively entered the franchises under the category 'by apprenticeship'. It is noteworthy that the lowest number of merchants enfranchised was in 1638, the same year that Dutch nationals became freemen of the city for the first time, and that they entered by special grace accompanied by a payment of fine. Previously, this category was almost exclusively reserved for members of the titled nobility and gentry. As titled nobility and gentry were not guild members, their admission was usually by special grace which effectively meant that

conferment was at the prerogative of the authorities.[59] From the 1620s, but particularly from the late 1630s, the population of the city grew beyond the city council's control and the use of payment of fine became an extension of this category.[60] As Chart 2.3 shows, new admissions to the city by special grace accompanied by payment of fine grew disproportionably when compared with admissions in earlier years.

Chart 2.3 Admissions to the franchise 'by special grace/payment of fine' 1620-1639.[61]




It is noteworthy that from the 1620s onwards, gentlemen or peers entering the franchise did so under the category by special grace accompanied by 'fine of glove', where the individual presented a pair of gloves to the mayor's wife, which essentially kept the exclusivity of their honorary role as freemen. Tradesmen entered by special grace accompanied by payment of a fine. The amount of gentry admitted to the city

[59] It is worth noting that gentlemen and peers from outside Dublin were entered to the franchise of Dublin. For example: October 1622, Randal Mac Donnell [sic] earl of Antrim; October 1631, Charles Lord Moore, viscount Drogheda; January 1632 Henry Lord Blayney, baron of Monaghan, October 1633 Miles [Bourke] viscount Mayo.
[60] Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', p. 5.
[61] See app, III 'Franchise rolls'.

under this category almost doubled by the 1630s, and was accompanied by an unprecedented increase in entries of tradesmen such as goldsmiths and tailors to cater to their needs. Moreover, some individuals obtained citizenship because they had skills not possessed by others within the city and new trades began to appear in the city's franchise roll. Between 1636 and 1640 silk dyers, bonelace makers, spurriers, vintners and box makers are entered on the freedom rolls for the first time.[62]

Significantly, before the 1630s merchants almost always became citizens on completion of apprenticeship or as sons of freemen. There were only thirteen exceptions to this in the twenty-year period 1620-1640 and they were all after 1633: 1634, Edward Warren; 1635, Christopher Crumpe; 1638, William Faulkner, Robert Desmineere, John Hill, John Hauckred and Raphael Hunt; 1639, John Clume, John Doyne and James Eddis, and in 1640, Frederick Pancarte, Andrew Younge, and John Bethell. What is particularly noticeable about these names is that apart from the surname Doyne, none of the other surnames appears on the franchise admissions roll dating back to 1603. It is not unusual that previously unlisted surnames appeared on the roll. A noticeable and important feature in the make-up of the roll of names, however, is that Old English, mostly Catholic merchant family names such as Allen, Arthur, Ball, Seagrave, Barnewall, Gough, Fitzsimons, Luttrell, Cusack, and Kennedy, to name but a few, were increasingly replaced with English, and most likely Protestant, names such as Harris, Higgins and Jones in the 1630s and by Blythe, Simkin, Foxwest, Pheypoe, Birkett and Humphreys in the 1640s and 1650s.

At Wentworth's trial in 1641 the lord deputy stated as evidence of the effects of his administration that there were then three Protestants in Dublin for every one that

[62] See Gillespie, 'Dublin 1600-1700, pp 86-7.

had been there when he entered on the viceroyalty of Ireland.[63] Without relevant quantitative information it is impossible to know the exact breakdown of Protestant to Catholic and assess if Wentworth's statement in 1641 was correct. According to a report said to have been made in August 1644, there were 2,565 Protestant men and 2, 986 Protestant women in the city while the number of Catholics amounted to 1,202 men and 1,406 women, less than half the population.[64] While it is impossible to know if these figures are completely accurate, given the amount of new admissions to the city in the 1630s, particularly in 1638 and in the following two years, it is very likely that there was more than an element of truth in Wentworth's statement. Indeed, as Table 2.2 illustrates, by 1659 almost seventy-four per cent of the population of the city of Dublin, unlike the cities and liberties of other cities in Ireland, were English.[65]

Table 2.2: Dublin Census 1659.[66]

| Parish | People | English | Irish |
|---|---|---|---|
| St.Nicholas | 402 | 324 | 78 |
| St. Andrews | 792 | 651 | 135 |
| St. Patricks | 813 | 577 | 236 |
| St. Brides | 732 | 581 | 151 |
| Ringsend, etc. | 245 | 96 | 149 |
| St. Johns | 904 | 784 | 120 |
| St. Warbroughs | 846 | 730 | 116 |
| St. Audoens | 839 | 593 | 246 |
| St. Michells | 678 | 540 | 138 |
| St. Kathrines | 1356 | 970 | 386 |
| St. Michans | 1173 | 607 | 566 |
| Total | 8780 | 6459 | 2321 |

[63] John Rushworth, *Tryal of the earl of Strafford* (2nd edn., London, 1721), p. 165.
[64] *CARD,* iii, p. xxxi.
[65] Seamus Pender (ed.), *A census of Ireland c. 1659: with essential materials from the poll money advances 1660-61,* (IMC, Dublin 1939); Also printed in *CARD,* iv, p. 571. According to these figures, apart from Drogheda, the Irish outnumbered the English in all the other cities and liberties. These figures should be treated with caution as it was difficult at the time to accurately calculate population numbers or to identify the ethnic status of individuals. For a discussion of possible inaccuracies and deficiencies of these figures see, Seamus Pender (ed.), *A census of Ireland c. 1659* with a new introduction by William J. Smyth (IMC Dublin, 2002), pp. xv-xvii.
[66] ibid, p. xv;

After 1641, the change in the character of the citizenship of Dublin undoubtedly had to do with the turmoil of the 1640s and 1650s. Nevertheless it is clear that these changes, particularly in the merchant community, were already well underway by the late 1630s.

In 1638 six merchants entered 'by special grace' and eleven 'by apprenticeship'.[67] Those who entered under the first category seem to have been New English settlers or merchants of Dutch origin. [68] Merchants who entered by apprenticeship were predominantly new settlers but also included four from existing members of the merchant community.[69] Similarly, between 1639 and 1641 seventeen merchants entered 'by special grace': all except one, Nicholas Browne, were new settlers including six which seem to be of Dutch or European origin.[70] In these three years, twenty-four merchants entered 'by apprenticeship'. Of these, only five were from established merchant families.[71] When merchant admissions began to resume in the mid 1640s, entries were predominantly new settlers who were admitted 'by special grace'. As Table 2.3 shows, although very few merchants actually entered the franchises, from the mid 1650s it seems that entry by apprenticeship once more became the primary category of entry for this grouping.

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[67] See app. III A, 'Yearly franchise admissions 1620-1639'.

[68] William Faulkner, Robert Desmineere, John Hauckred, John Hill, Raphael Hunt and Abraham Rickeseis.

[69] New settlers: Samuel Richardson, William Dorrington, Rowland Thornborough, Edward Rosingrave, Robert Nevell, Michael Gaynor and Bartholomew Hodser. Existing families: Laurence Dowdall, Patrick Fitzsimons, Matthew Barnewall and Edward Darcie.

[70] John Bethal, Nicholas Browne, Christopher Cruce, John Culme, John Doyne, James Eddis, Matthew Jordan, Thomas Richard Frederick Panckart, William Plummer, Theodore Schout, Edward Spring, Claude Tasshan, Richard Verdon, John Vanhaut, Daniel Wybrants, Andrew Young, (John Culme and James Eddis were both London merchants who gave evidence of losses due to debts in the 1641 depositions. See chapter five below).

[71] Thomas Barnewall, Bartholomew Bath, Paul Cheevers George Murphy, Peter Plunkett.

Table 2.3: Merchant admissions to the franchise 1650-1660.[72]

| Year | By special grace | By apprenticeship |
|---|---|---|
| 1650 | 9 | 1 |
| 1652 | 14 | 3 |
| 1653 | 9 | 0 |
| 1654 | 3 | 2 |
| 1655 | 2 | 0 |
| 1656 | 7 | 3 |
| 1657 | 2 | 3 |
| 1658 | 5 | 8 |
| 1659 | 0 | 4 |
| 1660 | 0 | 2 |

Significantly all of the new apprentices who entered the franchises in these years were New English and, to a lesser extent, Dutch settlers, which suggests that they were apprenticed to either established Protestant merchants or to newcomers to the city. After 1652 this was certainly the case as a municipal ordinance decreed that year that only Protestants were admissible to guilds and to apprenticeship in the city.[73] Although it is generally taken that the Protestantisation of the city was accomplished during the Cromwellian regime, it is clear from this analysis that the character of citizenship of Dublin took on a whole new dimension from the late 1630s as a result of governmental directives which ensured the arrival of a new and Protestant citizenry.[74]

A marked improvement in the physical landscape of the city accompanied the phenomenal and rapid growth of the population. Although little archaeological evidence exists for the period contemporary writings give useful insights into the changes that occurred.[75] In 1610, Barnaby Rich wrote that 'the buildings of Dublin

[72] See app. III 'Franchise rolls 1640-1660'.
[73] *CARD,* iv, p. 38.
[74] See chapter six below.
[75] See Brady & Simms (eds), *Dublin through space and time,* p. 56, who discuss the dearth of archaeological evidence for the period and point out that archaeologists have

are neither outwardly fair, nor inwardly handsome: a ruinous kind of building, neither convenient nor well craft: neither do I think, that either the masons, nor yet their carpenters are of skill to continue any better'.[76] In the 1620s another contemporary described Dublin as a medieval town 'largely unchanged', and said that the town was visited more for 'conveniency than for majesty'.[77] In 1636, however, Sir William Brereton, who had travelled extensively in Europe the year before, described Dublin as:

> the metropolis of the kingdom of Ireland ... beyond ... exception the fairest, richest, best built city I have met with. ... It is extending his [sic] bounds and limits very far; much additions of building lately, and some of those very fair, stately and complete buildings. ... Here are divers commodities cried [sic] in Dublin as in London, which it doth more resemble than any town I have seen in the king of England's domains.[78]

A year later the assembly rolls of the city noted, 'a multitude of buildings' in the city and the assembly proposed the construction of a new wharf as Wood Quay, where ships disembarked timber, was 'so cumbered that it cannot be kept clean, and the coals and other necessaries for the cities provision cannot ... be landed'.[79] This suggests that construction of buildings in Dublin in this period were still mainly of wood.

In the late sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, the inhabitants of Dublin, or at least the more affluent of them, lived in timber 'cage style' houses in line with

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not been able to trace topographic continuity from medieval times as the building of the cellars of Georgian houses destroyed the layout of the Anglo-Norman towns.

[76] Rich, *A new description of Ireland,* p. 58.

[77] C. Litton Falkiner (ed.), *Illustrations of Irish history and topography* (London, 1904), p. 350.

[78] Sir William Brereton, *Travels in Holland, the United Provinces, England, Scotland and Ireland, Chetham Society,* vol. (i), (Manchester, 1844), pp 137, 144.

[79] *CARD,* iii, pp 227, 332, 337.

England's Tudor style building. In 1620, Luke Gernon described the city's houses as built of timber in the 'English form'.[80] The earliest evidence of these houses is the residences of four Dublin merchants on Skipper's Lane and Cook Street. Walter Harris wrote in 1766 that they were inscribed 'John Lutrel, 1580 – sheriff of Dublin and Gyles Allen 1567-8, sheriff, and 'Robert Eustace and Thomas Allen, sheriffs, 1608-9'.[81] The area around Skipper's Lane and Cook Street was the traditional residence place of many of Dublin's merchant community. John Speed's 1610 map of Dublin gives some indication of the type of house that merchants lived in.[82] Speed's map, which includes the town walls, the defences and the development of the waterfront along both sides of the Liffey, is reasonably accurate but the width of the streets is trebled for clarity. It should also be noted that no places of worship for Catholics who formed the majority of the population are given while fourteen Protestant churches are included.[83] Speed's map gives prominence to the line, Castle Street, Skinner's Row and High Street, known as 'the medieval spine of Dublin' as are its junctions with the two transverse lines of Fishamble Street and Werburgh Street, and Nicholas Street, Christ Church Lane and Winetavern Street. Speed's map depicts rows of houses surprisingly, alike each a two-storied structure of rectangular plan with well-pitched roofs and triangular gable fronting the street.[84] Interestingly, some insight into the interior of some of these houses can be gleaned from the

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[80] Andrews, 'The oldest map in Dublin', pp 205-37.
[81] Walter Harris, *History and Antiquities of Dublin* (Dublin, 1760); W. Frazer, 'On Irish Half-timbered houses', in *R. S A. I. Proc*, i, 5th Series, vol. xxi – consecutive series (Dublin, 1890-1), pp 367-369.
[82] Historic Dublin maps, compiled by Noel Kissane, National Library of Ireland (T.C.D. Gluckmann map library, John Speed 1610 map of Dublin from *The Theatre of the empire of Great Britain* (London, 1612), map no. 5).
[83] Ibid.
[84] Andrews, 'The oldest map in Dublin', p. 210.

appraisement of the goods of a Dublin widow, Elizabeth Golborne, for rent due to a Dublin merchant, John Archbold'.[85]

This assessment was carried out room-by-room and describes a 'long hall' which contained 'one long table with a form and a waste, two chairs, one stool, one cupboard and one long grate'. One room, probably the main living area, contained 'one plate cupboard with a pair of tables a cupboard cloth and a grate ... one round table with a carpet, two forms [benches], one other table with a carpet, three joint stools and one grate in the chimney'. The house consisted of no less than six other chambers all of which contained at least one 'bedstead' and 'flockbed,' and which were mostly furnished with curtains, valance and carpets.[86] Clearly, the more affluent of Dublin's society lived in substantial dwellings. Some houses, such as that leased by Walter Usher, were fronted by gardens and the assembly rolls notes that 'many gardens are formed on the banks of the watercourse', with a special space allocated in the city for the sale of 'garden ware', which demonstrates the growing Englishness of the changing city landscape.[87]

Although timber construction was still common in Dublin in the 1630s, evidence suggests that brick building and stonework was becoming more commonplace. In 1612, city planners forbade 'forest chimneys' and declared that chimneys were to be built in either brick or stone. Thus it is unsurprising that from the 1620s there is a significant increase in masons, brickmakers, bricklayers and carpenters being enrolled as freemen of Dublin. Moreover, in the 1620s architects, who are not noted in any other sources, such as Robert Garrot, Thomas Dowling, James White, Thomas Skully, William Good, Christopher Kellie and Richard Teyzar,

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[85] Tholsell court complaints book 1 October 1629 – 27 September 1630 (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2, p. 106).
[86] Ibid.
[87] *CARD,* iii, pp 227, 332, 337.

were entered by special grace accompanied by payment of fine. Another architect, Evan Jones, entered by right of wife. Up until the 1630s, these craftsmen and architects were most likely employed to work on private buildings in the city as it was only after the arrival of Thomas Wentworth as lord deputy that public buildings got any attention.[88] Indeed, in the 1630s, English style manor houses, built of stone with tile roofs, began to dot the Irish landscape such as that owned by a prominent Dublin merchant alderman, Richard Barry, whose servant described his premises in 1641 as 'one new house and new stable built with brick and stone and covered with slate'.[89]

The make up of the Dublin merchant community was not restricted to those who resided in Dublin and many families remained active in the merchant community while consolidating a country estate. As chapter four shows, Dublin merchants played an important part in the development of a mobile market in land, particularly in the hinterlands of the city and in the Pale. It is significant, however, that major landowners often referred to themselves in the records such as the statute staple as 'merchant' and not 'gentry'. Lawrence Stone has shown that in England a distinct status hierarchy existed that clearly divided 'gentlemen' from 'non-gentlemen' with merchants seen as distinctly inferior in status.[90] Only the most successful of the merchant class who attained great riches and purchased land tended to rise successfully to the higher status of gentry or titled elite.[91] Keith Wrightson has shown, however, that although some satirists ridiculed the greed and acquisitiveness of

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[88] See Gillespie, 'Dublin 1600-1700', p. 86.
[89] Deposition of Robert Church, servant to Richard Barry, (T.C.D., Ms 809, f. 242b).
[90] See Lawrence Stone, 'Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700' in *Past and Present*, xxxiii, (1966), pp 16-55, at pp 17-19. Stone divides a 'dual system of gentlemen and non-gentlemen' into six status groups, (1) dependents on charity, (20 living-out labourers, (3) husbandmen and yeomen, (4) the lesser or parish gentry, (5) the county elite and (6) the peers. He sub-divides these groupings into four 'occupational hierarchies' (A) Merchants, (B) Lawyers, (C) Clergy and (D) the administrators.
91 Ibid, pp 18-9.

merchant society, they were often celebrated by contemporaries in seventeenth-century England as agents of national greatness as central elements in an avowedly commercial morality.[92] In Ireland, while a hierarchal status system certainly existed, the uniqueness of the social composition of indigenous Irish, Old English and New English settlers as well as the complex nature of religious divisions within Irish society meant that the lines of demarcation were not as distinct. What was important for these merchant/gentry is the fact that in keeping their 'merchant' status, they were also defending their rights and privileges as merchants of the city as laid down by the city government and the merchant guild. As Wrightson has rightly pointed out, control of the urban economy and society usually lay in the hands of leading merchant elites that were sometimes formally constituted in the recognition of a dominant merchant company or guild.[93] Like their English counterparts, one of the most significant aspects of being a member of the merchant community of Dublin was that it essentially guaranteed the wealthier members of the community access to governance of the city. The epitome of social and political achievement of the citizenry of Dublin, in fact, was election to the board of aldermen who effectively ran the city along with the trinity, or merchant, guild.

The city itself was governed by the general assembly which met every quarter and was composed of two bodies, the board of twenty-four aldermen which met weekly under the chairmanship of the mayor, and the common council which met monthly.[94] The common council was representative of the whole enfranchised

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[92] Wrightson, *Earthly necessities, economic lives in early modern Britain,* pp. 204-5.
[93] Ibid, p. 80.
[94] The structure and function of the municipal government is well attested to in: Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* chapters 1 and 2; Brendan Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', esp. chapter 1; Dudley Edwards, 'The beginning of municipal government in Dublin', in *D.H.R.* I, (1938-9), pp. 2-10; Webb, *Municipal government in Ireland,*

population and was divided into two groups, the 'forty-eight' (known as sheriffs' peers) and the 'ninety-six' (guildsmen). Guild members nominated representatives for both these groups and they were approved or rejected by the mayor and aldermen. As status and tradition rather than service distinguished between the two groups, the simplest way to view the 'forty-eight' is as a group of councillors of higher status than the 'ninety-six'. The board of aldermen was self appointing and were chosen from the 'forty-eight', most likely because this group contained more individuals worth over five hundred pounds (which was the qualifying amount for election to the board).[95] Aldermen were virtually without exception ex-sheriffs and almost always held their position for life. The main distinction between both groups is that municipal law, land leases and all appointments could be made only in the assembly. Nevertheless, aldermen could also, and often did, rule upon many issues without reference to the assembly in their weekly meetings.[96]

Brendan Fitzpatrick has stated that although it can be assumed that the board of aldermen was the effective government of the city, this was not the case as the guilds played a vital role in the administration of municipal law, and that many essential areas of government were their particular domain such as the regulation of their own trade and certain aspects of social control.[97] To a large extent this is true. One third of the 'ninety-six' was comprised of craft guild members and the remainder were members of the Merchant (Trinity) guild. The Trinity guild was the largest and most powerful of the Dublin guilds and had control over trading rights and economic

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[95] Nicholas Kelly was dismissed from his position as alderman in 1635 and debarred from becoming an alderman or mayor again as he 'is not worth the worldly substance to the value of five hundred pounds sterling... being the least sum which any man elected to be mayor' should possess. *CARD,* iii, p. 304.

[96] For the duties and requirements of aldermanship see Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* pp 40-47.

[97] Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', pp. 3-7.

activity in the city. The control of the guild, however, lay mainly with merchants who almost totally monopolised the bench of twenty-four aldermen. Colm Lennon has shown in his study of 101 members of the bench of aldermen in Dublin that seventy-three percent of those who served on the board between 1550 and 1620 were merchants.[98] This trend continued in the period 1620 to 1641. Of thirty-seven known aldermen in the period 1630 to 1641, thirty (seventy-nine per cent) were merchants.[99] These merchants not only dominated the trinity guild and the board of aldermen but also, as Table 2.4 illustrates, they monopolised the whole of civic government including the offices of mayor, sheriff, master of works, treasurer and auditors.[100]

Table 2.4: Number of merchant positions in civic government 1620-1641.[101]

| Position | Total | Merchant | Other | % Merchant | % Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mayor | 16 | 14 | 2 | 88% | 13% |
| Sheriff | 25 | 18 | 7 | 72% | 28% |
| Treasurer | 12 | 10 | 2 | 83% | 17% |
| Master of Work | 25 | 20 | 5 | 80% | 20% |
| Auditor | 158 | 127 | 31 | 80% | 20% |
| Total | 236 | 189 | 47 | 80% | 20% |

The attached list of masters and wardens of the trinity guild illustrates that it was these merchant aldermen who dominated the powerful merchant guild of Dublin.[102] Between 1620 and 1641, all of the masters of the trinity guild were merchant aldermen and all of the wardens of the guild were merchants who were either aldermen themselves or related to an alderman. The guild masters usually held

[98] Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* p. 67. Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', i, p. 43.

[99] See Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', ii, app. 2 for a list of Dublin aldermen 1603-1641. There is no extant alderman list in archival or printed sources and all information is taken from the relevant volumes of *CARD.*

[100] See app. 2, 'Civic government list 1620-1660'.

[101] This is based on my own analysis of app. II, 'Civic government list 1620-1660'.

[102] See app. IV, 'Masters and wardens of the trinity guild', a full list for the years between 1438 an 1671 is printed in. Berry, 'the records of the Dublin gild of merchants', pp. 44-68.

their position for two consecutive years and, in the period in question, of twenty eight individuals who held the position of masters of the guild, eleven (thirty five per cent) served their time as mayor of the city. Table 2.5 shows that individuals usually became masters of the trinity guild within two or three years of serving their time as mayor.

Table 2.5: Mayors of the city and masters of trinity guild.[103]

| Name | Mayor of Dublin | Master of Trinity Guild |
|---|---|---|
| John Laney | 1618 | 1621 |
| Richard Wigget | 1622 | 1624/1625 |
| Edward Ball | 1621 | 1624/1625 |
| Sir Thadee Duff | 1623 | 1625/1626 |
| William Bishop | 1624 | 1626/1627 |
| Edward Jans | 1627 | 1632 |
| George Jones | 1631 | 1633 |
| James Watson | 1637 | 1638/1639 |

Significantly, some individuals were mayor more than once. Robert Bennet, master in 1630 and 1631, served his time as mayor in 1628 and again in 1632. Thomas Evans, master in 1632 served as mayor in 1626 and again in 1630, Charles Forster, master in 1640 and warden in 1630, served as mayor in 1619 and in 1639, and Christopher Forster, warden in 1622, served as mayor in 1629, 1635 and 1638. In fact, of twenty mayors elected between 1620 and 1640, only two, Sir James Carroll and Robert Dixon, were not listed as masters or wardens of the Trinity guild.[104]

The position of mayor was actually considered burdensome as during their year in office they were prevented from carrying on business or trade, were barred from holding corporation leases and had the added financial burden of hospitality.[105]

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[103] See app. II, 'Civic government list 1620-1660' and IV, 'Masters and wardens of the Trinity guild'.

[104] This was most likely because as 'gentlemen' they were not allowed to become members of the city's guilds nor participate in the economic life of the city. They could however still be chosen as aldermen and participate in parliamentary elections.

[105] Mayors received subsidies to offset the burden of heavy expenses while in office as they were expected to keep an 'open house' for large amounts of people. In 1590 this amounted to £100 sterling. In the mid-1570s it cost at least £500 to supply food

Nevertheless, as mayors, these Dublin merchants commanded the most important role in the governance of the city. As the official head of city government and the only salaried member of the city assembly, the mayor was chosen by the aldermen and chaired all committees including the weekly meeting of aldermen. His official functions were clerkship of the market, admiralty of the port and justice of the peace. Crucially, the mayor had the final responsibility for regulation of internal trade, oversaw Dublin's shipping, maintained customs duties and had the final say on all matters relating to the port.[106] Thus the position of mayor gave the holder extensive power in both the executive and administrative arms of the municipal government. It also provided them with the means to augment their personal wealth as they often used their position as clerk of the market to manipulate commodity prices for their own profit.[107] Given the predominant role that merchants occupied in their capacity as municipal officials as well as their complete control of the trinity guild, it is unsurprising that enactments were brought about to ensure their equal dominance of the statute staple which by the early seventeenth century had evolved as *the* financial institution in Ireland.[108]

Every year the brethren of the staple, a carefully selected body of 26 men who were required to be freemen of the town and who were almost always important

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and drink. It was even more expensive when parliament met: in 1605-6, when John Brice held the mayoralty, he demanded a higher stipend anticipating the greater expense of parliament. Mayors were granted an extra 'drinking allowance' for entertainment of important visitors and on special occasions, were reimbursed for hospitality to high ranking officials such as the lord deputy or Privy Council. See Fitzpatrick, 'the municipal corporation of Dublin', chapter 1; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* pp 46-9.

[106] See Fitzpatrick, 'the municipal corporation of Dublin', chapter 1; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, chapter 2.

[107] James Carroll was dismissed from office in 1635 for the abuse of his position as clerk of the market. In his defence he claimed the right to do so by ancient tradition. See chapter six below.

[108] For a full discussion of the statute staple see chapter five below.

citizens, selected a mayor and two constables of the staple.[109] In 1558 it was ordered by the city assembly that in the year following the completion of his mayoralty, the mayor of the city should be elected master of the trinity guild; the year after that he should be mayor of the staple, and in the third year, treasurer of the city.[110] Sheriffs of the city quite often became constables of the staple also. In fact, the list of mayors and constables of the Dublin staple is practically a carbon copy of those who ruled municipal government and who were also wardens and masters of the trinity guild.[111] The Dublin staple initially comprised two separate bodies, the 'statute merchant' and the 'statute staple'.[112] The statute staple functioned in its original capacity as a regulatory trading body issuing permits to trade, conducting disciplinary hearings and keeping account of customs dues until 1634 when an act of Charles I essentially brought the statute merchant and the statute staple together, ordering that all recognizances of both bodies were in future to be entered in the office of the clerk of recognizances in the court of chancery.[113] W.G. Strickland has suggested that this was probably owing to the decline in the woollen trade which saw the role of the mayor of the staple fall into disuse.[114] It is more likely, however, that a more systematic type of regulation of debt was introduced in line with the upsurge in credit and a subsequent growth in debt litigation in England.[115] The important point here, however, is that if

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[109] For a full list of mayors, constables and brethren of the staple towns, Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *The Irish statute staple books,* appendix ii, pp. 345-54.
[110] *CARD,* i, p. 480; Strickland, 'The ancient official seals of the city of Dublin', p. 128.
[111] See app. V, 'Mayors and constables of the staple 1600-1641'. This list is complied from Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* app. I, pp 313-344.
[112] Strickland, 'The ancient official seals of the city of Dublin', pp 121-132.
[113] Act of Charles I, session 2, cap. 3, sec. vi.; W.G. Strickland, 'The ancient official seals of the city of Dublin', p. 128; For transcriptions of permits, customs dues and disciplinary hearings see Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *The Irish statute staple books*, pp. 1-2, app. IV, pp. 366-374
[114] Strickland, 'The ancient official seals of the city of Dublin', p. 28.
[115] See chapter five below.

the role of the mayor of the staple had fallen into disuse, then the merging of the merchant and the statute staples ensured that the mayor, and essentially the merchant community of the city, now had considerable power in the regulation of credit and debt in the city. It is unsurprising then that despite the obvious burdens of office, the position of mayor was seen as a lucrative one, particularly to the city's merchant community. In fact, the merchant community of Dublin was the real force of power both in the administration of municipal law and in the regulation of trade and finance. During the early seventeenth century, however, the policies of successive governments always aimed to exclude Catholics from positions of power and the governance of the city which up to the 1630s was dominated by Catholic merchants was increasingly in the hands of New Protestant settlers.

It is shown in chapter six below that in 1634 two-fifths of the House of Commons were Catholic; in 1640 they accounted for less than one-third.[116] Likewise, at the beginning of the seventeenth century the majority of Dublin's municipal government, which was dominated by merchants, were Catholic. From the 1630s mainly due to stringently enforced policies under Thomas Wentworth's lord deputyship, Dublin's municipal government was increasingly made up of Protestants.[117] For example, in the 1620s and early 1630s Old English Catholic names such as Arthur, Ball, Brown, Duffe and Jans as well as established Protestants names such as Barry and Forster predominated civic government.[118] From the mid 1630s New Protestant names such as Bysse, Lake, Mapas and Watson begin to replace Catholic names. Although Old English Catholics such as Laurence Allen, Edward Jans and Walter Kennedy continued to serve on the board of auditors up to the early

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[116] Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland,*, p. 255; chapter six below.
[117] See chapter six below.
[118] See app. II, 'Civic government 1620-1660'.

1640s, after 1634 when James Carroll was dismissed as mayor, sheriffs and mayors of the city were all Protestant apart from Walter Kennedy and Richard Barnewall who were mayors in 1642 and 1647 respectively.[119] Significantly, from the late 1630s another wave of new settler names such as Fletcher, Panckart, Pemberton, Pue and Woodcock enter the municipal government for the first time. Moreover, two Dutch merchants, Abraham Rickesies and Daniel Wybrants, became sheriffs in 1640 and 1642 respectively.[120] It is notable that 1647, the year that twenty-eight members were dismissed from the rolls of the city, is the last year that Catholics appeared in any position in civic government.[121] After that year another wave of New Protestant names such as Hunt, Myles and Tigh, as well as another Dutch national, Peter Vandenhoven, entered civic government and thereafter no Catholics seem to have served in any capacity in the municipality up to 1660. Similarly, from the 1630s Catholics were increasingly replaced by Protestants in the governance of the statute staple. In the 1620s and 1630s, like the municipal government, the staple was predominantly governed by Catholic mayors. From the late 1630s, however, they were increasingly replaced by their Protestant counterparts. From 1634 to 1637 Catholic merchants Edward Jans, Robert Arthur and Christopher White, were elected as mayors of the staple in each year respectively but after that, apart from 1643 when Walter Kennedy was elected, the mayors and constables of the staple were exclusively Protestant.

It is clear from this analysis that the merchant community of Dublin was a significantly sizeable one. Many merchants were obviously little more than retailers who dabbled in trade and evidently belong in the lower end of the social stratum of

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[119] Carroll's dismissal is discussed in chapter six below.
[120] See app. II 'Civic government 1620-1660'.
[121] The dismissal of Catholics is discussed in chapter seven below.

the city. It is also clear that the wealthier sector of the merchant community of Dublin permeated every sphere of public life and that they played a vital and pivotal role in Dublin society. The demographic growth of the city and the subsequent obvious change in the social make up of the citizenry of the city along with the increasing centralisation of government and administration had a profound effect on the merchant community of Dublin. From the time of the accession of James I and VI English governmental policies always aimed to exclude Catholics from positions of power. Religious conformity became the key to being favoured with government contracts and land grants, and Catholic merchants faced increasing danger to their standing in civic government. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the majority of Dublin's municipal government, which was dominated by merchants, were Catholic. From the 1630s, mainly due to stringently enforced policies under Thomas Wentworth's lord deputyship, Dublin's municipal government was increasingly made up of Protestants. The effect that governmental policies had on the city is analysed below in chapter six which also examines Dublin merchants' involvement in the wider political sphere. What is important at this point is to identify who these merchants were and look at their family origins, religious affiliations and marriage connections and thus enable a comprehensive analysis of the merchant community as a whole.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE MERCHANT COMMUNITY: RELIGION, KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

> The two nations had now lived together forty years in peace, with a great security and comfort, which had in a manner consolidated them into one body, knit and compacted together with all those bonds and ligatures of friendship, alliance, and consanguinity as might make up a constant and perpetual union betwixt them. Their intermarriages were frequent, gossipred, fostering (relations of much dearness among the Irish) together with all others of tenancy, neighbourhood and service interchangeably passed among them.[1]

This extract from Sir John Temple's Irish Rebellion written in 1646 depicts relations between the Irish and the English in Ireland in the early seventeenth century as one based on close friendships and tight social bonding, cemented together by intermarriage between both communities. According to Temple, the Irish and the English made 'a kind of mutual transmigration into each others manners', many English, he said, 'being strangely degenerated into Irish affections and customs, and many Irish, especially of the better sort, having taken up the English language, apparel, and decent manner of living in their private houses'.[2] Temple's agenda was always to depict the Catholic rebels of 1641 in the worst possible light and exaggerations about how harmonious relationships actually were must be taken into account when assessing the reliability of his writing. Nevertheless, there is more than an element of truth in what he wrote. As Donald Jackson has shown, intermarriage between the native Irish and New English settlers was a common occurrence in

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[1] John Temple, *The Irish rebellion* (London, 1646), p. 14.
[2] Ibid. pp 14-15.

Ireland since the late middle ages. Through intermarriage, many Irish lords gained English titles and grants of extensive estates, while the English benefited from the inheritance of lands passed down through their wives.[3]

Choosing the correct marriage partner was imperative for the protection of family lineages and for the long term welfare of the family. This is succinctly illustrated in a letter written in the late seventeenth century by a young English gentleman to his grandfather regarding his impending marriage. He said, 'marriage, I know, is a duty incumbent upon the heirs of families, both in obedience to parents, and an obligation that lies upon them to maintain the honour and race of their predecessors ... and therefore not objected against by me'.[4] The writer continues saying he wished that 'one could be chosen [for him] who would oblige all parties' emphasising that it should be considered 'how inclinable she may be to conception [as] if that should fail, one of our main ends in marriage is frustrated'.[5] For many members of the aristocracy, ancestry and inheritance was as important as wealth. This was particularly so in the early seventeenth century when a rash of creations of baronetcies and knights to those who lacked title provoked criticism in England when merchants and yeomen bought titles for prices that varied but which usually cost in excess of £1,000.[6]

In Ireland, the uniqueness of the social composition of indigenous Irish, Old English and New English settlers made the situation more complex. For example, of eighty newcomers who were elevated to Irish peerages between 1603 and 1641, only

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[3] Donald Jackson, *Intermarriage in Ireland, 1550-1650*, (Montreal, 1970), pp 31-4.
[4] Letter to Sir John Lowther of Lowther by his grandson, nd (Carlisle Records Office Cumbria R.O., MS D/Lons/L. Letters, 1674).
[5] Ibid.
[6] Colin Philips, 'The gentry in Cumberland and Westmoreland 1600 - 1665' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Lancaster, 1973), p. 2; C.R. Mayes 'The early Stuarts and the Irish peerage' *E.H.R*, lxxiii, (1958), pp. 227-251, p. 227-9.

twenty four were already closely linked with Ireland.[7] This suggests that elevation to the Irish peerage, with the exception of those whose titles were effectively seen as necessary to harness Ireland more closely to the Crown, was more or less confined to New Settlers.[8] New English settlers also increasingly acquired social and political success through the acquisition of land and through intermarriage with established wealthy Old English landowning families. The situation in Ireland was further complicated by the fact that in the early seventeenth century, apart from regions under English control such as plantation areas and the Pale, Irish society remained economically, politically, religiously and socially fragmented. Religion was a particularly complex anomaly in early seventeenth-century Dublin. The failure of the reformation to take hold in Ireland meant that when the government began to enforce anti-Catholic measures in the early seventeenth century, Old English Catholics resisted strenuously and many were convicted for their beliefs.[9] Others, however, preferred to present a public profile as Protestant while continuing to uphold their Catholic beliefs in private and often succoured priests and had masses held in their homes.[10] It is often difficult, therefore, to decipher the religious beliefs of individuals.

An examination of the intricate kinship ties and marriage connections of Dublin's merchant community will provide useful insights into the growing complexities of Irish life from the early seventeenth century when established families as well as a new generation of newcomers attempted to secure their position in all areas of Irish society. This chapter will examine the origins and, where possible, the religious affiliations of Dublin merchant families. It will analyse intermarriage

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[7] C.R. Mayes 'The early Stuarts and the Irish peerage', p. 227.
[8] Ibid, p. 229.
[9] See Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* pp 166-205; This topic is discussed more fully in chapter six below.
[10] Ibid.

patterns between merchant families in the city as well as with gentry landholding families. It will also consider the level of integration of new settlers with the established merchant community of Dublin and will discuss how the status of women, particularly widows, influenced the choice of marriage partners for Dublin merchants and their offspring.

Colm Lennon has shown that Dublin's elite, seventy-three per cent of whom were merchants, hailed from a variety of social, economic, religious and geographical backgrounds and that many of the recently-established families who provided office-holders to the city were attracted to Dublin through trading connections with their native locality in England and in Ireland.[11] His study has also shown that several long established merchant families descended from gentleman-merchants and that many others were related to county branches of the same name. Moreover, while some of the more established city families aspired to full gentry status by cultivating their connections with the country elite through marriage, newly-arrived families integrated quickly through marriage alliances with established families and gained economic or political success by the 1620s.[12] The origins of these families can roughly be broken down into four main categories: first, families who were established in the city by the mid-sixteenth century; second, families who originated outside of the city but who had settled there by the seventeenth century; third, families who were involved in civic politics but who had moved into the city's hinterlands and essentially become merchant/gentry; and finally, newcomers who married into the established merchant community, including what little is known of Dutch merchants who arrived in the 1630s. Colm Lennon's study has gone a long way towards deciphering the origins and

[11] In 1613 73% of the civic elite were merchants. The next highest category was gentlemen who only accounted for 5%. Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, pp 64-91.
[12] Ibid, pp 64-91.

often complex kinship ties of many of these families and has demonstrated a high level of geographic and social mobility amongst the city's elite. He has also shown the intricate and complex pattern of marriage alliances between aldermen's families linked to what he terms the two 'core' families of Ball and Sedgrave in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[13] Chart 3.1 which shows the marriage alliances of some Dublin merchant families is not meant to confuse, but rather to illustrate the complex web of marriage alliances between merchant families and between merchant and gentry in the period. It shows that, at least up to 1641, other prominent merchant families such as the Arthurs, Bysses, Cusacks, and Goughs are as central to the pattern of marriage alliances as the Balls and Seagraves.[14] It also clearly illustrates that practically all of these merchant families were directly or indirectly connected through marriage and that a high level of marriage alliances existed between merchant and gentry families.

The Seagraves, a strongly Catholic family, remained at the core of the family alliance group in the early seventeenth century. The religious beliefs of Walter Seagrave, the progenitor of the Cabra branch, is evidenced both in the wording of the preamble to his will and by his endowment in the name of his wife and himself for the maintenance of candidates for the priesthood of his own or his wife's name.[15] Catholic wills generally began with a fairly formulaic introduction such as, 'I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, my creator and redeemer' followed by an

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[13] See table, ibid p. 79.

[14] This is based on an examination of the various family genealogies which are dealt with individually below.

[15] Francis Elrington Ball, *A History of the County Dublin*, (6 vols. Dublin, 1905), vi, p. 92; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* prosopography no. LXXXVIII, p. 269. For a discussion on religious expressions in Catholic and Protestant wills see: Clodagh Tait, 'As legacie upon my soule': the wills of the Irish Catholic community, c. 1550-1660', in Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (eds), *Communities in Early Modern Ireland*, (Dublin, 2006) pp 179 - 198; Ní Mhurchadha, *Fingal 1603-60*, pp 204-226.

instruction about the place of burial.[16] For example, Walter Seagrave's will began, 'In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, Amen'.[17] Protestant wills began with a similar introduction but it was generally much longer and was often a profession of their view of salvation.[18] For instance, John Ord, a Dublin merchant, having lengthily professed the frailty of human nature and the certainty of death (which are common features in the preamble to Protestant wills), began his will by saying 'First and principally I do commend my soul onto God my heavenly father in and through Jesus Christ his only begotten son my Lord and Saviour'.[19] He then expressed the hope that Jesus would forgive all his sins in the 'hope of salvation' and commended his body to the earth after the departure of his soul 'to be decently buried in hope of a blessed resurrection'.[20] Edward Lake's will followed the same pattern and like Ord's will, as well as those of other Protestant Dublin merchants, ended by dating the documents 'in the year of our sovereign ... by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, defender of the faith'.[21] Some wills had special provisions expressing their wish that their children should marry Protestants. For example, Sir James Carroll, one of the most prominent members of the civic elite in Dublin in the early seventeenth century, made a specific stipulation that his daughter Amy should marry a Protestant. He said, 'I leave and bequeath to my daughter Amy for her preferment the sum of one hundred pounds sterling. And also I leave her the sum of six pounds sterling now, upon condition that

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[16] For some examples, see Maighréad Ní Mhurchadha, *Fingal, 1603-60: contending neighbours in north Dublin* (Dublin 2005), p. 216.
[17] Ibid, p. 216.
[18] For example, of some Protestant gentry wills including that of Sir James Ware's (1665), see: ibid, p. 217.
[19] Will of John Ord, nd (T.N.A. MS Prob/11/253, image ref. 352).
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid; Will of Edward Lake, nd (T.N.A. MS Prob/11/205, image ref. 93); Will of John Naghle, nd (T.N.A. MS Prob/11/40, image ref. 361); Will of Theodore Schout, (T.N.A. Prob/11/212, image ref. 575).

she marry with the consent of her mother a Protestant'.[22] He continued saying, 'the said six pounds shall be made two hundred pounds sterling so that in all if she marry as aforesaid she shall have three hundred pounds sterling to be paid to her with as much expedition as possible may be'.[23] Sir James's will also begins with an introduction commending his soul to God almighty and 'trusting through the death of his dear son our Lord and saviour' the confession of all his sins.[24] The introduction in this will, however, is much shorter than those of other Protestants. Moreover, at the end, it is simply dated 'this second day of October one thousand six hundred thirty nine' with no mention of the king as defender of the faith.[25]

This will reflects the ambiguity surrounding the religious conviction of Sir James Carroll, and possibly many other Catholics who presented public profiles as Protestant but remained Catholic in private. Sir James's father, Thomas, an ardent Catholic, was imprisoned in 1605 for his religious beliefs and when his turn came to serve his term as mayor of the city, Thomas asked that his son Sir James be instated in his place.[26] Sir James' public profile as a Protestant is upheld by the fact that he took the oath of supremacy and held the office for four years. Yet, he was reported to support and succour great numbers of priests in his house.[27] Likewise, John Arthur was said to have 'conformed', albeit through official pressure, to the Church of Ireland.[28] His son, Robert, however, was accused of giving sanctuary to the rebels in

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[22] Will of Sir James Carroll, knight, (T.N.A. Prob/11/205, image ref. 93).
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] *CARD,* iii, pp 23, 28; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 237, prosopography no XXIV, pp. 183-4.
[27] Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography no. XXIII, p. 236.
[28] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6,* p. 356; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 183, prosopography no. III, p. 225.

1641 and the wording of his will indicates the religious belief of a Catholic.[29] Similarly, the Seagraves, who were major landowners with two main branches at Killeglan in County Meath and at Finglas and Cabra in Dublin, were also said to be a great resort of priests. The Seagraves of Cabra and Killeglan along with the Barnewalls, played an important part in the muster on the Hill of Tara of the Catholic gentry to protest against the intolerant government of the lords justices, Parson and Borlase.[30] Indeed, the Seagraves always adhered to the Catholic Church. Although Walter was censured by the court of star chamber in 1605 for refusing to adhere to the government's directive on recusancy,[31] he was also described as having 'good and friendly dealings' with the English administration and was a close friend of the (Church of Ireland) Archbishop Loftus.[32]

The children of Christopher Seagrave, mayor of Dublin in 1559, married into mainly merchant families. They were directly connected by marriage to at least thirteen other merchant families as well as into gentry families such as the Barnewalls, Luttrells, Purcells.[33] By his first wife, Alison, a daughter of Alderman Nicholas Humphries, a Dublin merchant, Christopher had one son and five daughters: Walter, his heir, married Eleanor Ball; Margaret married Nicholas Duffe, merchant

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[29] Ní Mhurchada, *Fingal, 1603-60,* p. 26.

[30] The history of the Seagrave family is dealt with extensively in C. Seagrave and T.U. Sadlier (eds.), *The Seagrave family,* (London, 1935). Also see: Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* his prosopography nos. LXXXVI, LXXXVII and LXXXVIII, pp 267-268. Cabra was also used as a base by Ormond in attacking Parliamentary troops under Michael Jones and it was from here that he met defeat at the battle of Rathmines. Parsons and Borlase (Seagrave & Sadlier, *Seagrave Family;* Elrington Ball, *History of County Dublin,* vi, p. 96.

[31] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1603-6,* no. 578.

[32] Walter as well as Christopher Seagrave made loans available to the government. Seagrave and Sadlier, *Seagrave Family,* pp 97-112; Elrington Ball, *History of the County of Dublin*, vi, p. 91; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* prosopography no LXXXVIII, p. 268.

[33] Arthurs, Balls, Bathes, Bysses, Duffes, Dowdalls, Jans, Kennedys, Plunketts, Proudfoots, Stephens, Strongs, and Whites. See Table 3.1.

and alderman of Dublin; Alice married Daniel O'Connell of Aghare in County Kerry (an ancestor of 'the great liberator' Daniel O'Connell); Anne married Nicholas Weston, mayor of Dublin in 1597; and Catherine married James Jans, mayor of Dublin in 1599 and also a prominent merchant. By his second wife, Anne Fyan, also the daughter of a Dublin merchant who was prominent in civic affairs, Christopher had two sons: Walter who died in infancy and Richard who became a freeman of Dublin in 1600. Henry Seagrave (1599-1662), the head of the Cabra branch of the family, married Alice Noble and had six children: John (1632-1690) who married firstly Ann O'Neill and secondly, Mary Yates; Barbara who married firstly a close neighbour Colonel John Finglas of Westpalston, and secondly another close neighbour, Thomas Luttrell. Eleanor who died in 1639 married a Dublin merchant, Robert Plunkett, and her sister Jane married another prominent Dublin merchant, Benedict Arthur.[34]

Christopher's wife was a sister of Walter Ball and through his marriage the family was closely allied to their Protestant neighbours.[35] Indeed, it is difficult to determine the exact extent to which religion played a part in the marriage arrangements of the Seagraves. Evidence suggests, however, that although they mainly married into other Catholic families, religion did not necessarily play a significant factor in the choice of marriage partners for the Seagraves – or for other merchant families in the period. As Table 3.1 shows, of the thirteen merchant families who married into the Seagraves, seven were Catholic while only two are shown in the records as Protestant. The religious affiliation of the Athurs, Duffs, Proudfoots and Balls are more ambiguous.

[34] Alison and Ignatius were unmarried.
[35] Ibid, p. 91.

Table 3.1 Seagrave marriage alliances.

| Catholic | Protestant | 'Conformed' | Uncertain |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ball | Ball | Arthur | |
| Bathe | Bysse | | Duffe |
| Jans | Dowdall | | Proudfoot |
| Kennedy | | | |
| Plunkett | | | |
| Stephens | | | |
| Strong | | | |
| White | | | |

The Arthurs were well established in the city by beginning of the seventeenth century when John, a descendant of the Old English Catholic Arthur family from Limerick, became sheriff in 1599.[36] His sons, Robert and Thomas, were sheriffs in 1621 and 1636 respectively and his other son, Edward, was mayor in 1632. Table 3.2 shows that the Arthurs married into both Catholic and Protestant families and were directly linked through marriage to the Bysses, Cusacks, Goughs, Kennedys, Mapas and Seagraves. Edward, mayor in 1632, married Barbara Cusack and his brother, Robert, sheriff in 1626, married Catherine Gough. Their sisters Elizabeth and Elinor married Patrick Mapas and Robert Bysse, respectively. Although John Arthur 'conformed' to the Protestant religion, the Arthurs were most likely Catholic as in 1641 Robert Arthur's mother-in-law Lady Bath (formerly Barbara Gough) of Drumcondra, left a chalice and vestments in her will to her daughter Catherine Gough, who was married to Robert Arthur.[37]

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[36] Betham sketch pedigrees, (G.O. MS 224, ii, p. 140); Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography no. III, p. 225.
[37] See Ní Mhurchadha, *Fingal 1603-60,* p. 196.

Table 3.2: Arthur family genealogy.[38]

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | John Arthur, sheriff 1599 m Ales Kennedy, dau. Hugh Kennedy | | | |
| Edward, mayor 1632 m Barbara Cusack, d. 1643. | Robert, d. 1648 (CC 531) m Catherine Gough | George | Thomas, sheriff 1636 | William of St. John's, Athy m Margery ? | Elizabeth m Patrick Mapas (Sept. 1635) | Elinor m Robert Bisse of Pelletstown nd.1642. |
| Benedict<br>Patrick<br>Margaret<br>Brigid | Ignatius<br>John<br>Alice<br>Mary<br>Margaret | | | John<br>Ann<br>Mary<br>Catherine | Ignatius<br>Francis<br>Ales<br>Mary<br>Elinor | |

The religious conviction of the Duffes is unclear. Sir Thady Duffe was willing to serve as sheriff in 1603 as a substitute for a recusant which indicates that he was a Protestant.[39] Moreover, Sir Thady's son Richard, brother of Nicholas, declared himself a Protestant when claiming his father's properties in 1663.[40] Richard Duffe, however, was accused of 'living amongst the rebels' in 1641 and had to account for his actions.[41] Moreover, he was heir to Stephen Duff, merchant of Dublin, who on his death in 1650 was said to have 'died a papist'.[42] It is likely but not certain that

[38] The Arthur genealogy is constructed from information contained in: Visitations, i, Dublin 1568 (G.O. MS 47, i, ff. 51-7 - N.L.I. microfilm P. 8286)); Betham will abstracts (G.O. MS 224, ii, pp. 140-1,148, 163); Tallon (ed), *Court of Claims,* no. 474, 531; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography III, p. 225.

[39] *CARD*, iii, p. 41; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography no XLII, p. 246.

[40] Tallon, *Court of Claims,* no. 123, pp 32-3,

[41] Dermot MacIvor, 'Garrett Cooley of Ardee' *Irish Genealogist*, iii, pp 257-265; 'Deposition of Richard Duffe', 2 April, 1642, (T.C.D., 1641 Depositions, MS 810), f. 210.

[42] *Inquisitionum in office rotulerum cancellarie Hiberniae assorvatarum reportorium: abridgements of inquisitions,* (2 vols. Dublin, 1826-9) [*Inquisitions post-mortem*], i, no. 1, Car II.

Richard's brother, Nicholas, who married Margaret Seagrave would have shared the same political convictions. In fact, the Seagraves and Duffes also seem to have had a personal relationship as Nicholas left his velvet gown to Christopher's son, Walter, in his will dated 1582.[43] It is also likely the marriage arrangements between the Seagraves and Duffes resulted from close business connections between the families as they were both prominent merchants with close contacts with the government.[44] Likewise, the marriage alliance between Ann Seagrave and Nicholas Weston, a stringent Protestant, was probably based on business contacts as Weston was also a prominent merchant who had close contact with the government and served on the board of aldermen with Christopher.[45] Alice, the daughter of Nicholas Weston and Ann Seagrave, later married into the Protestant side of the Ball family.[46]

The Balls who were a major merchant, Old English Catholic, landholding family established in the city as far back as 1541 when Bartholomew Ball was elected bailiff of the city.[47] His descendants remained active in city politics up to 1635 when Robert Ball was one of the auditors of the city.[48] By the early seventeenth century, the family were divided on religious lines. The Protestant branch of the Balls was

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[43] Erlington Ball, *History of the County of Dublin*, vi. p. 92.

[44] Christopher Seagrave was a major backer of the government providing them with large loans during the Nine Years War and was granted lucrative trading licenses with France and Brittany. Nicholas Duffe was also a financial backer of the crown and was agent for the Trinity Guild. *CARD,* ii, pp 108, 121; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, pp 70, 245, 267; Berry, 'the records of the Dublin gild of merchants', pp 49-51.

[45] Weston was agent to the crown on the city's behalf in 1582 and 1599 and after his great 'Atlantic sea venture' failed, became a major provider for troops and garrisons during the nine years war. Appleby, 'Fishing Ventures of Nicholas Weston' pp 150-155.

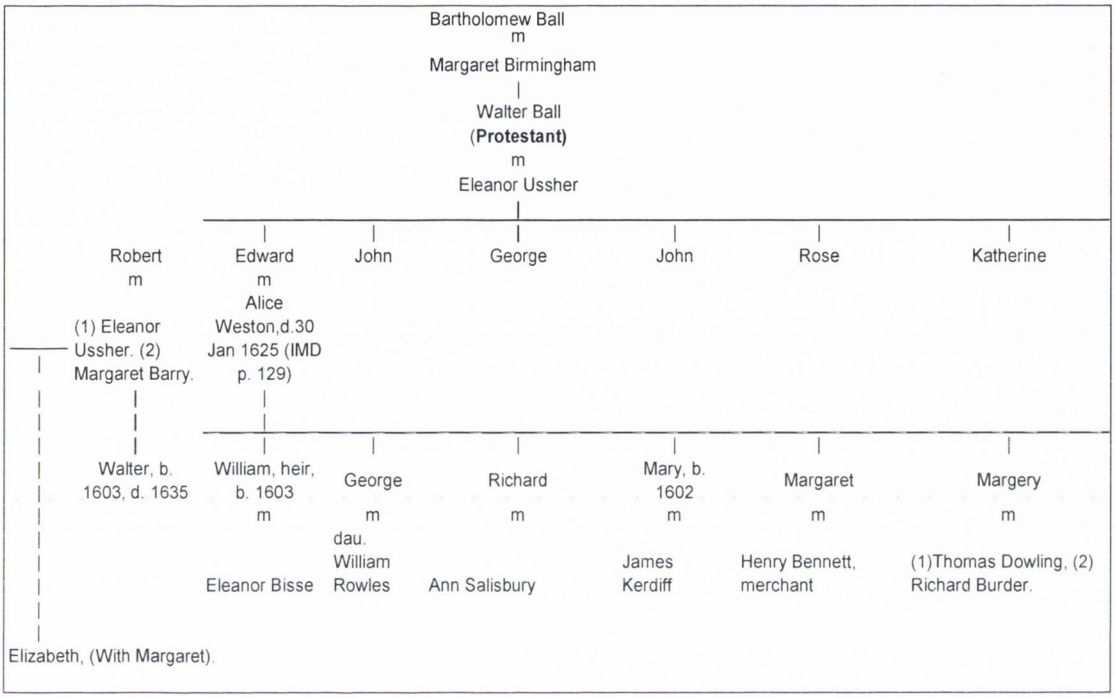
[46] Visitations, ii, Dublin 1607 (G.O. MS 48, p. 13 - N.L.I. microfilm P. 8286); Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography no. XCIX, p. 275.

[47] *CARD*, i, p. 409; *Ball Family Memoirs*, app. 4-9, pp vii-xxv; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography IV, V, VI, VII, pp 227-8.

[48] See Civic government list.

strongly committed to their religious beliefs.[49] As Table 3.3 shows, they also married into co-religionist families including the Barrys, Bysses, Kerdiffs, Bennets, Dowlings, and the Protestant Usshers all of whom were well established in the city by the early seventeenth century.

Table 3.3: Protestant Ball family genealogy.[50]




The Catholic branch of the Balls was headed by Nicholas Ball, sheriff in 1570 and mayor in 1582, who bequeathed money to the priests of Dublin in his will.[51]

[49] Walter Ball was so committed to his religion that he issued proceedings against his mother Margaret for celebrating mass in her house. She was arrested twice and died whilst in jail the second time. See: Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* pp 137, 143, 149 156.
[50] Visitations, i, Dublin 1568 (G.O. MS 47, f. 5 - N.L.I. microfilm P. 8286); Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography no. VII, p. 228.
[51] *Ball Family Memoirs*, app. 7, p. xvi; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography no. V, pp 226-7.

Table 3.4: Catholic Ball family genealogy.[52]

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bartholomew Ball<br>m<br>Margaret Birmingham<br>\|<br>\|<br>Nicholas Ball (**Catholic**)<br>m<br>Begnet Luttrell<br>\| | | | | | |
| Bartholomew<br>m<br>Jane Finglas<br>\|<br>John (CC 28) | Jane<br>m<br>(1) Robert Cusack, d. 1597. (2) Richard Ussher of Crumlin, d. 18, aug 1615. | Elizabeth<br>m<br>William Dungan | Agnes<br>m<br>Capt. Edward Trevor | Margaret<br>m<br>Robert Ussher of Cabinteely | Katherine<br>m<br>John Brown, son of Ald. Patrick Browne. |

As table 3.4 illustrates, Nicholas's daughter, Jane, married firstly Robert Cusack and secondly Richard Ussher of Santry, a stringently Catholic branch of the Ussher family, His other daughter, Margaret married Robert Ussher of Cabinteely.[53] This branch of the family married mainly into Old English Catholic gentry families such as the Luttrells and Finglases, and into merchant families such as the Cusacks and the Brownes, both of whom were active in civic affairs since the fifteenth century.

The strong affiliation of the Browne family with the Catholic Church was recorded in the memoirs of Stephen Brown, ordained Father Paul of St. Ubald, who returned to Dublin from the Carmelite seminary at Louvaine along with John Sherlock (Father Edward of the Kings) in September 1625.[54] According to Stephen's memoirs,

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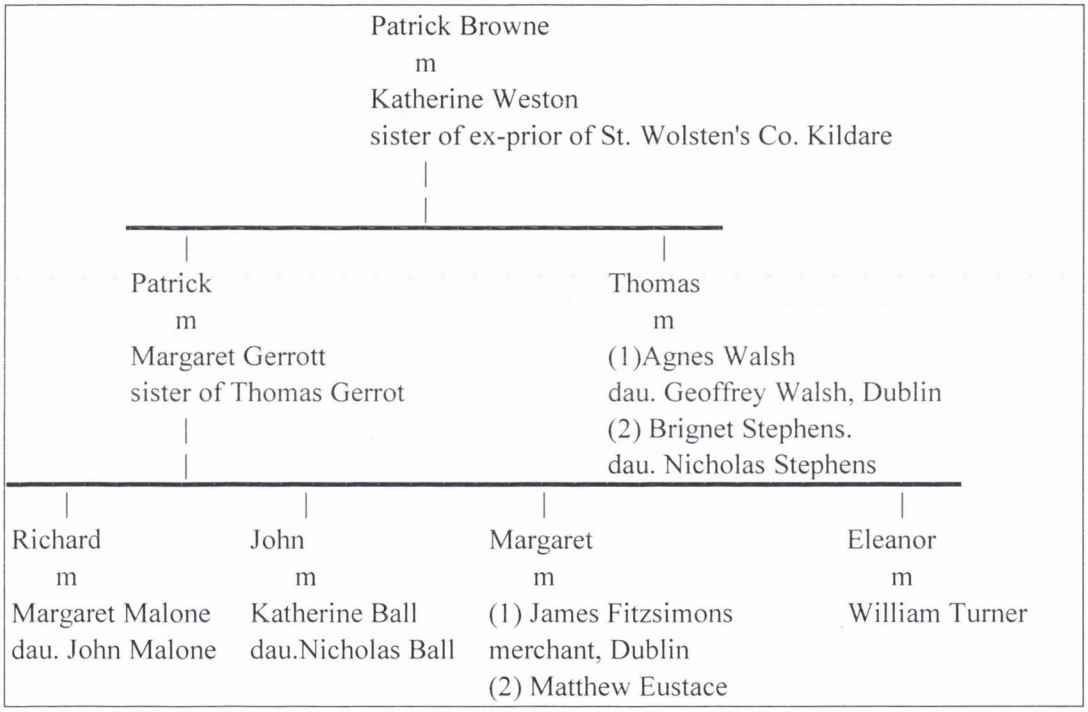
[52] Ibid.

[53] For discussion of the religious divisions in the Ussher family, see Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 135.

[54] (autobiographical memoir of Stephen Browne, known as Fr. Paul) Paul Browne, 'The 'Brevis Relatio' of the Irish Discalced Carmelites 1625-1670' in *Archiv. Hib.* xxi, 1962, pp. 136-163; Brocard Mansfield, 'Father Paul Browne O.D.C. 1598-1671' in *D.H.R.*, xxxvii, (1984), pp. 54-80; M.V. Ronan, 'Religious life in Old Dublin' in *D.H.R.*, ii, (1939-40), pp 106-7.

he helped his mother set up an oratory in their home for the celebration of mass and other religious rites. The family often provided shelter for both secular and regular clergy, and his father had served time in prison on suspicion for harbouring them.[55] As Colm Lennon has shown, Stephen's mother, Mary (nee Seagrave), and women from other merchant families in the city were to the forefront in setting up mass houses in their homes in the early seventeenth century.[56] As Table 3.5 shows the Brownes, unsurprisingly, married into predominantly Catholic families.[57]

Table 3.5: Brown family genealogy.[58]




Similarly the Barrys, one of the most important Protestant families in the city, married almost exclusively into the families of co-religionists. This family were settled in Dublin from at least 1577 when James Barry was elected alderman of

[55] Browne, 'The 'Brevis Relatio' pp. 136-163
[56] For example, Widow O'Hagan gave up her room in her house in High Street for the celebration of the Eucharist in the parish of St. Michan's and a priest said mass in the house of Widow Geydon. Cecilia Finglas, sister of Henry Cusack, the Jesuit, had a mass-centre in the house at Westpallstown. Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 214.
[57] Visitations, i, Dublin 1568 (G.O. MS 48, f. 21- N.L.I. microfilm P. 8286).
[58] Ibid, f. 21, 27, 29; Fisher Mss. Notes F (G.O. MS 143, p. 68).

Dublin.[59] His son, Richard, was probably one of the most successful and prominent merchants in the city. He served on the bench of alderman from 1606 to 1648, was sheriff in 1604 and mayor in 1630 and served as treasurer of the city for an unprecedented ten consecutive years (1638-1647), albeit in exceptional circumstances.[60] As Table 3.6 shows, the Barrys were exclusively connected to Protestant families, the Barrans, Kerdiffs, Penteneys, Cusacks, Proudfoots, Newmans, Howards, Parsons, Donelans, and the Protestant Balls.[61]

While the earlier generation of the Barry family almost all married into merchant families or into families of the Protestant civic elite, of six marriages of Richard and his siblings, two were to gentry and four to merchants. Richard Barry's children almost exclusively married into New Settler families who were close to the Dublin administration, such as Sir William Parsons and Edmond Donelan, with only one of six being married into a merchant family. Indeed, Richard's son James became the first baron of Santry and was lord chief justice of the King's Bench in Ireland.[62]

Another Protestant family who settled in Dublin by the end of the sixteenth century were the Bysses but, as Table 3.6 shows, unlike the Barrys this family married both Protestants and Catholics.[63]

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[59] *CARD*, ii, p. 329.
[60] *CARD*, ii, pp 385-6, 426, 468, 533; *CARD,* iii, p. 466.
[61] Visitations, ii, Dublin 1607 (G.O. MS 48, f. 26 - N.L.I. microfilm P. 8286); Betham Sketch Pedigree (G.O. MS 292, i, p. 121); Also see Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* prosopography XI, p. 230.
[62] Betham sketch pedigree (G.O. MS 292, i, p. 121).
[63] Visitations, ii, Dublin 1607 (G.O. MS 48, f. 20 - N.L.I. microfilm 8286); Colm Lennon, prosopography no. XIX, p. 234. In G.O. MS 48, the family name is given as Brice, but it is clear from genealogical evidence that it is the same family as Bysse or Bisse. (Bysse will be used as the family name throughout the thesis).

Table 3.6: Bysse genealogy.[64]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Richard, son of a Drogheda merchant m | | Katherine Walsh, dau. Dublin merchant | | |
| Christopher d.1614 | | Robert | John (three children, Richard, Eleanor & Mary) m Katherine Seagrave (Killeglan) | |
| Christopher merchant (dismissed as sheriff 1634) | John (recorder of Dublin) m Margaret Forster (?) dau. John Forster | Robert (Jr.) Lawyer m ? | Ellinor m William Ball (Protestant) | Katherine m Dr. Dermot Meara |
| Sarah m John Kerdiffe | Judith m Robert Molesworth | Margaret m John Borr | | |
| Erasmus | | | | |

John Bysse, sheriff in 1598-9, was a son of a Drogheda merchant, Richard Bysse and Katherine Walsh, the daughter of a Dublin merchant. John who had a brother, Robert, married Katherine Seagrave, a daughter of Richard Seagrave of the Killeglan branch of the family.[65] They had four children, three, Richard, Eleanor and Mary, married into four merchant families, the Malones, the Birds, the Drumgooles and the Whites. Family relationships in the Bysse family are not always clear and Table 3.7 is based upon information deducted from a number of sources. According to the family's genealogical records Richard had two sons, John and Robert.[66] The Ball family memoirs record, however, that William Ball (from the Protestant Ball family) married Elinor Bysse, a daughter of Christopher and sister of John, recorder of Dublin and

[64] This table is constructed from the information contained in the various records discussed here.
[65] *CARD,* ii, p. 321; Visitations, i, Dublin 1568 (G.O. MS 47, f. 20 - N.L.I. microfilm P. 8286).
[66] Visitations, ii, Dublin 1607 (G.O. MS 47, f. 20 – N.L.I. microfilm P. 8286).

Robert, both of whom were successful lawyers.[67] It is evident from information contained in a letter written from Robert Bysse junior to his brother John in 1642 that they were both sons of Christopher.[68] Genealogical information given in abstracts of some family pedigrees held in Trinity College records that Christopher Bysse died in 1614 and that he was married to Margaret, a daughter of John Forster.[69] As Forster was not elected sheriff until 1633 this is obviously mistaken and it is more likely, given the probable age of Forster at the time of his election, that Margaret married into the next generation and that she is the same person referred to in a will left by a Dublin merchant, Robert Molesworth. In his will, Molesworth left one third of his property to his wife Judith, alias Bysse, and the rest of his property to his parents-in-law, John Bysse, recorder of Dublin and his wife Margaret.[70] According to a claim made in 1663 by Sarah Kerdiff, alias Bysse, her father was John Bysse, the recorder of Dublin who had no male issue.[71] As table 3.6 shows, this makes Sarah a sister of Judith. The wording of Robert Bysse senior's will and the sombre nature of his funeral ceremony were both distinctly Protestant.[72] It seems clear from this evaluation that the children of John Bysse and Katherine Seagrave married predominantly into Catholic families and that children of Christopher (d.1614) and their descendants married mainly into Protestant families. Nevertheless, this was not exclusively so in either branch and evidence contained in a letter from Robert junior to his brother John

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[67] Ball, *Ball Family Memoirs*, p. 29; Ní Murchadha, *Fingal, 1603 - 60*, pp 204, 257, 267-9.,

[68] Letter from Robert Bysse junior to John Bysse, 1641 Depositions, miscellaneous related material (T.C.D. MS 840, ff 7-10); Ní Murchadha, *Fingal, 1603-60*, pp 267-9.

[69] 'Obits, some pedigrees, marriages etc. of most of the principal families in the 16th and 17th centuries', nd (T.C.D. MS 1216, f. 66).

[70] 'Will of Robert Molesworth', (T.N.A. Prob/11/263, image reference 14).

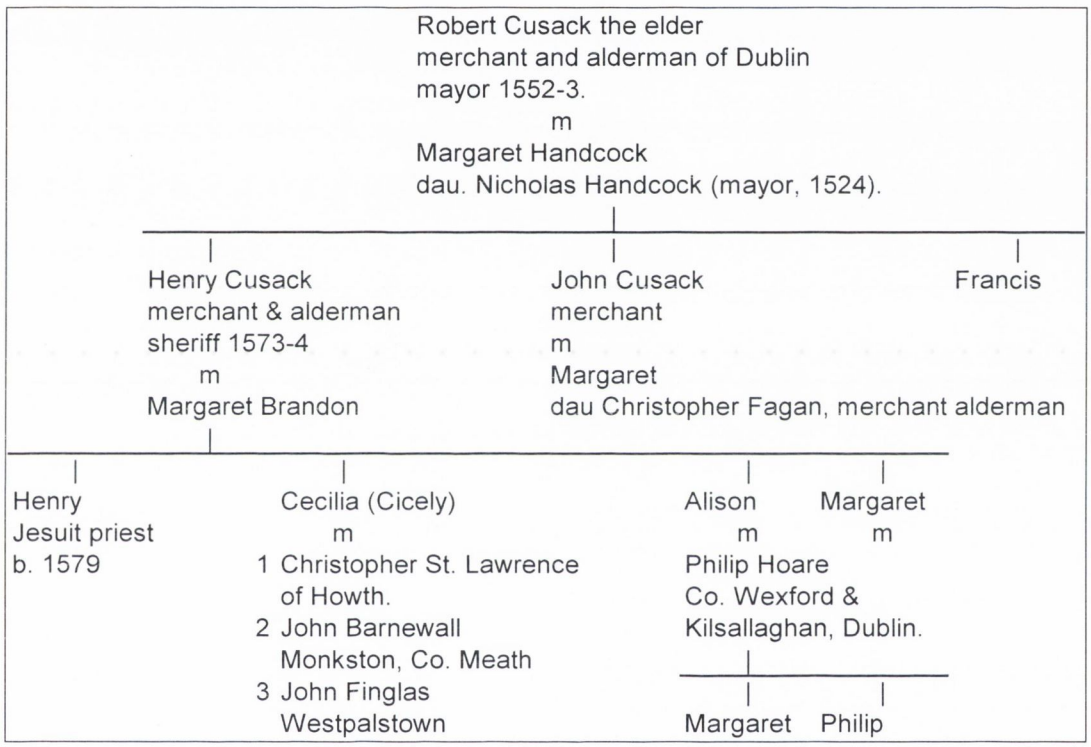
[71] Tallon, *Court of Claims*, no. 96, p. 23.

[72] Ní Murchada, *Fingal, 1603 - 60*, pp 58, 204, 216, 219.

in 1642 clearly shows that, although they were loyal to the English administration, they had friends on both sides of the religious divide.[73]

Another family with both Catholic and Protestant affiliations were the Cusacks, one of the families central to Dublin merchant marriage connections, who were a landholding merchant/gentry family with branches in Dublin and Meath who were well established in the city by the late sixteenth century.[74]

Table 3.7: Cusack Family (Robert) genealogy.[75]




Sir Thomas Cusack (from the Lismullin branch of the family) was an alderman of Dublin from 1565 to 1599 and supported the Reformation.[76] John Cusack, mayor

[73] Ibid. The family's doctor was Dr. Thomas Arthur, a member of the Catholic Arthur family from Limerick, who also practiced in the Dublin area from time to time.
[74] The careers of aldermen John Cusack (Mayor 1608-9), Sir Thomas Cusack and Walter Cusack (Mayor 1569-70) are detailed in Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography nos. XXII, XXX, XXXI, pp 240-242; Genealogical information on the various branches of the Cusack family are published in Hubert Gallwey, 'The Cusack family of counties Meath and Dublin' in *Irish Genealogy.* v, (1977), pp 298-313, 464-70, 591-600; vi, (1980), pp 9-17, 14.
[75] Ibid.

1608-9, proved willing to serve as mayor, a year before his appointed placement, in place of Robert Kennedy, a recusant. He was also reported to have attended church service every Sunday during his mayoralty.[77] As table 3.7 shows, at least one branch was Catholic as Henry Cusack, son of Henry, sheriff 1573-4, a merchant alderman, was a Jesuit priest.[78] The Cusacks were directly linked to no fewer than eight other merchant families, both Catholic and Protestant, including: Arthurs,[79] (Catholic) Balls,[80] Barrys,[81] Handcocks,[82] Fagans,[83] Forsters,[84] Jans, and the Usshers [85]and into numerous gentry families in Dublin, the Pale and Wexford.[86] Similarly, the Goughs became established in the city in the late sixteenth century. Table 3.8 shows that the Goughs married mainly into other civic and merchant families such as the Allens, Forsters and Jans. They were also married into the Arthurs through the marriage of Robert Arthur (d. 1648) and Catherine Gough a daughter of Barbara not included in the Gough family genealogy, but noted in the Arthur genealogy. As previously stated, Lady Bath (formerly Barbara Gough) of Drumcondra, left a chalice and vestments in

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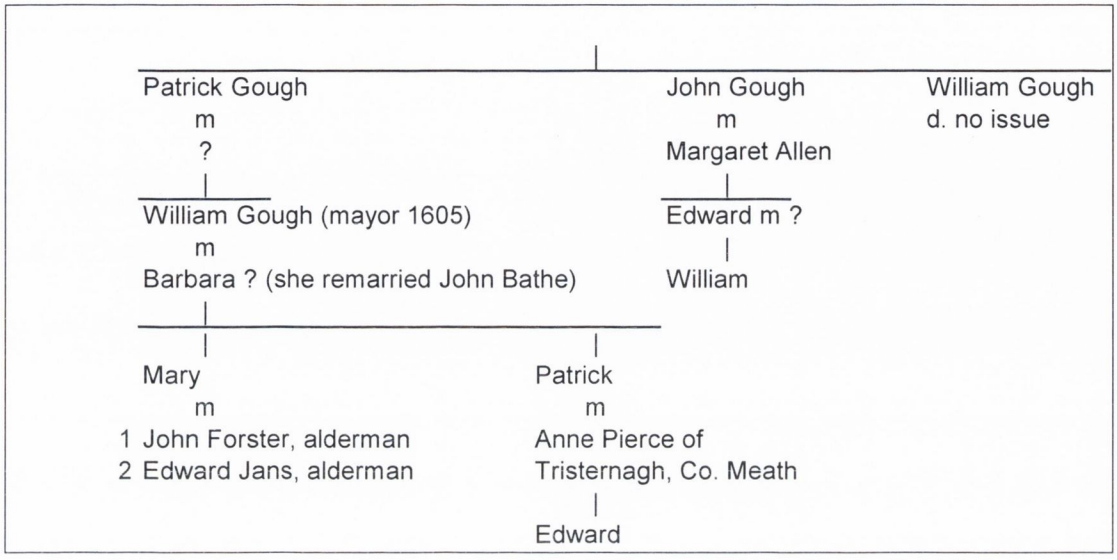
[76] Gallwey, 'Cusack family', v, p. 302; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography no. XXX, p. 240.
[77] Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography no. XXIX, p. 240.
[78] Gallwey, 'Cusack family', v, p. 465.
[79] Barbara Cusack (d. 1643) was married to Edward Arthur, mayor 1632, Betham will abstracts (G.O. MS 224, ii, p. 140-1).
[80] Robert Cusack was married to Jane, daughter of Nicholas Ball. See: Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* prosopography V, p. 226.
[81] Richard Barry was married to Anne Cusack, daughter of James, (d. 1667), Betham sketch pedigree, (G.O. MS 292, i, p. 121).
[82] Robert Cusack the elder was married to Margaret Handcock, daughter of Nicholas, mayor 1524.
[83] John Cusack's first wife (of three) was Margaret, daughter of Christopher Fagan, alderman/merchant. Gallwey, 'Cusack family', v. p. 465.
[84] Eleanor Forster, sister of John Forster, mayor in 1589-90, married Patrick Cusack of Gerardstown for her second husband. Visitation, ii, Dublin 1607 (G.O. MS 48, f. 8 – N.L.I. microfilm 8286); Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography no. LII.
[85] Richard Ussher's wife, Jane Ball (d. 1641), was married first to Robert Cusack of Grayson. *Ussher Memoirs,* pp 10ff.
[86] Gallwey, 'Cusack family' v. p. 465.

her will to her daughter Catherine Gough, who was married to Robert Arthur which indicates that this family were Catholic.[87]

Table 3.8: Gough genealogy.[88]




The Allen family, also Catholics, were closely connected to the English administration. Richard was a brother of Sir John Allen, clerk of the privy council in Ireland, master of the rolls of chancery, lord chancellor of Ireland and cousin of John Allen, archbishop of Dublin.[89] They were descended from Richard Allen from Norfolk who settled in Ireland in the 1530s. In 1536, Richard's grandson, Thomas Allen married Mary, a daughter or niece and co-heiress of Sir John Rowson, the last prior of Kilmainham, who granted them the dissolved monastery of St. Wolstan's

[87] Ní Mhurchadha, *Fingal 1603-60,* p. 196.

[88] According to *Journal of Memorials Association (JMDI),* and Lennon's prosopography, Barbara Gough was the daughter of Patrick and she married a William Gough, presumably from another Gough family. However, according to William Gough's claim in the court of claims in 1663, William Gough the elder was Patrick's son. In 1663, William was dead and his nephew, his brother Edward's son, William, claimed his properties as William and Barbara had no male issue. *JMDI,* p.39; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography nos. LXII, LXIII, p. 256; Tallon, *Court of Claims,* no. 244, p. 87.

[89] Visitation, i, Dublin 1568 (G.O. MS 47, f. 5 – N.L.I. microfilm P. 8286); W.E. Coughlan, 'Ballads and Poems of the County Kildare', in *J.K.A.S.* v, (1906-8), pp 275-283; H.L. Lyster Denny, 'An account of the family of Alen, of St. Wolstan's, County Kildare' in *J.K.A.S.* iv, pp 95-110; also see: Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopographies I and II, pp. 224-25.

(also known as Kilteel) in County Kildare.[90] In the late sixteenth century, the Allens settled in Dublin when Thomas's son, Edward of Kilteel, married Alice Allen, a daughter of Sir Giles Allen, mayor of Dublin in 1577. After this the Allen family became well established among the civic elite of the city. Edward's son, Thomas, was admitted to the franchises of Dublin in 1596 having served his apprenticeship as a merchant.[91] He was elected sheriff in 1608, when he is known to have resided in Skinner's Row in Dublin city.[92] Thomas was recognised as a dedicated Catholic when elected to parliament in 1613 and disenfranchised and dismissed from the board of aldermen for refusing to take the office of mayoralty 'according to his succession'.[93] He was reinstated to the franchises in 1617 but presumably not to the board of aldermen as Richard Wiggett was elected to his place that July.[94] His son Lawrence is also listed as a merchant when he was elected sheriff in 1641.[95]

The Kennedys were probably one of the wealthiest families in the city and one of the few merchant families in the city who were of Gaelic Irish origin.[96] They became established in the city by the mid sixteenth century. Sir Robert Kennedy was chief remembrancer of the exchequer and member of parliament for the borough of Kildare.[97] His brother, Walter Kennedy, played a significant part in civic affairs and in the trinity guild. Robert married Elizabeth, a daughter of Walter Seagrave where

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[90] Denny, 'An account of the family of Alen', p. 95.
[91] *CARD*, ii, p. ii, p. 294.
[92] Harris, *The history and antiquities of the city of Dublin* (Dublin, 1760); Frazer, 'On Irish Half-timbered houses', in *R. I. A. Proc.* i, 5th series, vol. xxxi, pp 367-69.
[93] *Ball Memoirs*, app. VII; *Cal. S. P. Ire. 1611-14*, pp 362, 441-2; *CARD*, iii, pp. 76, 83; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, prosopography no II, p. 225.
[94] *CARD*, iii, pp. 78, 83.
[95] ibid, p. 383.
[96] For discussion of Gaelic people in Irish society see: Longfield, *Anglo-Irish trade in sixteenth-century Ireland*, pp 27-8; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 72.
[97] The family of Sir James Carroll was also of Gaelic Irish origin and had to leave the midlands because of clan rivalry. ibid.

they lived in a mansion called Carberry House in Skinner's Row.[98] According to Elrington Ball, Sir Robert and his brother Walter did not have good relations with each other, 'probably due to their religious differences' which suggests that they practiced different religions.[99] Robert strictly entailed his real estates on his male heirs. His family became extinct in the male line and his vast properties were claimed by his grandson Patrick Mapas, a son of his youngest daughter.[100]

The Mapas family who originated in County Louth were newcomers who arrived in the city in the 1630s and quickly assimilated themselves into the merchant community by marrying into the Arthur, Kennedy, Stanley and Ussher families.[101] Another family of newcomers who quickly, and perhaps surprisingly, assimilated into the mercantile and civic life of the city was the Bors. The Bor family, who originated in Utrecht, resided in St. Michael's Parish in Dublin as early as 1618 when John Bor and his son Christian were naturalised as Irish citizens.[102] Christian Bor headed the protest by Dutch merchants who contested the rights of the city of Dublin to levy the three-penny custom on foreign merchants.[103] Indeed, it was the 1640s before other Dutch families such as the Wybrants and the Schouts became naturalised. The Bors nevertheless quickly assimilated into Dublin mercantile and civic society when Christian married Begnet Cusack, a sister of Walter. Christian's son John married Margaret Bysse a daughter of Robert.[104]

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[98] Gilbert, *A history of the city of Dublin* (3 vols, Dublin, 1859), i, pp 194-5.
[99] Elrington Ball, *A history of the county of Dublin,* vol. iv, p. 78.
[100] Tallon, *Court of Claims*
[101] Betham sketch pedigrees, (G.O. MS 262, ii, p. 198); Grants and confirmation of arms (G.O. MS 103, p. 14).
[102] Grants and confirmation of arms (G.O. MS 103, p. 29).
[103] *CARD,* (iii), pp 550-576 – full transcription of suit.
[104] Heraldic sketches (G.O. MS 125, p. 113); Grants and confirmation of arms (G.O. MS 103, p. 29); Betham sketch pedigrees (G.O. MS 261-276, I, vol xiii, p. 184); Tallon, *Court of Claims*, 306, 307.

Significantly, almost all of these families were landholders not just in the city but also in the hinterlands of Dublin, in the Pale and elsewhere and it is unsurprising that there is a high level of marriage connections between merchant families and gentry families such as the Barnewalls, Luttrells, Finglas', Bathes and Caddells. Colm Lennon has shown that members of these families represented Dublin Corporation in specific cases including disputes with the crown. Interestingly, although they came from leading gentry families of the Pale they were not from the families of leading alderman. [105] They were, however, strongly connected to Dublin's merchant community through marriage. Moreover, collateral branches of gentry families were often members of the merchants community. The Barnewalls are a case in point. No fewer than five Barnewalls were enfranchised to the city as merchants between 1621 and 1650.[106] Three Richard Barnewalls were enfranchised as merchants in January 1620, July 1625 and January 1629 respectively. It was probably the Richard enfranchised in 1620 who became sheriff and auditor in 1639 and treasurer in 1640. Richard Barnewall senior was elected mayor at Easter 1647 but was subsequently dismissed from office for adhering to the rebels.[107] It is difficult, however, to decipher exactly which branch of the Barnewall clan these newly elected officials belonged to. Nevertheless, an examination of the Barnwall family illustrates the close kinship ties that existed within family groupings in the period.

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[105] In the period 1548-1613, nineteen lawyers with special expertise were hired for a variety of cases, including the defence of Dublin's admiralty rights, the right of the mayor to the escheatorship within the franchises, the empanelling of citizen-jurors in the state courts and various other *quo warrento* proceedings. Their fees ranged from 20*l* to £18st. Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 60

[106] See app. III 'Franchise rolls 1640-1660; III A, 'Yearly franchise admissions 1620-1639'.

[107] He was expelled in 1647 for 'adhering' to the rebels along with the mayor William Bladen. *CARD*, vol. iii, p.242; Stephen Barnewall, The family of Barnewall during the middle ages' in *The Irish Genealogist,* iii, 4, p. 132

The Barnewalls were a well established landholding family by the sixteenth century that was made up of at least four main branches; the Barnewalls of Driminagh, County Dublin; Crickstown, County Meath; Trimlestown, County Meath and Rathesker County Louth, all of which had cadet branches of varying importance.[108] The most famous of the Barnewalls were Sir Nicholas of Turvey and Peter Barnewall of Terenure, who were members of parliament in 1634 and 1640, and Sir Richard Barnewall, second Baronet of Crickstown, member of parliament in 1634. All three were expelled in 1642 for their part in the rebellion[109] According to Donald Jackson's analysis of the children and grandchildren of Sir Christopher Barnewall of Turvey (d.1607), of twenty-one marriages contracted, one third were with neighbouring families in Fingal, north County Dublin, while almost half were married to adjoining areas of Dublin city, Meath and Kildare. Only one of the twenty-one marriages was to someone of Gaelic origin.[110] A noticeable feature of marriage ties within the Barnewall family was that, contrary to law, intermarriage within the various branches almost bordered on the incestuous. For example, from the fifteenth century onwards at least one person in every generation of the Barnewalls married another Barnewall from a different branch of the same family. Moreover, brothers and sisters of in-laws commonly married into one or other of the Barnewall family. They also married extensively into other families who had more than one branch, such as the Plunketts, barons of Louth. Indeed, the Barnewalls have been the subject of

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[108] For Barnewall family history see Stephen Barnewall 'The family of Barnewall during the middle ages'in *The Irish genealogist,* iii, no. 4, pp 124-135; idem, 'The Barnewall Family during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', parts I, iii, no. 5, (July, 1960), pp 173-178; part II, iii, part 5 pp 198-209; part III, iii, part 5, pp 249-256; part IV, iii, part 5, pp 311-321; part V, iii, part 5, pp 384-388; part VI, iii, part 5, pp 445-454; idem, 'A seventeenth-century Dublin leather merchant family', iii, pp 181-209.

[109]'Lodge's parliamentary register for County Dublin', in *Liber Munerum*, p. 14.

[110] Jackson, *Intermarriage in Ireland,* pp. 31-4; Ní Mhurchadha, *Fingal 1603-1660*, p. 118.

intense scrutiny and it would be both superfluous and beyond the scope of this chapter to provide an in-depth analysis of every branch of the family.[111] However, a short case study of one branch of the family, the antecedents of Peter Barnewall, member of parliament for Terenure in 1634 and 1640, illustrates the extent of family connections through kinship and marriage in the period.

Table 3.9: First marriage of Sir Robert Barnewall.[112]

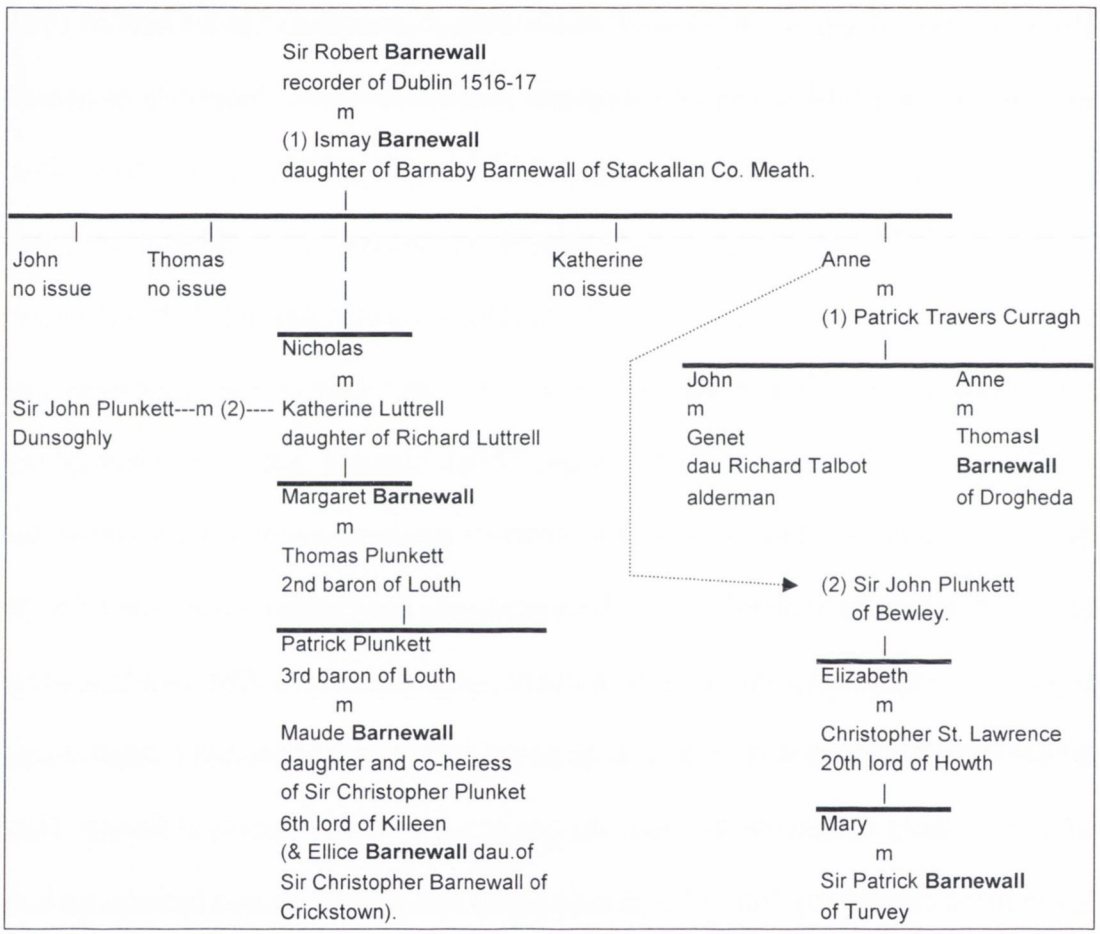



Table 3.9 illustrates the marriage connections of the family of Sir Robert Barnewall of Driminagh, recorder of Dublin 1516-17, and his first wife, Ismay, the daughter of Sir Barnaby Barnewall of Stackallan, County Meath. They had five

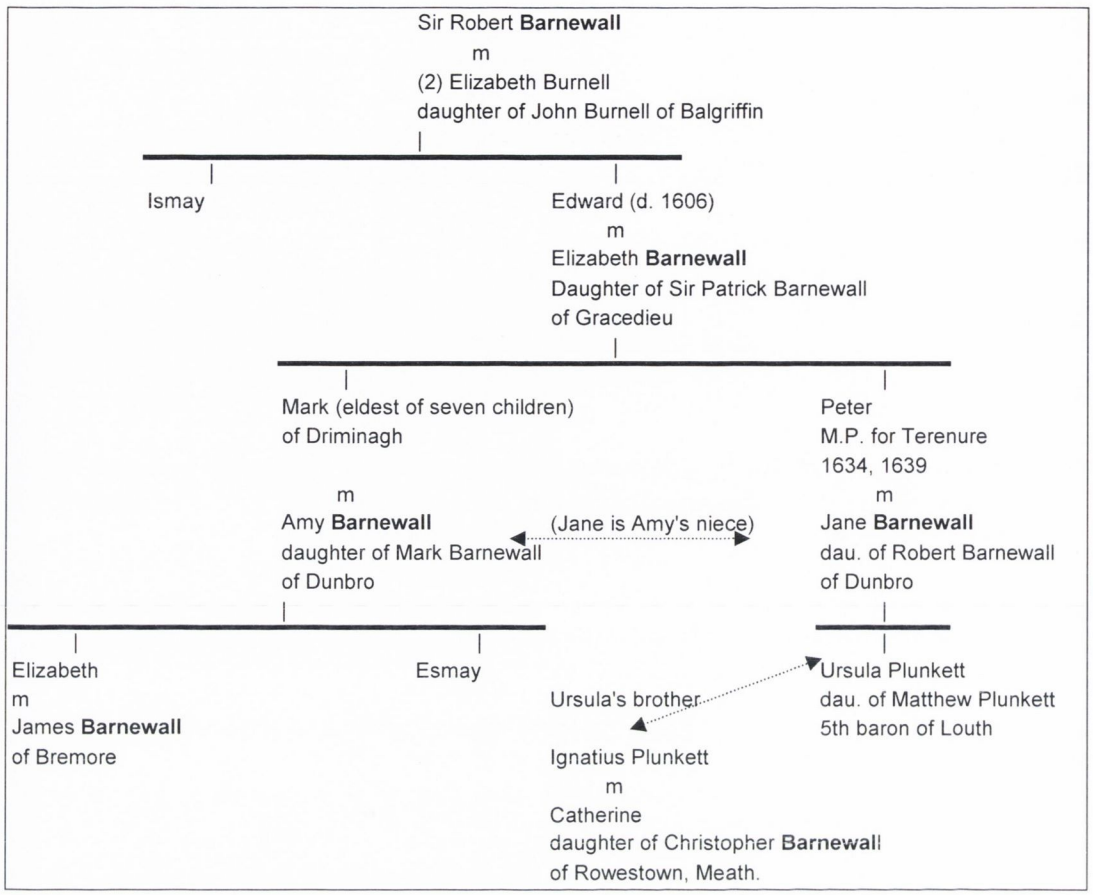
[111] The following analysis is based on Professor Barnewall's history of the Barnewall of Drimnagh Castle, County Dublin. Barnewall, 'The Barnewall family during the 16th and 17th centuries', pp. 173-175.

[112] This table is constructed from information contained in Barnewall, 'Barnewall family during the 16th and 17th centuries', pp. 173-175.

children, John, Thomas, Katherine (all of whom died without issue), Nicholas (of Drimnagh) and Anne. Nicholas married Katherine, a daughter of Richard Luttrell and had one child, Margaret, who married Thomas Plunkett, second baron of Louth. Their son Patrick, third baron of Louth married Maude, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Christopher Plunkett, sixth lord of Killeen and Ellice Barnewall, daughter of Sir Christopher Barnewall of Crickstown. Katherine married secondly a near neighbour, Sir John Plunkett of Dunsoghly, County Dublin. Nicholas's sister, Anne, married firstly Patrick Travers of the Curragh and had two children, John who married Genet, a daughter of Richard Talbot, alderman of Dublin, and Anne who married Thomas Barnewall of Drogheda. Anne married secondly Sir John Plunkett of Bewley. Their daughter, Elizabeth, married Christopher St. Lawrence, twentieth lord of Howth, and their daughter Mary married Sir Patrick Barnewall of Turvey.

Table 3.10 illustrates the marriage relationships of the offspring of Sir Robert and his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of John Burnell of Balgriffin. Sir Robert and Elizabeth had two children, Ismay and his heir, Edward, who married Elizabeth, a daughter of Sir Patrick Barnewall of Gracedieu, and left seven children. Robert's eldest son, Mark of Driminagh, married Amy a daughter of Mark Barnewall of Dunbrow in County Dublin, and had two daughters, Elizabeth who married James Barnewall of Bremore and Esmay. After Edward's death in 1606 Peter, a member of parliament for Terenure in 1634 and 1640, was next in line for the family estate. He married Jane, the eldest daughter of Robert Barnewall of Dunbro and niece of his brother Mark's wife, Amy. Peter's son, Richard, married Ursula, daughter of Mathew Plunkett, fifth baron of Louth. Her brother Ignatius Plunkett married Catherine, a daughter of Christopher Barnewall of Crackanstown, County Meath, while her sister, Amy, married Robert Barnewall of Rowestown County Meath.

Table 3. 10: Robert Barnewall's second marriage.[113]




This analysis clearly shows that, of twenty-two marriages in just four generations in one branch alone, the Barnewalls married into the Plunkett family seven times and into other branches of the Barnewall family group ten times: only five marriages were contracted with families outside the Plunkett/Barnewall kinship grouping. Indeed, marriage arrangements between close kinship groups were a common occurrence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and issues surrounding matrimony, consanguinity and affinity were discussed and enacted upon in Irish parliament throughout the period.[114]

[113] Ibid.

[114] For a comprehensive discussion of marriage law and acts of Parliament introduced in the sixteenth century regarding matrimony see Margaret MacCurtain, 'Marriage in Tudor Ireland' in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *Marriage in Tudor Ireland* (Dublin 1985), pp 51-66.

In the broadest sense of the word, consanguinity means the bond between persons descended from the same stock. At the Lateran Council of 1215, prohibition was reduced to the fourth degree which meant that anyone descended from the same great-great-grandfather was prohibited from marrying anyone similarly descended. As husband and wife were seen as 'two in the one flesh' the marriage of one partner with relations of the other was equivalent to a marriage with his or her own relatives. In theory, just as all blood relations were forbidden to intermarry, so were those related by affinity. Papal dispensation was required for marriages contracted within the stated decrees.[115] In the sixteenth century, regulations concerning consanguinity began to be revaluated and wide-ranging changes were introduced by the reformed churches and government decrees. Papal regulations on consanguinity and affinity were condemned as having no sanction in God's laws and appeals and dispensations went to the archbishop of Canterbury instead of Rome with a directive included that the chancellor of Ireland and 'all persons appointed' be given the same authority as the chancellor of England.[116] However, as Kenneth Nicholls has pointed out, Ireland had its own specific problems. Traditionally, marriage between kinfolk was acceptable in Irish society, there was an easy tolerance of divorce and clandestine marriages, where no outward ceremony was needed, meant a rapid succession of spouses. [117] Furthermore, as Margaret MacCurtain has pointed out, 'the inability of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church and the Church of Ireland alike to ensure the registration of marriages delayed reform and for decades into the seventeenth century endogamous secular marriages remained acceptable to the Irish laity'.[118] Indeed, in

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[115] Ibid, pp 52-4.
[116] Ibid, p. 61.
[117] In Gaelic Ireland, marriage between kinfolk was quite acceptable. Kenneth Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages,* (Dublin, 1972), pp 73-77.
[118] Mac Curtain, 'Marriage in Tudor Ireland', p. 64.

1634, the lord deputy, Thomas Wentworth wrote to Archbishop Laud complaining about Irish marriage practices. He said:

> They are accustomed here to have all their christenings and marriages in their private houses … there is nothing so common as for a man to deny his wife and children, abandoning the former and betaking himself to a new task. I conceive it were fit these particulars should be reduced to the customs of England.[119]

Whether or not the problem was as widespread as Wentworth wrote is difficult to determine. However, if marriages and christenings were conducted in private houses, it would certainly account for the dearth of sources in parish registers.

Sources that do exist suggest that it was the later seventeenth-century before christenings were widely registered in local parishes. Examples from the 'Dublin christenings and burials' and other extracts from parish records held at Trinity College, show that while burials are recorded for the 1620s and 1630s, baptisms are rarely registered.[120] The only exceptions are Richard Dixon, son of William, baptised 9 August 1636,[121] Henry Dowdall, son of William, baptised November 4 1641 at St. Werburgs Church[122] and Joe Dopping, son of Daniel, baptised 4 December 1641.[123] Occasionally, baptisms were registered when a death occurred around the same time as in the case of Elizabeth Dixon who was baptised 11 July 1638 and buried 29 July. [124] Otherwise, records of baptisms and marriages as well as genealogical

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[119] Wentworth to Laud, 31 January 1633-4, Knowler, *Letters of the earl of Strafford*, i, p. 36.
[120] 'Dublin christenings and burials' (T.C.D. MS 674); 'Obits, some pedigrees, marriages of the principal families in the 16th and 17th centuries' (T.C.D. MS 1216)
[121] 'Dublin christenings and burials' (T.C.D. MS 674, f. 11v).
[122] Ibid, f. 12r.
[123] Ibid, f. 13r.
[124] Ibid, f. 11v.

information seem to have been entered on the death of an individual,[125] and readings of the banns of marriage all date to the latter half of the seventeenth century.[126] Whether or not baptisms and marriages were conducted in people's private homes or if they were registered in parish churches is immaterial here: what is important is the attitude of the merchant/gentry towards existing laws on marriage. Old English Catholic families, such as the Barnewalls and the Plunketts, clearly had a total disregard for the rules of consanguinity and affinity as directed by the Catholic Church. This, however, had less to do with religious conviction than with the fact that within the Anglo-Irish community it could be difficult to find a marriage partner who was not related within the forbidden degrees. The same could be said for the merchant and civic community of the city who clearly bought into this tight social bonding also.

There were, of course, many advantages to marrying into a merchant family. For example, newcomers could enter the freedom of the city through 'right of wife' and enjoy all the privileges bestowed on a member of the merchant community. Many new settlers quickly assimilated into the civic life of the city and gained social and political success through marriage into the merchant community. Remarriage, often for a second time or more, was a common feature of women's lives.[127] Most of the daughters of the aldermanic elite of the city married other members of the board of aldermen, many of whom were merchants, and many of them also married into

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[125] Ibid; 'Obits, some pedigrees, marriages of the principal families in the 16th and 17th centuries' (T.C.D. MS 1216).

[126] Alita Dusek, (ed.), *Baptisms in St. Bride's Dublin 1633-171; P.R.S.* i, James Mills (ed.), *The Registers of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin, 1619-1699* (Dublin 1906); *P.R.S.* ii, D.A. Chart (ed.), *Marriage entries from the registers of the parishes of St. Andrew, At. Anne, St. Audoen & St. Bride 1632-1800* (Dublin 1913); *P.R.S.* iii, Henry F. Berry (ed.), *The Registers of the church of St. Michan, Dublin 1636-1685* (Dublin 1907); *P.R.S.* v; Herbert Woods (ed.), *The register of St. Catherine, Dublin, 1636-1715 P.R.S.* vi (Dublin, 1908).

[127] See Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* pp. 83-4.

families of neighbouring gentry. For example, Jane Ball,[128] Margaret Brown,[129] Jane Bysse,[130] Barbara Gough[131] and her daughter, Mary,[132] all married twice. Cecilia Cusack married three times;[133] Mary Bysse married four times;[134] Eleanor Seagrave married five times[135] and Genet Sarsfield had six husbands.[136] It should be pointed out that there are many cases of men remarrying also. For example, Robert Ball married twice[137] and Richard Barry's father, James, married four times.[138]

The common reoccurrence of remarriages for both men and women in the period suggests that marriage was undertaken at quite a young age. David Dickson has calculated that the mean age of marriage for a woman in the seventeenth century

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[128] Daughter of Nicholas, married Robert Cusack and Richard Ussher respectively, both aldermen of the city. See table 3.4 above.

[129] Daughter of Patrick Browne and Margaret Gerrott, married James Fitzsimons and subsequently Matthew Eustace. Visitation, ii, Dublin 1607 (G.O. MS 48, f. 21 – N.L.I. microfilm P. 8286); Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 83.

[130] She married two Dublin merchants, Thomas Drumgoole and Thomas White. Visitations, ii, Dublin 1607 (G.O. MS 48, f. 20 – N.L.I. microfilm P. 8286).

[131] Wife of William Gough. She remarried John Bath of Drumcondra, See table 3.6 above.

[132] The first time to John Forster and secondly to Edward Jans, both aldermen of Dublin. Ibid.

[133] Daughter of Henry Cusack, married Christopher St. Lawrence of Howth, John Barnewall of Monkstown and John Finglas of Westpalstown respectively. See table

[134] John Hoey, Roy Dountan, Sir William Sparke and Sir Thomas Hibbots, all new settlers. Visitation, ii, Dublin 1607 (G.O. MS 48, f. 20 – N.L.I. microfilm P. 8286).

[135] Widow of John Barnewall of Kilbrew, subsequently married Edward Aylmar, son of Richard of Lyons, John Cheevers a merchant from Macetown County Dublin and Thomas Fitzwilliams of Merrion Barnewall family, pp 9-17.

[136]Daughter of John of Sarsfieldstown in County Meath, had six husbands: Alderman Robert Shillingford, Robert Plunkett fifth baron of Dunsany, James Luttrell, Sir Thomas Cusack, Sir John Plunkett of Dunsoghly and finally, Sir John Bellew who survived her. Gallaway, Cusack family, pp 591-600; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 84.

[137] Firstly to Eleanor Ussher and secondly to Margaret Barry. See Table 3.3.

[138] Firstly to Katherine Barren, daughter of Edmund a merchant, secondly to Katherine Neagh, daughter of the sergeant at arms, thirdly to Elinor Kerdiffe, the daughter of James of Dunsink and fourthly to Jane, the daughter of Michael Penteney, alderman of Dublin. See Table 3.5.

was twenty-three with the groom being around five years older.[139] Keith Wrightson has pointed out that in England the age of marriage of both sexes was the mid to late twenties but argued that this applied only to those on the lower end of the social spectrum.[140] He loosely divides marriages into three 'marrying populations': families with substantial properties, families with small properties and labouring people. Wrightson argues that marriage eligibility was correspondent with the economic standing of the couple, particularly their capacity to sustain an economically independent household.[141] He says that those on the lowest rung of the social ladder had little economic expectations. While those in the middle stratum suffered greater insecurities, had lower prospects and expected less in the nature of family 'advancement', if they had the opportunity of apprenticeship, marriage portions appropriate to their status and the prospect of a modest inheritance their economic and subsequent marriage prospects were good. For those born into wealthier families with substantial properties or for the children of mercantile or 'principal families' in urban areas, expectations in terms of living standards were high. Men could expect to be established upon the land or to be placed in the higher echelons of trade or the professions while young women were provided with substantial dowries. Thus they reached early economic maturity and could afford to marry at a younger age.[142]

Without statistical evidence it is impossible to be exact in estimating the age at which Dublin's merchant community married, particularly when the rate of the reoccurrence of remarriage is taken into account. Evidence presented here indicates that the sons and daughters of merchant families in Dublin (for whom records

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[139] David Dickson, 'No Scythians here: women and marriage in seventeenth-century Ireland', in MacCurtain, Margaret; O'Dowd, Mary (ed.), *Women in early modern Ireland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 223-35., p. 231.
[140] Wrightson, *Earthly necessities, economic lives in early modern Britain*, p. 224.
[141] Ibid, pp. 121-22, 223-4.
[142] Ibid, pp. 224.

survive) fit into at least the middle section of society but many, as is shown in the following chapters, were from extremely wealthy landholding families. It is most likely that women married, at least for the first time, at a relatively young age. This was certainly the case in the marriage of Alice Noble who was only fourteen years of age when she married Henry Seagrave on 15 June 1613.[143] Based on Colm Lennon's calculations from known dates of civic officials and their age at entering office, the age of a groom in the urban elite was probably around twenty eight to twenty nine.[144] What is clear from this analysis of the marriages of Dublin merchant families is that marriage provided the means to procure wealth and social status. Evidently, the merchant community of Dublin had close kinship and marriage links not just with other merchant families who were active in civic government, but also with merchant and gentry families across their social spectrum. Moreover in a general sense, at least at the beginning of the seventeenth century, religion did not seem to play a significant factor in marriage arrangements and most merchant families, both Catholic and Protestant, seem to have intermarried freely with people outside their religious grouping. This probably had more to do with the fact that many Catholics recognised that the only way to retain their status amongst the city elite was to convert to Protestantism, at least in public, adopting what can be termed a type of pragmatic Protestantism. What was probably most important to these Old English Catholic gentry was that their children should marry into Protestant families to retain their social and political status and to ensure the inheritance and welfare of their offspring. By the 1630s, city families, particularly Protestants tended to marry into newly arriving settler families who most likely brought significant dowries to their marriages. At the same time some of the longer established city families were aspiring

[143] Elrington Ball, *History of County Dublin*, vi, p.98.
[144] Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, pp 65-6.

to full gentry status by cultivating their connections with the country elite through marriage. Most commonly, men sought to marry merchants' daughters or widows to accumulate lands. Women also benefited as they could accumulate property and subsequently enjoy the financial gains from rentals and other financial benefits through their dower, which was one-third of their husband's estate for the rest of her lifetime whether she remarried or not. Paradoxically, as property immediately transferred to the new husband on remarriage, women increasingly became caught up in litigation in order to protect their dowries and properties.[145] The following chapter will analyse the full extent of merchant property holdings, the ways that lands were held and how changes in property rights affected not just merchants as landholders, but also the wives and widows of Dublin merchants in a period that witnessed unprecedented changes in the distribution of landholdings in Ireland.

[145] See Mary O'Dowd, 'Women and the Irish Chancery Court in the late Sixteenth Century' in *I.H.S.* xxx, pp 470-487.

## CHAPTER 4

### DUBLIN MERCHANT LANDHOLDINGS.

> [Dublin] is a very plentiful county both in corn and cattle, abounding also with game for pleasure … [it] is rich and plenteous, the people of a stately sort and garb, in gentile neatness and carriage surpassing all the rest of Ireland.[1]
>
> There is not a citizen in Dublin (that is of any ability worthy to be spoken of) but he hath a farm in the county.[2]

It is evident from these contemporary comments that the county of Dublin was inhabited by wealthy city elites who used their lands both for work and pleasure. As Colm Lennon has pointed out, by the early seventeenth century there was little to distinguish between the city's elite and gentry, at least in terms of personal wealth and property: the Old English gentry rivalled the urban elite with their large residences, shops and business premises in the city.[3] Although it was a prerequisite to citizenship that a person was born within the city boundaries, by the seventeenth century this did not apply to residence there. Aldermen were only required to be in attendance on assembly and station days and were otherwise free to dwell in the country in between appointments in the city.[4] Recent studies of landholdings in Connacht have shown that the more affluent of Irish society, including many Galway merchants, used their cash surplus to speculate in property purchase.[5] Dublin merchants, who possessed the

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[1] G.N. *A geographical description of Ireland,* pp 14,17.
[2] Rich, *A new description of Ireland*, p. 73.
[3] Ibid, p. 74.
[4] Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* p. 74.
[5] Áoife Duignan, 'Politics and war in Connacht, 1641 – 1649', pp 10-30; Raymond Gillespie, 'Lords and Commons in seventeenth century Mayo,' in Raymond Gillespie and Gerard Moran (eds.), *'A various country': essays in Mayo history, 1500-1900* (Westport, 1987), pp. 44-66; Mary O'Dowd, 'Land and lordship in sixteenth and early

vast majority of Dublin Corporation leases in the city also invested in land in the county of Dublin and in the Pale. Although Dublin only represented about one per cent of the total land area of the country it contained a high proportion of arable land and the hinterlands of the city proved an attractive and lucrative place for wealthy merchants to reside or acquire property.[6] As Raymond Gillespie has pointed out, land purchase not only offered great security of capital but also formed an attractive and rational investment to a class that clearly had the advantage of adequate liquid capital.[7] Given their domination of the municipal government, Dublin merchants who resided or held lands in the countryside were obviously in a position to regulate the city's affairs in such a way as to accommodate the supply of agricultural products and livestock both for the city's needs and for export to England and the continent. Most importantly, the buoyant economic climate along with the ready availability of land in the early seventeenth century presented the merchant community of Dublin with the means to speculate in property which in turn provided them with a lucrative source of income.

This chapter will provide an analysis of Dublin merchants as landholders and examine properties leased or owned by Dublin merchants in the city, its hinterlands and elsewhere in Ireland. It will illustrate how merchants used the Irish statute staple to diversify in the property market and appropriate income from rents and tithes on their property holdings. It will also look at the ways that lands were held and how

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seventeenth century Ireland, in Rosalind Mitchison and Peter Roebuck (eds.), *Economy and society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500-1939*, (Edinburgh, 1988), pp 17-26.

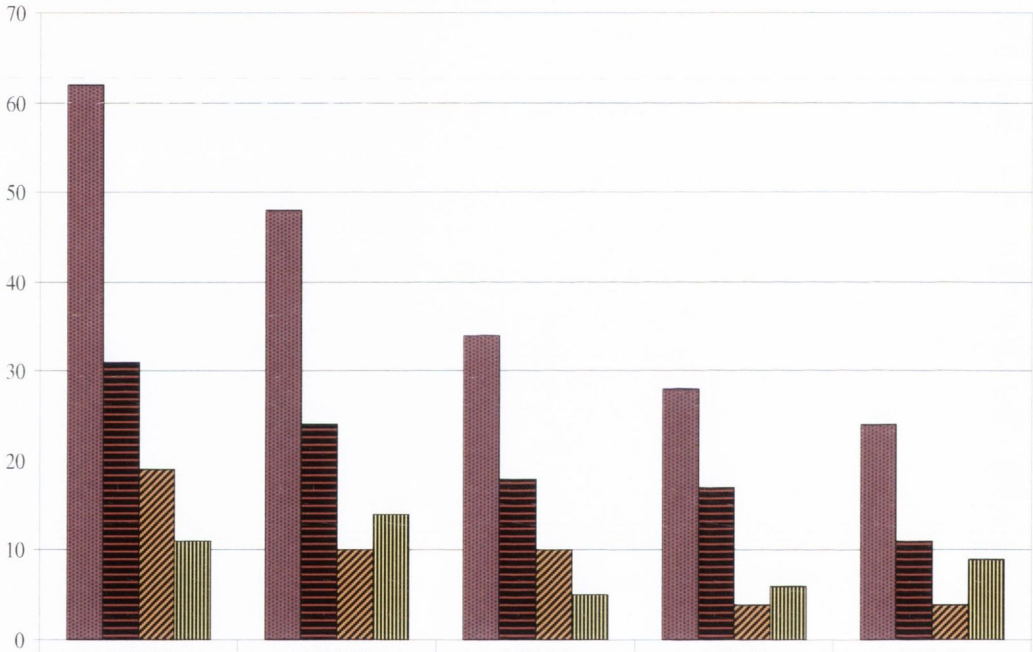
[6] William J. Smyth, 'Exploring the social and cultural topographies of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Dublin' in F.H.A. Aalen and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Dublin city and county: from prehistory to present* (Dublin, 1992), pp 125-9; Lawrence Arnold, 'The Cromwellian settlement of County Dublin 1652-1660,' *R.S.A.I.*, ci, (1971), pp 146-53.

[7] Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish economy*, pp 21-22, 54-55.

changes in property rights in the period affected not just merchants as landholders, but also the wives and widows of Dublin merchants who often had to safeguard inheritance and property through legal channels.

Traditionally, an evaluation of properties leased or rented in Dublin was more or less confined to an examination of Sir John Gilbert's *Calendar of Ancient Records,* which includes reports on properties leased by Dublin Corporation at the quarterly city assemblies.[8]

Chart 4.1: Number of properties leased by Dublin Corporation 1603-1651.[9]



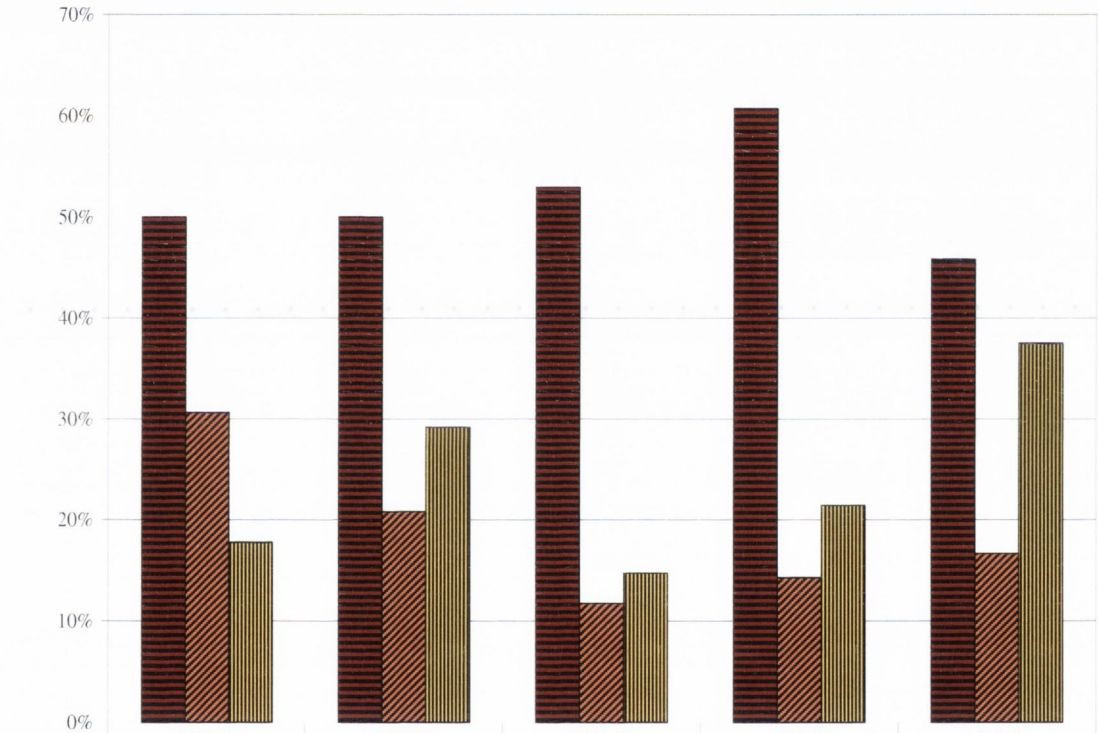

| | 1603-10 | 1611-20 | 1621-30 | 1631-40 | 1641-51 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 62 | 48 | 34 | 28 | 24 |
| merchant | 31 | 24 | 18 | 17 | 11 |
| gent | 19 | 10 | 10 | 4 | 4 |
| other | 11 | 14 | 5 | 6 | 9 |

Chart 4.1 shows that, according to these records, some one hundred and ninety-six properties were granted by Dublin Corporation in the years between 1603 and 1651 which amounts to an average of thirty-nine properties leased per decade. In the first

[8] *CARD*; A table of leases granted between the years 1603 and 1640 is appended to: Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal Corporation of Dublin', ii, app. iv, pp 32-9. See below for individual leases.
[9] Ibid.

twenty years of the century, when the city was regenerating after the Nine-Years-War, the number of properties leased was notably high when compared to the following two decades. Between the years 1603 and 1610 there were sixty-two properties leased and between 1611 and 1620 forty-eight properties were granted by the city.[10] As Table 4.2 shows, in that period merchant leases accounted for fifty per cent of overall properties granted by the corporation.

Chart 4.2: Percentage of properties leased 1603-1651.[11]




| | 1603-10 | 1611-20 | 1621-30 | 1631-40 | 1641-51 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| merchant | 50% | 50% | 53% | 61% | 46% |
| gent | 31% | 21% | 12% | 14% | 17% |
| other | 18% | 29% | 15% | 21% | 38% |

Between the years 1621 and 1630 thirty-three leases were demised by the city fifty-three per cent of which were procured by merchants. It is significant that in the 1630s,

[10] These figures are based on my own calculations taken from an examination of Gilbert's *Calendar of Ancient Records* and the list of leases appended to Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', ii, app. iv, pp 32-9.

[11] The 'other' grouping includes all of the other trades as well as women, soldiers and clergy which individually do not register on the chart.

although the number of overall properties leased was down on the previous three decades, the percentage leased to merchants peaked to sixty-one per cent. The high proportion of leases acquired by merchants is even more significant when compared with those granted to members of other trades or social groupings within the city which never accounted for more than thirty eight per cent and that was between the years 1641 and 1651 when economic activity was at a standstill. In that decade Dublin Corporation granted only twenty four properties in total. Given the political circumstances that prevailed in this period it is unsurprising that the number of leases granted declined. Nevertheless, even during these war-torn years merchant leases still accounted for forty-six per cent of corporation grants which was substantially higher than any other group in the whole period under review. This is even more significant when it is taken into consideration that merchant admissions to the franchises in the first four decades of the century averaged around twenty-two per cent and never reached more than thirty per cent of overall admissions.[12] It might be argued that merchants procured the greatest number of leases because of their prominence in the very administration which made the decisions regarding the granting of properties. Even if this was not the case the affluence of many merchants clearly put them in a position to acquire properties under the system of leasing that existed at the time.

Under ancient law, leases issued by Dublin Corporation were subject to three readings at the city assembly before the premises or lands could be demised. After the first or second reading the property was surveyed and it was subsequently granted to the highest bidder at the time of the third reading.[13] Consequently, it was often agreed that the lease was accompanied by payment of a fine or it was stipulated that arrears accrued by previous lessees be paid. For example, in 1638 James Watson, a merchant

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[12] See chapter 2 above.
[13] *CARD*, i, p. 253; idem, ii, p. 303.

alderman, and his brother, John, leased the rectory and parsonage of Rathmacknee County Wexford from Dublin Corporation for a rent of £10 per annum plus the payment of £110 arrears accrued by the deceased lessee, William Conway.[14] Two years later Walter Kennedy leased a thatched house in St. James's Street for £3 15*s* 0*d* accompanied by the payment of a fine of £8.[15] Sometimes properties were granted with specific stipulations along with, or instead of, an actual payment of a fine. For instance, in July 1641 a Dublin merchant, Francis Dowd, was granted a void piece of ground provided he built a quay along the ground, kept it in good repair and left a convenient way for ease of access.[16] Quite often new lessees had to agree give specific goods to the mayor of the city in return for the lease. For example in January 1649 Colonel Michael Jones, then governor of Dublin, attained a sixty-one year lease on the grounds and lands of Donnycarney in north Dublin for a rent of £5 sterling per annum as well as the delivery of thirty-six barrels of corn to the mayor of the city.[17] It was specifically stipulated that he should supply twelve barrels of 'well conditioned wheat' to the mayor eight days before Christmas, six barrels of beer malt, 'heaped and well conditioned' yearly on 25 March and that fourteen days before Christmas the mayor should receive one good 'brawon' or 40*s* in lieu.[18] Jones actually petitioned for a ninety-nine year lease at a rent of £5 Irish with thirty-six barrels of corn with no

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[14] Expired leases (D.C.A. MS EXP/905); *CARD,* iii, p. 350.
[15] *CARD*, iii, p. 366.
[16] *CARD,* iii, p. 385. The exact stipulation was that it should be seven yards beside Chichester house, in the outside wall, from the post beyond customs house unto the stone wall at the corner of the lane leading from Dame St to the Liffey, and from the lower corner of the lane as far into the water as the Quay and corner of the new crane of the custom house.
[17] Ibid, iii, p. 468.
[18] Ibid, iii, p. 468. It is likely that a 'brawon' was some sort of fowl as it was very common that lessees were required to provide the mayor with one or two 'couple of capons' [which were small chickens] or turkeys at Christmastime. Corn was a generic term often used in the period for cereal crops including corn, wheat, oats, malt and barley.

specific time limits for the delivery, but had to agree to the stipulations in order to procure the lease because other interested parties would most likely be willing to adhere to such conditions.[19] This system of granting leases was obviously designed to ensure the best possible profit for the corporation but as rentals on properties varied greatly it is difficult to determine the amount of actual income accrued by the city or, in turn, by the lessees.

In the first three decades of the seventeenth century rents for properties in the city leased by Dublin Corporation ranged from a mere 4*s* per annum for a plot of land at Abbey Green in Oxmantown to £20 5*s* 0*d* per annum for the crane house on Wood Quay.[20] In 1611 the rent on a house in Oxmontown was £1 6*s* 8*d*, in 1632 it was £1 sterling and in 1643 it was £3 sterling for a dwelling in the same area.[21] In 1641 Thomas Wakefield leased a void piece of ground adjoining Polegate for £6 sterling per annum while in 1643 Richard Barry rented a void piece of ground adjoining Fyan's Castle for 5*s* sterling.[22] Similarly, in March 1645 John Byssee took a lease on a plot of ground in Back Lane for 40 years with a rent of 50*s* sterling.[23] Individuals leasing properties from Dublin Corporation, or who bought properties in the city, could clearly make significant profits for renting rooms or full properties on to others. For example, in 1632 Christopher Lowther rented a house on Wood Quay from Mr Jacob Newman for £20 per annum. According to Christopher, he was very happy with the arrangement as the rental included his diet with the Newman family who lived next door plus plenty of room for storing up to forty butts of sack, 500 tons of coal as well as storage for 1,000 barrels of wheat as well as a warehouse, studies and

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[19] Ibid, p. 468.
[20] *CARD,* ii, p. 471, idem, iii, p. 250.
[21] ibid, iii, pp 16, 257.
[22] Ibid, p. 403.
[23] M.J. McEnery and Raymond Refaussé (eds), *Christ Church Deeds* (Dublin, 2001), no. 1551, p. 332.

chambers.[24] He also said that he saved up to half a years rent by acquiring these premises and that all he could previously get was two poor rooms for the same rent elsewhere.[25] Of course, the size and location of individual properties as well as the economic and political climate must be taken into consideration when attempting to compare the amount of rents paid. Even taking into account that some of these leases were taken out during the upheaval of the war years, rentals seem to have fluctuated greatly depending on the location of the premises.

A survey of properties leased by Dublin Corporation reveals that lands outside the city limits usually, but not always, demanded higher rentals than those in the city but that they too fluctuated greatly. For example, in 1623 John Bath leased the town and lands of Clonturk County Dublin for £53 13*s* 6.[26] In 1638 Thomas Fitzsimons paid Dublin Corporation a substantial £240 rent for a sixty-one year lease on the 'lordship and townlands' of Baldoyle County Dublin.[27] When new lessees put in their bid for properties at the city assembly they obviously did so to make a profit for themselves from the accruement of rents and fines. Bennett Arthur claimed annuities of £10 per annum issuing out of the town and lands at Kelliston and Newton, both in County Kildare, a rent charge of £3 per annum on the town and lands of Irishtown County Dublin and another annuity of £7 10*s* issuing out of twelve acres of land in Castleknock County Dublin, all of which, he claimed, his father, Edward Allen, was in possession of in 1641.[28] Likewise, as Table 4.1 shows, Lawrence Allen claimed the following rents on properties which he said that his father Thomas was granted in the 1620s and 1630s.

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[24] Christopher Lowther to Robert Lowther, 7 October, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.) *Commercial papers*, p. 10.
[25] Ibid, p. 10.
[26] *CARD*, iii, p. 164.
[27] Ibid, iii, p. 350.
[28] Tallon, *Court of claims*, no. 100, pp 24-5.

Table 4.1: Rents from Lawrence Allen properties.[29]

| Property | Location | Rent |
|---|---|---|
| A house | Winetavern St. | £6 |
| A house | Winetavern St. | £4 pa |
| A house | Merchant's Key | £6 pa |
| Land | Drumcondra & Sligo | £12 pa |
| Town and lands | Richardstown, Co. Louth | £10 pa |
| Town and lands | Clontarf, Co. Dublin | £30 pa |
| Town and lands | Inch, Ballycolin, Queen's County | £30 pa |
| Town and lands | Dainstowne, Co. Meath | £6 pa |
| Town and lands | Pohanstown, Co. Louth | £6 pa |
| Lands | Verdestown, Braganstown, Bargan, Masfieldstown, Co. Louth | £18 pa |
| Lands | Corballyes, Co. Meath | £12 pa |

Properties outside the city did not always demand higher rents. James Watson's forty-one year lease on the rectory and parsonage at Rathmacknee County Wexford was for a rent of only £10 per annum (plus the payment of £100 arrears).[30] Watson was then entitled to all its 'appurtenances, cess and tithes'.[31] Moreover, as can be seen from the above table, Allen's rents accrued from lands in Clontarf and Queen's County were substantially higher than those in the city. On the other hand, rents from lands in Meath and Louth were only on par with those demanded for houses in the heart of the city. The amount of money that could be accrued in rentals outside the city is evidenced in claims made by Richard Barry and Tomas Wakefield in the 1641 depositions where losses of rentals and tithes on their properties in Meath, Louth and Wexford amounted to £2,526 8*s* 0*d* and £3,700 respectively.[32] These are substantial sums by any standards and indicate the amount of money that Dublin merchants could potentially earn from property rentals, at least outside of the city. The system of

[29] Ibid, no. 216, p.
[30] Expired leases (D.C.A. MS EXP/905).
[31] Ibid.
[32] Depositions of Nicholas Barry, brother of Richard Barry, alderman, (T.C.D. MS 809, ff 36b, 241); Deposition of Robert Church, servant to Richard Barry, (T.C.D. MS 809, ff 37, 241b); Deposition of Thomas Wakefield (T.C.D. MS 809, f. 336).

leasing properties to the highest bidder seems to have worked quite well, at least during the first three decades of the seventeenth century when the city enjoyed a period of economic prosperity. Once the city suffered an economic downturn following the rebellion of 1641, however, many flaws in this method came to the fore.

During the 1640s many properties suffered great structural damage from fires and destructive acts of war.[33] The devastation of the city's buildings was exacerbated by poverty and by the flight of many citizens from their properties. Unsurprisingly, from the early 1650s much of the business at the quarterly city assemblies was taken up with the problem of the non-payment of rents and with complaints about the system of leasing that emerged as a result of the drastic economic situation in the city. At the Easter sitting of the city assembly in 1652 a petition complained that lands, houses and tenements belonging to city yielded no rent or profit because tenants refused to pay rents or could not be found.[34] The council ordered that premises be re-entered and disposed of by the city and that letters of attorney should be given to reclaim properties in default of payment of arrears.[35] Most likely to quicken the process and recoup rentals from their properties, the council also decided that thereafter only two readings were necessary before land could be demised and that houses should be surveyed after the first reading so all freemen could bid for the same at the next sitting.[36] Despite the fact that a committee was appointed in January 1653 to consider problems relating to unpaid rents many remained outstanding, leases were not taken up and the city was forced to re-grant many properties to recoup rents and

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[33] See chapter seven below.
[34] *CARD*, iv, p. 29.
[35] Ibid, iv, p. 29. An extra cess of £30 per month was imposed at this sitting to alleviate the poverty of many in the city.
[36] Ibid, iv, p. 27.

tithes.[37] It is therefore unsurprising that throughout the 1650s the city assembly dealt with numerous requests for the remittance of arrears of rents and the surrender and re-granting of many leases. For example, in July 1652 Patrick Mapas, administrator of Robert Kennedy, petitioned that arrears of rent due to the city out of one room over the Fishambles demised unto Robert Kennedy be remitted to the petitioner. Like many other similar requests, Mapas's appeal was granted on condition that he surrendered the lease.[38]

The surrender and re-granting of properties resulted in an upturn in the actual number of leases granted. Between the years 1651 and 1659 fifty-five leases were demised by the city assembly. Dublin Corporation was desperately in need of monies to help finance the reconstruction of the city following the wars and many of these contracts included stipulations that repairs or rebuilding take place, sometimes within a specified length of time. For example, at the Easter sitting of 1649 Richard Stone, a merchant, leased the old crane house on condition that he paid £20 for the repair of the crane house and that he kept the weights, beam scales, wheel, crane, rope and other materials belonging to it well repaired.[39] In 1651 Thomas Baddley leased the towns and lands at Ballycullen in County Dublin for a rent of £40 per annum.[40] Baddley requested this lease, which was previously held by Robert Hackett, on the grounds that the premises lay waste and the city had no profit from it. The city obviously wanted to recoup some money from the rental and the lease was granted provided Baddley paid 'one brawne, two turkeys, two 'couple of capons' or 50*s*

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[37] Ibid, iv, p. 43. The committee were ordered to meet every Friday in the Tholsell from 8 am to 4 pm to consider problems relating to unpaid rent and give an account at every assembly. Failure to attend the meeting incurred a fine of 5*s* sterling.
[38] Ibid, iv, p. 31.
[39] Ibid, iii, p. 482.
[40] Ibid, iii, p. 350.

sterling yearly at Christmas, and for the remainder of the term pay £50 sterling'.[41] He also had to 'bestow enclosure and set the premises' within the first ten years for the sum of £300 sterling as well as pay for a land survey which was to be kept on record in the city.[42] Many such properties became available due to surrenders. For example in 1651 a sixty-one year lease of a plot of ground on Wood Quay to ten merchants, formerly demised by the city for the building of an exchange, stipulated that they bestow £500 in building on it within seven years.[43] Similarly, at the Easter assembly in 1655 John Betson, a merchant, took possession of a waste plot at Saint Nicholas Street for £5 sterling per annum provided he built the 'fore-street' of the premises with brick houses within seven years.[44] Likewise, in July 1657 Daniel Wybrants was granted a parcel of surrendered waste ground at Skipper's Lane under a ninety-nine year lease at £3 sterling per annum plus £200 worth of building and the surrender of his former leases.[45] The problem of unpaid rents remained an ongoing one up to the end of the decade and was exacerbated by the fact that many leases were not taken up by those successful in their bids. In 1655 a petition at the January assembly complained that 'many grantees of certain lands and tenements do not take out their leases though usually they out-vie others that would be punctual in their undertaking with great hindrance to the city's revenue'.[46] It was agreed that all further leases would be void if not taken out by the next general assembly and the city would

[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid, iv, p. 11.
[44] Ibid, iv, p. 80. Also see ibid, pp 109, 169.
[45] Ibid, iv, p. 120. This was previously divided three ways and was held by Wybrants, Humphrey Barry, gent, and Thomas Cooper, vintner, at a yearly rent of 10*s*; 26*s* 8*d* and 27*s* respectively.
[46] Ibid, iv, p. 77.

dispose of the lands.[47] Two years later the problem was clearly not resolved as a complaint at the January sitting that year stated that

> [there are] persons bidding for leases and outbidding others … they do not know the land, house or ground and after the grant agreed upon not only neglect the taking up of their lease, but also do not pay rent…. If someone outbid another they should be compelled to take out their lease by the next assembly or forfeit one years rent.[48]

This meant that the corporation was often forced to re-grant the property involved at a reduced rent to try and recoup their losses. For example, the parsonage of Rathmacknee County Wexford granted to James and John Watson in 1638 lay in the hands of the commissioners of revenue during the 1650s.[49] In 1658 the rectory was granted to Nathaniel Fowkes, a gentleman, with no profit for the city but he was to sue at his own cost then regain it for the commonwealth. In return, Fowkes was to receive the tithes for that year and have performance for the future.[50] Merchants in the city also fared badly during the 1650s. In July 1652 five merchants were granted a forty-one year lease for the lordship, manor and town and lands of Baldoyle and the Grange in north Dublin for a rent of £240 per annum which was demised to Thomas Fitzsimons in 1638.[51] By January 1654 they were unable to pay their rent and it was agreed that that on payment of £100 sterling and the surrender of their lease that the rest of the arrears was remitted.[52] The same lands were subsequently granted to

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[47] Ibid, iv, p. 77.
[48] Ibid, iv, p. 85.
[49] Ibid, iv, p. 43.
[50] Ibid, iv, pp 96-7.
[51] Ibid, iii, p. 350; idem iv, p. 35. The merchants were John Eastwood, Richard Heyden, Samuel Eston, Thomas Springham and John Tottie.
[52] Ibid, iv, p. 55.

George Surdevele, a tailor, on a sixty-one year lease at £120 sterling.[53] Significantly, of the fifty-five leases granted between the years 1651 and 1659 only five were granted to merchants, which accounts for less than one per cent of the overall leases. These were all after 1655 and none of the names of the merchants were previously mentioned in the city records.

Table 4.2: Leases granted to merchants 1651-59.[54]

| Date | Name | Property | Term | Rent |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1655 | John Betson | waste plot at St. Nicholas St. | 61 years | £5 5*s* |
| 1655 | Richard Cooke | small plot at St. Michael's Church | | 31*s* |
| 1656 | Minard Christian | part of plot at Crocker's Lane | 61 years | £4 10*s* |
| 1656 | John Preston | Baldoyle & Grange | 99 years | £120 |
| 1656 | John Forrest | plot at Hoggen Green | 61 years | £7 10*s* |
| 1657 | Thomas Haard & | waste ground at little Butter Lane | | £4 10*s* |
| | Charles Andrews | | | |

In the early decades of the seventeenth century, the lessee's names are predominantly Old English Catholics such as Allen, Arthur, Ball, Browne, Kennedy and Seagrave, or Protestants families who were established by the mid sixteenth century such as the Barrys, Bysses and Forsters. By the 1630s, newer settler families such as the Bysses and Watsons began to speculate in properties in the city. From the mid 1640s new entrants to the franchises of the city such as Robert Deey, Thomas Pemberton, Richard Stone and Thomas Wakefield, began to acquire properties in the city for the first time. Indeed, the lease in 1651 of a waste plot at Wood Quay to ten merchants illustrates the point. Of the ten merchant grantees only one, John Gough, was a member of a merchant family before the 1640s and he was a Protestant.[55] Chapter seven below shows that the from the 1640s any shipping that occurred in the

[53] Ibid, iv, p. 56.
[54] Ibid, iv, pp 80, 84, 91, 106, 110.
[55] Richard Heyden, Thomas Springham, John Wood, John Gough, John Eastwood, William Best, John Desmineere, Mathew French, Mynard Christian and Thomas Blyth

city was in the hands of New Protestant merchants and it is unsurprising that the six merchants who acquired leases from Dublin Corporation between 1651 and 1659 were also all new settlers. However, although the recipients of the properties listed in Table 4.2 were all recorded as merchants, the only Richard Cooke enfranchised was as a plasterer in January 1650, the only John Forrest was a tallow-chandler enfranchised in January 1651 and there is no record of Thomas Haard being enfranchised at all.[56] As it was necessary to be a freeman to bid for property leases it is likely that this is why Haard had a joint lease with Andrews. It is also possible that the others gave their occupation as merchants to fulfil some requirement on the leases in question. As the only extant records for the city are nineteenth century transcriptions it is more than likely that many entries to the franchises are actually missing. This is certainly the case in relation to property holdings in the city.

It should be stressed that the figures analysed here relate to leases granted by Dublin Corporation only and are by no means a full survey of properties held by Dublin merchants in the city in the period. For example, the actual leases for properties granted to thirty-three individual merchants between the years 1603 and 1651 are extant among the expired leases collection held in the Dublin City Archives.[57] Of these only ten leases in total are mentioned in Gilbert's records.[58] It is

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[56] Charles Andrews was enfranchised in April 1652; John Betson and Minard Christian were both enfranchised in 1650 at January and Easter respectively. (a John Cooke, merchant. was enfranchised in 1657 and was possibly related to Richard). John Preston was enfranchised in January 1648 and ten years later had an apprentice merchant, Thomas Hooke. See app.III, 'Franchise rolls 1640-1660'.

[57] Expired Leases (D.C.A. MS EXP/844, 804, 861, 957, 584, 338, 246, 866, 992a, 140, 409, 1140, 504, 243, 868, 1368, 170, 808, 908, 961, 714, 1405, 176, 528, 947, 174, 1290, 870, 275, 1264, 273, 571, 339, 942, 1377, 1306, 1240, 696, 499, 167, 72, 17, 869, 171, 657, 658, 168, 867, 1284, 561, 39, 715, 1258, 905, 904, 38, 505, 36, 148, 181, 502, 155).

[58] These were: a house in Castle Street and ground near St. Mary's at Ormondsgate leased to Matthew Handcock in 1603 and 1607 (D.C.A. MS EXP/72, 17; *CARD*, ii, p. 400, 474); a row of houses outside Newgate leased to Robert Bennett in 1626;[58] void

unsurprising that the actual leases for most of the properties granted in the quarter assemblies no longer exist. Nevertheless most properties for which actual leases are extant were not mentioned in the quarterly assemblies which strongly suggests that separate records were held and illustrates that the number of properties leased by Dublin Corporation was higher than previously indicated.

An examination of the Christ Church deeds reveals further properties held by Dublin merchants not mentioned in the above records.[59] For example, on 3 July 1606 Peter Veldon secured a sixty-one year lease on a messuage in Fisher Lane in Saint Michan's parish, in consideration of £7 with a rent of 10*s* and a further sum of 10*s* 'in lieu of rents under the old leases now in being and payable'.[60] In 1619 Francis Doude [Dowd] leased a cellar and rooms under the dean's house in Christ Church yard for twenty-one years for a rent of £7 10*s*.[61] Likewise on 11 March 1645 John Bysse secured a lease of forty years of 'one half the plot of ground called the Common Garden in Rochell, alias Back lane, Dublin' for a rent of 50*s* from the prebendaries and Vicars Choral and the dean and chapter of Holy Trinity Church.[62] The recently published *Court of claims* also shows that merchants leased a number of properties not contained the city's records. For example, Table 4.3 shows that Lawrence Allen, (sheriff in 1641), son and heir of Thomas Allen of Dublin, merchant, and heir and

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ground at the [Trinity] College to Robert Arthur in 1627 (D.C.A. MS EXP/584; *CARD*, iii, p. 207); A parcel of land in Oxmontown leased to Sir Gerard Lowther, lord chief justice, in 1637 (D.C.A. MS EXP/867; *CARD*, iii, p. 331); the rectory and parsonage at Rathmacree, County Wexford, to James Watson in 1639 (D.C.A. MS EXP/867; *CARD*, iii, p. 350); a thatched house on St. James Street to Walter Kennedy in 1639 (D.C.A. MS EXP/657; *CARD*, iii, p. 366); a messuage in Oxmontown to Richard Barnewall in 1639 (D.C.A. MS EXP/868; *CARD*, iii, p.368); and the 'Liffey Islands' leased to Robert Taylor in 1644 (D.C.A. MS EXP/715; *CARD*, iii, p. 423).

[59] McEnery and Refaussé (eds), *Christ Church Deeds.*

[60] Ibid, 1455, p. 296

[61] Ibid, 1481, p. 304

[62] Ibid, 1551, p. 322

executor of his brother, Matthew Allen, claimed ownership a number of leases in the city.

Table 4.3: Allen properties in Dublin city.[63]

| Property | Location | Rent | Other |
|---|---|---|---|
| A house | Winetavern St. | | |
| Several houses and a waste plot | St. Patrick St. | | in fee |
| A house | parish of St. Nicholas | | Fee farm |
| A house | Merchant's Quay | | term of 26 years |
| A house | Winetavern St. | £4 pa | |
| A house | Merchant's Key | £6 st. pa | |
| Land | Drumcondra & Sligo | £12 pa | |

Similarly, the only properties listed in Gilbert's records for the Arthur family are a parcel of land on Butter Lane leased to Edward Arthur in 1607;[64] a void piece of ground leased to Robert Arthur in 1627,[65] and premises on Cook Street leased to Robert Arthur in 1632.[66] Table 4.4 shows that according to Bennett Arthur, the son, heir and executor of Edward Arthur, he was entitled to other properties and leases in the city.

[63] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims,* no. 216, pp. 75/6.
[64] *CARD*, ii. p. 471,
[65] Expired leases, (D.C.A. MS EXP/584); *CARD.* vol. iii, p. 207.
[66] Expired leases, (D.C.A. MS EXP/338).

Table 4.4: Properties in Dublin city claimed by Bennett Arthur. [67]

| |
|---|
| A house in George's Lane |
| A house in St. Warbrough St. |
| Remainder of a term of years in a house in High Street (26 years) |
| Remainder of a term of years in a brick house in High Street. |
| Remainder of a term of years in a house in Merchants Quay |
| Another lease pertaining to the house in Merchant's Quay |
| Remainder of a term of years in a house in Merchant's Quay |
| Remainder of a term or years in one park or close in St. Kevin's Street |

Likewise, Table 4.5 illustrates that John Arthur, son of Robert Arthur (Edward's brother), claimed the following properties in the city:

Table 4.5: Properties in Dublin city claimed by Robert Arthur.[68]

| |
|---|
| 2 houses with their gardens in Castle Street. |
| Some waste ground in St. Nicholas Street |
| Some waste ground at the western wall of Trinity College. |
| Thre great messuage called Carbery House in Skinner's Row |
| 3 houses with a toft or room for one house on St. Mary's Lane in Oxmantown |

By the same token, the only properties attributed to the Gough family were a void piece of ground leased to Edward Gough in 1629 and some ground near Braddock Bridge [Finglas].[69] According to William Gough, son and heir of Edward Gough, he was entitled to five houses on St. Michael's Lane, one house in Wood Quay, some houses outside Polegate, one house in Skinner's Row, one house on St. Frances Street and a rent of 50*s* upon 'Robert Taylor's dwelling in High Street, Dublin'.[70]

Such was the level of claims by practically all of the Catholic merchant families of Dublin in the court of claims that it would be impractical to attempt a full analysis here. It is worthwhile looking at some examples of claims in further detail for three reasons. Firstly, the claims made in 1663 throw significant insight into the level

[67] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims* , no. 100, pp. 24-5, no. 474, p. 185, no. 531, p. 202.
[68] ibid.
[69] *CARD*, iii, pp. 216, 280.
[70] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims,* no. 244 p. 87.

of property holdings by Dublin merchants not just in the city but also in the hinterlands, the Pale and elsewhere in Ireland which, to date, have not come to light in any analysis of landholdings in the period. Secondly, they give fascinating insights into the complex ways in which lands were held as well as the level of property speculation between merchants and other property owners both in the city and beyond. Thirdly, they clearly demonstrate not only how Dublin merchants used marriage as a means to shepherd property rights, but also how women strove to protect their and their children's inheritance. Before undertaking an analysis of these claims it is expedient first to look at general trends in property ownership in the period.

To date, investigations into property holdings in Ireland in the early seventeenth century have relied heavily on the *Books of Survey and Distribution* and on the *Civil Survey*.[71] Indeed, these records remain the most important source for an evaluation of landholding in the period, particularly as a means to track continuity and change in the ownership of properties. Due to the uniqueness of the social composition of indigenous Irish, Old English and New English settlers, the most significant socio-political aspect of early seventeenth-century Ireland was the revolutionary changes that occurred in the patterns of land ownership.[72] Land was the

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[71] N.A.I. MS [microfilm] Books of Survey and Distribution [Dublin books unpublished]; Robert Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution: being abstracts of various surveys and instruments of title*, (Dublin, 1944----); McKenny database of properties listed in *Books of Distribution.*

[72] Clarke, 'The Irish economy, 1600-1660' p. 169; Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish economy, 1550-1700*; Nicholas Canny, 'The attempted anglicization of Ireland in the seventeenth century: an exemplar of English History' in Ronald Asch (ed.), *Three Nations – a common history? England, Scotland, Ireland a British history c. 1600-1920* (Bochum, 1993); Kevin McKenny, 'The seventeenth century land settlement in Ireland: towards a statistical interpretation', in Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland: Independence to Occupation 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1995), pp 181-200. Karl Bottigheimer, *English money and Irish land: the adventurers in the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland* (Oxford, 1971); *idem* 'English money and Irish land: the

primary source of wealth and the early decades of the seventeenth century witnessed the struggle for its possession. In 1550 most of the land of Ireland was held by native Irish Catholic lords or by well established Old English 'colonists'. Throughout the country land was readily available at low prices and by 1600 there were already significant transfers of land, mainly to Protestant New English settlers, even in areas outside formal plantation schemes. By 1641 there was a more even distribution between the three groups who were each in possession of around a third each.[73] Dublin and its hinterlands were unique insofar as the area was more anglicised than elsewhere in Ireland. From the early seventeenth century, very few landowners in Dublin were of old Irish ancestry and the county was mostly in the hands of Old English and, increasingly, New English settlers. In 1641 some 165 individual Old English proprietors, most of whom were Catholic, held about sixty-five per cent of the land in the county: fifty individual New English, mostly Protestants, held seventeen per cent; the remainder consisted of church lands, common lands and lands held by Trinity College Dublin.[74]

Some examples clearly illustrate that that some of the more prominent Dublin merchant families had substantial landholdings outside of Dublin city and that they had mixed fortunes regarding their landholdings after 1641. Sir James Barry, first baron of Santry and son of Richard Barry, retained 2,378 acres at adjoining properties

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adventurers in the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland' in *the Journal of British Studies*, 7, no. 1, November 1967), pp. 12-27; J.R. McCormack, 'The Irish Adventurers and the English civil war' in *IHS,* x, (1957), pp. 21-57; T.C. Barnard, 'Planters and policies in Cromwellian Ireland' in *Past and Present*, 61, (November 1973), pp. 31-69.

[73] Clarke, 'The Irish economy, 1600-1660', p. 169; Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish economy,* pp 21-23.

[74] Arnold, 'The Cromwellian settlement of County Dublin 1652-1660,' pp 146-53. Arnold's percentages are based on the Dublin volume of the quit rent set of Books of Survey and Distribution in the National Archives, Dublin and the acreage from Sir William Petty's *Down Survey*.

at Balrothery, Nethercross and Santry in Dublin as well as at Skreen County Meath and Painestown County Carlow. John Bysse of Dublin held 1,829 acres in County Dublin and Meath and one hundred acres in Phillipstown County Offaly in 1641.[75] Not only did Bysse hold on to all of his lands, but he also took possession of no less than 1,448 acres, the majority of which were in Phillipstown County Offaly adjoining the lands he held before the rebellion. Prominent Catholic landholders had mixed fortunes. The Barnewalls held extensive lands mainly in north County Dublin and in Meath but also in Monaghan, over 2,400 acres of which were fortified.[76] These lands were granted mainly to new settlers but, significantly, some were granted to Dublin merchants: Peter Mapas, whose family settled in Dublin in the 1630s was granted 205 acres in Duleek County Meath;[77] Thomas Evans, mayor in 1630, received ninety-seven acres in Rathmoyland County Meath;[78] and Peter Westerna, a Dutch merchant, acquired 1,306 acres in Kells County Meath.[79] Interestingly, the only other lands granted to a merchant of Dutch origin were twenty acres in Uppercross County Dublin obtained by Peter Wybrants.[80] The Barnewalls also possessed other lands totalling almost 22,000 acres which still remained in their possession in1660.[81] This family also acquired extensive landholdings in 1660, a small amount of which were in County Meath, but mainly in Galway and Roscommon which had previously belonged to dispossessed Catholic landholders.[82]

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[75]Mc Kenny database nos. 169, 2846, 2848, 8297, 6616; 7263, 10681, 10881, 11484, 15054, 16942, 19069-79.
[76] Ibid, nos 220-221, 440-566.
[77] Ibid, no. 559
[78] Ibid, no. 465.
[79] Ibid, no. 473.
[80] Ibid, no. 14847.
[81] Ibid, nos 17830-17904.
[82] Ibid, nos 1473, 1671, 1673, 1674, 1943, 1946, 3728, 40871, 6358, 6422, 7270, 8023, 8435, 8552, 11507, 14030, 15038, 15703, 16046, 16048, 16378, 16452, 16452, 16486, 16695.

While Catholics generally had their lands forfeited some were left with small holdings such as Edward Jans who had 448 acres in Duleek County Louth granted to various newcomers. 'Two tenements with backsides' in the town of Duleek County Louth and 'two tenements with backsides' in the town of Skreen County Meath were, however, left in his possession.[83] Other Catholic families lost most, if not all, of their lands. For example, in 1641 Lawrence Allen was in possession of one hundred acres in Clontarf which was forfeited and granted to Edward Vernon;[84] Matthew Allen, son of Thomas, sheriff in 1608, possessed 824 acres in Salt County Kildare in 1641 which was granted to Sir John Temple; Robert Allen of St. Wolstan, a cousin of Thomas, was in possession of ninety-two acres in Duleek Abbey County Louth, 181 acres at Straffan County Kildare, 2,524 acres at Kilteel County Kildare and seventy acres at Kilbeg County Meath all of which were granted to new settlers in 1660. Lady Mary Allen lost possession of forty-four acres in Leixlip and Salt County Kildare which were granted to a fellow Catholic, Nicholas White of Dublin, who also took possession of thirty-five acres in Borrisokane County Tipperary, 343 acres in Carra County Mayo, and 316 acres in Ballynakill County Leitrim.[85] The redistribution of landed resources is, of course, a vital and interesting part of this analysis. An equally important aspect to emerge from an examination of these and other records, however, is that it reveals that in real terms the number of properties held by Dublin merchants outside of the city in the period seems to be substantially higher than what has previously been shown in studies relating to property holdings.

For example, according to the Dublin Depositions two Dublin merchant aldermen, Richard Barry and Thomas Wakefield, claimed substantial losses of rents

[83] Mc Kenny database, nos 3540, 7541, 7542, 7543, 22483, 22483, 25734.
[84] ibid, no. 10, 11, 13.
[85] ibid, nos 1395, 2075, 2335, 2557

and tithes on properties in Counties Meath, Louth and Wexford, none of which are mentioned in the *Books of Survey and Distribution.*[86] Moreover, the only reference to Allen landholdings outside of the city of Dublin in *the Books of Survey and Distribution* are those mentioned previously. Yet as Table 4.6 illustrates, according to the claims made by the Allens in 1663, they were entitled to other properties, land and rentals in County Dublin as well as in Counties Meath and Louth.

Table 4.6: Allen properties outside Dublin city. [87]

| Property | Location | Rent | Other |
|---|---|---|---|
| Town and lands | Richardstown, Co. Louth | £10 pa | |
| Town and lands | Clontarf, Co. Dublin | £30 pa | |
| Town and lands | Inch, Ballycolin, Queen's County | £30 pa | |
| Town and lands | Dainstowne, Co. Meath | £6 pa | With recognizance of £20 |
| Town and lands | Pohanstown, Co. Louth | £6 pa | |
| Lands | Co. Louth | £18 pa | |
| Lands | Co. Meath | £12 pa | |
| Lands | Robertstown, Co. Meath | | remainder of 99 year term |

Similarly, the only properties listed in the *Books of Survey and Distribution* for the Arthur family are one acre at Finglas in County Dublin held in 1641 by Benedict Arthur, as well as twenty-two acres in Finglas and eighty-seven acres in Lusk, both in County Dublin, held by Robert Arthur all of which were granted to new settlers.[88] According to claims made by Bennett and John Arthur in 1663, however, their family were in possession of lands and rentals in the hinterlands of Dublin and in Counties Meath, Louth, Westmeath and Kildare as is shown in Table 4.7.

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[86] Depositions of Nicholas Barry, brother of Richard Barry, alderman, (T.C.D. MS 809, ff 36b, 241); Deposition of Robert Church, servant to Richard Barry, (T.C.D. MS 809, ff 37, 241b); Deposition of Thomas Wakefield (T.C.D. MS 809, f. 336).
[87] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims,* no. 100, pp. 24-5, no. 474, p. 185, no. 531, p. 202.
[88] Mc Kenny database nos. 104, 117, 118.

Table 4.7: Arthur properties outside Dublin city.[89]

| |
|---|
| Hacketstown with the great and small tithes |
| The moiety of Brisetown and Lumlettery in Balrothery |
| eight houses and gardens and twenty-four acres of land in Finglas |
| A lease of the rectory of Knockmacke and glebe lands of the same, Co. Meath. |
| Towns and lands of Hoathestowne and Harristowne, parish Sticklin. |
| Thirty acres in Richardstowne and one abbey in Arthurdey and parks belonging to it in Artherdey, Co. Louth |
| Town and lands of Gally,Athlone |
| Town and lands of Criefstowne, Co. Kildare |
| £10 annuity out of a house and lands of Kelliston and Newtown, Co. Kildare |
| £3 pa rent issuing out of town and lands of Irishtown, Co. Dublin |

Likewise, the only reference to land held by the Gough family in 1641 was 171 acres at Howth which was granted to George Usher in 1660.[90]

Table 4.8: Gough lands outside Dublin city.[91]

| Claim | Town | Place | Acres | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Town and Lands | Martinstowne | Co. Louth | 120 | } Mortgaged |
| | Knockegor | Co. Louth | 60 | } for |
| | Stermenstown | Co. Louth | 120 | } £120 |
| { | Dainstowne | Co. Louth | | |
| A mortgage { | Moortowne | Co. Louth | | |
| { | Mollagh | Co. Louth | | |
| | Nutowne | Co. Louth | | |
| | Mollastowne | Co. Louth | | |
| | Liscanny | Co. Louth | | |
| One house | near Tholsel | Co. Louth | | |
| One stone house | town & franchise | Co. Louth | & 5 acres | |
| One house | On the Key | Co. Louth | | |
| | Taskeny | Co. Louth | | }mortgaged |
| | Killomcar | Co. Louth | | }for £200 |
| Towns and lands | Sutton | Co. Louth | 160 | |
| | Killomcar | Co. Louth | 60 | |
| | Kill | Co. Louth | 10 or 15 | |
| Redmond's Farm | | | 60 | |
| A mortgage | Baldousen | | | |
| A mortgage | Whitestown | | | |
| A mortgage | Haystowne | | | |

[89] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims*, nos 100, 531, pp 24-5, 202.
[90] Mc Kenny database, nos 11745, 11748.
[91] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims*, no. 244, p. 87.

Yet, as table 4.8 illustrates, the Gough family had properties in Counties Dublin and Louth.

Although this analysis is only based on a sample of extant evidence, it is clear that the amount of land held by Dublin merchants both in the city and beyond was quite extensive. It should be pointed out, however, that in the early seventeenth century the ways in which lands were held were extremely complex and varied and it is difficult to quantify exactly the amount of land held or owned by Dublin merchants across the country.

Studies of landholdings in Connacht have revealed that the main way that Galway merchants acquired land was through entering into mortgages and that the landed class was divided between large and small families. Some of these families rented out large parts of their estates while others retained their small portions of land for their own use and, below the level of landlord, there were various economic groups ranging from large, wealthy tenants to small subtenants who leased a small portion of land from a head tenant.[92] The same could be said for landholders in Dublin. Enough evidence exists to illustrate that in the early seventeenth century, many merchants acquired land through entering mortgages, some of which were for substantial amounts, or by exchanging cash for land or for the remainder of long term leases. For example, Stephen Duffe was seized in fee of 60 acres on the 23 October 1641 in the town and lands of Ballyfermot County Dublin, which he mortgaged to William Dillon (for an unspecified amount) in 1647 or 1648.[93] He also held one house on Wood Quay in fee simple by deed of mortgage and a statute of £200.[94] William

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[92] Aoife Duignan, 'Politics and war in Connacht 1641-49', p. 17; Mary O'Dowd, 'Land and Lordship in sixteenth and early seventeenth century Ireland', p. 86.

[93] *Inquisitions post-mortem,* i. no. 1, Car. II; Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims*, no. 123, pp 32-33.

[94] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims,* no. 123, pp. 32/3.

Gough claimed that his father, Edward, held his lands at Baldousen, Whitestowne and Haystowne by mortgage of an unspecified amount as well as sixty acres at Knockegor and 120 acres at Stermenstowne, which were mortgaged for £120. He also had lands at Taskeny and Killomcar County Louth, mortgaged for £200, held one house and garden in St. Frances Street Dublin for a mortgage of £36 10*s*, and one house on the quay of Drogheda called the Black Cow, mortgaged for £387*s* 5*d*.[95]

John Arthur, heir to Robert, claimed that by a deed dated 17 March 1636 John Kennedy mortgaged the great messuage called Carbery House in Skinner Row and three houses in St. Mary's Lane in Oxmantown to Edward Allen for £550. By a deed dated 25 March 1637 Kennedy subsequently granted and conveyed the interest in this property to Robert Arthur and his heirs and executors during the remainder of the term of 200 years in consideration of £850.[96] Robert Arthur also acquired the town and lands of Gally in Athlone County Roscommon demised to him by Thomas, Lord Viscount Costello, for ninety-nine years from 13 May 1636, in consideration of £630; the towns and lands in Costello County Mayo by a deed made by Sir James Dillon, knight, for a payment of £500;[97] thirty acres in Richardstown and one abbey in Arthurdey [with parks] in County Louth by a deed dated 20 December 1638 made by John, Lord Viscount Taaffe and Theobald Taaffe, his son for £1,700 sterling.[98] These are considerable sums of money by any standards and illustrates that some Dublin merchants were evidently wealthy and that they acquired property holdings through considerable mortgage transactions. Indeed, evidence shows that land values increased considerably over a thirty year period between 1610 and 1640 and that merchants could clearly make substantial profits from buying and selling lands. For

[95] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims,* no. 244, p. 87.
[96] Ibid, no. 531, p. 202. .
[97] Ibid, no. 531, p. 202.
[98] Ibid, no. 531, p. 202.

example, in 1614 Thomas White purchased an £800 fee-farm interest in a castle and thirty messuages of land subject to a rent of forty pounds from Sir Christopher St. Lawrence of Howth. After Thomas's death in 1626, this interest passed to his son, James White, who, ten years later, sold it to Sir James Ware for £2,150.[99] Even allowing for inflation Dublin merchants could clearly made considerable profits by investing in the property market. Moreover, they often used bonds of the statute staple as surety in their dealings.

Significantly many of the 1663 claims relate to loans that were provided on the staple on the basis of specified rental or other property related returns that were never paid to the claimant.[100] For example, John Arthur, Robert Arthur's heir, claimed that he was entitled to payment from 'several lands, tenements and other great estates,' for a statue staple acknowledged by Richard Finglas and Patrick Caddle to his father, William Arthur, for £160.[101] He also claimed that Sir James Dillon, John, Lord Viscount Taaffe, and Theobald Taaffe acknowledged bonds of the staple unto Robert Arthur by virtue of deeds of mortgage for a great estate in Roscommon, Mayo and Sligo for £500 dated 20 December 1633, and of £1000 dated 20 December 1638, for payment of £500 upon 22 November 1639, 'which was never yet paid'.[102] James Goodman of Laughlinstown County Dublin also acknowledged a staple of £400 on 20 July 1635 to Arthur for payment of £220 by June 1636.[103] Likewise, Matthew Allen claimed a statue staple of £800 acknowledged by George Devinish of Athlone County

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[99] Erlington Ball, *History of Dublin*, vol. v. p. 114.
[100] For analysis of merchants' financial dealings on the statute staple see chapter five below.
[101] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims*, no. 474, p. 185; Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 1418 (5 March 1627). (For family relationships see Arthur genealogy Table: 3.2).
[102] Tallon (ed.), *court of claims* no. 474, p. 185; Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 1923, 2202.
[103] Tallon |(ed.), *Court of claims* no. 474, p. 185; Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 1356, 1842, 1923.

Westmeath unto Thomas Allen in June 1629, 'defeasanced for the payment of £40 per annum until £400 should be paid'.[104] Patrick and Elizabeth Mapas claimed 'lands, tenements and hereditaments' which belonged to Thomas Nangle of Navan, George Nangle of Ardgally and Simon Cardiff of Dublin, for £300 and £400 respectively.[105] It is clear that landholdings were regularly used as collateral for monies borrowed on the statute staple and that when the loan remained unpaid that Dublin merchants could acquire extensive properties or monies from rentals and tithes. It is also clear that many of them acquired land through entering mortgages, some of which were for substantial amounts, or by exchanging cash for land or for the remainder of long term leases which often gave them significant cash returns. The accruement of properties in the city was obviously of great importance to Dublin merchants, as is evidenced in the way that they regularly conveyed properties to another party.

The most common form of conveyance of lands in the early seventeenth century was 'lease and release' evidenced by a charter or deed of feoffment. Under this system, the grantor granted a lease to the grantee to whom he conveyed his fee in simple reversion, which would merge with the lease to give him the fee simple in possession.[106] The transfer of city properties and rents between Dublin merchants was a regular occurrence. For example, of the properties claimed by the Allen family in 1663 the rents were granted to Thomas Allen by various other parties in the 1620s. These included a rent charge of £6 sterling issuing out of a house on the Merchant Quay granted to Allen in 1628 by Dublin merchant, Christopher Handcock; a rent

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[104] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims,* No. 216, pp. 75/6; Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 1620,

[105] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims* no. 292, p. 105; Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha, *Irish statute staple books*, ID 1838, 2190, 2090. The claim by Patrick Mapas was for a bond made by Thomas Begg.

[106] For a comprehensive guide to land laws in the seventeenth century see J.C.W. Wiley, *Irish land law*, (Dublin, 1997), pp 86-99.

charge of £4 issuing out of the house in Winetavern Street granted by Thomas Fleming; a rent charge of £10 per annum issuing out of the town and lands of Richardstown County Louth granted by Richard White of Richardstown in 1629; a rent charge of £30 per annum issuing out of Clontarf, County Dublin granted by George King in 1626; a rent charge of £12 per annum issuing out of lands of Drumcondra and in County Sligo granted by Sir William Taaffe of Ballymote in 1621 and a rent charge of £30 per annum issuing out of the town and lands of Inch in Queen's County was granted by Robert Hartpole of Graunge.[107] It was a fundamental rule of law of leaseholds that the grantee of a lease had to enter into possession of [or as it was known, become 'seized' of] the land before he acquired the estate or term of years granted. Effectively, this meant that a reversion could not be released except to a lessee who had so entered and taken possession. This rule was a primary and important aspect of any claim made to properties. The case of a Dublin merchant, Christopher Crumpe, his wife Elizabeth and her nephew, Ignatius Purcell, in the court of claims in 1663 is a good example of how the system worked.

Christopher's wife, Elizabeth, was a daughter of Walter and Katherine Seagrave (nee Strong). Elizabeth along with her sister Joan, who was deceased, were co-heiresses of Walter. Christopher and Elizabeth claimed that Richard Finglas of Westpalstown County Dublin 'being seized in fee of and in the town and lands of Shullan County Dublin, did, together with his feoffees by deed dated 19 June 1619 give, grant and confirm the same to James Seagrave and his heirs, who by virtue thereof became 'seized of the premise'.[108] James subsequently granted the lands to Henry Seagrave of Cabra the following January to the 'use' of Katherine Seagrave (Elizabeth's mother) during her life and after her decease to the use of the heirs male

[107] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims*, no. 216, pp. 75/6.
[108] Ibid, no. 166, pp 54-5.

of the body of Walter (Elizabeth's father) born to Katherine. Crumpe, on behalf of his wife, claimed that

> Walter is long since dead and that the feoffees continued seized of the premises until the statute for transferring uses into possession. That after the making of the said statute, and after the death of Walter, in 1655, who died without heirs males of his body begotten on the said Katherine, the premises now come unto Elizabeth and Christopher in her right, and unto Ignatius Purcell as son and heir of Joan.[109]

The term 'use' mentioned in this claim is of fundamental importance in how lands were conveyed. Under common law a man could not convey his land to himself nor, since the rule was that a man and his wife were one person for the purpose of the law, to her. In the early seventeenth century landowners often made wills in which they indicated how their property was to be distributed to their feoffees after their death.[110] Wills, however, were not valid in common law until the introduction of the Statute of Wills (Ireland) in 1634. To overcome the problem of disbursing a property after his decease, it was common for a landholder to convey the property to third parties before his demise to be held by them to the 'uses' declared by him on his death.[111] This essentially produced the same result as a will. Indeed, the legal devices of a deed of enfoffement and uses and an accompanying will gave the landowner freedom to decide the future distribution of his estate. It prevented the property from being alienated from the family through the marriage of a female heiress and allowed the

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[109] Tallon (ed.) *Court of claims*, no. 166, pp 64-5.
[110] Mary O'Dowd, 'Women and the Irish chancery court in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,' *I.H.S.*, 30, pp 470-487.
[111] O'Dowd, 'Women in the Irish chancery court' pp. 470-487; Wylie, *Irish land law*, p. 88.

owner to provide for his wife, daughters and younger sons after his death.[112] Unsurprisingly this system was widely abused and feoffees frequently remained in possession of the lands in question. Consequently, women were often forced to claim estates as jointures, or in the right of their children, as well as litigate against other abuses, such as the exploitation of wardships, through legal channels.

Women often presented bills in the chancery court concerned with the refusal of their father's heirs or the feoffees to carry out their father's wishes.[113] Mary O'Dowd has shown, in fact, that up to twenty-two per cent of legible bills and answers found in the salved chancery pleadings in the National Archive, related to women, the majority of whom were widows.[114] For example, Ismay, Ellis, and Margaret Barnewall and others brought a case against Christopher and James Barnewall of Roeston, regarding Robert's will.[115] Another case in May 1622 saw Alison Handcock and others from Dublin merchant families involved in litigation with Richard Fagan and Elinor his wife regarding lands held by the late Mathew Handcock.[116] Women also sued before the court of castle chamber as it offered similar advantages. For example, on 27 September 1637 Alison Gernon, the wife of Roger Gernon, alleged that her only daughter Anne, by her first husband, Edward Ball, was detained by alderman Richard Barry of Dublin.[117] By the terms of wardship her daughter was to be given in custody to Barry along with an allowance of £5 per year

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[112] Mary O'Dowd, 'Women and the Irish chancery court' p. 483.
[113] ibid p. 482.
[114] For analysis of the usefulness of these records for the status of women, see Mary O'Dowd, 'Women in the Irish chancery court', pp 470-487.
[115] Gerrald Leynaghe(?) Alison Barnewall his wife and Sysleye [Cecily] Barnewall daughter of Robert Barnewall late of Roeston. Chancery pleadings (N.A.I. MS E/7, 39). (n.d.)
[116] Walter Cusack and Katherine his wife; Peter Delanoid; Thomas Conran; Francis Dowde; Nicholas Handcock; William Handcock; Margaret wife of Thomas Giggen. Ibid MS J/33.
[117] Crawford, *A star chamber court in Ireland*, pp 380-81.

until she reached the age of ten, and £10 per year until she was married. The petitioner alleged that Barry never sought custody of Anne until she was six years old when her husband Roger Gernon tried to obtain the return of lands detained by Barry under terms of the agreement. Barry then demanded custody of the daughter who refused to go with him.[118] He subsequently sued Alison Gernon and she was fined £60 and ordered not to come near her daughter. The Gernons were sent to prison for non-payment of the fine and it was from there that she successfully petitioned Wentworth to reverse the court's decision.[119] This case not only shows the obvious advantage of the court system to women in protecting their rights but also clearly illustrates that when it came to land even the most respected of the merchant elite of the city succumbed to devious means to hold on to them. After the Restoration women used the court of claims in 1663 as a means to claiming possession of lands left to them in their fathers' wills. Significantly, many cases brought by women in this court refer to the introduction of the statue of uses in 1634. This statute essentially converted equitable estates (that is estates held to the use of others) into legal interests which were recognised in common law. That is, lands or properties intended for their use but in which feoffees were in possession. The statute essentially gave women a more solid basis from which to claim 'usurped lands'.[120] Paradoxically, when women married, or in the case of widows remarried, property immediately transferred to the new husband. This is illustrated in a number of cases brought before the court of by Dublin merchants who laid claim to properties and other inheritances in the name of their wives. For example, a number of properties claimed by Christopher Crumpe were

[118] Ibid, pp 380-81.
[119] Ibid, p. 381.
[120] O'Dowd, 'Women in the Irish chancery court', p. 483.

inherited by his wife, Katherine Seagrave, from her father, Walter Seagrave.[121] Likewise, John Bor claimed properties and rentals in Dublin and Galway inherited by his wife, Margaret Bysse, from her father, Robert Bysse.[122] Another Dublin merchant, Henry Roe, and Elinor his wife, administrators of Patrick Mapas, claimed a number of unpaid bonds on the statute staple as well as lands which, because of the death of Patrick and Elizabeth Mapas and Frances and Mary their children, were committed to the claimant Elinor who 'was entitled to the premises and the claimant Henry in her right'.[123]

While time does not allow for a full examination here of all of the claims made by Dublin merchants either in their own right or in the right of their wives, the examples used in this chapter along with evidence from other sources clearly show that Dublin merchants leased the majority of properties in the city and that they leased or owned extensive properties in the Pale and elsewhere in Ireland, which often changed hands for substantial sums of money. The level of their wealth is illustrated in the way they used the Irish statue staple to diversify in the property market and appropriate income from rents and elsewhere in relation to property holdings. The full extent of their affluence is also illustrated in their involvement in the complex webs of credit in the commercial world. The following chapter will investigate the commercial practices of Dublin merchants and show that borrowing, lending and participation in networks of credit was a fundamental and integral part of day-to-day life in the merchant community.

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[121] Tallon, *Court of claims*, no. 166, pp 64-5.
[122] Ibid, no. 306, pp 102-3.
[123] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims*, no. 292, p. 405.

## CHAPTER 5.

## BUSINESS AND FINANCE.

> Lending and borrowing...whereby the soul of traffic is breathed into the body of a commonwealth ... [and] whereby we accommodate one another ... in monies and other requisites.[1]

This comment written in 1635 echoed that of other contemporaries whose writings strongly imply that borrowing and lending was a fundamental means of commercial transaction in England by the early seventeenth century. As early as 1573, one contemporary wrote 'who living but lends? And be lent they must; else buying and selling might lie in the dust'.[2] In 1623 another wrote, 'without casual debts the life of man doth not consist',[3] and in the 1650s it was written that credit 'was the main hinge upon which the much greater part of ware is returned in most places of the world and was the ordinary way of dealing in England'.[4] It has been acknowledged that systems of banking and related credit networks, however rudimentary, existed in Europe from ancient and medieval times but, as Eric Kerridge has shown, these did not develop in England until the early modern period as a result of a rise of metropolitan markets and the subsequent increase in commercial credit.[5] A much

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[1] Thomas Powell, *The art of thriving or the plaine path-way to preferment, together with the mystery and misery of lending and borrowing. As also a table of the expence of time and money. Published for the common goods of all sorts, & c.* (London, 1635), pp 123-24.

[2] Thomas Tusser, *Five hundred points of good husbandry* (London, 1573, reprint Oxford, 1984), p. 19.

[3] Henry Wilkinson, *The debt book or a treatise vpon Romans 13. Ver. 8: Wherein is handled the ciuil debt of money or goods, and vnder it the mixt debt, as occasion is offered. Also the sacred debt of love* (London, 1625).

[4] William Potter, *The key of wealth or a new way for improving of trade* (London, 1650), pp 39-41.

[5] Eric Kerridge, *Trade and banking in early modern England* (Manchester, 1988).

neglected area of study into such credit networks is the social role that borrowing and lending played as a means of exchange. This, however, has recently been the subject of intense scrutiny by Craig Muldrew, who has pointed out that almost all buying and selling involved credit of one form or another and every household, from pauper to the royal household, was to some degree enmeshed within the complex systems of credit which existed in the period.[6] Similarly, in highlighting the importance of the statute staple for the regulation of debt and the creation of a sophisticated credit network in seventeenth-century Ireland, Jane Ohlmeyer has remarked on the social and economic role of credit, commenting that 'credit was a levelling force within the community and reciprocal ties of indebtedness bound rich and poor alike irrespective of ethnicity or religion'.[7] Yet, apart from an examination of credit and monetary problems in Munster and a brief look at the level of indebtedness in Connacht little attempt has been made to consider the importance of the social and commercial role that credit played in Irish society in the period.[8] Indeed, it has been argued by Raymond Gillespie that a major factor in limiting economic change in the early seventeenth century was the non-existence of an adequate, well developed credit system to compensate for a shortage of capital.[9] He has also argued that Dublin

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[6] Craig Muldrew, *The economy of obligation: The culture of credit and social relations in early modern England* (London, 1998), pp 34-39; idem, 'Interpreting the market: the ethics of credit and community relations in early modern England', in *Social History*, xviii, no. 2, (19), pp 163-183; idem, 'Credit and the courts: debt litigation in a seventeenth-century community', in *Economic History Review,* xlvi, 1 (1993), pp 23-38; idem, 'The Culture of reconciliation: community and the settlement of economic disputes in early modern England', in *The Historical Journal, xxxix*, 4. (1996), pp 915-942. Also see, Eric Kerridge, *Trade and banking in Early Modern England.*

[7] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha, *Irish statute staple books,* p. 8.

[8] Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Credit and remittance: monetary problems in early seventeenth-century Munster', in, *Ir. Econ. Soc. Hist.* xiv, (1987), pp 5-19; Duignan, 'politics and war in Connacht, 1641-49', pp 49-60.

[9] Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish economy*, pp 53-4.

merchants used their cash surplus solely to speculate in land rather than advance loans or engage in further trade.[10] This was simply not the case.

The affluence of Dublin merchants is certainly demonstrated through their accumulation of lands in the period, but Dublin's strong economic performance suggests that the city's merchants were not afraid to invest in trade and that a great deal of their affluence lay in their economic activities in the first place.[11] A common feature of commercial life in the period was partnerships within the trading systems and the use of factors or agents. Extant records provide evidence that Dublin merchants were more than willing to invest in trade and that they were attuned to the same business practices as their English or European counterparts. Trade transactions in particular depended on credit systems and, more than anybody else, merchants and tradesmen relied on credit to facilitate their everyday mercantile enterprises. In Dublin, merchants were not only heavily involved in the complex webs of credit across the commercial world but also, borrowing, lending and participation in networks of credit was a fundamental and integral part of day-to-day life in the merchant community.

This chapter will analyse the business and financial world of Dublin merchants. It will examine commonplace business practices such as partnerships, factorage and commercial morality. It will outline the monetary system that existed in Ireland and discuss how problems such as the shortage of coinage and fluctuations in the money market affected the commercial world of Dublin merchants and will analyse day-to-day pecuniary practices such as cash transactions and the various instruments of credit which were widely in use in the period. It will also examine the extent of borrowing

[10] Gillespie, 'Dublin 1600-1700, p. 94.
[11] See chapters one and four above.

and lending within the merchant community and assess the primary role that Dublin merchants played in the regulation of credit networks in the city.

A good example of how commercial life in the city operated on a day-to-day basis is illustrated in the correspondence and other business documents of Christopher Lowther, an English merchant operating in Ireland in the 1630s.[12] Around 1620, Christopher's father, Sir John Lowther, sent his younger brother Robert to Ireland to examine economic prospects, the possibilities of making money in the law, or by investment in plantations there.[13] He obviously intended setting up a permanent base in Ireland. Besides asking Robert to enquire about the economic prospects, Sir John requested that he find out about the cost of rents, the power of the lords over their under-tenants, the wages of servants and to enquire into the possibility and price of purchasing his uncle's, Sir Gerard Lowther's, office as justice of the common pleas in Ireland or that of attorney general.[14] Robert's replies to Sir John's questions were mixed but the implication was that he could see no real profit in setting up in Ireland. He said that any kind of merchandise that seemed profitable was already 'sought out' and complained that the impost and customs were great and that rents in the city were excessive.[15] Sir Gerard's reply to Robert regarding the purchase of his position provided no great encouragement either. He said that 'he would have no greater man of the name here than himself'.[16]

Sir Gerard's death in 1624 effectively paved the way for his family to proceed with their plans to go to Ireland, a move clearly supported by Sir John's illegitimate

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[12] See introduction.
[13] Enquiries about economic prospects and investments in Ireland (Cumbria Records Office, MS D/Lons/L1/1/6/1). The document is not dated but internal evidence dates this document to around 1620.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.

brother, also Sir Gerard, who told Christopher in 1632 that Lord Aungier, the master of the rolls, was dead and that he had heard Sir John 'could have it'.[17] The economic prospects for the Lowthers in Ireland had also greatly improved in the interim. By this time Sir John had purchased the manor of St. Bees which included a pier at Whitehaven which he proposed to develop into a harbour from where he intended to ship coal, iron and particularly salt to Dublin, all of which were manufactured on his estates.[18] Significantly, Sir John served on the council for the north (in England) with Thomas Wentworth, first earl of Strafford, who was appointed as lord deputy of Ireland in 1632 (although it was the following year before he arrived in Ireland). Christopher's letters often make it clear that the Lowthers expected to benefit economically from his father's friendship with Wentworth and specifically stated, amongst other things, that he hoped to obtain a license for the monopoly of salt.[19] Sir George Radcliffe, Thomas Wenworth's secretary, also had a financial interest in the Lowther's ventures in salt, herrings and coal.[20] These connections with the Irish administration were to prove extremely useful for Christopher Lowther when he needed to obtain hard cash for his business venture.

Christopher served his apprenticeship with his uncle Robert and the contents of his letters clearly show that he still worked on his behalf during his time in Ireland.

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[17] Christopher told his father that his cousin Gerard told him that the position was worth £1,000 per annum with his fee which was £180 per annum, his two circuits and the perquisites of office and that it would be a good place 'if you would look after it'. Christopher Lowther to Sir John Lowther, 17 November, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 32; Hainsworth, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary adventure', p. 25, n. 14.

[18] Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, pp ix-xi; Phillips, 'The gentry in Cumberland and Westmoreland 1600-1665', p. 193.

[19] The Lowther letter-books are peppered with references to Wentworth who Christopher often refers to as 'my lord deputy' in 1632 although he did not arrive in Ireland until the following July. For example, see Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, pp 4, 16, 17, 23, 30, 38, 50.

[20] Christopher Lowther to Sir John Lowther, 17 November, 1632, 18 December, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 33, 50.

He first went to Dublin in June 1632 and having returned to England during the summer months, arrived back in Ireland in September 1632 to organise a shipment of wheat as well as tallow and other goods, albeit to a lesser extent, to the Canary Islands.[21] In June, Christopher's primary task was to oversee the sale of Yorkshire cloth on behalf of himself and his partners in order to pay for his enterprise and in September it was to organise the actual venture to the Canary Islands.[22] Robert's most immediate undertaking in June, however, was to procure a reliable factor or agent in Dublin.

Choosing a factor was one of the most important tasks for any successful merchant and enormous care was taken because the success or failure of a venture might depend on their abilities.[23] The primary aim of any factor was to ensure the smooth operation of his master's business as well as to act as middle-man in the buying and selling of cargo.[24] Ideally, he should advise his client what goods to send, sell the cargo at the best possible price to merchants whose credit he could vouch for, and load a return cargo of the best possible quality of goods he could obtain. A factor should not load another cargo of similar goods for the same port if there was a chance that they would arrive first and glut the market. He was expected to keep in touch with the merchants who employed him, to advise them about the state of the markets and local conditions, and to give them as much warning as possible about goods that would not sell. In brief, the factor should handle his employer's affairs as if they were his own and act as a 'friend' which was the term used by contemporaries to describe correspondents abroad, preferring to lose his commission rather than have his

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[21] See Hainsworth, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary adventure', pp 22-34.
[22] He also undertook a tour of the south and east of the country to acquaint himself with the lie of the land, the harbours and prices and quantities of merchandise available and needed. Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 5.
[23] See Agnew, *Belfast merchant families*, pp 142-3.
[24] Ibid, p. 142.

employer take a loss.[25] The relationship between employers and factors was usually a reciprocal arrangement which lasted for years. Above all they needed to count on each others honesty.

The very extension of credit demanded trust and a reputation for honesty was essential for success in any commercial enterprise. For example, a Bristol merchant's instructions to a young apprentice setting out on his first overseas venture were to 'be most faithful and just in all your accompts with every man, and defraud no man willingly not to the value of a farthing'.[26] Moreover, merchants needed dependable and trustworthy factors to keep them informed of the reliability of traders in other towns and cities. Merchants trading between different communities would not have had the same access to knowledge about each others' characters as they would have had about their neighbours. Trust could be easily generated within local communities because knowledge of trustworthiness could be passed on from person to person, but people were willing to extend it to others over considerable distances.[27] A merchant's reputation was only as good as his last few transactions and his performance was the subject of constant scrutiny. It was also necessary for a factor to be active and hardworking and, as Jean Agnew has shown, this was usually stressed in letters of recommendation or self-recommendation.[28]

Unfortunately, no such letters exist in relation to Dublin merchants. Nor is there very much hard evidence to illustrate the level of business relationships or factorage in Dublin in the period. Interestingly, what does exist generally refers to Dutch merchants operating in the city. For instance, on 9 March 1631 following the running

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[25] Ibid, p. 142.
[26] I.B. *Merchants Auzio* (London, 1604), p. 5.
[27] Craig Muldrew, 'Interpreting the market' p. 180.
[28] For examples of some letters of recommendation and self-recommendation in the later seventeenth century, see Agnew, *Belfast merchant families,* p. 145.

aground at Portland of the ship *The Janakyn* bound from Dublin to Amsterdam with a shipload of tallow, Peter Fortrey of London deposed to the high court of the admiralty that Victor Ounesse was factor and servant in Dublin to Jacob Dirrickson Soutman of Amsterdam.[29] The same day Peter Fountaine, also of London, said that Elkyn Lucas, master of *The Janakyn* was a factor for Peter Wybrants of Dublin and Daniel Wybrants and company of Amsterdam.[30] On 23 April 1632 the depositions of John Barlett, the master of the *Pelican of Dublin* and William Crosse of London show that Abraham Rickasee of Dublin and Crosse were partners in a shipment of wheat, tallow, hides, tanned sheepskins, tongues, and candles to Peter and Edmund Shardenell in Amsterdam.[31] Significantly, Christian Bor, probably the most prominent Dutch merchant in the city, acted as a factor for Richard Boyle, the 'great' earl of Cork. In August 1623, Bor corresponded with the earl from London regarding problems with the shipment of iron from London to Bantry and referred to two earlier letters he sent from Dublin and Chester about the ins and outs of financial transactions relating to this particular shipment.[32] Significantly, Boyle had a multitude of financial dealings with wealthy, prominent figures in Dublin and two other Dutch merchants, Peter Wybrant and Abraham Rickesies, acted on his behalf in financial matters.[33]

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[29] Appleby (ed.), *A Calendar of Material relating to Ireland from the High Court of the Admiralty,* no. 855; Deposition of Peter Fortrey of London, merchant (T.N.A MS H.C.A., 13/49, f. 276v).

[30] Ibid, no. 856; Deposition of Peter Fountaine of London, merchant (T.N.A. MS H.C.A., 13/49, f. 277).

[31] Ibid, nos. 881, 882; Depositions of John Bartlett of Dublin and William Cross of London (T.N.A. MS H.C.A., 13/50 (1632-34), ff. 9v-10v).

[32] See letter from Christian Bor to the earl of Cork, 23 August 1622, A.B. Grosart (ed.), *Lismore Papers* (10 vols. London 1886), Series 2, i, pp 34-37.

[33] *Lismore papers,* particularly Boyle's diaries (2nd series) reveals a multitude of pecuniary transactions with prominent people in Dublin including Sir Charles Coote, Sir Edward Bagshaw, Sir John Clothworthy, Sir Adam Loftus, Sir James Carroll, Sir Nicholas White and Sir William Parsons. He also had financial dealings with Dublin merchants including, James Watson, Thomas Watson, Arthur Champion, Robert

Boyle, however, also used a Dublin merchant, David Begg (sheriff in 1632 and mayor in 1640), as an agent in his financial dealings in the 1630s. Similarly, another Dublin merchant, John Bamber (sheriff in 1640), became a factor for Christopher Lowther when the Dutch merchants recommended by his uncle proved unreliable.

When Christopher first arrived in Ireland in June 1632 he was instructed by his uncle Robert to place himself under the guidance of either Baddelow or Burre [Bor], two Dutch merchants operating in Dublin.[34] Showing a shrewd sense of business acumen, Christopher quickly recognised that both of these men were too involved in their own business activities to be of any use to him. He told his uncle Robert that he spoke to Mr Baddelow 'for his help, and advice, and factorage' but he, although professing kindness and a willingness to help him, was so busy with his own affairs that he was not willing to become his factor.[35] He also said that neither Bor nor Baddelow were 'two days together in the town, Baddelow's employment being altogether in the country into the county of Fermanagh, and thereabouts, and Mr Barre [Bor] with an employment of tanning houses and other particulars of his own at Wicklow'.[36] Trusting the judgement of his Belfast business partner, Rowland Jackson, Christopher almost immediately found a factor he could trust, but at the same time was astute enough not to rule out the Dutch merchants. Professing to 'keep fair' with

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Kennedy, and David Begg. For examples see *Lismore papers,* series 1, iii, pp 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 162, 164.

[34] Christopher Lowther to Robert Lowther, 20 October, 1632. Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 1; Hainsworth, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary adventure', pp 31-2.

[35] Christopher Lowther to Robert Lowther, 23 September 1632 and to his father, 7 October 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 8.

[36] Christopher Lowther to Robert Lowther, 20 October, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 11; Hainsworth, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary adventure', p. 32.

Baddelow, he instead adhered himself to John Bamber, 'a merchant which my partner advised me to before I went over'.[37]

According to Christopher, he was 'most beholden' to Bamber for finding him lodgings in Dublin with Jacob Newman which would 'save him double in rent' over the course of a year.[38] He said of him that 'Bamber is himself a Catholic but a very honest man if there be any in town to trust to, who will advise of things and meet either with him or him with me every day. He knows all the Irish ways of trade and is a freeman of the town … and he promised me anything in his power to do it for me, and he will inform me of all'.[39] When Christopher failed to raise the capital he needed to pay what he owed for wheat and to equip his ship to the Canaries, he told his uncle Robert that he had thought of another way to raise the money and that was to go into partnership with John Bamber. He said that Bamber desired to come in with them on the venture with a consignment of ten tons of freight, and that he was willing to send a man to the Canaries purposely to 'enquire of the trade and what good might be done between Ireland and there', and had offered to send his proceeds to London with them.[40] Thinking this a good proposition, Christopher said, 'may be I will rather do and we with him at any other time may have the like'.[41] That December Christopher wrote to his uncle Robert saying that in each other's absence he and Bamber had agreed to 'be factors for each other at one half per cent, and in all things to advise

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[37] Christopher Lowther to his father, 7 October, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 8.
[38] Christopher Lowther to his father Sir John Lowther, 7 October, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 8.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Christopher Lowther to his uncle Robert Lowther, 11 November, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 26.
[41] Ibid.

together, and assist each other'.[42] With his ship, the *Lemon,* due in Dublin from London any day, Christopher had to have his consignment ready to load for the onward journey to the Canaries but was still clearly short of money. He wrote, 'as I formerly wrote about mister. Bamber coming in with us, instead of putting in 70 quarters [sic] ourselves, because I think we have already enough and that moneys yet riseth not for that cloth and stuffs, that we suffer him to put in 10 tons or something under freight'.[43]

It is unsurprising that Lowther was anxious to establish a working relationship with John Bamber. The young Dublin merchant, who was probably only about twenty-two years of age, was obviously an astute, hard-working, up-and-coming businessman whom Lowther evidently felt fell within the criteria of a good factor.[44] Christopher told his father that 'his trading is for England, France or Spain, [and] is now sending two [ships] for France'.[45] Clearly already heavily involved in continental trade, Bamber was obviously well attuned to trading practices in the city which meant that he was in a position to advise on the state of the market, types of commodities which would sell and the best prices for them. In January 1633, Christopher wrote to his agent in the Canaries, William Hall, telling him that Bamber had eight tons on the *Lemon* and that 'he [Bamber] is to go along with it' and asked Hall to 'direct and assist' Bamber in the sale 'and what else he may think convenient for his master's

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[42] Christopher Lowther to his uncle Robert Lowther, 18 December, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 49.
[43] Ibid.
[44] This is based on Colm Lennon's calculation of ages at times of entering office which if correct probably makes Bamber 30 when he became sheriff in 1640 and thus 22 or thereabouts in 1632. Colm Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 45.
[45] Christopher Lowther to his father Sir John Lowther, 7 October, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 8.

good'.[46] In keeping with accepted practice, when Bamber shipped his freight on the *Lemon*, he avoided glutting the market with the same type of commodities as Lowther (wheat and tallow) and shipped instead, linen, cloth, beef, port, tongues and barrelled mutton as well as salted and red herring.[47] Also in keeping with the tenets of factorage, Bamber was willing to forgo his commission on landing in the Canaries allowing it instead to go Christopher's agent, William Hall.[48]

Bamber obviously recognised the value of a reciprocal business relationship with the Lowthers who, if their plans for the development of Whitehaven came to fruition, potentially augured well for the young business man. During Christopher's time in Ireland Bamber regularly bought goods off the English merchant and kept him informed of prices and commodities being shipped into the city.[49] Moreover, Bamber was willing to let Christopher 'use his name' and thus the English merchant was able to buy or sell 'as if he were free'.[50] He also clearly remained in contact with the Lowthers after Christopher's return to England as in April 1640 Christopher wrote to 'his loving friends' in Dublin, John Bamber, Daniel Hutchinson, John Parker, 'or any of them,' asking them to look after a new apprentice, John Wood, who he said was

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[46] Christopher Lowther to William Hall, 12 January, 1632/3, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 53.

[47] Christopher Lowther to Mr Manne and Company [presumably in London from the content of the letter which went by way of Whitehaven], Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, pp 56-7.

[48] Christopher Lowther to William Hall, 12 January, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 53.

[49] For example, Bamber bought consignments of cloth as well as hops, one bag of which 'came hither all broken'. He also advised him of the prices of herrings coming into the city, an area of trade that Christopher from the outset was interested in getting into. Christopher Lowther to Rowland Jackson, 29 November, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 37.

[50] Christopher Lowther to Sir John Lowther, 7 October, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 11.

'young and hath never been abroad'.[51] He asked for their 'help and furtherance to him, both in entering and selling his goods and in re-employing the money'.[52] Christopher instructed his new apprentice to find Richard Powley, his current servant, to let him know he had a lading of salt and coal to sell. If he [Powley] had 'gone to the north', Wood was to deliver his letter to John Bamber who 'will help and further you both to enter and sell of the salt and coals and to help you to hire sellers for such of your salt as you cannot sell'.[53] It is clear from this that by 1640 Bamber was no longer acting as a factor for the Lowthers, probably due to other business but most likely because of his involvement in civic government that year.[54] He nevertheless maintained a good working relationship and was prepared to act on their behalf when necessary. Bamber's willingness to get involved in the initial venture in 1632 is unsurprising as it gave the Dublin merchant the opportunity to assess the market in the Canaries. Significantly, Bamber's business relationship with Lowther strongly suggests that, even at a young age, merchants in Dublin were involved in continental traffic and that they were more than willing to invest in further trade. More importantly, it illustrates that the religion of a potential partner or factor was not as important as his business acumen in deciding to form commercial relationships. The obviously strong business relationship between the two, along with his political connections, ultimately assured Christopher of the capital that he needed when he was unable to procure money to buy wheat for his venture.

Having found the ideal factor, Christopher turned to his other primary aim, to sell a consignment of Yorkshire cloth to make enough money for his and his partners'

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[51] Christopher Lowther to John Bamber, Daniel Hutchinson and John Parker, 20 April, 1640, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p.76.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 75.
[54] Bamber was sheriff in 1640 which meant he was also on the board of auditors. See app. 2 'Civic government 1620-1660'.

share of the finance for the venture to the Canary Islands.[55] Christopher's partners in this venture were his uncle, Robert Lowther, and his business partner, Rowland Jackson (based in Belfast), who between them financed one quarter of the cost; the other three-quarters was funded by a partnership of London merchants. On his arrival in Dublin, Christopher carried letters entitling him to receive a total of £315 from three Dublin merchants, Arthur Champion, Edward Barry and John Standley [Stanley] who owed him £100, £165 and £50 respectively. He also expected to receive letters of credit through Chester and Bristol, to pay for his London partners' share of the venture.[56] The expected letters of credit from Chester and Bristol never arrived, and John Stanley suffered a 'great loss of his goods in the harbour with many others' when a ship laden with goods was washed ashore during a storm, and was so financially embarrassed that he could not supply all of the £50 he had promised.[57] Lowther obviously received the money expected from the other Dublin merchants who were involved in his project. In a letter written on 20 October to Robert Lowther, Christopher said that although he was 'wanting yet of 30*l* from John Standley' that he had received £100 from Campion on a bill of exchange.[58] Enclosed with the letter was a bill of exchange for Richard Darley or Tempest Millner, the London merchants involved in the venture, 'for the value hereof received of Edward Barry by me, for the use of yourself and company as etc'.[59]

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[55] Hainsworth, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary adventure' pp 26-7.
[56] Ibid, p. 26.
[57] According to Hainsworth, Stanley was unable to pay the £50 but Christopher actually wrote that he was waiting on another £30 from Stanley which shows he had already received £20. Ibid, p. 26; Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 28.
[58] Christopher Lowther to Robert Lowther, 20 October, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 28, 29.
[59] Christopher Lowther to Mr John Battie, 20th October 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*., p. 12;

It is significant that Lowther referred to bills of exchange in his correspondence. Jean Agnew has stated that the evolution of the bill of exchange as a means of transferring credits between trading centres was a late seventeenth-century phenomenon, that the first evidence of a Belfast merchant using bills of exchange was in 1629 and they were not in general use in Ireland until the 1660s.[60] In fact, bills of exchange were clearly widely used in Europe and in England as early as the late sixteenth century.[61] According to the well travelled English merchant, Lewes Roberts, commercial credit networks spread right across Europe, Africa and the Americas by the late sixteenth century.[62] He said, 'to take away the incommodity and danger of the carriage of moneys, about a man, or from place to place, a mean was invented to have the same in what country a man pleased, without trouble or danger of transport, carriages or rigor thereof; and this was found to be best performed by exchange'.[63] Moreover, the first item mentioned by Roberts on a list of ten things that were needed 'for the art of merchandising [was] the manner, force and virtue of a bill of exchange, the terms, and proper method there, with all manners of observations ... and strict rules of the proceedings commonly used therin'.[64]

The *Merchant's Auzio* written by a Bristol merchant in the 1580s contains, amongst numerous other sample documents relating to shipping, examples of 'bills of

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[60] The bill referred to in 1629 was one issued by a Dutchman (Louis Tomas) between him and other Dutch merchants. Agnew, *Belfast merchant families,* p. 155.
[61] A bill of exchange was an 'unconditional written orders addressed by one person to another, signed by the person giving it, requiring the person to whom it is addressed to pay, on demand or at a fixed time, a sum to a specified person'. Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* pp xvii/xviii.
[62] Roberts, *A merchants' map of commerce* (London, 1671), p. 7.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid, p. 9.

exchange' for 'our country of England' as well as 'for the country of Spain and elsewhere'.[65] The bill (for England) was worded:

> Worshipful may it please you to pay upon this my first bill unto [R.N.] or the bearer hereof, within 15 days after the safe arrival of the *Gabriel of Bristol* to her port of discharge, thirty and three pounds, six shillings and eight pence. Which is for 100 Duckets that I have taken up by exchange for your use of T.M. a merchant of London at six shillings and eight pence the ducket. From S. *Lucar* the 16 Day of December 1589. by me R.A.[66]

It was noted in the margin beside this sample bill that 'you must make 3 of these bills', and was followed by a sample of the second and third bill which read 'may it please you to pay upon this my second [or third] bill (my first not been paid) to R.N.'[67] Similarly, Lowther's reference to bills of exchange in his letter to John Battie read 'at ten days after sight hereof pay this my first bill of exchange, my second or third not being paid of one hundred and sixty five pounds sterling to Richard Darley or Tempest Millner for the value hereof received of Edward Barry by me, for the use of yourself and company as etc'.[68] Christopher Lowther was, admittedly, an English merchant operating in Ireland and arguably bills of exchange could be construed as English business practice. Nevertheless, it is evident that bills of exchange were being used in Dublin at least by the 1630s.

Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh has shown that Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, relied heavily on bills of exchange to transmit substantial sums of money from Cork

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[65] I.B. merchant, *The merchants' avizo,* (London, 1607), pp 53-4.
[66] The form of a bill of exchange for the country of Spain, ibid. p. 53.
[67] Ibid, p. 53.
[68] Christopher Lowther to John Battie, 20th October 1632 Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 12.

to England during the 1620s and 1630s.[69] Significantly, many of these bills were remitted between Cork and Dublin through a number of Youghal and Dublin merchants. For example, on 12 October 1629, the earl of Cork wrote in his diary that he ordered David Begg to give Christian Bor's brother £341 5s sterling for his [Boyle's] use in London. He said that Christian Bor gave him three first and second bills of exchange for that amount, charged on John Rushart, John de Barre and mister John Barne, all of whom had addresses in London.[70] In June 1632 James Watson, a Dublin merchant, paid William Barber £400 sterling that a mister Wally, on the earls order, paid mister Uppington of Youghal for Watson on his son's bill of exchange, 'whereupon', he wrote, 'I returned mister Watson his bond cancelled'.[71] On 9 October 1632, Boyle noted that he delivered £200 to mister Rickesies of St. Patrick Street 'who thereupon gave the Lord Digby bills of exchange to have so much paid in London to the Lady Barbara Villiars in part of £600 his lordship owed her upon his hand.'[72] Copies of bills of exchange dating from 1639 to 1665 held in Chester provide further evidence that Dublin merchants used bills of exchange on a regular basis. For example, on 10 April 1640 Percival Williams drew a bill of exchange to his master, Richard Bird, to pay £7 at five days after sight to mister William Edwards, a merchant in Chester.[73] On 30 August 1642 Raphael Hunt, a Dublin merchant (mayor of the city in 1645), drew a bill of exchange for £100 on William Lincolne, to pay at three week's sight to another Dublin merchant, Edward Lake, a bill which was accepted by

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[69] Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Credit and remittance', pp 5-19.
[70] Boyle needed to give his son, Dick, £91 5*s* 6*d* and Adam Loftus's son, Arthur, £50 for their quarter and allowance at the start of Michaelmas term in Oxford. *Lismore papers,* series 2, vol. 3, p. 3.
[71] Ibid, series 1, iii, p. 13.
[72] Ibid, p. 18.
[73] City of Chester Town Clerk Official Business: Protested Bills (C.R.O. MS TCB, f. 9r).

Lincoln on 21 September 1642.[74] That November, Hunt drew another bill for £180 on Michael Castel, a merchant in London, to pay at six weeks sight to Richard Bradshaw.[75]

These bills concerning Dublin merchants are part of the city of Chester town clerk official business collection which contains 80 folios of protested bills of exchange.[76] Bills of exchange were usually accepted and paid, or the term might be re-negotiated and interest charged. If it was not accepted it was protested by a formal statement before a notary public.[77] This protested bills book mainly consists of copies of bills of exchange protested before him as notary public, with notes of the protests and the reasons for non-payment. For example, a bill for £100 drawn up by Thomas Martin to Thomas Butler, to pay at fifteen days sight to Thomas Crichley, 'for the value there received of Richard Chapman, merchant', was protested because 'the goods sent from Martin to him were not to his liking'.[78] Another bill drawn by Jacob Ablyn to John Johnson, merchant at Chester, to pay Ralph Richardson £60 'the value received by Raphael Hunt' was protested because 'he had no such letter of advice, neither any such sum as is charged upon him'.[79] Significantly, a number of these cases were heard in Dublin. While there is no known reason why this is so, the fact that

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[74] Ibid, f. 28v. Edward Lake was sheriff in 1639 and mayor in 1646. Raphael Hunt was sheriff in 1645 and mayor in 1650.
[75] Ibid, f. 29r.
[76] There are also copies of instruments of protest made before him, by which masters of ships or merchants protested against damage and losses due to storms at sea or failure to observe the terms of charter-party or trade agreements. The book also contains copies of a number of certificates from the Mayor that specified cargoes have been laded in the port of Chester, that the goods are English and belong in the port of Chester, who are named, and that Chester is free from pestilence. A small number of bonds and other obligations examined by the Clerk are also entered. 'City of Chester Town Clerk Official Business: Protested Bills' (C.R.O. MS TCB).
[77] See Agnew, *Belfast merchant families*, p. 164.
[78] City of Chester Town Clerk Official Business: Protested Bills, (C.R.O. MS TCB, f. 13v).
[79] Ibid, f. 36r.

some cases were also heard at other ports such as La Rochelle suggests that even where bills of exchange were drawn between Chester or other English merchants, that merchants in the port of origin or destination, in this case Dublin, were involved in the freighting of the goods and possibly in the financial transaction itself.[80] For example, on 4 February 1643, it is noted after a bill of exchange drawn by Robert Bowyer to Miles Pemberton, Bridge Street, Chester 'to pay at sight of John Betson £100 sterling for the like value there received of him' that 'his man was going to Dublin and that he had ordered him to pay it'.[81] The protesting of bills, however, was not a common occurrence. As Jean Agnew has pointed out, having a bill protested struck at the personal credit of any merchant and was avoided whenever possible and more often than not, terms were accepted or renegotiated without resorting to legal means.[82] Thus the only records of bills of exchange are those which were actually protested and most likely represent only a very small proportion of the number of bills actually drawn up by Dublin merchants (in one port) in the period. The Dublin merchants involved in Lowther's Canary venture, Edward Barry, Arthur Champion and John Stanley, who all paid their money on the bills, were clearly well acquainted with their use and Barry honoured his part despite the fact that three bills 'were lost' between Rowland Jackson, mister Barry and Christopher himself.[83]

Bills of exchange went a long way towards alleviating cash-flow problems. Nevertheless, having received £285 on bills of exchange towards his London partners' share of the venture Christopher Lowther still had to pay the balance as well as his own and his partners' share. He intended to do this from the proceeds of cloth he had

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[80] Ibid, f. 5.
[81] Ibid, f. 31r.
[82] Agnew, *Belfast merchant families*, p. 147.
[83] Presumably he means went missing. Christopher Lowther to Mr John Battie, 20 October, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 12.

brought from Whitehaven and which Rowland Jackson had brought from London.[84] Lowther managed to sell some of the cloth to a number of Dublin merchants, Arthur Champion, John Stanley, Weston, Richard Corkrane, Roger Gernon, Richard Cook, a mister Weldon and John Bamber.[85] The market, however, was overstocked and by November he had only managed to receive £100 in hard cash for his cloth.[86] Christopher already owed £600 for wheat previously ordered as well as most of the £326 16s 4d for 1,005 barrels of corn.[87] He said that he still had to pay £321 or 'thereabouts' for the corn, and that he had no more than £60 to take up in debts for cloth.[88] Denied cash from other sources, Christopher was compelled to get hard currency wherever he could find it. This was to prove a difficult task as money in the city was scarce due to the complex and confusing monetary system that existed in Ireland in the period.[89]

Up to 1641, three distinct currencies circulated in Ireland: Irish, English and foreign coin, especially Spanish silver and Portuguese gold, which according to a contemporary report was 'the coin that most aboundeth, and is chiefly reckoned on in that nation'.[90] The actual moneys of account in both England and Ireland, however, were in pounds, shillings and pence but sterling circulated in Ireland at around one-

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[84] Hainsworth, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary Adventure', p. 26.
[85] Christopher Lowther to Robert Lowther, 11 Nov. 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 23, 27; to Rowland Jackson, 25 November 1632, ibid p. 37.
[86] Ibid, p. 27.
[87] Christopher Lowther to Rowland Jackson, 25 November, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, pp 36-37.
[88] Ibid.
[89] For coinage see, J. Simon, *An essay towards an historical account of Irish coins* (Dublin, 1749); M. Dolley, 'Anglo-Irish Monetary Policies, 1172-1637' in *Historical Studies*, VII (1969), pp 45-64; idem, 'The Irish coinage, 1534-1691' *N.H.I.* iii, pp 408-18; J.J. McCusker, *Money and exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775* (London, 1978); C.E. Challis, *The Tudor coinage* (Manchester), 1978); O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland*, pp 96-98; MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Credit and remittance', pp 7-8; Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish economy*, pp 30-32.
[90] *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1600-01*, p. 126.

third above its face value. According to Lewes Roberts, 'the pound of Ireland consists of 20 shillings Irish, yet in sterling is accounted but 15 shillings. The shilling by this account is but 9d sterling, and the six pence Irish is 4½d sterling'.[91] Officially, no sterling should have been allowed to circulate, but this was not enforced until the end of the Elizabethan period following the Nine Years War when London reduced its subvention to Ireland and compensated by debasing the Irish currency in April 1601. This coinage had a smaller silver content of about one quarter, instead of around two-thirds as it was previously; all other money current in Ireland was declared void, and the export of English money to Ireland was prohibited. This was discontinued on the accession of James I and VI when Irish coins with the old silver content were once again passed in Ireland alongside sterling.[92]

The juxtaposition of both English and Irish currency and the importance that was attached to the silver content in existing coinage is clearly shown in a number of transactions on the statute staple in the early seventeenth century. For example, on 21 May 1604, Edward Gough loaned money on bond of £300 which was described as '£400 lawful money of Ireland of the king's new silver coin, [equal to] £300 Irish'.[93] The following year, another Dublin merchant, Patrick Cooley, loaned money on bond of £80 described as 'current silver money of Great Britain … the true meaning of this four score pounds is that there shall be of king's ma[jesty']s new silver'.[94] Similarly, on 3 December 1606, Robert Kennedy loaned money on bond of £750 which was described as £1,000 of 'the current money in Ireland of pure silver without mixture'.[95]

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[91] Roberts, *A merchants map of commerce*, p. 284.
[92] Simon, *Irish Coins* p. 28; O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland*, p. 93; MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Credit and remittance', pp 7-9.
[93] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 334.
[94] Ibid, ID 354. For other transactions which specifically mention the type of currency, see ID, 319, 354, 355, 364, 365.
[95] Ibid, 440.

Significantly, this was the last entry in the statute staple to mention specifically the silver content of the coin. This was most likely because the circulation of sterling was legitimised in Ireland in 1607 and after this date sterling coin became the dominant specie to circulate in the country. In 1637 Irish money of account was abolished and it was ordered that all quotations, rents and valuations be in sterling.[96] Nevertheless, the actual monetary stock in Ireland still comprised the old Irish coins (including the debased Elizabethan shilling which was worth 4d) as well as sterling and a large amount of Spanish silver and Portuguese gold. Despite the circulation of these currencies it is traditionally held that Ireland suffered from a severe shortage of coin throughout the seventeenth century.[97]

The main reason put forward for the shortage of specie is that Ireland had no mint of its own. This was seen as a major problem by contemporaries and there were calls by the English administration in Ireland for a royal mint to be established to rectify the situation. In 1603 Mountjoy, then lord deputy wrote that,

> If Ireland could maintain a mint for coinage of good moneys ... it would encourage the Irish who have more grace in Spain than English merchants have to bring greater plenty of gold and silver from thence, and be a means to retain the same within their kingdom. ... for doubtless if there were a mint the merchants would rather bring their Spanish moneys hither for a good and ready exchange and to uphold the credit thereof than to sell

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[96] Steele, *Tudor and Stuart proclamations,* ii, nos. 172-3, 177, 187, 189, 319; Simon, *Irish coins,* p. 40; O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland,* p. 96; MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Credit and remittance', p. 8.

[97] O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland*, pp. 95-98; MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Credit and remittance', p. 9; Agnew, *Belfast merchant families,* p.95.

the same at an under value ... unto strangers which carry away their Spanish moneys ... to loss both of England and Ireland.[98]

Further complaints regarding the lack of a mint followed. In 1611, it was proposed that a mint be erected in Dublin, that all foreign coins and imported gold and silver bullion be molten and converted into Irish money, that no other money be current within Ireland and that neither of the monies of either kingdom be current within the other.[99] In 1623, the commissioners of Ireland mistakenly believed that a mint was 'now set up in Dublin or presently intended', but the project was never undertaken.[100] Eleven years later, a strongly worded request from Wentworth complained that very little foreign coin brought into Ireland even gets to the Tower of London to be minted, but 'is transported back to France, the Low-countries and Spain itself'.[101] He said that considering exports exceeded imports by at least a thousand pounds a year, it was necessary that great quantities [of coin] should be brought in to balance the trade yearly and that if a mint was brought in it would considerably increase profits to the crown as well as providing an excellent means to increase the trade in the kingdom.[102] This complaint was followed by a parliamentary petition the following year, but despite a favourable response from the king and the London government, nothing was done.[103]

Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh has said that the persistent complaints about the lack of coin may have been exaggerated.[104] He says that similar complaints were also made in England, particularly regarding a lack of small coin, which was mainly due to

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[98] *Cal. Carew MSS 1603-24*, pp 3-4.
[99] Ibid, pp 138-40.
[100] *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1615-25*, p. 426.
[101] Wentworth to Coke, 26 February, 1634, Knowler, *Strafford's letters*, i, p. 366.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations,* ii, no. 225; the king to Wentworth, Knowler, *Strafford letters*, i, pp 93, 133-4.
[104] MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Credit and remittance,' p. 9.

the payment of mint officials by a commission of face value, which encouraged the production of large denomination coins. In this way, he argues, Ireland may have been more fortunate than England, as various base issues from previous years served as minor denominations and a new issue of copper farthing tokens supplied in 1622 became so widespread that their application had to be regulated in 1634.[105] This argument, however, misses the actual point. The petitions made were not necessarily about a shortage of coinage, but rather to establish an independent exchange or burse at Dublin as well as a mint in order regulate the *value* of Ireland's coinage (albeit in order to increase the king's revenue).[106] As Craig Muldrew has pointed out the development of money was essentially a system of measurement for the purpose of communicating prices so that bargaining could take place. As no banking system existed in the period, money had to have an intrinsic value as a commodity which could be set by the market. [107] This is why, he says, almost all early modern currency took the form of gold or silver coins, which were used as a measure of exchange. In the later seventeenth century Sir William Petty wrote that 'silver is the only matter of money: and that elsewhere as well as in Ireland [but that] silver rise and fall [and] consequently take from the perfect aptitude for being an uniform steady rule and measure of all other things'.[108] A scarcity of coins meant that demand for them was always much higher than their supply, thus preventing rapid inflationary or deflationary movements unless governments changed the alloy of the coinage. It was the responsibility of the government to make certain that each unit of currency

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[105] Ibid, p. 9.
[106] *Cal. Carew MSS 1603-1624,* pp 138-40. The want of silver and gold imports from other Spain and other countries was one of the 'causes of want of money in England and Wales' in 1621. Joan Thirsk (ed.), *Seventeenth-century economic documents* (Oxford, 1972), p. 12.
[107] Muldrew, *The economy of obligation',* pp. 98-9.
[108] Petty, *Political anatomy*, p. 68.

contained enough gold or silver in correct proportion to ensure its exchange value was related to its intrinsic value.[109]

By failing to establish a mint in Ireland, the English administration neglected this responsibility. Although various issues of coinage circulated in Ireland in the period, much of the currency was either of small denomination or was debased and thus the coin itself was not worth its intrinsic value. This was particularly problematic in a period of rapid economic and demographic expansion and the demand for good coin could simply not be sustained. As Raymond Gillespie has rightly pointed out this meant that the country was dependant on imported metal coin as the main means of exchange which resulted in an unstable money market where coin was sometimes abundant but more often was in short supply.[110] This does not mean, however, that someone with acute business acumen, particularly if they had the right connections, could not acquire hard cash at reasonable rates, nor that borrowing and lending were not a common feature of commercial live in the city.

When Christopher Lowther first arrived in Ireland he was told by some merchants that they could find him £1,000 'towards term' but that there was no money in the city at present except for £100 which the holder would not part with for less than 6d per pound (two and a half per cent) premium.[111] In September 1632, Christopher complained to his uncle Robert that

> [there is] no money to be gotten under two and a half per cent ... one of my lord deputy's men, Robert Adney had £160 charged upon mister Baddelow, and he hath promised me the money and to accept bills of

[109] Muldrew, *The economy of obligation,* p. 99.
[110] Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish economy*, p. 55.
[111].Hainsworth, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary adventure', p. 28.

exchange for London for it, but Baddelow shifted him off, and he can get no money at all.[112]

That November he informed his father that money was still scarce and that '6d in the pound which is 50s per cent [two and a half per cent] is given to receive money'.[113] Christopher was not prepared to pay this rate and hoped his father's political influence with Thomas Wentworth would procure the money through the customs farm. He also suggested to his father that it would be profitable if they could obtain money from the tax farmers at no premium out of term, as during term the 6d is given upon paying money for 'then there is more money exchanged than any merchant commonly take, so that difference of time make great loss and gain in exchange then they could supply their own needs cheaply and let others have money at a premium'.[114] While nothing came of his hopes of breaking into the lucrative position of customs farmer, his father had already used his influence as within a day of Christopher writing the letter, Lord Mountnorris, the Irish vice-treasurer, who was later to become one of the customs farmers, received a letter on Christopher's behalf.[115] Mountnorris promised Christopher first preference of any moneys he had for exchange in London. When Christopher was unexpectedly drawn upon £100 for a bill his partner Rowland Jackson supplied in Belfast, Mountnorris provided the £100 through his steward, Hull, for which Christopher paid a *douceur* of 20s [one per cent] for mediating in the

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[112] Christopher Lowther to Robert Lowther, 11 September, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial Papers*, p. 27.
[113] Ibid, p. 16
[114] Hainsworth has said that merchants anxious to transfer money *commonly* paid a fifty shilling premium which implies a much higher profit than the actual rate of '50s per cent' or 6d in the £ that Christopher quoted, saying that *'from time to time'* they could make a profit if they had control of the farm. Christopher Lowther to Sir John Lowther, 11 November, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial Papers*, p. 16; Hainsworth, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary Venture', p. 28.
[115] Christopher Lowther to Rowland Jackson, 1 November 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 18; Hainsworth, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary adventure', p. 28.

business.[116] Christopher informed his uncle Robert that Baddelow told him that the Dutch were offering three per cent to take up money by exchange and that he was glad to pay the 20s to Hull. He said, 'if I could not have got it here of my lord I would not have got it in town, and I think it was partly my lord deputy's letter of recommendation for me'.[117] Throughout November Lowther declined money at two and a half per cent premium in the hope of a better money market but by the first week in December the 'wheat masters' required payment. He nevertheless persuaded Arthur Champion to loan him £200 at one and a half per cent which helped to pay for the three-quarter share of the London partnership. Rowland Jackson brought £100 from Belfast free of premium and all in all, through Christopher's dealings, the London contingent only had to pay a small premium on £250 out of £750 raised.[118]

By the time Lowther's ship the *Lemon* sailed from Dublin to the Canaries in January 1633, he had clearly managed to raise a considerable sum towards his own and his partners' share of the venture. Table 5.1 shows that between September and December 1632 Christopher Lowther paid almost £650 in full or part payment to these five or six Dublin merchants who seem to have controlled the wheat market in the city.[119] By January 1633 he had parted with another £118,[120] and by the March 1632/3 Lowther had paid a total of just under £800 sterling to Dublin merchants for wheat, the drying of wheat and for tallow.[121] It should be pointed out, however, that this does not mean that he raised the actual amount in hard currency. Hard cash

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[116] Christopher Lowther to Robert Lowther, 12 November, 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 30; Hainsworth, 'Canary Adventure', p. 28.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Hainsworth, 'Christopher Lowther's Canary adventure', p. 29.
[119] The names that reoccur in the account book are Richard Ball, John Cheevers, Thomas Dodd, Roger Gernon, John Gough, Daniel Lanygan , Christopher Handcock, Daniel Hutchinson.
[120] Business transactions in Ireland 1632-1635, (Cumbria R.O. MS D Lons/W1/8/2 f. 3v).
[121] Ibid, ff 3v-4r.

accounted for only a small proportion of commercial dealings in the period. This was because the shortage of coinage meant that full and direct payment in cash was usually impossible except in certain cases such as small transactions between strangers, or when people were travelling where they did not know anyone. As a result, reciprocal debts contracted would be 'reckoned' and cancelled against each other, and then only the remaining balance paid in money.[122] Significantly, most of the cash transactions made by Christopher between October 1632 and March 1633 and again in 1633 and 1636 were part payments for goods either delivered or due for delivery or, in the latter dates, for freight of goods. Often they were made 'in full reckoning of all accounts'.[123] A predictable element of cash-flow, of course, was the payments of rents which, although due on Mayday and All Saints Day, could take weeks, or even months, for all the money to come in. Money was also used for tithes, taxes and for many small but pressing obligations or by people whose reputation was in decline and who needed to pay in cash.[124] On a much larger scale, cash was used by landowners to pay bills drawn on the London market and, as was shown above, a great deal was obviously used by merchants who needed it for overseas exchange.[125]

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[122] Muldrew, *The obligation of credit*, p. 101.
[123] 'Business transactions in Ireland 1632-1636, (Cumbria R.O. MS D Lons/W1/8/3 f. 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r).
[124] Agnew, *Belfast merchant families*, p 165; Muldrew, *The obligation of credit*, p. 10;
[125] Agnew, *Belfast merchant families*, pp 165-6; Muldrew, *The obligation of credit*, p. 101.

Table 5.1: Cash payments made by Christopher Lowther October-December 1632.[126]

| Date | Name | £ | | | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1632 | | sterling | s | d | |
| 08-Oct | John Gough | 13 | 0 | 0 | part payment |
| | John Gough | 7 | 0 | 0 | |
| | Roger Gernon | 0 | 5 | 0 | |
| 22-Oct | Richard Balle | 60 | 0 | 0 | part payment |
| 23-Oct | Roger Gernon | 8 | 0 | 0 | |
| 26-Oct | Roger Gernon | 10 | 0 | 0 | |
| | Richard Balle | | | | due on delivery |
| 27-Oct | Roger Gernon | 40 | 0 | 0 | |
| 29-Oct | Richard Balle | 20 | 0 | 0 | part payment |
| 29-Oct | Daniell Lanygan | 7 | 16 | 0 | in full |
| 29-Oct | John Gough | 10 | 0 | 0 | part payment |
| 31-Oct | Roger Gernon | 4 | 13 | 4 | part payment |
| 01-Nov | Thomas Dodd | 8 | 0 | 0 | part payment |
| 02-Nov | Roger Gernon | 16 | 0 | 0 | part payment - total due £135 |
| 06-Nov | Roger Gernon | 8 | 0 | 0 | |
| 12-Nov | Thomas Dodd | 6 | 6 | 0 | in full payment |
| 21-Nov | Richard Balle | 15 | 0 | 0 | part payment |
| 22-Nov | Daniell Lanygan | 5 | 6 | 0 | for drying wheat |
| 23-Nov | Roger Gernon | 10 | 0 | 0 | |
| 24-Nov | Richard Balle | 20 | 0 | 0 | part payment-total due £116 |
| 30-Nov | Daniell Lanygan | 12 | 0 | 0 | part payment |
| 01-Dec | Richard Balle | 20 | 0 | 0 | part payment |
| 04-Dec | Richard Balle | 50 | 0 | 0 | |
| 07-Dec | David Lanygan | 16 | 0 | 0 | part payment |
| 10-Dec | Richard Balle | 30 | 0 | 0 | |
| 13-Dec | Danniell Lanygan | 2 | 16 | 10 | in full payment of all reckonin |
| 14-Dec | Richard Balle | 50 | 0 | 0 | part payment |
| 14-Dec | Daniell Lanygan | 20 | 0 | 0 | payment on delivery |
| 15-Dec | Daniell Lanygan | 13 | 0 | 0 | |
| 20-Dec | Daniel Lanygan | 17 | 0 | 0 | part payment |
| 20-Dec | John Cheevers | 10 | 0 | 0 | |
| 22-Dec | Andrew Handcock | 23 | 2 | 6 | full payment |
| 22-Dec | Dan Hutchinson | 11 | 18 | 0 | full payment |
| 22-Dec | John Cheevers | 27 | 4 | 0 | |
| 29-Dec | Richard Balle | 20 | 0 | 0 | part payment |
| 29-Dec | Thomas Cheevers | 10 | 2 | 6 | in full of all reckoning |
| 29-Dec | Roger Gernon | 35 | 12 | 6 | |

[126] Business transactions in Ireland 1632-1635, (Cumbria R.O. MS D Lons/W1/8/1 ff. 1r-3r).

It was common for gentry to obtain bills from merchants before all their rents had been paid and although all bills were not due for immediate payment, many of these transactions amounted to short-term loans against the gentry's own bills, bonds or promissory notes for payment within a term.[127]As Jean Agnew has pointed out, as far as remittances were concerned, merchants and gentry had a symbiotic relationship. Gentry had cash and merchants had credit but needed cash and without the regular flow of gentry remittances it would have been difficult for merchants to finance most of their ventures.[128] Fluctuations in the rate of exchange and the difference in the rates of interest in England and Ireland meant that it was possible to make money grow simply by moving it about and in view of the shortage of coin in the period, no merchant was about to let such an opportunity slip.[129] The distinction between merchant and gentry must not be overstressed here however. In the first place, trade in pastoral commodities provided a strong economic link between the two sectors. Secondly, and more significantly, the distinction between merchant and gentry in Dublin, at least up to the 1640s, was not as pronounced as in England and many merchants were significant landholders themselves.[130] This made financial transactions all the more reciprocal and most likely eliminated a great deal of actual money transactions taking place except when coin was absolutely necessary. Nevertheless, cash was ultimately needed for a variety of reasons and, contrary to long-established historical views, when money was needed, whether in hard currency or through mutual credit arrangements, it was readily available to all sections of seventeenth-century Irish society.

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[127] For a comprehensive description of promissory notes, bills of obligatory, bills of debt and bonds and their functions see Kerridge, *Trade and banking in Early Modern England*, pp 39-40.
[128] Agnew, *Belfast merchant families,* p. 164.
[129] Ibid.
[130] See chapter 3 above.

It is generally agreed that fluctuations in the money market and the shortage of coinage in the period led to exorbitant rates of interest which subsequently impeded borrowing and lending. In 1919 George O'Brien wrote that 'the result of the scarcity of coin in the early seventeenth century was that money could not be borrowed except at an exorbitant rate of interest'.[131] Michael MacCarthy-Morrogh has shown more recently that it was possible to borrow money in Munster in the period but that interest rates were high.[132] Raymond Gillespie has also maintained that the scope for borrowing was impeded by a shortage of cash and credit and said that it was a consequence of this that interest rates of between thirty and forty per cent per annum were not unusual.[133] The existence of high interest rates is apparently borne out by Robert Lowther's reply to Sir John who asked him to enquire 'how money is let to use by a permission of state'.[134] Robert's reply was that 'use for money is no more in Ireland, by permission of statute then in England, but all men which puts money to that use, doth make 20*l* at 100*l* [twenty per cent] in the cities and in the countries more, for as yet it is not strictly looked unto'.[135] By 1632, however, Christopher Lowther wrote to his father that ten per cent interest was all that was allowed by chancery and that although sometimes more is given 'if it be known, the chancery will not allow it'.[136] Undoubtedly money was often borrowed at exorbitant rates of interest, particularly when coinage was in short supply. This type of transaction was, however, considered as usury and was frowned upon by contemporaries who saw it,

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[131] O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland,* p. 96; Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish economy*, p. 55; MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Credit and remittance', pp 7-9.
[132] MacCarthy-Morrogh, 'Credit and remittance', pp 7-9.
[133] Gillespie, *Transformation of the Irish economy*, p. 55.
[134] 'Enquiries about economic prospects and investments in Ireland c. 1620', (Cumbria R.O. MS D/Lons/L1/1/6.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Christopher Lowther to Sir John Lowther, 17 November 1632, Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial papers*, p. 32.

amongst other things, as a 'great prejudice and decay' to trade.[137] In fact, in some cases where the borrower was well known to the lender, or the reputation was attested to by someone known to the lender, it was possible to borrow money at reduced interest rates, or even free of interest, when the money was needed quickly for personal or business purposes.

For example, in October 1632 when Richard Boyle delivered £200 to Abraham Rickesies to pay Lady Barbara Villiers in London, he said that 'this £200 marks his [Lord Digby's] debt to me to be £2,300 sterling which I have lent him *gratis* in ready money'.[138] The earl paid Sir John Clothworthy £2,000 sterling [on a bond of £4,000] on November 1 in 'ready money of my own proper means ... it being for the debt of Sir Adam Loftus of Rathfarnham, whom I formerly lent *gratis* £2,000 for three years'.[139] According to Boyle, he had to call in his debt to Loftus to pay for his 'long and chargeable staying and journey from England'.[140] Later that month, Boyle wrote that he lent *gratis* £100 sterling in ready monies to Sir Edward Bagshaw on a bill to be repaid the 'last of November', and £200 to Randall Aldersey, on a bill 'to be paid at my will and pleasure upon demand'.[141] Three years later, Thomas Watson, alderman of Dublin, repaid £50 sterling which Boyle loaned him *gratis* 'to employ to set poor clothiers and people in Dublin on work'.[142] The earl subsequently reappointed the £50 to one 'Byrd of Clonakilty to have for that use'.[143] Most of

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[137] 'Sir Thomas Culpepper's tract against usury, 1621' in Thirsk and Cooper (eds), *Seventeenth-century economic documents*, pp 6-12. For a helpful description of the difference between usury and interest see Kerridge, *Trade and banking in early modern England,* pp 33-35.
[138] *Lismore papers*, series 1, vol. 3, p. 164.
[139] Ibid, p. 164.
[140] Ibid, p. 164.
[141] Ibid, p. 167.
[142] Ibid, vol. 4, p. 111.
[143] Ibid.

Boyle's transactions, however, were loaned at an interest rate of ten per cent, which remained the legal rate of interest in Ireland throughout the seventeenth century.[144]

Extant sources clearly illustrate that neither interest rates nor a shortage of coinage impeded borrowing and lending which was a constant, fundamental part of life across the whole social and commercial spectrum in early seventeenth-century Ireland. Craig Muldrew has shown that as the complexity of credit networks across the whole social spectrum grew, so did the necessity of litigation to recover debts in the courts of chancery as well as in an ever growing body of local courts across England.[145] As Jane Ohlmeyer has pointed out, the only records that are extant in Ireland are the records of the Chancery court and even they are incomplete so it would be impossible to undertake such a study here.[146] Nevertheless, pleas heard in the Tholsell court before the mayor and sheriffs of the city illustrate that litigation for the recovery of debts was an everyday occurrence in Dublin and gives fascinating insights into the level of indebtedness that prevailed across the social spectrum in the city in the period.[147]

There are literally hundreds of cases brought before the Tholsell in the 'complaint books' dated October 1616 to September 1617, October 1629 to September 1630 and October 1637 to September 1638. It would be impossible to

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[144] See, ibid, p. 111. Boyle also had extensive dealings on the statute staple which always demanded ten per cent interest. In England the rate was eight per cent until 1651 when it fell to six per cent. Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, p. 16, n. 55.

[145] Muldrew, *The economy of obligation*, pp. 34-39; idem, 'Credit and the courts', pp 23-38

[146] For discussion of what records exist in relation to the Irish court records see Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Records of the Irish court of chancery: a preliminary report for 1627-1634' in, D.S. Greer and N.M. Dawson (eds), *Mysteries and solutions in Irish legal history* (Dublin, 2001); Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, p. 25, n. 75.

[147] Tholsell court: complaint books, 1 October 1616-1617'; 1 Oct 1629-27 Sept 1630; 1 Oct 1637-28 Sept 1638. (D.C.A., MS C1/J/2/1; CI/J/2/2; CI/J/2/3; CI/J/2/4).

undertake a full analysis of all them here. Significantly, however, in a sample five month period between October 1629 and March 1629/30, over one hundred cases heard in the Tholsel involved merchants and it is these that will be examined here along with a small number of cases brought by women, usually widows and spinsters, in the same period. Litigation was brought against debtors for amounts that ranged from lower than 20s to sums as large £1,000.[148] Unfortunately, as the records of the Tholsel court do not provide either the reasons for the debts owed (nor the outcome of the cases), it can only be speculated as to why the monies were owed in the first place. Most of the cases brought by women were for relatively small amounts, usually under £10 sterling and it is possible that some were for outstanding rents due as many of the cases were against gentlemen or tradesmen for amounts of £3 to £6 sterling.[149] On 8 October 1629, Ellinor Plunkett, a spinster, sought payment of £6 sterling from George Jones.[150] On the same date, Elizabeth Owin, another spinster, litigated against John Morgan for 46 shillings sterling.[151] Women sometimes brought cases against other women as in the cases of Maria Miller, a widow, who sued Dorothy Carpinder for £5 sterling and Annisia Rounsel, alias Boran, another widow who sought payment of 43s 4d from Catherine Carroll, a spinster.[152] It seems that women sometimes brought suits against members of their own family, possibly for monies owed for inheritance or other domestic reasons. For example, on 27 November 1629 Rosa Eustace sought £4 from Thomas Eustace a gentleman and Margaret Sutton, alias Stanley, a widow, sued

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[148] It was previously stated that the Tholsel Court only dealt with cases for amounts under 20s but this is clearly not the case. Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, p. 25.

[149] 'Margaret Deverox, spinster vs. Thom Mennan, goldsmith, £5', 9 Nov 1629, 'Tholsell Court complaints books' Tholsell court: complaints books (DCA, MS, C1/J/2/2/13, p. 64; 9 Nov 1629, Margaret Kenny, widow, vs Connell Ferrall, gent[leman] £3, C1/J/2/2/17, p. 66.)

[150] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/8, p. 61.

[151] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/9, p. 62.

[152] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/9, p. 62.

John Stanley for £10 sterling.[153] Women acting as executors for their husbands also brought debtors to court as in the case of Anne Dowd, executor of her husband, Richard Dowde, merchant, who sued Edmund Carroll for £20.[154] Occasionally women sought larger amounts of money such as the suit between Elizabeth Remer, spinster, and Martin Scott for £500 sterling. It must be assumed that these debts were for inheritance or landed interests. Cases brought by merchants in the Tholsel accounted for equally diverse amounts but it is probably easier to interpret what the debts were for.

Merchants often brought debtors to the Tholsel to retrieve small sums of money from tradesmen or retailers in the city. For example, Richard Ash brought a case against Will Adams, a tailor, for a debt of 40s,[155] and Edward Jans, a prominent member of the civic government and merchant sought £5 each from Thomas Doherty and John Radery, both tailors.[156] When Edmond Ball requested the appraisement of the goods of two Dublin merchants, Roland Wetherby and Christopher White, the parcels valued contained white and coloured thread, reams of white paper, tailors shears, swathes of cloth and cloaks, and amounted to a total valuation of £6-5-1.[157] Presumably payment of the debts sought by Ash and Jans were related to similar goods shipped to the tailors but left unpaid. Other small debts, such as the £4 sterling sought by Richard Barnewall junior and his wife Joan from John Bourke may have been personal debts.[158] Most debts litigated for when both parties were merchants, however, were for larger amounts and probably related to trading activities or landed interests. For example, George Taylor brought a case against Christopher Maryman,

[153] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/19 p. 67; C1/J/2/2/33, p. 74.
[154] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/30, p. 73.
[155] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/25, p. 8.
[156] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/25, 26, p. 70.
[157] Ibid, CJ/2/4/199, p. 258. See chapter two above.
[158] Ibid, MS C1/J/2/2/26, p. 71.

also a merchant, for £100 sterling and Jacob Hughes, a Drogheda merchant, sued for £100 sterling from William Barnewall a Dublin merchant.[159] Patrick Clear, another Dublin merchant, litigated against Calloghan O'Calloghan and Art Oge O'Keife for £300.[160] Interestingly, some of the cases brought by or against Dublin merchants involved merchants or traders from England and were for substantial amounts of money. In January 1630, for example, John Ingold a London grocer sought two separate amounts of £800 and £160 sterling respectively against Lawrence Spike a Dublin merchant, both on the same day.[161] Also on the same day, Lawrence Spike brought a suit against John Ingold for £300 sterling, suggesting that they had an ongoing dispute relating to debt.[162] The following month Will Weston, a Dublin merchant, litigated against John Clegg, a Chester merchant, for £1,000 sterling, a significant amount of money by seventeenth-century standards and possibly related to ongoing business transactions or to land purchase.

The reasons why people owed these debts is an interesting and very important area of research that clearly needs more investigation. What is important here, however, is that these sample cases from the Tholsel Court demonstrate that indebtedness was a fundamental and regular aspect of seventeenth-century Irish society. Many merchants who litigated in the Tholsel were obviously small merchants who rarely, if ever, feature in other records for the period and others who appear regularly in many extant records, including civic officials such as Richard Barry, Edward Jans, Richard Wiggett and Thomas Allen, used the Tholsel on a regular basis. These examples demonstrate that Dublin merchants were heavily involved in

[159] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/28, p. 71.
[160] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/21, p. 68.
[161] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/28, p. 71.
[162] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/28, p. 71.

litigation for the recovery of debts.[163] Other sources such as the 1641 depositions, the records of the Court of Claims and, above all, the Irish statute staple books, unequivocally show that Dublin merchants were also heavily involved in borrowing and lending in the period.

Around twenty named merchants, as well as many more not specifically named as merchants, claimed the losses of vast amounts of goods, stock and losses of rents and earning from their estates in the aftermath of the 1641 rebellion on the Dublin depositions.[164] Some such as Daniel Hutchinson and Edward Lake combined the losses of goods in their estates with debts.[165] Others, such as Thomas Humphries, claimed losses in both his own name and in the name of his employer, Thomas Stokes of London.[166] Interestingly, some depositions specifically relate to actual debts owed and provide useful and fascinating insights into the levels of indebtedness in Irish society and show that it was not confined to borrowing within peoples' own communities. Some English merchants came over from London after the rebellion specifically to recover debts owed to them. For example, on 7 March 1642 Edward Nulty said that he came to Ireland especially to collect debts which he said amounted to £1,360-18-9, from various peers and officers.[167] Robert Culme, a London merchant,

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[163] For examples see Ibid, C1/J/2/2/32, p. 74; C1/J/2/2/8, p. 61; C1/J/2/2/35, p. 76; C1/J/2/2/11, p. 63.

[164] Depositions of Thomas Bacon, Nicholas Barry (on behalf of his brother Richard Barry), Thomas Bird, Edward Cearney, Robert Culme, Roger Didsbury, Bartholomew Drope, James Eddis, Alex Elcock, James Hoole, Thomas Humphrey (for Thomas Stones), Daniel Hutchinson, Edward lake, James Johnson, John Lenry (for Richard Warburton), Edward Nulty, Thomas Wakefield, Margaret Watson, John Watson, John Laney, Robert Williams. (T.C.D. MS 809, 1641 Depositions, f. 122, 110, 269, 312, 351, 336; and T.C.D. MS 810, 1641 Depositions, f. 241; 216; 269; 134; 231; 136; 312; 316; 157; 238; 159; 162; 265); I would like to thank Aidan Clarke for bringing some of these depositions to my attention.

[165] 'Deposition of Daniel Hutchinson and Edward Lake' (T.C.D. MS 810, 1641 Depositions, f. 157).

[166] 'Deposition of Thomas Humphries', (T.C.D. MS 810, 1641 Depositions, f. 157).

[167] 'Deposition of Edward Nulty', (T.C.D. MS 809, 1641 Depositions, f. 312).

claimed that he had sent many sums of money to 'several persons in Ireland' amounting to £2,200.[168] In April 1642, James Eddis, a Dublin merchant, deposed that he lost a total of £671-5-7 in unpaid small debts due from 'people now in rebellion'.[169] Eddis's deposition provides an interesting and lengthy list of the names of these people and in most cases where they were from as well as the amounts each person owed him. The sums due to Ellis ranged in value from £1 up to £100, but most were in the region of £10 to £20. It would seem that he was a money-lender who in his capacity as merchant was able to make loans available to people outside the confines of the city. While most of the debts were owed by people in Dublin and other Leinster counties he was also owed small debts from people in Youghal, Sligo, Cavan, Tyrone and Leitrim.[170] It seems that the terms on the moneys owed were in keeping with standard seventeenth-century practice as he mostly, though not always, includes whether the debt is due by bill (twenty-five cases) or by bond (five).[171] Interestingly, debts were occasionally listed as being owed by more than one person, which can point to kinship or possible business ties. For example, Robert Dowdall and Adam Mayney, merchants from Louth owed him £10 'by bill' and James Talbot of Ballyconnell, Cavan and Sir Robert Talbot of Wicklow, merchant, owed him £48 'by two bills'.[172] Similarly, the deposition of Bartholomew Drope demonstrates that monies owed to him were regulated under recognised practice.[173] He claimed the loss of £11,000 'upon judgement and statute staples specialties'. Interestingly, Drope also

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[168] 'Deposition of Robert Culme', (T.C.D. MS 809, 1641 Depositions, f. 267).
[169] 'Deposition of James Eddis, merchant', (T.C.D. MS 810, 1641 Depositions, ff. 136r, 136v, 137).
[170] Ibid, f. 136r, 136v, 137.
[171] Ibid, f. 136r, 136v, 137.
[172] Ibid, f. 136r.
[173] 'Deposition of Bartholomew Drope', (T.C.D. MS 810, 1641 Depositions, f. 312).

includes an interest charge of £1,000 and legal costs of £300 'in suit of his loan' in his claim.[174]

Another type of loan referred to in the depositions is that of 'leases specialities' which seems to be a type of reciprocal arrangement whereby one party gives over the profits from their landholdings in lieu of loans for a set amount of time until the debt is paid off. According to the deposition of Margaret Watson (wife of Philip Watson), Joseph Watson (Philip's son and partner), and John Laney, another Dublin merchant, Watson assigned lands worth £800 *per annum* to Abraham Rickesies, a Dublin merchant, before the rebellion for payment of 'great sums of debts' and that after payment, the gain and profits were to return to them.[175] It seems, indeed, that loans were commonly acquired by using landholdings or their profits as collateral for monies borrowed and that when the loan remained unpaid that extensive properties along with their rentals and tithes were acquired by the creditor. For example, when Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, paid £2,000 to Sir John Clothworthy on behalf of Sir Adam Loftus, the manor of Trim and Mogure in Meath were conveyed to the earl and his son Robert and his heirs by Sir Adam.[176] Similar cases are illustrated in the records of the Court of Claims in 1663 where many claims relate to loans that were provided on the statute staple on the basis of specified rental or other property related returns, but which were never paid to, or recovered by, the claimant.

For example, John Arthur claimed he was entitled to payment from 'several lands, tenements and other great estates' for a statue staple acknowledged by Richard Finglas and Patrick Caddle to his father, William Arthur, for £160. He also claimed

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[174] Ibid. Drope is only listed on three transactions on the statute staple: 10 June 1641 £200, 2 December 1642, £1,000 and 14 December 1642, £80. Ohlmeyer and Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 2955, 2939, 2596.
[175] 'Deposition of Margaret Watson, Joseph Watson and John Laney', (T.C.D. MS 810, 1641 f. 268).
[176] *Lismore papers,* series 1, iii, p. 164.

that Sir James Dillon, John, Lord Viscount Taaffe, and Theobald Taaffe, his son and heir, acknowledged bonds of the staple to Robert Arthur by deeds of mortgage for £500 dated 20 December 1633, and of £1,000 dated 20 December 1638, for payment of £500 upon 22 November 1639, 'which was never yet paid'. James Goodman of Laughlinstown, county Dublin, 'being seized of a good estate in fee' also acknowledged a staple of £400 on 20 July 1635 for payment of £220 by June 1636 to Arthur.[177] Likewise, Matthew Allen claimed a statue staple of £800, acknowledged by George Devinish of Athlone, county Westmeath, unto Thomas Allen in June 1629, 'defeasanced for the payment of £40 *per annum* until £400 should be paid'.[178] Patrick and Elizabeth Mapas claimed 'lands, tenements and hereditaments' which belonged to Thomas Nangle of Navan, George Nangle of Ardgally and Simon Cardiff of Dublin, for £300 and £400 respectively for a bond made by Thomas Begg.[179] Significantly, these entries in the Court of Claims relate specifically to loans obtained on the statute staple which was *the* most important means for the regulation and recovery of debt in the early seventeenth century. Indeed, the records of the staple provide the most comprehensive source for demonstrating the level of indebtedness in Irish society and, more importantly, the vital role that Dublin merchants played not only in borrowing and lending, but also in the regulation of debt in the city.

The Irish staple originally consisted of two bodies, the 'statute merchant' and the 'statute staple'. The first of these, the 'statute merchant', dated from the thirteenth century when the difficulties merchants experienced in recovering debt was remedied

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[177] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims,* no. 531, p. 202; Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID: 1356, 1842, 1923.
[178] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims,* No. 216, pp 75-76; Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 1620.
[179] Tallon (ed.), *Court of claims* no. 292, p. 105; Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, no. 1838, 2190, 2090. The claim by Patrick Mapas was for a bond made by Thomas Begg.

by two statutes enacted in England in 1283 and 1285, the year in which it was also extended to Ireland.[180] Following this act, a merchant could bring his debtor before the mayor of the city to acknowledge his debt and enter into a recognizance or bond. A seal, known as the 'statute merchant seal' was affixed to the debtor's recognizances or bonds, known as 'statute merchant bonds' and the mayor of the city was empowered to seize the goods and tenements of the debtor for non payment of a debt.[181] The second body, the 'statute staple', was set up in 1326 when certain towns in England and Ireland were established to regulate the trade of basic or staple goods such as wool and hides and to encourage foreign merchants to come and trade in the specified centres.[182] The initial staple towns were Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Drogheda. In the early seventeenth century nine more towns, Carrickfergus, Derry, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, New Ross, Sligo, Wexford and Youghal, were also incorporated. Jane Ohlmeyer suggests that the number of Irish staple towns expanded in recognition of the staple's role as a credit network.[183] As has been shown in chapter one above, however, at the time the new towns were specifically added to expand control of the export of wool.[184] The regulation of the staple as a credit network came later. The Dublin staple functioned in its original capacity as a regulatory trading body issuing permits to trade, conducting disciplinary hearings and keeping account of customs dues until 1634 when an act of Charles I essentially brought the statute merchant and the statute staple together, ordering that all recognizances of both bodies were in future to be entered in the office of the clerk of recognizances in the

[180] W.G. Strickland, 'The Ancient official seals of the city of Dublin'*R.S.A.I. jn.* liii, (1923), pp 121-132, p. 128.
[181] Ibid, p. 128.
[182] Ibid, p. 128. Also see chapter one above.
[183] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* p. 1.
[184] See chapter 1 above.

Court of Chancery.[185] W.G. Strickland has suggested that this was probably owing to the decline in the woollen trade which saw the role of the mayor of the staple fall into disuse.[186] It is more likely, however, that a more systematic type of regulation of debt was introduced in line with the upsurge of credit and the subsequent growth in debt litigation in England. The important point here is that, given the level of participation of Dublin merchants in the governance of the staple, the merging of the merchant and statute staples ensured that the mayor of Dublin and essentially the merchant community now had considerable power in the regulation of credit and debt in the city.[187]

Amongst other things, the mayors of the staple were empowered to take recognizance of the debt incurred on the staple.[188] These recognizances were known as statutes staple and were a form of registered bond by which the debtor entered into a recognizance to pay the creditor a fixed sum, at a given time, together with interest at ten per cent. The amount of the bond was not the actual amount of the loan, but security for it which was usually double the amount of the loan. Although only members of the staple had access to privileges, in practice the staple allowed a wide range of individuals to loan and borrow money for a variety of reasons.[189] These individuals hailed from a variety of backgrounds including tradesmen, farmers, yeomen, widows, clerics, government officials and landowners, gentry and merchants. Significantly, of 4,000 individuals active on the staple, sixty-two per cent of those

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[185] Act of Charles I, session 2, cap. 3, sec. vi; Strickland, 'The ancient official seals of the city of Dublin', p. 128; for transcriptions of permits, customs dues and disciplinary hearings see Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, app, I, pp 313-344.
[186] Strickland, 'The ancient official seals of the city of Dublin', p. 28.
[187] See chapter two above.
[188] The mayors and constables were entitled to a half-penny of every obligation of one hundred pounds or under, and a farthing for every obligation above a hundred. Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* p. 2.
[189] Ibid, pp 2-3.

who gave their occupation as merchant originated in Dublin.[190] It would clearly be beyond the scope of this study to investigate such a large number of individual transactions, but a selection of relevant examples presents a general representation of patterns of borrowing and lending and illustrates the high level of merchant activity on the staple in the period. As table 5.2 shows, of the twenty-two individuals who sat as mayor of Dublin between 1620 and 1641, sixteen of who were merchants or were from merchant families, had staple transactions between them totalling £54,557.

[190] Ibid, p. 5.

Table 5.2: Dublin mayors' activities on the staple. [191]

| Date | Name | No of transactions | Total amount £ |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1620 | Richard Browne | 1 | 500 |
| 1621 | Edward Ball | 3 | 400 |
| 1622 | Richard Wiggett | none | |
| 1623 | Thadee Duffe | 16 | 5,140 |
| 1624 | William Bishopp | 6 | 4,392 |
| 1625 | William Turnor | 3 | 1,900 |
| 1626 | Walter Ussher | 11 | 7,972 |
| 1627 | Edward Jans | 4 | 2,500 |
| 1628 | Robert Bennett | 1 | 400 |
| 1629 | Christopher Forster | none | |
| 1630 | Thomas Evans | none | |
| 1631 | George Jones | 2 | 920 |
| 1632 | Edward Arthur | 9 | 5,640 |
| 1633 | Robert Dixon | 8 | 4,850 |
| 1634 | Patrick Mapas | 19 | 10,672 |
| 1635 | James Carroll | 3 | 3,600 |
| 1636 | Christopher Forster | none | |
| 1637 | Christopher White | none | |
| 1638 | James Watson | 2 | 1,100 |
| 1639 | Charles Forster | none | |
| 1640 | David Begge | 9 | 4,471 |
| 1641 | Thomas Wakefield | 1 | 100 |
| | | | 54,557 |

Table 5.3 shows that between 1614 and 1630 Richard Barry, one of the most prominent merchants in the city, loaned money on bond of £8,050 in ten transactions including one bond of £1,500 and another for £3,000.

[191] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID: Richard Browne, 120; Edward Ball, 249, 594, 763; Thadee Duffe, 799, 1421, 1629, 1643, 536, 700, 1359, 1576, 665, 1644, 653, 1181, 1627, 673, 664, 1615; William Bishop, 769, 915, 1105, 1101, 1111, 1113, 1625, 1626; William Turner, 1191, 1547, 1656; Walter Ussher, 461, 634, 985, 986, 1105, 1110, 1111, 1113, 1164, 1599, 1819; Edward Jans, 1379, 1488, 2150, 2168; Robert Bennett, 1884; George Jones, 897, 949; Edward Arthur, 852, 865, 881, 1240, 1380, 1381, 1655, 1668, 2081; Robert Dixon, 1127, 1186, 1546, 1556, 1742, 1974, 2016, 2176; Patrick Mapas, 852, 1105, 1111, 1110, 1113, 1129, 1250, 1218, 1226, 1289, 1298, 1301, 1330, 1382, 1387, 1450, 1530, 1541, 1882; James Carroll, 192, 387, 794; James Watson, 1806, 2017; Thomas Clarke, 941, 1113; David Begge, 1762, 1871, 1874, 2041, 2071, 2073, 2088, 2090, 2093; Thomas Wakefield.

Table 5.3: Richard Barry amounts loaned[192]

| Date | Amount £ |
|---|---|
| 24 Sept. 1614 | 150 |
| 13 Feb. 1618 | 1,000 |
| 11 May 1619 | 200 |
| 20 May 1624 | 400 |
| 13 June 1625 | 600 |
| 31 May 1627 | 1,500 |
| 18 June 1628 | 1,000 |
| 22 June 1630 | 3,000 |
| 5 July 1630 | 200 |
| | 8,050 |

Table 5.4: Robert Arthur amounts loaned[193]

| Date | Amount £ | |
|---|---|---|
| 27 Feb 1623 | 50 | |
| 27 Sep 1623 | 40 | |
| 23 Dec 1624 | 200 | |
| 4 June 1625 | 800 | |
| 20 June 1625 | 200 | |
| 28 Nov 1625 | 240 | |
| 8 Dec 1626 | 800 | |
| 30 June 1627 | 800 | |
| 28 Nov 1625 | 240 | |
| 23 Feb 1626 | 200 | |
| 28 July 1626 | 100 | |

Between 1601 and 1633 Thomas Allen had thirty-one transactions on the staple totalling £11,640, the smallest amount being for a bond of £120 and the largest amount being for a bond of £1,200. Table 5.4 shows that between 1623 and 1637 Robert Arthur had twenty-three transactions accredited to him which, although fewer in number than Thomas Allen's and conducted over a shorter period of time, amounted to £15,856 - one transaction of which was over £3,000.[194] His brother

[192] Ohlmeyer and Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID: 1216, 1434, 1008, 1715, 990, 1711, 819, 935, 1296, 1518.
[193] Ibid. ID 1388, 1985, 1980, 1182, 2628, 1405, 1924, 1923, 2206, 1297, 1415, 1732, 1842, 1447, 1144, 1289, 1798, 2205, 1255, 2065, 1322, 1347, 1317, 1651, 2196, 1315, 1389, 2760, 2024, 1454, 1747.
[194] Ibid, ID 1732, 1798, 1322, 1842, 1924, 1255, 1317, 1388, 1415, 3186, 1405, 2065, 1447, 1182, 1144, 1985, 980, 2205, 2206, 1923, 1289, 1347.

Thomas had only had five transactions in the same period totalling £1,448.[195] Other merchants who were active in municipal government in the city such as David Begge, Edward Brangan and William Turner also provided loans on bond totalling £4,431, £2,500, £700 and £1,900 respectively, some of which were over £1,000.[196] The majority of merchants active on the staple who did not serve on the municipal government rarely loaned money on bonds of more than £400 to £500, the exception being Patrick Cooley who loaned money on bond of £1,820, £1,000 of which was in a single transaction.[197]

The amount of money borrowed by merchants is noticeably less than that loaned: only 190 merchants are listed as debtors on the statute staple. The highest amounts borrowed in single transactions were on bonds of £3,000 by Silvester Croft; £2,000 by John Stanley, and £1,400 by James Nugent.[198] Other amounts borrowed averaged between £200 and £500 and quite often were less than £50. Significantly, the loans borrowed by these Dublin merchants were usually provided by other merchants. For example, Silvester Croft's loan of £3,000 was loaned by Peter Richard, a London merchant, and both John Stanley's £2,000 and James Nugent's £1,400 were borrowed from Dublin merchants, George Devinish and Philip Hoare, respectively.[199] Similarly, £1,000 borrowed on bond by Thomas White on 20 January 1613 was provided by John Barry.[200] It is rare that a merchant is listed more than once as a debtor, but there are some exceptions. For example, Christopher Handcock[201] and

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[195] Ibid, ID 1513, 1389, 2024, 1454, 1747.
[196] Ibid, ID 762, 2049, 1874, 2073, 2071, 2088, 2093, 1871, 2890, 2168, 1379, 2150, 386, 1796, 1488, 1928, 1547, 1191, 1656
[197] Ibid, ID 402.
[198] Ibid, ID 1278, 1145, 2114,
[199] Ibid, ID 1278, 1145, 2114.
[200] Ibid, ID 731.
[201] Ibid, ID 661, 987, 1348, 1608.

Nicholas Queitrode[202] borrowed a total of £800 and £630 respectively in three transactions; Richard Duff,[203] Christopher Mapas[204] and Richard Quietrode[205] had four transactions each on bonds totalling £510, £1930 and £630 respectively. One merchant, James Nugent, borrowed five times on bonds totalling £2,604 and only one, William Shelton, borrowed six times, on bonds totalling £1,740.[206] These transactions provide interesting and useful insights into the level of indebtedness that prevailed within the merchant community of Dublin. The most fascinating aspect to emerge from an examination of the staple, however, is that money was often loaned or borrowed by more than one creditor or debtor. Crucially, this provides valuable information on day-to-day financial practices and points to possible commercial partnerships that have not previously come to light.

Some of the financial partnerships that emerge are no great surprise as they are based on direct family connections. For example, George and Edward Arthur jointly borrowed on bond of £1,000[207] and Richard and John Horish borrowed together on bond of £40.[208] Similarly, on 24 February 1620, John Kennedy and James Kennedy, both Dublin merchants loaned jointly on bond of £320.[209] Significantly, members of the same family often formed mutual partnerships with fellow members of their community to lend money. On 24 April 1619, George Morgan and Patrick Mapas borrowed money on bond of £1,200 from Amy Ussher, alias Mapas, and Walter Ussher.[210] On 3 June 1622 Walter Ussher and his brother-in-law, Patrick Mapas,

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[202] Ibid, ID 328, 593, 819.
[203] Ibid, ID 799, 1238, 1800, 2013.
[204] Ibid, ID 1536, 1592, 2028, 2151.
[205] Ibid, ID 140, 186, 593, 819.
[206] Ibid, ID 140, 208, 311, 357, 370, 529.
[207] Ibid, ID 866.
[208] Ibid, ID 1370.
[209] Ibid, ID 1021.
[210] Ibid. ID 985.

along with William Bishop, a fellow alderman, all of whom were merchants, were joint creditors on bond of £200.[211] On the same day, these three merchants also loaned money on bond of £200 to Alexander Dowdall a Westmeath merchant and Edward Dowdall a gentleman from county Meath.[212] Ussher, Mapas and Bishop were evidently major money lenders. As table 5.5 shows, they were part of a conglomerate who loaned money on bond of £3,000 to John and Thomas Nolan in Ballinarobe, county Mayo.

Table 5.5: Loan to John and Thomas Nolan.[213]

| Joint Creditorswho loaned on bond of £3,000 to John and Thomas Nolan | |
|---|---|
| Patrick Mapas, merchant. | Dublin |
| Walter Ussher, merchant. | Dublin |
| Stephen Ussher, merchant. | Dublin |
| William Bishop, merchant. | Dublin |
| Thomas Clarke, merchant. | Dublin |
| Charles Nolan, merchant. | Galway |
| John Coman, merchant. | Athlone |
| Oliver Burke, gent. | Mayo |
| Edmund Skerrett, gent. | Mayo |

It seems very likely that this loan, which was most probably for land acquisition, was acquired through commercial connections between the Dublin merchants and their associates in Galway and Athlone, who also had business contacts with the Mayo gentry. This is quite a common feature of borrowing and lending on the staple as merchants often formed financial partnerships to loan money to merchants and gentry across the country.

As table 5.6 shows, Christopher Brice and Christopher Field loaned money to merchant and gentry debtors outside of Dublin.

[211] Ibid. ID 1110.
[212] Ibid, ID 1111.
[213] Ibid, ID 1113.

Table 5.6: Loans by Christopher Brice and Christopher Field.[214]

| Date | Amount of bond | Debtor | Occupation | Place |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 February 1624 | 400 | William Brownlow | gent | Armagh |
| 28 April 1630 | 200 | Thomas Crolly | merchant | Drogheda |
| 27 November 1633 | 418 | Patrick Mc Carten | gent | Down |
| 27 November 1633 | 350 | Sir William Browlar | gent | Armagh |

Many more merchants were involved in similar financial partnerships and, as table 5.7 shows, they also jointly loaned money with their wives or other female relatives along with merchants from outside Dublin or with members of the gentry community.

There are many more interesting incidences of monies being borrowed and loaned outside the merchant community. For example, there is evidence of people within similar professions lending money. William Parsons, a Dublin felt-maker loaned money on bond of £400 to John Cunningham and Richard Edwards, both tailors.[215] Thomas Edwards, a gentleman, is also listed as a debtor on this loan which suggests, perhaps, that it may have been common practice for gentry to go as guarantor on loans for members of families who were from the lower stratum of society. Family connections also feature prominently in transactions within gentry circles. For instance on 2 June 1636 Edward Manning of London along with Charles and Henry Manning of Fermanagh loaned on bond of £2,000 to Sir John and James Dunbar of Fermanagh.[216] More significantly, Hugh, John and George Hamilton from Tyrone and Henry Acheson from Armagh loaned money on bond of £4,202 to William Hamilton of Scotland.[217] Interestingly, this money was loaned in six separate transactions of £1,200, £680, £660, £555, £554 and £553 on the same day, 18 March 1625. Perhaps this is indicative that there was a restriction of some sort on the amount that could be borrowed in a single transaction by someone who was not a member of the staple.

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[214] Ibid, ID 1205, 1675, 1908, 1909.
[215] Ibid, ID 2034.
[216] Ibid, ID 2134.
[217] Ibid, ID 1270.

Table 5.7: Joint creditors[218]

| Date | Creditors | Occupation | Amount | Debtor/s |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20 August 1600 | Nicholas Young | merchant | £100 | Edmund Cullen |
| | Agnes Young | wife of Nicholas | | |
| | Gerald Young, | alderman | | |
| | Richard Noble | gent | | |
| | Mary Noble | wife of Richard | | |
| 4 February 1601 | Thomas Long | merchant | £200 | William Talbot |
| | Thomas Allen | merchant | | |
| | John Goodman | merchant | | |
| | William Laney | tanner | | |
| 12 February 1603 | Thomas Allen | merchant | £600 | John Long |
| | John Goodwin | merchant | | |
| | Thomas Laney | merchant | | |
| 29 November 1603 | Edmund Malone | merchant | £515 | Henry Walsh |
| | Joan Malone | widow | | |
| 27 November 1606 | Michael Chamberlain | merchant | £50 | David Dowd |
| | Michael Chamberlain | merchant (Drogheda) | | |
| | William Deise | merchant (Drogheda) | | |
| 24 Feb 1620 | John Kennedy | merchant | £320 | Myles Burke & |
| | James Kennedy | | | his son |
| 27 September 1623 | Patrick Gough | merchant | £40 | Edward Penteny |
| | Robert Arthur | merchant | | |
| 5 June 1624 | Andrew Clarke | merchant | £400 | Patrick Sarsfield |
| | Patrick Mapas | merchant | | |
| 4 June 1625 | Robert Arthur | merchant | £800 | Sir John Taaffe |
| | Patrick Mapas | merchant | | Sir William Taaff |
| | | | | Sir Lucas Dillon |
| 4 November 1625 | Philip Conran | merchant | £332 | John Plunkett |
| | Robert Kennedy | merchant | | |
| 15 June 1627 | Edward Dowdall | merchant | £300 | Charles Connor |
| | Peter Wybrants | merchant | | |
| | Edward Dongan | merchant | | |
| 1 March 1632 | William Dowdall | merchant | £1,500 | Christopher & |
| | Edward Dowdall | gent (Meath) | | Robert Chilem |
| | Anthony Dopping | gent | | Drogheda & |
| | William Domville | gent | | Meath |
| | Adam Cusack | gent (Meath) | | |
| | William Pierce | gent (Westmeath) | | |
| 15 November 1634 | Lawrence Allen | merchant | £300 | Edmond Byrne |
| | Andrew Pallas | gent | | |
| 24 November 1634 | Robert Kennedy | gent | £400 | Thomas Edwards |
| | Richard Kennedy | gent | | Richard Edwards |

[218] All of these are from Dublin unless otherwise stated. Ibid, ID 171, 191, 284, 320, 438, 1021, 11182, 1218, 1289, 1316, 1441, 1991, 1997, 2078.

It is also interesting that women feature on the staple. While most women who loaned money on the staple did so with their husband or as executor of their husband's wills, there are examples of women lending money on their own behalf. For example, Margaret Gibbons, a Dublin widow and her four daughters, Eleanor, Francis, Mary and Brigid, loaned money on bond of £600 to Roger Moore in Dundalk.[219] Without further investigation it is impossible to gauge exactly what the connection between these women and Moore was, but in all probability there was an underlying family connection involved in the transaction.

Noticeably, with the exception of the one transaction where Peter Wybrants loaned money on bond of £300,[220] the names of Dutch merchants do not appear on the statute staple books until the 1650s or 1660s.[221] Dutch merchants clearly had a huge hold on trade in the city and were heavily involved in financial exchange. This is borne out by their evident involvement in the remittance of money when Christopher Lowther was trying to obtain cash and, more significantly, by the fact that when dealing with internal bills of exchange between Youghal and Dublin, Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, relied on his Dublin agent, Christian Bor, as well as other Dublin/Dutch merchants such as Peter Wybrant and Abraham Rickesies to execute the bills. The fact that the Dutch did not participate in what was the largest and most comprehensive known lending organization in Ireland in the period is perhaps suggestive that they had their own systems in place for borrowing and lending money. It is also indicative of the clear lines of demarcation that existed between the Dublin and Dutch traders which is evidenced in the suit brought before the Privy Council in London by the

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[219] Ibid. ID 1270.
[220] Ibid, ID 2048.
[221] Peter Wybrants appears on the statute staple as administrator of Theodore Schout on 25 March 1655, and his son Daniel is noted on 27 April 1657. John Bor, a son of Christian Bor is entered on 4 August 1664. Ibid, 3 ID 029, 1441, 3504.

Dutch merchants in 1632.[222] It might be argued, indeed, that the Dutch were purposely excluded from involvement in the statute staple to protect the interests of those who governed it.

A full investigation of the various types of transactions that took place on the staple, the reasons behind such dealings, along with a thorough investigation of debt litigation across the whole social spectrum in early seventeenth-century Ireland, is an area of study that will provide much needed and fascinating insights into Irish society in the period. For the purposes of this thesis, the above analysis shows that far from being unwilling to invest in trade or to lend money, Dublin merchants were clearly involved in continental trade and, within the nexus of business and finance, carried out the same business and commercial practices as their English and European counterparts. Dublin merchants' involvement in the webs of credit that existed in the period is also remarkable as is their large scale activity in money lending, particularly on the statute staple which by the early seventeenth century evolved as a sophisticated, well-developed financial regulatory body essentially run by the merchant community of the city. The obvious affluence of many of these Dublin merchants, evidenced in their business and financial transactions as well as in their speculation in the property market and subsequent accumulation of lands, must be attributed in the first place to Dublin's position as *the* most important trading port in the country. Paradoxically, the improvement in the Irish economy was primarily achieved as a result of an increased efficiency in the collection of customs duties which posed a threat to the wealth of individual merchants, both Catholic and Protestant, whose economic and political standing were also under serious threat from infringements on their rights and privilege by the English administration. The

[222] See chapter 6 below.

following chapter will investigate the reaction of the Dublin merchant community to these governmental polices and will illustrate the prominent and crucial part that they played in all aspects of Irish political life in early seventeenth-century Ireland.

## CHAPTER 6.

## CIVIC AND STATE POLITICS:

## THE POLITICAL WORLD OF DUBLIN MERCHANTS C. 1630-1641.

> [There is] much wishing for the deputy and praying for his coming by all the Protestants and fear of him and the country by the papists.[1]

This almost throw-away remark, in a letter written by Christopher Lowther to his father some eight months before the arrival of Thomas Wentworth as lord deputy of Ireland echoes that of a prominent English administrator in Ireland, Sir Francis Aungier, who wrote that 'the popish recusants are more afraid of you coming than of any of your predecessors'.[2] These comments succinctly sum up the growing sectarian divide that was increasingly evident in Irish and, more specifically for this study, Dublin society in the early seventeenth century. After the accession of James I and VI in 1603, the English administration actively pursued a policy aimed at enforcing English law and custom in Ireland. English style systems of administration were expanded outside the area of the Pale into both official and unofficial plantation areas in Ulster, Munster and the midlands. Although these regions remained politically and socially fragmented, traditional Irish landholding steadily succumbed to the introduction of English tenures and land law and the exploitation of defective titles posed a serious threat of foreclosure to Irish landholders.[3] Religious conformity became the key to being favoured with government contracts and land grants, and

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[1] Christopher Lowther to Robert Lowther, 24 Sept. 1632, Hainsworth, *Commercial Papers,* p. 4.
[2] Sir Francis Aungier to Wentworth, 28 June 1632 (S.R.O., Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, Strafford MS, i.: N.L.I. microfilm p 3585).
[3] Gillespie, *The Transformation of the Irish economy*; Victor Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland, a study in Anglo-Irish politics* (Dublin, 1998), pp 28-30.

Catholics faced increasing danger to their standing in public life and to their land holdings. From 1604 when the oath of supremacy became a prerequisite to holding civic office, a more centralised form of government increasingly intervened in the politics of the city.[4] The arrival of Wentworth as lord deputy in 1633 exacerbated rather than quelled political unrest.

Far from reversing the policies of previous lord deputies, Wentworth's fiscal and economic policies underpinned earlier English encroachment on civic and economic liberties and the position of Dublin merchants in the social and political structure of the city was increasingly under threat. The majority of the municipal government were Old English Catholics and Wentworth actively promoted a Protestant and loyal city government. Conversely, his policies also posed a threat to the Protestant members of the civic elite. Over sixty per cent of Corporation land in the city was leased by members of the board of aldermen, and the majority of them also had large landholdings in the hinterlands of Dublin and in the Pale. Thus, both Catholic and Protestant members of the municipal government feared the consequences of Wentworth's exploitation of the commission for defective titles which posed the threat of increased rents or even dispossession of lands not proved in title. This gave the Old English merchant-gentry and the civic elite a common agenda and, initially at least, Protestant and Catholic merchant-gentry united under the auspices of the board of aldermen to protect their rights and privileges. Nevertheless, Wentworth's policies irrevocably changed the standing of the city's civic elite: on his arrival the majority of the municipal government were Catholic; by 1641 Protestant merchants dominated the civic administration. This was reflected in the wider political sphere where Wentworth's land, fiscal and economic policies provoked

[4] See Lennon, *Lords of Dublin* esp. chapters 2 and 4.

widespread hostility from both Catholics and Protestants. In the parliament of 1634, both factions were clearly divided on sectarian lines, but by the parliament in 1640 both Catholic and Protestant members of parliament, some of whom were merchants or closely connected to merchant families, united in the Dublin parliament to bring about his political downfall, which culminated with the lord deputy's impeachment and subsequent execution on 12 May 1641.

This chapter will analyse the part that Dublin merchants played in the defence of rights and privileges of the city. It will examine Wentworth's infringements in local government, his abuses of the customs farm and tobacco licences and his exploitation of defective titles and look at the reaction of Dublin merchants to these abuses. It will assess the impact of ongoing political change and a growing Catholic/Protestant divide on the merchant community of Dublin. It will also analyse Dublin merchants' involvement in the wider political sphere and will examine the prominent and crucial part that they played in all aspects of Irish political life in one of the most formative decades in early-modern Irish political history. First, however, this chapter will give an overview of the political situation and the hopes and aspirations of both Catholic and Protestant sections of Dublin society at the time of Wentworth's arrival in July 1633.

From the beginning of his rule, Wentworth's attitude towards the Old English in Ireland was deliberately ambiguous. On the one hand, he detested Catholicism. He was determined to eradicate popery and superimpose the Laudian Church Settlement that was being espoused by Charles I and Archbishop Laud in England and Scotland. Wentworth clearly believed that religious conformity was the key to political loyalty. In a letter to Secretary Coke in England he said, 'I feel plainly, that so long as this kingdom continues popish, they are not a people of the crown of England to be

confident of'.[5] Yet, having encountered opposition to fiscal matters even before his arrival in Ireland, Wentworth needed to develop good relations with the Old English. Thus from the outset he promised Old English Catholics that recusancy fines would not be collected and more importantly promised them full implementation of the graces, a set of fifty-one concessions granted, but never enacted, by Charles I in 1628 in return for much needed subsidies to finance his continental wars.[6] As the graces were never implemented in law and Catholic toleration always depended on royal favour, it is hardly surprising that the Old English greeted Wentworth's indication that he would implement the graces with enthusiasm. In actual fact, the new lord deputy never intended enacting the concessions. He intended, rather, to hold out the hope of confirmation of the graces to the Old English until subsides were voted in the parliament of 1634. Wentworth schemed to divide parliament into two sessions and made it clear that a prerequisite to the redress of grievances was satisfaction of the king's financial demands in the first session.[7] The Old English had much to gain by co-operation with Wentworth, and they quickly passed his subsidies bill. Before they did so, however, they set about redressing the balance of power in parliament.

The Old English obviously knew that Wentworth was in a position to manipulate the Protestant majority in Parliament to protect his interest which probably accounts for their apprehension some months before his arrival. The composition of the House of Commons, which comprised 142 Protestants and 112 Catholics (ninety-four of which were Old English) ensured that providing the house divided along religious lines neither party could secure a majority without the assistance of

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[5] Wentworth to Secretary Coke, 16 Dec, 1634, Knowler, *Earl of Strafford's Letters,* i, p. 351.
[6] See Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland 1625-42* (London, 1966), esp. chapters 3-5.
[7] Ibid, pp 76-79.

government.[8] The Old English immediately questioned the legal status of the Protestant majority and proposed that election returns be scrutinized and the right to sit denied to those members who were not resident in the constituencies for which they had been returned. They also questioned the right of thirty-two boroughs to send members. This is hardly surprising as only one of these boroughs existed in the parliament of 1585. This rose to twenty-six by 1613 and an additional five were added since.[9] Crucially, only two of these seats were held by Catholics and the Protestant faction won on both counts. Yet, despite a disproportionately large Protestant majority on the committee appointed to examine returns, the Catholics were only defeated by eight votes. Significantly, the near equality of the outcome of this first divisive issue indicated to Wentworth that the balance of power in government depended on his ability to manipulate the Catholic and Protestant factions to ensure support for government policy.[10]

Despite his declaration to parliament that he would 'divide not between Protestant and papist in correspondence to Secretary Coke in England he stated that 'the truth is we must there bow and govern the natives by the planter and the planter by the native'.[11] That this letter was written in the January preceding the parliament is proof that Wentworth always planned to adopt a 'divide and rule' policy and exploit existing animosities between Old and New settlers. In fact, this type of policy was not new. Anglo-Norman and later Anglo-Irish, barons had always manipulated inter-

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[8] In 1640 the house comprised 161 Protestants and 74 Catholics (County members: 34 Protestants, 30 Catholics and Borough members 127 Protestants, 44 Catholics). This made the overall proportion very close at 53% Protestant and 47% Catholic. Ibid, pp 80, 256-260; Bríd McGrath, 'A Biographical Dictionary of the Membership of the Irish House of Commons 1640-1641' (2 vols. Ph.D. thesis, 1997), i, p. 31.
[9] Clarke, *Old English in Ireland,* p. 80.
[10] Ibid, pp 76-79.
[11] Wentworth to Coke, 1 January 1633, Knowler, *Strafford's letters*, i, p. 289; Aidan Clarke, 'Government of Wentworth' in *N.H.I.,* iii, p. 250.

provincial and inter-dynastic animosities in Gaelic lordships to their political advantage. This time, however, the battle lines were drawn on purely sectarian rather than ethnic lines. It should be noted, however, that Wentworth had as little time for the New English as he had for the Old English. Shortly after his arrival in Ireland, he accused them of 'ill serving the crown' and said that 'I find them … a company of men the most intent upon their own ends that I ever met with'.[12] Wentworth antagonised New Settlers by his stringent religious policies, including the replacement of existing bishops in Ulster with English ones, and adopting anti-puritan policies to drive out the growing influence of Calvinism in the Protestant community.[13] Quite apart from religious policies directed at Protestants, custom's revenues granted to New English speculators were restored to the crown and widespread recovery of church lands particularly threatened the New English who benefited greatly from their appropriation.[14] In promising the enactment of the graces, or more specifically, Catholic toleration, Wentworth immediately provoked the animosity of the New English and they only reluctantly agreed to renew payments of subsidies for a further year.[15] As Aidan Clarke has pointed out, however, 'the common ground of anti-Catholicism proved an adequate basis for the conversion of the Protestant party into a government party'.[16] Wentworth fully intended exploiting these sentiments to ensure New English support in government. Of course, when the lord deputy presented the

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[12] Wentworth to Lord Treasurer, 13 May 1634, Knowler, *Strafford's letters*, vol. i. p. 246.

[13] In 1634 John Bramhall was appointed to the see of Derry and Henry Leslie to Down & Connor in 1635. John McCafferty, *The reconstruction of the Church of Ireland: Bishop Bramhall and the Laudian reform 1633-1641* (Cambridge, 2007); Clarke, 'Government of Wentworth', p. 257.

[14] Ciaran Brady, 'England's defence and Ireland's reform: The dilemma of the viceroys, 1541-1641', in Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (eds.) *The British problem, c. 1534-1707: State formation in the Atlantic archipelago* (London, 1996) p. 114.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Clarke, *Old English in Ireland,* p. 88.

subsidies bill, the Old English were unaware that he planned to manipulate them in such a manner, nor that he did not intend to enact the graces. In fact, that they set about redressing the balance of power in parliament is an indication that the Old English hoped for a reversal of earlier English polices that saw the reduction of their power in government and, through the enactment of the graces, to reverse plantation policies that left many feeling insecure about their estates. The fears expressed by Catholics before Wentworth's arrival proved justified. In Dublin attacks by state officials on local trading privileges and municipal customs exemptions provoked conflict between the royal administration and civic authorities in the previous two decades.[17] Wentworth quickly made it clear that he intended following these contentious policies which also threatened the standing of the Protestant members of the civic elite.

On 30 September 1633 two months after the arrival of Wentworth as lord deputy, the mayor, Robert Bennett; the recorder, Nathaniel Catelyn, and the aldermen of Dublin came before the lord deputy who presented Robert Dixon, the incoming mayor of the city, with the 'staff of authority and sword of government of this city'.[18] In his speech following the inauguration ceremony, the recorder allegedly cited many of the favours and graces of the kings and queens of England. He quoted one charter which stated that that 'no lieutenant, deputy, or governor ...or any justice or justices could assess, or lay any soldiers in the city of Dublin, without their consent'.[19] Wentworth allegedly replied that 'Ireland is a conquered nation ... the king may do

[17]Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* chapter 4.
[18] *CARD,* ii, pp 275, 281, 578-9.
[19] Evidence of Robert Kennedy, king's chief remembrancer and prominent Dublin merchant, Rushworth (ed.), *Tryal of of Strafford,* p. 157.

with them what he pleaseth: And speaking of the charters of Dublin … the charters are nothing worth, and binding the king no farther than he pleases'.[20]

This account of the speeches given at Dixon's inauguration was given by Robert Kennedy, the king's chief remembrancer, at Wentworth's trial in April 1641.[21] Another witness at the trial said that although he was present at Dixon's inauguration, he could not remember the particular words 'nor deliver them as they were spoken by the lord lieutenant'.[22] He said, however, that he remembered particularly that the scope of the discourse was to 'ingratiate his majesty's present government to them [and] that the words were well accepted by several persons whom he spoke with'.[23] In the records of the Corporation of Dublin it mentions neither the content of Catelyn's speech nor Wentworth's reply.[24] According to this account, the recorder 'made an eloquent oration' before presenting Dixon as mayor of the city for the ensuing year'.[25] Following his inauguration, the lord deputy advised and admonished the mayor to 'the faithful and due execution and administration of justice in the said office, to the advancement of his majesties services and the honour and good of the city'.[26] There is no further reference to events after the inauguration.

This does not mean that Kennedy's evidence was inaccurate. Although only two extant accounts of inauguration ceremonies for mayors exist for the period, it seems likely that evoking the ancient rights and privileges in the speech made by the

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[20] Alleged speech by Thomas Wentworth 30 September 1633, evidence of Robert Kennedy, Rushworth, *Tryal of Strafford,* pp. 156, 163.
[21] *CARD,* iii, pp 578-9. Kennedy read the oath of supremacy and the oath of loyalty to the mayor at his inauguration.
[22] Evidence of Mr.Slingsby, Rushworth, *Tryal of Strafford*, p. 163.
[23] Ibid.
[24] *CARD*, pp 578-9.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

recorder of the city after the mayor's inauguration ceremony was customary.[27] For example, in 1613 after the inauguration of Edmund Malone as mayor, the then recorder, Richard Bolton, is said to have 'made a very learned oration, wherein he recited the antiquity of the city, and the large charters and liberties of the same given and granted unto them in ancient times by the princely favour of the kings of England'.[28] Contrary to the account given by Slingsby which stated that 'his lordship was thereupon invited to the mayor's house, where divers of the city congratulated his coming to them', the city's records noted that 'following the ceremony the lord deputy retired himself into the withdrawing chamber, and the said mayor and citizens departed the castle to perform the other ceremonies of the city as on that day accustomed'.[29] As mayors of the city were expected to keep an open house and were given an extra 'drinking allowance' on top of their mayoral grant for entertaining important people, it must be assumed that the lord deputy was invited to the mayor's house for celebrations following official ceremonies and that members of the civic elite attended as a matter of protocol.[30] By attending such functions municipal officials thus had an opportunity to put pressure on the new lord deputy to address their grievances. It is apparent from Catelyn's speech that the civic elite, the majority of whom were merchants, expected the new lord deputy to recognise and honour their ancient privileges and charters. The lord deputy's subsequent comments regarding the

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[27] The only recorded accounts of the installation of mayors of Dublin are for the years 1613 and 1630. In 1613, Edmund Malone was installed instead of Richard Forster who refused to take the oath of supremacy. In both cases, the mayor elect was presented at the exchequer bar before the lord chief baron and court of the exchequer by the recorder of the city who made a speech. Following the inauguration, the lord chief baron [Richard Bolton in both years] also made a speech declaring the charges and duties of the mayor admonishing him to fulfil his duties. The speech made in 1633 by the newly arrived lord deputy was probably by way of introduction to Dublin society.

[28] *CARD,* p. 577.

[29] Evidence of Mr. Slingsby, Rushworth, *Tryal of Strafford,* p. 163; *CARD*, iii, p. 579.

[30] Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 49. Also see chapter two above.

charters made it clear that they should be under no such illusions and was a clear indication that he intended to continue English governmental policies aimed at eroding the ancient privileges of the city.

City charters, the bedrock of Dublin's municipal government, basically granted recognition of specific rights or privileges, which maintained the crown's position through the acknowledgement and allegiance of its subjects.[31] The charters of John to Dublin in 1192 ratified in 1200 and 1215 after his accession to the crown of England formed the basis for municipal legislation in Ireland and were produced in courts of law in defence of rights of the municipal corporation of Dublin up to 1887.[32] The exemption of billeting soldiers was just one of many privileges granted to the city under a number of ancient charters that were infringed upon by the English administration and provoked animosity from civic officials. In 1192 John's charter stated that 'no man shall take lodging within the walls, by assize or billeting of marshals, against the will of the citizens'.[33] This particular article was reaffirmed on by Edward III on 14 August 1338, who noted that 'in contravention of an article in the Dublin charter from John, by the acts of some of the officials of the city 'they occupy lodgings in houses of the citizens against the wills of the latter, and also appropriate their goods and chattels. The king commands the discontinuance of such proceedings, and confirms and amplifies the article referred to in John's charter'.[34] By the late sixteenth century, the aldermen of the city enjoyed the privilege of exemption from billeting and supporting troops, an imposition that was nevertheless enforced upon the ordinary citizen despite their ancient privilege.[35] Even in times of conflict such as

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[31] The charters of Dublin are transcribed from the original Latin in *CARD* i, pp 1-81.
[32] Ibid, pp viii-x.
[33] Ibid, pp 3-6.
[34] 12 Edward III, *CARD,* i, p. 16
[35] DCA, MS MR 17, f. 11a; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, p. 44.

during the Elizabethan wars and again after the 1641 rebellion when the sheriff of Dublin had the task of arranging for lodging and 'dieting' of the swelling numbers of troops in the city, the issue of billeting soldiers always caused resentment. In certain circumstances, however, the aldermen agreed to forgo their privilege. For example, on 11 March 1597 the last of a shipload of gunpowder barrels freighted from the Tower of London destined for the royal army waging war against Hugh O'Neill and his allies exploded at the crane house at Merchant's Quay. The explosion virtually wiped out the heart of the old medieval town and killed over 126 people including a Dublin merchant, Patrick Segrave, his wife and three of their children who lived in the crane house.[36] Following this, the board of aldermen voted to forgo their exemption from the imposition of supporting troops at times of great scarcity and poverty in the city but it was little more than a short-term gratuitous gesture in the wake of the gunpowder explosion and was undertaken without prejudice to their immunity.[37]

The issue of billeting soldiers remained a contentious issue throughout the period. Sir Richard Barnewall (M.P. for the county of Dublin in 1634 and 1640) gave evidence at Wentworth's trial in 1641. He said Sir George Radcliffe asked him whether his house 'was capacious to receive 500 men': Barnewall answered, 'you know what my house will hold as well as my self, and I smiling at it, he answered, but it is no laughing matter, you shall have 500 men laid on you'.[38]Another witness was asked 'whether he knew of any soldiers billeted in Dublin? Where they were not a grievance? Whether that city hath not a special charter of exemption?' He replied, 'the city of Dublin doth bear the charge of 40 horse, and pays to them £45 a month for

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[36] See Colm Lennon, 'The great explosion in Dublin, 1597' in *D.H.R.*, lii, (1989), pp. 7-20. 'A contemporary account of the explosion of gunpowder at Dublin on 11 March 1596-7' is given in *CARD*, app. V, pp 561-574.
[37] Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, pp 44-5.
[38] Rushworth, *Tryal of earl of Strafford,*, p. 112.

billeting'. He added that this was against the terms of the city charter, and that they 'therefore conceive it a heavy burden, and it is as much as a subsidy: and another part of the city, standing in another county, pays £10 a month; so they pay in all £55 a month'.[39] In the early seventeenth century, a period of relative peace and prosperity, it is unsurprising that the billeting of troops caused great resentment from both the civic elite and the commons who saw it as an encroachment of their charters of liberty.[40] In 1629, having been subjected to the same infringement to their charters, the board of forty-eight passed an order that the city would no longer support the army and any money, if made available, would be considered a loan to the government.[41] Lord Wilmot, general of the army in Ireland, commented at the time 'such conduct cannot be tolerated': if it is 'the action in Dublin will be made a precedent and all other towns in Ireland will stand upon their charter'.[42] Despite a sustained effort by the city council who regularly sent agents (usually merchants) over to England to defend their privileges, they ultimately failed to get confirmation of the charters and economic privileges that the civic elite and merchant community enjoyed under ancient privilege.

In 1603 the English government moved against municipal towns in a concerted drive to raise revenues for the crown which resulted in the establishment of the customs farm.[43] Effectively, this meant that the yield from the customs of the city went to the government, not the city council or its officials. In 1604 the Dublin city assembly agreed a policy of resistance complaining that 'the king's majesties customers, controllers and searchers of this port of Dublin doe extract their duties

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[39] Evidence of Mr. Egor, Rushworth, *Tryal of Strafford,* p. 112.
[40] DCA MS MR/17 ff 95b, 96b; Lennon, *Lords of Dublin*, pp 44-5.
[41] *CARD,* iii, pp 223-4; Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', p. 254.
[42] *Cal. S.P. Ire. 1625-32*, pp 474, 498; Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', p. 253.
[43] See chapter 1 above.

contrary to the laws of the realm'.[44] The trade guilds also came under attack from the English administration. In 1606 Sir Thomas Ridgeway, vice-treasurer of Ireland, said

> There must be an act of parliament that all strangers and others may freely come and trade in all parts of this kingdom, notwithstanding any former charters, privileges, prescriptions, or usages to the contrary, and that the charter of the Trinity Guild in Dublin may be repealed which is the breakneck of all trades of English or strangers of the city.[45]

Instead, two English agents were granted exclusive rights to the export of specified quantities of wheat, wool, sheepskins, hides, tallow and flock.[46] A new book of rates was compiled. Chester was informed that Dublin merchants were no longer permitted the custom-free trade that they had previously enjoyed.[47] Duty was to be paid on all commodities, with the exception of small wares intended for trade within the limits of Dublin City. The king instructed Chichester to grant 'new charters, with such enlargements of franchises as shall appear convenient' retaining for the crown the great and petty custom together with tonnage and poundage.[48] Nevertheless the city council continued to plead its case. The grievances addressed by the 'certain humble requests on behalf of the subjects of Ireland' submitted for consideration in London in 1628 included a number of economic complaints including the request for the free export of corn from Ireland to England and 'all nations at peace with the king' and a request that the monopolies on salt and *aqua vitae* be abolished.[49] On the first matter the king granted that corn could be exported as long as the value was not above 10

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[44] *CARD,* ii, p. 417.
[45] *Cal. S.P. Ire.,* 1606-1608, p. 76.
[46] The agents were Thomas Hibbots and William Long. Victor Treadwell, 'The Irish Customs administration in the sixteenth century', pp 383, 386.
[47] Ibid, p. 394; Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin, p. 253.
[48] Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', pp. 252-54.
[49] *Cal. S.P. Ire.* 1625-32, pp. 330-38.

shillings a barrel; on the second replied that payment should be suspended until the next parliament.[50] The city's claim for custom-free trade with Chester however was not forthcoming. The proposal was simply crossed out and endorsed 'debated and settled long ago'.[51]

Despite the city government's hopes for a reversal of English infringements under Wentworth the new lord deputy took a more stringent stance. Wentworth's policies threatened to erode the autonomy that the city government had previously enjoyed and his land policies posed a threat to both Catholic and Protestant merchant landholders. In 1604, when the taking of the Oath of Supremacy became a prerequisite to holding civic office in the city, many Catholic mayors- and sheriffs-elect refused to take the oath which led to direct state action and many of the Catholic merchant-elite of the city were fined and imprisoned.[52] It also disrupted the pattern of elections to the mayoralty. Crucially between 1605 and 1613 no fewer than a dozen qualified candidates for the office of sheriff refused to take the oath.[53] As candidates for election to the board of aldermen were almost always taken from the 'forty-eight' (sheriffs' peers), the pool from which the bench of aldermen was selected had a scarcity of Catholics from which to choose and the majority of those elected to the bench between 1610 and 1620 were Protestant.[54] Nevertheless in the short term, this did not seem to have a dramatic effect on succession patterns. Many sons of 'conforming' aldermen were promoted prematurely to fill the ranks.[55] Indeed,

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[50] Ibid, p. 331.
[51] Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', p. 254.
[52] For details on succession in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* chapter 6.
[53] Ibid, pp 184-85.
[54] Ibid, p.184.
[55] Some mayors, such as Sir James Carroll, who replaced his father Thomas on the bench in 1612, professed to be Protestant but were reported to have entertained and given assistance to a great numbers of priests at this house. Gilbert, *History of the city*

throughout the 1620s there does not seem to have been any noticeable change in succession to the mayoralty or in the make up of civic government. It is significant, however, that after 1630 the situation changed dramatically. Between 1630 and 1642 no fewer than seven mayoral posts were held for a second time or more: Thomas Evans in 1630, Robert Bennett in 1632, Christopher Forster in 1635 and 1638, Charles Forster in 1639 and Thomas Wakefield in 1640 and 1641, all of whom were Protestants.[56] Although it was not unheard of, it was unusual for individuals to hold the office of mayor more than once. In the fifty years between 1580 and 1630 only three individuals served as mayor on more than one occasion. Robert Ball, who served as mayor in 1604, replaced John Shelton who refused to take his position in 1609; Nicholas Barran, mayor in 1600 replaced both Edmund Purcell and Thomas Plunkett in 1607; and Richard Browne served as mayor in 1614, 1615, and 1620.[57]

It is significant that these replacements took place at the height of a hard-line governmental directive on recusancy as it indicates that the replacements in the 1630s were a result of a similar crackdown. Indeed the 1630s witnessed a catalytic change in the make up of civic government in Dublin. After the arrival of Wentworth in 1633 he actively promoted a Protestant and loyal government in the city and used any opportunity to expel existing Catholic officials and ensure that those Protestants who remained in government were loyal to the crown. For example, in 1634 Christopher Bysse, a Dublin merchant and one of the sheriffs of the city, was, at the instigation of the lord deputy, fined £600 and deprived of his office of sheriff for a 'great and heinous offence by him committed in the execution of his majesties writ directed by

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*of Dublin,* i, chapter viii. Richard Browne also professed himself as Protestant and served four terms as mayor, but was later expelled from the franchises for rebellion which indicates that he was in fact a Catholic. *CARD,* iii, p. 393; Also see chapter two above.

[56] See also app. II 'Civic government 1620-1660'.

[57] See app. II, 'Civic government 1620-1660'

the sheriffs of the said city, whereof Christopher was one, in choosing citizens of the city of Dublin for the now intended parliament'.[58] Under normal procedure, the chancery issued writs for election to the sheriffs in each county, ordering them to hold election for the knights of the shire and to direct the chief magistrates of the cities and boroughs in their counties to elect their citizens and burgesses.[59] Unfortunately no record of Christopher's actual offence survives amongst the court of castle chamber records, but presumably he misdirected the citizens in some manner in relation to the writ. Whatever the reason, Bysse's dismissal is significant because even if he did interfere in proceedings, the English administration was itself guilty of the same crime.

In 1613 two Catholic merchant aldermen, Francis Taylor and Thomas Allen were elected and immediately disqualified as members of parliament in favour of Richard Barry and Thomas Bolton, two Protestant merchants, at the instigation of the then lord deputy, Chichester.[60] In 1634, the same year that Bysse was dismissed, the corporation was prevented from electing candidates of whom Wentworth did not approve but he himself used his influence as lord deputy in favour of his own candidates, Richard Barry and Nathaniel Catelyn, and tried to influence the other boroughs.[61] Indeed, under Wentworth, the English practice of members of parliament waiving their fees as an inducement to encourage their return, including the

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[58] *CARD,* iii, p. 291.Christopher's surname is given as Brice in the records. However, genealogical evidence shows that the Brices and Bysses are the same family. See Bysse genealogy chapter two above.

[59] McGrath, 'A biographical dictionary of the membership of the House of Parliament 1640-1641', p. 28.

[60] The details surrounding this event are well recorded. See 'Commission to examine the abuses in parliament and country' (*Cal. S.P. Ire., 1611-14*, pp 436-455); Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* pp 199-201; Brendan Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', chapter 10; Bríd McGrath, 'The membership of the Irish House of Commons, 1613-1615' (M.A. thesis, TCD, Dublin, 1986).

[61] Catelyn was the recorder of Dublin who gave the speech citing Dublin's ancient privileges at Dixon's inauguration as mayor a year earlier.

constituency of Trinity College, where he supported the candidature of Sir James Ware and James Dongan, was introduced.[62] As Bríd McGrath has pointed out, the English administration had the power to issue and alter charters and therefore electorates.[63] Despite the best efforts of the municipal government, they essentially could, and did, use that power to also manipulate a Protestant majority in municipal government. Although Bysse was a Protestant, his family had relatives and friends in both the Catholic and Protestant communities. Wentworth's centralising policies ensured that New English Protestants were increasingly losing their positions in the Irish administration to new arrivals who came to Ireland with Wentworth or to those who he thought could be relied on to support his policies in government.[64] It is likely indeed that the sheriff was dismissed as part of the English administration's drive to ensure a loyal following in municipal government as well as in the Irish parliament. Indeed, that Wentworth intended a Protestant re-edification of the city's government is evidenced the year after Bysse's expulsion when the mayor was also dismissed from his position.

In 1635 Wentworth directed that the mayor of Dublin, Sir James Carroll, be brought before the castle chamber for allegedly selling coal at inflated prices.[65] Following a proclamation by Wentworth in January 1634 which stated that the king's rate should not be taken up and that coal should be sold to the poor of the city at a reasonable rate, Carroll was accused of selling coal at sixteen shillings per ton, twice

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[62] McGrath, 'A biographical dictionary of the membership of the Irish House of Commons 1640-41', i, pp 26-7. In universities, members of parliament were elected by the university provost, fellows and scholars.
[63] McGrath, 'A biographical dictionary of the members of the Irish House of Commons' 1640-41, i, p. 31.
[64] See Clarke, 'The government of Wentworth, 1632-40', pp. 250-256.
[65] *CARD*, iii, pp 306-8. Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin,' pp 259-261; Crawford, *A Star Chamber Court in Ireland*, p. 383.

the normal rate of eight shillings per ton, and pocketing the difference for himself.[66] Carroll defended his position saying that he knew nothing about the proclamation and that as clerk of the market it was his privilege 'to take up coal by privilege and custom as he had done in the former times of his mayoralty'.[67] He was, however, duly convicted, fined £1,000 sterling, discharged from his office and imprisoned during Wenworth's pleasure.[68] This was not the first time that Wentworth seemed to defend the citizens of Dublin against prices or imposts set by the king.

On 17 May 1633 the king wrote to Wentworth instructing him to charge Dublin an impost on coal on top of duties already paid. The reason the king wanted this extra duty was to pay for the construction of a pier at the port of Whitehaven in St. Bee's in Cumbria which he said 'can supply Scotland, Ireland and Man with coals. It is also suitable for the herring fishery, and there is no other port in the neighbourhood'.[69] He said that a pier would cost £600 and 'as Dublin will profit largely by it Dublin must pay for it ... the duty shall stop when the sum is raised'.[70] It is notable that Whitehaven was owned by Wentworth's good friend, Sir John Lowther, who intended to construct a harbour there and ship coal and salt to Dublin.[71] It is possible, indeed, that Lowther petitioned the king looking for financial assistance assuming that the lord deputy would acquiesce to his demand. Despite their friendship Wentworth stood

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[66] 'A proclamation concerning coales that none from henceforth be taken up at the king's rates, 16 January 1633/4', Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, ii, pt. 1, p. 39; *CARD*, iii, pp 307-8.
[67] *CARD*, iii, pp 307-8.
[68] Ibid.
[69] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, p. 12.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Christopher Lowther's correspondence is peppered with references to their intention to ship coal to Ireland and their desire to procure a licence for shipping salt. For example see Christopher Lowther to Robert Lowther, 7 October 1632 and 20 October 1632, Hainsworth (ed.) *Commercial papers*, pp 6-7, 10-11.

firm against the imposition on coal as well as those intended on horses, cattle and sheep. On 25 July 1636 he wrote,

> I have with much difficulty obtained direction for a Privy Seal for taking off the four shillings upon a ton of coal new imposition, as also that other immeasurable charge set upon horses to be transported hence to Ireland, as also one shilling and sixpence upon every head of cattle and stopped another imposition intended to be set upon all live sheep brought thence.[72]

The reason that Wentworth took this stance was not to do with defending the rights of the citizens of Dublin but rather was part of his strategic plan for newcomers from England to settle in Ireland. In the same letter he told Wandesford that he represented Ireland to the king 'as a growing people that would increase beyond all expectation if it were a little favoured' and gave the imposition on coals, horses, sheep and cattle as an example of how Ireland was treated differently than the English or the Scots.[73] He argued that the impositions 'will be a great discouragement for any to transplant themselves and children into a country where they shall presently be dealt withal as aliens, and denied the favours and graces afforded to other subjects, and utterly quell and cut off any increase of trade'.[74] Wentworth was successful in his efforts to prevent the new impositions and thirteen months later wrote that 'this kingdom is growing apace'.[75] He further commented on the importance of keeping new settlers satisfied saying that by bringing new burdens on them, it discouraged those that 'daily come over' and that once they had taken a 'good and sound root, his majesty may

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[72] Wentworth to Wandesford, 25 July 1636, Knowler, *Strafford's letters,* ii, p. 23.
[73] Ibid, p. 20.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Wentworth to Wandesford 15 Aug. 1637, Knowler, *Strafford's letters*, ii, p. 89.

after gather five times as much from them without doing any hurt, where a little pulled from them at first breaks off their fruit in the very bud'.[76]

While Wentworth's action against Carroll's breach of his proclamation on the price of coal cannot be morally reproached, it can be taken as a direct assault upon the ancient privileges of the city. After Carroll's trial the lord deputy ordered that the sentence should be openly read in the Tholsell of the city and remain on record there so that others that succeed him 'may take example thereby'.[77] By including this instruction Wentworth gave himself the means to expel unwanted officials and thus ensure a loyal and Protestant city government. Between 1634 and 1641, after Carroll's defeat, five Catholic aldermen were elected as mayor but not one of them served in the office.[78] Instead, Protestant mayors, James Watson, Christopher Forster, Charles Forster and Thomas Wakefield, took office between 1635 and 1641.[79] The change in the make up of the city's government was reflected in the wider political sphere where Dublin merchants played an active role in state politics. Wentworth's aim on his arrival as lord deputy in July was to make Ireland financially self-sufficient and create a surplus for the king's use in England. From an English administrative point of view, he succeeded. In June 1633 the lord deputy complained that 'they have brought me empty coffers'.[80] In fact, at the beginning of his tenure, he was dependent upon a subsidy of £20,000 per annum to make ends meet.[81] By Wentworth's own estimation he increased the revenue of Ireland from £57,000 in 1633 to £120,000 by 1640.[82] While Wentworth's figures may be exaggerated, by the end of his tenure revenue did

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[76] Ibid.
[77] *CARD*, iii, p. 308.
[78] Fitzpatrick, 'The municipal corporation of Dublin', p. 262.
[79] See app. II, 'civic government list 1620-1660'.
[80] Lord Deputy to the Lord Treasurer, Knowler, *Strafford's letters,* i, p. 190.
[81] Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland,* chapter 4.
[82] Rushworth, *Tryal of the earl of Strafford*, p. 105.

exceed expenditure and a large debt was paid off.[83] The improvements in the revenue were due to the most unpopular of Wentworth's policies, those to do with the customs farm, the tobacco monopoly and his exploitation of defective titles.

Wentworth's main source of profit was the customs farm, which he exploited to the hilt. From its inception in 1613, the Irish customs farm was open to abuse. The first farm syndicate was led by Sir Lionel Cranfield (first earl of Middlesex, surveyor general of the English customs since 1613), and, initially, Sir Arthur Ingram.[84] The syndicate paid the crown a rent of £6,000 sterling per annum for a lease which was due to expire in 1622.[85] Robert Coogan, the surveyor general of the customs in Ireland, was the most prominent Irish-based member of the syndicate, but he was dismissed from his position for outstaying his leave of absence in England and the lord deputy appointed his nephew George St. George in his place.[86] Cranfield persuaded the lord deputy to reinstate Coogan (albeit after Coogan gave him £400) and secured St. George's composition of £100.[87] He also offered £2,500 towards buying out the existing interests in the farm and in May 1618 arrangements were completed for the surrender of the Old lease with effect from 25 March 1619.[88] On May 23 the same year George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham (and the king's favourite), acquired a new lease for ten years paying the same rent of £6,000 per annum, but without the benefit of profits previously allowed for Derry, Coleraine and

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[83] *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633*-47, pp 267, 299; O'Brien, *The economic history of Ireland,* p. 92; Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland,* p. 170; Perceval-Maxwell, *The outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641,* pp 32-3.

[84] By 1616 management of the farm was effectively in the hands of Cranfield and another of the principal London participants, Richard Galthorpe. Treadwell, *Buckingham in Ireland*, p. 93; J.P. Cooper, 'The fortune of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford', in *Economic History Review,* 2nd Series, xi, (1958) pp 243-4.

[85] Treadwell, *Buckingham in Ireland*, p. 93.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] As composition for the four years was unexpired, the old farmers were to have their own use without account the whole of the last year's revenue.

their creeks. The 'overplus' was to be shared equally by the king and Buckingham.[89] Up until 1623 the administration of the Irish customs farm continued with little change in personnel. Efforts to improve the income from the farm were clearly successful as from the autumn of 1623 to 1629 the farm was sublet at £13,400 to a syndicate of English and Irish officers of state, led by the lord deputy. While the crown rent was still £6,000 the 'overplus' was now fixed at £7,400 and was again equally divided between the king and Buckingham.[90] After a setback in profit as a result of the war with Spain and France successive upward revision of the book of rates in 1624 and 1627 improved profits from the farm but, allowing for administrative expenses, the royal share came to less than Buckingham's.[91] The return of peace, two reconstructions of the farm and another revision of the rates in 1631-32 greatly increased the customs revenue to the benefit of the king, and after 1633 for the new lord deputy, Wentworth.

In 1632 the duchess of Buckingham surrendered the remaining four years of her existing lease on the customs farm and received a new lease for fifteen years, paying £11,050 rent and £20,000 fine.[92] She then assigned her lease to Wentworth's partners who paid a fine of £8,000 each and her rent to the crown as well as a further £4,500 a year to the duchess. Sir Arthur Ingram, Robert Cogan and Wentworth each took

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[89] Treadwell, *Buckingham in Ireland*, pp 93-4.

[90] Things did not always run smoothly during these years. Aware that he would not be able to manage the farm himself, Buckingham attempted to sublease to the Irish ports and entrusted negotiations to the lord deputy who sounded out the farmers' agents John Pitt and William Massam. They were wary about the scheme as although a lease to the ports in general might pay, it was unlikely. Irish merchants showed no interest but Coogan offered £10,000 for the lease and advised the lord deputy put the lease up for public auction. This would have given Coogan sole control of the farm, but it was nipped in the bud by Cranfield. Buckingham reasssigned the management of the lease to Cranfield, who thus acquired three twentieths of both the king's and Buckingham's shares of the overplus until 1622. Ibid, pp. 94-5.

[91] Ibid, p. 96.

[92] Rushworth, *Tryal of Strafford*, p. 242.

quarter shares. Mountnorris and Radcliffe took an eighth each.[93] Strafford left his and Radcliffe's shares untouched and bought out his other partners on behalf of the crown for £13,000. In 1636, Wentworth wrote to Wandesford, the lord chancellor, that

> His majesty's five parts of the farm will, I trust, come to fifteen thousand pounds this year … I am confident with the duchess rent purchased in, the revenue will in this also improve, at least twenty thousand pounds a year.[94]

In 1638 the duchess' rent charge was bought in for £27,300. Hugh Kearney estimated that in the five years from 1635, Wentworth made profits of £35,000.[95] His abuse of the customs farm coming on top of his introduction of a system of licensing of trade greatly contributed to his unpopularity and prompted objections to the increased customs duties and the need to pay for export and import licences.[96] A particular bone of contention between Wentworth and the merchant community in particular was the introduction of the tobacco monopoly introduced in 1638.

Introducing a monopoly on tobacco was clearly a project that concerned Wentworth from the onset of his tenure as lord deputy. On 31 January 1634 he wrote to Portland, the lord treasurer in London, saying 'before my coming here I was offered £5,000 a year for the grant of the sole bringing in and selling of tobacco.'[97] He said that although he had not heard anything more since his arrival that he was confident the feat would be taken up. He clearly realised that revenue from tobacco imports offered a lucrative source of income saying that 'tobacco is so universally

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[93] *Cal. S.P. Ire.* 1647-60, pp 238-9; Cooper, 'The fortune of Thomas Wentworth', pp 243-4.
[94] Knowler, *Strafford's Letters,* ii. p. 90.
[95] Ibid, p. 65.
[96] *CJI,* 30 Jan. 1640/1, p. 167.
[97] Wentworth to the lord treasurer, 31 January 1634, Knowler, *Strafford's Letters,* i, p. 192.

taken in smoke, snuff and chewing as the quantity consumed here yearly amongst them is exceedingly great'.[98] In Easter week that year Wentworth noted Portland's reply which boasted that the monopoly introduced on tobacco in England grew beyond expectations and said that 'it might prove useful too in this kingdom ... and hope in time to make good use of it here also'.[99] In July 1636 Wentworth estimated that the revenue from tobacco licences would raise £8,000.[100] The capital for the monopoly was provided for by a secret agreement between Wentworth and the king. Wentworth was to be allowed to borrow £40,000 for a period of three years from the exchequer.[101] On 18 November 1637 Wentworth told the king that the customs and imports of tobacco alone, 'formerly about £200 a year to the patentee [were] thus raised to twelve thousand pounds'.[102] In 1638, Wentworth issued a proclamation on his majesties behalf prohibiting the importation of tobacco without licence.[103] The following February another proclamation followed saying that 'no one could sell tobacco wholesale from 1 May except for what would be made up in rolls and the same sealed with two seals which he would appoint'.[104] Licensees had the sole right of importing tobacco into Ireland and merchants were required to pay an import to the

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[98] Ibid.

[99] Portland to Wentworth, 10 March 1633 Knowler, *Strafford's Letters,* i, p. 206; 'Wentworth to Portland' Easter week 1634, ibid, p. 230.

[100] 'The lord deputy's note of the particulars wherein his majesties revenue in Ireland is increased since his employment there'. 6 July 1636, Knowler, *Strafford's Letters*, ii, p. 9.

[101] The money was spent on tobacco which was then stored in magazines in Dublin at Dublin, Youghal, Cork and Galway. Adam Loftus, the vice-treasurer, denied any knowledge of the arrangement but he admitted that Radcliffe borrowed £24,000 for the customs farm in 1638, which suggests that this type of transaction was probably usual. Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, p. 182.

[102] Wentworth to the king 18 November 1637, Knowler, *Strafford's Letters*, ii, p. 136.

[103] Rushworth, *Tryal of Strafford*, p. 401.

[104] Ibid, p. 401.

patentees of six pence per pound plus eighteen pence customs duty.[105] Such an imposition was bound to cause a great amount of grievance, particularly from the merchant community who also faced a very real threat to their landholdings.

Wentworth's land policies particularly exacerbated the threat to Catholic landholders. By the 1620s many long established Dublin merchant families, both Catholic and Protestant, such as the Allens, Balls, Barnewalls, Barrys, Brownes, Kennedys, Plunketts, Seagraves and Ushers, who had long supplied office-holders to the city, were substantial landholders in the hinterlands of Dublin and the Pale.[106] So too were many of the recently arrived settlers who had married into established merchant-gentry families. Many of these merchant-gentry families had close familial and commercial ties with the civic elite and many of them, both Catholic and Protestant, procured lands in the monastic dissolutions. Moreover, over sixty per cent of all corporation lands in the city was leased or owned by members of the board of aldermen – almost seventy per cent of whom were merchants.[107] Thus, both sections of the merchant community were threatened by Wentworth's exploitation of the commission for defective titles, which gave the Old English merchant-gentry and the civic elite a common agenda.

James I and VI brought plantation policies a step further by reintroducing an old feudal policy whereby any lands not 'officially' granted by the king were confiscated for the crown and in the ensuing investigation of titles many landowners were disposed or made tenants on their own lands.[108] Wentworth made no distinction between native Irish or Old English Catholics and exploited the weakness of land

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[105] Rushworth, *Tryal of Strafford,* p. 403; Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, p. 182.
[106] See chapter four above.
[107] See chapter two above.
[108] Treadwell, *Buckingham in Ireland,* pp. 28-9; Canny, 'The attempted Anglicisation of Irish society', pp 171-3; Ciaran Brady, 'England's defence and Ireland's reform: The dilemma of the viceroys, 1541-1641', pp 114-15.

titles to confiscate their properties. In his planned plantation of Connacht the lord deputy intended that where occupants did not have good title they would forfeit everything to the crown and receive back the equivalent of three-quarters of their property with a secure title under tenure of knight service. Crucially Wentworth included the oath of supremacy as a prerequisite to secure title to the three-quarters of their own lands.[109] Most landowners could not provide titles that were good in law.[110] Even where proof of titles to lands was found, as in the case of Clanricard's lands in Galway, jury decisions were overthrown and subsequent juries proved crown titles to the property.[111]

Under the 'commission of Grace for remedy of Defective Titles,' many landowners across Ireland were subject to increased rents, in some cases almost double what was paid before the commission.[112] Dublin merchants and merchant-gentry such as Thomas Luttrell, John Kennedy, Robert Allen, Thomas and John Nugent, Richard Barry, Luke Plunkett, and even the 'city of Dublin' (and others) had rents 'reserved upon the New Commission ... where no rent at all was formerly reserved'.[113] Ironically, it was the merchant community of Dublin themselves that gave Wentworth the opportunity to exploit their titles in the city. Many of the new buildings noted in the assembly rolls in 1637 were erected illegally and the aldermen, deputies and constables of each ward were instructed to report on illegal buildings due to the loss of revenue to the city.[114] In fact, many of these illegal buildings were

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[109] Canny, 'The attempted Anglicisation of Ireland', p. 173.
[110] Ibid.
[111] In this case the sheriff who picked the jury was accused of conspiracy. heavily fined and imprisoned and the jury thrown out. Clarke, 'The government of Wentworth', p. 253.
[112] See 'Commission for Defective Titles 1636' printed in Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, pp 264-66.
[113] £5; £7-12-0; 15s; £2-12-6; £7-13-0; £3; £4-2-6; £1-10-0 respectively. Ibid, p. 268.
[114] *CARD*, iii, p. 214.

undertaken by some of the merchant-aldermen themselves.[115] This provided Wentworth with the opportunity to open investigation under the commission for defective titles and posed a real threat to those who held lands in the city and outside its boundaries. In October 1634 the commons of the city complained that

> many of the under tenants of this city are, upon the commission of defective titles, questioned for their interest of Saint Mary Abbey lanes, and ... many judicious citizens [think it] necessary that all the lands of Saint Mary Abbey, Thomas Court and All Hallows should be confirmed by an act of parliament.[116]

It was agreed at the city assembly that two agents, Edward Jans, a Catholic merchant and Abraham Rickesies, a (Dutch) Protestant, be sent to England to confirm and enlarge the city charters and liberties and defend the city customs, discharge of poundage and 'other the matter which do concern the corporation in general of this city'.[117] It is significant, if unsurprising, that Catholic and Protestant merchants of the city united under the auspices of the board of aldermen and the common council to defend their economic, social and political position at this time. Similarly, in the wider political sphere Wentworth's arbitrary treatment of both Old English Catholics and New English Protestants ensured that both factions united to bring about the lord deputy's political downfall.

The willingness of Catholics and Protestants to come together in the Irish House of Commons became apparent when the Irish parliament resumed in June 1640. The members of the House took advantage of Wentworth's absence in England

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[115] For example, in 1624 Nicholas Weston 'encroached' on considerable part of Oxmanstown Green which had been leased to Robert Ball, who, on proof of title continued to hold the lease for three years until full title was tried. *CARD*, iii, pp 169-70.
[116] *CARD*, pp 297-8.
[117] Ibid, p. 379.

to attempt to force concessions from the English administration, now headed by George Wandesford, master of the rolls and a cousin to the lord lieutenant.[118] Five people, two Protestant and three Catholic, were appointed to draw up a declaration which ordered that writs should be issued to the sheriffs of the seven boroughs that Wentworth had succeeded in excluding from the house in 1635. They also sought the reversal of the bill to confirm the plantation of Connacht and the commission for defective titles and to change the method of levying subsidies.[119] Wandesford refused to concede to these demands and on 6 October a letter was presented to the House of Lords by a combination of Old English and New English members asking why the writs had not been issued.[120] The following month the Irish House of Commons presented a petition of remonstrance listing sixteen grievances of the gentlemen and merchants of Ireland.[121] Of the thirteen nominated to the committee to take the remonstrance to London in December 1641 seven were Old English and six were New English.[122] Wentworth's financial success was obtained on the backs of the gentry and merchants of Ireland and it is hardly surprising that a number of grievances in the remonstrance directly had to do with infringements on trade, monopolies and loss of privileges.[123] Of the sixteen grievances listed in the remonstrance, the first was in relation to the 'decay of trade,' two more were in relation to tobacco and other monopolies and the last complained of 'the oppression of gentry and merchants while

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[118] On April 4 1636 Adam Loftus, of Ely, Lord Chancellor, and Christopher Wandesford Esq., Master of the Rolls, were sworn in Wentworth's absence. Wentworth returned on 23 November 1636. On 19 August 1639 Sir Robert Dillon, Knt., Lord Dillon. & Christopher Wandesford, Esq, Master of the Rolls sworn were again sworn in. *Liber Munerum*, i, part ii, p. 7.

[119] Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, pp. 66-7, 190. The boroughs excluded were Newcastle, Naas, Ardee, Fore, Bannow, Taghmon and Clonmines.

[120] Ibid, p. 202.

[121] *CJI*, p. 157. *Cal. S.P. Ire 1633-47*, p. 262.

[122] *Cal. S.P. Ire 1633-47*, p. 262.

[123] *CJI*, p. 162; *Cal. S.P. Ire.*, pp 246, 258, 261, 266, 283-285;

farmers of the customs and others were greatly enriched'.[124] The grievances of the gentry and merchants of Ireland formed the basis of the prosecution's case for Wentworth's trial which began on 22 March 1641 and culminated with his execution on 12 May 1641.

The majority of the more serious charges brought against Wentworth at his trial related to his period of office in Ireland. The prosecution, headed by John Pym, the leader of the opposition party in the English House of commons, had an abundance of material supplied by those who suffered under his rule. The most important faction who gave evidence against Wentworth was the New English who lost positions of political power and to a lesser extent the members of the Irish and Old English aristocracy who were greatly aggrieved by his policies directed against them.[125]Although merchants did not travel to London in great numbers to appear as witnesses against the lord deputy in comparison to Irish peers, they provided crucial evidence concerning the tobacco monopoly for the prosecution's case. [126] As chapter one above has shown, Ireland's revenue increased dramatically in the early seventeenth century. Moreover, as Hugh Kearney has shown, improved fiscal methods under Grandison's deputyship (from 1616 to 1622) and the payment of

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[124] *CJI*, p. 162.

[125] Sir John Clotworthy, Viscount Ranelagh, Sir Robert King and Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork were amongst those close to the administration who gave evidence against Wentworth. Viscount Roche, Donogh MacCarthy and Sir Roebuck Lynch gave evidence on the charge that he refused licences to travel to England. Rushworth, *Tryal of the Earl of Strafford,* pp, 112, 188-204, 534; For trial proceedings also see Maija Jansson, *Proceedings of the Long Parliament*, iii (Rochester, New York, 2002); For a concise but comprehensive account of political activism in the House of Lords see Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Irish peers, political power and parliament', in Ciaran Brady & Jane Ohlmeyer, *British Interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 161-185. See her appendix for breakdown of political activism of the individual peers, pp. 179-85.

[125] Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, p. 34.

[126] The merchant witnesses for the prosecution were Patrick Allen, Timothy Crosby, Patrick Gough, Nicholas Plunkett. Ibid. pp 402-412.

extraordinary subsidies by the Old English Catholics and merchants meant that the deficit between ordinary income and expenditure was met without the need for financial support from England before Wentworth arrived in the country.[127] Despite Wentworth's protestation in 1637 that 'the people in general, in great quietness, are ... well satisfied, if not delighted with his majesties gracious government'.[128] Pym's accusation accorded with a statement made by the Irish grievances committee in 1640 that alleged,

> The liberties secured by the great charter and other laws and customs are constantly infringed ... The country was very prosperous during the twenty years preceding the Lord Lieutenant's tenure of office. People were attracted to the country by the mild and moderate government which prevailed. Money poured into the country: trade increased; merchants who braved the seas were well treated by the customs ... The last seven years of oppressive government have cut the harvest which had sprung up, and the country is now depleted.[129]

Given the increased traffic in trade and the subsequent improvement in customs revenues during Wentworth's tenure, it might be argued that these grievances were brought against the lord deputy directly because of his failure to implement the graces as promised and because individual merchants, businessmen and gentry suffered a great loss of individual earnings due to the increased efficiency of the collection of customs revenues as well as losses of rents from the actual or anticipated expropriation of lands. The main issue at Wentworth's trial in 1641, however, was the

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[127] Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, p. 34.
[128] Wentworth to Coke, 15 Aug, 1637, Knowler, *Strafford's letters,* ii, p. 93.
[129] Reply of the Irish Grievances Committee to the Statement of Sir George Radcliffe. 12 Feb. 1641, *Cal. S.P. Ire,* pp 257-8.

means by which the lord deputy increased Ireland's revenue, whether for the king or his own personal profit.

Pym accused the lord deputy of using unjust methods to increase the revenue of Ireland. He said:

> most of his increases are made upon monopolies ... but hath been mixed with rigour and rapine and justice. Men have been driven out of their estates; offices have been found by force; men have been driven to resign their estates: and is this a just way of improving a king's revenue?[130]

Pym continued, correctly stating that the increase in revenue 'was none of his [Wentworth's] works: the kingdom was able to subsist of itself before he came thither ... between 1622 and his government – seven years – nothing went out of this kingdom [England] to support that island'.[131] He accused Wentworth of 'importing tobacco for his own use, at his own price and that when the owners refused to sell at 'undervalue' they were not permitted to send the same there'. According to Pym, 'though he [Wentworth] enhanced the customs, where it concerned the merchants in general, yet drew down the import formerly taken on tobacco from six pence the pound to three pence the pound, it being in his own profit to do so'.[132] One merchant, Patrick Allen, gave evidence against the tobacco monopoly. He said a ship of eighty tons was forced to carry her lading to France as it was prevented from landing tobacco without special licence of the patentees. He added that 'before the proclamation he bought tobacco for six pence and seven pence a pound and since then, two shillings, seven groats eight groats and three shillings.[133] Another merchant witness, John

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[130] ibid, p. 106.
[131] Ibid, p. 106.
[132] Ibid, p. 401.
[133] Ibid. p. 404. A groat was a four-pence coin which was useful because so many calculations were done in marks or parts of marks. There was never a coin worth a

Welsh, was asked 'what quantities he conceives is taken in annually'. He answered, 'with advice of others, that Ireland cannot consume less than 500 tons a year, others said it exceeds 500 tons a year, nearly 140,000 pound at 2s 8d a pound'.[134] Other witnesses deposed that they knew of many merchants sentenced to the pillory or fined by the council-chamber in the presence of Wentworth, for having unsealed tobacco.[135]

The charge brought against the lord deputy concerning the abuse of the tobacco monopoly was just one of twenty-eight articles of impeachment and has been seen as a minor part in proceedings against the background of the whole trial.[136] Nevertheless this and other matters relating to trade and finance were crucial to ensure Wentworth's conviction. The trial was, of course, considerably biased in favour of the prosecution and it is very likely that the merchants chosen as witnessed had lost out personally to the tobacco and other monopolies and were hand picked by the prosecution for this reason. Nonetheless although they were only four in number, the merchants who went to London represented a very rich and powerful fraternity. While there is no known extant evidence of correspondence between these men and their counterparts in Dublin, it is clear that the merchant cohort formed a forceful lobby group in the Irish parliament and it is unlikely that there was no contact between them during the time the trial took place.

Many members of parliament returned in the elections of 1634 and 1640 were merchants who represented the old cities and boroughs they traditionally ruled.[137] In Dublin county Thomas Lutterall (Luttrelstown) was returned in June 1634 and Nicholas Barnewall (Turvey) and Peter Barnewall (Terenure) were elected in 1634

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mark, but people made gifts and valued objects in that unit which was two-thirds of a pound (13s 4d; half a mark was 6s. 8d).

[134] Ibid. p. 404.

[135] Ibid. pp 404, 405.

[136] Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, p. 206.

[137] McGrath, 'Biographical dictionary of the Irish House of Commons', i, p. 34.

and 1639. In Swords, Richard Barnewall (Laspoppell) was returned in 1634 and George Blackeny (Blackeny Hall) and John Taylor were returned in 1639. In Dublin city, two merchants were returned; Richard Barry in 1613, 1634 and 1639, and John Bysse in 1639.[138] A Dublin merchant, Arthur Champion, was elected to the borough of Enniskillen in 1639.[139] Significantly, Old English Catholic families such as the Plunketts, Dowdalls, Bellews, Dowdalls, Brices and Nugents, members of parliaments for Athboy, Navan, Drogheda and Westmeath all had family ties with Dublin merchants.[140] Many of these merchants played a significant role in Irish politics. The abuse of trading privileges, particularly in relation to the tobacco monopoly, was a huge point of contention in the Irish House of Commons in the months preceding Wentworth's trial and merchants became members of the large number of committees and sub-committees which were formed from the grievances committee set up in June 1640.[141]

On 10 November 1640 a committee was formed to consider the petition of the free merchants of Dublin and included all the merchants and lawyers in the house.[142] This and subsequent committees formed were ordered to 'make search and seize upon' any books and accounts and to 'break open chests, trunks, desks, chambers and closets anywhere' and to meet with the lords justices to acquaint them with resolutions concerning the monopoly of tobacco and to 'desire to the lords justices to

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[138] *Liber Munerum,* i, part 1, 'Lodge's Parliamentary Register', pp14-17; Brid McGrath, 'A Biographical Dictionary of the Irish House of Commons 1640-1641'; idem, 'The Irish elections of 1640-1641' in Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *British Interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005); Hugh Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland*, pp 222-26.

[139] *Liber Munerum*, I, part 1, 'Lodge's Parliamentary Register' pp. 16-7.

[140] Ibid, pp. 16-7; McGrath, 'A Biographical dictionary of the Irish House of Commons 1640-1641'.

[141] *CJI,* i, p. 137. For an analysis of the religious affiliations of committees formed during the five sessions of the 1640-41 parliaments see Michael Perceval-Maxwell, *The outbreak of the Irish rebellion of 1641*, chapter one.

[142] *CJI*, pp 164, 229.

licence merchants to sell tobacco'.[143] On 16 February 1641 a committee consisting of 'John Taylor and 'all the merchants of the house' were ordered to investigate Thomas Little and Joshua Carpenter for their abuse of the tobacco monopoly and for their 'contempt of the house' in relation to it. Nine days later, a committee was formed specifically to 'consider all petitions touching tobacco etc. [and] for the preservation of the tobacco and restoring same to the owners'.[144] On 24 February Carpenter was expelled for 'cruel and illegal proceedings in the monopolies of tobacco and yarn'.[145] It is clear that Little was imprisoned as it was ordered in the House of Commons on 1 March 1641 that at least two members of the committee should always be present when he was speaking to anyone and no letters or papers were to be delivered to him.[146] Carpenter and Little (who was Wentworth's secretary) were clearly the main targets of the merchant committees. Like the customs farm, tobacco monopolies were evidently given to those close to the administration and caused much resentment amongst the merchant community. It is significant that the merchants in the House of Commons worked closely with the lawyers in the house as it strongly suggests that they were gathering evidence against Wentworth's allies to provide evidence for the prosecution.

For example, John Bysse, recorder of Dublin, and Geoffrey Browne, both lawyers, were amongst the five members who prepared the declaration issuing writs for the disenfranchised boroughs in June 1640.[147] The committee formed on 10 November 1640 to consider the petition of the free merchants of Dublin included all

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[143] Ibid, pp. 171-187.
[144] Ibid, p. 186.
[145] Ibid, p. 181.
[146] Ibid, p.189.
[147] Kearney, *Strafford in Ireland,* p. 90. The other three were Sir William Sambach, Nicholas Plunkett and James Cusack.

the lawyers and merchants in the house.[148] Moreover, as well as John Taylor and all the lawyers of the house being included on the committee set up to investigate Joshua Carpenter and Thomas Little, Taylor and all the merchants of the house were added to a sub committee formed on 16 February 1641 concerned with investigation the fees of customs.[149] While Dublin merchants did not feature prominently in high politics they were clearly well represented in the House of Commons where the abuse of tobacco monopolies and other trading privileges were obviously of great concern. A select committee formed on 10 June 1641 specifically to deal with the grievances of merchants is evidence that they formed a particularly powerful lobby group in the Irish parliament of 1640/41.[150] Of course, the main points of contention throughout this period concerned land tenure, plantation and encroachments on positions of power and many members of the House of Lords were also politically active in the same parliament.[151] Unfortunately, there is no hard evidence to show specific links between the merchant cohort in the House of Commons and similar interest groups in the Lords but, given the close kinship, marital, political and business ties between merchants and gentry in the period, it is clear that there were many unifying issues that affected both groupings.

The one thing that tied all of the groups, Catholic and Protestant, in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords was resistance to English governmental polices aimed at confiscating lands as well political disenfranchisement and, in particular, hostility towards Wentworth whose arbitrary leadership threatened the New English elite as much as the Old English. This, of course, forced them into an

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[148] *CJI*, p. 164.
[149] *CJI*, p. 174.
[150] *CJI*, i, p. 229.
[151] For breakdown of political activism of the individual peers see Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Irish peers, political power and parliament', in Brady and Ohlmeyer (eds.), *British Interventions in early modern Ireland* pp. 179-85.

alliance which ultimately played a large part in the English parliament's drive to remove Wentworth from his position, which they succeeded in doing in the harshest possible manner. The coalition of both factions, which was always based on political expediency rather than any great will to form a coherent political group in opposition to the English government, was easily shattered as soon as the lord deputy was out of the way. Just four months after Wentworth's execution the Gaelic lords of Ulster, already devastated by plantation policies, rose in rebellion in the face of anti-Catholic rhetoric from the English parliament and from Scottish covenanters.[152]

The Catholic elite of Ulster obviously feared for their very existence. In the 'Remonstrance of the Irish of Ulster' it was stated amongst other things that

> It was plotted and resolved by the Puritans of England, Scotland and Ireland, to extinguish quite the Catholic religion ... to put all Catholics of this realm to the sword that would not conform to the Protestant religion. ... All the natives here were deprived of the benefits of the ancient fundamental laws, liberties and privileges that the subjects of Ireland, especially the Irish, were thrust out forcibly from their ancient possessions against law ... without hope of relief or redress.[153]

According to John Temple's account of the rebellion, 'all the noblemen of the English Pale professed their loyalty and asked for arms to protect their homes'.[154] The English administration, however, were unwilling to arm the Old English. This was based on a very real fear on behalf of the English administration following the failed plot to take Dublin Castle on 23 October that if they armed the men of the Pale that they would join with the rebels. While native Irish looked to exiled Gaelic chiefs on the continent

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[152] Micheál O'Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland* (Dublin, 1999), p. 22, 242.
[153] J.T. Gilbert, *A contemporary history of affairs in Ireland 1641-1652* (3 vols. Dublin, 1879), i, p. 242.
[154] Temple, *The Irish rebellion*, pp. 135-36.

for help initially at least the Old English Catholics continued to look for redress through parliamentary means. They emphasised the role of government in ending the conflict and issued a protestation against the insurrection.[155] The decision in November 1641 to prorogue parliament for fear that the rebellion would so reduce Protestant attendance as to leave the Catholics in a majority deprived the Old English of any legitimate means to express their grievances.[156] This finally undermined any hope of reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants and left many of the Old English Catholics with no choice but to join with the rebels. Some of the Old merchant families of the city with landholdings in the hinterlands of Dublin took an active part in the rebellion alongside their neighbours.[157] Significantly, within four months of the outbreak of rebellion, contemporary accounts of the situation in Dublin reported that a hundred rebel names were known in the town and they were 'most of our prime gentlemen'.[158] A year later, it was reported that over three hundred were indicted of treason in the King's Bench.[159] Many of those named in these accounts and other documents were members of the Dublin merchant/gentry community who were subsequently expelled from their positions in parliament, civic government and from the rolls of the city. In effect, the sectarian divide so actively promoted by Wentworth, and his predecessors, reached its fruition following the outbreak of rebellion which led the way for a full usurpation of Catholics in national and civic government and in the merchant community itself, which as the following chapter will show, was predominantly, if not exclusively, Protestant by 1647.

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[155] Clarke, *Old English in Ireland*, p. 171.
[156] Ibid.
[157] See Ní Mhurchada, *Fingal 1603-60,*, chapter 9 for a full and interesting account of the military commands in north County Dublin and of the impact of rebellion on warring neighbours.
[158] Richard, *The warlike, noble proceedings...*, p. 3.
[159] *A Faithfull Remonftrance of all the chiefe matters of Note,* March, 1642[3], p. 5.

## CHAPTER 7.

## THE AFTERMATH OF REBELLION 1641 – 1647: THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW COMMUNITY.

> By reason of his love and affection with the inhabitants of the city … he is granted free and he will be presented with it under the city seal.[1]

In June 1647 the parliamentary military commander, Colonel Michael Jones, assumed control of Dublin following the surrender of the city by the commander-in-chief of the Irish royalist army, James Butler, marquis (and later first duke) of Ormond. The following year the civic administration of Dublin bestowed the honorary freedom of the city on him. They ordered that the treasurer should give the mayor as much money 'as shall be expended in a banquet and other necessaries for his entertainment'.[2] It is noteworthy that they honoured Henry Cromwell in the same way nine years later but no such honour was bestowed on either Wentworth or Ormond on their elevation to their positions as lord deputy and lord lieutenant in 1633 and 1644 respectively.[3] In honouring the parliamentarian military commander in such a manner the civic publicly demonstrated their readiness to embrace the new regime. Although the city government historically remained loyal to the crown, given the political situation that prevailed in Ireland in the aftermath of rebellion, it is unsurprising that they switched loyalties at that time.

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[1] *CARD*, iii, p. 467.
[2] ibid.
[3] Henry Cromwell was conferred an honorary freeman of Dublin in April 1656. The city council had already gifted three pieces of plate to Cromwell at his son's public christening at Christchurch Cathedral. Although the city was desperate for money, the treasurer was told to pay for the banquet to celebrate his conferment as well as the three pieces of plate 'out of the first monies that come into the treasurer's hand'. Ibid, iv, p. 92-4.

Following the alliance of Old English Catholics and Gaelic Irish in December 1641 a general Catholic uprising quickly spread across the country.[4] In 1642 the 'rebels', backed by the Catholic clergy, formed the confederate association, an alternative system of government for Ireland centred in Kilkenny.[5] Militarily, the confederates controlled vast tracts of Ireland apart from enclaves in Dublin, Cork and north-east Ulster until 1647.[6] Developments in England and Scotland complicated the situation in Ireland. Reports of massacres of Protestants in Ulster prompted the Scottish covenanters to intervene militarily. On 3 April 1642 the Scottish army, under Robert Munroe, arrived in Carrickfergus and quickly secured east Ulster, south Munster and the Pale for the king.[7] Conditions were further complicated by the outbreak of civil war in England in August 1642 which forced parliament into an alliance with the Scots and the king into negotiations with the confederates. Desperately in need of troops and money for his military campaign against the parliamentarians in England, the king authorised Ormond to broker a deal with the confederates and throughout the 1640s peace negotiations dominated the political

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[4] For an analysis of why the rebellion happened, the ensuing military campaigns and the consequences on local populations see, Jane Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Ireland from independence to occupation*; Jane Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and restoration in the three Stuart kingdom* (Cambridge, 1993); Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland 1642-1649: a constitutional and political analysis* (Dublin, 1999); idem, (ed.), *Kingdoms in crisis: Ireland in the 1640s: essays in honour of Donal Cregan* (Dublin, 2001); Brian McCuarta, (ed.), *Ulster 1641. Aspects of the Rising* (Belfast, 1993); Perceval-Maxwell, *The outbreak of rebellion in 1641*; P.J. Corish, 'The rising of 1641 and the catholic confederacy, 1641-5'in *N.H.I. iii,* (1976), p. 307; Ní Mhurchadha, *Fingal 1603-60*, pp 229-284.

[5] For an analysis of confederate administrative structures and membership of the confederate association see Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland,* pp 205-36; McGrath, 'Parliament men and the confederate association' in Ó Siochrú (ed.) *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp 90-105.

[6] Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, pp 11-26; Padraig Lenihan, 'Confederate military strategy, 1643-7' in Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in crisis*, pp 158-175.

[7] Ó'Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, pp 11-26; Padraig Lenihan, 'Confederate military strategy, 1643-7' in Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in crisis*, pp 158-175.

landscape culminating with the abortive 'Ormond peace' in 1646.[8] During this period the confederates engaged in intense and bloody warfare against the Ulster Scots under Monroe and the royalists under Ormond. Following the failed Ormond peace the confederates, buoyed up with money brought from Rome by the papal nuncio, Giovanni Bastita Rinuccini, overcame Munroe at Benburb in County Tyrone and in Roscommon. They failed, however, to follow up on their successes and a protracted offensive against the royalists between September and November that year failed to take Dublin.[9] Although Ormond continued to discuss the possibility of a treaty with the confederates, the better prospect lay distinctly with parliament.[10] On 7 June 1647 Colonel Michael Jones accompanied by 2,000 soldiers arrived in Dublin to reinforce the city as a stronghold. Two days later he was appointed governor of Dublin and commander of the Leinster forces and on 19 June he accepted Ormond's surrender. On 30 September 1648 Ormond returned to Ireland from his exile in England and France and, in a last ditch effort to save the king's cause, concluded the second Ormond peace with the confederates in January 1649. Following the regicide of Charles I, Ormond and the confederates joined forces and had initial successes at Dundalk, Newry, Trim, and Drogheda. In October and November 1649 the parliamentarians secured control over north Leinster and Munster and Ormond's efforts to take Dublin were thwarted at Rathmines in August 1649. The confederate-

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[8] Robert Armstrong, 'Ormond, the confederate peace talks and Protestant royalism' in Ó'Siochrú, *Kingdoms in crisis*, pp. 122-140; John Lowe, 'The Glamorgan mission to Ireland 1645-6' in *Studia Hibernica,* iv (1964), pp 1555-96.

[9] This is despite the fact that O'Neill commanded an army of between 8,500 and 11,500 soldiers while Ormond had only 2,400 men to defend Dublin and the royalist outposts of Drogheda, Trim and Navan. *Ormond MSS* ns i, pp 108-9; Lenihan, 'Confederate military strategy', pp 168-169.

[10] For analysis of why Ormond chose to surrender the city to parliament rather than ally with the confederates see Ó Siochru, *Confederate Ireland*, pp 147-48.

royalist coalition suffered complete defeat in the subsequent war which dragged on until early 1653.[11]

The purpose of this chapter is not to provide a blow-by-blow account of the rebellion or the ensuing military campaign but, rather, to examine their effects on the inhabitants of the city, particularly its merchant community. This chapter will assess the economic consequences of the war on Dublin and the effect that governmental economic policies had on the city and its merchant community. It will look at the reaction of individuals to the financial hardships endured as a result of the need to sustain both the growing number of Protestant refugees and the increasing number of soldiers who arrived in the city in the aftermath of rebellion. It will analyse the difficulties the war at sea posed to trade and discuss how some Protestant merchants nevertheless managed to ship their vessels across the Irish Sea without interference from the parliamentary ships that patrolled the area. Finally, it will examine the reaction of both civic and central government to the crisis and demonstrate that the civic administration and its merchant community were predominantly if not exclusively Protestant by 1647.

The physical impact of such protracted and intense warfare had a devastating effect on Dublin, the leading centre of trade in Ireland and the axis of administrative power, where economic activity almost immediately ground to a halt.[12] Contemporary accounts show that the city experienced dreadful food shortages within a fortnight of the outbreak of rebellion. On 4 November 1641 a Dublin merchant, Joseph Watson, wrote to a business acquaintance in London and said,

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[11] Ó'Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, pp 177-204; Padraig Lenihan, 'Confederate military strategy, 1643-7' in Ó'Siochrú, *Kingdoms in crisis*, pp 158-175.
[12] For a discussion of the economic situation in Ireland in the aftermath of rebellion see Gillespie, 'The Irish economy at war', pp 160-80.

> We have no trade in our city more than needs require, that is for victuals, and candles & such like things, which men cannot be without, & we can get in no debts, for men will pay no monies. For my part I shall be a great loser by these times … we know not who are our enemies, and friends. Many enemies we have amongst us in the city.[13]

The situation was aggravated by government policies which were introduced in an effort to prevent the rebels getting their hands on supplies. The administration declared in November 1641 that all crops within ten miles of the capital be brought into the city and sold or burnt.[14] The following month they issued another proclamation ordering that no person was to resort to Dublin unless ordered by the lords justices, or to bring corn to the city.[15] Corn masters were to sell wheat, peas and beans at set prices and threatened that 'if corn masters do not send it to market, measures will be taken to prevent it falling into the hands of the rebels'.[16] The decision was rescinded the following January but by June it became apparent that the grain shortage was such that there would be no seed for the next harvest. Protection was subsequently promised to anyone prepared to plough and sow in the Dublin area and by encouraging fishermen to import grain.[17]

The daily influx of dispossessed Protestant settler refugees who thronged to the capital from various parts of the country exacerbated the economic situation in the city. According to Captain Jeremiah Schout, a Dutch merchant living on Merchant's Quay, the Protestant refugees sold what little they had to survive.

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[13] *The true copy of a letter sent from Mr. Joseph Watson merchant in Dublin, to Mr. Waterhouse citizen in London dated November 4 1641* (London, 1641).
[14] Steele, *Tudor and Stuart proclamations*, ii, pt. 1 p. 42; Gilbert (ed.), *History of the Irish confederation,* i, p. 249; Gillespie, 'The Irish economy at war', p. 164.
[15] Steele, *Tudor and Stuart proclamations*, ii, pt. 1, p. 42; Gillespie, 'The Irish economy at war', p. 163.
[16] Steele, *Tudor and Stuart proclamations,* ii, pt. 1, p. 42.
[17] Ibid, p. 44; Gillespie, 'The Irish economy at war', pp 163.

> 'For those Protestant gentry that ... hath escaped to Dublin, from the barbarous cruelty of the murdering rebels, men both well landed, and moneyed, yet have they been in Dublin, (after their moneys have been gone) glad to sell their plate, such as some by stealth could get thither, for half c, and two shillings an ounce, yea, and for eighteen pence an ounce, gold rings of two and twenty shillings weight, for seven shillings, and glad any man will be to befriend them, pewter three-pence, and two pence-halfpenny, and two pence a pound, and the best brass the same, bedding and other household stuff worth nothing.[18]

In an effort to alleviate the situation, the commons petitioned the city assembly saying that, 'there are a great number of poor which daily resort out of the country into this city'.[19] It was ordered that the aldermen in every ward should assemble all of the poor in the various parishes, to examine them to take their names which were to be returned to the mayor so that 'a course may be taken to send away such as the town are not able to relieve'.[20] The fact that many of the wealthy Protestants chose to flee the city exacerbated the situation further.

Barely a fortnight after the outbreak of rebellion the wives and families of many prominent government officials, including those of the lords justices and ex-lord deputy Wentworth, had already fled to England.[21] On 6 November George Rawdon, lieutenant colonel of the army, wrote from Chester saying that 'this town is full of

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[18] J. Schout, *Exceeding certain and true news from Munster, Wexford, Ulster, conough, Tiperarey, and Dublin; otherwise called the English Pale* ... (London, January 1644), p. 4.
[19] *CARD*, iii, p. 360.
[20] Ibid.
[21] The ladies mentioned were Lady Borlase, Lady Parsons, with her children, Lady Ware, Lady Lowther, Lady Catelin, Lady Osbaston, Lady Wentworth, Lady Meredith and Mrs. Carr, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47,* p. 345.

ladies and women of fashion from Ireland, with their trunks and stuff'.[22] He continued with a scathing attack on the gentry complaining that 'although private individuals have money, they will not give it for the public service'.[23] In January 1642 William Bladen, alderman of Dublin, echoed his sentiments. He wrote to his son that 'the most of our rich men and great men are fled from us into England, and have carried their estates with them, they have not left one penny to succour the poor distressed stripped people who are come hither for relief'.[24] He also complained that because these wealthy men fled the city, those left behind had to relieve the poor and to pay 'the common charges for the safety of the city'.[25] A particular grievance of Bladen and other Protestant members of Dublin society was the cost of billeting the growing numbers of soldiers in the city.

In February 1642 a Dublin merchant, Roger Cole, wrote to his mother saying that,

> the rebellion is so general, and their men so many, that if our army here, which with my lord lieutenants regiment now landed, and the 4 or 500 horse now come (as is reported) will make hardly 8000 men, 1000 whereof are inhabitants, and most of them householders, merchants and tradesmen of the city, and their servants.[26]

This was clearly an exaggeration as the number of foot soldiers in Dublin in 1644 amounted to around 4,000.[27] Nevertheless, as Raymond Gillespie has pointed out, as this comprised over ten per cent of the total peacetime population, the cost of

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] William Bladen to his son, *A true and exact relation of the chief passages in Ireland*, (London, 14 January 1642).
[25] Ibid.
[26] *News from Ireland, a letter written by Roger Cole, merchant in Dublin to his mother*, (London, 23 Feb. 1641).
[27] Gillespie, 'The Irish economy at war' p. 169.

providing food and lodgings for the army obviously proved disastrous not only for the city's finances but also for private individuals.[28] The general Protestant population of the city were greatly aggrieved that they had the burden of billeting enforced upon them. Jeremiah Schout wrote of the problem in January 1644,

> Protestants that have a long time been livers in the kingdom, citizens of Dublin, … by the cessing of soldiers put upon them … pay they have not had, nor their commanders to give them, by which means they have been eat and drunk out of all monies and goods to relieve them with, as by the sad relation of an Englishman … as many here can witness, was a man very able only by his painstaking and trade, yet he had such a company cessed upon him, that it utterly undid him.[29]

Early in 1643 they petitioned the House of Commons for redress for the 'grievous and lamentable case and condition of the poor distressed Protestants' of the kingdom.[30] Following the reading of the subsequent 'Humble Petition of his Majesty's Protestant Subjects in the Kingdom of Ireland' the members of the house agreed to send it to the lord lieutenant requesting that he present it to his majesty.[31] The issue of billeting soldiers on members of parliament had already been more aggressively addressed.

In November 1642 a committee was appointed in the House of Commons to ensure that 'no house-keepers that are members of this house may be cessed or billeted upon with any soldiers'.[32] By 13 December the lords justices had not replied and a new committee, including Dublin merchant Richard Barry, was formed to

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[28] Ibid, p. 169.
[29] Schout, *Certain and true news,* p. 4.
[30] *CJI,* p. 83.
[31] Ibid, pp 83, 84, 95, 101, 111.
[32] Ibid, p. 68.

'desire an answer to former messages'.[33] The following day the lords justices asked the committee to supply them with a list of inhabitants of the town that are members of the house who had soldiers billeted upon them as well as the number of soldiers, and they would 'ease them as much as they could'.[34] The house was clearly unhappy with this reply as it ordered the committee to return and demand a 'full and satisfactory answer'.[35] On 7 February 1645 a proclamation issued by Ormond revoked all previous protection from billeting but declared that privy councillors, all ecclesiastical dignitaries and churchmen, mayors, recorder, sheriffs, judges, king's council, clerk of the council, officers of justice, army captains and commissioners of new impositions in Dublin be exempt.[36] Soldiers billeted were to pay extra for their wives and children and no householder of Dublin was to be billeted on another.[37] While this most likely appeased the more prominent members of society it did not alleviate the problems for the ordinary inhabitants of the city, particularly its merchant community, whose livelihoods were already devastated by the government's ruthless economic policies.

Of course political expediencies determined the governments' harsh measures. Two administrations had to be supported in Ireland, that of the confederates as well as the Dublin government. Moreover, as Raymond Gillespie has said, the outbreak of the first English civil war in August 1642 eliminated the possibility of receiving any external help.[38] Trade between Ireland and England all but collapsed and the Dublin government looked to France and Amsterdam for supplies.[39] The breakdown of trade

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[33] Ibid, p. 75.
[34] Ibid, p. 76.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Steele, *Tudor and Stuart proclamations,* ii, pt. 1. p. 51.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Gillespie, 'The Irish economy at war' p. 170.
[39] *Ormonde MSS,* ns, ii, pp 159, 190; Gillespie, 'The Irish economy at war', p. 170.

and the subsequent food shortages created a major difficulty for both governments: supplying troops posed a particular problem for both sides and armies often had no alternative but to forage for cattle and other goods, or to capture enemy markets.

In early March 1643 a foraging party led by Colonel Crawford went into County Wicklow with about 600 foot and about 60 horse.[40] After capturing 860 oxen and cows and about 1,500 sheep, goats and lambs, the rebels pursued him to Bray and took the cattle 'but the colonel beat them all out and made them run, and came safe home with the loss of two men, but that plenty of cattle is not now known, through what are eaten and stolen from us'.[41] This poignant account described the return of the government's army to the city on March 27.

> Our army returned safe ... weary and hungry, not having any bread amongst the poor footmen in five days: the horsemen got somewhat aboard riding hard for it, the poor footmen could not do so, ... we commiserate their misery, but cannot help them: we can hardly help ourselves.[42]

The Dublin administration had great difficulty getting money from England to provide the army with food. In January 1643 the lords justices and council, following a continuous string of complaints regarding the scarcity of victuals for the army, reported that the soldiers '(pressed through wants) plundered divers of the inhabitants of this city, as well English and Protestants as others'.[43]

The plunder of stock and provisions was not always undertaken to feed the army or rebel troops but rather to benefit from the spoils of war. A year earlier a Dublin merchant, Thomas Richard, wrote that pillage of hides, tallow and other goods

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[40] *A full and true relation of the great victory against the rebels in Ireland*, p. 6.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] *Ormonde MSS*, ns ii, pp. 325-328.

were brought into Dublin after the overthrow of Dundalk.[44] Interestingly he said that these goods were proffered for sale to 'the Dutch in this town, the only men who have money now'.[45] It seems, indeed, that this was the case. Two Dutch merchants, Theodore Schout and Jacob Ablin, acted as agents for the English administration.[46] In 1643 they arranged a shipment of arms and ammunition from Daniel Wybrants, a Dublin merchant then based in Amsterdam. Schout and Ablin funded the venture themselves, used their own vessels and were told by the English administration to make sure that they took out proper insurance on the cargo for which the government was to pay £7,893 3*s* 0*d*.[47] Two years later the *Blessing of Amsterdam* arrived in Dublin with a consignment which the master, Charles Cant, left in the custody of Dutch merchants who gave him return merchandise for Rotterdam or Amsterdam.[48] Clearly the Dutch merchants in the city continued to carry on some level of trading activities and, more significantly, had access to ready money. Nevertheless the economic situation in Dublin remained at best precarious, even for members of the Dutch community.

There was a partial improvement in the economy in 1642 brought about by a good harvest, but the following year the harvest proved disastrous. The government's decision early that year to seize merchants' goods (promising payment in London) and trading these goods in England for supplies with which to relieve Dublin further devastated the city's merchant community.[49] In January 1644 Jeremiah Schout wrote

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[44] Thomas Richard, *The warlike, noble and prosperous proceedings of the Protestant army...* (London, 1642), p. 2.
[45] ibid.
[46] *Ormonde MSS*, ns. ii, pp 327-29.
[47] Ibid, p. 328-29; Copies of the bills of exchange in relation to some of these shipments are in *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47*, pp 605, 607, 686-87, 766.
[48] Examination of Charles Cant 15 July 1645, (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645-7, H.C.A. MS 13/247).
[49] Gillespie, 'The Irish economy at war', pp 170-71.

that 'bread [is] scarce and counted, butter very little, and as dear, and that place so plentiful heretofore'.[50] According to Schout, the only relief for the food shortage was fish from Bullock Harbour 'the only herring-place six miles from Dublin' which were sent up by boats.[51] He said there was 'infinite [supply] of cod, haddock, plaice and like fish, herrings, thirty for a penny for the poorer sort'.[52] The Protestant population of the city clearly suffered greatly. On 14 July 1646 Thomas Partington, a Protestant merchant, complained to the committee for Irish affairs that for the past two years he tried to secure permission from parliament for 'the poor Protestants of Dublin' to trade by sea.[53] He said that 'the Protestants are the only sufferers by this suspension. They have no money and now no shipping and are almost ruined … [and] prays that trade by sea may be allowed'.[54] The committee replied that although the petition was formally received nothing was done 'from a fear lest the enemy should receive a benefit thereby'.[55] They decided that if Partington conferred with his fellow Protestants in Ireland and guaranteed that if ships were allowed to trade with Dublin that they could be sure of not being detained there, that the committee would 'take a fit course in the matter'.[56] Such an assurance was obviously forthcoming as two weeks later Partington was given a licence to pass to Dublin with £100 worth of 'sea coal, hats, hat-bands, silk lace, and other necessaries for apparel'.[57] Despite Partington's complaint that Protestants had no shipping evidence shows that some

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[50] Schout, *Certain and true news,* p. 5.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] 'Further orders of the committee of both houses for Irish affairs', *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-1647* 14 July, 1646, p. 473.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid, 22 July, 1646, p. 477.

merchants managed to get supplies through to the city from England despite the substantial threat from the ongoing war at sea.

As the city was surrounded by rebel forces, the only way that provisions could get through to Dublin was to bring them in by sea. In 1644 a number of government proclamations promoted the export of available commodities, mainly hides and fish.[58] In December that year another proclamation declared that 'all persons of any nation may freely import wheat, corn, grain, salt, coals, victuals, or other provisions to Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk or Carlingford, without being forced or detained in any service whatsoever, the provisions to be free of all customs and impositions'.[59] The ongoing conflict between confederate privateers and the English navy made this a particularly difficult task. As Jane Ohlmeyer has pointed out, the war at sea was an important dimension of the ongoing conflict and naval encounters were both frequent and bitter.[60] From 1641 to 1647 while the city was under royalist control, confederate and parliamentarian men of war raided the harbour and seized merchant shipping.[61] As early as December 1641 the English administration complained about rebel activities at sea and expressed fears about the level of support for them. In a letter to the earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant, they wrote,

> we cannot relieve the forces there [at Drogheda] nor they us, but by sea, we made known to your lordship by our letters of the 30 November, since which time the rebels have, by their multitudes of men and assistance of seamen who readily join with them, seized and manned many boats on the

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[58] Gillespie, 'The Irish economy at war', p. 171.
[59] Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, ii, part 1, p. 50.
[60] Jane Ohlmeyer, 'Irish privateers during the civil war 1642-1650' in *The Mariner's Mirror,* lxxvi (1990), pp 119-33, p. 20. For an in-depth discussion of the nature and extent of maritime warfare during the 1640s see Murphy, 'The war at sea in Ireland, 1641-49'.
[61] Murphy, 'The war at sea in Ireland, 1641-49', pp 102-105, 139-141.

> sea coast betweixt this and Drogheda … and now they hinder us from intercourse by sea to be had between us and Drogheda and we fear will presently be able to intercept our passages between this and Chester, so far as multitudes of men and boats can do.[62]

In the early months of 1642 the government relied on two ships, the *Confidence* and the *Swan*, under the command of Captain Bartlett, to keep sea lanes open to England and to hinder confederates on the east coast.[63] During the summer of 1642 the lords justices expressed fears that confederates using Wexford men-of-war intended to try and intercept shipments of arms and provisions destined for Dublin and asked for extra warships to be sent from England to protect the harbour at Dublin.[64] That June privateers seized the vessel of a Dublin merchant, Daniel Hutchinson, and merchandise worth £50 and in the following month another Dublin merchant ship was robbed at sea by Wexford men-of-war.[65] In the spring and summer of 1643 the administration in Dublin retained responsibility for maritime defence of the city and the surrounding seaboard. On 11 May 1643 the lords justices advised William Lenthall, the speaker of the House of Commons in London, that a lack of English warships at sea 'made the rebels grow bold' and that they continued to seize vessels close to the bar at Dublin bay.[66] To deal with the problem the government in Dublin engaged a number of merchant ships to act as men-of-war along the coast and

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[62] Lords justices to the earl of Leicester, 3 December 1641, *Ormonde MSS*, ns. ii, p. 33.
[63] Lords justices to earl of Leicester, 23 July 1642, James Hogan (ed.), *Letters and papers relating to the rebellion between 1642 and 1646* (I.M.C. Dublin, 1936), pp 88-9.
[64] *Ormonde MSS*, ns. ii, pp 185-6.
[65] Ohlmeyer, 'Irish privateers during the civil war', p. 120.
[66] Ibid, ns. ii, p.280.

forwarded the charges to parliament in London.[67] These included the *William of London* employed to guard St. George's channel, the *Constance of Yarmouth* to patrol between the city and Wicklow and the *Adventurer of Dublin*, to clear pirates near Dublin for which its owner, Robert Smith, received £1,077 7*s* 6*d*.[68]

Despite the cessation of arms concluded in September that year, confederate ships continued to maintain an active presence in the St. Georges's channel in order to intercept merchant shipping between the west coast of England and Wales and Dublin.[69] Subsequently, throughout the 1640s the parliamentary navy targeted confederate ports and shipping and overseas trade remained hazardous and erratic.[70] In Dublin the harbour lacked the physical and defensive characteristics of many of the other principal havens on the Irish coast. To inexperienced navigators the sandbars at the mouth of the River Liffey proved disastrous and as the harbour lacked man-made defences to protect ships during times of war it is unsurprising that many boats were lost to enemy ships throughout the 1640s.[71] Nevertheless although they were always under threat from privateers or parliamentarians it was possible for some merchants to ship their vessels across the Irish Sea without any interference from the parliamentary boats that were active in the area.

Two customs certificates issued from Dublin port dated 24 May 1644 and 24 October 1644 give accounts of a number of shipments discharged at Dublin harbour

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[67] *Ormonde MSS,* ns. ii, pp 266, 291-93; James Hogan, *Letters and papers relating to the Irish rebellion between 1642-46 (*I.M.C. Dublin, 1936),

[68]Order for the payment of Robert Smith, September 1643, (T.N.A. Admiralty bill book 1643, MS admin 18/2 f. 14).

[69] Ohlmeyer, 'Irish privateers during the civil war', p. 124.

[70] By September 1643 the confederates secured control of the principal coastal towns of Galway, Limerick, Waterford and Wexford and many of the secondary ports in Ireland.

[71] For a description of the physical and defensive characteristics of Dublin harbour see Murphy, 'the war at sea in Ireland, 1641-1649', pp. 36-37.

between April and August that year.[72] It is possible that these goods were allowed to be shipped because of the cessation of arms agreed between Ormond and the confederates in September 1643 which went someway towards easing the situation in Ireland. The agreement contained a number of economic provisions which allowed for freedom of supply, free passage, intercourse, commerce and traffic.[73] Significantly, however, the customs certificate issued in October was compiled by the customs officers at the request of James Hunt, a Dublin merchant, and included the details of the shipments which were also entered on the earlier certificate.

The compilation of such information some months after the actual shipping of the goods accounts for some inconsistencies between the two documents. For example, the first certificate, dated 24 May 1644, records that Thomas Webb and Ralph Vizor discharged thirty barrels of wheat, barley malt and oats.[74] The other entry, dated 24 October 1644, says that three hundred barrels were offloaded.[75] Moreover, the May entry records that William Broye shipped his goods for the accounts of Richard Styles while the October entry states that Broye discharged ten tons of coals and ten barrels of malt and that Richard Styles entered out two butts of sack, thirty barrels of barley and four bags of wheat.[76] As Table 7.1 shows, all the goods entered on these certificates were much needed victuals and other necessary supplies and it might be argued that Hunt requested the certificate in order to claim

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[72] Dublin Customs Records, 24 May 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645-7, H.C.A.MS 13/247/ 16); Dublin Customs Records, 24 October, ibid, 13/247/17.
[73] Gilbert (ed.), *The Irish confederation,* ii, pp 306-7; Gillespie, 'The Irish economy at war', p. 171.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] ibid.

compensation from the government, as was promised a year earlier to merchants shipping provisions.[77]

Table 7.1: Goods entered at Dublin port April-August 1644.[78]

| Date | Merchant/master/goods | Place | Ship |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11 April 1644 | Hugh Montgomery (Master)<br>10 tons of coal; several sorts of corn. | | *Horwell of Donoghdee* |
| 15 May 1644 | William Boye (Master)<br>10 tons coal; 10 barrels of malt | | *Mary of Dublin* |
| 15 May 1644 | Richard Styles (Merchant)<br>2 butts of sack; 30 barrels of barley; 4 bags of wheat [10 bags of corn*] | Dublin | *Mary of Dublin* |
| 17 May 1644 | Ralph Vizor & Thomas Webb (Merchants of Dublin)<br>(George Ledway, master)<br>30[0]* barrells of wheat, barley, malt and oats; Ten filtches of bacon; 3 barrells of oatmeal; 9 tons of coal. | Dublin | *Thomas and Ralph of Milford.* |
| 1 June 1644 | Francis Fillin<br>700 bushels of malt, 8 barrels of wheat; 1 'kinderkin' of butter. | Milford | *Elizabeth of Milford* |
| 1 July 1644 | Frederick Panckart (Merchant)<br>6 butts of sack.(Merchant) | Dublin | *Fortune of Dublin* |
| 1 July 1644 | Richard Fenton (Merchant)<br>18 cwt of hops; 2 cwt of wool; 2 cwt of logwood; 6 weigh of salt; 6 barrels of malt, 8 barrells of wheat; 30 barrels of corn. | Dublin | *Fortune of Dublin* |
| 23 August 1644 | Thomas Webb (Merchant)<br>12 weigh of salt. (Merchant) | Dublin | *Thomas And Ralph* |
| 23 August 1644 | Richard Fenton<br>9 butts of sack. | Dublin | *?* |

[77] Dublin Customs Records, 24 May 1644 (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645-7, H.C.A. MS13/247/16).Dublin Customs Records, 24 October 1644, ibid, 13/247/17.
[78] Ibid.

These two documents, which are the only known actual copies of port entries certified in Dublin in existence for the whole period under review, are of crucial importance as they not only detail the types of commodities shipped, but also show that goods could arrive into Dublin safely and that merchant ships were often protected by parliamentarians that patrolled the Irish Sea and Dublin harbour.

According to the customs certificates the goods discharged 'were conducted by the parliament ships [from Milford] during the time that Captain Penn commanded in this harbour of Dublin'.[79] Other evidence from examinations taken in the high court of the admiralty in London illustrates that these were not the only shipments to arrive successfully in Dublin from England or Wales around that time. In July 1645 Richard Fenton of Dublin deposed that the previous November he went on a vessel from Dublin to Milford with a lading of herrings.[80] Other goods such as tanned hides, tallow and yarn were also shipped across the channel.[81] The same month Edward Oates deposed at Pembroke that some Dublin merchants freighted 'several vessels at several times' from Milford to Dublin with corn and other provisions and that they were able to unload them 'without molestation'.[82] He also stated that Ralph Vizard and Mister Silken, merchants from the *Susan,* loaded corn and other provisions in Milford for Dublin and returned without any hindrance.[83] Also in July 1645 a Dublin merchant, Thomas Galloway, deposed that since the previous Christmas he freighted-

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[79] Dublin Customs Records (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645-7, H.C.A. MS 13/247).
[80]Examination of Richard Fenton, 15 July 1645, (T.N.A. Examinations on commission, 1645-7, H.C.A. MS 13/247).
[81] Examination of Richard Harrow and Examination of Bagnet Harrow, widow, 15 July 1645, (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645-7, H.C.A. MS 13/247).
[82]Examination of Edward Oates, 15 July 1645. (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645-7, H.C.A. MS 13/247). The merchants were named as Waterhouse, Samuel & Pynne and Richard Palfrey, 'most of who were inhabitants of Dublin'.
[83] Ibid. Evidence shows that Ralph Vizard and the Ralph Vizor named in the Dublin customs certificate are the same person.

two small vessels from Milford to Dublin laded with corn.[84] According to Galloway, Nicholas Edds of Dublin was part owner of one lading and Thomas Price of Milford and Barnaby Vizard part owned the other. Galloway also related that about ten weeks earlier when the two ships laded at Dublin 'came over the bar' that they spied two ships which they thought were 'Wexford-men-of war'. They were in fact parliament ships which chased them and seized one of the vessels, the *Susan,* which was later freed.[85]

According to the examination of Charles Cant, the master of the *Blessing of Amsterdam*, he arrived in Milford from Amsterdam with a consignment for a customer in Pembrokeshire.[86] Because the king's forces were there they could not sell the provisions so they obtained a licence from Captain Swanley to bring the goods to Strangford. Cant related that he intended to stop off at Dublin and take over goods for Milford. When in Dublin bay they spied a 'Wexfordman' and they were 'forced into the harbour at half ebb'. He brought the goods ashore and left them in the custody of Dutch merchants who afterwards gave him merchandise for Rotterdam or Amsterdam.[87] It seems suspiciously convenient that a shipment that was firstly destined for Pembrokeshire and then Strangford arrived so easily in Dublin (and that Dutch merchants had a consignment ready for re-export). It was not the only time, indeed, that passes obtained from Swanley for shipments to Strangford arrived in Dublin.

According to Thomas Galloway several other vessels laden with corn and other provisions went from Milford and they obtained a pass from Captain Richard Swanley

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[84]Examination of Thomas Galloway, 15 July 1645, (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645-7, H.C.A. MS 13/247).
[85] Ibid.
[86]Examination of Charles Cant, 15 July 1645, (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645-7, H.C.A. MS 13/247).
[87] Ibid.

to go for Strangford 'but they all went to Dublin where they made sale of their corn' and returned back to the harbour of Milford.[88] It was likely that the *Susan,* which was seized by parliament ships in Dublin harbour also had a pass and that this is why it was later freed. Charles Cant related that several vessels came from Dublin to Milford laden with merchandise 'and they were permitted by Swanley to go to Bristol and other harbours without molestation'.[89] He also said that ships repaired to Dublin from Milford with corn and other provisions and returned back to Milford and the 'said master and merchants were never detained ... they were never troubled or arrested although they were well known to Swanley'.[90] A Dublin merchant, George Gilbert, stated that he was aboard the ship the *Thomas and Ralph*, which contained 'divers packs of yarn' some of which belonged to him and the rest to Thomas Webb, part owner of the ship.[91] They arrived at Liverpool about 6 or 7 September 'in company with Captain Clarke' and were not interfered with by parliamentary ships that patrolled the river there.[92] He said that he heard Thomas Webb say that the *Thomas and Ralph* came to the bay of Dublin from Milford Haven with wine and salt and that Webb also confessed that he carried corn in the ship from Milford to Dublin the previous June.[93] Gilbert deposed that the owners of the *Thomas and Ralph* were

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[88]Examination of Thomas Galloway, 15 July 1645, (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645-7, H.C.A. MS 13/247).
[89] Examination of Charles Cant, 15 July 1645, (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1645-7, HCA MS 13/247).
[90] Ibid.
[91] Examination of George Gilbert, of Dublin, merchant, 14 October 1644, (T.N.A., Examinations, 1644-5 H.C.A. MS 13/59, f. 518).
[92]Examination of George Gilbert, 14 October 1644, (T.N.A., Examinations on commission, 1644-5 H.C.A. MS 13/59, f. 518). Captain Clarke in the *Jocelyn*, Captain Tatnam in the *Peregrine* and Captain William in the *Samuel* in the service of parliament were in the river in Liverpool when they arrived and they rode quietly by the parliamentary ships there for three to four days.
[93] Examination of George Gilbert, 14 October 1644. (T.N.A. Examinations on commission, 1644-5 H.C.A., 13/59, f. 518v).

Thomas Webb and Ralph Vizard 'inhabitants of Dublin and there living' and that they bought the ship from Captain Swanley, admiral of the Irish seas.[94]

Ralph Vizard's examination elaborated on this account.[95] He said that he took three pieces of linen cloth, 'about sixty yards or thereabouts', which Thomas Galloway brought to Milford from Dublin on the *Mary of Milford* for the payment of a debt and that he took the cloth to Bristol to pay for other commodities. Vizard said he sailed from Dublin to Milford on licence from the marquis of Ormond which allowed him to pass to Milford or any other place in England or Wales to buy provisions and that he travelled from Milford to Bristol 'by pass from Richard Swanley'.[96] On his arrival in Milford he left 1,500 barrel staves with Swanley. He went on to Bristol but was arrested by Captain Hughes of 'a man-of-war for parliament' and was taken to Milford where he was later discharged by Swanley.[97] Obviously it was crucial that provisions were allowed to arrive in Dublin to relieve the ongoing food shortage in the city and it is unsurprising that the navy overlooked or even protected ships arriving into the harbour even if they did not have the necessary licences. What is particularly interesting here, however, is that all of the traders mentioned in these documents were clearly newcomers to the city.

Apart from Frederick Panckart, who entered the franchise of Dublin in January 1640 'by special grace' accompanied by 'payment of fine', there is no record of any of these merchants being enfranchised to the city.[98] It is possible, however, that James Hunt who requested the customs certificate in October 1644, was related to Raphael

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[94] Ibid.
[95] Dublin Customs Records, (T.N.A. Examinations on commission, H.C.A. MS 13/247).
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Panckart became one of the sheriffs of Dublin in 1644. See app. II 'Civic government 1620-1660, app. III 'Franchise rolls 1640-1660.'

Hunt, a merchant who was enfranchised 'by special grace' in October 1638 and later became sheriff in 1645 and mayor in 1650.[99] Moreover, the merchants who wrote letters above describing the situation in Dublin in the aftermath of the rebellion were either Protestant members of the Dublin merchant community or newly arrived settlers. For example, Joseph Watson was most likely the son or brother of Philip Watson, sheriff in 1637 and mayor in 1635, as he was one of three people including Margaret Watson, and another Dublin merchant, John Laney, who deposed that James Watson, Philips father, lost over £6,000 as a result of the rebellion.[100] Thomas Richard was enfranchised in October 1638 'by special grace' the same year as Theodore Schout, the father of Captain Jeremiah Schout the Dutch merchant who lived in Merchant's Quay. It is possible that some of the other merchants mentioned were members of the Dutch community or that they were English merchants taking advantage of the government's proclamation a year earlier that allowed people of 'any nation' to import provisions freely.[101] It seems clear however that merchants importing or exporting victuals or other goods needed to have a good relationship with Captain Swanley, or with another member of the English administration to ensure their safe passage across the Irish Sea and in Dublin harbour itself. Catholic merchants were highly unlikely to form such an association and, even if they were so inclined, anti-Catholic policies implemented in Dublin in the aftermath of rebellion ensured that they were not in a position to do so.

The feelings of intense fear and mistrust by Protestants against their Catholic neighbours were manifested in a contemporary account written within a month of the uprising which said,

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[99] See app. II, 'Civic government 1620-1660'; app. III, 'Franchise rolls'; app. III A, 'Yearly franchise admissions'.
[100] Deposition of Margaret Watson et al. (T.C.D. 1641 depositions, MS 810, 265r-v).
[101] Steele, *Tudor and Stuart proclamations*, ii, pt. 1, p. 50.

> all things are most excessive dear in the city, neither can they scarce buy anything for the country dare not venture to bring any commodities to the city for the rebels should assault them mother of all treachery, and nurse of treason. For their inveterate malice is now grown to the full perfection of disloyalty.[102]

Another anonymous writer wrote that year that 'the papists without doubt are rebels at heart'.[103] In April 1642, the growing tensions between the Catholic and Protestant communities in the city were also highlighted in a letter written by a Dublin merchant, Thomas Richard.[104] He wrote that, 'our neighbours in High Street are daily found out to be coadjutors and assistance to the rebels, by letters found in the pockets of the slain'.[105] In January 1644 Captain Jeremiah Schout wrote of the 'devilish priests of antichrist that were the incendiaries of this evil'.[106] The Protestant, English inhabitants of Dublin clearly lived in fear of a 'rebel' attack and suspicions of conspiracy and massacre were directed at members of their fellow citizens. An anonymous pamphlet written in November 1641 relates how the 'rebels' plotted for 'the ruin of the whole kingdom' when, 'at the dead of night' on the 11 November five hundred or more rebels cast 'balls of wild-fire' over the city wall.[107] Five houses were burned to the ground and it quickly took hold of 'many other houses'. The fire was quickly quenched by the 'labour of the people'.[108] According to this report,

> There was an English merchant lived in one of those houses … whose estate was supposed to be no less than £35,000 & he lost most part of his

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[102] *A wild-fire plot found out in Ireland* ( London, Nov. 1641), p. 1.
[103] *Last News from Ireland* (London, 1641), p. 1.
[104] Richard, *The warlike, noble proceedings,* p.2.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Schout, *Certain and true News*, p. 6.
[107] *A wild-fire plot found out in Ireland,* p. 2.
[108] Ibid.

> estate there. The rest were all Protestants, men of very good fashion, and reputation: but by the reason of the calamity, now scarce worth anything....the rogues are very resolute, for they put both [sic] man, women, and children to the sword ... without any distinction of sex with cruel tyranny. But they seldom appear armed; so that sometime they are not known, and so under pretence of Protestants, they cut their throats. [109]

Three months later it was reported by Thomas Landon, clerk to Sir Charles Coote, the commander of the army in Ireland, that four aldermen 'escaped' from the city dressed in women's apparel 'under the pretence of soldiers wives'.[110] Landon was concerned because it seemed obvious to him that they must have had help from members of the army as the aldermen 'left nothing behind them valuable that was portable', and had 'fair time' to make their getaway.[111] Landon's primary concern, however, was the defence of the city. He reported that the previous Sunday the rebels attacked three English ships in Dublin harbour which contained much needed meal and ammunition. Landon gave an account of how the rebels threw 'fire balls' at the ships and of the ensuing melee between the rebels and the army in the harbour. As a result the city lost sixteen lasts of gunpowder, bullets, muskets and pikes as well as 'spades, shovels, matlocks and wheelbarrows whereof the city was in great need'.[112] He said that Dublin was surrounded by rebel troops and he feared that the escaped aldermen 'might give light to the rebels where the city may be more seizeable'.[113] He also noted that 'it puts the commanders both of state and war into a grounded jealousy that they

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[109] Ibid, p. 2.
[110] The four aldermen were Robert Mahon, Patrick Ovannian, Peter Welsh and Dominick Rutter. Thomas Landon (chief clerk to Sir Charles Coote), *The last true news from Ireland* (London, 15 Feb. 1641), p. 4.
[111] The lords justices seized their houses and two corporals and six common soldiers were held in prison. Ibid, p. 4.
[112] Ibid, pp 1-3.
[113] Ibid, p. 3.

have strong intelligence in the city'.[114] Indeed, the military crisis in the city exacerbated the economic situation and throughout the 1640s the attention of the municipal government was mainly directed at the fortification of the city against the rebels and the maintenance of troops.

An essential prerequisite to membership to the franchise of the city was that every citizen 'shall have from time to time [and for all time hereafter, during every of their natural lives] a sufficient musket or calliver ready for his majesties services, or the city's, as often as the occasions requires'.[115] A month after the outbreak of rebellion the lords justices, Parsons and Borlase, issued a proclamation ordering all persons 'citizens and soldiers' over seventeen years of age to action within twelve hours 'with shovels, spades, spittles, pickaxes etc. to help in constructing fortifications for the city and to continue until all the work is done'.[116] To ensure that this order was obeyed the mayor of the city was subsequently given the power to force the inhabitants of Dublin to work on the trenches and was given the assistance of the army when necessary.[117] Not everyone, however, complied with either their inherent duties as citizens or to the government's orders.

In April 1642 the commons of the city sent a petition to the lords justices and council declaring their loyalty and obedience to the crown of England.[118] They stated that 'since the conquest of this kingdom by the crown of England', they had always defended the city against rebels and that since the beginning of 'this present rebellion' they did the uttermost in their power and ability to 'defend and maintain this city for

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[114] Ibid.
[115] *CARD*, ii, p. 324.
[116] 'A proclamation for the immediate fortifying for the city of Dublin and the suburbs thereof' 22 Nov. 1641, Steele, *Tudor and Stuart proclamations*, ii, pt.1, p. 42.
[117] *CARD*, iii, p. 400.
[118] ibid, iii, pp 392-93.

the crown of England against all men, without distinction of nation or religion'.[119] They said it was to their 'great grief' that several freemen of the city, including members of the common council, were 'adhering to the rebels' and refused to come to the city to 'give their advice and assistance to the city's government'.[120] To clear the city of 'such a scandal', the assembly subsequently ordered that thirteen named members of the roll, including nine merchants, should be discharged from the common council 'for that they do absent themselves from affording their best council for the defence of this city at this present, and all and every of them shall be crossed out of the roll of numbers'.[121] Later that year a commission, dated 9 September 1642, was issued at Dublin by the lords justices, Parsons and Borlase, to the mayor, the recorder and others, directing them to imprison all Catholic clergy and expel all 'papists' from the city.[122] They were to search the houses of all Catholics as well as Protestants whose wives or children were Roman Catholics.[123] They were also to 'examine, search, inquire and find out' what papist men, women and children 'of what quality or degree so ever' had come into the city or suburbs since the previous Easter.[124] They were directed to enquire,

> where they lodge now or have lodged since either in the houses of papists or Protestants; what their names and surnames are, and of what sept or kindred they be; whence they came; what occasions called them thither;

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[119] Ibid.
[120] ibid.
[121] Sir Richard Browne, baronet and alderman, and William Turner, alderman, Christopher Mapas, merchant, Christopher Turner, merchant, William Dowdall, merchant, Simon Barnewall, saddler, Christopher Handcock, merchant, Christopher Wolverston, merchant, Thomas Arthur, merchant, Edmond Warren, merchant, Peter Bath, merchant, James Lyneham, merchant, and John Goulding, tailor, *CARD*, iii, pp. 392-93.
[122] *CARD*, iii, pp xxvii-vix.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.

> what now detains them there; and all other matters concerning their being there which you or any two of you shall think fit. … Then you, or any two or more of you, do command so many of them … to depart from the said city and suburbs within so many hours as to you or any two of you shall be thought fit, and not to return back to the said city or suburbs without special licence from us or our justices, or other chief governor or governors of this our kingdom for the time being.[125]

They were also instructed to warn that Catholics were 'commanded away' and if anyone, Catholic or Protestant, should presume to entertain or lodge them in their houses, 'they will answer their so doing at their extreme peril'.[126] The city officials were also ordered to be 'diligent and frequent' in such searches.[127] Another petition presented by the common assembly in September 1647 professed the same loyalties to the crown as that in 1642 stating that 'several of the freemen and inhabitants of this city do still remain among the rebels and that they do not come … to give their advice and assistance to the government of the city'.[128] Subsequently, twenty-eight citizens, fifteen of whom were merchants, were struck off the rolls of the city.[129] Given the policies introduced by the English administration during the 1640s, it can be presumed that they were actually dismissed because they were simply Catholics.

It was clearly the objective of the English administration and Dublin's civic government to rid the city of its Catholic population. Their counterparts in the Irish House of Commons faced a similar purging of their numbers which, at face value,

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[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid, pp 392-93.
[129] Ibid, The merchants dismissed were Richard Barnewall, John Brett, Robert Browne, John Cheevers the younger, Edward Delemere, James Devinish, Peter Dongan, Robert Duffe, James Fitzgerald, William Higgins, Thadee Kinine, Peter Quin, Ralph St. Lawrence, Nicholas Synnott and John Wetherby,

seemed to be a direct reaction to their involvement with the rebels. According to Thomas Richard, in February 1642 a hundred rebel's names were known in the town and they were 'most of our prime gentlemen'.[130] A year later, it was reported that over three hundred were indicted of treason in the King's Bench.[131] Most likely the numbers given by these writers are exaggerated as they only actually identify five or six individuals. There is very little hard evidence linking individual Catholic Dublin merchants with the rebels and it is significant that those named were all prominent Dublin elite or members of the merchant community. Sir Nicholas White and his son, Captain Nicholas White, are named by both writers who related that Sir Nicholas and his son were quickly committed to the castle of Dublin along with Alderman Janes [Edward Jans] and Seagrave of Cabra, 'all rich men, both for lands and money'.[132] Richard also named two of the rebels involved as 'one Ashes man' and alderman Begg.[133] The 'Ashes man' was most likely Richard Ashe, a Dublin merchant, who remained Catholic until after 1641 when he converted, and was one of the few New English in the confederate government in 1642.[134]According to this report, Ashes was taken whilst carrying a five pound bag of gunpowder to the rebels and was committed to the castle alongside alderman Begg (a Dublin merchant who was sheriff in 1632 and mayor in 1640) whose goods 'were sealed up for no less (supposed) than

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[130] Richard, *The warlike, noble proceedings...*, p. 3.
[131] *A faithfull remonftrance of all the chiefe matters of note,* March, 1642[3], p. 5.
[132] Ibid, p. 2; *newes from Ireland*, June, 1642, p. 2.
[133] David Begg, sheriff in 1632 and mayor in 1640, gave his occupation as merchant on the statute staple Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 1762, 1871, 1874, 2049, 2071, 2073, 2093, 2088, 2890;
[134] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 206, 235, 468; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/25, p. 70); McGrath, 'Membership of the Irish House of Commons', p. 124; idem, 'Parliament men and the confederate association' in Micheál O'Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in Crisis: Ireland in the 1640s,* (Dublin, 2001), p. 96. Richard Ashe is named as a merchant in Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 206, 235, 468; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/25, p. 70).

treason'.[135] Thomas Carte wrote that Edward Jans was a 'considerable merchant in Dublin, a man of fair character, but a Roman Catholic'.[136] Carte also noted that Jans was imprisoned in the castle, and 'thereby incapacitated to attend his own business, or manage the affairs entrusted to him by others'.[137] Significantly, Jans was a close associate of Ormond and his case received a large amount of attention both in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons, where a debate ensued about whether or not his indictment for treason was valid and whether or not he should be bailed.[138]

The grounds for Jan's treason are unrecorded in the debate. Richard, however, throws some light on the subject. He wrote, 'it is thought it will go very hard with the alderman, he is charged with sending intelligence to the rebels'.[139] Although the lords returned a verdict on August 16 that it was agreeable to bail Jans, the case was sent to the lords justices who decided that 'the bailing of him would be a precedent for others, and in conclusion did not think fit to do it'.[140] Significantly, another Dublin merchant alderman, Robert Arthur, was arrested for treason an was included on the list of outlaws compiled at Kilmainham in Dublin in April 1643. [141] In May 1643 the king ordered that he be granted a custodian for all the houses and goods and all subsequent rents in the city of Dublin belonging to a number of Catholics including

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[135] Begg's occupation was also given as merchant, *A faithfull remonftrance of all the chiefe matters of note,* p. 4.
[136] Carte, *Ormonde,* iii, p. 574.
[137] Ibid, p. 574.
[138] Contemporary concepts of treason and impeachment were the subjects of ongoing debate in the English House of commons since the 1620s. For a discussion on this topic and the proceedings in the Irish parliament in 1641 see John McCafferty, 'To follow the late precedents of England': the Irish impeachment proceedings of 1641' in D.S. Greer and N.M Dawson, *Mysteries and solutions in Irish legal history* (Dublin, 2005), pp 51-72.
[139] Richard, *The warlike, noble* proceedings…, p. 3.
[140] *Lord's Jn. Ire.,* p. 184,
[141] Simington, Robert C and MacLellan, John (ed.), 'Oireachtas library, list of outlaws, 1641-7' in *Anal. Hib.*, 23 (1966), 317-67.

five merchants, Robert Arthur, James Bath, Christopher Chamberlain, Edward Allen and Philip Hoare.[142]

The previous June, forty-one members of the House of Commons in Ireland were 'expelled and excluded' from the house and it was ordered that writs for new elections be made to replace them. The members expelled included Nicholas White, John Taylor (replaced by Charles Forster), George Blackney (replaced by Christopher Huetson), Peter Barnewall (replaced by John Sherlock), and Nicholas Barnewall (replaced by Sir Thomas Armstrong).[143] The same month a further act ordered that, 'in future parliaments, no man shall be admitted to sit, and have vote … until every such member shall first take the oath of supremacy'.[144] The introduction of the act of supremacy as a prerequisite to attending parliament essentially brought Catholic participation in government to an end. Already denied their voice in local government, the expulsion of Catholics from national government meant that their co-religionists no longer had representatives to protect their economic or other interests.

Besides those expelled from commons, other merchant/gentry were known to be involved with the rebels. For example, the Seagraves of Cabra and Killeglan along with the Barnewalls played an important part in the muster on the Hill of Tara.[145] Francis Barnewall, son of Barnewall of Lispoppel, Matthew Caddell and his brother William were also named in the Dublin depositions as captains of the rebels as was Thomas Cheevers of Monkstown.[146] In the early part of the rebellion Alderman

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[142] 'The king to the lord lieutenant and lords justices', *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1633-47,* p. 381.
[143] *CJI*, p. 37; *Liber Munerum,* 'Lodges parliamentary register', p. 14. Both Forster and Sherlock were from established New English backgrounds while the other two were newly arrived settlers.
[144] Ibid, p. 31.
[145] Seagrave & Sadlier, *Seagrave family;* Elrington Ball, *History of County Dublin,* vi, p. 96.
[146] Deposition of Robert and Francis Booth, (T.C.D. 1641 depositions, MS 810, f. 119); Deposition of John Brackenbury (T.C.D. MS 810, f. 198).

Robert Arthur was imprisoned for giving sanctuary to the rebels at his home in Hackettstown County Dublin.[147] It seems evident that Richard Duff, a son of Sir Thadee Duff, was involved in the rebellion also. According to the deposition of Garrett Cooley of Ardee County Louth, he met Duff who he heard had fled from Dublin and was living among the rebels since Christmas.[148] Although Duff denied any involvement, he admitted that he left Dublin three days before Christmas 1641 and that he had no other leave or licence to travel except 'a mayor's ticket to go out Dublin gates.'[149] He also confessed that he spent time with a number of leading confederates and ate and drank with them in his brother-in-law's house.[150] Duff was subsequently among the merchants expelled from the rolls of the city in 1647.[151] Significantly, the Catholic members of parliament, for the most part, entered into the confederate government.[152]

As Micheál Ó'Siochrú has shown, merchants from other towns played a prominent role in the confederate assemblies. Between 1642 and 1649 a majority of assembly meetings took place in the house of Kilkenny merchant, Robert Shee, while the leading families of Cork, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, Waterford and Wexford were all represented.[153] While these merchants rarely appeared on any confederate councils or committees, they provided desperately needed loans and financial assistance to the confederate government and controlled the vital foreign trade markets.[154] As Dublin was a royalist stronghold, Catholic merchants who remained in

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[147] *A true relation of such passages and proceedings of the army at Dublin …* (London, 1642), p. 2.
[148] Deposition of Garrett Cooley, (T.C.D. 1641 depositions, MS 834, f. 26).
[149] Deposition of Richard Duffe, (T.C.D. 1641 depositions, MS 810, f.210).
[150] Ibid.
[151] See above.
[152] See McGrath, 'Parliament men and the confederate association', pp 90-105.
[153] Ó'Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland*, pp 216-17.
[154] Ibid.

Dublin had no such control of trade. Indeed, it is evident from Richard Duff's deposition that the Catholic inhabitants of Dublin were essentially under house arrest as they needed a special pass to travel out of the city.[155] Similarly, the commission issued in September 1642 stipulated that once expelled they also needed a similar licence to return.[156] Catholics were also subject to 'diligent and frequent' searches of their houses and it is unsurprising that many, such as the four aldermen who escaped dressed in women's apparel, fled the persecution of Catholics in the city and, most likely, joined with the rebels. What is surprising is that members of the Catholic community remained active in municipal government until 1647. It is even more surprising that one of these merchants, Richard Barnewall, was elected as mayor at the Easter sitting of the assembly that year. It was recorded that October however that William Bladen, who replaced Sir James Carroll as alderman in 1642, held the position.[157] It is significant indeed that Barnewall and the other twenty-seven members of the common council were expelled at Bladen's first sitting.[158] Given their long history of militant recusancy it is very likely that many more Dublin merchants were involved in the rebellion or at least financed the confederates and that this is why some were expelled from the city rolls in 1642 and 1647 along with their counterparts in the House of Commons. It is equally probable that some were excluded simply because they were Catholics. The decision to honour the parliamentarian leader in such a public manner just four months after their dismissal was clearly a pragmatic move by the city council who wanted to convince the new governor that they intended to support the parliamentary regime. It also demonstrated a blatant Protestant ethos and clearly shows that deliberate anti-Catholic policies

[155] Deposition of Richard Duff, (T.C.D. 1641 depositions, MS 810, f. 210).
[156] *CARD*, iii, pp xxvii-vix.
[157] Ibid, iii, p. 345.
[158] Ibid, iv, p. 449.

introduced in the aftermath of rebellion finally accomplished what governments in the preceding thirty years failed to: the transition to Protestantism of a city, its government and, most particularly, its merchant community.

## CONCLUSION

The primary aim of this thesis was to fill an obvious historical gap and investigate the importance of Dublin and its merchant community in early seventeenth-century Ireland. The lack of sources for many areas of research has proved both challenging and frustrating. Nevertheless by adopting a thematic approach it was possible to utilise available extant material to their best advantage and reconstruct the various strands that made Dublin and its merchant community stand out in early seventeenth-century Ireland.

An analysis of various governmental reports and letters, examinations and limited statistics, some of which have been previously underutilised or unknown, clearly shows that despite obvious obstacles to trade presented by the sandbar in the harbour and the threat from pirates in the bay, Dublin undisputably emerged as the major port in Ireland and, significantly, continued to outgrow and exceed that of any other Irish port throughout the period. It has often been implied that Dublin's trading relations was solely within the Irish Sea region. Although Anglo-Irish trade almost certainly accounted for the bulk of Dublin's traffic a significant amount of inter-continental trading obviously existed. For example, recent studies on archival holdings relating to Irish trade and mercantile communities across Europe illustrate that individual merchants or merchant families from Dublin, Waterford and Galway were active in the Iberian trade network for generations and that Irish-Iberian trade was well established at the beginning of the early modern period.[1]

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[1] See the recent series of essays in Dickson, Parmentier and Ohlmeyer (eds), *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and*

Despite restrictions imposed on foreign traders, both English and Dutch merchants could clearly make a lucrative living in early seventeenth-century Dublin. Christopher Lowther's correspondence shows that Dublin merchants were prepared to go into partnership with a foreign merchant if it seemed a lucrative business proposition and that individual Dublin merchants had ongoing trading links with European trading ports.[2] The fact that many Dutch merchants chose to settle in the city in the early seventeenth century shows that Dublin was seen as a strategically important trading centre. Most of these foreign nationals were not enfranchised to the city until after 1638 which meant that they were subject to many trading restrictions. Nevertheless, although they were unsuccessful in 1631 in their bid to remove the three-penny customs imposed on all foreign traders, they were still willing to continue operating in the city. The fact that Dublin and Dutch merchants seem to have kept their mercantile systems separate suggests that there must have been enough trade to sustain both communities and warrant competition between the two.[3]

Although the merchant community of Dublin was previously dismissed as insignificant, through a painstaking analysis of a variety of sources this thesis has shown that over five hundred and fifty individuals were noted in the records of the period as merchants. It is impossible to know just how many of these were merchants or retailers who dabbled in trade or how many of them operated at any given time. An examination of the previously neglected Tholsell court records has shown that many were small merchant-retailers or tradesmen of little means. Many Dublin

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*eighteenth centuries* (Dublin, 2007). In particular see Schuller, 'Irish Iberian trade from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries', pp 175-95.

[2] For example see Christopher Lowther to Rowland Jackson, 29 Nov 1632, Hainsworth (ed.) *Commercial papers*, p. 37.

[3] Christopher Lowther's correspondence always differentiated between the two communities. For example see Christopher Lowther to Rowland Jackson, 29 Nov 1632, Hainsworth (ed.) *Commercial papers*, p. 37; to Sir John Lowther 7 Oct 1632, ibid, p. 8.

merchants were clearly not as affluent as some of the London merchants who gained entry into the exclusive trading companies in England. For example, of a sample 140 London aldermen, half of whom were merchants, fifty-five died worth more than £20,000, excluding land-holdings, and seventy-eight were worth between £10,000 and £20,000.[4] According to Keith Wrightson, this gave them an annual income of between £1,000 and £2,000 which placed them on par with major landowners.[5] Nevertheless while merchant venturers of this ilk monopolised a great deal of London's overseas shipping, the dominance of London's Company of Merchant Adventurers and the increasingly flourishing Levant and East India companies was challenged by lesser merchants outside of these groupings who believed that retailers should also be given licences to trade.[6] Most of these were small men who doubled as ships' captains and shopkeepers who rarely left estates that exceeded one or two thousand pounds and were frequently much smaller.[7] As the merchant guild in Dublin included drapers, tailors and other tradesmen amongst its membership it would seem that Dublin merchants were like many of their counterparts in London and other provincial port towns in England. This does not mean however that Dublin merchants should be dismissed as insignificant.

Like many other urban trading centres in Ireland, England and Scotland, Dublin merchants formed an affluent and powerful coterie who controlled every

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[4] Brenner, 'The civil war politics of London's merchant community', p. 64; Wrightson, *Earthly necessities,* pp 190-91.

[5] Wrightson, *Earthly necessities*, p. 191.

[6] Thomas Johnson, *A Discourse consisting of motives for the enlargement and freedom of trade* p. 8. For competition between the various trading companies in London see Brenner, 'The civil war politics of London's merchant community', pp 53-107; For Bristol see Patrick Mc Grath, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol,* pp 1-23; for York see Maud Sellers (ed.), *The Acts and Ordinances of the Eastland Company,* p. 3.

[7] The five great merchants of the Eastland trade in the early seventeenth century were flanked by forty-eight regular exporters and seventy-five minor participants. Wrightson, *Earthly necessities,* p. 192.

important aspect of public life in the city.[8] It has previously been highlighted that merchants formed the majority social grouping on the board of aldermen.[9] This thesis has delved deeper and shown that merchants formed the majority in all positions in civic government and that they completely dominated the regulation of finance in the city. In their capacity as civic leaders as well as masters of the trinity guild, Dublin merchants were the real force of power in the administration of municipal law. They also had complete dominance on the regulation of trade and finance, superintended Dublin port and regulated commodity prices, which not only gave merchants control of the city, but also gave them the means to increase their individual wealth.

The level of Dublin merchant's affluence is particularly obvious from their day to day business and financial practices. Although systems of banking and related credit networks, however rudimentary, existed in Europe from ancient and medieval times they did not develop in England until the early modern period as a result of a rise of metropolitan markets and the subsequent increase in commercial credit.[10] Within the nexus of business and finance Dublin merchants clearly carried out these same business and commercial practices as their English and European counterparts. Their involvement in the webs of credit that existed in the period is remarkable as is

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[8] For example see Bennett, *The rolls of the freemen of the city of Chester' part 1 1392-1700*; E. Patricia Dennison, David Ditchburn & Michael Lynch (eds), *Aberdeen before 1800* (Aberdeen, 2002), p.187; McGrath, 'The Merchant Venturers and Bristol shipping in the early seventeenth century' pp 69-80; Walton, 'The merchant community in Waterford in the 16th and 17th centuries', pp 183-192. The system of election in Belfast was different in that the city was sited on land which was owned entirely by one family. In the seventeenth century it was owned by the marquis of Donegal who had the ultimate say in who got elected. Nevertheless burgesses were elected by their peers and the city government was still dominated by merchant families. Agnew, *Belfast merchant families*, pp 76-81; Peter Roebuck, 'The Donegall family and the development of Belfast 1600-1850', in P. Butel & L.M. Cullen, *Cities and merchants, French and Irish perspectives on urban development 1500-1900* (Dublin, 1986), pp 125-136.

[9] Lennon, *Lords of Dublin,* pp 65-9.

[10] Eric Kerridge, *Trade and banking in early modern England* (Manchester, 1988).

their large scale activity in money lending, particularly on the statute staple which by the early seventeenth century evolved as a sophisticated, well-developed financial regulatory body essentially run by the merchant community of the city. The obvious affluence of many of these Dublin merchants, demonstrated in their business and financial transactions, was also evidenced in their speculation in the property market.

Recent studies of landholdings in Connacht have shown that the more affluent of Irish society, including many Galway merchants, used their cash surplus to speculate in property purchase.[11] Similarly, Julian Walton has shown that Waterford's civic merchant families had a long tradition of landowning dating back to the twelfth century and that by the seventeenth century many became major merchant/gentry landholders while continuing to hold their positions in civic government.[12] This thesis has shown that the accumulation of personal wealth and their position in civic government allowed Dublin merchants to acquire the majority of leases in the city as well as substantial landholdings in the county of Dublin and the Pale. By using previously unexplored sources and by scrutinising other extant records it was possible to construct a statistical analysis of Dublin merchant property holdings. This showed that they held substantially more properties in the city and elsewhere than has previously been supposed. Land purchase not only offered great security of capital and clearly brought substantial incomes in rents and tithes. Moreover, although it was important for them to hold onto their 'merchant' status to uphold their rights and

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[11] Áoife Duignan, 'politics and war in Connacht, 1641 – 1649', pp 10-30; Raymond Gillespie, 'Lords and Commons in seventeenth century Mayo,' in Raymond Gillespie and Gerard Moran (eds.), *'A various country': essays in Mayo history, 1500-1900* (Westport, 1987), pp. 44-66; Mary O'Dowd, 'Land and Lordship in sixteenth and early seventeenth century Ireland, in Rosalind Mitchison and Peter Roebuck (eds.), *Economy and society in Scotland and Ireland, 1500-1939*, (Edinburgh, 1988), pp 17-26.

[12] Walton, 'The merchant communities of Waterford in the 16th and 17th centuries', pp 187-189.

privileges as merchants, the acquisition of properties allowed Dublin merchants to pursue social status and security by planting their children firmly into gentry society through intermarriage. Although sources relating to family genealogies and marriage are fragmentary, by drawing together information contained in a number of other records it was possible to reconstruct family genealogies of some of the more prominent merchant families. A close examination of the genealogies of these families showed that the merchant community of Dublin was a close-knit one with kinship and marriage links not just with other merchant families who were active in civic government, but also with merchant and gentry families across their social spectrum. In a general sense, at least at the beginning of the seventeenth century, religion did not seem to play a significant factor in marriage arrangements and most merchant families, both Catholic and Protestant, seem to have intermarried freely with people outside their religious grouping. By the 1630s city families, particularly Protestants, tended to marry into newly arriving settler families. The changes in the patterns of marriage that were beginning to emerge in the 1630s were directly linked to the changing demographics in the city and in the fundamental change in the make up of the merchant community itself.

Like many urban centres across Europe, Dublin experienced unprecedented demographic growth in the early seventeenth century. This has been linked to the development of international trade, the expansion of city-states and the emergence of the modern state in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[13] This was certainly true for many European and English cities. Indeed, as a leading centre for trade and the axis of administrative power many new settlers were attracted to Dublin which

[13] Cullen, 'The growth of Dublin', p. 250; Dickson, 'The place of Dublin in the eighteenth century', pp 177-92; idem, 'The demographic implications of Dublin's growth', pp. 178-89;

largely accounts for the growth of the population in Dublin up to 1641. However, Ireland was unique in that the root of this demographic growth lay in the changing nature of Irish society brought about by English governmental polices which, from the accession of James I and VI in 1603, were always aimed at creating a civilised, English and Protestant society in place of what was seen as a 'barbaric' Catholic one.

The second aim of this thesis was to analyse the city and its merchants within the broader framework of economic, social and political changes that characterised the period. A careful scrutiny of the freedom rolls of the city between the years 1603 and 1660 has enabled a detailed statistical and analytical breakdown of the changing demographic make up of the city for the first time. This analysis clearly shows that Old English Catholic names were increasingly, particularly after the mid 1630s, replaced by New English Protestant names as well as Dutch nationals who were enfranchised for the first time in 1638. By the early 1640s Catholics had almost disappeared from all areas by public life and by 1647 they were non existent. These changes were mainly due to progressively restrictive governmental policies, particularly under the deputyship of Wentworth.

Ireland was unique in that governmental policies were most often directed by events in England, particularly the king's need for extra money to finance his ongoing continental wars. A growing centralisation of government and an increased efficiency in the collection of customs duties threatened the wealth of individual merchants. Despite their best efforts to defend their rights and privileges, progressively restrictive governmental policies increasingly threatened their positions in all areas of public life and as individuals. The king's financial position in the 1630s had severe consequences in Ireland. In order to secure Ireland's financial independence and create a surplus for the king's use in England, Wentworth was effectively given a free

hand to run the country as he saw fit. Wentworth's fiscal and economic policies underpinned earlier English encroachment on civic and economic liberties and the position of Dublin merchants in the social and political structure of the city was increasingly under threat. Wentworth's arbitrary treatment of both Catholics and Protestants pushed both factions into an alliance that helped to bring about his political downfall and ultimately led to his execution. During the time of Wentworth's trial, Dublin merchants had significant representation in the Irish parliament. Like their counterparts in London, who were heavily involved in civil war politics, they clearly formed a cohesive group in the Irish House of Commons who came together with the landed gentry in pursuit of their common interests.[14] Despite their best efforts, the increasingly volatile political situation in Ireland following the outbreak of rebellion in October 1641 ensured that the Catholic community lost all hope of re-entering public life or, for the most part, regaining expropriated properties. This proved disastrous for the merchant community of the city whose existence was threatened at its very core.

It has been argued that it was after Cromwell's arrival that steps were taken towards creating an exclusively Protestant body politic in Dublin which ensured the emergence of a predominantly Protestant civic administration and merchant class by 1660.[15] In the 1650s municipal government policies were indeed always aimed at promoting Protestantism and excluding Catholics from all areas of public life. For example, in January 1653 the city council ordered that 'all corporations in this city

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[14] The merchant societies in London were heavily involved in civil war politics and their political loyalties depended on state policies favourable to their trade. Although the objectives and ideals of London's merchants in 1640 were completely different to those in Dublin the principal remains the same. For an analysis of London merchant politics see Brenner, 'The civil war politics of London's merchant community', pp 53-107.

[15] Jacqueline Hill, *From patriots to Unionists*, pp 32-3.

will be Protestants only … no freeman shall take an apprentice but as or will be and continue in the Protestant religion.'[16] The stipulation that they continue in the Protestant religion implies that many adopted Protestantism in public to enable them to participate in public live but that in private they remained Catholic. This suggests that earlier efforts to rid the city of Catholics were not entirely successful. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the first steps towards creating an exclusively Protestant body politic in Dublin began some forty years earlier. These directives escalated throughout the period and in particular from the 1630s under Wentworth's government. In the 1640s anti-Catholic rhetoric following the outbreak of rebellion allowed the English administration and the civic government to introduce blatant anti-Catholic policies that finally accomplished what governments in the preceding three decades had failed to: the transition to Protestantism of a city, its government and, most particularly, its merchant community.

Significantly, the 1640s also saw a shift in the demographics of the Protestant population of Dublin. Many wealthy Protestants fled the city within weeks of the rebellion. As any shipping that existed in the city in the 1640s was almost exclusively in the hands of New English or Dutch settlers it is likely that many of those who fled were merchants. This new wave of Protestant settlers secured licences to trade most probably because they fostered relations with members of the parliamentary regime. Indeed, it is possible that some of the members expelled from the rolls of the city in 1646 were Protestants who displayed overtly royalist tendencies. In switching their loyalties to the parliamentarian regime the civic government also demonstrated that the efforts of previous governments, most notably under Wentworth in the 1630s, to entice new settlers and promote a loyal and Protestant civic administration had also

[16] *CARD*, iv, p. 38.

reached its fruition by 1647. It is significant that when the statute staple became buoyant again in the 1660s, merchant names from both the Catholic and Protestant community of the 1620s and 1630s are practically non existent in the records. Nor are they included in the franchise rolls of the city and, after the early 1650s, are also absent from the list of civic officials. It seems, indeed, that not only was the merchant community that emerged in Dublin between 1630 and 1647 exclusively Protestant but also that new settlers who came to Dublin after the rebellion increasingly took the place of 'Old' Protestants across the whole social spectrum. As a result of successive governmental directives implemented from the beginning of the seventeenth century, but especially from the 1630s, the character of the city, its administration and its merchant community changed irrevocably. In short, the merchant community that permeated and controlled all areas of economic and public life in the first three decades of the seventeenth century was non-existent by 1647.

It is clear from this analysis that the importance of Dublin and its merchant community in the early seventeenth century have been greatly underplayed in Irish historiography. The survival of some of these Protestant and, to a lesser extent Catholic, merchant families is evidenced in the retention or even expansion of their estates after 1660. Nevertheless, a full investigation into what happened to the merchant families who held such social and political sway in every stratum of Dublin society just thirty years earlier would provide much needed and fascinating insights into Irish society in the period. An equally crucial area of study is an examination of the origins, wealth and social status of the new merchant community that emerged in Dublin between the 1630s and 1647. While time does not allow for such an investigation here, it is hoped that this analysis of Dublin merchants in the early seventeenth century provides the basis for such an undertaking.

## Appendix 1: Merchant List

*Note on sources:*

| | |
|---|---|
| ISS: | Irish Statute Staple[1] |
| FR: | Freedom Rolls[2] |
| TCR: | Tholsell Court Records[3] |
| LLB: | Lowther Letter Book[4] |
| DEP: | 1641 Depositions[5] |
| O: | Other |

| Name | Source | Notes |
|---|---|---|
| Allen, Edward | ISS[6] | |
| Allen, Lawrence | FR/ISS[7] | As SOF, Apr. 1630 |
| Allen, Thomas | ISS/TCR[8] | |
| Andrew, Charles | FR/ISS[9] | BSG, Apr. 1652. |
| Annesley, Francis | ISS[10] | |
| Archbold, James | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1623. |
| Archbold, James | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1636. |
| Archbold, Richard | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1634. |
| Archbold, Redmond | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1621, |
| Archbold, Redmond | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1626. |
| Archbold, Stephen | FR | As apprentice, July, 1636 |
| Archer, James | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1630 |
| Arthur, Edward | ISS[11] | |
| Arthur, George | FR/ISS[12] | As SOF, Oct. 1615. |
| Arthur, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, July 1625. |
| Arthur, Robert | ISS/TCR[13] | |
| Arthur, Thomas | FR/ISS[14] | As SOF, Oct. 1624. |

[1] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books.*
[2] See appendix two 'Franchise Rolls' for individual references.
[3] Tholsell court: complaints books, (1 October 1616-1617' C1/J/2/1; 1 Oct 1629-27 Sept 1630 CI/J/2/2,3; 1 Oct 1637-28 Sept 1638: CI/J/2/4).
[4] Hainsworth (ed.), *Commercial Papers* .
[5] '1641 Depositions' (T.C.D. MS 809, 810).
[6] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* 71.
[7] Ibid, ID 1991, 1258.
[8] Ibid, ID 191, 284, 300, 385, 423, 424, 503, 905, 1034, 1081, 1124, 1169, 1172, 1178, 1210, 1212, 1246,1288, 1313, 1358, 1422, 1446, 14681520, 1580, 1595, 1620, 1630, 1639, 1694, 1866, 1867; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/25, p. 75).
[9] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* 3020.
[10] Ibid, ID 833.
[11] Ibid, ID 852, 881, 865, 1240, 1380, 1381, 1655, 1668, 2081.
[12] Ibid, ID 865, 881.
[13] Ibid, ID 1144, 1182, 1255, 1289, 1297, 1317, 1347, 1388, 1405, 1415, 1447, 1732, 1798, 1322, 1847, 1923, 1924, 1980, 1985, 2065, 2200, 2205, 2628, 3694; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/26. p. 70).
[14] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 1315, 1389, 1454, 1463, 1532, 1747, 1783, 2024.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Arthur, William | FR/ISS[15] | As SOF, Oct. 1624. |
| Arundel, John | FR | As SOF, July, 1627. |
| Ascon, John | ISS[16] | |
| Ash, John | ISS[17] | |
| Ash, Peter | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1632. |
| Ash, Richard | ISS/TCR[18] | |
| Baddely, George | ISS[19] | |
| Baggott, William | ISS[20] | |
| Balfe, James | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1628. |
| Ball, Edward | ISS[21] | |
| Ball, John | ISS[22] | |
| Ball, Nicholas | ISS[23] | |
| Ball, Robert | ISS[24] | |
| Bamber, John | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1625. |
| Barlow, James | FR | As apprentice, April, 1634. |
| Barnewall, Edmond | FR | As apprentice, Apr 1621 |
| Barnewall, Mathew | FR/ISS[25] | As apprentice, Jul. 1638. |
| Barnewall, Nicholas | FR | As SOF, Jan. 1626. |
| Barnewall, Oliver | FR/ISS[26] | |
| Barnewall, Richard (1) | FR | As apprentice January 1620 |
| Barnewall Richard (2) | FR | As apprentice, July, 1625. |
| Barnewall Richard (3) | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1629 |
| Barnewall, Richard Jr. | FR/TCR[27] | As apprentice, Apr. 1636. |
| Barnewall, Thomas | FR | As apprentice, July, 1632. |
| Barnewall, Ulfran(?) | ISS[28] | |
| Barry, Edward | ISS/LLB[29] | |
| Barry, John | ISS[30] | |
| Barry, Richard | TCR[31] | |
| Bartlett, John | LLB[32] | |

[15] Ibid, ID 1418, 2152.
[16] Ibid, ID 1160.
[17] Ibid, ID 1118, 1442, 1670, 1760, 1770.
[18] Ibid, ID 206, 235, 468; Tholesll court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/25, p. 70).
[19] Ibid, ID 1712.
[20] Ibid, ID 1833; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/25, p. 70).
[21] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 594, 763, 249.
[22] Ibid, ID 698, 702, 2951.
[23] Ibid, ID 2, 14, 10, 15.
[24] Ibid, ID 283, 918, 1715.
[25] Ibid, ID 2279, 2922.
[26] Ibid, ID 1952, 1960.
[27] D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/26, p. 71.
[28] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 73.
[29] Ibid, ID 420, 1856, 1981; Hainsworth (ed.) *Commercial papers*, p. 12.
[30] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 697l, 731.
[31] Ibid, ID 1216, 1434, 1008, 1715, 990, 1711, 819, 935, 1296, 1518; Tholsell court: complaints book (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/32, 35, 36, pp. 74, 75, 76).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bath, John | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1624. |
| Bath, Mathew | FR | As SOF, Oct. 1628. |
| Bath, Peter | FR/ISS[33] | As apprentice, Oct. 1636 |
| Bath, Thomas | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1633. |
| Begge, David | ISS[34] | |
| Begge, Richard | FR | As apprentice, July, 1636 |
| Begge, Thomas | FR/ISS[35] | As apprentice, Apr. 1632. |
| Beitagh, Edward | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1631. |
| Bellew, Edward | ISS[36] | |
| Bellew, James | ISS[37] | |
| Bellew, Patrick, | FR | As apprentice, July, 1627. |
| Bellew, Patrick, | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1634. |
| Bellew, richard | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1640. |
| Bennett, Richard | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1626. |
| Bennett, Henry | FR | As SOF, Jan. 1630. |
| Bennis, John | ISS[38] | |
| Bethell, John | FR | By POF, Jul. 1640. |
| Betson, Francis | FR | As apprentice, July, 1628. |
| Binglie, John | ISS[39] | |
| Birch, John | ISS/TCR[40] | |
| Bird, Thomas | ISS[41] | |
| Birford, Adam | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1625. |
| Birkett, Henry | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1640. |
| Birne, James | TCR[42] | |
| Bishop, Thomas | ISS[43] | |
| Bishop, William | ISS[44] | |
| Bollaert, John | TCR[45] | |
| Boran, Simon | TCR[46] | |
| Bowrk, David | FR | As apprentice, July 1626. |
| Branigan, Edward | ISS | |
| Brett, John | FR | As SOF, July, 1632. |
| Brett, Thomas | ISS[47] | |

[32] Hainsworth, *Commercial papers,* pp 21, 27, 66.
[33] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 2220.
[34] Ibid, ID 1762, 1871, 1874, 2049, 2071, 2073, 2093, 2088, 2890.
[35] Ibid, ID 1838.
[36] Ibid, ID 2242, 3528.
[37] Ibid, ID 1993, 2748.
[38] Ibid, ID 282.
[39] Ibid, ID 240, 241, 312, 324.
[40] Ibid, ID 1632; D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/21, p. 68.
[41] Ibid, ID 388, 656, 747, 790.
[42] Tholsell court: complaint books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/31, p. 73).
[43] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 516, 579, 581, 587.
[44] Ibid, ID 769, 915, 1105, 1110, 1111, 1113.
[45] D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/33, p. 74.
[46] Ibid, C1/J/2/2/13, p. 64.
[47] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 3430.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Brett, Walter | ISS[48] | |
| Brice, Christopher | ISS[49] | |
| Brice, John | ISS[50] | |
| Brice, Richard | ISS[51] | |
| Bridges, Nathaniel | ISS[52] | |
| Browne, James | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1630. |
| Browne, John | ISS[53] | |
| Browne, Michael | ISS[54] | |
| Browne, Richard | ISS[55] | |
| Browne, Robert | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1631. |
| Buckley, William | FR | As merchant, Jan. 1621 |
| Byrne, James | TCR[56] | |
| Caddell, Andrew | ISS[57] | |
| Caddell, Richard | FR | As apprentice July 1620 |
| Carbery, John | FR/ISS/TCR[58] | As apprentice, July, 1626. |
| Cardiffe, Simon | FR | as apprentice, July, 1621 |
| Carey, John | ISS[59] | |
| Carroll, Thomas | ISS[60] | |
| Casie, Richard | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1629. |
| Caulfield, Thomas | FR | As apprentice, April 1620 |
| Cavanagh, Loughlin | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1634. |
| Chamberlain, Edmond | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1623. |
| Chamberlain, John | ISS[61]/FR | As SOF, Oct. 1618. |
| Chamberlain, Michael | ISS[62] | |
| Chamberlain, Robert | ISS[63] | |
| Chamberland, Rowland | ISS[64] | |
| Champion, Arthur | ISS/LLB | |
| Charnock, Roger | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1630. |
| Cheevers, John | ISS[65] | |
| Cheevers, John Jr. | FR | As apprentice, July, 1632. |

[48] Ibid, ID 893.
[49] Ibid, ID 1205, 1594, 1592, 1623, 1709, 1908, 1909, 1675.
[50] Ibid, ID 106, 1860.
[51] Ibid, ID 383, 722, 378.
[52] Ibid, ID 2470, 3704.
[53] Ibid, ID 257, 343, 340.
[54] Ibid, ID 1731, 1735.
[55] Ibid, ID 522.
[56] Tholsell court: complaint books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/23, p. 69; C1/J/2/41, p. 79).
[57] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 1314.
[58] Ibid, ID 2782; D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/30, p. 73.
[59] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), I*rish statute staple books,* ID 883.
[60] Ibid, ID 452, 488.
[61] Ibid, ID 818.
[62] Ibid, ID 256, 313, 324, 423, 438, 457, 460, 569, 572, 573, 664.
[63] Ibid, ID 68.
[64] Ibid, ID 664.
[65] Ibid, ID 954.

| Chivers, John Jr. | FR | As SOF, July 1624 |
|---|---|---|
| Clarke, Andrew | ISS[66] | |
| Clarke, George | ISS[67]/FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1621 |
| Clarke, Thomas | ISS[68] | |
| Clear, Patrick | ISS[69] | |
| Cleer, James | FR | As SOF, Apr. 1636. |
| Clincher, Walater | FR | As SOF, Apr. 1640. |
| Clinton, Nicholas | ISS[70] | |
| Clinton, Richard | ISS[71] | |
| Conly, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1636. |
| Conran, Philip | ISS[72] | |
| Conran, Walter | FR | As SOF, Oct. 1624. |
| Conran, William | FR | As SOF, Apr. 1618. |
| Cooke, Stephen | TCR[73] | |
| Cooke, William | FR | By POF, Jan. 1638. |
| Cooley, Patrick | ISS[74] | |
| Corbally, John | ISS[75] | |
| Croft, Silvester | ISS[76] | |
| Crowe, Richard | ISS[77] | |
| Crowe, Thomas | ISS[78] | |
| Crowley, Richard | ISS[79] | |
| Crumpe, Christopher, | FR | By POF, Apr. 1635. |
| Cullon, Richard | FR | As merchant, April 1620 |
| Culme, John | FR | By POF, Jan. 1639. |
| Cusack, Bartholomew | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1632. |
| Cusack, John | ISS[80] | |
| Cusack, Robert | ISS[81] | |
| Cusack, Thomas | FR | As SOF, Oct. 1628. |
| Cusack, Walter | ISS[82] | |
| Dale, Thomas | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1622. |
| Darcie, Edward | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1638. |

[66] Ibid, ID 1218, 1376, 1174, 1226, 1263.
[67] Ibid, ID 1321, 2004, 2010, 2050, 2165.
[68] Ibid, ID 941, 1113.
[69] Ibid, ID 756; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/21, p. 68).
[70] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 301.
[71] Ibid, ID 301.
[72] Ibid, ID 169.
[73] Tholsell court: complaint books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/42, p. 79).
[74] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* 245, 268, 285, 354, 402,
[75] Ibid, ID 719.
[76] Ibid, ID 1278.
[77] Ibid, ID 1641.
[78] Ibid, ID 3015.
[79] Ibid, ID 979.
[80] Ibid, ID 47, 149, 291, 290, 338. 373, 393, 464, 467, 373, 529, 667, 739.
[81] Ibid, ID 45.
[82] Ibid, ID 1284.

| Dardis, Simon | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1623. |
|---|---|---|
| Delasale, Thomas | TCR[83] | |
| Delemere, Walter | FR | As apprentice, July, 1632. |
| Dermott, Peter | ISS[84] | |
| Dermot, (alias Dorby) Luhie | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1627 |
| Devenish, George | ISS[85] | |
| Devenish, James | FR/ISS[86] | As SOF, Oct. 1625 |
| Devereaux, Philiop | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1636. |
| Deverox, Dominic | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1630. |
| Dillon, Bartholomew | FR | As apprentice, Jul. 1629. |
| Dillon, John | FR | As apprentice, Jul. 1623. |
| Dillon, Matthew | TCR[87] | |
| Dillon, Robert | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1622 |
| Dillon, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1630. |
| Dillon, Theobald | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1621. |
| Dillon, Thomas | ISS[88]/FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1632. |
| Doggett, John | FR | As apprentice, July, 1622 |
| Dorrington, Thomas | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1638. |
| Dorrington, William | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1638. |
| Dowd, Charles | ISS[89] | |
| Dowd, Francis | ISS[90] | |
| Dowdall, Laurence | FR | As apprentice, July. 1638. |
| Dowdall, Mathew | FR | By ROW, Oct. 1638. |
| Dowdall, William | ISS[91] | |
| Doyne, Henry | FR/TCR[92] | As apprentice, Oct. 1630. |
| Doyne, James | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1628. |
| Doyne, John | FR | By POF, Jan, 1639. |
| Doyne, Patrick | ISS[93] | |
| Doyne, Walter | TCR[94] | |
| Dromgoule, thomas | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1640. |
| Drope, Bartholomew | ISS[95] | |
| Duff, Christopher | FR | As SOF, Apr. 1621. |
| Duff, Richard | ISS[96] | |

[83] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/24, p. 70).
[84] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 216.
[85] Ibid, ID 767, 1133, 1143, 1258.
[86] Ibid, ID 2103.
[87] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/30, p. 72).
[88] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), I*rish statute staple books*, ID 1147.
[89] Ibid, ID 733, 740, 774.
[90] Ibid, ID 733, 740, 774.
[91] Ibid, ID 1811.
[92] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/38, p. 78).
[93] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statue Staple books,* 1513.
[94] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/38, p. 77).
[95] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 3955, 2956; 1641 depositions (T.C.D MS 810, f. 231).
[96] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 1800.

| Duff, Robert | ISS/TCR[97] | |
|---|---|---|
| Duff, Stephen | ISS[98] | |
| Edwardes, Edward | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1631. |
| Edwardes, Roger | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1631. |
| Eddis, James | FR/DEP[99] | By POF, Oct. 1639. |
| Eliot, Oliver | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1633. |
| Enos, James | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1629. |
| Enos, Walter | FR | As apprentice, July, 1625. |
| Ewstace, John | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1623. |
| Esmond, Simon | FR | As apprentice, July 1620 |
| Ewstace, Robert | FR | As apprentice, July 1620 |
| Faipoe, Lucas | FR | As SOF, Jan. 1628. |
| Fagan, Thomas | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1626. |
| Faulkner, William | FR | By POF, Jan 1638. |
| Fenton, Richard | O[100] | |
| Field, Christopher | ISS/TCR[101] | |
| Field, Mathew | ISS[102] | |
| Finn, William | ISS[103] | |
| Fitzgerald, Edward | ISS[104]/FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1621 |
| Fitzgerald, James | FR/ TCR[105] | As apprentice, Oct. 1620. |
| Fitzgerald, Michael | FR | As SOF, Apr. 1636. |
| Fitzgerald, Richard | ISS[106] | |
| Fitzharris, John | FR | As apprentice, July, 1630. |
| Fitzharries, Richard | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1626. |
| Fitzsimons, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, Jul. 1638. |
| Fitzsimons, Richard | FR | As SOF, Jan. 1626. |
| Fitzwilliam, Edward | ISS[107] | |
| Fitzwilliam, Francis | TCR[108] | |
| Fitzwilliam, John | ISS[109] | |
| Flanagan, Hugh | FR | As apprentice, July, 1627. |
| Fleming, John | ISS[110] | |
| Fleming, Thomas | ISS[111]/FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1629. |

[97] Ibid, ID 799, 1238, 2013; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/15, 2/2/37, pp. 65, 77).
[98] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds.), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 1421.
[99] Deposition of James Eddis (T.C.D. MS 810, ff. 136r-137).
[100] Examinations on commission, 1645-7 (NAB MS H.C.A. 13/247 16-17).
[101] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 880, 884, 885, 1205, 1592, 1594, 1623, 1634, 1675, 1908, 1909; D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/12, p. 12.
[102] Ohlmeyer 7 ' Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 634.
[103] Ibid, ID 595.
[104] Ibid, 1717.
[105] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/42, p. 79).
[106] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 225.
[107] Ibid, 1994.
[108] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/42, p. 79).
[109] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* 1994.
[110] Ibid, ID 1941; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/29, p. 72).

| Fleming Richard, | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1630. |
|---|---|---|
| Flood, Denis | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1623. |
| Flood, William | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1630. |
| Flood, William | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1635. |
| Ford, Peter | ISS[112] | |
| Forster, John | ISS[113] | |
| Forster, Richard | ISS[114] | |
| Fox, thomas | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1633. |
| Fraine, Redmond | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1632. |
| Fyan, Edmund | ISS[115] | |
| Fyan, Francis | FR | As SOF, Apr. 1640. |
| Fyan, James | ISS/TCR[116] | |
| Fyan, Richard | ISS[117] | |
| Galland, George | FR | By POF, Jan. 1638. |
| Galbally, james | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1634. |
| Galtron, Simon | ISS[118] | |
| Gaynor, Michael | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1638. |
| Geegan, Thomas | FR | As SOF, Oct. 1622. |
| Geolus, Henry | FR | As apprentice, July, 1625. |
| Gernon, Francis | FR | As apprentice, July, 1626. |
| Gernon, Nicholas | ISS[119] | |
| Gernon, Roger | FR/ISS /TCR[120] | As apprentice, July. 1616 |
| Gibbons, John | FR | By apprenticeship, Jan 1620 |
| Gibson, John, | FR/ISS/TCR[121] | By ROW, Jan. 1631. |
| Gilbert, George | O[122] | |
| Goery, Thomas | FR | As apprentice, July, 1632. |
| Golburne, Richard | ISS[123] | |
| Golding, Richard | FR | As SOF, July 1625. |
| Goodwin, John | ISS[124] | |
| Goodwin, Matthew | ISS[125] | |
| Gorry, Christopher | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1625. |

[111] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 8, 67, 83, 88, 117, 124, 136, 219, 274, 275, 293, 327.
[112] Ibid, ID 1122.
[113] Ibid, ID 46, 75, 87, 163, 164, 267, 316, 323, 593, 666.
[114] Ibid, ID 382.
[115] Ibid, ID 1477, 2186.
[116] Ibid, ID 1477; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/37, p. 77).
[117] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), ID 1333.
[118] Ibid, ID 301.
[119] Ibid, ID 920, 2241, 2233, 3499, 3504, 3527, 3559.
[120] Ibid, ID 1436; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/19, p. 67).
[121] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* 2171; D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/12, p. 64.
[122] Examination of George Gilbert (N.A.B. H.C.A. MS 13/59, 53-55, ff. 518-19).
[123] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 1134.
[124] Ibid, ID 21, 26, 262, 284, 548, 191.
[125] Ibid, ID 1061.

| Gough, Edward | ISS[126] | |
|---|---|---|
| Gough, John | FR/ | As SOF, July, 1629 |
| Gough, Patrick | FR | As SOF, Apr. 1635. |
| Hall, John | ISS[127] | |
| Hallows, John | ISS[128] | |
| Hamlin, Edmund | FR/ | As SOF, July, 1625 |
| Hamlin, Laurance | FR | As apprentice, July, 1630 |
| Hamlin, Thomas | FR | As SOF, Oct. 1629. |
| Haies, Michael | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1636. |
| Handcock, Christopher | ISS/TCR[129] | |
| Handcock, Mathew | ISS[130] | |
| Harbart, thomas | FR | By POF, Oct. 1639. |
| Harvey, William | FR | As apprentice, Jan 1620 |
| Hauckred, John | FR | By POF, Oct. 1638. |
| Head, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, July, 1624. |
| Heeny, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1632. |
| Higgen, Morgan | FR | As apprentice, April, 1619. |
| Higgen, Mathew | FR | As apprentice, July, 1630 |
| Higgen, William | FR | As apprentice, July, 1622. |
| Hill, John | FR | By POF, Oct. 1638. |
| Hill, Richard | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1638. |
| Hore, Redmond, | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1630 |
| Hoare, Thomas | FR | As apprentice, July, 1636. |
| Hodser, Bartholomew | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1638. |
| Hore, Simon | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1634. |
| Hooke, Thomas | ISS[131] | |
| Hollywoode, Lawrence | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1637. |
| Hollywoode, William | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1635. |
| Horish, John | ISS[132] | |
| Horish, Richard | ISS[133] | |
| Horton, Lawrence | FR | As SOF, Jan. 1624. |
| Houlder, John | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1634. |
| Howard (Hauard), Lazarous | TCR[134] | |
| Howard, Thomas | ISS[135] | |
| Hubbert, Derek | ISS[136] | |
| Hughes, Thomas | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1636. |
| Huighes, Richard | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1630. |

[126] Ibid, ID 334, 896, 929, 930, 1399, 1488, 148, 1513, 1564.
[127] Ibid, ID 2957.
[128] Ibid, ID 2961.
[129] Ibid, ID 987, 1348, 1608; D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/12, p. 63.
[130] Ibid, ID 98, 519, 661.
[131] Ibid, ID 1662, 3434.
[132] Ibid, ID 1370.
[133] Ibid, ID 1370.
[134] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/14, p. 64).
[135] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, 2291, 2897.
[136] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), ID 744, 883, 871.

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|---|---|---|
| Humphrey, William | ISS[137] | |
| Hunt, Raphael | FR | By POF, Oct. 1638. |
| Hussey, Martin | ISS[138] | |
| Hussey, James | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1635. |
| Jans, Edward | ISS/TCR[139] | |
| Jones, Henry | ISS[140] | |
| Jones, Richard | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1629. |
| Jordan, John | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1622 |
| Jordan, Matthew | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1639. |
| Jordan, Maurice | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1628. |
| Jordan, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1630. |
| Kardiffe, Simon | ISS[141] | |
| Kelly, Nicholas | ISS[142] | |
| Kelly, Robert | ISS[143] | |
| Kena, William | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1622 |
| Kennedy, Christopher | ISS[144] | |
| Kennedy, George | ISS[145] | |
| Kennedy, James | ISS[146] | |
| Kennedy, John | ISS[147] | |
| Kennedy, Mark | ISS[148] | |
| Kennedy, Patrick | ISS[149] | |
| Kennedy, Robert | ISS[150] | |
| Kennedy, Thomas | FR | As SOF. Jan 1631. |
| Kennedy, Walter | FR/ ISS[151] | As apprentice, Oct 1621. |
| Kennon, Nicholas | FR | As apprentice, July, 1627. |
| Lalor, Robert | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1623. |
| Kenny, James | ISS[152] | |
| Kernan, Christopher | FR | As apprentice, July, 1624. |
| Kynyne, Thady | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1633. |
| Lambert, Oliver | FR | As apprentice, July, 1632. |

[137] Ibid, ID 2935.
[138] Ibid, ID 34, 281.
[139] Ibid, ID 386, 1279, 1488, 1796, 2150, 2168; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/11, 36a, 42, pp. 63, 77, 79).
[140] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 748.
[141] Ibid, ID 2932.
[142] Ibid, ID 1239, 1461.
[143] Ibid, ID 1025, 1230, 1256, 1542.
[144] Ibid, ID 2078, 2170.
[145] Ibid, ID 826, 2078.
[146] Ibid, ID 1021.
[147] Ibid, 1116, 1302.
[148] Ibid, ID 2078.
[149] Ibid, ID 2078.
[150] Ibid, ID 72, 85, 187, 239, 333, 440, 509, 726, 1040, 1316, 1997, 2822, 2824; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/29, p. 72).
[151] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), ID 1840, 2040, 2822, 2823, 2824.
[152] Ibid, ID 2212.

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|---|---|---|
| Lambert, Robert | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1636. |
| Lamport, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1634. |
| Lankton, Edward | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1631. |
| Lardge, John | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1629. |
| Lawlis, Simon | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1627. |
| Leart, James | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1629. |
| Legath, Mathew | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1630. |
| Leicester, John | ISS[153] | |
| Lennan, John | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1633. |
| Lewis, Nicholas | ISS[154] | |
| Lewis, Richard | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1639. |
| Lillie, Nicholas | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1622 |
| Lister, John | ISS[155] | |
| Locke, Nicholas | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1637. |
| Locke, Richard | FR | As SOF, July, 1621 |
| Lodvic (alias Lavalien), Newgent | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1628. |
| Logath, John | FR | As apprentice, July, 1625. |
| Long, John | ISS[156] | |
| Long, Nicholas | | As apprentice, Jan. 1632. |
| Long, Thomas | ISS[157] | |
| Luttrell, John | ISS[158] | |
| Luttrell, Robert | ISS[159] | |
| Lynan, James | FR/ISS[160] | As apprentice, Jan. 1637 |
| Lynan, Patrick | ISS[161] | |
| Malone, Edmund | ISS[162] | |
| Malone, Walter | ISS[163] | |
| Mapas,Christopher | FR/ISS[164] | As SOF, July, 1625. |
| Mapas, Patrick | ISS[165] | |
| Marley, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1632. |
| Marley, Richard | TCR[166] | |
| Marten, William | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1640. |

[153] Ibid, ID 228.
[154] Ibid, ID 1975.
[155] Ibid, ID 204.
[156] Ibid, ID 115, 222, 284.
[157] Ibid, ID 110, 191, 284.
[158] Ibid, ID 151.
[159] Ibid, ID 1464.
[160] Ibid, ID 2113.
[161] Ibid, ID 3.
[162] Ibid, ID 320, 937, 998, 1098, 1106, 1130, 1168, 1207, 1277, 1286, 1345, 1435, 1600, 1406, 1453, 1534.
[163] Ibid, ID 621.
[164] Ibid, ID 1035, 1263, 1469, 1656.
[165] Ibid, ID 852, 1105, 1110, 1111, 1113, 1218, 1219, 1226, 1250, 1289, 1298, 1301, 1330, 1382, 1387, 1530, 1882.
[166] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/29, p. 72).

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|---|---|---|
| Maycan, Martin | FR | As SOF, July, 1629. |
| Merriman (Myriman), Christopher | TCR[167] | |
| Miles, Ralph | ISS[168] | |
| Miles, Roger | ISS[169] | |
| Mooney, James | ISS | |
| Moore, Andrew | FR | As SOF, Oct. 1629. |
| Moore, James | FR | As apprentice, July 1625. |
| Moore, Patrick | FR | As SOF, Oct. 1629. |
| Morgan, George | ISS[170] | |
| Mulligan, William | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1634 |
| Mullinox, Edward | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1630. |
| Murphy, Lucas | TCR[171] | |
| Naughton, Neale | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1630. |
| Nevell, Robert | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1638. |
| Netterville, Laurence | FR | As apprentice, April 1620 |
| Nolan, John | FR | As SOF, Jan. 1631. |
| Nugent, Edmund | ISS[172] | |
| Nugent, Gerald | FR | As apprentice, July, 1621 |
| Nugent, James | FR/ISS[173] | as apprentice, Oct. 1629. |
| Nugent (Newgent), Thomas | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1631. |
| Nugent, Richard | ISS[174] | |
| Nugent, Richard | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1635/ |
| Nugent, Richard | FR | As apprentice, July, 1635. |
| Nugent, Robert | FR | As apprentice, July, 1633. |
| Ordane, Richard | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1620 |
| Orpie, Thomas | ISS[175] | |
| Orphie, Henry | FR | As SOF, Apr. 1630. (likely Orpie) |
| Orr, Thomas | ISS | |
| Osborne, John | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1640. |
| Osborne, Nicholas | FR | As apprentice, apr. 1632. |
| Otterington, John | ISS | |
| Pallis, Richard | FR | As SOF, Oct. 1638 |
| Palmer, Richard | FR | By POF, Jul. 1640. |
| Panckart, Frederick | FR/ISS[176] | By POF, Jan. 1640. |
| Panting, Rober, Jr. | FR | As SOF, Apr. 1632. |
| Pentheny, James | FR | As apprentice Apr. 1623. |

[167] Ibid, 2/2/41, p. 79.
[168] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 224.
[169] Ibid, ID 716.
[170] Ibid, ID 985, 986.
[171] Tholsell court: complaints books D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/30, p. 72.
[172] Ibid, ID 252.
[173] Ibid, ID 886.
[174] Ibid, ID 665.
[175] Ibid, ID 830.
[176] Ibid, ID 2926.

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|---|---|---|
| Pentheny, Richard | ISS[177] | As apprentice, Apr. 1623. |
| Pheypoe, Francis | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1640. |
| Philpot, Michael | ISS[178] | |
| Pickman, Robert | FR | As apprentice, July, 1621 |
| Plunkett, Alexander | FR | As apprentice, July, 1623. |
| Plunkett, Christopher | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1640. |
| Plunkett, James | FR | As apprentice, July, 1635. |
| Plunkett, Luke | ISS[179] | |
| Plunkett, Martin | ISS[180] | |
| Plunkett, Robert | ISS[181] | |
| Plunkett, Thomas | FR/ISS[182] | As apprentice, Oct. 1634/ |
| Poole, Nicholas | ISS[183] | |
| Power, Christopher | FR | As apprentice, July, 1633. |
| Preston, George | FR | As SOF, Apr. 1626. |
| Preston, Jenico | TCR[184] | |
| Preston, William | FR | As SOF, July, 1628 |
| Pricker Richard | ISS[185] | |
| Procter, Robert | ISS[186] | |
| Proudfoot, George | FR | As SOF, Jan. 1629. |
| Purcell, Edmund | ISS[187] | |
| Purcell, James | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1639. |
| Purcell, Simon | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1632. |
| Purcell, Thomas | ISS[188] | As apprentice, Apr. 1626. |
| Purcell, William | ISS[189] | As SOF, Apr, 1621. |
| Purcell, William | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1632. |
| Queitrode, Nicholas | ISS[190] | |
| Quietrode, Richard | ISS[191] | |
| Quin, Peter | FR/ISS[192] | As SOF, Jan. 1631 (Quine) |
| Quin, Richard | ISS[193] | |
| Reade, Edmond | FR | As apprentice, July, 1635. |

[177] Ibid, ID 1699, 2027.
[178] Ibid, ID 710, 766.
[179] Ibid, ID 547, 1419, 1470, 1476, 1574, 1685, 1768, 1970.
[180] Ibid, ID 884.
[181] Ibid, ID 1327.
[182] Ibid, ID 315, 318, 326, 442, 461, 471, 474, 864, 869, 888, 898, 922, 952, 953, 1023, 1054, 1058, 1208, 1237, 1362, 1366, 1390.
[183] Ibid, ID 2174.
[184] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/35, p. 75).
[185] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 196.
[186] Ibid, ID 196.
[187] Ibid, ID 58, 201, 458, 499.
[188] Ibid, ID 682, 728, 753, 823, 829, 831.
[189] Ibid, ID 1903.
[190] Ibid, ID 138, 593, 819.
[191] Ibid, ID 140, 186, 593, 819.
[192] Ibid, ID 2898.
[193] Ibid, ID 847, 914.

| Reade Mathew | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1624. |
|---|---|---|
| Redmond, Patrick | FR/ISS[194] | As apprentice, Oct. 1629. |
| Reynolds, Richard | ISS[195] | |
| Richardson, Samuel | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1638. |
| Rickesies, Abraham | ISS[196] | |
| Rochford, Barnabas | FR | As apprentice, July, 1627. |
| Roe, James | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1622 |
| Rogers, Richard | FR/ISS[197] | As apprentice, Apr. 1632. |
| Rossingrave, Edward | FR | As apprentice, Jul. 1638. |
| Russell, George | FR/ISS[198] | As apprentice, Jan. 1631. |
| St. Laurence, Ralph | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1634. |
| Sanky, Hamlet | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1629. |
| Sarsfield, Bartholomew | FR | As apprentice, July, 1635. |
| Segrave, James | ISS[199] | |
| Seagrave, Lawrence | ISS[200] | |
| Seagrave, Nicholas | ISS[201] | |
| Seagrave, Patrick | TCR[202] | |
| Scarley, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, July, 1638. |
| Sheale, Tobias | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1633. |
| Shelley, Toby | ISS[203] | |
| Shelton, Edward | ISS[204] | |
| Shelton, Thomas | ISS[205] | |
| Shelton, William | ISS[206] | |
| Sherlock, George | ISS[207] | |
| Sherlock, Thomas | ISS[208] | |
| Sherman, James | FR | By ROW, April, 1624. |
| Sinnott, Nicholas | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1632. |
| Skullicke, Jasper | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1630. |
| Smith, William | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1628. |
| Spike, Lawrence | TCR[209] | |
| Stanley, Bartholomew | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1620. |
| Stanley, John | FR/ISS/LLB[210] | As apprentice, Oct. 1624. |

[194] Ibid, ID 2536.
[195] Ibid, ID 597.
[196] Ibid, ID 2866.
[197] Ibid, ID 2888, 2795, 2799.
[198] Ibid, ID 2053.
[199] Ibid, ID 1014.
[200] Ibid, ID 128.
[201] Ibid, ID 128.
[202] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/21, p. 68).
[203] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* 2090.
[204] Ibid, ID 229, 1000.
[205] Ibid, ID 1236.
[206] Ibid, ID 190, 358, 209.
[207] Ibid, ID 318.
[208] Ibid, ID 518.
[209] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/29, p. 72).

| Stanley, Edward | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1640. |
|---|---|---|
| Stanley, Patrick | ISS[211] | |
| Stanley, Thomas | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1633. |
| Stanley, Walter | ISS/FR | As SOF, Oct. 1633. |
| Stephens, Nicholas | ISS[212] | |
| Stephens, Richard | ISS[213] | |
| Stephens, Robert | FR/ISS[214] | As SOF, Apr. 1630. |
| Summester, Thomas | ISS[215] | |
| Sutton, Laurence | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1621 |
| Talbot, Adam | FR/ISS[216] | As merchant April 1620 |
| Talbot, Richard | ISS[217] | |
| Talbot, William | FR | As apprentice, July, 1628 |
| Taylor, George | TCR[218] | |
| Taylor, James | ISS[219] | |
| Taylor, Robert | ISS[220] | |
| Teeling, Mathew | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1637. |
| Tellier, Nicholas | ISS[221] | |
| Thomas, William | TCR[222] | |
| Thornborough, Rowland | FR | As apprentice, Jul. 1638. |
| Turner, Christopher | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1627. |
| Turner, Paul | FR/ISS[223] | As SOF, Jan. 1625. |
| Turner, Thomas | ISS[224] | |
| Turnor, William | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1630. |
| Tyrell | FR | As apprentice, Apr 1621 |
| Usher, Arlenter | FR | As SOF, Apr. 1623. |
| Usher, Christopher | FR | As SOF, Jan. 1626. |
| Ussher, George | ISS[225] | |
| Ussher, John | FR/ISS[226] | As apprentice, Jan. 1635. |
| Ussher, Lawrence | ISS[227] | |

[210] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 1445, 2818, 1403, 1741, 1782, 1857, 1848, 2148; Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. C1/J/2/2/29, p. 67).
[211] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* 165.
[212] Ibid, ID 70, 317, 347, 557.
[213] Ibid, ID 320.
[214] Ibid, ID 1747.
[215] Ibid, ID 910.
[216] Ibid, ID 2772.
[217] Ibid, ID 97.
[218] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/25, p. 70).
[219] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, 263.
[220] Ibid, ID 1217.
[221] Ibid, ID 2814.
[222] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/40, p. 78).
[223] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, 1958, 2068.
[224] Ibid, ID 1176.
[225] Ibid, ID 377.
[226] Ibid, ID 2725.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Usher, Mathew | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1636. |
| Ussher, Stephen | ISS[228] | |
| Ussher, Robert | ISS[229] | |
| Ussher, Walter | ISS[230] | |
| Veldon, Peter | ISS[231] | |
| Verdon, Richard | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1639. |
| Vizer, Ralph | O[232] | |
| Wafer, John | ISS[233] | |
| Wakefield, Thomas | ISS[234] | |
| Walsh, Alexander | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1629. |
| Walsh, James | ISS[235] | |
| Walsh, John | FR/ISS[236] | As SOF, July, 1629. |
| Walsh, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1628. |
| Walsh, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1640. |
| Walsh, Robert | FR | As SOF, Oc t. 1632. |
| Warburton, Richard | ISS[237] | |
| Wafer, Thomas | FR | As SOF, Oct. 1625. |
| Warren, Edmund | FR/ISS[238] | By POF, Jan. 1634. |
| Warren, James | FR/ISS[239] | As apprentice, Oct. 1625. |
| Warren, Patrick | FR | As apprentice, Jan 1630. |
| Warren, William | ISS[240] | |
| Watson, James | ISS/DEP[241] | |
| Watson, Philip | ISS/DEP[242] | |
| Webb, Thomas | O[243] | |
| Wesley, Edward | FR | As apprentice, July, 1630 |
| Weston, Christopher | ISS[244] | |
| Weston, John | ISS[245] | |

[227] Ibid, ID 341.
[228] Ibid, ID 974, 1004, 1015, 1053, 1113.
[229] Ibid, ID 109.
[230] Ibid, ID 441, 634, 985, 986, 1110, 1111, 1113, 1164, 1819, 1105, 1599.
[231] Ibid, ID 19.
[232] Examinations on commission, (N.A.B. MS H.C.A. 13/247 16-17).
[233] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha, ID 64, 195, 113.
[234] Ibid, ID 1287, 1724.
[235] Ibid, ID 1117.
[236] Ibid, ID 67.
[237] Ibid, ID 1712.
[238] Ibid, ID 2015, 2215, 2795, 2797, 2888, 2927.
[239] Ibid, ID 1493.
[240] Ibid, ID 1497, 2105, 2808, 2849, 2893, 2894.
[241] Ibid, ID 1806, 2017; depositions of Margaret Watson et. al. (T.C.D. MS 810, f. 265r).
[242] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 2017, 2865; 1641 depositions (T.C.D. MS 810, f. 265r)
[243] Examinations on commission, NAB MS HCA 13/247 16-17.
[244] Ohlmeyer &Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 1598.
[245] Ibid, ID 1026, 1475, 1528, 1555, 1598.

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|---|---|---|
| Weston, Oliver | FR | As apprentice, April 1620 |
| Weston, William | ISS/TCR[246] | |
| Westpie, Edward | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1636. |
| Wetherby, John | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1621. |
| Wetherby, Thomas | FR | As apprentice, April 1620 |
| White, Bartholomew | FR | As apprentice, Apr. 1622 |
| White, Edmond | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1636. |
| White, George | FR | As apprentice, July, 1633. |
| White, James | TCR[247] | |
| White, Nicholas | TCR[248] | |
| White, Robert | FR | As apprentice, Oct. 1634. |
| White, Thomas | FR/ISS[249] | As apprentice, Apr. 1615. |
| Wigget, Richard | TCR[250] | |
| Wilson, Robert, | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1628. |
| Wilson, Thomas | FR | As apprentice, July, 1636 |
| Wither, Christopher | FR | As apprentice, Jan. 1626. |
| Wolverston, Christopher | ISS[251] | |
| Wybrants, Peter | ISS[252] | |
| Wyer, Daniel | FR | As apprentice, Jul. 1640. |
| Wyvell, anthony, | FR | By POF, Apr. 1640. |
| Younge, Andrew | FR | By POF, Jan. 1640. |
| Young, George | ISS[253] | |
| Young, Nicholas | ISS[254] | |
| Young, Richard | ISS[255] | |

[246] Ibid, ID 1280, 1582; D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/34, p. 74.
[247] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/41, p. 79).
[248] Ibid, 2/2/18, p. 67.
[249] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books*, ID 207, 349, 155, 980, 1177.
[250] Tholsell court: complaints books (D.C.A. MS C1/J/2/2/8, p. 69).
[251] Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds), *Irish statute staple books,* ID 996.
[252] Ibid, ID 1441.
[253] Ibid, ID 1013.
[254] Ibid, ID 171, 189, 238, 297.
[255] Ibid, ID 202, 226.

Appendix II: Civic government 1620-1660.

Source: *CARD* iii, iv.

| Date | Mayor | Sheriffs | Treasurer | Master of Works | Auditors |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1620 | Richard Browne | Edward Jans | John Lany | Richard Teyzar | Mayor (Browne) |
| | | Thomas Clarke | | John Locke | Treasurer (Lany) |
| | | | | | Mr. Barrie |
| | | | | | Mr. Plunkett |
| | | | | | Mr. Duff |
| | | | | | Mr. Busshopp |
| | | | | | Mr. Sherives |
| | | | | | Mr. Stephens |
| | | | | | Mr. Turnor |
| | | | | | Mr. Chesshier |
| | | | | | Robert Taylor |
| | | | | | |
| 1621 | Edward Ball | Christopher Forster | Edmond Malone | Edward Jans | Mayor (Ball) |
| | | Robert Arthur | | William Allen | Treasur (Malone) |
| | | | | | Mr. Cusacke |
| | | | | | Mr. Barry |
| | | | | | Mr. Plunkett |
| | | | | | Mr. Duff |
| | | | | | Masters Sherives |
| | | | | | Mr. Turnor |
| | | | | | Mr. Stephens |
| | | | | | Christopher White |
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | Patrick English |
| | | | | | |

| 1622 | Richard Wiggett | Thomas White | Thomas Plunkett | Christopher Forster | Mayor (Wiggett) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Christopher White | | Chrisopher Handcocke | Treasurer (Plunkett) |
| | | | | | Edward Ball |
| | | | | | Mr. Barry |
| | | | | | Mr. Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Masters Sherives |
| | | | | | Mr. William Turnor |
| | | | | | Mr Patrick Englishe |
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | |
| 1623 | Thadeus Duffe | George Jones | Edward Ball | Thomas White | Mr. Mayor (Duffe) |
| | | Christopher Wolverston | | Thomas Evans | Mr. Treasurer (Ball) |
| | | | | | Mr. Wiggett |
| | | | | | Mr. Barrie |
| | | | | | Mr. Bushopp |
| | | | | | Mr Christopher Forster |
| | | | | | Mr. Patrick Geough |
| | | | | | Masters sheriffs |
| | | | | | Mr. Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Mr. Patrick English |
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | |
| 1624 | William Busshopp | Sir Walter Dongan | Richard Wiggett | George Jones | Mr. Mayor (Busshopp) |
| | | William Weston | | Christopher Wolferston | Mr. Treasurer (Wiggett) |
| | | | | | Mr. Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Mr. Robert Ball |
| | | | | | Mr. Richard Barry |
| | | | | | Mr. … Forster |
| | | | | | Mr. Patrick Goegh |
| | | | | | Masters Sherives |
| | | | | | Mr. Nicholas Stephens |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Mr. Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | Mr. Richard Edwards |
| | | | | | |
| 1625 | William Turnor | John Moore | Sir Thady Duffe | Nicholas Stephens | The Mayor (Turnor) |
| | | Adam Goodman | | William Weston | The treasurer (Duffe) |
| | | | | | Sir William Busshopp |
| | | | | | Robert Ball |
| | | | | | Richard Barry |
| | | | | | Christopher Forster |
| | | | | | Patrick Gough |
| | | | | | Masters Sheriffs |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | Richard Edwards |
| | | | | | |
| 1626 | James Bee[d]/Walter Usher | Robert Arthur | Sir William Busshopp | Mr Nicholas Stephens | Mr. Mayor (Usher) |
| | Thomas Evans* | Francis Dowde | | Mr Christopher White | Mr. Treasurer (Busshopp) |
| | *Usher replaced Bee who died | | | | Sir Thadee Duff |
| | but no explaination is given | | | | Mr. Robert Ball |
| | for Evans replacing Usher. | | | | Mr. Richard Barry |
| | | | | | Mr. Christopher Forster |
| | | | | | Mr. Patrick Gough |
| | | | | | Masters Sherives |
| | | | | | Mr. Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | Richard Edwards |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1627 | Edward Jans | Michael Browne | William Turnor | Robert Arthur | Mr. Maior (Jans) |
| | | Thomas Shelton | | Francis Dowde | Treasurer (Turnor) |
| | | | | | Sir Thadee Duff |
| | | | | | Mr. Thomas Evans |
| | | | | | Mr. Robert Ball |
| | | | | | Mr. Richard Barry |
| | | | | | Mr. Christopher Forster |
| | | | | | Mr. Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Mr. Christopher White |
| | | | | | Thomas Ormisby |
| | | | | | |
| 1628 | Robert Bennett | John Stanly/James Bellew | Walter Usher | Michael Browne | Mr. Mayor |
| | | William Baggott | | Thomas Shelton | Mr. Treasurer |
| | | | | | Mr. Robert Ball |
| | | | | | Mr. Richard Barry |
| | | | | | Mr. Thomas Evans |
| | | | | | Mr. Christopher Forster |
| | | | | | Mr. Edward Gough |
| | | | | | Mr. Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Mr. Chirstopher White |
| | | | | | Mr. Thomas Ormisby |
| | | | | | Mr. Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | |
| 1629 | Christopher Forster | Charles Forster | Edward Jans | William Baggott | Mr. Mayor (Forster) |
| | | James Watson | | James Bellew | Mr. Treasurer (Jans) |
| | | | | | Sir Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Mr. Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Mr. Robert Ball |
| | | | | | Mr. Richard Barry |
| | | | | | Mr. Thomas Evans |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Mr. Edward Gough |
| | | | | | Masters Sheriffs |
| | | | | | Mr. Nichlas Stephens |
| | | | | | Mr. Christopher White |
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | Thomas Ormisby |
| | | | | | |
| 1630 | Thomas Evans | Sankey Sulliard | Robert Bennett - A | Charles Forster | Thomas Evans |
| | | John Flemminge | | James Watson | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Sir. Christofer Forster |
| | | | | | Robert Ball |
| | | | | | Richard Barry |
| | | | | | Edward Gough |
| | | | | | Sankey Sulliard |
| | | | | | John Flemminge |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Christopher White |
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | Thomas Ormisby |
| | | | | | |
| 1631 | George Jones | Matthew Tirrell (m) | Christopher Forster | Sankey Sulliard | George Jones |
| | | John Stanley | | John Flemminge | Christofer Forster |
| | | | | | Sir Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Thomas Evans |
| | | | | | Robert Ball |
| | | | | | Richard Barry |
| | | | | | Patrick Mapas |
| | | | | | Nicholas Kelly |
| | | | | | Sankey Sulliard |
| | | | | | John Flemminge |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Matthew Tirrell |
| | | | | | John Stanley |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Christofer White |
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | Thomas Ormesby |
| | | | | | |
| 1632 | Edward Arthur | David Begge | Thomas Evans | Matthew Tirrell | Edward Arthur |
| | | Walter Kennedy | | John Stanley | Thomas Evans |
| | | | | | Sir James Carroll |
| | | | | | Sir Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | George Jones |
| | | | | | Robert Ball |
| | | | | | Richard Barry |
| | | | | | Patrick Mapas |
| | | | | | Nicholas Kelly |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Christopher White |
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | Thomas Ormisby |
| | | | | | |
| 1633 | Robert Dixon | Thomas Wakefield | George Jones | David Begge | Robert Dixon |
| | | Christopher Brice | | Walter Kennedy | George Jones |
| | | William Purcell | | | Sir James Carroll |
| | | | | | Sir Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Robert Ball |
| | | | | | Richard Barry |
| | | | | | Patrick Mapas |
| | | | | | Nicholas Kelly |
| | | | | | Chrotofer White |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | Thomas Ormisby |
| | | | | | |
| 1634 | Patrick Mapas | Edward Brangan | Edward Jans | Thomas Wakefield | Mayor |
| | James Carroll [replaced by | John Gibson | | Christopher Brice | Treasurer (Jans) |
| | Christopher Forster] | | | | Sir Thadee Duff |
| | | | | | Sir Robert Dixon |
| | | | | | Robert Balle |
| | | | | | Richard Barry |
| | | | | | Patrick Mapas |
| | | | | | Nicholas Kelly |
| | | | | | Christofer White |
| | | | | | Edward Brangan |
| | | | | | John Gibson |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | Thomas Ormsby |
| | | | | | |
| 1635 | Sir Christpher Forster | John Carbery | Richard Barry | John Gibson | Mayhor |
| | | Thomas Ormisby | | Edward Brangan | Treasurer (Barry) |
| | | | | | Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Robert Ball |
| | | | | | Robert Arthur |
| | | | | | Christopher White |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | John Carbery - S |
| | | | | | Thomas Ormisby - S |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Walter Kennedy |
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Richard Edwards |
| | | | | | |
| 1636 | Christopher White | Thomas Arthur | Richard Barry | John Carbery | Mayor |
| | | William Smith | | Thomas Ormisby | Treasurer (Barry) |
| | | | | | Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Edward Jans |
| | | | | | Robert Arthur |
| | | | | | Christopher Whyte |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Walter Kennedy |
| | | | | | Thomas Arthur - S |
| | | | | | William Smith - S |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Thomas Taylor |
| | | | | | Richard Edwardes |
| | | | | | |
| 1637 | James Watson | Philip Watson | Richard Barrie | Thomas Arthur | Mayor |
| | | William Bladen | | William Smith | Treasurer (Barry |
| | | | | | Thadee Duff |
| | | | | | Christofer White |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Walter Kennedy |
| | | | | | Philip Watson |
| | | | | | William Bladen |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Thomas Ormesbie |
| | | | | | Richard Edwardes |
| | | | | | |
| 1638 | Thomas Clarke | Robert Forth | Richard Barry | Phillipp Watson | Mayor |
| | Christopher Forster | Andrew Clarke | | William Bladen | Treasurer (Barry) |
| | | | | | Thadee Duffe |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | James Watson |
| | | | | | Edward Jans |
| | | | | | Robert Arthur |
| | | | | | Christofer White |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Walter Kennedy |
| | | | | | Robert Forth - S |
| | | | | | Andrew Clarke - S |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Thomas Ormesby |
| | | | | | Richard Edwardes |
| | | | | | |
| 1639 | Charles Forster | Edward Lake | Richard Barry | Andrew Clearke | Mayor |
| | | Richard Barnewall, snr. | | William Purcell | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Christofer Forster |
| | | | | | Edward Jans |
| | | | | | James Watson |
| | | | | | Robert Arthur |
| | | | | | Christofer White |
| | | | | | Walter Kennedy |
| | | | | | Edward Lake - S |
| | | | | | Richard Barnewall sr.S |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Richard Edwardes |
| | | | | | |
| 1640 | David Begge | John Bamber | Richard Barry | Edward Lake | Mayor |
| | Thomas Wakefield | Abraham Rickeseis | | Richard Barnewall | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Edward Jans |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | James Watson |
| | | | | | Robert Arthur |
| | | | | | Christofer White |
| | | | | | Walter Kennedy |
| | | | | | John Bamber - S |
| | | | | | Abraham Rickeseis -S |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Ricahrd Edwards |
| | | | | | |
| 1641 | Thomas Wakefield | Laurence Allen | Richard Barry | John Bamber | Mayor |
| | | John Woodcocke | | Abraham Rickeseis | Treasurer |
| | | | | John Fleming | Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Christopher Forster |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Christopher White |
| | | | | | Walter Kennedy |
| | | | | | William Smith |
| | | | | | Laurence Allen |
| | | | | | John Woodcocke |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | William Merryman |
| | | | | | |
| 1642 | Walter Kennedy | Richard Fyan | Richard Barry | Lawrence Allen | Mayor |
| | | Daniel Wybrants | | John Woodcocke | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Christopher Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wakefield |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Christopher White |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Walter Kennedy |
| | | | | | Richard Fyan |
| | | | | | Daniel Wybrants |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | William Merryman |
| | | | | | |
| 1643 | John Carbery | John Brice | Richard Barry | John Pue | Mayor |
| | William Smyth | John Miller | | Thomas Pemberton | Treasurer |
| | | Peter Fletcher | | | Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Christopher Forster |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wakefield |
| | | | | | Christopher White |
| | | | | | Walter Kennedy |
| | | | | | John Miller - S |
| | | | | | Peter Fletcher - S |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | William Merryman |
| | | | | | |
| 1644 | William Smyth | Fredericke Panckart | Richard Barry | John Miller | Mayor |
| | | Maurice Pue | | Peter Fletcher | Treasurer |
| | | John Brice | | | Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Christofer Forster |
| | | | | | Edward Jans |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wakefield |
| | | | | | Christopher White |
| | | | | | Walter Kennedy |
| | | | | | Andrew Clerke |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Maurice Pue |
| | | | | | John Brice |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | James Roome |
| | | | | | |
| 1645 | Philip Watson | Edmond Hughes | Richard Barry | John Brice | Mayor |
| | William Smyth | Raphael Hunt | | Maurice Pue | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Christopher Forster |
| | | | | | Edward Jans |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wakefield |
| | | | | | Christopher White |
| | | | | | Walter Kennedy |
| | | | | | Andrew Clearke |
| | | | | | Edmond Hughes |
| | | | | | Raphael Hunt |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Robert Caddell |
| | | | | | |
| 1646 | Edward Lake | Adam Talbott | Richard Barry | Edmund Hughes | Mayor |
| | William Smyth | Robert Deey | | John Collyns | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Christofer Forster |
| | | | | | Edward Jans |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wakefield |
| | | | | | Walter Kennedy |
| | | | | | Andrew Clearke |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | John Pue |
| | | | | | Adam Talbott - s |
| | | | | | Robert Deey - S |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens |
| | | | | | Robert Dowlan |
| | | | | | |
| 1647 | Richard Barnewall | Daniel Hutcheson | Richard Barry | Robert Caddell | Mayor |
| | William Bladen | John Shephearde jnr. | | Robert Deey | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Thadee Duffe |
| | | | | | Christopher Forster |
| | | | | | Alderman Smith |
| | | | | | Edward Jans |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wackfield |
| | | | | | Walter kennedy |
| | | | | | Andrew Clarke |
| | | | | | John Pue |
| | | | | | Daniel Hutcheson - S |
| | | | | | John Shephearde jr.-S |
| | | | | | Nicholas Stephens** |
| | | | | | Edmond Hues |
| | | | | | Robert Dowlan** |
| | | | | | |
| 1648 | John Pue - A | Robert Mylles - tailor | Charles Forster | Thomas Hill | Mayor |
| | | Peter Vandenhoven g/smith | | Walter Springham | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Christopher Forster |
| | | | | | Alderman Bladen |
| | | | | | Alderman Bennett |
| | | | | | Alderman Wackfild |
| | | | | | Alderman Smith |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Alderman Hunt |
| | | | | | Alderman Pue |
| | | | | | Alderman Hutchinson |
| | | | | | Robert Mylles - S |
| | | | | | PeterBandenhoven -S |
| | | | | | John Collins |
| | | | | | Robert Deey |
| | | | | | Gilbert Tonques |
| | | | | | Mr. Drinckwater |
| | | | | | Christopher Newsan |
| | | | | | |
| 1649 | Thomas Pemberton - A | Thomas Waterhouse | Charles Forster | Rober Mills | Mayor |
| | Sankey Sullyard | Richard Tighe | | Peter Vandenhoven | Treasurer |
| | | | | | John Pue |
| | | | | | Christopher Forster |
| | | | | | Alderman Bladen, |
| | | | | | Alderman Bennett, |
| | | | | | Alerman Wakefeild |
| | | | | | Alderman Smith |
| | | | | | Alderman Hunt |
| | | | | | Alderman Robert Deey |
| | | | | | Alderman Vanendhoven |
| | | | | | Thomas Waterhouse -S |
| | | | | | Richard Tighe - S |
| | | | | | John Collyns |
| | | | | | Gilbert Tonques |
| | | | | | Nathaniel Drinkwater |
| | | | | | Nicholas Barry |
| | | | | | |
| 1650 | Raphael Hunt | Richard Cooke | Daniel Huchinson | | Mayor |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | George Gilbert | | | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Sankey Sullyard |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wakefield |
| | | | | | William Smith |
| | | | | | RobertyDeey |
| | | | | | Peter Wybrants |
| | | | | | Thomas Waterhouse |
| | | | | | Richard Tighe |
| | | | | | Richard Cooke - S |
| | | | | | George Gilbert - S |
| | | | | | John Shepheard |
| | | | | | Marcus Quine |
| | | | | | John Browne |
| | | | | | |
| 1651 | Richard Tighe | John Browne | Peter Wybrants | George Gilbert | Mayor |
| | | Ridgley Hatfield | | Richard Cooke | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Raphael Hunt |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wakefield |
| | | | | | William Smith |
| | | | | | Sankey Sullyard |
| | | | | | Robert Deey |
| | | | | | Thomas Waterhouse |
| | | | | | Nathaniel Drinkwater |
| | | | | | Sheriffs |
| | | | | | John Woods |
| | | | | | John Desmineere |
| | | | | | Marcus Quine |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | John Eastwoode |
| | | | | | |
| 1652 | Daniel Huchinson | John Cranwell | Raphael Hunt | John Browne | Mayor |
| | | William Clift | | Ridgley Hatfield | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wakefield |
| | | | | | William Smith |
| | | | | | Sankey Sullyard |
| | | | | | Robert Deey |
| | | | | | Thomas Waterhouse |
| | | | | | Nathaniel drinkwweatrer |
| | | | | | sheriffs |
| | | | | | John Woods |
| | | | | | John Desmineere |
| | | | | | Mark Quine |
| | | | | | Samuel Weston |
| | | | | | Owen Jones |
| | | | | | George Surdevele |
| | | | | | John Eastwoode |
| | | | | | |
| 1653 | John Preston | Thomas Clearke | Richard Tighe | John Cranwell | mayor |
| | | Tobias Cramer | | William Clift | treasurer |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wakefield |
| | | | | | William Smith |
| | | | | | Sankey Sulliard |
| | | | | | Robert Deey |
| | | | | | Thomas Waterhouse |

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| | | | | | Nathaniel Drinkwater |
| | | | | | sheriffs |
| | | | | | John Cranwell |
| | | | | | William Clift |
| | | | | | Richard Cooke |
| | | | | | Nathaniel Fowkes |
| | | | | | John Desmineere |
| | | | | | Marke Quine |
| | | | | | Samuel Weston |
| | | | | | Owen Jones |
| | | | | | Hugh Price |
| | | | | | |
| 1654 | Thomas Hooke | William Coxe | John Preston | Tobias Cramer | Mayor |
| | | John Desmineere | | Thomas Clearke | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wakfield |
| | | | | | William Smith |
| | | | | | Sankey Sullyard |
| | | | | | Robert Deey |
| | | | | | Thomas Waterhouse |
| | | | | | Sheriffs |
| | | | | | Samuel Weston |
| | | | | | Marke Quine |
| | | | | | Owen Jones |
| | | | | | Hugh Price |
| | | | | | |
| 1655 | Richard Tighe | Daniel Bellingham | Thomas Hooke | William Coxe | Mayor |
| | | Richard Palfrey | | John Desminieres | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Alderman Bennett |
| | | | | | Alderman Forster |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Alderman Wakefield |
| | | | | | Alderman Smith |
| | | | | | Alderman Hutchinson |
| | | | | | Alderman Peter Wybrants |
| | | | | | Alderman Mylls |
| | | | | | Alderman Cranwell |
| | | | | | Sheriffs |
| | | | | | Richard Cooke |
| | | | | | Richard Heydon |
| | | | | | Enoch Reader |
| | | | | | Owen Jones |
| | | | | | master of the tailors |
| | | | | | master of the glovers |
| | | | | | |
| 1656 | Ridgley Hatfield | Richard Phi9llipes | William Smith | Daniel Bellingham | mayor |
| | | Henry Ballard | | Richard Palfrey | treasurer |
| | | | | | Alderman Bennett |
| | | | | | Alderman Forster |
| | | | | | Alderman Wakefield |
| | | | | | Alderman Huchinson |
| | | | | | Alderman Peter Wybrants |
| | | | | | Alderman Mylls |
| | | | | | Alderman Cranwell |
| | | | | | Alderman Cooke |
| | | | | | sheriffs |
| | | | | | Marke Quine |
| | | | | | Enoch Reader |
| | | | | | Owen Jones |
| | | | | | master of the tailors |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | master of the smiths |
| | | | | | master of the glovers |
| | | | | | |
| 1657 | Thomas Waterhouse | John Forrest | William Smith | Richard Phillipes | mayor |
| | | John Tottie | | Henry Bollardt | treasurer |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wakefield |
| | | | | | Richard Tighe |
| | | | | | Daniel Huchinson |
| | | | | | John Preston |
| | | | | | Thomas Hooke |
| | | | | | Peter Wybrants |
| | | | | | Robert Mylls |
| | | | | | John Cranwell |
| | | | | | Richard Cooke |
| | | | | | rest of aldermen |
| | | | | | sheriffs |
| | | | | | Mark Quine |
| | | | | | Enoch Reader |
| | | | | | Owen Jones |
| | | | | | master of taylors |
| | | | | | master of glovers |
| | | | | | master of smiths |
| | | | | | |
| 1658 | Peter Wybrants | John Eastwoode | William Smith | John Forrest | mayor |
| | | Robert Arundell | | John Tottie | treasurer |
| | | | | | Robert Bennett |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Thomas Wakefield |
| | | | | | Richard Tighe |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | Daniel Huchinson |
| | | | | | John Preston |
| | | | | | Thomas Hooke |
| | | | | | Robert Mylls |
| | | | | | John Cranwell |
| | | | | | rest of aldermen |
| | | | | | sheriffs |
| | | | | | Enoch Reader |
| | | | | | Owen Jones |
| | | | | | master of taylors |
| | | | | | masters of smiths |
| | | | | | master of glovers |
| | | | | | |
| 1659 | Robert Deey | John Price | William Smith | John Eastwoode | Mayor |
| | | Hugh Price | | Robert Arundell | treasurer |
| | | | | | Peter Wybrants |
| | | | | | Raphael Hunt |
| | | | | | Charles Forster |
| | | | | | Richard Tighe |
| | | | | | Daniel Huchinson |
| | | | | | Thomas Hooke |
| | | | | | John Preston |
| | | | | | rest of aldermen |
| | | | | | sheriffs |
| | | | | | Enoch Reader |
| | | | | | Owen Jones |
| | | | | | masters of taylors |
| | | | | | masters of smiths |
| | | | | | masters of glovers |
| | | | | | |
| 1660 | Hubart Adryan Verneer | Thomas Jones | Ridgley Hatfield | John Price | Mayor |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Peter Warde | | Hugh Price | Treasurer |
| | | | | | Robert Deey |
| | | | | | Raphael Hunt |
| | | | | | Richard Tighe |
| | | | | | Daniel Huchinson |
| | | | | | Thomas Hooke |
| | | | | | John Preston |
| | | | | | Thomas Waterhouse |
| | | | | | Peter Wybrants |
| | | | | | rest of aldermen |
| | | | | | sheriffs |
| | | | | | Enoch Reader |
| | | | | | John Smith |
| | | | | | masters of smithes |
| | | | | | masters of taylors |
| | | | | | master of glovers |

Appendix III: Franchise rolls 1640-1660.

Source: D.C.L. MS MR 9, 'Register of freemen 1576-1695'.
Gertrude Thrift (ed.) 4 vols.(Dublin 1919)
J.T. Gilbert, *Calendar Ancient Records of Dublin,*
vols iii and iv.
N.B. Any differences between Gilbert's *Cal. Anc. Records Dublin* and the *Roll of Freemen* , as well as any additional information, are noted in brackets beside the MR 9 reference.

A: On Apprenticeship
By Special
BSG: Grace
DOF: As Daughter of Freeman
On fine of
FOG: Gloves
POF: On payment of fine
In Right of
ROW: Wife
SOF: As Son of Freeman
SER: On performance of a service

| Date | *CARD* ref. | D.C.L. MR 9 ref. | Name | Occupation | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | |
| **1640** | | | | | |
| January | Vol. iii, pp. 354-5 | vol. i. p. 63 | Martha Byrne | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 91 | Nathaniel Fowkes | taylor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 196 | Frederick Pancarte | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 246 | Andrew Younge | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | Adrian Huybarts | apothecary | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Thomas Dermott | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol I, p. 173 | John Connor | cooper | BSG/POF |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol.ii. p. 180 | Laurence Halgan | currier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 | John Orbone | merchant | A |
| | | vol.ii, p. 15 | Thomas Dromgoule | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 112 | William Martin | merchant | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Henry Dromgoule | baker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 30 | Walter Jr.Keane | butcher | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 65 | James Luttrell | tailor | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 174 | William Cunny | glovers | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 112 | Patrick Murphie | glovers | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Nicholas Shygan | pewterer | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 196 [dau. Of George Peppard, plasterer] | Jane Peppard | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | Anne Hollywoode | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 128 [son of Richard, glover] | James Tallon | | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 5 | Michael Jennett | | SOF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 173 | Peter Conran | | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | Michael Healan | | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| April | vol. iii, pp 370-371 | vol. 1. p. 173 | Margery Clinton | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 112 | Edward May | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | James Holland | shermen | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 62 | Morgan Byrne | shermen | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Giles Davis | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | Thomas Henson | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | Walter Rivers | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | John Sweetman | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 62 | William Bee | drummer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Edward Stanley | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | Patrick Walsh | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 63 | Richard Bellew | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Francis Pheypoe | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Christopher Plunkett | merchant | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | Nicholas Enos | barber-surgeon | A |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. 1. p. 62 | Henry Brehon | joiner | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 91 | Donnogh Fullam | joiner | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 231 | Laghlan Quine | baker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 112 | James Mooney | butcher | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 166 | Phelym Newman | butcher | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Stephen Dongan | butcher | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | William Harris | currier | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 63 | Philip Brangan | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. ii. P. 61 | Donnogh Enos | cook | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 173 | Walter Clincher | merchant | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 91 | Francis Fyan | merchant | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 [son of John Huggard] | William Huggard | goldsmith | SOF |
| | | voll. Iii, p. 112 [wife: Elizabeth Doyle] | John Moore | stationer | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol iii. P. 374 | vol. i. p. 63 | John Bethall | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | Edmond Hunt | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | Daniel Wyborrow | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Richard Palmer | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | Oliver Walsh | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Edmond Doyle | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 30 | Nicholas Keatinge | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 30 | John Knight | vintner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 174 | John Cooke | brewer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | Anthony Wyvell | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | Daniel Wyer | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 63 | Henry Birkett | merchant | A |
| | | vol.iii, p. 30 | William Kelly | cutler | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | Cornelious Reily | tailor | A |
| | | vol. i.p. 174 | Thomas Cox | haberdasherer | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 128 [Dated pas.] | Edmond Tyrenan | butcher | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Edmond Dalton | butcher | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Robert Pares | glover | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Baltazer Purcell | pewterer | A |
| | | not listed | Henry Morlan | plasterer | A |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. i. p. 174 | Maria Cowgan | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. i. p. 63 | Catherine Butterly | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. i. p 172 | Isabella Comen | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 [Wife: Jeneta Franckton, dau of John, printer] | William Plummer | merchant | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol.iii, pp.378-9 | vol. i. p. 63 | William Brasebridge | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | James Jackson | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | Patrick Kilch | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 65 | John Lalan | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | Crysant Horne | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 166 | William Nugent | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | Patrick Warren | merchant | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | William Eustace | joiner | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 112 | Patrick Moore | carpenter | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 174 | Marcus Cardon | baker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 65 | Patrick Locke | baker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | William Smith | bricklayer | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 63 | Feagh Bourke | tailor | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 63 | Thomas Buckeley | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | William Hackett | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Thomas Finglas | girdler | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 131 | Patrick Toole | currier | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 65 [son of John, baker d.] | William Lawilis | | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| **1641** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iii, p. 381 | vol. iv, p. 61 | Edmond Springe | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 63 | Nicholas Browne | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 128 | Claude Tasshon | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Richard Swanne | farrier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 65 | Stephen Ludlowe | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | George Webb | pewterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 63 | Thomas Barrett | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 166 | William Nicholls | sherman | BSG/POF |

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| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Robert Pinder | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | Thomas White | girdler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1.p. 62 * | Brooke, Thomas | gardner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 63 | Thomas [Robert]Broghall | "pultrer" | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 63 | Bartholomew Bath | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 128 | Peter Travers | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Peter Plunckett | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 [not listed in Gilbert] | Terence Reily | carrier | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 166 [dau. James Nugent, merchant] | Maria Nugent | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 166 [dau. John, tallowhandler, d.] | Jenneta Neale | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 65 [not listed in Gilbert,] | Francis Larkan | merchant | SOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 [Wife: Anna Cawell, dau. John Cawell, merchant] | James Storzekar | clothworker | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| May | Vol. iii, pp. 383-4 | vol. i.p. 174 | John Connell | gentleman | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | William Sager | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 112 [Morlan] | John Morgan | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 131 | Timothy Gilbert | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii. P. 62 | William Etheridge | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | William Kerdiffe | merchant | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 63 | Thomas Barnewall | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 65 | Christopher Ledwitch | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Michael Taylor | merchant | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 131 | Michael Gentleman | merchant | A |
| | | vol. 1.p. 14 | Michael Ardan | baker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | John Hunter | baker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 80 | Thomas Hunter | baker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Nicholas Foertie | butcher | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | Hugh Hanlon | butcher | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 166 | Edmond Neale | butcher | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | John Wood | tailor | A |
| | | vol. i, p. 174 | Christopher Colman | tailor | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Richard Stanley | tailor | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | Oliver Rochford | currier | A |

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| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Richard Sheaman | mason | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | Simon Rogers | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 [ dau. John Eustace, joiner] | Anne Eustace | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 [dau. Laurence, currier] | Anne Hackett | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 166 | Edmond Neale | merchant | SOF |
| | | vol. 1.p. 63 | John Brice | merchant | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Robert Fleminge | butcher | SOF |
| | | vol. i. p. 63 | Christopher Barry | butcher | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 [son of Michael Keazer d.] | Thomas Keazer | baker | SOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 [son of Philip Stronge, baker] | James Stronge | baker | SOF |
| | | vol. I, p. 63 | Simon Browne | baker | SOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 [son of William Rellicke] | Richard Rellicke | currier | SOF |
| | | vol. 1.p. 174 [son of merchant] | Laurence Cosgrave | shoemaker | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 112 [Son of Patrick, not listed in Gilbert] | James Malinge | son of tailor | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 [Son of Simon, not listed in Gilbert] | Simon Marley | son of merchant | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iii, p. 387 | vol. iv, p. 188 | Daniel Wybrants | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Richard Tatlocke | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Joseph Dobson | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | Richard Wilson | glazier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | John Kellie | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | Robert Kilborne | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 63 | Elizabeth Butcher | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 63 | Kate Butcher | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | Rosa Harrold | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 63 | Margaret Browne | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 [dau. Nicholas, merchant] | Margery Kellie | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 [dau. Nicholas, merchant] | Brigid Kellie | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 131 | William Gibbons | gentleman | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 112 | Walter Macan | tailor | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | Walter Hartford | smith | SOF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 188 [son of Nicholas Wakefield, tailor] | Paul Wakefield | | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 [wife: Maria Dictott, dau of Richard, cutler] | Edward Prescott | "spurrier" | ROW |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 [ Wife: Jane Peppart, dau. George, plasterer] | William Stone | bricklayer | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iii, p. 390 | vol. ii, p. 131 | Thomas Goran | baker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Thomas Jacob | baker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 [not listed in Gilbert] | Patrick Toole | | A |
| | | | | | |
| **1642** | | | | | |
| January | | | | | |
| | | Assembly not held due to the citizens being engaged in defence of the city | | | |
| | | against the rebels [Memorandum from Thomas Wakefield, Mayor of Dublin | | | |
| | | and Laurence Allen, Sheriff. | | | |
| April | vol. iii, p. 391 | | | | |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Martha Finch | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. 1. p. 63 | Robert Bysse, jr. | gentleman | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii,p. 197 [sons of Eugene Pue, clothier, d.] | John Pue | gentleman | SOF } |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Maurice Pue | gentleman | SOF } |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 [not in Gilbert] | George Dillon | butcher | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 [not in Gilbert] | Maria Dalton | maiden | DOF |
| July | vol.iii, p. 395 | | | | |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | William Pudsey | yeoman | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol.iv, p. 188 | Robert Wade, | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 63 | Richard Braghall | barber-surgeon | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 131 | James Galballie Jr. | | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Christopher Dalton | | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iii, p. 389 | vol. ii, p. 181 | James Hagan | cutler | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 131 | Robert Griffith | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Thomas Freckleton | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Richard FitzSymjons | girdler | A |
| | | vol. ii. p. 62 | Richard Enos | shoemaker | A |
| | | | | | |
| **1643** | | | | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | vol. iii, p.401 | vol. i. p. 64 | Thomas Bysse | cloth-worker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | John Tirrell | tanner | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 [son of John Edgerton, girdler] | Richard Edgerton | | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| April | vol. iii, p. 405 | vol. ii, p. 180 | Anthony Hurdelston | yeoman | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 131 | Nicholas Gerrott | currier | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | David Murphie | baker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 [son of John Denn) | Nicholas Denn | barber-surgeon | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iii, p. 409 | vol. ii, p. 180 | Stephen Holte | musician | BSG/FOG |
| | | not listed | Edward Ap John | yeoman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i p. 63 | John Browne | baker | A |
| | | vol.iv, p. 188 | Thomas White | shoemaker | A |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iii, pp. 415-6 | vol. iv, p. 61 | Peter Sherley | cook | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 64 | Peter Barry | barber-surgeon | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 64 | Alexander Burne | barber-surgeon | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 [not listed in Gilbert] | John Evers | barber-surgeon | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 64 | Christopher Bennett | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 246 | Michael Younge | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | James Malone | baker | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 14 | John Ashe | baker | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 14 | Walter Allen | tallow-chandler | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 [dau. Robert Taylor, tailor, d.] | Elizabeth Taylor | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 [son of Richard Nevell, apothecary, d.] | John Nevell | barber-surgeon | SOF |

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| **1644** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iii, p. 416 | vol.ii, p. 62 | William Evans | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | Lewis Williams | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 131 | Richard Gerrald | dyer | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 64 | James Barry | girdler | A |
| | | vol. ii, p, 62 [dau. Nicholas Enos, smith] | Catherine Enos | maiden | DOF |
| | | | | | |
| May | vol. iii, p. 421 | vol. iii, p. 231 | Marcus Quine | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Michael Sweetman | baker | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 64 | Christopher Brady | baker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 231 | Donnogh Quine | smith | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 180 | Christpher Heward | tailor | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 64 | James Browne | tallow-chandler | A |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iii, p. 424 | vol. iv, p. 188 | Robert Woodcocke | | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Anthony Derry | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | John Eastwoode | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. I, p. 174 | Henry Calcocke | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | John Nugent | barber-surgeon | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | James Kennan | tailor | A |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iii, pp. 424-5. | vol. 1. p. 64 | Patrick Beaghan | sergeant to Mayor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 65 | William Lord | apothecary | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Daniel Doyle | TAILOR | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | James Mannaghan | fishmonger | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Thomas Storie | glover | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 64 | Morgan [Thomas] Birne | cutler | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 174 | Alicia Crolly | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 131 | Nicholas Gernnon | barber- | SOF |

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| | | | | surgeon | |
| | | vol. iv, p. 165 [Wife: Margaret Clinton] | Nicholas Vero | | ROW |
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| **1645** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iii, pp. 426-7. | vol. iii, p. 113 | Robert Meade | tailor | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | Robert Richardes | fishmonger | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | Peter Halpeny | fishmonger | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Patrick Stone | fishmonger | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 [Faran] | Matthew Furan | fishmonger | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 | Richard Oram | fishmonger | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 14 | Walter Archbold | fishmonger | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 131 | Martin Gibbons | fishmonger | A |
| | | vo. Ii, p. 92 | Margaret Forster | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 174 | Edward Cantwell | baker | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| April | vol. iii, p. 429 | vol. i. p. 64 | Michael Brigly | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 [dau. Thomas Wakefield] | Alicia Wakefield | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | Thomas Nolan | baker | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Edmond Floode | tailor | SOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 [son of Thomas Whitseede, girdler, d.] | Thomas Whitseede Jr. | girdler | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iii, p. 433 | vol. iii, p. 113 | Richard Millington | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 188 | Oliver Walsh | glover | A |
| | | | | | |
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| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iii, p. 438 | vol. ii, p. 62 [Erushey] | Richard Ernshey | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | John Wood | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 64 | Philip Byrne | barber-surgeon | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 64 | Patrick Byrne | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Edmund Ferrall | shoemaker | A |
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| **1646** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | vol. iii, p. 440 | vol. iv, p. 129 | Edmond Trowe | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
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| | | | | | |
| April | vol. iii, pp. 442-3 | vol. i. p. 65 | William Bell | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Roger Pinder | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Edward Paule | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | Vincent Roe | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 64 | Michael Burrowe | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | John Nicholas | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | William Hamlyn | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 131 [Garrinson] | William Garmson | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 162 | John Usher | merchant | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 64 | Daniel Bould | goldsmith | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | David Murry | baker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | James Reade | baker | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 64 | William Boyle | tailor | A |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iii, p. 445 | vol. iii, p. 65 | Ellinora Ledwitch | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Gabriel Jones | "cloth-drawer" | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 65 | Thomas Bemond | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Henry Gildarte | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | John Kinge | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Thomas Ganley | merchant | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Thomas Davys | currier | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | Patrick Macan | tallow-chandler | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | Richard Morris | girdler | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | William Elliston | weaver | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 [dau. Symon Reade, d.] | Alson Reade | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol i. p. 64 | Francis Blackney | gentleman | SOF |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | William Griffin | baker | SOF |
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| October | | Assembly not held due to citizens defending the city against | | | |
| | | approaching rebels. [Memorandum by William Smyth, Mayor and Robert | | | |
| | | Caddell, Rober Deey, Sheriffs]. | | | |
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| **1647** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iii, p. 446 | vol. 1. p. 64 | Roger Brereton | gentleman | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. 1. p. 64 [Browneley] | Thomas Bromley | gentleman | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. 1. p. 174 | Edward Chambers | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 [Stoker, app of Gilbert Tonques] | Joseph Stoke | goldsmith | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | Edward Lorde | silk-weaver | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 64 | Patrick Braghall | baker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p, 188 | Thomas Warren | baker | A |
| | | | | | |
| April | vol. iii, p. 447 | vol. ii, p. 62 | Nicholas Eddis | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | Henry Woodfall | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Nicholas Taylor | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | Thomas Rutlidge | barber-surgeon | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | John Totty | glover | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | Gerald Kavanage | cook | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Margaret Fullam | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. i. p. 64 | Thomas Browne | merchant | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iii, p. 449 | vol. i. p. 64 | Maria Browne | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 65 | Charles Lowdom | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | Gilbert Ecclis | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Nathaniel Philpott | haberdasher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | John Tomson | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | John Murphie | tallow-chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | George Surdivell | tailor | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | John Haward | tailor | A |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | Henry Rutlidge | shoemaker | A |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iii, p. 452 | vol. iii, p. 31 | Richard Kennedy | gentleman | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | Thomas Haughton | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | Arnold Westenra | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | Christopher Newson | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Robert Spicer | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | William Metcalfe | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | William Walker | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | William Maman | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | Jonathan Waterhouse | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | James Gubbins | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Simon Smallwood | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | William Wharton | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | William Gray | dyer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 188 | Andrew Waterhouse | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Nathaniel Drinckwater | girdler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | Robert Naghton | haberdasher | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | Gamaliel Bell | bricklayer | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | Christopher Ellison | weaver | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | Walter Welsh | baker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | Simon Moore | carpenter | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 65 | MorganByrne | cook | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | William Throppe | dyer | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 [Brehowne] | Andrew Brehoune | joiner | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | Jeremias Radames | tailor | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | John Bradocke | sherman | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Alsona Fleminge | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 [Dau of Walter Doyne, merchant] | Joanna Doyne | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | William Huggard | joiner | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| **1648** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iii, p. 455 | vol. ii, p. 62 | Leonard Elliott | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | Thomas Duckurtt | weaver | BSG/POF |

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| | | vol. i. p. 64 | Thomas Bond | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | Christopher Rooth | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | Thomas Kynione | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 174 | Richard Cooke | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 15 | James Doyle | baker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | Thomas Malone | smith | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | Richard Magrane | cooper | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 174 | Daniel Connor | carpenter | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | Thomas Mannoghane | gunsmith | A |
| | | vol i. p. 65 | Margaret Barrane | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | Robert Malone | gentleman | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| April | | vol. iv, p. 11 | Giles Rawlins | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 174 | Thomas Clare | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | Samuel Weston | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | George Taylor | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Thomas Taylor | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | John Preston | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 65 | Daniel Bellingam | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 65 | Daniel Burfield | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Ambrose Futtrell | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 14 | John Ambrose | miller | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Thomas Goodfellow | vintner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Thomas Sumpner | vintner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 65 | Beckingham Bentham | glazier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | William Densone | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Rich. Phillips | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 174 | William Coale | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | Thaddeus Hall | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | Thomas Kelly | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | Abraham Rigg | skinner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | William Rawlins | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | William North | girdler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 174 | Thomas Carbery | baker | A |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. i. p. 174 | Patrick Carrigg | baker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 [Dyvine] | William Dyume | baker | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 65 | Robert Boordman | skinner | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 14 | Robert Arundell | skinner | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 11 | William Rice | gentleman | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 [not listed in Gilbert] | Malley Patrick | son of merchant | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| July | | vol. iv, p. 189 | Peter Weybrants | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | William Tomson | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Gilbert Johnson | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | Simon Barton | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | Thomas Brooxby | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | James Dermott | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | Robert Hayden | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Richard Gormly | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | John Gany | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | William Thurgood | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Isack Sands | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | William Nicholson | skinner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | Robert Locke | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | Christopher Right | goldsmith | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | Peter Hayden | vintner | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | Patrick Keane | butcher | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | Richard Sherlock | butcher | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | Patrick Kennan | cooper | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | George Toole | cooper | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | John Welsh | cooper | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | John Bush | tailor | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | Richard Kelly | tailor | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Goare Guiliams | tallow-chandler | A |
| | | vol.iv, p. 189 | Joseph Weaver | chandler | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | Thomas Browne | glover | A |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | Richard Kelly | baker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 [son of William Worrall, gent. d.] | John Worrall | gentleman | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | Patrick Maylley | merchant | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Christopher Gearon | shoemaker | SOF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | Nicholas Banckes | pewterer | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol.iii, p. 466 | vol. iv, p. 12 | John Robbins | gentleman | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | John Suthell | knifer' | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | Thomas Waterhouse | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | Edward Barton | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | John Boulton | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.ii, p. 16 | Lewis Desmenere | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 189 | Thomas Whit | malster | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 231 | Thomas Quirke | malster | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Shacarley Droope | glazier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | John Browne | distiller | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | Robert Hughes | stationer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | Humphrey Mill | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | John Bird | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | Peter Ricarby | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | John Rade | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | William Reason | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | Thomas Hollis | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 61 | John Smith | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | Henry Reynols | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Edward Philips | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | William Baulton | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | William Dawson | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | Denis Morran | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Thomas Drake | miller | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 174 | Robert Coale | felt-maker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Richard Tigh | felt-maker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 65 | Daniel Badinge | felt-maker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | William Sincklaer | tailor | A |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | James Dougherty | tailor | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | William Doyne | smith | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Denis Sherra | glover | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 174 | George Clarke | merchant | SOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 [son of Nicholas Wackfild, tailor] | Abraham Wackfile | saddler | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | Ralph Miller | gunsmith | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | Thomas Harford | smith | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 [dated Michalmas] | Christopher Leach | smith | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 m. Giles Connor | George Hullett | vintner | ROW |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 [wife: Joanna Doyne] | Isaac Taylor | tailor | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| Oct-27 | vol. iii, p. 466 | vol. 1. p. 14 | Hybert Adrayans | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | John Hartt | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 174 | Hybert Cromhaut | | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | William Beast | | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 174 | Dominic Croly | gentleman | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | William Doyne | shoemaker | SOF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | Thomas Bird | merchant | ROW |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 [wife: Barbara Harroll] | Matthew Nutley | tailor | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| **1649** | vol. iii, p. 471 | | | | |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Catherine Dutton | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | Benjamin Robertt | cook | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | William Harris | bever felthmaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | George Forster | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | John White | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | Lucas Loder | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 65 | Henry Biby | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Thomas Greames | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | John Desmenere | merchant | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 [dau. Daniel, alderman] | Anne Huchinson | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iii p. 113 [dau. William, merchant-not listed in Gilbert] | Cecilia Mandon | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 [dau. John Saunderton, plumber] | Elizabeth Saunderton | maiden | DOF |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | Roger Nowlan | shoemaker | SOF |
| | | vol, iv, p. 12 [Wife: Margaret Barran] | Anthony Robinson | vintner | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| April | vol. iii, p. 487 | vol. i. p. 14 | Ralph Alsop | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Robert Fox | | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 [dated Mid.] | Henry Powell | | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 [dated Mid.] | William Webb | watchmaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 [dated Mid.] | Richard Palfrey | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 [dated Mid.] | George Osborne | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | George Dobson | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | Ralph Kennyon | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181[dated Mid.] | William Hallaway | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 [dated Mid.]] | William Cliffe | | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 165 [dated Mid.] | Edward Vandonest | saddler | A |
| | | | | | |
| June 1649 | vol. iii, p. 487, n.1. | | [The amount of the recognizance executed by each | | |
| | | | person for observance of the terms of admission to the | | |
| | | | franchise was advanced from ten to | | |
| | | | twenty pounds] | | |
| | | | | | |
| July | | | No list | | |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iii, p. 495 | vol. 1. p. 175 | George Carmick | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | John Hollys | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | Thomas Mosse | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | William Hutchin | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Thomas Gustard | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | John Hatch | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 | William Oaker | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | George Cooper | butcher | BSG/POF |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | John Webber | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | George Caddy | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | Robert Neale | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 162 | Richard Uttermy | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | William England | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | Hugh Leison | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | Richard Bell | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 14 | Robert Adams | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | Robert Heyns | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 65 | Philip Burges | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | Denis Welsh | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | John Whitley | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | Edward Nelson | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | Robert Wilson | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | Richard Langford | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | William Wilson | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 65 | William Becke | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | James Gerald | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | Thomas Woodward | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | John Sisson | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.ii, p. 181 | Robert Hally | shoemakers | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | William Robinson | shoemakers | BSG/POF |
| | | not listed | Thomas Howell | shoemakers | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 181 | John Hall | currier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 [merchant] | William Martyn | brewer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | John Martyn | brewer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Thomas Griffith | brewer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | Thomas Cooper | vintiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | George Ricards | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 65 | Emmanuel Byrd | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Samuel James | mariner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | George Putland | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 | William Mould | | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Robert Skidmore | | BSG/POF |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Thomas Galloway | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | William Wilkinson | apothecary | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 65 | John Carroll | feltmaker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 246 | Christopher Young | clothier | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 246 | James Young | clothier | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 [Patrick] | Peter Carter | shoemakers | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 [also as John Samon, vol. iv, p. 62] | John Lamon | tallow-chandler | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | William Carden | carpenter | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | Richard Cullen | barber-surgeon | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 [wife: Alicia Wakefield,dau of Thomas Wakefield, alderman] | Thomas Pilkinton | gentleman | ROW |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 [listed as POF] | Rice Phillipps | vintiner | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| **1650** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iii, p. 499 | vol. ii, p. 16 | Margaret Dawbye | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | Richard Larkan | cook | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | Henry Baylie | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Matthew French | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | John Betson | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Ridgley Hatfield | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | John Waterhouse | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 14 | Thomas Andrewes | physician | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | Richard Mitchell | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | Henry Ballaerte | apothecary | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 [Lincalne] | William Lincolne | brewer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | William Coxe | brewer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | Anthony Cragge | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 [Heyes] | John Hayes | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 [not listed in Gilbert] | William Manneringe | tanner | POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Patrick Toole | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Daniel Symons | glover | BSG/POF |

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| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | Richard Bayly | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | John Hust | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 113 [Meeke] | John Merke | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.ii, p. 92 | John Field | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Joseph Falkland | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | Johathan Butterton | plate-worker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Anthony Towneson | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Edward Friars | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.ii, p. 62 | Moses Ebbotts | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Francis Towneson | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 190 | Francis Wyndresse | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | William Winterbottome | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | Richard Marten | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | AdrianTaylor | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | Patrick Reade | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | Henry Woodall | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 175 | Walter Corran | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | Thomas Woodward | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 175 | Richard Cooke | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 189 | John Woodward | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | George Tredestine | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | Richard Coombes | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | William Potter | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Richard Gibbons | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | Thomas Norris | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 [not listed in Gilbert] | John Stevens | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Hugo Price | hornebreaker | POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | Paul Crofton | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | Ralph Baker | plasterer | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | John Lineger | helier | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Abraham Dobson | glover | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | William Wilcockson | gardener | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | Sara Butterfield | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 [dau. John] | Judith Bysse | dau. Mayor | DOF |

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| | | vol. iv, p. 62 [dau. Sankey Sulliared, alderman | Maria Sullyard | dau. Alderman | DOF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175, son of butcher | Walter Connor | | SOF |
| | | | [some names at end obliterated] | | |
| | | | | | |
| April | vol. iii, p. 500 | vol. 1. p. 175 | James Clayton | musician | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | Mynard Christian | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | Thomas Cheslyn | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Arthur Harvie | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 197 | Richard Person | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | Edward Cole | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Charles Shorter | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | William Bracebridge | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | Laurence Byrne | cutler | A |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | Thomas Cotton | picturemaker | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| July | | | No list | | |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iii, pp. 508-509 | vol. iv, p. 246 | Abraham Yarner | dr. of medicine | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | Robert Kinge | tallow-chandler | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | Joell Barnes | cook | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | Denis Carroll | cook | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 165 | Gerald Vanhoven | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 246 [as apprentice] | Simon Younge | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | Thomas Baddeley | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | John Anthony | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | John Bevans | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 | John Knott | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | George Hollis | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | John Gardiner | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 16 | George Addison | baker | BSG/POF |

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| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | Thomas Walker | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | Francis Eccles | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | John Seaman | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | Wiliiam Brookeinge | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 190 | Thomas Wilcockes | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 | John Ogden | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.ii, p. 92 | Ralph Fenton | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Robert Sympson | shearman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | Oliver Bullagh | barber | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | Francis Barker | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 135 | John Goodacre | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 175 | James Coveney | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Thomas Sanders | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | Gregory Balsh | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 16 | Robert Allen | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 16 | John Askewe | glazier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Edmond Daniel | baker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | William Luttrell | baker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Robert Preston | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. | Michael Enos | tailor | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | Henry Murtagh | tailor | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | John Blythe | tailor | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 32 | John Kilborne | weaver | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Richard Stone | weaver | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | Giles Mee | weaver | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 32 | John Kearnes | shearman | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | Thomas Whitemoore | shearman | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Edward Smith | shearman | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Dermot Dunne | smith | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | Dudley Russell | barber-surgeon | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 [son of Thomas, tailor d.] | Walter Kelly | tailor | SOF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | Theodore Barlowe | trumpeter | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 [son of Mathew, d.] | Joseph Pierse | shoemaker | SOF |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iii, p. 31 [son of Nicholas, merchant d.] | John Kelly | | SOF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | Christopher Bennett | | SOF |
| | | vol iii, p. 197 [son of George Prowdfoote, d.] | Richard Proudfoot | son of merchant [d] | SOF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 175 | Timothy Callaghan | barber | ROW |
| | | | [other names obliterated] | | |
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| **1651** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iii, pp. 512-513 | vol.iv, p. 190 | Rosa Waterhouse | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Anna Pue | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Constantia Pue | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Elizabeth Pue | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Maria Pue | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Barbara Gustard | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Patrick Genney | yeoman | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Samuel Saltenston | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Richard Anderson | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Robert Condite | distiller | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Richard Sandum | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 190 | Thomas Wilkes | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 246 | James Yates | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Johnathan Studdarte | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | James Boy | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Nehemiah Tarant | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 9 | Ralph Johnson | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 175 | John Critchfield | vintner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | Michael Adams | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Richard Dolman | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Andrew Armson | brazier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | John Watt | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. 1. p. 66 | Richard Byrne | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Francis Trappes | glover | BSG/POF |

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| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | Edward Nicholls | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | John Wooley | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | Peter Warde | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | George Rawlyns | glover | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | Robert Westberry | weaver | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Nicholas Cusack | weaver | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | Patrick Wales | weaver | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | John Bryne | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 92 | John Forrest | tallow-chandler | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 [SOF] | Robert Brady | tailor | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | Robert Betson | Bricklayer | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | Edward Browne | vintner | ROW |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Anne Doyle | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 [dau of William] | Brigid Marten | maiden | DOF |
| | | | | | |
| April | vol. iii, pp. 517-8 | vol. i. p. 67 | Henry Burnett | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | William Barney | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Henry Prettie | gentleman | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Henry Camble | mason | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | William Langham | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 130 | Broghill Taylor | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 231 | Denis Quine | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | Thomas Byland | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | Elnathan Brocke | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | Thomas Woodcocke | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 [Betson] | Richard Benson | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | Thomas Massie | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 [Broadbett] | Richard Brodbelt | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Anthony Heard | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | Robert Nicholls | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Isaac Fawcett | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Henry Hayes | clothier | BSG/POF |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | Richard Woofe | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 66 | Thomas Burton | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Michael Savage | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | William Sanders | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 9 | Thomas Jones | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Cadwallader Davies | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | John Wilde | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 9 | Robert Jenkins | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | George Crumpe | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | John Tirrell | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | William Hardinge | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Jonathan Paley | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Willliam Coyle | barber-surgeon | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Patrick Feyragh | baker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 9 | Richard Jacob | baker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | John Harris | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | Lewys Williams | carpenter | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | Michael Rogers | bricklayer | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Thomas Dunne | plasterer | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 [dau of Christopher d.] | Elizabeth Merry | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 [son of Sankey Sullyard] | Jonas Sullyard | apothecary | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 [son of John, butcher d.] | Robert Lewys | butcher | SOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 [Wife: Barbara, Gustard] | Thomas Tiser | butcher | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iv. pp. 8-9 | vol. iii, p. 167 | Sir Robert Newcomen | baronet | BSG/FOP |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Robert Percivall | gentleman | BSG/FOP |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | John Rutter | cuttler | BSG/FOK |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | John Smith | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | John Corker | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 [Mayhen] | Thomas Mayhew | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | William Hulett | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Martin Calthorpe | tailor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 9 | Owen Jones | merchant | BSG/POF |

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| | | vol. iii, p. 9 | Henry Jephson | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | Thomas Blyth | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 130 | Thomas Taylor | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | Thomas Williams | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | John Rogers | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | John Davies | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.ii, p. 16 | Patrick Dowlinge | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | William Blackborne | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Simon Harris | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | William Locke | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | Roger Bosse | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | James Guy | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Richard Palfrey | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.i. p. 67 | Francis Bushopp | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Thomas Hoy | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | Thomas Barton | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | Hugh Bagnall | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Philip Hardinge | helier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Richard Hartley | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Patrick Hanron | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | Nicholas Wallace | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | Richard Browne | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 | Thomas Orr | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | John Sergeant | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | Thomas Rutter | glazier | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 [Birne] | Patrick Byrne | carpenter | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Rowland Davies | smith | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | John Donnogh | smith | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 [dau of George Wilcockson] | Joanna Wilcockson | maiden | DOF |
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| October | vol. iv. pp. 16-17 | vol. iv, p. 12 | Hugh Roberts | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 9 | Richard Jones | cutler | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Robert Hillyard | smith | BSG/FOG |

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| | | vol. iv, p. 190 [son of Daniel Wybrantes, alderman] | Daniel Wybrantes jr. | merchant | BSG/FOS |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 [Tobias] | Thomas Creamer | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | John Powell | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | Matthew Browne | clockmaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Henry Grimshaw | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | John Hartis | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | William Lyle | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | John Lovett | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | John Wentrich | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 12 | Thomas Rathborne | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | Robert Eaton | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | John Warren | Tallow-chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Thomas Cleefe | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | John Huckerby | slater | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | John Bellis | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | William Wyborne | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Simon Grey | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | Michael Wilson | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Edward Jones | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 62 | Robert Stafford | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | William Haddocke | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Daniel Purcell | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | William Phillipps | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | John Smith | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67. [Bantlet] | Thomas Bartlett | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | John Richardson | trunk-maker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 | Rice Williams | farrier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.i. p. 67 | Maurice Bishopp | farrier | BSG/POF |
| | | vl. Iv, p. 12 | Nathaniel Roberts | mason | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 [Doughty] | Samuel Doughtie | merchant | A |
| | | | David Byrne | tailor | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | Edward Beetagh | baker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 [Doughty] | Patrick Donnogh | baker | A |

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| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | William Foorde | baker | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | James Beaghan jr. | baker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 [son of William Toole, brasier, d.] | Simon Toole | brazier | SOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 190 [son of Oliver Weston, merchant, d.] | Nicholas Weston | joiner | SOF |
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| **1652** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iv, p. 21 | vol. iv, p. 129 | Ann Tighe | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | Enoch Reader | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Arthur Padmore | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Richard Shorte | tailor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Gyles Goodwinn | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | John Baker | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | John Sprickley | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | William Leese | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 | Robert Orde | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | William Ragge | miller | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Robert Tompson | miller | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | John Norris | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Patrick Coyle | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | John Allen | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | Thomas Roberts | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | Robert Ragge | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Robert Curtis | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | Alexander Norton | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | William Sandes | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Laurence Webber | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | Alexander Bradshawe | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | William Leigh | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Francis Sughden | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Edward Deane | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Robert Gunne | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 [Clearke] | Thomas Clarke | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.i. p. 67 [Bird: trunkmaker] | William Birde | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 132 | Walter Gough | blacksmith | BSG/POF |

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| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Michael Cowdell | blacksmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | George Fisher | plate-worker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | James Nolan | girdler | A |
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| April | | vol. i. p. 15 | Charles Andrews | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | William Sommers | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 16 | Isaac Dobson | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | Christopher Langdall | butcher | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Henry Fisher | tailor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | John White | glover | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Edward Briscoe | coppersmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | James Handcocke | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 9 | Daniel Jenman | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Thomas Wilson | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | John Stone | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | John Mullegan | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Edward Weyman | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | William Brookes | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Randell Cade | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 32 | John Kitson | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | Robert Mayes | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | John Hodkinson | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.ii, p. 16 | Esau Dolman | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Thomas Phillips | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | John Mackadams | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | John Elliyott | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | John Betson | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Roger Prichard | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | William Hutton | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | John Needum | blacksmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Thomas Angier | barber-surgeon | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Nicholas Hunter | baker | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Thadee Bryen | baker | A |

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| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Walter Saer | butcher | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Richard Whyte | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Thomas Andrewes | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | William Challenor | tailor | A |
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| July | vol. iv, p. 33 | vol. iv, p. 13 | Mary Reilly | servant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | Henry Bellingham | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | John Carr | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Johh Tadpoole | cook | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Thomas Jones | merchant | BSG/FOP* |
| | | vol. i. p. 67 | Henry Bateman | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Gilbert Gurnell | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | William Ratcliffe | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 12 | Richard Rankehorne | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Thomas Sharpe | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | William Symons | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Patrick Hamlyn | baker | BSG/POF |
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| October | vol. iv, p. 36 | vol. ii, p. 182 | Francis Harris | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Thomas Heyden | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | William Harrison | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Christopher Thornton | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | John Cartan | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | Richard Robinson | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Michael Falkner | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 162 | Richard Hickie | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.i. p. 15 | Thomas Allwynn | tanner | BSG/POF |
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| **1653** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iv, p. 42 | vol. i. p. 68 | Edward Burges | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | John Thornton | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 32 | Thomas Kirkham | barber-surgeon | BSG/FOG |

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| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | John Heynes | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 92 | Thomas Freeman | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 182 | Edward Harris | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | William Moynes | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Anthony Poulter | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 [Daniel] | John Wade | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Evan Jenkins | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Richard Smith | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | William Lowe | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | William Webb | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Thomas Goodland | gunsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 [son of Christopher, d] | Michael Merry | baker | SOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 [son of Edward Tallant, merchant, d.] | Patrick Tallant | | SOF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Thomas Ball | | SOF |
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| April | vol. iv, p. 47 | vol. iii, p. 114 | Andrew Mainwaring | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | William Allen | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Edward Swann | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | John Harris | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Henry Sisson | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii. P. 17 | Patrick Dowde | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Humphrey Greene | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Hugh Smith | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | John Freeman | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Robert Willens | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Samuel Cotton | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Anthony Wade | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | William Hill | upholsterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Simon Carricke | | SOF |
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| July | | vol. iii, p. 32 | William Knight | merchant | BSG/FOG |

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| | | vol. ii, p. 93 [Flowe] | David Flower | musician | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | William Harvie | butcher | BSG/FOG |
| | vol. iv. P. 51 | vol. iii, p. 66 | Randell Lister | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | William Hill | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Elias Best | vintner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Rowland Jones | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Gervase Whaley | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | William Mylles | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Richrad Warde | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Edward Potter | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | Christopher Roirke | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 [son of John Woodcocke, Alderman] | John Woodcock jr. | | SOF |
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| October | vol. iv, pp. 52-3 | vol. iii, p. 198 | Thomas Preston | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | Randolph Maninge | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Jeremy Berstowe | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Richard Simkin | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Thomas Graves | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | William Crutchley | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | Robert Rigbie | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | Stephen Leigh | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | Thomas Ely | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | Peter Harrison | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | John Saywell | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Joseph Johnson | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | John Pullard | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | John Mooney | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Goerge Presicke | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | William Stephenson | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Richard Woodfall | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | Myles Marshall | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii. P. 17 | John Downeinge | glover | BSG/POF |

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| | | vol.iv, p. 130 | Patrick Tirrell | baker | BSG/POF |
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| **1654** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iv, pp. 60-1 | vol. iii, p. 198 | John Price | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | William Goodwinn | tailor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Stephen Foxwest | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Ralph Allen | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | George Huett | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Robert Thornton | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Stephen Ditcher | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Robert Winter | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Matthew Pierson | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | John Percivall | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Richard Floode | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | William Crafton | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 | Thomas Orlibeare | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | William Healy | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Geore Smith | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Thomas Wilson | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | John Alweede | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 | Patrick Nolan | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | Francis Hillyard | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | William Gibbes | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | Thomas Loman | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Matthew Clifford | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Matthew Dringe | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | William Gibson | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | Samuel Hickocke | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 [Burne] | Felix Burnet | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Richard Swann | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Robert Battripe | cooke | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | James Fade | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 [Butchin] | John Burchin | carpenter | BSG/POF |

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| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Andrew Berry | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | John Hooton | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | Francis Rogerson | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Thomas Paine | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 167 [not listed in Gilbert] | Daniel Nixon | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | Humphry Marshall | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | George Locke | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Robert Barnewall | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | Peter Harrison jr. | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Philip Swifte | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 130 | William Taylor | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | Peter Lotchard | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 | John Ord | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Humphry Jarvis | merchant | A |
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| April | vol. iv, pp. 62-3 | vol. iii, p. 114 | Margaret Moore | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | Andrew Loyde | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | Robert Lawe | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | John Slycer | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | Byran Hughes | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Thomas Wale | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.i. p. 68 | Thomas Barker | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 9 | Isaac John | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Thomas Snowe | chirurgeons' | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Richard Brookeinge | chirurgeons' | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | William Benn | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Augustine Capurne | carpenters | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Obadiah Pressicke | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | William George | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | William Milburne | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Thomas Gill | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Robert Sherwine | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Anthony Frisoll | glover | BSG/POF |

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| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | John Shulivin | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | Jesper Roades | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 [Feran] | James Fearon | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | John Beckett | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Thomas Salisburie | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. I, p. 176 | William Crosse | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Edward Jones | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Peter Spence | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | John Jordan | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Thomas Glasson | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 | Henry Seeres | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | William Betson | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | George Dobson | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 168 | Bryen Nulty | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | William Jones | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | James Lommax | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Jacob Peartree | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Edward Walton | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Robert Gill | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Abraham White | clothworkers | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 168 | Robert Nicholls | clothworkers | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | John Mullocke | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | John Garland | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Robert Chettam | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | William Marrow | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 [not listed in Gilbert] | Joseph Parratt | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | William Mylls | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Richard Tappitoe | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Daniel Bower | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Charles Cottle | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Job Adkikns | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Richard Jones | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 246 | Francis Yeates | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Thomas Davis | barber | BSG/POF |

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| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Samuel Chamberline | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Isaac Chocke | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Edward Westby | tailor | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | Stephen Hyatt | chandler | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Margaret Batho | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 63 [dau. John Stone, chandler] | Margaret Stone | maiden | DOF |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iv, pp. 68-9 | vol.iv, p. 191 | Jowann Wilcockson | maiden | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Mary Cramer | dau of Sheriff | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 176 | Ann Cramer | dau of Sheriff | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | John Fletcher | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol.i. p. 68 | James Bamber | tailor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | John Wright | joiner | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Edward Sowth | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 63 | Richard Streete | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Jonathan Warde | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | Eustace Hooker | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 | Richard Peare | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | John Walker | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Thomas Appleyard | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Christopher Watson | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | William Tomlison | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | William Robinson | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | John Booth | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | John Metcalfe | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | John Holyman | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Patrick Ferrall | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 13 | John Rathborne | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 32 [Kahie] | William Kahir | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 198 | Henry Palmer | mason | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | John Ravenscrofte | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | James Gwyer | barber | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | William Horsley | barber | BSG/POF |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iii, p. 66 | John Loughden | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Robert Styles | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Henry Watts | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 165 | Robert Vaughan | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | James Bagworth | buttonmaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Edward Beaton | butcher | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 [Wife: Elizabeth Langford] | Hybernia Scott | | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iv, p. 74 | vol. i. p. 177 | Elizabeth Clayton | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | John Carter | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Anthony Thomas | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | James Grave | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | Nathaniel Rigby | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | John Rocke | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | James Robinson | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 | John Ogden | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | Robert Barnes | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | Midleton Richardson | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 168 | John Neeld | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | James Murphie | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | John Ellis | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Henry James | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | Michael Lalor | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Richard Tirrell | barber-chirurgeon | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | Thomas Elliott | barber-chirurgeon | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 168 | Richard North | clothier | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 62 | Thomas Ellison | clothier | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Daniel Whey | weaver | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Richard Taylor | weaver | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Francis Moore | joiner | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | George Faninge | tailor | A |
| | | | | | |

| **1655** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| January | vol. iv, p. 76 | vol. ii, p. 183 | Robert Hughes | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 114 | Thomas Mitchell | smith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Thomas Wilkinson | shoemaker | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | Peter Rider | tailor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Jeremy Smith | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 [Heydon] | James Haydon | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | Richard Hampton | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Abraham Spencer | dyer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Zechiel Gilbert | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Philip Castleton | sword-cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | William Ferrall | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 | Richard Pollard | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 13 | Richard Robinson | barber | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | James Leigh | pewterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 162 | Humphrey Upshot | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.ii, p. 183 | Ralph Henshall | turner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 130 | Thomas Taylor | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | George Chadwicke | clothworker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Roger Sharott | clothworker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Francis Fernely | clothworker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 [Clearke] | Thomas Clarke | clothworker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | John Smith | clothworker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 32 | Hugh Kennedy | clothworker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | George Cade | knife cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | William Floode | tailor | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| April | vol. iv, p. 81 | vol. i. p. 68 | John Burneston | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 7 | Rees Jones | cook | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Sampson Waters | blacksmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | William Brampton | barber | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 168 | Thadee Nyland | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 191 | Mark Wolfe | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 | Thomar Pierson | smith | BSG/POF |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iii, p. 168 | William Neale | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Thomas Turlington | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | Matthew Hamon | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | William Davys | plateworker | A |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iv, p. 81 | Assembly adjourned due to ill health of mayor | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Aug-24 | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Judith Swinfield | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Leonard Frost | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | Simon Hill | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Robert Sheply | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | William Rabishaw | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Isaac Turnell | plate-worker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Richard Friend | glazier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Edward Skinner | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | Nicholas Harman | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | George Littlefield | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 [Rootes] | Daniel Roofes | girdler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Laurence Sweath | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Oliver Doleman | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 168 | William Norris | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Christopher Mayinan | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 | William Hallywell | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Thomas Cooke | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Peter Stafford | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 165 | Elizabeth Veldon | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 183 [dau. Laurence Halgan] | Jane Halgan | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 168 [wife: Margaret Fullam, dau. Of Laurence, baker, d.] | William Neale | tailor | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| October | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Anne Sanders | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 130 | Dorothy Troutbacke | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Elizabeth Horleston | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | Patrick Russell | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 [not listed in Gilbert] | Christopher Lovett | merchant | POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Angell Hollyard | shoemaker | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | William Hendrickin | joiner | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | William Roberts | cook | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Edward Clearke | barber | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 63 | Edmond Earle | distiller | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Jacob Hudson | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Oliver Warren | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 | Thomas Powell | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | William Smith | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Thomas Hamon | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Toby Haselrigge | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | John Husband | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | John Humphrey | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | George Hughes | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Edward Smith | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | William Robinson | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 68 | William Bottomley | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Thomas Browne | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 63 | John Everett | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 8 | John Jones | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | John Sault | blacksmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | William Malone | baker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | Richard Lynes | heilier | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 [dau. Daniel, alderman] | Elizabeth Huchinson | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 [dau. William Whytters, skinner] | Rebecca Whytters | spinster | DOF |
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| **1656** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iv, p. 90 | vol. iv, p. 13 | Catherine Rogerson | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | Frances Lovell | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Thomas Heward | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 | Amos Ogden | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Thomas Hughes | barber | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Warnaer Westenra | merchant | BSG/POF |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Isaac Ablyn | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 8 [David] | Daniel John | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Edward Mason | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Thomas Bote | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Denis Dunne | blacksmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | John Ratliffe | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 [dau of Michael d.] | William Man | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | James Fitzwilliams | barber | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Samuel Taylor | barber | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Robert Hoskins | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | John Lacey | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 32 | William Kelly | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Thomas Cheeke | girdler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | William Smith | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Francis Benson | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | George Taylor | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | John Bellingham | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Charles Warren | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Josua Brandrith | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Stephen Blackney | barber-surgeon | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Michael Atkinson | weaver | A |
| | | vol.iv, p. 129 | Thomas Tomlinson | sherman | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | John Dowran | trunk-maker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 63 | Thomas Ellis | bricklayer | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | John Hoghlan | joiner | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | Elizabeth Lewys | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 [dau of Michael d.] | Thomasin Morchow | spinster | DOF |
| | | | | | |
| April | | vol. i. p. 69 | Anne Burrows | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Obadiah Bradshawe | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | John Dutton | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | James Lee | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 | Thomas Osborne | clockmaker | BSG/FOG |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | George Tompson | baker | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol.i. p. 69 | John Bater | tailor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | Henry Reynolds | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Edward Sympson | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Timothy Grolier | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, 168 | William North | watchmaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Robert Collyns | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Caleb Seaman | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | John Cannuell | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Arthur Studdert | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Benjamin Archer | turner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Thomas Ardan | turner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Walter May | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | John Beckly | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Edward Williams | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | John Benson | barber | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Thomas Doelitte | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Richard Gamble | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Thomas Bellew | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | William Drayton | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 | Thomas Roberts | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13} [daus. Nicholas, butcher, d.] | Brigid Robbucke | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13} | Mary Robbucke | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 13 [son of Thomas, shoemaker, d.] | Walter Roch | barber-surgeon | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| April | vol. iv, p. 92 | vol. iii, p. 67 [not listed in Gilbert] | James Lee | goldsmith | POF |
| | | To be admitted "free of this city with a banquet to be | Henry Cromwell | | |
| | | paid for by the city | | | |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iv, p. 100. | vol. i. p. 177 | Elizabeth Cooke | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 | Elizabeth Thickbroome | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Nicholas Seward | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Robert Fennymore | baker | BSG/FOG |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iv, p.l 64 | Theophilus Sandord | tailor | BSG/POP |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | James Hill | tailor | BSG/POP |
| | | vol. iv, p. 129 [Tooplee] | Richard Toopler | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Richard Warren | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | William Sterlinge | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 | Stephen Palmer | vintner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | Richard Lane | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Robert Woolston | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Thomas Coates | helier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 64 | James Sinckler | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | John Hole | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Thomas Weston | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Jeremy Winstanley | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Robert Mawe | knife-cutter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p.l 64 | John Sweetman | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Richard Clearke | chirurgeon | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Frederick Christian | clothier | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 | Richard Roe | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Thomas Fullam | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Robert Brooxby | carpenter | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Mary Dromgoole | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 [dau. Thomas] | Margaret Hatton | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | John Brillaghan | butcher | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iv, pp. 107-8 | vol. iii, p. 199 | John Pooley | trunk-maker | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Gabriel Briscoe | smith | BSG/POP |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 | John Parnel | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Stephen Carr | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | William Clearke | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Mark Brooke | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Robert Samwell | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 246 | Henry Yates | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 192 [Wittie] | George Wiltie | helier | BSG/POF |

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| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Nicholas Walton | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 165 | Henry Visard | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Richard Cooper | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | John Foxall | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Henry Walker | barber-surgeon | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | William Linnegar | sherman | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | Patrick Lalor | weaver | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 [dau. William Smith, alderman] | Anne Smith | spinster | DOF |
| | | | | | |
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| **1657** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iv, pp. 112-3 | vol. ii, p. 17 | Adam Darly | tailor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | James Stweard | glover | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 63 | John Evans | cook | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Richard Carney | limmer | BSG/F |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Thomas Graham | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | Henry Salisbury | barber-surgeon | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Henry Hayward | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Henry Martin | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | John Greenfell | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | William Herborne | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | John Smith | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Ralph Fisher | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Philip Cooley | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 64 | John Stubbes | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 8 | Thomas Johnson | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 63 [Empson] | John Emson | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Edward Birmingham | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 [not listed in Gilbert] | Derek Westenra | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Edward Hicklin | baker | BSG/POF |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 [not listed in Gilbert] | Edward Lindon | shoemaker | POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 | Samuel Rathby | clothworker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | John Cannon | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | William Marser | glover | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Joseph Bird | cutler | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Richard Gustard | butcher | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 [not listed in Gilbert] | Mary Dromgoole | spinster | DOF |
| | | | | | |
| April | vol. iv, p. 116 | vol. ii, p. 17 | Anthony Dobbs | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | George Lambert | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | Richard Lord | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 32 | Thomas Knowles | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Robert Hill | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Henry Clifte | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.i. p. 15 | Bryen Aieres | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 [not listed in Gilbert] | Richard Lindsey | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | George Stoughton | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | Robert Shipthorpe | merchant | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Walter Hide | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | Edward Surdevele | tailor | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | Nicholas Surdevele | tailor | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | John Hesketh | weaver | SOF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Anne Alexander | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 63 | William Ellis | blacksmith | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iv, p. 123 | vol. iv, p. 65 | Jane Sankey | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Margaret Coffie | | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | William Corye | carpenter | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 63 | William Ewsden | butcher | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | William Warren | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Thomas Geoghegan | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 | George Reeves | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 63 | Peter Ellicott | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Thomas Margrave | plasterer | BSG/POF |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | John Cooke | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Patrick Brehan | glover | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 [Cardon] | Catherine Carden | maiden | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 [dau Thomas, joiner] | Jane Mylles | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Paul Delasale | merchant | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iv, p. 127 | vol. i. p. 177 | John Clarke | baker | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Henry Bull | chandler | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 8 | William Jones | chandler | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | George Burcham | barber | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Thomas Horneby | cutler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 182 | William Osborne | baker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | Thomas Smarte | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Francis Brookes | miller | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 [Bushap] | John Bushopp | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Edward Adkinson | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 131 | William Taper | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | Thomas Carter | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Christopher Fisher | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Robert Massie | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 177 | James Clarke | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 1 | Peter Ireddell | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | John Browne | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.i. p. 15 | William Atkinson | mason | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 32 [Karrington] | John Carrington | smith | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 | Edward Roberts | butcher | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 63 | Roger Enos | bricklayer | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 [dau. John Sanderton, plumber, d.] | Jane Sanderton | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Elazabeth Bethell | spinster | DOF |
| | | | | | |
| **1658** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iv, pp. 135-6 | vol. iii, p. 199 | Lydia Pressicke | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Mary Drinkwater | spinster | BSG/FOG |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Dorothy Maynard | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 130 | John Thomas | bitt-maker | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Nathaniel Drinkwater | | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol.i. p. 15 | George Anderson | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Samuel Bradway | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 | John Rawlinson | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Joihn Glasier | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 70 | George Bennet | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 131 [not listed in Gilbert] | John Thomas | bitt-maker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 32 | Abraham Kilby | mason | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 | Thomas Reynolds | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 70 | John Bollardt | merchant | A |
| | | vol iii, p. 199 | John Partington | goldsmith | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 [as apprentice to John Preston, alderman] | Thomas Hooke | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 178 | Adryan Connor | barber-surgeon | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Henry Aston | glover | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 | Thomas Handcocke | glover | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | John Whittigarre | glover | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 [Son of John Dowde] | Christoper Dowde | shoemaker | SOF |
| | | vol.i. p. 177 | Martin Connor | | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Thomas Fitzsimons | baker | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| April | vol. iv, pp. 140-1 | vol. ii, p. 133 | Myles Grymes | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Humphrey Barrowe | tailor | POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 | George Ryder | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | John Santhey | esq. | BSG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | George Southwicke | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | George Smith | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 168 | John North | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.iv, p. 131 | Thomas Tennant | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | William Bannester | tallow-chandler | BSG/POF |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | Richard Lindsey | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 131 | William Taylor | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Bethell Dobor | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | John Draycott | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 | Nathaniel Palmer | distiller | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 | Richard Parsons | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Robert Goodman | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 165 | Nathaniel Vinte | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | Thomas Seabrooke | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | Robert Hargraves | glover | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | John Moxon | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 1 | Thomas Ily | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | John Allen | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Edward Mitchell | merchant | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Robert Gaune | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | Philip Burges | butcher | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 | John Hinton | butcher | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | Adam Leech | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 15 | Charles Adams | tailor | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 184 | George Hunt | mason | A |
| | | vol.iv, p. 192 | John Watson | chandler | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | Richard Sibthorpe | chandler | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Jane Dillon | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. iv, pl. 131 [son of Edward Tipper, tanner, d.] | Edmond Tipper | baker | SOF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 63 | John Enos | | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iv, p. 144 | vol. ii, p. 185 | Thomas Hand | chandler | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | James Lightfoote | saddler | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | Edward Shorte | goldsmith | BSG/FOP |
| | | vol. i. p. 178 | Stephen Crompton | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | James Meader | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | not listed | Walter Raspell | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 70 [Edmond] | Richard Blundell | brazier | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | William Fulham | merchant | A |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 | Richard Haughton | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i. p.15 | Josua Allen | merchant* | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 | Stephen Doyle | chandler | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 69 | George Brasbridge | chandler | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 178 | William Carroll | joiner | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 63 | William Evans | tailor | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 32 [dau. Thadee, carpenter] | Easter Kelly | spinster | DOF |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iv, pp. 151-2 | vol. iii, p. 199 | Rebecca Pritchard | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 | John Russell | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 [David] | Daniel Williams | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 | Edmond Hoyle | goldsmith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 1[also as Jurson, vol. iii, p. 8] | Thomas Iverson | glover | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol.i. p. 70 [Braynes] | Richard Brayne | carpenter | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol.i. p. 70 [Blett] | Christopher Blott | smith | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 94 | James Fountaine | chirurgeon | BSG/FOP |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 | Paul Palmer | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 | Richard Reyner | tanner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Thomas Wade | cook | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.i. p. 70 | Edward Birkes | heilyer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 131 | John Toole | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Benjamin Gosmore | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 | Joshua Rowlandson | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Thomas Morely | merchant | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 134 | Edmond Graves | merchant | A |
| | | vol.iv, p. 14 | Henry Rawlinson | merchant | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 131[dated Mid.] | Edmond Tunsdell | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i. p.70[app.of Henry Hutchinson, tailor,d.] | David Barnesby | tailor | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Arthur Marten | tailor | A |
| | | vol. i. p.70[app.of Thos. Howell, shoemaker,d.] | John Barton | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 17 [not listed in Gilbert] | Leonard Dobbs | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. i. p.70[app.of Patrick Browne, baker] | William Browne | baker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | Thomas Stafford | baker | A |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 | Nicholas Holywoode | baker | A |
| | | vol.i.p.170[app.of Thos. Norris, sadler] | Philip Burke | saddler | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | Thomas Springham | merchant | SOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 [son of Patrick, chandler d.] | Richard Locke | dyer | SOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 165 [son of Gerrald Veldon, baker] | Sylvester Veldon | baker | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| **1659** | | | | | |
| January | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Mary Fenton | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol.i. p. 70 | Stephen Burston | clerk | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 [servant to Mr. Recorder] | John Huigh | servant to recorder | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 | John Phillips | saddler | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | Robert Seaman | tailor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 133 | Samuel Guy | shoemaker | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol.i. p. 70 | Charles Butler | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 | John Sherrard | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Edward Moore | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 168 | James Nevett | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 32 | William Kitch | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 70 | Thomas Browne | vintner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 131 | Hentry Tothill | barber | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 131 | Edward Tarleton | merchant | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 93 | Robert Freeman | merchant | A |
| | | vol. i.p.70[app.to Mark Quine, alderman] | Robert Brereton | apothecary | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 246 | William Yates | glover | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 165 | George Vickers | trunk-maker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 | Thomas Roirke | baker | A |
| | | vol.iii, p. 1 | Peter Ides | tailor | A |
| | | vol. i.p.70[app.to Michael Wilson] | James Bryan | butcher | A |
| | | vol.i.p.16 | Matthew Ash | saddler | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 | Adam Harris | plasterer | A |
| | | | | | |
| April | | vol.i.p.178 | James Clifford | chandler | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 | James Loftus | weaver | BSG/FOG |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 [dau. George, baker, d.] | Thomas Pierce | mason | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | James Wheatley | wyredrawer | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 8 | Roger Jones | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 | Walter Rowson | merchant | A |
| | | vol.i.p.178 | Joseph Carton | pewterer | A |
| | | vol.i.p.178 | Richard Conor | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol.i.p.178 | Richard Chancellor | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 63 | John Elwoode | feltmaker | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 [dau. George, baker, d.] | John Pue | glazier | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 94 | Christopher Fulshagh | smith | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 [dau. George, baker, d.] | Elizabeth Pluckett | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol.i.p.70 | Thomas Bird | trunkmaker | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| July | vol. iv, pp. 166-167 | vol.i.p.70 | John Brookes | vintner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.i.p.178[Collis] | William Colles | trunkmaker | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 131 | John Tunnell | joiner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 32 [not listed in Gilbert] | Joseph Katherines | butcher | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 8 [not listed in Gilbert] | Phillip Jones | clerke | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 246 [not listed in Gilbert] | Richard Younge | girdler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 [not listed in Gilbert] | Phillip Laughlin | butcher | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 [dau. Of Patrick Hapenny, cooper] | Mary Hapenny | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Mary Mylls | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 67 [son of Thomas, d] | Charles Lemmon | | SOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 [ROW-wife: Margaret Stone] | Dudley Wooley | tallow-chandler | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| October | vol. iv, p. 171 | vol. ii, p. 18 | Anne Desminieres | spinster | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 | Pierce Holland | tailor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol.i.p.178 | John Crane | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. i. p. 70 | Henry Bull | tallow-chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.i.p.178 | Thadee Cassie | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Christopher Moreheade | merchant | A |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 | Francis Hartis | saddler | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 | Edward Pickins | skinner | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 | Richard Harte | baker | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 | Nicholas Harris | chandler | A |
| | | vol.i.p.16[dau.of Robert,shoemaker] | Dorothy Astwoode | | DOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 65 [son of Robert, haberdasher, d.] | Thomas Sutton | shoemaker | SOF |
| | | | | | |
| **1660** | | | | | |
| January | vol. iv, p. 179 | vol. iv, p. 65 | Thomas Stockton | esquire | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 15 | Thomas Verschoyle | distiller | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. i.p.70 | Daniel Blackmore | tailor | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Richard Warren | merchant | A |
| | | vol. ii, p. 18 | Jeffry Davis | currier | A |
| | | vol.iv, p. 131 [Wife: Ann Oue, dau. John Pue, alderman,d.] | Richard Tyle | | ROW |
| | | | | | |
| May | vol. iv, p. 182 | vol. iii, p. 168 | Edward Nolan | | BSG/FOG |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 [dated Chr. 1659] | Thomas Parnell | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 | Gideon Mils | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iii, p. 115 [May] | Nicholas Wray | turner | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. ii, p. 185 | Raphael Hollingsworth | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 131 [dated Chr. 1659] | William Thropp | smith | BSG/POF |
| | | vol.i.p.70 [app. Of Luke Lowther] | Daniel Byrne | cooper | A |
| | | vol.i.p.178 | Patrick Clarke | cooper | A |
| | | vol. iii, p. 199 [dated Chr. 1659] | Anthony Pierson | shoemaker | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 193 | Timothy Wood | carpenter | A |
| | | vol.i.p.178 | James Conly | joiner | A |
| | | vol. iv, p. 192 | Thadee Walsh | helier | A |
| | | vol. i. p. 70 [dau.of George Bunfan] | Ann Bunfan | spinster | DOF |
| | | vol. iv, p. 14 [dau. James,carpenter] | Charity Roberts | spinster | DOF |
| | | | | | |
| | | Gilbert does not give any lists of Freemen after 1660. | | | |
| | | For listings after this date see D.C.L. MR 9, 'Roll of Freemen of the city of Dublin, 4 vols. | | | |

Appendix III A: Yearly franchise admissions 1620-1639.

Source: Fitzpatrick 'The municipal corporation of Dublin' app. II.

| Date | Name | Occupation | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1620 | | | |
| January | John Gibbons | merchant | A |
| | Richard Barnewall | merchant | A |
| | Richard Ordane | merchant | A |
| | William Harvey | butcher | A |
| | Patrick Clarke | baker | A |
| | Christopher Doyle | smith | A |
| | Dorby Symon | tanner | A |
| | Thomas Frend | weaver | A |
| | Richard Curtis | shoemaker | A |
| | Robert Astwood | shoemaker | A |
| | Margaret Enos | | DOF |
| | James Fyan | merchant | SOF |
| | William Toole | brazier | SOF |
| April | Robert Garrott | architector | BSG/POF |
| | Richard Cullon | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Caulfield | merchant | A |
| | Bartholomew Stanley | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Wetherby | merchant | A |
| | Adam Talbott | merchant | A |
| | Oliver Weston | merchant | A |
| | Laurence Netterville | merchant | A |
| | John Reylie | cooper | A |
| | Thomas Lawles | baker | A |
| | Denis Griffin | baker | A |
| | Simon Browne | shoemaker | A |
| | Thomas Roth | shoemaker | A |
| | James Dalton | currier | A |
| | Nicholas Read | | A |
| | Patrick Garrott | butcher | A |
| | Edward Garvie | smith | A |
| | Robert Tailor | | SOF |
| July | Simon Esmond | merchant | A |
| | Matthew Dillon | merchant | A |
| | Robert Ewstace | merchant | A |
| | John Rowney | cooper | A |
| | Thomas Scanlon | fishmonger | A |
| | Thomas Jones | tanner | A |
| | Edward Lawrence | feltmaker | A |
| | Richard St. John | joiner | A |
| | Patrick Barrett | baker | A |
| | John Holmes | shoemaker | A |
| | John White | fishmonger | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Robert Walshe | baker | A |
| | Simon Boran | merchant | SOF |
| | Nathaniel Haman | | ROW |
| October | Richard Young | shoemaker | BSG |
| | James Fitzgarrald | merchant | A |
| | Richard Caddell | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Dowlin | architect | A |
| | Thomas Reddie | fishmonger | A |
| | David Ivers | fishmonger | A |
| | Nicholas Colgan | shoemaker | A |
| | Barnaby Mulkeran | clothier | A |
| | Laghlin Dolnnogh | clothier | A |
| | Walter Keene | butcher | A |
| | William Boylan | smith | A |
| | Richard Carricke | smith | A |
| | Richard Freene | baker | A |
| | Richard Carricke | swordmaker | A |
| | Janet Dignam | | DOF |
| | Margaret Enos | | DOF |
| | Janet Hunter | | DOF |
| | George Barnewall | saddler | SOF |
| | James Hunter | baker | SOF |
| 1621 | | | |
| January | Laurence Sutton | merchant | A |
| | William Buckley | merchant | A |
| | Redmond Archbold | merchant | A |
| | Edward FitzGArrald | merchant | A |
| | John Cullon | barbersurgeon | A |
| | John Adams | apothecary | A |
| | Thomas Fullam | baker | A |
| | John Taylor junior | baker | A |
| | Michael Brachall | baker | A |
| | William Luttrell | baker | A |
| | Robert Fulshowe | shoemaker | A |
| | Peter Frend | shoemaker | A |
| | John Knowd | swordmaker | A |
| | Nicholas Frend | pewterer | A |
| | John Walkton | girdler | A |
| | Bartholomew Brodynocke | joiner | A |
| | John Pasmere | cook | A |
| | Thadeus Magin | feltmaker | A |
| | Patrick Begg | yoeman | A |
| | Thomas Quyn | yeoman | A |
| | Elizabeth Jey | | DOF |
| | Catherine Dowdall | | DOF |
| | Robert Arthur | merchant | SOF |
| | Patrick Walsh | clothier | SOF |
| | Richard Coyle | tanner | SOF |
| | Nicholas Huggard | musician | SOF/POF |

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|---|---|---|---|
| April | Edmond Barnewall | merchant | A |
| | Walter Tyrell | merchant | A |
| | Richard Browne | clothier | A |
| | Richard Burges | clothier | A |
| | Thomas Doyne | clothier | A |
| | Richard Lennan | clothier | A |
| | John Murphy | saddler | A |
| | William Harrold | saddler | A |
| | Nicholas Maddock | fishmonger | A |
| | Thomas Reylie | fishmonger | A |
| | Andrew Cahan | fishmonger | A |
| | Walter Palles | shoemaker | A |
| | Michael Brennan | joiner | A |
| | Barnaby Doyne | smith | A |
| | Richard Brady | baker | A |
| | Thomas Skully | architect | A |
| | Anna Thomas | | DOF |
| | William Purcell | merchant | SOF |
| | Christopher Duff | merchant | SOF |
| | Thomas Fullam | fishmonger | SOF |
| July | Simon Cardiffe | merchant | A |
| | Robert Pickman | merchant | A |
| | Gerald Nugent | merchant | A |
| | William Good | architector | A |
| | Christopher Kellie | architector | A |
| | John Doyle | cutler | A |
| | William Savadge | baker | A |
| | Patrick Duffe | butcher | A |
| | William Bath | fishmonger | A |
| | Cornelius Dowde | cooper | A |
| | Denis Lownders | shoemaker | A |
| | Edward Hackett | clothier | A |
| | Dorbie Melaghlen | cook | A |
| | Hugh Gaffny | smith | SER |
| | Richard Locke | merchant | SOF |
| October | Walter Kennedy | merchant | A |
| | Theobald Dillon | merchant | A |
| | John Wetherby | merchant | A |
| | George Clarke | merchant | A |
| | William Ferrall | baker | A |
| | Terence Travers | tanner | A |
| | James Osbourne | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Margaret Coyle | | DOF |
| | Catherine Cullon | | DOF |
| | Christopher Kennedy | merchant | SOF |
| | Richard Roth | merchant | SOF |
| | Laurence Fullam | baker | SOF |

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|---|---|---|---|
| | Dorbie Lynam | cook | ROW |
| | John Wilson | cutler | ROW |
| 1622 | | | |
| January | John Jordan | merchant | A |
| | James Roe | merchant | A |
| | Robert Dillon | merchant | A |
| | James Rath | baker | A |
| | William Murray | baker | A |
| | Michael Plunkett | baker | A |
| | Thomas Huntes | cooper | A |
| | Richard Gillam | cooper | A |
| | William Fleming | clothier | A |
| | John Nicholoson | clothier | A |
| | Patrick Croely | glover | A |
| | James Luttrell | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Richard Walsh | merchant | SOF |
| | Christopher Browne | baker | SOF |
| April | William Kena | merchant | A |
| | Nicholas Lillie | clothier | A |
| | Bartholomew White | clothier | A |
| | John Colman | clothier | A |
| | George Gernan | shoemaker | A |
| | Patrick Allen | baker | A |
| | William Worrall | gentleman | SOF |
| | John Lewes | butcher | SOF |
| July | John White | fisher | BSG/POF |
| | William Higgin | merchant | A |
| | John Doggett | merchant | A |
| | John Dillon | tallowchandler | A |
| | Richard Smooth | tallowchandler | A |
| | Edward Bellewe | shoemaker | A |
| | James Fullam | shoemaker | A |
| | James Elles | fisher | A |
| | Thomas Newman | clothier | A |
| | Gilbert Brachall | clothier | A |
| | Laghlan Byrne | feltmaker | A |
| | Edmond Medley | goldsmith | A |
| | Edmond Murray | goldsmith | A |
| | Abigail Sheele | | DOF |
| | Nicholas Luttrell | | SOF |
| | John Boys | architector | ROW |
| October | Randal Mac Donnell | earl of Antrim | BSG |
| | Thomas Evans | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| | Richard Roe | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | George Webb | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | William Haly | painter | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Dale | merchant | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | John Foord | joiner | A |
| | Nicholas Caddell | baker | A |
| | Philip Ellis | fisher | A |
| | Catherine Blackny | | DOF |
| | Thomas Geegen | merchant | SOF |
| | Nicholas Marten | fisher | SOF |
| | William Birmingham | shoemaker | SOF |
| 1623 | | | |
| January | Nathaniel Cattelyn | Recorder of Dublin | BSG/POF |
| | Grigmall Coates | cook | A |
| | James Archbold | merchant | A |
| | Simon Dardis | merchant | A |
| | Robert Lalor | merchant | A |
| | Laurence Marten | butcher | A |
| | John Burnell | butcher | A |
| | Thady Connor | butcher | A |
| | Henry Neale | shoemaker | A |
| | John Hanlon | currier | A |
| | Robert Sutton | haberdasher | A |
| | Daniel Connor | clothworker | A |
| | Richard Browne | baker | SOF |
| April | John Ewstace | merchant | A |
| | Edmond Chamberline | merchant | A |
| | Richard Penteny | merchant | A |
| | Charles Byrne | tanner | A |
| | James Fullam | tanner | A |
| | Patrick Hagoin | sherman | A |
| | Michael Murray | sherman | A |
| | Simon Sherlocke | tallowchandler | A |
| | Richard Botterlie | baker | A |
| | Nicholas Cullon | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Arlenter Usher | merchant | SOF |
| July | Alexander Plunkett | merchant | A |
| | John Dillon | merchant | A |
| | Walter Lee | clothier | A |
| | William Byrne | cooper | A |
| | Thomas Breen | cooper | A |
| | John Ewstace | joiner | A |
| | Richard Coman | glover | A |
| | John Forster | glover | A |
| | Nathaniel Cony | Spanish-leatherdresser | A |
| | Johanna Enos | | DOF |
| | Elizabeth Malone | | DOF |
| | Richard St. Laurence jnr. | gentleman | SOF/POF |
| | William Martin | clothier | ROW |
| | Robert Wood | beer bruer | ROW |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| October | Denis Flood | merchant | A |
| | John Windar | architector | A |
| | William Kennan | shoemaker | A |
| | Patrick Chivers | clothier | A |
| | Simon Darran | fisher | A |
| | Thomas Browne | apprentice [sic] | FOG |
| | Arnold Kerby | hatdresser | ROW |
| | Denis Hughes | clothier | ROW |
| 1624 | | | |
| January | William Barloe | muscician | BSG/POF |
| | Simon Cullon | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Anthony Reynolde | pewterer | A |
| | John Ryan | butcher | A |
| | Thomas Byrd | butcher | A |
| | Robert Hussey | baker | A |
| | Patrick Halpeny | weaver | A |
| | Morgan Caman | weaver | A |
| | Laurence Malone | joiner | A |
| | Patrick Gilliam | joiner | A |
| | John Hoare | cooper | A |
| | Arthur Cardiffe | glover | A |
| | Philip Donnogh | shoemaker | A |
| | Patrick Dowan | tanner | A |
| | Rose Fanning | | DOF |
| | Nicholas [St. Lawrence] | Baron of Howth | SOF |
| | Lawrence Horton | merchant | SOF |
| | Michael Murchoe | butcher | SOF |
| | Thomas Cook [alis Gibbons] | fishmonger | SOF |
| | Thomas Robarts | gentleman | ROW |
| | James Sherman | merchant | ROW |
| April | Richard Blecke | trunckmaker | BSG/POF |
| | Richard Harrison | bricklaier | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Dongan | inn-keeper | BSG/POF |
| | Robert Young | printer | BSG/POF |
| | Solomon Cullon | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Thomas Allen | tallowchandler | A |
| | John Pemerton | shoemaker | A |
| | Patrick Clinch | baker | A |
| | Philip Watson | leather-dresser | A |
| | William Lennan | cooper | A |
| | John Venebles | tanner | A |
| | Andrew Rotchford | tanner | A |
| | William Dalton | fisher | A |
| | Thomas Keagan | yeoman | A/FOG |
| July | Colley Phillipps | gentleman | BSG |
| | Patrick Head | merchant | A |
| | Christopher Kearnan | merchant | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | John Caddell | baker | A |
| | Laurence Nowlan | baker | A |
| | Patrick Gardan | baker | A |
| | George Burges | feltmaker | A |
| | James Tully | | A |
| | Anna Duffe | | DOF |
| | Catherine Proudfoot | | DOF |
| | Anna Laundee | | DOF |
| | John Chivers junior | merchant | SOF |
| | Nicholas Coyle | tanner | SOF |
| | Andrew Bancks | pewterer | SOF |
| | John Saunderton | plumer | SOF |
| October | Richard Rouncell | | BSG |
| | John Tatlow | | BSG/POF |
| | Patrick Byrne | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | John Bath | merchant | A |
| | Mathew Reade | merchant | A |
| | John Stanley | merchant | A |
| | William Stokes | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Keane Cullon | barbersurgeon | A |
| | John Kelly | smith | A |
| | Richard Purcell | tanner | A |
| | Donnogh Gilloghe | butcher | A |
| | James Comen | architector | A |
| | John Dongan | clothier | A |
| | James Bellew | baker | A |
| | Adam Doyle | cooper | A |
| | Thomas Hatton | embroiderer | A |
| | Anne Kenning | | DOF |
| | Margaret Thomas | | DOF |
| | Catherine Roe | | DOF |
| | Alson Quick | | DOF |
| | Walter Conran | merchant | SOF |
| | Thomas Arthure | merchant | SOF |
| | William Arthure | merchant | SOF |
| 1625 | | | |
| January | Edward FitzGerrald | cook | A |
| | John Gillam | bookbinder | A |
| | Elizabeth Thomas | | DOF |
| | Catherine Knightly | | DOF |
| | Cassandra Nelson | | DOF/FOG |
| | Paul Turnor | merchant | SOF |
| | Simon Hunter | | SOF |
| | Edward Rutledge | gentleman | ROW |
| | George Kennedy | cook | ROW |
| April | Richard Morgan | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| | John Bamber | merchant | A |
| | Adam Birford | merchant | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | John Barrie | Butcher | A |
| | Nicholas Byrne | Butcher | A |
| | Charles Kinselagh | clothier | A |
| | Alexander Daniel | clothier | A |
| | Patrick Cullon | clothier | A |
| | Arthur Baggott | tanner | A |
| | Mathew Russel | tanner | A |
| | John Murphie | blacksmith | A |
| | John Ryan | mason | A |
| | Laurence Dowregan | cooper | A |
| | Maria Stephens | | DOF |
| | Eleanor Doyne | | DOF |
| | Catherne Hickie | | DOF |
| | Robert Doyne | shoemaker | SOF |
| | John Dignam | | SOF |
| | James Dorby | | SOF |
| | Evans Jones | architector | ROW |
| July | Henry Geolus | merchant | A |
| | Richard Barnewall | merchant | A |
| | James Moore | merchant | A |
| | Patrick Arthure | merchant | A |
| | John Logath | merchant | A |
| | Walter Enos | merchant | A |
| | John Plunckett | saddler | A |
| | Daniel Garrott | glover | A |
| | Thomas Osten | leatherdresser | A |
| | John Evans | shoemaker | A |
| | Johanna White | | DOF |
| | Christopher Mapas | merchant | SOF |
| | Richard Golding | merchant | SOF |
| | Nicholas Maghery | baker | SOF |
| | John Lawles | cutler | ROW |
| October | Christopher Gorry | merchant | A |
| | James Warren | merchant | A |
| | Thady Byrne | clothier | A |
| | Luke Holdred | clothier | A |
| | Thomas Dowdall | glover | A |
| | Hugh Fox | shoemaker | A |
| | James Beaghan | baker | A |
| | Nicholas Beaghan | baker | A |
| | Dorby Gorman | smith | A |
| | Edward Sweetman | joiner | A |
| | Maria Enos | | DOF |
| | Ralph Long | gentleman | SOF |
| | James Devenish | merchant | SOF |
| | Thomas Wafer | merchant | SOF |
| | William Duffe | butcher | SOF |
| | Cornelius Hicky | smith | SOF |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Simon Taylor | | SOF |
| 1626 | | | |
| January | Rose Freeman | | BSG |
| | Thomas Ellis | | BSG/POF |
| | Christopher Wither | merchant | A |
| | Fyning Tully | barbersurgeon | A |
| | John Fox | chandler | A |
| | Thomas Haughton | saddler | A |
| | John Golden | clotheir | A |
| | James Mooney | buttonmaker | A |
| | Richard Jacob | baker | A |
| | Susanna Carroll | | DOF |
| | Jane Carroll | | DOF |
| | Ellinor Moran | | DOF |
| | Ellinor Enos | | DOF |
| | Ellinor Ford | | DOF |
| | John Carroll | gentleman | SOF |
| | Christopher Usher | merchant | SOF |
| | Nicholas Barnewall | merchant | SOF |
| | Richard Fitzsymons | merchant | SOF |
| | James Luttrell | tanner | SOF |
| April | Henry Walsh | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | Richard FitzHarries | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Fagan | merchant | A |
| | Redmond Archbold | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Purcell | merchant | A |
| | John Jordan | tanner | A |
| | Thomas Linch | tanner | A |
| | Donnogh Byrne | tanner | A |
| | John Matters | tanner | A |
| | James Archbold | tanner | A |
| | Edmond Kelly | sherman | A |
| | Thomas Gebson | pewterer | A |
| | Nicholas Corkran | baker | A |
| | Richard Bath | baker | A |
| | Thadeus Donell | cook | A |
| | Anne White | | DOF |
| | Rose Enos | | DOF |
| | George Preston | merchant | SOF |
| | Nicholas Lawless | | SOF |
| | John FitzGerrald | butcher | ROW |
| | [2 names obliterated] | | |
| July | John Carbry | merchant | A |
| | David Bowrk | merchant | A |
| | Francis Gernon | merchant | A |
| | Richard Daniell | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Nathaniel Hollrod | glover | A |
| | Thomas Flood | shoemaker | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Richard Mounsell | butcher | A |
| | Paul Harrold | girdler | A |
| | Patrick Birne | feltmaker | A |
| | Peter Callan | fishmonger | A |
| | William Donoghan | fishmonger | A |
| | Gerald Rochfort | tanner | A |
| | Abraham Ethridge | upholsterer | A |
| | Anne Conran | | DOF |
| | (oblit.) Rice | | DOF |
| | Elizabeth Sheele | | DOF |
| | Priscilla Watson | | DOF/POF |
| | William Bee | goldsmith | SOF |
| | Andrew Toole | butcher | SOF |
| | Patrick Lewes | butcher | SOF |
| | William Wheitchurch | barbersurgeon | SOF/POF |
| October | Richard Bennett | merchant | A |
| | Robert Dowlan | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Francis Bostocke | embrioderer | A |
| | Thomas Pemberton | shoemaker | A |
| | John Johnson | tailor | A |
| | James Hatten | tailor | A |
| | John Halpenny | tanner | A |
| | Richard Patricks | tanner | A |
| | Patrick Quine | tanner | A |
| | John Durning | glazier | A |
| | John Cantwall | baker | SOF |
| | Bernard Stradforde | parchment-maker | ROW |
| 1627 | | | |
| January | John Toole | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Richard Luttrell | baker | A |
| | William Freene | baker | A |
| | Robert Wiggett | shoemaker | A |
| | Nicholas Carroll | saddler | A |
| | William Fitzrery | unholsterer | A |
| | Beatrice Owin | | DOF |
| | John Roarty | mason | SOF |
| April | William Gallant | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | Ulpian Blackhurne | feltmaker | BSG/POF |
| | Nicholas Caddell | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | Mark Russell | merchant | A |
| | Dermot (alias Dorby) Luhie | merchant | A |
| | Piers Reutan | tailor | A |
| | Edmond Browne | tailor | A |
| | George Tancard | tailor | A |
| | John Nevell | glover | A |
| | Thomas Kelly | fishmonger | A |
| | James Malrin | fishmonger | A |
| | Nicholas Cardon | smith | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Nicholas Knowde | smith | A |
| | Simon Asbould | tanner | A |
| | John Morgan | tanner | A |
| | Barnaby Cone | tanner | A |
| | Nicholas Dorran | shoemaker | A |
| | Johanna Quine | | DOF |
| July | John Coulson | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | Peter Lankton | merchant | A |
| | James Walsh | merchant | A |
| | Nicholas Kennon | merchant | A |
| | Barnabas Rochford | merchant | A |
| | Patrick Bellew | merchant | A |
| | Hugh Flanagan | merchant | A |
| | Robert Coffy | goldsmith | A |
| | Richard Lorkan | tanner | A |
| | James Kennan | tanner | A |
| | Christopher Robucke | butcher | A |
| | Thomas Reade | butcher | A |
| | William Malone | tallowchandler | A |
| | Thomas Haskett | shoemaker | A |
| | Barbara Duffe | | DOF |
| | Ciscilia Duffe | | DOF |
| | Ciscilia Goodwing | | DOF |
| | John Arundel | merchant | SOF |
| | Edward Thunder | tanner | SOF |
| | John Kennan | butcher | SOF |
| | Nicholas Kennan | butcher | SOF |
| | Nicholas Ardan | butcher | SOF |
| October | Thomas Deane | skinner | BSG/POF |
| | Robert Lerrast | brazier | BSG/POF |
| | Simon Lawlis | merchant | A |
| | Christopher Turnor | merchant | A |
| | Simon Morgan | carpenter | A |
| | Thomas Ferrall | weaver | A |
| | Daniel Curragh | fishmonger | A |
| | Richard Cougan | shoemaker | A |
| | Patrick Marten | cutler | A |
| | Marian Coile | | DOF |
| | Onora Lawrence | | DOF |
| | John Marten | fishmonger | SOF |
| | Roger Banckes | pewterer | SOF |
| 1628 | | | |
| January | Barnabas Enos | cook | BSG/POF |
| | Edward Wolverston | merchant | A |
| | Maurice Jordan | merchant | A |
| | James Doyne | merchant | A |
| | Robert Wilson | merchant | A |
| | Walter Halie | architector | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Samuel Andrewes | shoemaker | A |
| | Nicholas Moore | shoemaker | A |
| | Thomas Cavanagh | tailor | A |
| | Laughlin Molloy | tailor | A |
| | Thomas Griffin | cook | A |
| | John Nugent | helier | A |
| | James Barnewall | tanner | A |
| | Robert Hegnie | tanner | A |
| | William Moore | butcher | A |
| | Rosse Cabe | glover | A |
| | Edmond Sheale | barbersurgeion | A |
| | Rosa Lanie | | DOF |
| | Lucas Faipoe | merchant | SOF |
| | Walter Fleming | musician | SOF |
| | Thomas Gernon | | SOF |
| April | Catherine Coffy | | BSG/POF |
| | Luke Bradnam | barbersurgeon | BSG/POF |
| | Lodovic (alias Lavalien) Newgent | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Morgan | merchant | A |
| | James Balfe | merchant | A |
| | William Smith | merchant | A |
| | Bartholomew Roe | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Cornelius Hickey | tailor | A |
| | Patrick Lennan | tailor | A |
| | James Kennedy | tailor | A |
| | Henry Little | tailor | A |
| | Patrick White | baker | A |
| | John Dowlin | cook | A |
| | James Wilson | smith | A |
| | Thomas Warde | tanner | A |
| | Laurence Doyne | saddler | A |
| | Christopher Walshe | tailor | SOF |
| | Patrick Springham | tanner | SOF |
| | John Lennan | | SOF |
| | John Bannister | | SOF |
| | Henry Foord | | SOF |
| July | Patrick Walshe | merchant | A |
| | William Talbot | merchant | A |
| | Francis Betson | merchant | A |
| | William Williams | shoemaker | A |
| | Nicholas Balle | shoemaker | A |
| | Gerald Plunket | shoemaker | A |
| | Richard Haskins | shoemaker | A |
| | Henry Woodward | Spanish leather-dresser | A |
| | Patrick Coffry | smith | A |
| | Charles Blunt | upholsterer | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Anne Enos | | DOF |
| | Maria Enos | | DOF |
| | Margaret Enos | | DOF |
| | Anne Hanlon | | DOF |
| | Rebecca Allen | | DOF |
| | Jane Taylor | | DOF |
| | Maria Taylor | | DOF |
| | William Preston | merchant | SOF |
| | Mark Clarke | | SOF |
| October | Adam Gibson | baker | A |
| | John Clinch | cooper | A |
| | Walter Linch | currer | A |
| | Patrick Daily | fishmonger | A |
| | Thomas Birne | carpenter | A |
| | Maria Banckes | | DOF |
| | Elizabeth Barnewall | | DOF |
| | Alicia White | | DOF |
| | Janetta White | | DOF |
| | Thomas Cusacke | merchant | SOF |
| | Matthew Bath | saddler | SOF |
| | Edmund Calfe | currier | SOF |
| | Richard Quirke | weaver | SOF |
| | Patrick English | baker | SOF |
| | Nicholas White | baker | SOF |
| 1629 | | | |
| January | Richard Barnewall | merchant | A |
| | Alexander Walsh | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Enos | baker | A |
| | Patick Myrun | baker | A |
| | Thomas Archbold | fisher | A |
| | William Marey | fisher | A |
| | Thomas Dogherty | smith | A |
| | Robert Beitagh | glazier | A |
| | Elynor Alexander | | DOF |
| | Margaret Clouan | | DOF |
| | Elynor Dowdall | | DOF |
| | Charity Jones | | DOF |
| | Maria Jones | | DOF |
| | Maria Springham | | DOF |
| | George Proudfoot | merchant | SOF |
| | Patrick Browne | baker | SOF |
| | Christopher Gorman | | SOF |
| April | Hennry Butterfield | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | James Leart | merchant | A |
| | Richard Jones | merchant | A |
| | John Lardge | merchant | A |
| | Richard Casie | merchant | A |
| | James Enos | merchant | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Hamlet Sankey | merchant | A |
| | John Woodcock | goldsmith | A |
| | Richard Huies | baker | A |
| | David Fount | tallowmaker | A |
| | Daniel Chadsie | buttonmaker | A |
| | Richard Kivers | tailor | A |
| | James Kelly | fisher | A |
| | Patrick Lock | tanner | A |
| | Patrick English | tanner | A |
| | Henry Gossann | saddler | A |
| | Thomas Flemming | merchant | A |
| July | Bartholomew Dillon | merchant | A |
| | Michael Riuer | baker | A |
| | Laughlin Kearan | tailor | A |
| | George Jones | saddler | A |
| | William Young | dyer | A |
| | Margaret Ball | | DOF |
| | Lettice Barry | | DOF |
| | Maria Dignam | | DOF |
| | Elizabeth Enos | | DOF |
| | Rose Kelly | | DOF |
| | John Gough | merchant | SOF |
| | Martin Maycan | merchant | SOF |
| | John Walsh | merchant | SOF |
| | Edward Croly | shoemaker | SOF |
| October | Nicholas Barnewall | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| | Robert Knowles | yeoman | BSG/POF/SER |
| | James Newgent | merchant | A |
| | Patrick Redmond | merchant | A |
| | James Begg | smith | A |
| | George Moore | shoemaker | A |
| | Richard Coffie | shoemaker | A |
| | Richard Stanley | shoemaker | A |
| | James Lawlis | shoemaker | A |
| | Francis Brehoune | shoemaker | A |
| | WilliamDoyle | shoemaker | A |
| | Francis Brehoune | shoemaker | A |
| | William Doyle | shoemaker | A |
| | Francis Begg | cutler | A |
| | Robert Maygrane | tailor | A |
| | Edmond Murphey | saddler | A |
| | Patrick Browne | baker | A |
| | William Belan | plasterer | A |
| | Rosa Barry | | DOF |
| | Thomas Hamlin | merchant | SOF |
| | Patrick Moore | merchant | SOF |
| | Andrew Moore | merchant | SOF |
| | Henry Tailor | baker | SOF |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Francis Keating | tallowchandler | SOF |
| | Nicholas Dillon | butch | SOF |
| | Edward Duffe | | SOF |
| | Theodore Jennings | linen draper | SOF |
| 1630 | | | |
| January | Robert Foorde | soldier | BSG/FOG |
| | Richard Larwood | tallowchandler | BSG/POF |
| | Dominic Deverox | merchant | A |
| | James Browne | merchant | A |
| | William Floode | merchant | A |
| | Edward Mullinux | merchant | A |
| | Nicholas Walsh | merchant | A |
| | Patrick Dillon | merchant | A |
| | Patrick Warren | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Mennan | goldsmith | A |
| | Christopher Longe | tanner | A |
| | Edward Conuey | carpenter | A |
| | Christpher Etheridge | tailor | A |
| | Margaret Skurlocke | | DOF |
| | Maria Watson | | DOF |
| | Maria Harrold | | DOF |
| | Elizabeth Conlan | | DOF |
| | Catherine Little | | DOF |
| | Rosa Borran | | DOF |
| | Francisca Baggott | | DOF |
| | John Anderton | barbersurgeon | SOF |
| | John Alexander | shoemaker | SOF |
| | James Browne | | SOF |
| | David Thomas | | SOF |
| | Mathew Scanlon | | SOF |
| | Henry Bennet | merchant | SOF |
| April | Christopher White | merchant | A |
| | Mathew Legath | merchant | A |
| | William Turnor | merchant | A |
| | Redmond Hore | merchant | A |
| | Roger Charnocke | merchant | A |
| | James Archer | merchant | A |
| | James Headrington | butcher | A |
| | William Curragh | tanner | A |
| | Mawrish Lennan | cook | A |
| | Patrick Brog | pewterer | A |
| | Martin Scott | glazier | A |
| | John Dowdall | joiner | A |
| | Laurence Robinson | carpenter | A |
| | Hanna Watson | | DOF |
| | Maria Reyley | | DOF |
| | Maria Jellos | | DOF |
| | Maria Bellew | | DOF |
| | Laurence Allen | merchant | SOF |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Henry Orphey | merchant | SOF |
| | Robert Stephens | merchant | SOF |
| | William Grundy | saddler | ROW |
| July | Thomas Kearsly | architect | BSG/POF |
| | John Allen | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | Mathew Higgin | merchant | A |
| | John FitzHarris | merchant | A |
| | Edward Wesley | merchant | A |
| | Laurence Hamlin | merchant | A |
| | Gerald Veldon | baker | A |
| | Edmond Enos | baker | A |
| | Edward Milles | joiner | A |
| | John Doyne | carpenter | A |
| | John Kelly | mason | A |
| | Nicholas Car (alias Huighes) | tailor | A |
| | Anne Carroll | | DOF |
| | Elizabeth Springham | | DOF |
| | Jennet Corkeran | | DOF |
| | Bryan Fippes | tailor | SOF |
| | William Quicke | | SOF |
| October | Richard Huighes | merchant | A |
| | Henry Doyne | merchant | A |
| | Jasper Skullicke | merchant | A |
| | Patrick Jordan | merchant | A |
| | James Shainaghan | weaver | A |
| | James Draiton | carpenter | A |
| | Nicholas Murray | carpenter | A |
| | Walter Flood | pewterer | A |
| | Morgan Carricke | helier | A |
| | Christopher Archbold | fishmonger | A |
| | Elinor Maley | | DOF |
| | Elizabeth Tyrell | | DOF |
| | Roger Franckton | | SOF |
| | William Ewstace | tanner | SOF |
| | Thomas White | fishmonger | SOF |
| | William Gough | | SOF |
| | William Sweetman | | SOF |
| | Mathew Croly | | SOF |
| 1631 | | | |
| January | George Russell | merchant | A |
| | Neale Naughton | merchant | A |
| | Roger Edwards | merchant | A |
| | Edward Beitagh | merchant | A |
| | William Hanlon | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Gerrald Reynolds | tailor | A |
| | John Dongan | tailor | A |
| | Patrick Thunder | tailor | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Robert Dorran | tailor | A |
| | Bartholomew Carmicke | masoln | A |
| | Bartholomew Coyle | cutler | A |
| | Thomas Guire | shoemaker | A |
| | William Coole | cooper | A |
| | Peter Kelly | cooper | A |
| | William Lawrence | weaver | A |
| | Elizabeth Barnewall | | DOF |
| | Alson Stephens | | DOF |
| | Barbara Stephens | | DOF |
| | Maria White | | DOF |
| | Catherine Edwards | | DOF |
| | Ann Lawrence | | DOF |
| | Jannet Alexander | | DOF |
| | Elizabeth Ferrall | | DOF |
| | Thomas Kennedy | merchant | SOF |
| | Peter Quine | merchant | SOF |
| | John Nolan | merchant | SOF |
| | John Fry | glover | SOF |
| | Simon Nolan | tailor | SOF |
| | Robert Realy | | SOF |
| | Thomas Springham | | SOF |
| | George Bently | gentleman | ROW |
| | John Gibson | merchant | ROW |
| April | William Smith | | BSG/POF |
| | William Bladen | stationer | BSG/POF |
| | Andrew Clarke | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Newgent | merchant | A |
| | John White | glover | A |
| | Edward Kilch | fishmonger | A |
| | Richard Archbold | saddler | A |
| | Patrick Murphey | cutler | A |
| | John McGirragh | cook | A |
| | Amy Carroll | | DOF |
| | Maria Proudfoote | | DOF |
| | Maria Begg | | DOF |
| | Margaret Londy | | DOF |
| | George Russel | | DOF |
| | Patrick Fullam | fishmonger | SOF |
| | Robert Conley | saddler | SOF |
| July | Richard Powell | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Nolan | baker | A |
| | Thaddeus Goran | joiner | A |
| | John Myagh | chandler | A |
| | Thomas Gaghran | cooper | A |
| | John Dixon | cooper | A |
| | Edmond Doyne | smith | A |
| | John Aghier | weaver | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Catherine Field | | DOF |
| | Jannet Commen | | DOF |
| October | Charles Lord Moore | viscount Drogheda | BSG/FOG |
| | Sir Robert Loftus | knight | BSG/FOG |
| | Patrick Hapenny | cooper | A |
| | Richard Fleming | merchant | A |
| | Robert Browne | merchant | A |
| | Edward Lankton | merchant | A |
| | Edward Edwardes | merchant | A |
| | Nicholas Franie | merchant | A |
| | Walter Maglow | shoemaker | A |
| | Robert Maycan | shoemaker | A |
| | Robert Blacke | tailor | A |
| | John Tompkin | carpenter | A |
| | Anne White | | DOF |
| | Anne Plunket | | DOF |
| | Hester Cotton | | DOF |
| | Nicholas Meyler | watchmaker | SOF |
| | John Sherlock | tallowchandler | SOF |
| | James Mey | | SOF |
| 1632 | | | |
| January | Henry Lord Blaney | Baron of Monaghan | BSG/FOG |
| | Sir Edward Loftus | knight | BSG/FOG |
| | Sir James Dillon | knight | BSG/FOG |
| | Hugh Mountgumerie | gentleman | BSG/FOG |
| | Edward Wagstafe | gentleman | BSG/FOG |
| | Robert Cullon | merchant tailor | BSG/FOG |
| | Dermot Meara | doctor in medicine | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Partington | haberdasher | BSG/POF |
| | Thaddeus Cavenagh | cook | BSG/POF |
| | Nicholas Long | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Dillon | merchant | A |
| | William Hampton | goldsmith | A |
| | John Browne | shoemaker | A |
| | Thomas Lennan | baker | A |
| | Maurish Mortimer | cooper | A |
| | Nicholas Carr | cooper | A |
| | James Harison | weaver | A |
| | Edward Walker | girdler | A |
| | Anne Doyne | | DOF |
| | Jannet Bret | | DOF |
| | Anne Penteney | | DOF |
| | Janet Humphrey | | DOF |
| | Margery Enos | | DOF |
| | Margaret Maguire | | DOF |
| | Nicholas Gernon | tanner | SOF |
| | Edward Gibbons | fishmonger | SOF |
| | Christopher Nolan | farrier | SOF |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Edward Croly | | SOF |
| | John Eaton | haberdasher | SOF |
| April | Sir Beverley Newcomen | knight & baronet | BSG/FOG |
| | Sir Faithfull Fortescue | knight | BSG/FOG |
| | Maurice Eustace | gentleman | BSG/FOG |
| | Philip Culme | woolendraper | BSG/FOG |
| | Patrick Heeny | merchant | A |
| | Bartholomew Cusacke | merchant | A |
| | Redmond Fraine | merchant | A |
| | Patrick Marley | merchant | A |
| | Nicholas Sinnott | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Begg | merchant | A |
| | Richard Rogers | merchant | A |
| | Nicholas Osborne | merchant | A |
| | Henry Aungier | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Edward Wogan | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Richard Naghten | tailor | A |
| | James Rigby | tailor | A |
| | Peter Wall | tailor | A |
| | Philip Hatten | baker | A |
| | Thomas Hunter | baker | A |
| | John Sebrick | carpenter | A |
| | Lucas Slaman | mason | A |
| | John Kinge | pewterer | A |
| | John Lalor | glazier | A |
| | Maria Hunter | | DOF |
| | Margaret Halgan | | DOF |
| | Margaret Conron | | DOF |
| | Christina Warren | | DOF |
| | Anne Roe | | DOF |
| | Maria Hamlin | | DOF |
| | Simon Coyle | | SOF |
| | Robert Panting junior | merchant | SOF |
| July | John Stepney | stationer | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Cole | tailor | A |
| | Thomas Goery | merchant | A |
| | Oliver Lambert | merchant | A |
| | John Cheevers junior | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Barnewall | merchant | A |
| | Walter Delamare | merchant | A |
| | William Tanckard | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Edward Phillips | tallowchandler | A |
| | George Malone | cooper | A |
| | Jane Jones | | DOF |
| | Joanna Dixon | | DOF |
| | Ursula Luttrell | | DOF |
| | Francisca Luttrell | | DOF |
| | Maria Browne | | DOF |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Matilda (alias Maude) Bennet | | DOF |
| | John Brett | merchant | SOF |
| | John Loncombe | glover | SOF |
| October | Abraham Moynes | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | James Browne | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | Maurice Geoghegan | merchant | A |
| | Simon Purcell | merchant | A |
| | William Purcell | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Lucas | architector | A |
| | George Jacob | cook | A |
| | Thomas Brett | tallowchandler | A |
| | John Sheaman | baker | A |
| | Thomas Davis | shoemaker | A |
| | James Phillips | butcher | A |
| | Anna Barran | | DOF |
| | Lucia Lilly | | DOF |
| | Anna Brehoune | | DOF |
| | Maria Brehoune | | DOF |
| | Elinora Portor | | DOF |
| | Robert Walsh | merchant | SOF |
| | Robert Dee | | SOF |
| | John Rawlins | glover | SOF |
| | Theophilus Abbott | clothier | ROW |
| 1633 | | | |
| January | Thomas Stanley | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Bath | merchant | A |
| | Tobias Sheale | merchant | A |
| | Thady Kynyne | merchant | A |
| | Peter Ash | merchant | A |
| | Oliver Eliot | merchant | A |
| | Conn Cullon | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Richard Rutledg | barbersurgeon | A |
| | William Bryen | baker | A |
| | William Byrne | sherman | A |
| | Patrick Clouan | tallowchandler | A |
| | Patrick Luttrell | fishmonger | A |
| | Richard River | cooper | A |
| | Brigid Walsh | | DOF |
| | Elizabeth Walsh | | DOF |
| | Anne Gibbons | | DOF |
| | Jennet Kernan | | DOF |
| | Christina Maycan | | DOF |
| | Rose Maycan | | DOF |
| | Bartholomen Galbally | | SOF |
| April | Sir Charles Coote | knight & baronet | BSG/FOG |
| | Thomas Fox | merchant | A |
| | John Lennan | merchant | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | George Chamberlin | barbersurgeon | A |
| | John Travers | girdler | A |
| | William Dowlin | butcher | A |
| | Richard Bellew | baker | A |
| | Patrick Russell | baker | A |
| | John Hart | baker | A |
| | Patrick Weston | helier | A |
| | Barnaby Reilly | currier | A |
| | Edmond Byrne | currer spanish leather | A |
| | Thomas Denson | dresser | A |
| | James Pickott | weaver | A |
| | Christopher Hartford | joiner | A |
| | Daniel Malone | joiner | A |
| | Margeria Everet | | DOF |
| | Elynor Patrickes | | DOF |
| | Thomasina Croly | | DOF |
| | Christopher Luttrell | currier | SOF |
| | John Longe | butcher | SOF |
| July | Christopher Power | merchant | A |
| | George White | merchant | A |
| | Robert Newgent | merchant | A |
| | Arthur Keating | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Robert Dowding | shoemaker | A |
| | Julius Wrench | shoemaker | A |
| | James Sweetman | glover | A |
| | John East | baker | A |
| | Thomas Croly | sherman | A |
| | Elizabeth Duffe | | DOF |
| | Maud Duffe | | DOF |
| | Anne Taylor | | DOF |
| | Maria Conran | | DOF |
| | Elynor Conran | | DOF |
| | Thomas Locke | | DOF |
| | John Hethcock | | SOF |
| | Edward Dullard | glazier | SOF |
| October | Miles [Bourke] Viscount Mayo | | BSG/FOG |
| | Henry King | clothier | BSG/POF |
| | Christopher Dockett | merchant | A |
| | William Mullyneux | merchant | A |
| | Robert Kelly | clothier | A |
| | Richard Childe | clothier | A |
| | Patrick Jordan | clothier | A |
| | Richard Dowding | clothier | A |
| | John Begg | clothier | A |
| | Edmond Gorman | carpenter | A |
| | William Dillon | joiner | A |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Richard Cannon | joiner | A |
| Gilbert Tankard | shoemaker | A |
| Maria Daniell | | DOF |
| Rosa Handcock | | DOF |
| Joanna Collens | | DOF |
| Walter Stanley | merchant | SOF |
| William Lock | | SOF |
| Edmond Warren | merchant | BSG/POF |
| John Frizer | cook | BSG/POF |
| Robert Grococke | sherman | BSG/POF |
| John Molson | sherman | BSG/POF |
| William Ball | skinner | BSG/POF |
| Patrick Bellew | merchant | A |
| Philip Roghan | barbersurgeon | A |
| Richard White | shoemaker | A |
| Richard Roe junior | shoemaker | A |
| Thomas Jones | joiner | A |
| Charles Haughton | clothier | A |
| John Tanner | clothier | A |
| Christopher Synnott | smith | A |
| William Lawliss | baker | A |
| Richard Buckley | currier | A |
| Anne Gorman | | DOF |
| Ellinor Maycan | | DOF |
| Elizabeth Casie | | DOF |
| Maria Clony | | DOF |
| Catherine Browne | | DOF |
| Giles Springham | shoemaker | SOF |
| James Heylan | butcher | SOF |
| Laurece Sanders | | SOF |
| | | |
| Thomas [Roper] | Viscount Baltinglas | BSG/FOF |
| James Rome | yeoman | BSG/POF |
| Daniel Hutchinson | chandler | BSG/POF |
| Henry Taylor | joiner | BSG/POF |
| William Isacke | clothier | BSG/POF |
| John Thompson | clother | BSG/POF |
| William Merryman | clothier | BSG/POF |
| George Lamport | clothier | BSG/POF |
| George Studdart | clothier | BSG/POF |
| Owen Franklin | clothier | BSG/POF |
| Edard Carney | clothier | BSG/POF |
| Richard Meeson | clothier | BSG/POF |
| Loughlin Cavenagh | merchant | A |
| James Barlow | merchant | A |
| Patrick Lamport | merchant | A |
| John Houlder | merchant | A |
| Richard Enos | smith | A |
| Edmond Casey | baker | A |
| Patrick Boylan | baker | A |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Henry White | cook | A |
| William Whitter | skinner | A |
| William Jones | glover | A |
| William Richards | carpenter | A |
| Christopher Missett | joiner | A |
| Barnaby Cavenagh | shoemaker | A |
| Elizabeth Dalton | | DOF |
| Catherine Ash | | DOF |
| Alsona Hand | | DOF |
| Margaret Jarrott | | DOF |
| Richard Brennan | carpenter | SOF |
| Nicholas Hyland | carpenter | SOF |
| Simon Luttrell | | SOF |
| | | |
| Alson Ferrall | | BSG/FOG |
| Robert Usher | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Kinge | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Anthony Strange | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Adams | dyer | BSG/POF |
| Thaddeus Byrne | barbersurgeon | A |
| Robert Lennan | shoemaker | A |
| Thomas Giles | cooper | A |
| Patrick Keares | sherman | A |
| Edmond Keran | tailor | A |
| Mabel Clincher | | DOF |
| Joanna Longe | | DOF |
| Catherine Burnell | | DOF |
| Amy Kenning | | DOF |
| Mable White | | DOF |
| Catherine Browne | | DOF |
| Mary Fullam | | DOF |
| Thomas Flood | tailor | SOF |
| Patrick Lyneham | shoemaker | SOF |
| Michael Dermot | | SOF |
| Nicholas Davis | | SOF |
| | | |
| William Crafton | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| John Bysse | gentleman | BSG/FOG |
| Thomas Kelly | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Ralph St. Lawrence | merchant | A |
| Richard Archbold | merchant | A |
| James Galbally | merchant | A |
| William Mulligan | merchant | A |
| Thomas Plunket | merchant | A |
| Robert White | merchant | A |
| Simon Hore | merchant | A |
| Richard Verdon | barbersurgeon | A |
| Patrick Dowdall | buttonmaker | A |
| James Muluanny | tailor | A |
| Nicholas Dongan | tailor | A |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Thomas Chalynor | tailor | A |
| Richard Brasbridge | tailor | A |
| Thomas Caddell | mason | A |
| Patrick Harris | butcher | A |
| Daniel Byrne | butcher | A |
| John Carney | baker | A |
| John Donnogh | sherman | A |
| James Lincey | tanner | A |
| James Bee | shoemaker | A |
| Thomas Toole | carpenter | A |
| Giles Connor | | DOF |
| Margaret Hylan | | DOF |
| Elizabeth Banckes | | DOF |
| Maria Heny | | DOF |
| Patrick Power | tailor | SOF |
| Francis Keane | | SOF |
| Luke Doyle | | SOF |
| Hugh Symmerell | clothier | BSG/POF |
| Ashton Gerrald | dyer | BSG/POF |
| Robert Valentine | cooper | BSG/POF |
| Edward Newgent | merchant | A |
| James Moore | barbersurgeon | A |
| Richard Kelly | clothier | A |
| Thomas Jacob | butcher | A |
| Patrick Brog | butcher | A |
| William Byrd | cutler | A |
| Edmond Kelly | baker | A |
| James Archbold | baker | A |
| Dorby Dorran | glover | A |
| Walter Springham | glover | A |
| Edward Makin | glover | A |
| William Gawran | fishmonger | A |
| Robert Osborne | glazier | A |
| John Daly | pewterer | A |
| Begnet Usher | | DOF |
| Catherine Keane | | DOF |
| Alson Enos | | DOF |
| Robert Shelton | | DOF |
| Patrick Duffe | | SOF |
| James Murray | | SOF |
| James Carroll | | SOF |
| Michael Livet | butcher | SOF |
| Christopher Crumpe | merchant | BSG/POF |
| Nicholas Halgan | cooper | BSG/POF |
| Richard Bridges | glover | BSG/POF |
| Peter Fletcher | glover | BSG/POF |
| John Williams | glover | BSG/POF |
| Anthony Alderman | sherman | BSG/POF |
| William Hollywoode | merchant | A |
| John Usher | merchant | A |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| James Hussey | merchant | A |
| William Flood | merchant | A |
| Richard Newgent | merchant | A |
| John Barnewall | barbersurgeon | A |
| John Keaser | baker | A |
| Edmond Gawis | baker | A |
| Peter Reade | currier | A |
| George Venables | currier | A |
| John Reynolds | currier | A |
| Edward March | butcher | A |
| John March | butcher | A |
| Walter Dalton | butcher | A |
| Edward Plunket | cook | A |
| John Redworth | pewterer | A |
| Denis Lee | joiner | A |
| William Killin | smith | A |
| Sarah Carroll | | DOF |
| Amy Carroll | | DOF |
| Margaret Conly | | DOF |
| Rosa Duffe | | DOF |
| Patrick Gough | merchant | SOF |
| Eugene Mageohegan | gentleman | ROW |
| John Banes | cook | ROW |
| Elizabeth Kerdiffe | | BSG/FOG |
| Thomas Blyth | innkeeper | BSG/POF |
| Henry Goddin | linen draper | BSG/POF |
| James Plunkett | merchant | A |
| Richard Nugent | merchant | A |
| Edmond Reade | merchant | A |
| Bartholomew Sarsfield | merchant | A |
| Lucas Sankey | apothecary | A |
| Richard Long | tanner | A |
| Thomas Slaman | | A |
| John Shelton | | A |
| Thaddeus Kyan | shoemaker | A |
| Richard Tobin | carpenter | A |
| William Malone | butcher | A |
| Richard Browne | baker | A |
| Peter Kavanagh | glover | A |
| Margaret Boylan | | DOF |
| Margaret Nevell | | DOF |
| Margaret Saunderton | | DOF |
| Cahterine Bennett | | DOF |
| William Luttrell | gentleman | SOF |
| William Broy | shoemaker | ROW |
| Charles Johnson | tailor | ROW |
| William Roe | girdler | ROW |
| Jane Bysse | | BSG/FOG |
| Titus Deane | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| William Mandoe | baker | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Christopher Gernon | baker | A |
| | John Archbold | baker | A |
| | James Finglas | baker | A |
| | Richard White | baker | A |
| | Walter Plunket | baker | A |
| | Patrick Farran | fishmonger | A |
| | Wiliam Coman | tailor | A |
| | Robert Gentleman | glover | A |
| | George Ledwitch | glazier | A |
| | Sylvester Hussey | saddler | A |
| | Thomas March | butcher | A |
| | Maria Malone | | DOF |
| | Maria Fitzsymmons | | DOF |
| | Catherine Clarke | | DOF |
| | Robert Caddell | tanner | SOF |
| | Christopher Murphie | tanner | SOF |
| | Nicholas Coman | butcher | SOF |
| | Patrick Clony | | SOF |
| | Edmond Deering | | SOF |
| | Elinora Mooney | | BSG/FOG |
| | James Archbold | merchant | A |
| | Edmond White | merchant | A |
| | Edward Conly | merchant | A |
| | Peter Donnagh | smith | A |
| | Edward White | tailor | A |
| | Daniel Byrne | tailor | A |
| | William Dowell | baker | A |
| | Patrick Jennett | baker | A |
| | James Jacob | baker | A |
| | Peter (alias Pierce) Reynolds | baker | A |
| | George Wilcockson | parchment-maker | A |
| | John Linch | butcher | A |
| | Thaddeus Carron | cook | A |
| | John Byrne | shoemaker | A |
| | Edward Hatten | shoemaker | A |
| | Gerald Fitzgerald | tanner | A |
| | Bartholomew Bealing | glover | A |
| | Thomas Cardon | girdler | A |
| | Elizabeth Lillie | | DOF |
| | Elizabeth Cheshier | | DOF |
| | Maria Dillon | | DOF |
| | John Taylor | baker | SOF |
| | Richard Dermott | | SOF |
| | John Curragan | | SOF |
| April | Francis Warwicke | spurrier | BSG/FOG |
| | James Dowdall | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | Hugh Taylor | tallowchandler | A |
| | Daniel Goodall | tallowchandler | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Marcus Mason | tallowchandler | A |
| | John Whitmoore | tallowchandler | A |
| | Thomas Sipthorpe | tallowchandler | A |
| | Mathew Usher | merchant | A |
| | Michael Hughes | merchant | A |
| | Richard Barnewall junior | merchant | A |
| | Robert Lambert | merchant | A |
| | Richard Man | baker | A |
| | Patrick Syman | baker | A |
| | Nicholas Begg | smith | A |
| | Richard Lanneghan | smith | A |
| | William Hand | cook | A |
| | Edward Moselie | weaver | A |
| | Nicholas Cruse | butcher | A |
| | Thomas Kempe | plumber | A |
| | Barbara Harold | | DOF |
| | Ann Butcher | | DOF |
| | Michael Fitzgerrald | merchant | SOF |
| | James Cleere | merchant | SOF |
| | James Fleminge | baker | SOF |
| July | Stephen Archbold | merchant | A |
| | Richard Begg | merchant | A |
| | Robert Wilson | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Hoare | merchant | A |
| | Richard Marten | butcher | A |
| | Edmond Hughes | butcher | A |
| | Alexander Rochford | currier | A |
| | James Reilly | currer | A |
| | Edward Friend | pewterer | A |
| | Maurice Jones | carpenter | A |
| | Maria Shelton | | DOF |
| | Gilbert Tonques | goldsmith | ROW |
| | John Lewis | tailor | ROW |
| October | Jeremias Sympson | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Johnson | glover | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Hall | haberdasher | BSG/POF |
| | Walter Davis | skinner | BSG/POF |
| | John Bracebridge | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | Richard Lynam | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| | Peter Bath | merchant | A |
| | Philip Devereaux | merchant | A |
| | Michael Haies | merchant | A |
| | Edward Westpie | merchant | A |
| | William Quine | barbersurgeon | A |
| | John March | saddler | A |
| | George Longe | shoemaker | A |
| | John Sacksby | shoemaker | A |
| | Patrick Rogers | shoemaker | A |

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|---|---|---|---|
| | James Ball | shoemaker | A |
| | James Costelagh | butcher | A |
| | Patrick Caffrie | butcher | A |
| | Sara Lyons | | DOF |
| | Anna Robinson | | DOF |
| | John Dermott | gentleman | SOF |
| | John Taylor | baker | SOF |
| 1637 | | | |
| January | Elinora Bellew | | BSG/FOG |
| | Richard Stone | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | Lawrence Hollywoode | merchant | A |
| | Nicholas Locke | merchant | A |
| | James Lynam | merchant | A |
| | Mathew Teeling | merchant | A |
| | Richard Hill | merchant | A |
| | Gerald Dalton | tailor | A |
| | John Fagan | cook | A |
| | James Saer | baker | A |
| | Christopher Gentleman | baker | A |
| | Nicholas Jacob | baker | A |
| | Patrick Moore | shoemaker | A |
| April | Thomas Gwilliams | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Dorrington | merchant | A |
| | Richard Braghall | baker | A |
| | Patrick McNemarrow | butcher | A |
| | Nicholas Archbold | fishmonger | A |
| | John Saunderton junior | plumber | A |
| | Richard Hill | embroiderer | A |
| | James Malone | merchant | SOF |
| | George Gilbert | clothier | ROW |
| July | Patrick Scarley | merchant | A |
| | John Warren | tailor | A |
| | Ralph Gibson | tailor | A |
| | John Keaser | baker | A |
| | Richard Reilly | fishmonger | A |
| | Edmond Blake | cook | A |
| | Denis Linch | carpenter | A |
| | John Deandon | glover | A |
| | Maria Usher | | DOF |
| | Richard White | baker | SOF |
| | Richard Anderton | | SOF |
| October | Elizabeth Longford | | BSG/FOG |
| | James Kerdiffe | gentleman | BSG/FOG |
| | Thomas Rigbie | glover | BSG/POF |
| | William Thompson | glover | BSG/POF |
| | William Weale | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| | John Andrewes | shoemaker | A |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Patrick Lounders | tailor | A |
| | Richard Proudfoote | skinner | A |
| | John Lalor | carpenter | A |
| | James Quine | baker | A |
| | John Radcliffe | fishmonger | A |
| | John Everton | leather-dresser | A |
| | Maria Dictott | | DOF |
| | Richard Pallis | merchant | SOF |
| | John Hackett | baker | SOF |
| | William Shelton | shoemaker | SOF |
| | Robert Colman | shoemaker | SOF |
| | John Charllton | gentleman | ROW |
| | Mathew Dowdall | merchant | ROW |
| | Thomas Gildarte | saddler | ROW |
| 1638 | | | |
| January | Williaim Faulkner | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | William Cook | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | George Galland | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | Peter Vaneynhoven | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | Nicholas Dowdall | saddler | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Want | sher | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Fottrell | cook | BSG/POF |
| | Samuel Richardson | merchant | A |
| | William Dorrington | merchant | A |
| | Patrick Hickie | cooper | A |
| | James Myles | shoemaker | A |
| | William Gavan | cutler | A |
| | Thomas Bath | butcher | A |
| | Henry Carroll | tailor | A |
| | Elinora Marten | | DOF |
| | Janeta Heeny | | DOF |
| | Anne Legath | | DOF |
| | Anne Browne | | DOF |
| | Daniel Candie | cook | SOF |
| | James Carney | fishmonger | SOF |
| | William Johnson | merchant | ROW |
| April | Robert Blower | city marshal | BSG/FOG |
| | Roger Didsberrie | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | John Shepheard | sherman | BSG/POF |
| | Ambrose Browne | goldsmith | A |
| | James Gelsan | baker | A |
| | William Bradie | butcher | A |
| | Maria Hand | | DOF |
| | Lucia Browne | | DOF |
| | William Lawlis | carpenter | SOF |
| | Patrrick Carricke | baker | SOF |
| | James Neale | | SOF |
| July | Thomas Lemon | gentleman | BSG/POF |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Richard Harris | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Edmondes | vintner | BSG/POF |
| John Miller | chandler | BSG/POF |
| William Farmer | chandler | BSG/POF |
| John Stone | chandler | BSG/POF |
| William Jackson | chandler | BSG/POF |
| Robert Myles | tailor | BSG/POF |
| John Morgan | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Edward Twells | tailor | BSG/POF |
| David Straytor | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Nathanial Furley | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Richard Merry | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Halpenny | tailor | BSG/POF |
| John Hargrave | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Laurence Lambert | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Hugh Pierce | tailor | BSG/POF |
| James Wilde | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Edmond Cartwright | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Daniel Haline | tailor | BSG/POF |
| John Price | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Alexander Maline | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Laurence Clinton | tailor | BSG/POF |
| John Betson | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Oates Crowder | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Goodall | tailor | BSG/POF |
| John Halpenny | tailor | BSG/POF |
| James Bryne | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Mungo Mitchell | tailor | BSG/POF |
| William Archer | tailor | BSG/POF |
| William Jennings | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Thaddeus Higins | tailor | BSG/POF |
| David Walsh | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Christopher Cook | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Francis Kellett | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Hastings Watson | tailor | BSG/POF |
| John Saunderson | baker | BSG/POF |
| John Draper | pewterer | BSG/POF |
| William Kennedy | cutler | BSG/POF |
| Joseph Watson | sopeboyler | BSG/POF |
| Edward Batho | dyer | BSG/POF |
| James Watson | dyer | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Ormes | dyer | BSG/POF |
| Mathew Eustace | button-maker | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Stone | weaver | BSG/POF |
| Richard Hoppie | weaver | BSG/POF |
| John Lewis | weaver | BSG/POF |
| Wiliam Cassan | weaver | BSG/POF |
| John Tamelyn | sherman | BSG/POF |
| Richard Jones | trunk-maker | BSG/POF |
| William Pennell | smith | BSG/POF |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | William Batts | smith | BSG/POF |
| | Robert Warrener | upholsterer | BSG/POF |
| | William Hulme | plate-worker | BSG/POF |
| | George Bragg | embroiderer | BSG/POF |
| | Robert Jones | yeoman | BSG/POF |
| | Robertt Jarmen | glazier | BSG/POF |
| | William Boyse | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | Abraham Rickeseis | | BSG/POF |
| | Robert Wilcoxe | | BSG/POF |
| | Daniel Crofton | | BSG/POF |
| | Patrick White | | BSG/POF |
| | Rowland Thornborough | merchant | A |
| | Laurence Dowdall | merchant | A |
| | Patrick Fitzsymons | merchant | A |
| | Edward Rosingrave | merchant | A |
| | Mathew Barnewall | merchant | A |
| | Edward Bently | goldsmith | A |
| | Denis Toole | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Nicholas Walsh | carpenter | A |
| | Walter Locke | smith | A |
| | Patrick Heeny | smith | A |
| | Charles Brady | tailor | A |
| | Richard Talbot | tailor | A |
| | Peter Evans | tailor | A |
| | James Aungier | baker | A |
| | Richard Kelly | baker | A |
| | Anne Quine | | DOF |
| | Margery Hand | | DOF |
| | James Doyne | tailor | SOF |
| | Thomas Comyn | weaver | SOF |
| | Michael Carney (alias Thompson) | | SOF |
| | Henry Hutchinson | tailor | ROW |
| | Daniel Croftes | tailor | ROW |
| | John Chester | t | ROW |
| October | Gilbert Booth | schoolmaster | BSG/FOG |
| | Francis Freeman | buttonmaker | BSG/FOG |
| | John Field | yeoman | BSG/FOG |
| | Jesper Elcocke | joiner | BSG/FOG |
| | Robert Edwards | chandler | BSG/FOG |
| | Richard Orsbie | upholsterer | BSG/FOG |
| | Thomas Evers | silk-dyer | BSG/FOG |
| | Martin Watt | | BSG/FOG |
| | Richard Burder | plumber | BSG/FOG |
| | Robert Desmineere | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | John Hill | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | John Hauckred | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | Raphael Hunt | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | John Collins | vintner | BSG/POF |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Samuel Fullard | vintner | BSG/POF |
| John March | vintner | BSG/POF |
| John Mitchell | vintner | BSG/POF |
| John Cooper | baker | BSG/POF |
| John Potter | baker | BSG/POF |
| William Potter | baker | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Buckley | baker | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Freeman | cooper | BSG/POF |
| Dent Daniel | cooper | BSG/POF |
| Robert Owens | cooper | BSG/POF |
| Richard Woods | cooper | BSG/POF |
| Richard Pinnion | chandler | BSG/POF |
| William Fenton | chandler | BSG/POF |
| Nicholas Tullier | chandler | BSG/POF |
| Robert Gilbert | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| Daniel Linneger | malster | BSG/POF |
| Richard Ridges | turner | BSG/POF |
| Samuel Cottrell | turner | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Melton | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| William Ramford | dyer | BSG/POF |
| Richard Banckes | weaver | BSG/POF |
| Abraham Eastwoode | weaver | BSG/POF |
| John Guire | weaver | BSG/POF |
| Robert Davies | weaver | BSG/POF |
| Matthew Kessell | joiner | BSG/POF |
| James Hall | joiner | BSG/POF |
| William Anderson | joiner | BSG/POF |
| Nicholas Delvin | joiner | BSG/POF |
| John Mylles | joiner | BSG/POF |
| Charles Smith | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| Robert Gilbert | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| James Roberts | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| James Byrne | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| William Marten | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| Robert Brooke | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| George Ludlowe | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| Alexander Ryan | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| John Connor | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| Robert Chaddocke | innkeeper | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Wilcockson | gardener | BSG/POF |
| Nicholas Jones | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Bernard Bassano | tailor | BSG/POF |
| Eugene Forthie | tailor | BSG/POF |
| John Yetes | bridlemaker | BSG/POF |
| John Cranwell | yeoman | BSG/POF |
| Valentine Weyte | yeoman | BSG/POF |
| Richard Byrne | haberdasher | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Fletcher | glover | BSG/POF |
| Henry Savage | glover | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Rowland | glover | BSG/POF |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | John Randell | glazier | BSG/POF |
| | George Hood | stationer | BSG/POF |
| | John Reade | gabbartman | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Ely | glassman | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Rosingrave | buttonmaker | BSG/POF |
| | John Hooker | buttonmaker | BSG/POF |
| | John Shepheard | clothworker | BSG/POF |
| | Mathew Phillipps | bonelace-maker | BSG/POF |
| | John Waterston | | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Goodall | | BSG/POF |
| | Edward Darcie | merchant | A |
| | Robert Nevell | merchant | A |
| | Michael Gaynor | merchant | A |
| | Bartholomew Hodser | merchant | A |
| | Thomas Denn | barbersurgeon | A |
| | JohnRelfe | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Patrick Connor | shoemaker | A |
| | Edmund Murphy | cook | A |
| | Walter Cantwel | mason | A |
| | Peter Halpenny | chandler | A |
| | Denis Dongan | cooper | A |
| | Patrick Russell | cooper | A |
| | Patrick Foote | cooper | A |
| | William Casie | cooper | A |
| | Eugene Enos | helier | A |
| | John Brislan | carpenter | A |
| | Morgan Doyne | carpenter | A |
| | Thomas Friend | joiner | A |
| | Henry Pierson | linen-draper | A |
| | Arthur Neale | plasterer | A |
| | James Arthur | baker | A |
| | Thomas Curuin | bricklayer | A |
| | Nicholas Ryan | tailor | A |
| | George Bunfan | glover | A |
| | Edward Morton | | A |
| | Francisca Kennan | | DOF |
| | Elinora Balckeny | | DOF |
| | Elizabeth Doyle | | DOF |
| | Philip Griffin | cooper | SOF |
| | Edward Enos | smith | SOF |
| | George Peppard | | SOF |
| | Patrick Jacob | | SOF |
| | Christopher Goodman | | SOF |
| 1639 | | | |
| January | John Neighboure | baker | BSG/FOG |
| | John Culme | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | John Doyne | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | Richard Hayden | vintner | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Brookes | gardener | BSG/POF |
| | John Parker | carpenter | BSG/POF |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | James Simpkin | pewterer | BSG/POF |
| | John Johnson | chandler | BSG/POF |
| | Andrew Taylor | tailor | BSG/POF |
| | Nicholas Braghall | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Harries | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | Richard Jordan | glover | BSG/POF |
| | George Murphy | merchant | A |
| | William Fleminge | baker | A |
| | Nicholas Clinton | saddler | A |
| | George Fyan | butcher | A |
| | Edward Fitzsymons | joiner | A |
| | Richard Taylor | cutler | A |
| | John Middleton | glover | A |
| | Honora Givson | | DOF |
| | Cahterine Enos | | DOF |
| | Janeta Conlan | | DOF |
| | Ricahrd Forster | | DOF |
| | Richard Padge | currier | SOF |
| | Nicholas Locke | | SOF |
| April | Margaret Forster | | BSG/FOG |
| | Nathaniel Stoughton | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | James Vanderbegge | goldsmith | BSG/POF |
| | William Nutkin | mason | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Lewis | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | Adrian Mayvill | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | Johnathon Tomlyn | shearmen | BSG/POF |
| | Richard Verden | merchant | A |
| | Matthew Jordan | merchant | A |
| | Peter Fitzgerald | barbersurgeon | A |
| | Dermod Caghan | tailor | A |
| | Christopher Handron | tailor | A |
| | Patrick Browne | butcher | A |
| | Patrick Gerratt | baker | A |
| | Patrick Murphy | shoemaker | A |
| | David Hylan | glover | A |
| | Robert Kerdiffe | cutler | A |
| | Nicholas Nolan | fishmonger | A |
| | James Browne | fishmonger | A |
| | John Reynolds | pewterer | A |
| | James Bath | smith | A |
| | Richard Quine | smith | A |
| | John Meagh | cooper | A |
| | Robert Lowett | sherman | A |
| | Edward Sparke | sherman | A |
| | Anne Cawell | | DOF |
| | Maria Crilly | | DOF |
| | linora Crilly | | DOF |
| | Isabel Comen | | DOF |
| | Richard Fullam | butcher | SOF |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Michael Brett | | SOF |
| July | Robert Wright | distiller | BSG/POF |
| | John Harries | hat-maker | BSG/POF |
| | George Brookes | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | William Huntman | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | Philip Browne | cooper | BSG/POF |
| | Patrick Walsh | mason | BSG/POF |
| | Simon Brothers | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| | Peter Harrison | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | Richard Tilston | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Lewis | boxmaker | BSG/POF |
| | John Floodgate | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | Myles Bourke | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | Henry Milborne | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | John Harrison | helier | BSG/POF |
| | John Forster | shoemaker | BSG/POF |
| | Paul Cheevers | merchant | A |
| | Charles Geoghegan | merchant | A |
| | Charles Birne | shoemaker | A |
| | William Conran | shoemaker | A |
| | Thady Neman | carpenter | A |
| | William Bradford | carpenter | A |
| | William Norris | carpenter | A |
| | John Warde | mason | A |
| | Robert Birne | tanner | A |
| | Ricahrd Criefe | pewterer | A |
| | Maria Coore | | DOF |
| | Christopher Burnell | barbersurgeon | SOF |
| | John Springham | brazier | SOF |
| | Donogh Connor | gentleman | ROW |
| | Thomas Eares | | ROW |
| October | Roas Browne | | BSG/FOG |
| | James Eddis | merchant | BSG/FOG |
| | Mathew Hamilton | fishmonger | BSG/FOG |
| | Christopher Cruce | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | Theodore Schoute | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | John Vanhaut | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | Thomas Richards | merchant | BSG/POF |
| | Thadeus Kelly | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | John Capron | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | Edward Pierce | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | John Archer | carpenter | BSG/POF |
| | James Mortimer | dyer | BSG/POF |
| | Edmond Fish | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | James Fraunce | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | Robert Saers (alias Sale) | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | William Evance | weaver | BSG/POF |
| | Patrick Murray | joiner | BSG/POF |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| William Ultagh | lime-burner | BSG/POF |
| Thomas Williams | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| John West | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| William Faulkner | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| WilliamAtkinson | bricklayer | BSG/POF |
| Lancelot Jackson | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| Denis Malone | plasterer | BSG/POF |
| Nicholas Hoare | helier | BSG/POF |
| William Rutter | tallowchandler | BSG/POF |
| Eugene Tydur | tailor | BSG/POF |
| John Harrison | gentleman | BSG/POF |
| James Purcell | merchant | A |
| Thomas Harbart | merchant | A |
| Richard Lewis | merchant | A |
| David Carny | goldsmith | A |
| Thomas Power | shoemaker | A |
| Richard Locke | shoemaker | A |
| Peter Maghan | shoemaker | A |
| Andrew Moore | shoemaker | A |
| John Waters | shoemaker | A |
| John Hickey | helier | A |
| Nicholas Cosgrave | helier | A |
| John Fitzsymons | plasterer | A |
| William Whitchett | girdler | A |
| Patrick Archbold | baker | A |
| John Bennett | glover | A |
| Richard Eccleston | weaver | A |
| Daniel Boyle | smith | A |
| Richard Grimsditch | glazier | A |
| William Maghan | butcher | A |
| Jane Franckton | | DOF |
| Maria Barren | | DOF |
| Elinora Barran | | DOF |
| Patrick Luttrell | | SOF |
| Abraham Crafford | bricklayer | ROW |

Appendix IV: Masters and wardens of the Trinity Guild 1600-1660.

Source: Henry Berry, 'The records of the Dublin gild of merchants known as the gild of Holy Trinity, 1438-1671' in *R.S.A.I.*, xxx (1900), pp 44-68.

| Date | Masters | Wardens |
|---|---|---|
| 1620-21 | John Lang | Walter Usher |
| | John Bennis | Edward Arthur |
| 1621-22 | Robert Ball | Edward Jans |
| | John Lany | Edward Arthur |
| 1622-23 | Robert Ball | Christopher Forster |
| | Richard Barry | Christopher Handcock |
| 1623-24 | Edward Ball | Thomas Whyte |
| | Richard Barry | Christopher Whyte |
| 1624-25 | Richard Wiggett | George Jones |
| | Edward Ball | Christopher Wolferston |
| 1625-26 | Sir Thadee Duff | George Jones |
| | Richard Wiggett | William Weston |
| 1626-27 | Sir Thadee Duff | Christopher White |
| | Sir William Byshope | Nicholas Kenney |
| 1627-28 | Sir William Byshope | Robert Arthur |
| | William Turnor | Francis Dowde |
| 1628-29 | Walter Usher | Michael Browne |
| | William Turnor | Thomas Shelton |
| 1629-30 | Nicholas Kelly | William Bagott |
| | Walter Usher | James Bellew |
| 1630-31 | Robert Bennett | Charles Forster |
| | Nicholas Kelly | William Baggot |
| 1631-32 | Robert Jans | John Fleming |
| | Robert Bennett | Charles Forster |
| 1632-33 | Thomas Evans | John Stanley |
| | Edward Jans | John Fleming |
| 1633-34 | Edward Arthore | David Begge |
| | George Jones | Walter Kennedy |
| 1634-35 | Christopher White | Thomas Wakefield |
| | Edward Arthure | Christopher Brice |
| 1635-36 | Robert Arthur | Edward Brangan |
| | Christopher White | John Gibsonn |
| 1636-37 | Walter Kennedy | John Carbery |
| | Robert Arthur | William Purcell |
| 1637-38 | David Begge | Sankey Sulliard |
| | Walter Kennedy | Thomas Arthur |
| 1638-39 | James Watson | Thomas Arthur |
| | David Begge | Sankey Sulliard |
| 1639-40 | James Watson | Andrew Cleark |
| | David Begge | Sankey Sulliard |
| 1640-41 | Charles Forster | Edward Lake |
| | Andrew Cleark | Richard Barnewall |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1641-2 | Andrew Cleark | John Bamber |
| | John Carbery | John Fleming |
| 1642-3 | John Carbery | Lawrence Allen |
| | Charles Forster | William Purcell |
| 1643-4 | Charles Forster | John Pue |
| | Richard Barnewall | Christopher Bryce |
| 1644-5 | Richard Barnewall | John Miller |
| | David Begge | Nicholas Stephens |
| 1645-6 | David Begge | John Brice |
| | Andrew Cleark | Maurice Pue |
| 1646-7 | Andrew Cleark | Edmond Hughes |
| | Charles Forster | John Collins |
| 1647-8 | Charles Forster | John Fleming |
| | Sir Christopher Forster | Maurice Pue |
| 1648-9 | Sir Christopher Forster | Edmond Hughes (dismissed Jan 1648 and replaced by |
| | William Smyth | John Collins |
| 1649-50 | William Smyth | Maurice Pue |
| | Raphael Hunt | Peter Wybrants |
| 1650-51 | Raphael Hunt | John Preston |
| | Sankey Sulliard | Mark Quine |
| 1651-2 | Sankey Sulliard | George Gilbert |
| | Peter Wybrants | Nathaniel Drinkwater |
| 1652-3 | Richard Tighe | Richard Hayden |
| | Thomas Waterhouse | Samuel Weston |
| 1653-4 | Thomas Waterhouse | John Wood |
| | Nathaniel Drinkwater | John Cranwell |
| 1654-5 | George Gilbert | Robert Mills |
| | John Preston | Ridgley Hatfield |
| 1655-6 | John Preston | John Desmynieres |
| | Mark Quine | Enoch Reader |
| 1656-7 | Mark Quine | Matthew French |
| | Robert Mills | John Sargeant |
| 1657-8 | Robert Mills | Richard Phillipps |
| | Ridgley Hatfield | Henry Bollardt |
| 1658-9 | Ridgley Hatfield | John Forrest |
| | William Smyth | Samuel Saltonstall |
| 1659-60 | William Smyth | Richard Cooke |
| | Peter Wybrants | John Eastwood |

Appendix V: List of mayors and constables of the statute staple.

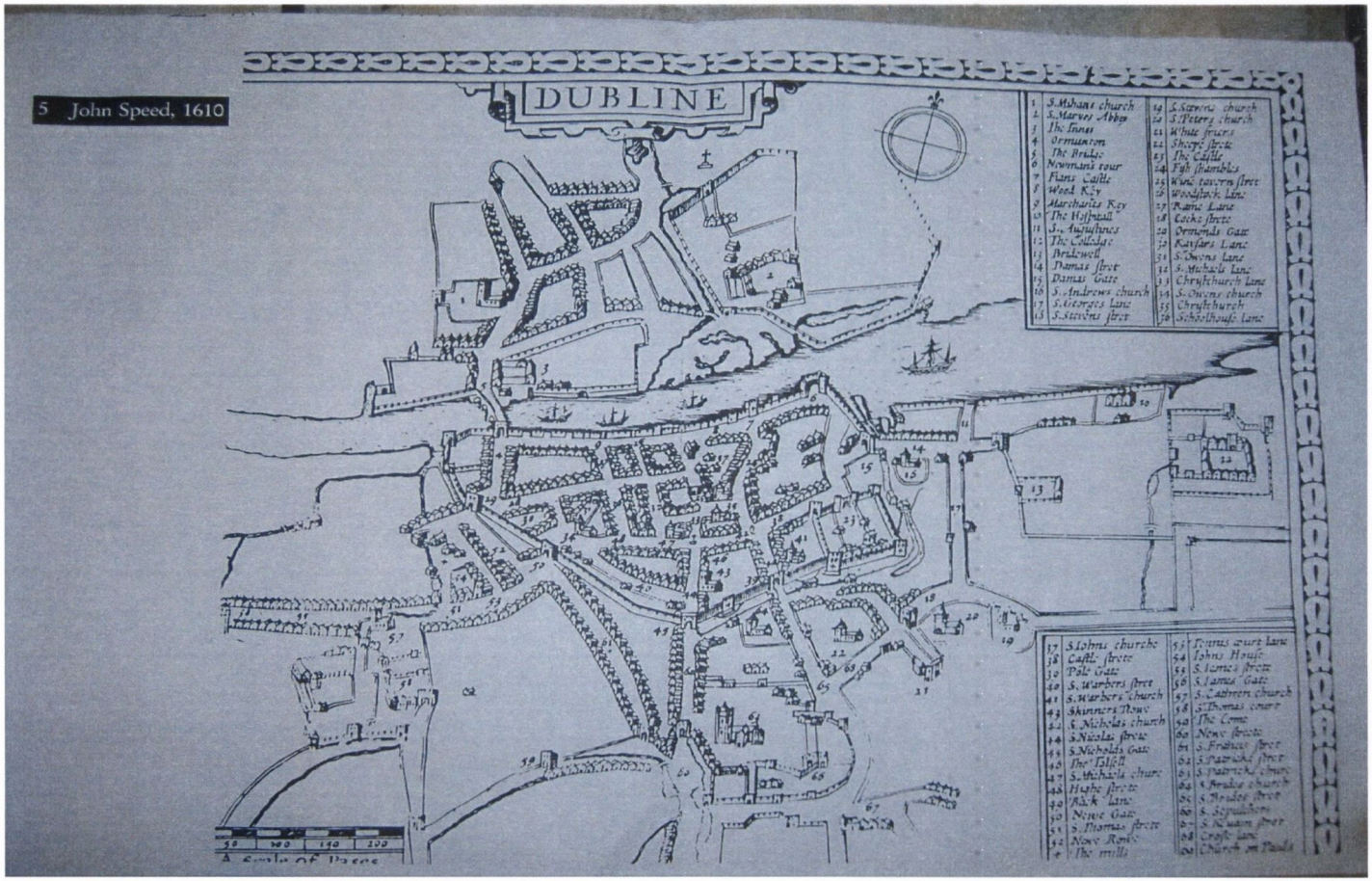
Source: Ohlmeyer & Ó Ciardha (eds.) *Irish statute staple books*, app. II, pp 342-54.

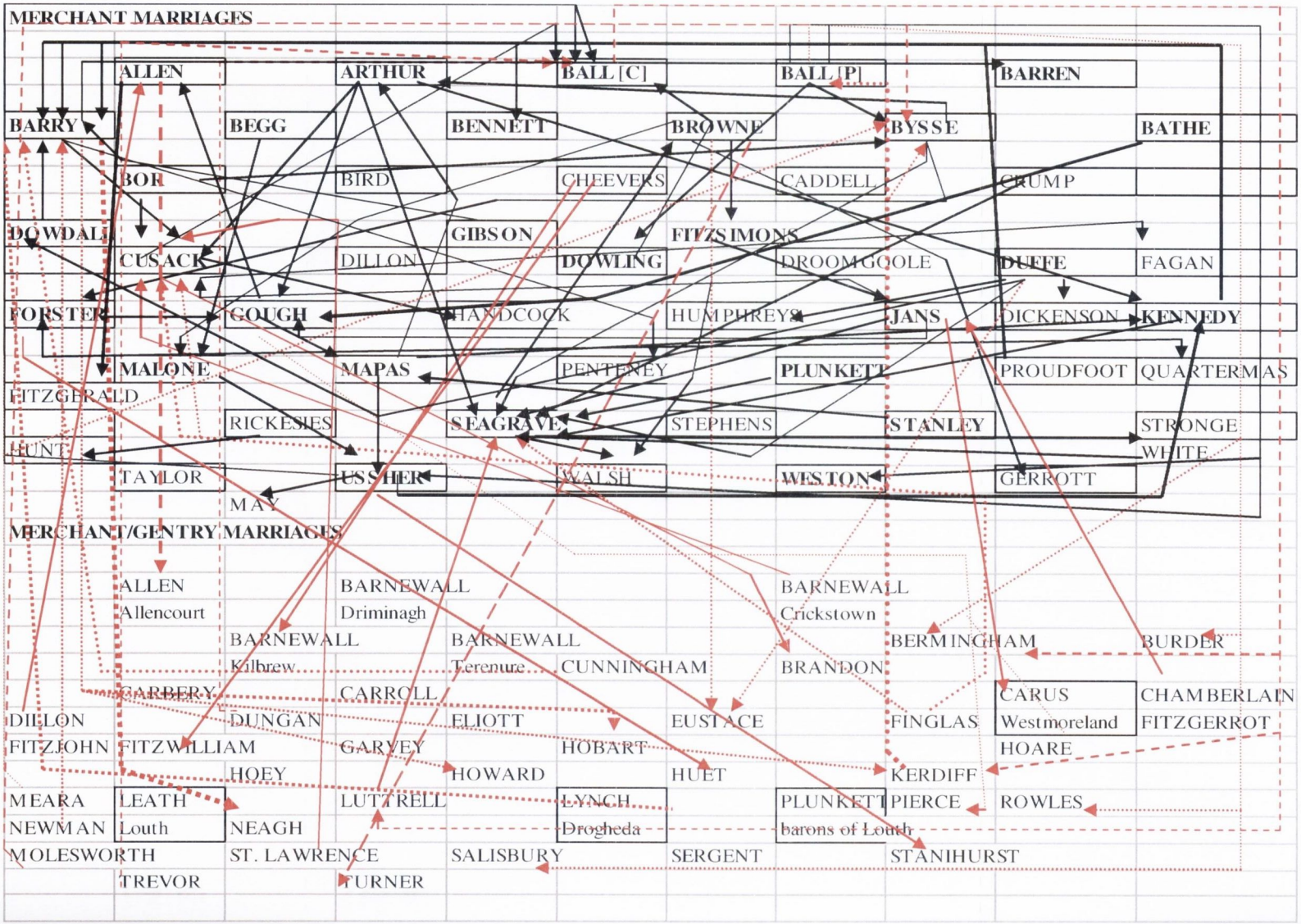
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1604/5 | John Elliot | James Tyrrell | Richard Stephens |
| 1605/6 | Robert Ball | Thomas Bishop | Richard Barry |
| 1606/7 | John Byrne | John Bennes | Richard Browne |
| 1607/8 | John Byrne | Lawrence White | Nicholas Stephens |
| 1608/9 | Thomas Plunkett | Thomas Dromgoole | Robert Mapas |
| 1609/10 | John Cusack | George Devinish | Thomas Allen |
| 1610/11 | Robert Kennedy | William Preston | Thomas Long |
| 1611/12 | Richard Barry | Nicholas Stephens | Edward Ball |
| 1612/13 | Thomas Bishop | William Turner | Nicholas Stephens |
| 1613/14 | Thomas Carroll | Patrick Mapas | Christopher Colman |
| 1614/15 | Richard Forster | Thady Duffe | Nicholas Lynehanne |
| 1616/17 | Richard Browne | Richard Byrne | Patrick George |
| 1617/18 | John Bennes | Nicholas Kelly | Edward Gough |
| 1618/19 | Sir James Carroll | Nicholas Kelly | William Bushopp |
| 1619/20 | John Lany | Walter Ussher | Nicholas Kennis? |
| 1620/21 | Richard Forster | Walter Ussher | Edward Ussher |
| 1621/22 | Robert Ball | Edward Jones | Edward Arthur |
| 1622/23 | Edward Ball | Christopher Forster | Christopher Handcock |
| 1623/24 | Richard Nuggett [Nugent?] | Thomas White | Christopher White |
| 1624/25 | Sir Thadee Duffe | George Jones | Christopher Wolferston |
| 1625/26 | Sir William Bishop | George Jones | William Weston |
| 1626/27 | William Turner | Christopher White | Nicholas Kenny |
| 1627/28 | Walter Usher | Robert Arthur | Francis Dowde |
| 1628/29 | Edward Jans | Michael Browne | Thomas Shelton |
| 1629/30 | Robert Bennett | William Baggott | James Bellew |
| 1630/31 | Sir Christopher Forster | Charles Forster | William Bagott |
| 1631/32 | | Sankey Sulliard | John Fleming |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1632/33 | | George Jones | Mathew Tyrrell | John Stanley |
| 1633/34 | | Edward Arthur | David Begg | Walter Kennedy |
| 1634/35 | 25 Jan -12 May 1635 | Edward Jans | Thomas Wakefield | Christopher Brice, Brice |
| 1635/36 | 25 Jan - 1 June 1636 | Robert Arthur | John Gibson | Edward Branigan/Brannan |
| 1636/37 | 25-Jan | Christopher White | John Carbery | William Purcell |
| 1638 | 17-Nov | Sir Christopher Forster | Thomas Arthur | Sankey Sulliard |
| 1639 | 21-May | James Watson | Thomas Arthur | Sankey Sullyard |
| 1639 | July | Robert Arthur | John Gibson | Edward Brangen |
| 1639 | 16-Oct | James Watson | William Arthur | Sankey Sulliard |
| 1639/40 | 20-Feb | James Watson | Andrew Clearke | Sankey Sulliard |
| 1640/41 | 09-Feb | Charles Forster | Edward Lake | Richard Barnewall |

Appendix VI: John Speed's map of Dublin 1610.

Source: John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (London, 1612).




MERCHANT MARRIAGES
ALLEN
ARTHUR
BALL [C]
BALL [P]
BARREN
BARRY
BEGG
BENNETT
BROWNE
BYSSE
BATHE
BOR
BIRD
CHEEVERS
CADDELL
CRUMP
DOWDALL
GIBSON
FITZSIMONS
CUSACK
DILLON
DOWLING
DROOMGOOLE
DUFFE
FAGAN
FORSTER
GOUGH
HANDCOCK
HUMPHREYS
JANS
DICKENSON
KENNEDY
MALONE
MAPAS
PENTENEY
PLUNKETT
PROUDFOOT
QUARTERMAS
FITZGERALD
RICKESIES
SEAGRAVE
STEPHENS
STANLEY
STRONGE
HUNT
WHITE
TAYLOR
USSHER
WALSH
WESTON
GERROTT
MAY
MERCHANT/GENTRY MARRIAGES
ALLEN
Allencourt
BARNEWALL
Drimingagh
BARNEWALL
Crickstown
BARNEWALL
Kilbrew
BARNEWALL
Terenure
CUNNINGHAM
BRANDON
BERMINGHAM
BURDER
GARBERY
CARROLL
CARUS
Westmoreland
CHAMBERLAIN
DILLON
DUNGAN
ELIOTT
EUSTACE
FINGLAS
FITZGERROT
FITZJOHN
FITZWILLIAM
GARVEY
HOBART
HOARE
HOEY
HOWARD
HUET
KERDIFF
MEARA
LEATH
Louth
LUTTRELL
LYNCH
Drogheda
PLUNKETT
barons of Louth
PIERCE
ROWLES
NEWMAN
NEAGH
MOLESWORTH
ST. LAWRENCE
SALISBURY
SERGENT
STANIHURST
TREVOR
TURNER

**APPENDIX VIII: BARRY GENEALOGY**

Source:
Betham
Sketch.Pedigree.
G.O. MS 292, I, p.
1212.

James Barry
m

| (1) Katherine Barren (dau. Edmond Barren, merchant) | (2) Katherine Neagh, widow of Paine, sergeant at arms. | (3) Elinor, dau. James Cardiff [Kerdiffe] of Dunsink. | (4) Jane, dau. Of Michael Pentene, alderman of Dublin. |
|---|---|---|---|

| **Richard** | Edward | John | Arland | Nicholas | Margaret | Rose | Elinor |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| m | d. | m | d. | m | m | m | m |
| Anne Cusack, dau. James. | | Elizabeth Barran, dau. Edmond.* | | Jane Howard | (1) Nicholas Cardiff (2) Bartholomew Ball | Jacob Newman | Richard Proudfoot, merchant of Dublin. |

| James, Sir, Knt. Lord Chief justice of the King's bench in Ireland. 1st Baron of Santry. | | Edward Barry | | William, Rev. Parson of Killucan and of Germonfogliam in Co. Louth. | Frances | Lettice | Anne |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| m | | m | | m | m | | m |
| Katherine Parsons, dau. Sir William Parsons, Lord Justice. | | (1) Susanna Hobart, dau. William Hobart. (2) Elinor Dowdall, d. 1668. | | (1)Dau. of Edward Donelan. (2) Elizabeth Kelly dau. Redagh. | Henry Kennedy | John Gibson, alderman, d. 23 Aug 1637. | Thomas Cunningham, Deputy gen. of the pipe. D. 18 mar. 1667. |

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